

THE MESSIANIC IDEA

By

Chilperic Edwards

(Author of *The Hammurabi Code*, *The Old Testament*, etc.)

The New Testament assumes the reader to be completely familiar with the terms, "The Messiah," "The Son of Man," and "The Kingdom of Heaven"; but few persons really understand what is meant by them. The author of this interesting and scholarly treatise traces the idea of a Messiah to its source, and discusses the primary meaning of the other terms up to the time of the writing of the Gospels.

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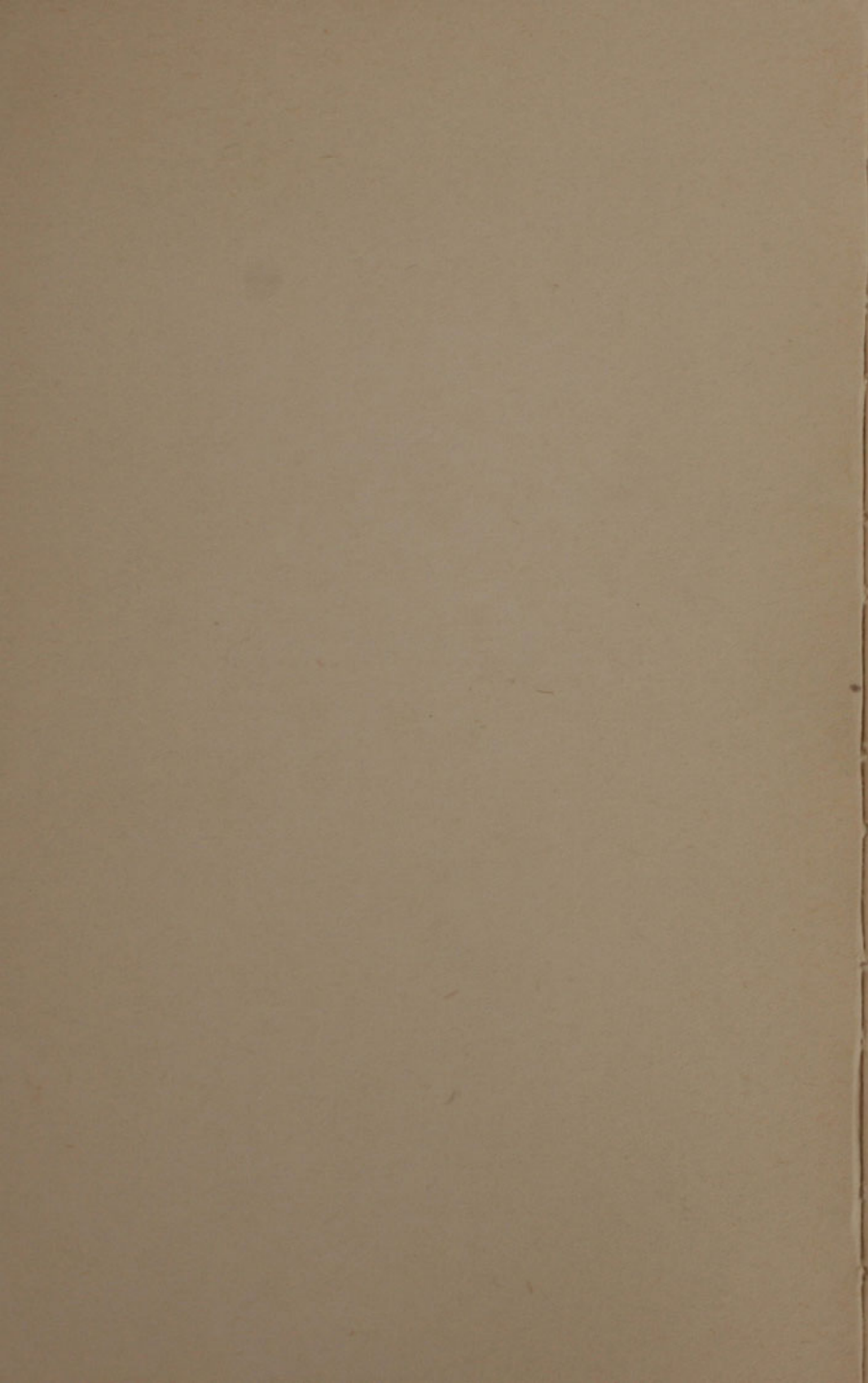
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CHILPERIC EDWARDS,

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LONDON :

WATTS & CO.,

5 & 6 JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET, E.C.4

First published September, 1927

Printed in Great Britain
by Watts & Co., 5 & 6 Johnson's Court,
Fleet Street, London, E.C.4

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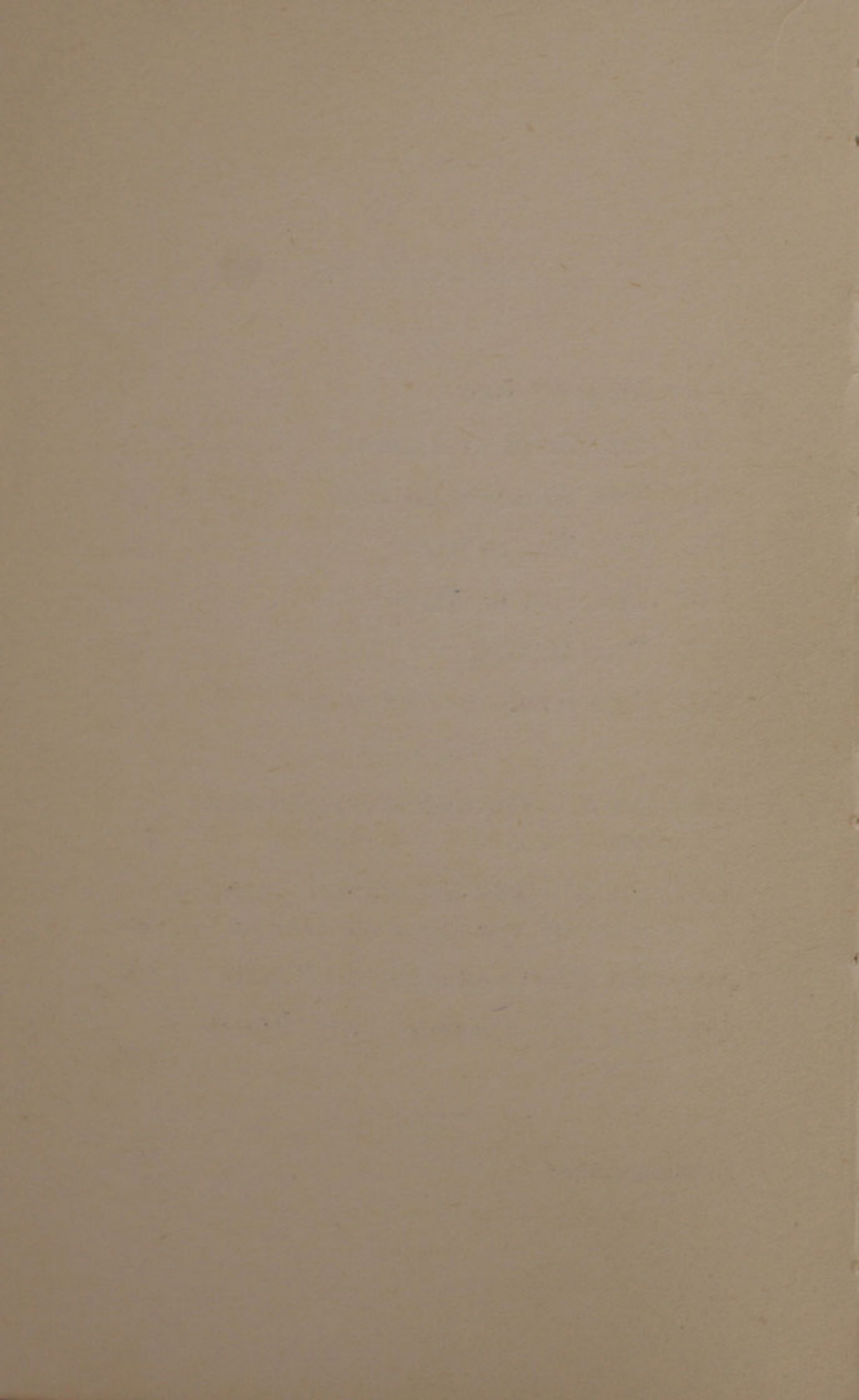
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE aim of the New Testament is to demonstrate that Jesus of Nazareth was "the Christ" or, in Hebrew, "the Messiah." Yet when we seek to know what a Christ was, or what a Messiah was, we get no information, for the New Testament writers never define the meaning of the word, and seem quite unconscious that it needs any explanation. According to their narrative, the Jewish world of the period was perfectly familiar with the idea, and even the Gentiles understood what was meant by it. At Thessalonica a great multitude of devout Greeks were persuaded that Jesus was the Christ (Acts xvii, 4), and Antonius Felix, a Roman official, heard Paul concerning the faith in Christ (Acts xxiv, 24), and none of these Gentiles required to be told what a Christ really was. Nevertheless, although devout Greeks might know all about it, undevout historians display a blank ignorance of the subject. As far as we can make out from the New Testament, the word "Christ" denoted a title of some kind, whereas Tacitus and Suetonius imagined it to be a personal proper name, like Brown, or Jones, or Robinson. It will, therefore, be necessary for us to define the title for ourselves, in order that we may have a

clear idea of what we are talking about ; and, as "Christ" and "Messiah" are convertible terms, we may say, briefly, that "a Messiah is a personage who will assume the leadership of the Jews, and, by supernatural means, will cause these Jews to become the dominant nation of the earth."

This conception of a personal Messiah is not to be found in the Old Testament, except by a system of forced and artificial interpretation that can be made to prove anything. The *word* "Messiah" occurs for the first time in the Book of Daniel, but even there it does not entirely carry with it what we may call "the Messianic Idea," and therefore this Messianic Idea must have been developed at a later date.

Another peculiar term confronts us in the New Testament, and that is "the Kingdom of God." We are never told what a Kingdom of God was, or where it was, and so it is again necessary for us to define it for ourselves, more especially as the word "kingdom" gives a wrong impression as far as the English language is concerned. It ought to be "Reign of God" or "Empire of God"; and the underlying idea is that "all existing governments are to be destroyed, and God alone will be the political Ruler of the World."

This conception of a Reign of God is traceable in the Old Testament ; but it is clearly formulated in the Book of Daniel, which will have to be the starting-point of our inquiry.

The events narrated in the Gospels are said to have occurred during the Procuratorship of Pontius

Pilatus—that is to say, between 26 and 36 A.D. The Book of Daniel is now recognized by scholars to have been composed about the year 164 B.C. As, therefore, the Messiah and the Reign of God are assumed in the Gospels to be matters of common knowledge, and as the beginnings of these ideas are to be traced in the Book of Daniel, it follows that we must seek for the development and spread of the Messianic theory in the period of rather less than two centuries which intervened between 164 B.C. and 26 A.D. The material for this inquiry is contained in what is called the Apocalyptic Literature, and consists in a number of mystical books which appeared during these two centuries, although they profess to be of higher antiquity.

The word "apocalypse" (*ἀποκάλυψις*) means an uncovering, and the apocalyptic writers imagined that they were able to remove the veil from the future. We have not the least idea who these writers were, because, although they professed to uncover the future, they took great care not to discover themselves. In their days it was the general opinion that the age of prophecy had passed. In fact, some of the later books of the Old Testament are hostile to prophetic pretensions. Zechariah xiii, 1-14, classes prophets with idols and unclean spirits; the father and mother of a would-be prophet are enjoined to take him and slay him out of hand as a liar and an impostor, for "the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision when he prophesyeth: neither shall they wear

a hairy garment to deceive.”¹ Josephus (*contra Apionem* i, 8) is not quite so violent in his language, but he says that since the reign of Artaxerxes “there had not been an exact succession of prophets.” Consequently, it was rash, not to say dangerous, for any one to be caught prophesying. Accordingly, when a man felt himself bursting with prophecy, he unloaded it on his neighbours as the work of some helpless ancient sage who had been a long time dead, and so not likely to come forward and disown it. Thus, all the apocalyptic literature was “pseudepigraphic” —that is to say, written under false names. Fortunately for the English student, the whole extant remains of this literature have been collected together by the Rev. Canon R. H. Charles, and published in an admirable fashion in two bulky volumes.² The works that are of special importance in tracing out the evolution of the Messianic Idea are the following :—

The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs,
composed somewhere about 105 B.C.

The Book of Enoch, written at various dates,
between 160 B.C. and 60 B.C.

A Zadokite work, written about 58 B.C.

The Psalms of Solomon, about 46 B.C.

The Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch, about
50 A.D.

II Esdras, about 90 A.D.

¹ Compare II Kings i, 8, and Mark i, 6.

² *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, by R. H. Charles, D.D. 2 vols.; 4to. (Oxford: Clarendon Press; 1913.)

A more detailed description of these productions will be found in the Appendix. The Apocalypse of Baruch and II Esdras are later than the Christian Era, but they may be taken as being outside the Christian tradition, for they were originally purely Jewish compositions, and they thus afford independent evidence of the progress of Jewish Messianic theory.

We shall also have to notice two or three minor titles which became associated with the Messianic Idea, such as Son of God, Son of Man, and Son of David. These had independent histories of their own, but were eventually confused together, so that some slight repetition is unavoidable in tracing their lineage. They afford interesting examples of the evolution of religious doctrines, for they were originally mere figurative expressions which later generations took literally, with surprising results.

Lastly, our inquiry into the history of the Messianic Idea will be incomplete unless we give some attention to the Jewish War of A.D. 66, for that will enable us to understand the class of people to whom Messianism appealed, and the means they took to realize it.

CHAPTER II

THE BOOK OF DANIEL

THE apocalyptic literature drew its inspiration from Daniel, and thus it will first be necessary to glance at the circumstances which called forth that work.¹

Alexander the Great died in 323 B.C., and his empire was seized by the generals of his army, who divided the territory between them. The rich and extensive province of Syria fell to Seleucus, who proclaimed himself king in 312 B.C., and from that date was reckoned the Seleucid Era, employed in I Maccabees for chronological purposes. A century later Antiochus III, a descendant of Seleucus I, occupied the throne. He is known in history as "the Great," although his reign ended in disaster, for he had the temerity to enter Greece, at the request of the Ætolians, to help them against the Romans. The Romans defeated him at Thermopylæ, and pursued him into Asia Minor. Antiochus drew out all his strength, and collected together a powerful army, numbering 62,000 foot, 12,000 horse, fifty-four elephants, and a number of

¹ The best handbook on this subject is *The Book of Daniel*, by S. R. Driver, D.D. (Cambridge, 1912. First published in 1900.) One of the series called the Cambridge Bible for Schools. Dr. Driver uses the text of the Authorized Version, but that is of little consequence, because he discusses at length all difficult points of translation.

scythed chariots ; but his motley host was overthrown and dispersed by the younger Scipio at the battle of Magnesia, near Smyrna, in 190 B.C. Antiochus was forced out of Asia Minor, and compelled to pay the enormous indemnity of 15,000 talents. He died shortly afterwards, and was succeeded by his son, Seleucus IV, who was poisoned by Heliodorus, his chief minister, nine years later. Heliodorus attempted to assume the crown ; but at that moment Antiochus, the brother of Seleucus, returned from Rome, where he had been detained as a hostage, and he drove out the usurper with the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus, the rulers of Pergamum.

Antiochus, having gained the kingdom by their aid, was received by the people with such transports of joy that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or " Rising Star," because, when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right (Livy, xli, 19).

Polybius (xxviii, 18) tells us that " King Antiochus was a man of ability in the field, and daring in design, and showed himself worthy of the royal name." But he was apt to indulge in undignified pranks. On one occasion in the public baths, where high and low assembled, he was being rubbed down with sweet smelling ointment, as the custom was after bathing, when one of the bystanders remarked that princes were lucky beggars to have the use of such luxuries. Antiochus procured a very large jar of the strongest

perfumes, and emptied the jar upon the head of the envious individual ; and when the other bathers scented the unwonted fragrance, and saw the oil pouring from the body of the man on to the pavement, they rushed forward to roll themselves in it, and lost their footing on the slippery stuff, falling all together in a heap to the great amusement of the spectators.¹

The sovereignty of Syria was no matter for jest. The battle of Magnesia had shattered the credit and power of the Seleucids. Their subjects were continually revolting, the exchequer was empty, the Parthians were harrying the northern provinces, and the Romans were becoming powerful in the Mediterranean. It was obvious to every observer that the Syrian Empire was breaking up. The Regent of Egypt thought it was a favourable time to recover Palestine, and commenced to raise an army for that purpose ; but before his preparations were completed he was anticipated by Antiochus Epiphanes, who suddenly marched south, routed the Egyptian forces at Pelusium, and pressed on into the country, meeting with little opposition until he captured Memphis, and arrested the young king, Ptolemy Philometor, a boy of fifteen. This was in 170 B.C. The next year Philometor's younger brother was proclaimed a rival king at

¹ This anecdote is not in the extant MSS. of Polybius, which are imperfect ; but it is probably an authentic quotation, and it has been preserved to us by Atheneus of Naucratis, who died about 194 A.D. Polybius was a contemporary of Antiochus : born about 204 B.C. and dying about 122 B.C.

Alexandria, and Antiochus proceeded to besiege the city. The siege was unsuccessful, and he had to retreat. In 168 B.C. Epiphanes attempted a fresh invasion by land and sea, but was met outside Alexandria by the Roman Legate, Caius Popillius Lænas, who ordered him to leave the country ; and he had no option but to submit, for a few months previously the Romans had conquered Macedonia at the battle of Pydna, fought on June 22, and they were now too formidable to be resisted. Epiphanes therefore retired to Antioch. His ignominious expulsion from Egypt deeply mortified him, and he felt himself discredited in the eyes of the civilized world. He could not gain fame as a conqueror, so he determined to excite the admiration of his neighbours by holding a magnificent festival at Daphnæ, near Antioch. The proceedings were inaugurated by a grand procession, of which Polybius (xxxii, 3, 4) gives an elaborate account :—

The number of images of the gods it is impossible to tell completely, for representations of every god, or demi-god, or hero, accepted by mankind were carried there. Some gilded, others adorned with gold embroidered robes, and the myths belonging to each, according to accepted tradition, were represented by the most costly symbols.....

The festival, including the gladiatorial games, and hunting, lasted thirty days, in the course of which there was a continual round of spectacles. During the first five of these everybody in the gymnasium anointed himself

with oil scented with saffron, in gold vessels, of which there were fifteen, and the same number scented with cinnamon and nard. On the following days other vessels were brought in, scented with fennugreek, marjoram, and lily, all of extraordinary fragrancv. Public banquets were also given, at which couches were prepared, sometimes for a thousand, and sometimes for fifteen hundred, with the utmost splendour and excellence.

The whole of the arrangements were superintended by Antiochus Epiphanes in person. He marshalled the processions, he waited on the guests at the banquets, and he chatted to strangers with the greatest affability. His visitors were charmed. But his freakishness was his undoing, for he had himself carried into the theatre wrapped in a mantle, which was suddenly thrown off, and the scandalized audience beheld their royal entertainer capering with the dancers on the stage—a most disgraceful and undignified proceeding for one of his station. “They could scarcely believe that so much excellence and vulgarity could co-exist in one and the same person.”

The shocked guests had hardly departed before Antiochus was visited by a deputation from Rome, headed by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The Senate was anxious to know whether the king harboured any resentment in consequence of his unceremonious expulsion from Egypt, and whether the festival and the crowds of spectators at Antioch were the cloak of some design against the Roman Power. The envoys were reassured by the warmth

of their reception, for Antiochus "gave up his palace, and almost his crown, to the ambassadors"; and the captivated Gracchus reported to the Senate that he "could not detect any trace of hostility."

The games and the embassy occupied the greater part of the year 167, and in 166 B.C. Epiphanes assembled his army and marched north to fight the rebel kinglet, Artaxias of Armenia, whom he overthrew; and he then advanced into Persia, where he died after a short illness at Tabæ, near Susa, in B.C. 164. His son, Antiochus Eupator, was then proclaimed king, and returned to Syria with the army; but after a brief reign of two years he was slain by his cousin Demetrius, the son of Seleucus IV.

When Antiochus Epiphanes came to the throne in 175 B.C. the high priest at Jerusalem was Onias III, whose brother Jason promised the new monarch a large sum of money if he were raised to the dignity. Nothing loath, the king appointed Jason and deposed Onias, who retired for sanctuary to Daphnæ, a suburb of Antioch, considered as one of the sacred places of Syria. Three years later Menelaus, the younger brother of Jason, offered a further sum for the high priesthood, and Jason was deposed and fled for refuge to Perea. Menelaus proved a bad paymaster, and was summoned to Antioch. On arrival there he found that the king had been called to Cilicia to suppress a rebellion, leaving as his representative a nobleman named Andronicus. Menelaus made friends with Andronicus by presenting him with some

gold cups, and was promptly denounced by Onias as having stolen these cups from the Temple at Jerusalem. Enraged at this accusation, Menelaus enticed Onias from sanctuary and had him murdered. When the story of the sacrilege reached Jerusalem there were riots, in which Lysimachus, another member of the family, was killed. Menelaus was brought to trial, but by lavish bribery he got himself acquitted.

When Antiochus Epiphanes invaded Egypt in 170 B.C. he advanced so rapidly into the country that the people in Palestine lost touch with him, and, as nothing was heard of him for some time, it was reported that he had been slain. Upon hearing this rumour, Jason collected together about a thousand desperadoes and took Jerusalem by a surprise attack. Menelaus escaped into the citadel, and defended himself there, while his friends were being robbed and murdered in the city. Meanwhile the king Antiochus was on his way back again. He marched on Jerusalem, and rescued Menelaus. Jason bolted, and left his followers to be massacred by the party of Menelaus, who stripped the treasury of the temple and handed the proceeds to the king. We hear no more of Jason, except that he died a miserable death in Sparta; but the troubles of Jerusalem were not yet over. Antiochus placed the city in the charge of a Phrygian, named Philip, "in character more barbarous than him that set him there," and Menelaus, the high priest, "who, worse than all the rest, exalted himself against his fellow citizens"

(II Macc. v, 22-23). Onias III (who was assassinated at Daphnæ) left a son, who was also named Onias (IV). This younger Onias, in 168 B.C., raised a party among the notables at Jerusalem, and became master of the city, while Philip and Menelaus fled to the king. Antiochus promptly sent his general, Apollonius, with an ample force. Apollonius stormed Jerusalem, and massacred a number of the adherents of Onias IV, who escaped to Egypt, where he was well received by Ptolemy VII (Philometor), and built a rival temple at Heliopolis, of which he became the high priest (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII, v, 1 ; XIII, iii, 1-3 ; *Wars* x, i, 1).

When Apollonius had expelled Onias and restored Menelaus, he repaired the citadel at Jerusalem and strongly garrisoned it, and "on the twenty-fifth day of Chislew in the hundred and forty and fifth year" (i.e., December 168 or January 167 B.C.) an addition was made to the Great Altar. This addition was apparently made with the approval of the high priest, Menelaus, but the more fanatical Jews denounced it as a heathen desecration, and, by an elaborate pun, they styled it "the abomination of desolation."

Menelaus did not enjoy the high priesthood very long. The king, Antiochus Epiphanes, died in Persia in 164 B.C., and his son, Eupator, on his return to Palestine, executed Menelaus on a charge of treason, and appointed to the priesthood a man named Alcimus, who was not of the family of Onias. Three years later Alcimus had a stroke

of paralysis, and died, the fanatical party attributing his seizure to the fact that he had commenced to pull down one of the inner walls of the Temple. The pontificate then remained vacant for seven years, until Jonathan, the Maccabee, assumed the dignity at the feast of Tabernacles in 153 B.C.

This Jonathan was one of the five sons of Mattathias, a priest of Modin, who murdered one of the royal officers about 168 B.C. and took to the hills. He and his sons maintained themselves by brigandage, raiding the surrounding villages. They gathered a body of desperate men about them, and "smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath, and the rest fled to the Gentiles for safety." "And they circumcised by force the children that were uncircumcised." "Neither suffered they the sinner to triumph." On the death of Mattathias the leadership devolved upon his eldest son, Judas, surnamed Maccabeus,¹ who "went about among the cities of Judah, and destroyed the ungodly out of the land." He defeated the troops sent against him, and when Antiochus had gone away on his expedition into the East, and taken the bulk of his forces with him, Judas increased in audacity, and at length, towards the end of 165 B.C., he captured Jerusalem, although he could not take the citadel. "The

¹ "The etymology of the name, in spite of the efforts of the scholars who have advanced various theories on the subject, remains undetermined" (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, article "Maccabees").

Abomination of Desolation" was pulled down; and, as Judas and his followers considered the sanctuary to have been desecrated by the interference of the Greek king, they re-dedicated it, and held a festival with great rejoicings. Encouraged by these successes and the weakness of the government, they made fresh raids on the surrounding country. "And Judas turned unto Bosora, and he took the city, and slew all the males with the edge of the sword, and took all their spoils, and burned the city with fire." "And he turned aside to Mizpeh, and fought against it, and took it, and slew all the males thereof, and took the spoils thereof, and burned it with fire," etc. These orgies of loot and massacre were interrupted by the return of the main Syrian army from Persia under the young king Antiochus Eupator, who routed Judas and recaptured Jerusalem; but before he could do any more the new king was himself despatched by his cousin, Demetrius. Judas was defeated and killed in 161 B.C.; but, owing to the domestic troubles of the Seleucids and the disturbed state of Syria, the surviving Maccabean brethren maintained themselves, and eventually became semi-independent rulers of the country, usurping the high priesthood in order to consolidate their power.

Mattathias and his sons, the Maccabees, and their following mob of bandits and budmashes called themselves "Assideans" (*Ἀσιδαῖοι*; I Macc. ii, 42; vii, 13; II Macc. xiv, 6), from the Hebrew word *חֶסֶד*, *kheseḏ*, which means "to be fervent."

They professed great fervency for the Law (*νόμος*)—i.e., the Law of Moses. They accused their opponents of being “without the Law” or “against the Law” (*ἄνομοι παράνομοι*), and denounced them as impious persons (*ἀσεβεῖς*, generally translated in the English Version as “ungodly”), “pestilent fellows out of Israel; men that were transgressors of the Law,” etc. The Jews that were not of the Assidean sect were alleged to have forsaken the Law of their fathers, and to have adopted the wicked practices of the heathen. Yet, when we inquire what these practices were, we find them narrowed down to two charges—namely, that the backsliding Israelites indulged in athletic exercises, and that they wore hats on their heads! (II Macc. iv, 12). To our minds, these seem quite trivial offences; but religious wars have been waged for less, and the Assideans set themselves to extirpate such dreadful heresies by means of the sword:—

For they were of that stubborn crew
 Of errant saints whom all men grant
 To be the true Church Militant.
 Such as do build their faith upon
 The holy text of pike and gun;
 Call fire and sword and desolation,
 A godly, thorough, reformation.

The peaceable part of the Jewish population, harried and plundered by the Assidean brigands, very naturally turned to its Greek rulers for protection, and thus Judas and his followers found themselves brought into conflict with the regular troops of Antiochus Epiphanes. It was a comparatively

easy amusement to go about among the cities of Judah and destroy the unarmed ungodly out of the land ; it was quite another matter to fight the armed soldiers of the Syrian kingdom. Consequently, Assidean animosity blazed its fiercest against the Greek king, who stood in the way. He was branded as the persecutor and oppressor of the saints, and in I Maccabees i, 41, 42, we have the astonishing statement that " King Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom that all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws. And all the nations agreed according to the word of the king." Such sentiments and such procedure are entirely foreign to everything that we know of Greek ideas. So far from wishing to overthrow barbarian religions, the Greek mind was anxious to reconcile them with the Homeric system. The Egyptian monuments show the respect with which the Hellenic authorities treated the native superstitions and the care they took to avoid offending barbarian susceptibilities, and it is simply incredible that Antiochus Epiphanes, ruling over a motley empire full of a strange medley of superstitions, should have interfered with the religions of his subjects. But we are not abandoned to credibility. We learn from the passage of Polybius already quoted that Antiochus Epiphanes inaugurated his great festival at Antioch with a procession in which were " representations of every god or demigod or hero accepted by mankind," which must therefore have included Yahweh, the God of Israel. This proves distinctly that Antiochus desired to honour

every deity known to him, and had no idea of superseding any of them. II Macc. vi, 2, accuses Epiphanes of polluting the sanctuary at Jerusalem in calling it by the name of Jupiter Olympius. It is difficult to see how this could be a crime, or what other course a Greek-speaking monarch could follow; especially as, by equating Yahweh with Jupiter Olympius, Epiphanes was practically recognizing Yahweh as equivalent to the Supreme God. The Assidean fanatics denounced Antiochus for setting up "an abomination of desolation" in the Temple. This "abomination" was, apparently, an additional altar, *βωμος*, placed upon the altar of sacrifice, *θυσιστήριον* (I Macc. i, 54, 59). As far as one can gather from the Books of the Maccabees, this altar, or this "abomination," was erected during the residence, and with the approval, of the then high priest, Menelaus, so that Epiphanes was committing no sacrilege. On the contrary, he was performing a solemn act of homage to the Jewish Deity.¹

But, quite apart from all this, the story of the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes is almost impossible. Polybius and his copyists tell us quite sufficient of the movements of the king to render it obvious that he simply had not the time

¹ It was shown by Dr. Eberhard Nestle, in 1884, that "Abomination of Desolation" is due to an elaborate pun. In Semitic, Zeus Olympius is represented by *בעל שמים* = *Baal Shamaim*—i.e., "Lord of the Heavens." The Jews were accustomed to call a foreign divinity, such as Baal, an "Abomination" (I Kings xi, 5, 7). *Shamaim* was facetiously mispronounced *shomaim*, which means "desolation" or "devastation," and thus they arrived at the phrase "Abomination of Desolation."

to embark upon any such insensate scheme of persecution. The Abomination of Desolation was set up in Jerusalem during the month of Kislev—i.e., December, 168, or January, 167 B.C. During the year 167 Antiochus was fully occupied—first by the preparation for his public games, and then by the games themselves, directly after which he had to receive and flatter the Roman envoys. The next year, 166, saw the preparations for the eastern campaign and the march of Epiphanes to Armenia. With all this business on his hands, he could not bother himself to alter the laws “of his whole kingdom” or superintend the tiresome martyrdoms narrated in the later books of the Maccabees. The Greek historians knew nothing of any persecution by Antiochus, though they might be expected to notice such an unusual manifestation if it had ever occurred. At any rate, Josephus and the early Christian writers never quote anything in corroboration, although they had access to a much larger literature than has survived to our times. Tacitus is the first to hint at any compulsion, and his testimony is vague. He did not write until 100 A.D., and he paid so little attention to Jewish affairs that he confused Antiochus II (Theos) with Antiochus IV (Epiphanes). (See Appendix D.)

The troubles in Palestine were clearly due to the disgraceful intrigues and ambitions of the Jewish high priests and the organized dacoity of the Assideans. All that Antiochus Epiphanes did was to endeavour to preserve order in the country and suppress brigandage. It is, however, always a

dangerous and unpleasant task to intervene in other people's quarrels, and the interference of the Greek king only excited the rancour of the fanatics and made him the target of their vituperation. Thus, in Jewish literature, Antiochus is held up to execration as a savage persecutor of the true faith and a blasphemous opponent of the God of Israel. This characterization runs through the Books of the Maccabees, and, in a more violent though veiled form, in the apocalyptic visions of Daniel. The eclipse of the Syrian power and the initial successes of the Maccabees intoxicated the imagination of one of the Assideans, who announced in cryptic language that the triumph of Yahweh was at hand, the heathen would shortly be completely overthrown, and Israel would become the sole occupant of a new and purified world, free from all Gentile contamination. As was usual, these anticipations were put forward under the name of an ancient sage—in this case, Daniel—who is referred to by Ezekiel xiv, 14; xxviii, 3, but is otherwise unknown, so that we are not told what justification there was in locating him to the period of the Babylonian Captivity, four hundred years before the appearance of the Assideans.

The book is in two well-marked sections. First we have a series of narratives, in the third person, describing the adventures of the mythical Daniel and his friends, and how they glorified the God of Israel among the heathen. The second part is written in the first person, and in it Daniel describes his wonderful visions, all of which lead up to one

conclusion—namely, the appearance of Antiochus Epiphanes, his overthrow by the divine power, and the blessings that will then descend upon the Jewish people.

First, the prophet sees the succession of four great world empires, out of which arises a little horn “with a mouth speaking great things.” This is not a description of the invention of the gramophone, but—*Antiochus Epiphanes*.

Secondly, he sees the ram of Persia overthrown by the goat of Grecia, from which arises “a king of fierce countenance” who is—*Antiochus Epiphanes*.

Thirdly, the prophet is informed that seventy weeks of years will elapse between the time of Jeremiah and “the prince that shall come”—i.e., *Antiochus Epiphanes*.

Fourthly, we have a lengthy résumé of the successors of Alexander the Great, culminating in “a vile person,” who is—*Antiochus Epiphanes*.

Not only is the Book of Daniel in two sections, it is also in two languages—Hebrew and Aramaic—though the differences in language do not correspond with the divisions of the subject matter. Hebrew and Aramaic are closely-related tongues, but they are not mutually intelligible. In the second century before our era Aramaic was the common vernacular of Palestine, Hebrew being employed only for religious purposes. The book commences in Hebrew, and continues so to the middle of the fourth verse of the second chapter, where, after the words “in Syriac,” the language

suddenly changes to Aramaic, which is maintained to vii, 28, the remaining four chapters being in Hebrew. Thus two-thirds of the work are in Aramaic, and the remaining third in Hebrew.

Notwithstanding these peculiarities, there can be little doubt that the whole of the Book of Daniel is by one and the same author. The general style of thought and diction is the same throughout; and it will be noted how closely the vision of chap. vii parallels the dream of Nebuchadnezzar in chap. ii.

It is important to note that there are *two* Greek translations of Daniel—the original Septuagint and the revision made by Theodotion. The books of the Old Testament were rendered into Greek at different times and by different hands, with varying degrees of merit, and the collection of the whole is known under the name of the “Septuagint,” from a legend of seventy translators. The original “Septuagint” version of Daniel is more in the nature of a paraphrase than a translation. Only one copy of this version has survived—namely, that in a cursive manuscript of the ninth century, in the Vatican Library, called the Codex Chisianus, from a former owner. We shall have to refer again to this “Septuagint” version, because it testifies to the interpretation put upon Daniel at the beginning of our era. Christian scholars speedily found out that the Septuagint version was unsatisfactory, inasmuch as it did not correctly represent the Hebrew text, and in the second century A.D. it was amended by Theodotion, an

Ebionite heretic, in order to bring it more closely into accord with the Hebrew. Theodotion's rendering was considered so excellent that it became the standard Greek text, and it is now found in all Greek Bibles, in place of the original Septuagint.

Both Theodotion and the Septuagint make the Book of Daniel somewhat longer than the Hebrew, for they present certain passages which are not found in the present Semitic text, these passages being printed in the English Apocrypha as "Additions to the Book of Daniel." The most important of these additions is what is known as "The Song of the Three Children," which, in the Greek, follows after iii, 23. From internal evidence this "Song" must have been an integral portion of the original book, and it is difficult to understand how it has dropped out of the Hebrew. In our iii, 24, it is said "then Nebuchadnezzar the king was astonished," whereas there was nothing for him to be astonished about. If, on the other hand, the Greek narrative be followed, the astonishment of the king is perfectly intelligible.

The other additions may be treated very briefly. Our version of Daniel ends with the twelfth chapter. In the Septuagint there are two other chapters—thirteen narrating the Story of Susanna, and fourteen Bel and the Dragon. All that we need say about these is that they are no part of the original work. In the ordinary Greek editions, following Theodotion, the Story of Susanna is placed at the beginning of the Book, for the reason

that it was more appropriate there as relating to Daniel's early years.

So much for the actual text of Daniel. We should now glance at the theology presented by the Book. The Assideans called themselves fervent followers of the Law ; but if their religious convictions be correctly delineated in Daniel, they had departed very materially from the ideas of their forefathers.

Daniel professes to be a product of the Babylonian Exile. Yet if we first peruse the acknowledged exilic prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and then turn to the Book of Daniel, we cannot fail to be struck by the vast difference in tone and tendency. Jeremiah and Ezekiel have no intermediary between them and the deity. The Hand of the Lord is upon them, and the Word of the Lord speaks directly to them. But Daniel is far removed. He receives no heavenly communications except through the angel Gabriel (viii, 16 ; ix, 21), who now appears in Jewish literature for the first time, and henceforward occupies a commanding position (compare Luke i, 19). The sociable Yahweh of the Old Testament, who conversed with his followers, has disappeared from view, and he is now surrounded by a celestial bureaucracy, all earthly intercourse being conducted through angelic messengers.

Not merely has the constitution of Heaven been changed, the constitution of Hell has also been revolutionized, and we hear for the first time about a general resurrection and a judgment of the quick and the dead.

According to all other Old Testament writers, death was the final end of man. The soul was imagined to pass to an underground dungeon called Sheol, where it was helpless and forgotten (Psalms lxxxviii, 4, 5). The condition of these souls was quite hopeless: "They are dead: they shall not live! They are deceased: they shall not rise! Therefore hast thou visited and destroyed them; and made all their memory to perish" (Is. xxvi, 14). Retribution could no longer overtake the soul. "Whether it be ten or a hundred or a thousand years, there is no inquisition of life in the grave" (Ecclesiasticus xli, 4, 5). A man's sins were visited upon his children, even unto the third and fourth generation. Rewards and punishments are limited to this earthly life, and God's mercy was sometimes shown by his delaying a sinner's deserts, so that they do not fall upon the guilty person, but upon his innocent descendants (I Kings xi, 12-xxi, 29). Even the late Book of Job does not seek to reconcile the wrongs of this world by retribution in the next, and Ecclesiastes gives up the problem as an insoluble one.

Yet, in utter defiance of all this teaching, the Book of Daniel contemplates a resurrection and an individual retribution. "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (compare II Macc. xii, 43, 44).

To realize how foreign all this is to the old theology one has merely to compare Ezekiel xxxvii, 1-14, where the prophet is shown a valley full of

dry bones, which represent "the whole house of Israel," and these dry bones are revived and restored to the Holy Land. It is the House of Israel as an entity that is so restored, not the individual Israelites. The idea of an individual resurrection has not yet dawned on the Jewish mind. Then there is Ezek. xviii, 1-32, where the prophet attempts to combat the ancient idea that the sins of the father descend on the children; but he does this only by enunciating that the sin will certainly be borne by the sinner himself, whose extreme punishment will be his death. This view is decisively controverted by Ecclesiastes, which justly retorts that the good man dies also. Neither writer dreamed of a retribution beyond the grave, and when Judaism adopted the ideas of a resurrection and a judgment after death these old controversies ceased to have any meaning, and became a puzzle and a stumbling-block to the pious reader.

It is not to be supposed that the author of the Book of Daniel invented the doctrine of angels or the doctrine of the resurrection. They merely appear in his book because they were the accepted dogmas of the middle of the second century B.C. The Book of Daniel does not really belong to either the Old or the New Testaments. It is a landmark between the two, and shows how the one dissolved into the other.

Before quitting the Book it is due to the reader to sound a note of warning concerning the history and chronology presented therein. The author of

this apocalypse placed his hero in the Court of the king of Babylon, and then professed to sketch out the course of human affairs from the days of Nebuchadrezzar to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. His historical information was unequal to the task. He knew practically nothing of Babylon, he had very vague notions of the Persian period, and it was only when he came to deal with the Greeks that he had any sound information to work upon. His chronology is especially unreliable. In fact, it is extremely unlikely that he had any. His periods are merely ideal. In the ninth chapter he is dominated by the sacred number seven; in xii, 11, 12, the mystical sixty is the basis of his calculation. It is therefore not surprising that no interpreter of Daniel, whether orthodox or heterodox, has ever been able to reconcile the arithmetic of the prophet with the dates of history. The author neither knew nor cared for such mundane matters, and it is simply waste of time to discuss the question.

CHAPTER III

THE KINGDOM OF GOD

LIKE other nations, the Ancient Hebrews were fully persuaded of the superiority of their deity over that of their neighbours. The Hebrew prophets were continually vaunting the supremacy of Yahweh over all the gods of the heathen, and they looked forward to a speedy "Day of the Lord" when this supremacy would be established. The conception of this "Day" differs somewhat among the various writers; sometimes it is a day of vengeance, at other times it is a day of battle, when all the Gentiles will be overthrown; or it is a day when Yahweh will sit in judgment on the rebellious heathen.

First in point of date comes the prophecy of Micah, which, according to the superscription, was delivered in the reign of Jotham; according to Jeremiah xxvi, 18, in the days of Hezekiah. Modern textual criticism has found difficulties in this, and referred the writing to a somewhat later period;¹ but for our purpose it will be sufficient to indicate that in the seventh century B.C. Hebrew prophecy began to contemplate a Kingship of God

¹ See Dr. Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* under "Micah."

(iv, 1-13 ; v, 1-15). The Temple of Yahweh is to be set up on the head of the mountains, and will attract all peoples. There will be a universal peace ; all the Gentiles will worship Yahweh, and those who do not will feel his vengeance (v, 15), "and the Lord shall reign over them in Mount Zion for ever" (iv, 7), his vicegerent being a man of the Davidic line from Bethlehem Ephrata (Ruth iv, 11).

Next in order comes Zephaniah, who may be placed about 620 B.C. He predicts a "Day of Wrath," "the Great Day of the Lord," when Yahweh will execute judgment upon all his enemies. The Gentiles will be destroyed (iii, 8), Yahweh will dwell in Zion as King of Israel (iii, 15), and his people will enjoy peace and prosperity. Zephaniah is the first to announce the utter destruction of the Gentiles ; but some of the later prophets are more merciful, and allow them to continue to exist as converts or as tributaries.

The Book of Isaiah is now recognized to be a composite work of various dates. The pre-exilic portions do not appear to allude to any sovereignty of Yahweh. Neither does Jeremiah. Ezekiel, however, proclaims that Yahweh will set up his throne in Jerusalem (xliii, 7). There will be a "prince" (xlv, 7-25 ; xlvi, 1-18), though he will be a figure of little importance in the state.

Chapters xl to lxvi of Isaiah are now admitted to be the composition of a poet who lived in the time of Cyrus (xliv, 27 ; xlv, 1), and who is generally distinguished as the "Deutero-Isaiah."

His theme is the restoration of the Jews to Palestine under the Kingship of Yahweh. "I am Yahweh, your Holy One, the creator of Israel, your King" (xliii, 15). "Thus saith Yahweh, the King of Israel" (xliv, 6). The Jews are to return from all parts of the earth to their country of Palestine, where the wealth of the Gentiles is to be poured upon them (lx, 6-11), and those nations which do not submit are to be utterly destroyed (lx, 12). Chapters xxiv to xxvii are probably later than the Deutero-Isaiah, but they carry on the same idea. "The Lord of Hosts shall reign in Mount Zion and in Jerusalem" (xxiv, 23).

Zechariah is also a composite work, the first eight chapters belonging to the reign of Darius (about 518 B.C.), while chapters nine to fourteen are later than Alexander. The first part of Zechariah (viii, 3) agrees with Ezekiel that Yahweh will dwell in Jerusalem.

The date of Obadiah is uncertain, but as it mentions Sepharad (verse 20) it cannot be earlier than the Persian period, since Asia Minor was no part of the Assyrian or Babylonian empires.¹ Verse 21 says: "The Kingdom shall be the Lord's."

The second portion of Zechariah belongs to the Greek period (ix, 13), and is noteworthy for its definite picture of the predicted future. According to the fourteenth chapter, all the nations of the

¹ *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, by the Rev. A. H. Sayce (London; 1894), p. 483.

Gentiles will assemble against Jerusalem, and will capture half the city. At that moment Yahweh will descend upon the Mount of Olives, which will be split in twain, and the Jews will escape through the cleft. The enemy will be smitten with plague, and the Jews will return, and gather together all the spoils, "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth" (v, 9). The remnant of the Gentiles will go up to Jerusalem every year "to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts" (v, 18). Rain will not fall upon those countries which do not make the pilgrimage; and, as Egypt does not depend upon rain, that country will be smitten with plague.

Joel (about 300 B.C.) announces the great and terrible day of the Lord. The sun will be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood. All the Gentiles will be assembled in the Valley of Jehoshaphat (iii, 12) or the Valley of ha-Kharus (iii, 14), where they will all be condemned; and Yahweh will dwell in Jerusalem, which will become a holy city, no longer to be trodden by the Gentile and the stranger (iii, 17). Jehoshaphat means "Yahweh will judge," and Kharus means "Judgment" or "Decision," so that the two valleys are evidently intended to be one and the same. There is nothing to show that the prophet had any particular valley in mind; but it has long been the fashion to find a local habitation and a name for every place mentioned in the Bible, and therefore the title of Jehoshaphat has been conferred upon a nullah, or ravine, between the Mount of Olives

and the city of Jerusalem, though this would furnish but a limited standing-ground for the armies of the Gentiles. In the *Encyclopædia Biblica*, Dr. T. K. Cheyne discusses the various identifications of the Valley of Jehoshaphat which have been made since the fourth century, and adds : "Against all this, and much more of the same kind, we may put the statement of *Midrash Tillim*, 'a valley called Jehoshaphat does not exist' (*Neub. Geogr.* 51)." This admission from the Talmud ought, therefore, to be sufficient.

The contribution made by Joel to the Messianic theory is that he insists upon the Day of the Lord as being a Day of Judgment ; and this conception of a Judgment impressed the imagination of succeeding writers, until at length it became the leading feature of their dreams of the coming future.

Thus in studying the Old Testament chronologically we see that, century after century, the Hebrew prophets predicted the speedy establishment of a theocracy, with the Jewish God as the acknowledged ruler of the world. When this hope did not materialize they were in no wise abashed. They either made fresh prophecies or reinterpreted the old predictions. Jeremiah promised that after seventy years Israel should be restored to its own land, and there enjoy the blessings of the Kingdom of God, under a dynasty of the family of David (xxiii, 5, 6 ; xxiv, 5, 6 ; xxv, 11 ; xxix, 10). Haggai and Zechariah (i, 12) recognized that this prophecy had not been fulfilled, though the seventy

years had passed, and they held forth the hope that Yahweh was only awaiting the completion of the Temple to inaugurate his kingdom by overthrowing the Gentiles and raising Zerubabel to the Davidic throne. The Temple was completed, and yet the theocracy was not established. Therefore a fresh interpretation of the ancient prophecy was made by Daniel, who asserted that the seventy years of Jeremiah had been extended by divine decree to seventy weeks of years—i.e., 490 (ix, 24). Sixty-nine of these weeks had already passed at the time of the murder of Onias, and the succeeding seven years would see a period of tribulation, which would be followed by the consummation of the age and the Kingdom of God.

It might be admitted that Judæa was an insignificant country, but the student of history could not help remarking how nations of little account had rapidly risen into power and dominated the world. Babylon, a weak province of the Assyrian Empire, had temporarily become the mistress of the earth. Then the Medes appeared suddenly from the Cimmerian darkness, only to be succeeded by the equally obscure Persians, who quickly overran the world. Lastly, the despicable Macedonians arose from the fringe of the Greek states. The contempt of the true Greeks for these upstarts may be read in the Phillipics of Demosthenes. "Philip! who is not only no Hellene, or in any way connected with Hellenes, but not even a barbarian from a creditable country! He is a worthless fellow from Macedon, whence in olden times it was impos-

sible to get even a decent slave!" If these Medes and Macedonians could achieve the conquest of the earth, there was no reason why the little land of Judæa should not play a similar part in the universe, more especially as Judæa was under the especial care of Yahweh; and with God all things are possible. At any rate, that was how matters appeared to the enthusiast who wrote the Book of Daniel.

In the second chapter Nebuchadnezzar sees a vision of the history of the world in the form of a figure composed of four metals. These are interpreted as the four empires which will successively rule the world. First the Babylonian, then the Median, then the Persian, and, lastly, the Greek. Finally, a stone falls from the mountain on to the image and smashes it to powder, and the stone grows and grows until it fills the whole earth, for this stone is the Kingdom of God. "In the days of these kings shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but shall break in pieces and consume all those kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever."

In the seventh chapter the four empires appear once more. The prophet surveys the troubled ocean of human destiny, and sees arise first a lion, then a bear, then a leopard, and then a fourth beast more terrible than they. After the appearance of this fourth beast a judgment is held, and "one who is Ancient of Days" pronounces condemnation. Then there is a fifth manifestation.

This is no longer in the form of a beast, but in that of a man: "like unto a son of man." He does not arise from the sea, but comes with the clouds of heaven, "and there was given him a dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him. His dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that shall not be destroyed." It is especially to be noted that this figure "like unto a son of man" is a symbol, just as the four beasts are symbols. In the Semitic languages "son of man" is merely a poetic synonym for "man"; and we are expressly told that this man represents the fifth empire which is to appear upon the earth, "and the saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever." We are told in vii, 26-27 that the judgment shall sit, and then "the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High, whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." Therefore the stone of Nebuchadnezzar's vision exactly parallels the "son of man" of Daniel's revelation, and they both symbolize the "kingdom of the Most High." It will be well to bear this in mind, because the phrase "son of man" was destined to develop in a manner that was certainly not anticipated by the writer of the Book of Daniel.

We have already observed that the history

indicated in Daniel does not exactly correspond with the system usually adopted by historians. From the apocalyptic point of view this is an advantage, because it allows of great license in interpretation. Daniel speaks of a King of Babylon (i, 1), of Darius the Median (v, 31), Cyrus the Persian (vi, 28), and the King of Grecia (viii, 22). There is thus every probability, not to say certainty, that the four heathen empires seen in his visions were the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian. The latter is to produce ten kings (vii, 24), who are to be followed by an eleventh, shown by the context to be Antiochus Epiphanes. According to the list of Seleucid Kings of Syria accepted by historians (see Appendix C), Antiochus Epiphanes was the eighth monarch of the line. Daniel, however, is speaking of the sovereigns of the Greek Empire, the first of whom was, of course, Alexander the Great. On the death of Alexander his posthumous son, Alexander Ægus, was proclaimed king. As a result of dynastic quarrels Ægus was murdered in 311 B.C., and Antigonus seized the leadership, which he maintained until his death at the battle of Ipsus in 301 B.C. Reckoning these three, Antiochus Epiphanes was the eleventh Grecian king, from the point of view of an author like Daniel. In vii, 8, 24, three of the kings are to be cast down before Antiochus. What this means it is difficult to say, and the different theories will be found discussed in Dr. Driver's little work. In any event, the hopes raised by the Book of Daniel were destined

to be disappointed. Daniel predicted that after the signal overthrow of Epiphanes the reign of God would commence on the earth. Antiochus was dead, but there was no sign of the theocracy. In fact, other kings continued his line until 65 B.C., when Pompey came from Italy and annexed Syria to the Roman Empire.

As, therefore, the predictions of Daniel had not been fulfilled, they had to be represented as still in the future, and fresh interpretations of them had to be invented. One of these later interpretations was delivered in the apocalyptic work called II Esdras. Salathiel of Babylon sees a vision of an eagle, which passes through sundry metamorphoses, and finally disappears at the roar of the Lion of Judah. On inquiring the meaning of all this, Salathiel is informed (xii, 11-39) that "the eagle whom thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel; but it was not expounded unto him as I now expound it unto thee." The exposition is again couched in veiled language; but it is to the effect that the fourth kingdom of Daniel is the Roman Empire. Twelve Cæsars are to appear, ending with the Emperor Domitian, whose overthrow by the Messiah will be immediately followed by the Day of Judgment and the end of the world.

On this view the four empires of Daniel are (1) the Babylonian, (2) the Medo-Persian, (3) the Greek, and (4) the Roman—an idea which has since been very general among the interpreters of the

Book ; although the prophecy has again remained unfulfilled, for the Roman Empire has disappeared and the Kingdom of God has not eventuated.

Interpreters of Daniel have been much exercised over his dates, for he was not content to foretell the revolutions of the world ; he also professes to give dates for the fulfilment of his prophecies. We meet with "time, times and a half" (vii, 25) (xii, 8), 1,150 days (2,300 evenings and mornings) (viii, 14), 1,290 days (xii, 11), 1,335 days (xii, 12), and seventy weeks (ix, 24). All these appear to be ideal calculations. We shall have to consider the seventy weeks more particularly when we come to discuss the subject of the Messiah. For the moment it is only necessary to remark that Jeremiah in the first year of Nebuchadrezzar (605 B.C.) announced that the punishment of Judah would endure for seventy years. Daniel expanded this into seventy weeks of years—i.e., 490. Therefore, according to our reckoning, the penitential period would expire in 115 B.C. We do not know what kind of chronology was followed by Daniel or his early interpreters, or what date the fashionable expounders took for their *terminus a quo*.

On any view, it is pretty certain that at the beginning of the Christian Era it was well known that more than 490 years had elapsed since the overthrow of the Jewish State by Nebuchadrezzar. Josephus (*Wars*, vi, iv, 8) reckons 639 years, 45 days, from the building of the second temple by Haggai to its destruction by Titus in 70 A.D. Modern

chronologists do not agree with him ; but at any rate he was stating the opinion of the educated Jews of his time. It was also obvious to the students of prophecy that the Greek domination had passed away ; yet, instead of the promised Reign of God, a new temporal power had arisen on the earth—namely, the Roman Empire. It was therefore an easy transition to see in this the fourth, or last, of the heathen powers predicted by Daniel ; and the writer of II Esdras was probably not the first to adopt that view. According to this new interpretation of prophecy, Daniel's periods had run out ; the last manifestation of heathen might had appeared, and the hour was ripe for the long-promised theocracy. Thus we are prepared for the cry that commences the Gospel : " The time is fulfilled ! The Kingdom of God is at hand ! "

The Gospels are full of allusions to the imminence of the theocracy. In Luke (xvii, 21) the Pharisees are told that " the Kingdom of God is within you " ; or, as the margin has it, " in the midst of you," for it is quite certain that Jesus did not mean to convey that it was in the bosoms of the doubters of his mission. According to Luke (xix, 11), the disciples thought the Kingdom was immediately to appear. Mark (ix, 1) announces that in the lifetime of the bystanders they should see the commencement of the Kingdom of God ; or, as Matthew (xvi, 28) expresses it, " the Son of Man coming in his kingdom."

CHAPTER IV

THE SON OF MAN

IN occidental languages the words "son" and "father" are used almost exclusively in their natural significance. In the Semitic tongues, on the other hand, they occur in connections which can only be characterized as poetic. An instance of this tendency is to be found in the phrase "son of man," which is met with something like a hundred times in the Hebrew Bible, and is simply a synonym for "man." The parallelism of Hebrew poetry exhibits this fact quite clearly, thus:—

Ps. viii, 4 :

What is man that thou are mindful of him?
Or the son of man that thou visitest him?

Num. xxiii, 19 :

God is not a man that he should lie,
Neither a son of man that he should repent.

Job xxv, 6 :

How much less man that is a worm :
And the son of man which is a worm.

Ps. lxxx, 17 :

Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right
hand ;

Upon the son of man whom thou madest
strong for thyself.

Is. li, 12 :

Who art thou that thou art afraid of man that shall die ; and of the son of man which shall be made as grass ?

In Daniel viii, 17, the prophet himself is addressed as "Son of Man," and Ezekiel is regularly called by the same title. Thus it is perfectly clear that, as far as the Old Testament is concerned, "son of man" means nothing more than "man," and is not to be distinguished from it. When, therefore, we read in the Book of Daniel (vii, 13), "Behold there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man," the author can only have meant to say that there appeared in the sky a personage in human form. Furthermore, it is evident from the context that this personage had no individuality, but was merely a symbol. According to the vision, four great beasts come up from the sea. These four are not actual animals which really appear on the earth, but the symbols of four heathen empires. In like manner the "son of man" is not an actual man, but the symbol of a new and different empire, the Kingdom of God. It is important to note that this son of man does not hold a judgment, but appears after the sentence has been pronounced. Dan. vii, 9-12, describes a great assize presided over by "one that was ancient of days," and (vii, 13, 14) announces the coming of the Kingdom that shall never be destroyed. All this should be perfectly clear from a careful perusal of the seventh chapter of Daniel, yet the whole chapter is often misunderstood and misinterpreted.

The reason of this is that the symbolism is confused with ideas drawn from an entirely different Jewish work of later date called the Book of Enoch. In Enoch we again meet with a "Son of Man"; but this time he is an entirely different personage. He is no longer a mere symbol, but is a supernatural being, created before the sun or the stars, and standing by the side of the deity, who has given him all wisdom and authority. This Son of Man in the Book of Enoch will ascend his throne on the Last Day; the dead will arise from their graves; and the fallen angels will be ejected from Hell. A general judgment will be held. All sinners will be destroyed, and the rebellious angels confined for ever. There will be a new heaven and a new earth; the justified will be clad in garments of glory, and live in eternal felicity under the gracious rule of the Son of Man.

It need hardly be added that this is the general picture in the minds of the writers of the New Testament. They did not derive these ideas from the books of the Old Testament, but from the apocalyptic Book of Enoch. By a strange caprice of fate this important work disappeared from the knowledge of Christendom for over a thousand years, and it was only rediscovered in the eighteenth century, when copies in the Ethiopic language were brought to Europe from Abyssinia. It is of composite authorship, like others of the apocalyptic series; and the portion which concerns us more particularly is the section styled "the Similitudes," or Parables, from the words of

xxxvii, 5: "Now three parables were imparted to me, and I lifted up my voice and recounted them to those that dwell on the earth" (these three relate—1, to the coming judgment of the wicked; 2, the new heaven and earth; and 3, the blessedness of the saints). According to Dr. Charles, Professor Dillman, and other scholars, this particular section was composed between 95 B.C. and 64 B.C.—that is to say, about a century after the Book of Daniel. The ideas of Daniel have been strangely transmuted, and the Son of Man has assumed the features that were afterwards associated with the Messiah. Thus we can understand why Jesus of Nazareth was made to speak of himself as the Son of Man, while his disciples referred to him as the Messiah. The two titles meant one and the same thing; and, owing to the ambiguity of the phrase "Son of Man," which we have seen merely expresses "man" in the Semitic languages, some people preferred the title "Messiah," the primary significance of which was "anointed king"; one of the functions of the Son of Man in Enoch being to reign as king in the coming Kingdom of God.

The Similitudes of Enoch have their own peculiar phraseology. The deity is usually mentioned under the title of "the Lord of Spirits," as in 2 Macc. iii, 24, derived from Numbers xvi, 22, and xxvii, 16, "the God of the spirits of all flesh." He is also styled "the Head of Days" in imitation of Daniel's "Ancient of Days." The Son of Man is, among other titles, addressed as "the anointed"

—i.e., the Messiah. Thus xlvi, 10: "They have denied the Lord of Spirits and his Anointed"; lii, 1: "All these things shall serve the dominion of his Anointed." Thus the Anointed is no longer a king or priest, as in the Hebrew Bible, but a supernatural being, who is also described as "the Righteous One," as in Acts iii, 14; vii, 52; xxii, 14; and the "Elect One," as in Luke ix, 35; xxiii, 25, "because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him." (Compare Isaiah xlii, 1: "My chosen in whom my soul delighteth.")

But the most constant title of the supernatural being in Enoch is "the Son of Man." Although this meant no more than "man" in the Semitic languages, it could, of course, be made emphatic by the definite article, just as we can say "*the* Man" when the idea of some specially important individual is to be expressed, as in the phrase "the Hour and the Man." Owing to grammatical limitations, the Ethiopic has "that Son of Man" which Dr. Charles clearly demonstrates to represent the Greek *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*, the Ethiopic having no definite article. This *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου* "Son of Man" is the Messianic title that meets us so frequently in the Gospels.

The character of this important work, the Book of Enoch, can be better judged by quotations than description, and we therefore append the following extracts, which will indicate the general style:—

xxxviii, 1 :

The First Parable.

When the congregation of the righteous shall
appear,

And sinners shall be judged for their sins,

And shall be driven from the face of the earth :

And when the Righteous One shall appear before
the eyes of the righteous,

Whose elect works depend upon the Lord of Spirits,

And light shall appear to the righteous and the
elect who dwell on the earth :

Where, then, will be the dwelling of the sinners,

And where the resting-place of those who have
denied the Lord of Spirits ?

It had been good for them if they had not been
born.

.

xlv, 1 :

And this is the Second Parable concerning those
who deny the name of the dwelling of the holy
ones, and the Lord of Spirits.

And unto the heaven they shall not ascend,

And on the earth they shall not come :

Such shall be the lot of the sinners

Who have denied the name of the Lord of Spirits,

Who are thus preserved for the day of suffering and
tribulation.

On that day mine Elect One shall sit on the throne
of glory

And shall try their works,

And their places of rest shall be innumerable.

And their souls shall grow strong within them
when they see mine elect ones,
And those who have called upon my glorious name:
Then will I cause mine Elect One to dwell among
them.

xlvi, 1:

And there I saw One who had a Head of Days,
And his head was white, like wool,
And with him was another being whose countenance
had the appearance of a man,
And his face was full of graciousness like one of
the holy angels.

And I asked the angel who went with me and
showed me all the hidden things, concerning
that Son of Man, who he was, and whence he
was, and why he went with the Head of Days.
And he answered and said unto me :

This is the Son of Man, who hath righteousness,
With whom dwelleth righteousness,
And who revealeth all the treasures of that which
is hidden,

Because the Lord of Spirits hath chosen him,
And whose lot hath the pre-eminence before the
Lord of Spirits in uprightness for ever.

And this Son of Man whom thou hast seen
Shall raise up the kings and the mighty from their
seats,

And the strong from their thrones ;
And shall loosen the reins of the strong,
And break the teeth of the sinners.

And he shall put down the kings from their thrones
and kingdoms
Because they do not extol and praise him.

xlvi, 3 :

In those days I saw the Head of Days when he
seated himself upon the throne of his glory,
And the books of the living were opened before him :
And all his host which is in heaven above, and his
counsellors, stood before him.

And the hearts of the holy were filled with joy ;
Because the number of the righteous had been
offered,

And the prayer of the righteous had been heard,
And the blood of the righteous been required before
the Lord of Spirits.

And in that place I saw the fountain of righteous-
ness

Which was inexhaustible :

And around it were many fountains of wisdom :

And all the thirsty drank of them,

And were filled with wisdom,

And their dwellings were with the righteous, and
holy, and elect.

And at that hour that Son of Man was named

In the presence of the Lord of Spirits,

And his name before the Head of Days.

Yea, before the sun and the signs were created,

Before the stars of heaven were made,

His name was named before the Lord of Spirits.

He shall be the staff to the righteous whereon to
 stay themselves, and not fall,
 And he shall be the light of the Gentiles,
 And the hope of those who are troubled of heart.
 For in his name they are saved,
 And according to his good pleasure hath it been in
 regard to their life.
 In these days downcast in countenance shall the
 kings of the earth have become,
 And the strong who possess the land because of
 the works of their hands,
 And on the day of their anguish and affliction they
 shall not be able to save themselves.
 And there shall be no one to take them with his
 hands and raise them :
 For they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His
 Anointed.
 The name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed.

li, 1 :

And in those days shall the earth also give back
 that which has been entrusted to it,
 And Sheol also shall give back that which it has
 received,
 And Hell shall give back that which it owes.
 For in those days the Elect One shall arise,
 And he shall choose the righteous and holy from
 among them :
 For the day has drawn nigh that they should be
 saved.

And the Elect One shall in those days sit on his throne,
And his mouth shall pour forth all the secrets of wisdom and counsel :
For the Lord of Spirits hath given them to him, and hath glorified him.
And in those days shall the mountains leap like rams,
And the hills also shall skip like lambs satisfied with milk,
And the faces of all the angels in heaven shall be lighted up with joy ;
And the earth shall rejoice,
And the righteous shall dwell upon it,
And the elect shall walk thereon.

.

lii, 1 :

And after those days in that place where I had seen the visions of that which is hidden—for I had been carried off in a whirlwind and they had borne me towards the West—There mine eyes saw all the secret things of heaven that shall be, a mountain of iron, and a mountain of copper, and a mountain of silver, and a mountain of gold, and a mountain of soft metal, and a mountain of lead. And I asked the angel who went with me, saying : “ What things are these which I have seen in secret ? ” And he said unto me : “ All these things which thou hast seen shall serve the dominion of

His Anointed, that he may be potent and mighty on the earth."

liii, 6:

And after this, the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of his congregation to appear: henceforth they shall be no more slandered in the name of the Lord of Spirits.

lxii, 1:

And thus the Lord commanded the kings and the mighty, and those who dwell on the earth, and said: "Open your eyes and lift up your horns if ye are able to recognize the Elect One." And the Lord of Spirits seated him on the throne of his glory,
 And the spirit of righteousness was poured out upon him,
 And the word of his mouth slays all the sinners,
 And all the unrighteous are destroyed from before his face.
 And there shall stand up in that day all the kings and the mighty,
 And the exalted, and those who hold the earth,
 And they shall see and recognize
 How he sits on the throne of his glory,
 And righteousness is judged before him,
 And no lying word is spoken before him.

Then shall pain come upon them as upon a woman
in travail,
And she has pain in bringing forth,
And one portion of them shall look on the other,
And they shall be terrified,
And they shall be downcast of countenance,
And pain shall seize them,
When they see the Son of Man
Sitting on the throne of his glory ;
And the kings and the mighty and all who possess
the earth shall bless and glorify and extol him
Who rules over all that was hidden.
For from the beginning the Son of Man was
hidden,
And the Most High preserved him in the presence
of his might,
And revealed him to the elect.
And the congregation of the elect and holy shall
be sown,
And all the elect shall stand before him on that day.
And all the kings and the mighty and the exalted
and those who rule the earth
Shall fall down before him on their faces,
And shall worship and set their hope upon that
Son of Man,
And petition him and supplicate for mercy at his
hands.
Nevertheless that Lord of Spirits will so press
them
That they shall hastily go forth from his presence,
And their faces shall be filled with shame,
And the darkness grow deeper on their faces.

And he will deliver them to the angels for punishment,
To execute vengeance on them because they have
pressed his children and his elect ;
And they shall be a spectacle for the righteous and
for his elect :
They shall rejoice over them,
Because the wrath of the Lord of Spirits resteth
upon them,
And his sword is drunk with their blood.
And the righteous and the elect shall be saved on
that day,
And they shall never thenceforward see the faces
of the sinners and unrighteous.
And the Lord of Spirits will abide over them,
And with that Son of Man shall they eat,
And lie down and rise up for ever and ever.
And the righteous and elect shall have risen from
the earth,
And ceased to be of downcast countenance.
And they shall have been clothed with garments of
glory,
And these shall be the garments of life from the
Lord of Spirits.
And your garments shall not grow old,
Nor your glory pass away before the Lord of
Spirits.

(The angels in heaven then ask the Archangel
Michael to reveal to them the name of the Son of
Man.)

lxix, 26:

And there was great joy amongst them,
And they blessed and glorified and extolled,
Because the name of the Son of Man had been
revealed unto them.

And he sat on the throne of his glory,
And the sum of judgment was given unto the Son
of Man,

And he caused the sinners to pass away and be
destroyed from off the face of the earth,

And those who have led the world astray.

With chains shall they be bound,

And in their assembly-place of destruction shall
they be imprisoned,

And all their works vanish from the face of the
earth.

And from henceforth there shall be nothing
corruptible:

For that Son of Man has appeared,

And has seated himself on the throne of his glory,

And all evil shall pass away before his face,

And the word of that Son of Man shall go forth

And be strong before the Lord of Spirits.

CHAPTER V

THE SON OF DAVID

IN the Semitic languages the word "son" is employed in connections that appear to us to be strange and unnatural. Thus, in II Kings xvi, 7, Ahaz sends to the king of Assyria, saying: "I am thy servant and thy son." To our ideas this is blank nonsense, because Ahaz could not constitute himself the son of anybody but his natural father. The Semitic idiom is merely intended to imply that the Hebrew monarch had become subordinate to the Assyrian, as a son is subject to his father.

In a similar fashion, when the Semitic tongue wishes to say that a man is characterized by an abstract quality, he is described as the son of that quality; though this is so foreign to the genius of our language that translators are obliged in many cases to put the word "son" in the margin; thus, "son of wickedness," Ps. lxxxix, 22; "son of valour," II Chron. xxviii, 6 (A.V.); and "sons of affliction," Prov. xxxi, 5. A man condemned to die is a "son of death," 1 Sam. xxvi, 16.

The same expression is used for things that can have no filial relationship. Thus arrows are "sons of the quiver," Lam. iii, 12, 13; or "sons of the bow," Job xli, 28. Sparks are called "sons of the

burning coal," Job v, 7; and even threshed grain is styled "the son of the threshing-floor," Is. xxi, 10. The well-known "Lucifer son of the morning," Is. xiv, 12, has become "O daystar, son of the morning" in the Revised Version; and, whatever translation be adopted, all that the sentence really means is that the star appears in the sky at the hour of dawn.

Another peculiarity of the Semitic languages is that an individual is frequently called the son of the species or class to which he belongs. Thus we have "son of a murderer," 2 Kings vi, 32, applied to a man who is sent to take off Elisha's head; and the better known "son of man," which means simply "man." The idiom is of wider application still. In Ps. lxxxii, 1-6, we read:—

God standeth in the congregation of God:
 He standeth among the Gods.....
 I said ye are Gods,
 And all of you Sons of the Most High.

Thus, deities are "sons of God." In other passages the "sons of God" are the angels; see Ps. xxix, 1; lxxxix, 6 (R.V. margin); Job i, 6; ii, 1; xxxviii, 7. In Dan. iii, 25, Nebuchadnezzar sees the three children in the flames with a fourth, "and the aspect of the fourth is like a son of the Gods"; this personage being explained in verse 28 as an "angel" sent by God. The same idea is found in the New Testament, Luke xx, 36: "They are equal to the angels, and are sons of God, being sons of the resurrection." But not merely can

deities and angels be sons of God ; sovereigns can also receive the same title.

Ps. ii, 6, 7 :

I have set my king
Upon my holy hill of Zion.
The Lord said unto me, Thou art my son,
This day have I begotten thee.

Likewise in 2 Sam. vii, 13, 14 : " Thus saith the Lord.....I will establish the throne of his kingdom for ever. I will be his father, and he will be my son." Furthermore, the personified nation can be styled the son of God : Hosea xi, 1, " When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt "; Exod. iv, 22, 23, " Israel is my son : my firstborn."

On the other hand, in all languages and in all faiths God is entitled the Father of man ; and therefore every human being is a son of God : Ps. lxxiii, 15 ; Prov. xiv, 26 ; Deut. xiv, 1, " Ye are the children of the Lord your God." In the New Testament this doctrine of the fatherhood of God is accorded a prominent place : Matt. v, 44, 45, " Love your enemies.....that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven "; not to mention that the prayer which Jesus taught his disciples commences " Our Father." Paul says to the Galatians, iii, 26 : " Ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus." Yet, although all believers are thus sons of God, we find the term used in the New Testament as one of the Messianic titles : Matt. xxvi, 63, " Tell us whether thou be the

Christ: the Son of God!" This is the more remarkable because none of our apocalyptic sources employ the term in this way. The phrase, however, led to an extraordinary development. In Mark i, 11, the divine adoption appears to take place at the Baptism, when a voice comes out of heaven, "thou art my beloved son, in thee I am well pleased." John i, 29-34 seems of the same opinion; but Matthew and Luke relate stories of a miraculous birth, by which Jesus of Nazareth was the offspring of the deity from the first; and Luke i, 30-35, makes the angel announce to Mary, "thou shalt bring forth a son, and shall call his name Jesus. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Most High, and the Lord God shall give him the throne of his father David; and he shall reign over the House of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.....The holy thing which is to be born shall be called the Son of God" (R.V. margin).

Thus Jesus is to occupy the throne of his father, David; and, accordingly, elaborate genealogies (which do not agree) were devised to show his descent from that monarch. Yet, according to Mark xi, 10, the pilgrim crowd cried, "blessed is the kingdom that cometh: the kingdom of our father David"; although it is fairly certain that no one in that crowd could have produced any evidence of his being a real descendant of the son of Jesse. We have already seen that in the Semitic idioms the word "son" must not be pressed too closely. The dynasty of David occupied the throne of Judah

five hundred years. There is nothing remarkable about that. The line of Hugh Capet ruled France from 987 to 1793; but five hundred years was quite a respectable period; and therefore it is not to be wondered at that "David" and "son of David" became synonyms for king of Judah. Hos. iii, 5, says that the Israelites are to remain leaderless for a time, and then will "seek the Lord their God, and David their king." Ezek. xxxvii, 21, 24, "Behold I will take the children of Israel from among the nations.....and my servant David shall be king over them." We have seen in our Chapter III that most of the Hebrew prophets looked forward to a "Kingdom of God," when Yahweh should reign as monarch over all the earth. In the earlier prophetic books provision is made for a descendant, or representative, of David to rule as sub-king in Jerusalem; but in the later prophets this Davidic monarch tends to fade, and Yahweh alone exercises sovereign powers. To the pious mind this idea eventually seemed presumptuous; and we have the further development in the Book of Enoch, where the Lord of Spirits delegates his authority to the Son of Man, who occupies the throne and reigns over the righteous in paradise. Thus the Son of Man as an "Anointed" king = "Messiah"; and as king of Israel he was *de facto* "Son of David." Nathanael says (John i, 49), "Rabbi! thou art the Son of God: thou art king of Israel"; and, according to Mark xii, 35, the scribes assert that "the Christ is the son of David." In the Gospels it is represented that this

Messianic claim to the kingship was the accusation made against Jesus of Nazareth (Luke xxiii, 2), "saying that he himself is Christ, a king."

The inscription on the cross was "the king of the Jews" (Mark xv, 26), and the Christian converts were accused of "saying that there is another king, one Jesus" (Acts xvii, 7). Contemporaneously, or, rather, more than a generation earlier than the New Testament, we find these ideas of Messianic sovereignty in the Psalms of Solomon, a series of poetical pieces written about 46 B.C. during the ferment caused by the Roman invasion, and the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey.

xvii, 23:

Behold O Lord, and raise up unto them their king,
 a son of David,
 At the time in the which thou seest O God that
 he may reign over Israel thy servant,
 And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations
 that trample her down to destruction.

xvii, 36:

And there shall be no unrighteousness in his days
 in their midst.
 For all shall be holy, and their king the anointed
 lord.¹

xviii, 4:

Thy chastisement is upon us as upon a firstborn
 only begotten son,

¹ The present reading of the Greek is *χριστὸς κύριος*, "anointed lord"; but Dr. Charles and the other editors contend very justly that this is a corruption of *χριστὸς κυρίου*, "the Lord's anointed."

To turn back the obedient soul from folly that is wrought in ignorance.

May God cleanse Israel against the day of mercy and blessing :

Against the day of joy, when he bringeth back his Anointed.

Blessed shall they be that shall be in those days ;
In that they shall see the goodness of the Lord
which he shall perform for the generation that is to come.

xviii, 8 :

Under the rod of chastening of the Lord's anointed
in the fear of his God.

Thus we see, in these Psalms written about half a century before the Christian Era, a yearning for a king. As a king this monarch is a son of David, and, like all Jewish kings, he is "an anointed one"—Χριστὸς or Messiah.

CHAPTER VI

THE MESSIAH

THE word "Christ" comes to us from the Greek, *Christos*, *Χριστός* an adjective meaning "anointed." *ὁ Χριστός*=the Christ=the anointed one, is a rendering of the late Hebrew *הַמְשִׁיחַ*, *ha-Mashiakh*. The reader does not need to be reminded that the word "anoint" means to spread, or pour, oil or unguent upon a person or thing: what really demands explanation is why any special importance should be attached to any person from the mere fact of his having been so "anointed."

In hot countries it is customary to smear the skin with oil or fat as a protection against the sun and against insects. The African negro usually employs raw animal fat, and as this speedily becomes rancid in the sun the effect can be imagined. The personal aroma of the African is offensive to most European noses, and in the Southern States of the American Union niggers are segregated in special tram-cars and railway carriages in consequence. When, therefore, the natural perfume of the negro is reinforced by the odour of decayed grease the result is simply appalling. The female sex is especially addicted to the practice, and even the stench of putrid fat is not pungent enough for the untutored savage, and it has to be heightened

in various ways. The Suaheli women smear themselves with the strongest unguents to increase their attractiveness, and in Dahomey the bride on her wedding day is rubbed over with rotten grease and civet! Thus, in the graphic words of the poet :—

Before you see, you smell your toast,
And sweetest she that stinks the most.

Religious scruples prevent the employment of animal fats in southern Asia, and vegetable oils are substituted. Even these are not entirely agreeable to the occidental visitor, whose first sensation is the strange new odours that pervade the air, and arise long afterwards in his memory whenever the Orient is mentioned.

If you've 'eard the Heast a-callin'
Then you won't 'eed nothin' elze
But them spicy garlic smells
On the road to Mandalay.

The oils and greases for toilet purposes are scented in various ways to recommend them to native taste, and also to accord with sundry religious notions, for the Hindu is ceremonially anointed on every possible occasion, from his birth to his death, and at the last scene of all, when his lifeless body is committed to the flames. To coat the skin with oil is the daily practice of the just and the unjust, for the wily oriental has found it useful in his nefarious trade. The Hindu thief smothers himself thickly with oil to avoid arrest. His greasy limbs slip easily through the constable's hands, and it is almost impossible to catch and

hold him. He is as elusive as Proteus in the grasp of Menelaus, and is, in every sense of the word, "a slippery customer."

Like the modern peoples of the East, the Greeks and Romans, and the Ancient Egyptians, made great use of anointing oil, both raw and perfumed.

We can scarcely realize the importance of oil in Ancient Egypt. Oil was a necessary of daily life, and the hungry unpaid workmen complain in the same breath that no food is given them to eat, and that no oil is given to them. These workmen had probably to be contented with native fat; but the soldiers demanded imported oil. People of rank always obtained their oil and perfumes from foreign countries, in preference from the south coasts of the Red Sea, which supplied the precious *Qemi*, the ointment so often mentioned, and so often represented, which was used under the New Empire for oiling the head.....Oil in Egypt was also symbolic: it was an emblem of joy. On festival days, when the king's procession passed, all the people poured sweet oil on their heads. At all feasts cakes of ointment were quite as necessary as wreaths; and if the king wished specially to honour one of his courtiers, he ordered his servants to anoint him with *Qemi*, and put beautiful apparel and ornaments upon him.¹

Similarly, the Ancient Hebrews were in the habit of rubbing themselves with olive oil. It was usual

¹ *Life in Ancient Egypt*, described by Adolf Erman (London; 1894), p. 230.

to do this after bathing (Ruth iii, 3; II Sam. xii, 20) except in cases of mourning (II Sam. xiv, 2; Dan. x, 3), and this practice of anointing, as part of the personal toilet, was called in the Hebrew language **סוך**, *sook*.

In addition there was a ceremonial practice. A king was inaugurated into his office by solemnly pouring oil or ointment upon his head as a sign of his consecration to the royal dignity. This rite was so ancient and so significant that it had received a special name. Instead of being called **סוך**, *sook*, it was styled **משח**, *mashakh*, an entirely different word. This ceremony of anointing a king was not confined to the Hebrews, and it did not originate with them, for we can trace it back in Syria to 1500 B.C.—that is to say, some centuries before a single line of the Old Testament was written. In one of the Tell-el-Amarna letters, Ramman-nirari, king of Nuhassi, a district near Aleppo, says that the Egyptian monarch Thothmes III “my grandfather in Nuhassi established over the kingdom, and poured upon his head oil.”¹

The connection between sovereignty and ointment was so complete in the Hebrew mind that the ordinary Old Testament phrase for setting up a monarch was “anointing a king,” even in cases where the ceremony appears to us to be ludicrous, as in Judges ix, 8, where Jotham relates how “the trees went forth on a time to anoint a king over

¹ *The Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, by Hugo Winckler (London; 1896), p. 99, tablet 37, lines 5 and 6.

them." The sovereign is frequently spoken of as "the Lord's anointed," "my anointed," "thy anointed," "his anointed"; and even a foreign king is accorded the same title (Is. xlv, 1), "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus"; because Cyrus was a recognized monarch.

Throughout the pre-exilic period the title "anointed" is confined to the royal dignity; but after the Exile, when there was no longer any king in Israel, the priesthood usurped the prerogative, and, among other things, took over the rite of anointing. The original Hebrew phrase for appointing a priest was "to fill his hand," מָלָא מַלְאָתוֹ, *malo eth-yado* (Judges xvii, 5), and this filling of the hand was all that was necessary; but the Priestly Code¹ prescribes that the High Priests shall, in addition, be anointed, "and their anointing shall be to them for an everlasting priesthood" (Exod. xl, 15). The sacred utensils were also treated in the same fashion, and the altar, laver, and tabernacle were said to be anointed likewise. For this, however, a precedent may be found in the Pillar of Bethel (Gen. xxxi, 13).²

¹ The Priestly Code is the latest element in the Pentateuch. Scholars now recognize that the so-called Books of Moses are divisible into three main strata: the Yahvist-Elohist document, dating from about the 8th century B.C.; Deuteronomy, promulgated about 620 B.C. (II Kings xxii, xxiii); and the Priestly Code, about 460 B.C. (Neh. viii). For further details see *The Old Testament*, by Chilperic Edwards (London: Watts & Co.; 1913), and *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, by S. R. Driver, 8th ed. (Edinburgh; 1909).

² II Sam. i, 21, and Isaiah xxi, 5, appear to speak of the anointing of shields; but the sense of the Hebrew is uncertain. Amos vi, 6, seems to be ironical.

It is thus evident that the act of unction was regarded by the Ancient Hebrews as possessing a deep significance. According to I Sam. xvi, 13, the application of the oil was immediately followed by the pouring out of "the spirit of the Lord" upon the anointed person, who was henceforth inviolable, and was regarded with the greatest respect and awe (I Sam. xxiv; vi, 26; ix; II Sam. xix, 21).

It is not easy to understand how these feelings could have become associated with the mere process of anointing with oil, or why such unction should have come to be considered as a potent sign of elevation to the office or dignity of the kingship. Parallels have been drawn between the Semitic rite and the practices of modern savages; but none of the instances cited give us any clue to the reason why the action of anointing the skin became elevated into a sacred ceremony. Perhaps it could hardly be expected that anthropology would afford any assistance in the inquiry, for our knowledge of savages does not go back much more than three centuries, whereas we have seen that the rite of anointing a king was already a recognized and established custom three millenniums ago, among people who had, at any rate, long emerged from the savage state. Dr. J. G. Frazer, in the *Golden Bough*, has collected examples of the application by savages of blood, fat, and other horrid things, including the moisture from a decaying corpse; but none of these assist us in the problem, and Dr. Frazer cynically remarks: "Why

hair oil should be considered as a vehicle of inspiration is by no means clear."¹

Although not entirely satisfactory, the best explanation that has yet been offered is that of Professor W. Robertson Smith :—

The use of unguents was a luxury proper to feasts and gala days, when men wore their best clothes and made merry; and from Psalm xlv, 8 (E.V. 7), compared with Isaiah lxi, 3, we may conclude that the anointing of kings at their coronation is part of the ceremony of investing them in the festal dress and ornaments appropriate to their dignity on that joyous day (cf. Cant. iii, 11). To anoint the head of a guest was a hospitable act and a sign of honour; it was the completion of the toilet appropriate to a feast. Thus the sacred stone or rude idol described by Pausanias (x, 24, 6) had oil poured on it daily, and was crowned with wool at every feast. We have seen that the Semites on festal occasions dressed up their sacred poles, and they did the same with their idols (Ezek. xvi, 18).

With all this the ritual of anointing grows quite natural; thus at Medina in the last days of heathendom we find a man washing his domestic idol, which had been defiled by the Mussulmans, and then anointing it. But apart from this, the very act of applying an ointment to the sacred symbol had a religious significance. The Hebrew word meaning to

¹ *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, vol. i, pp. 21, 36, 68, 74; *The Magic Art*, vol. i, p. 202; *Taboo*, p. 14; *Spirits of the Corn*, vol. ii, p. 162; *The Scape-goat*, p. 218; *Belief in Immortality*, vol. i, p. 205 (Macmillan; London; 1911-19).

anoint (*mashah*) means properly to wipe or stroke with the hand, which was used to spread the unguent over the skin. Thus the anointing of the sacred symbol is associated with the simpler form of homage common in Arabia, in which the hand was passed over the idol (*tamassoh*). In the oath described by Ibn Hisham, p. 85, the parties dip their hands in unguent and then wipe them on the Caaba.¹

Whatever the origin of the idea may have been, we see that it became deeply implanted in Hebrew consciousness at an early period that the application of the anointing oil conveyed a special sanctity to the anointed; and the monarch acquired an especially sacred character because he was משיח יהוה, *mashiakh Yahweh* = "the anointed of Yahweh" or "The Lord's anointed"; while at a later period the high priest became *ha-kohen ha-mashiakh*, or "the anointed priest," and thus took upon himself much of

The divinity that doth hedge a king.

Bearing all these conceptions in mind, we may turn to the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, and consider what the author had in mind in composing the well-known prophecy of the Seventy Weeks. Daniel refers us first of all to the words of Jeremiah xxv, 11, 12, and xxix, 10, to the effect that the captivity of Israel should endure seventy years. This was an ideal period, derived from the

¹ *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, by the late W. Robertson Smith, M.A., LL.D.; new edition (Adam and Charles Black; London; 1894), page 232.

mystic number "seven" (compare II Chron. xxxvi, 21). As an actual matter of history, the exile only lasted fifty years, the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar taking place in 587 B.C., and the restoration under Cyrus being in 537 B.C. In any case, the seventy years had long passed, and the Jewish nation had not achieved independence, but was under the subjection of the heathen. The fervent mind of Daniel therefore multiplied Jeremiah's seventy years by the mystic seven, and thus arrived at "seventy weeks of years"—i.e., 490. Four hundred and ninety years were decreed "to bring in everlasting righteousness.....and anoint a Most Holy" קדש קדשים, *qodesh qadashim* = "holy of holies," or, according to the alternative marginal reading of the Revised Version, "a most holy place." Dr. Driver says "a material object rather than a person is certainly most naturally denoted by the expression, and most probably either the altar of burnt-offering (which was particularly desecrated by Antiochus Epiphanes) or the Temple generally is what is meant." Dr. Driver's interpretation appears to be correct for this passage, but each of the next two verses mentions a Messiah (משיח, *Mashiakh* = "Anointed") who is certainly intended to be a person. The literal rendering of the Hebrew is:— "From the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem until an anointed a ruler seven sevens.....and in the sixty and two sevens an anointed shall be cut off and nought [shall remain] to him."

Particular attention should be paid to the grammatical articles. The Hebrew does not say "*the* Messiah, *the* Prince"; it is "*a* Messiah, *a* Prince." We have already seen that in pre-exilic times an "anointed" meant an anointed king, but that after the exile it could be understood as an anointed priest. Therefore, as the Book of Daniel is post-exilic, we should expect the reference to be to a high priest, who could also be a נגיד, *nagid*="ruler," or, as the English version has it, "a Prince." The punctuation of the English version is derived from the Vulgate, and can be entirely disregarded. "After threescore and two weeks of years shall Messiah be cut off." It is quite obvious, therefore, that the Messiah of verse 26 is not the Messiah of verse 25, because no individual can live 434 years. The only plausible interpretation of the passage (Dan. ix, 25, 26) is that forty-nine years after the exile there shall be "an anointed one, a prince"; 434 years later another anointed one shall be cut off.

The allusion is to the dynasty of high priests which officiated in Jerusalem after the restoration under Cyrus, commencing with Yeshua (Ezra iii, 2; Hagg. i, 1) and ending with Onias III (and his brothers Jason and Menelaus). This dynasty lasted about four centuries, though not the ideal sixty and two weeks of the fanciful chronology of Daniel. "The people of the prince that shall come"—i.e. Antiochus Epiphanes—shall then destroy the city and sanctuary, and bring in abominations and desolations.

Thus for the first time in Hebrew literature we

have mention of a "Messiah." It is no longer "the Lord's anointed" or "my anointed," etc., but simply *Mashiakh* = "an anointed." The author of Daniel may not have invented the term; it may have been the customary method of speaking in his time. Dr. Dalman says¹: "As the tetragrammaton was not pronounced, and as there was a reluctance to name 'God,' so here, as in other commonly used titles, the name of God was omitted, and only *הַמְשִׁיחַ*, Aramaic *מְשִׁיחָא*, the anointed, was said. The Aramaic form is the basis of the Greek transliteration which appears in John i, 42; iv, 25."

Dr. Dalman's theory is a very plausible one, for we know the absurd lengths to which pious people were carried in the attempt to avoid taking God's name in vain. The Book of Esther never mentions the deity at all. The First Book of the Maccabees never speaks of God, but uses the word "heaven" instead. In a similar fashion the Gospel of Matthew alters the phrase "Kingdom of God" into "Kingdom of Heaven" in most passages. The Aramaic portion of Daniel avoids the name of Yahweh, as denoting the true God, and prefers to say "God of Heaven," "the Most High God," "the Most High"; more rarely "the Living God" and "the Everliving." In the Hebrew portion Yahweh is employed solely in connection with Daniel's prayer in chapter ix. Thus the suggestion has much to recommend it, and we may consider

¹ *The Words of Jesus* (T. & T. Clark; Edinburgh; 1902).

“Messiah” to be merely a contraction, “the anointed” being understood by the hearers as “the Lord’s anointed.”

The author of the Septuagint translation of Daniel evidently regarded ix, 26, as referring to the high priest Onias III, for he renders the verse “after seven and seventy and sixty-two chrisms shall be removed and shall not be.” $7 \times 70 + 62 = 139$; and in the 139th year of the Seleucid era Onias was ejected from the high-priesthood through the intrigues of his brother Jason. Theodotion amended the verse to bring it nearer to the Hebrew; but even he made it: “After the sixty-two weeks chrisms [χρῖσμα] shall be destroyed; and there is no accusation [κρίμα] in him.” So that the Greek does not speak of the “anointed,” but of the ointment (*chrisms*).

In this connection it may be observed that, although the Septuagint—that is to say, the whole of the Old Testament as rendered into Greek—became the Christian text-book, it gave no prominence to Messianic terminology. The word merely represents the Hebrew *mashikh* wherever that occurs, and *christos* is never introduced unless the Hebrew has “anointed” to warrant it. It seems evident, therefore, that when the Old Testament books were rendered into Greek the translators had no interest in the Messianic idea, and there is no sign that they were acquainted with it.

It is still more significant that the writer of the Book of Daniel was innocent of the Messianic Idea; that is to say, he does not contemplate that

any preternatural personage will assume the leadership of the Jewish nation, his view being that the nation will be under the immediate rule of Yahweh. The harmonic theme that runs through his Book is "the Kingdom of God": "the Kingdom of the saints of the Most High." The symbol of this new era is "the Son of Man," as distinct from the brute beasts which symbolize the heathen empires. Yet this "Son of Man" is a symbol and nothing more. When "a Messiah" appears in the predictions, he has no particular prominence. He is merely a priestly ruler, who is to be "cut off," and he is not associated in any way with the Kingdom of God. If the Jews had never had anything beyond the Book of Daniel, they would not have arrived at the Messianic Idea; for Daniel's Kingdom does not need any "Anointed One," for it is the Kingdom of Yahweh. On the other hand, after careful consideration of his theology, it must be admitted that it is strange Daniel did not develop the idea of some intermediary between Yahweh and his saints. We have already noted on p. 24 that Daniel accepted the doctrine of angels, because the Deity was too majestic a being to come into direct contact with sinful man. We might, therefore, suppose that it would occur to him that, in the Kingdom of the Saints of the Most High, Yahweh would be still unapproachable, and would have to act through some angelic manifestation. Yet he gives no hint of such an idea. Nevertheless, it was an inevitable conclusion; and, accordingly, in the Book of Enoch, written by a member

of the same school at a slightly later date, we find the angelic intermediary in full development. Either through a misunderstanding of the text or by a stroke of genius, the Book of Enoch erects Daniel's "Son of Man" into an actual supernatural personage "like one of the holy angels"; who is pre-existent and omniscient, and whose chief office is to pass judgment on sinners. If we inquire wherein the sin consisted, we find it was purely doctrinal. The sinners had denied the Lord of Spirits (xxxviii, 2; xli, 2; xlv, 2; xlvi, 7; xlviii, 10; lxiii, 7). They also denied the heavenly world (xlv, 1), the Messiah (xlviii, 10), the Spirit of God (lxvii, 10), the righteous judgment (lx, 6). In fact, in the Book of Enoch, as in the New Testament, it is unbelief that is the cardinal sin. The first exhortation of the Gospels is "Repent ye, and believe in the glad tidings" (Mark i, 14). At the crucifixion the priests and scribes said: "Let the Christ, the King of Israel, now come down from the cross, that we may see, and believe" (Mark xv. 32); and Enoch, xlviii, 10, says "they have denied the Lord of Spirits and his Anointed." Thus the Son of Man may also be styled "the Anointed" = the Christ = the Messiah; and this Messiah is the supernatural vizier of God, who is to decide the last judgment, and make the Jews the rulers and, apparently, the sole occupants of the world. Consequently we are now in the presence of the full Messianic Idea, and the Messianic title. The phrase "Son of Man" might be ambiguous in the Semitic languages; and, therefore, a distinctive

title, such as Messiah = "the Anointed One," would be preferable, as indicating the coming supernatural King of Israel—the successor of David, who was, like all monarchs, "the Lord's Anointed."

It is evident that the Book of Enoch was eagerly received in certain Jewish circles, and exercised a profound influence upon current ideas. The New Testament is saturated with it, and in many respects is not to be clearly understood without it. The expectation of the Kingdom of God was now centred in the prospect of the Messiah, who was to establish it, and after the appearance of the Book of Enoch references to the Messiah become prominent in apocalyptic literature. The lately discovered Zadokite work (about 58 B.C.) is full of allusions to this personage :—

ii, 10 :

"And through his Messiah he shall make them know his Holy Spirit ; and he is true, and in the true interpretation of his name are their names."

ix, 10 :

"And they that give heed unto him are the poor of the flock.¹ These shall escape during the period of the visitation ; but the rest shall be handed over to the sword when the Messiah comes from Aaron and Israel."

ix, 29 :

"They shall not be reckoned in the assembly of the people ; and in this register they shall not be

¹ An allusion to Zech., xi, 11 : "The poor of the flock that gave heed unto me,"

written from the day when there was gathered in the unique teacher until there shall arise the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel."¹

We are thus in the full blaze of the Messianic Idea. The Messiah is to come ; and he is to come with a sword. He is the same personage as is called in the Book of Enoch "the Son of Man"; but what in Enoch is merely a secondary title is here the accepted name of the expected personage.

The Psalms of Solomon have already been quoted in Chapter V ; and the next stage in the history of the Messianic Idea is, of course, the narratives in the books of the New Testament. We need not discuss the actual dates of these documents, because it will be more convenient to consider them last of all.

In the second half of the first century there appeared an apocalyptic work which is known as the "Syrian Apocalypse of Baruch." Baruch the son of Neriah (Jer. xxxii, 12) was a favourite name with the writers of apocrypha ; and there are half-a-dozen different compositions ascribed to him. We are only concerned at the moment with this "Syriac Apocalypse," which announces that four kingdoms will arise in the earth, and the fourth

¹ Dr. Charles sees in this phrase an expectation that the Messiah should arise from a marriage between an Aaronite and an Israelitish family, such as the union of Mariamne, daughter of the Hasmonean High-priest, with Herod the Great. It may be suggested, however, that the Zadokite means by Aaron and Israel the clergy and laity of the Jewish people. The Messiah is to arise from the Jews and rule the earth. He need not necessarily be a human being at all.

will be far worse than the other three. The hosts of this last kingdom will be slaughtered, and its leader will be tried and executed on Mount Zion by the Messiah, whose "princiate shall stand for ever until the world of corruption is at an end, and until the times aforesaid are fulfilled" (xxxix-xl). Twelve plagues will usher in the destruction of this fourth kingdom, and these plagues will rage over all the earth except the land of Palestine, where the inhabitants will be supernaturally protected. Then will follow the reign of the Messiah, characterized by miraculous plenty.

xxix, 3-8 :

"And it shall come to pass, when all is accomplished that was to come to pass in those parts, that the Messiah shall then begin to be revealed. And Behemoth shall be revealed from his place, and Leviathan shall ascend from the sea, those two great monsters which I created on the fifth day of creation, and shall have kept until that time ; and then they shall be for food for those that are left. The earth also shall yield its fruit ten thousandfold, and on one vine there shall be a thousand branches, and each branch shall produce a thousand clusters, and each cluster shall produce a thousand grapes, and each grape shall produce a cor of wine. And those who have hungered shall rejoice ; moreover, they shall behold marvels every day. For winds shall go forth from before Me to bring every morning the fragrance of aromatic fruits, and at the close of day clouds distilling the dew of health.

And it shall come to pass at that self-same time that the treasury of manna shall again descend from on high, and they shall eat of it in those years, because these are they who have come to the consummation of time."¹

The duration of this Messianic age is not specified in Baruch ; but at its close there is to be a general resurrection. The dead will rise with the bodies they took with them to the grave ; and after they have been mutually recognized by these bodies they will be transformed : the justified will assume the splendour and beauty of angels, and the damned will waste away in torment.² "The books shall be opened in which are written the sins of all those who have sinned ; and again also the treasuries in which the righteousness of all those who have been righteous in creation is gathered." That is to say, there will be a general judgment.

Closely related to the Apocalypse of Baruch, and little if anything later in date, we have the work known in the English Apocrypha as II Esdras.

¹ Behemoth and Leviathan are derived from Job xl, 15 ; xli, 1, where, in the margin of the Revised Version, they are said to be the hippopotamus and crocodile. Too much reliance should not be given to these identifications, for the zoology of the ancient Hebrews is wrapped in much uncertainty. The crocodile is a freshwater reptile, whereas Ps. civ, 26, says that Leviathan inhabits the great and wide sea. From other passages the monster would appear akin to that much-discussed creature, the sea-serpent. Later Jewish speculation observed that the faithful were only provided with meat and fish ; and a gigantic bird was added—the Ziz—so that the Messianic kingdom was furnished with flesh, fish, and fowl.

² Compare I Cor. xv, 51 : "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed."

It predicts the speedy termination of all things—"the Age is hastening fast to its end" (iv, 26). The fourth beast of Daniel (which is here expressly identified with the Roman Empire) will develop twelve Cæsars, culminating in the Emperor Domitian—"this one also shall fall by the sword in the last days" (xii, 28). Rome is rebuked by a lion's voice: "this is the Messiah whom the Most High hath kept unto the end of the days, who shall spring from the Seed of David" (xii, 32). From the midst of the sea there is to arise a being in the likeness of a man, who is to fly with the clouds of heaven, and alight on Mount Zion. Zion is to be encompassed by an innumerable host, gathered from the four winds of heaven. The whole host will be annihilated by the fiery breath of the Man who came with the clouds of heaven, after which the Lost Tribes of Israel will cross the Euphrates, and muster at Jerusalem under his rule (xiii, 2-50).

vii, 28, 29 :

"For my Son, the Messiah, shall be revealed together with those who are with him, and shall rejoicethesurvivors fourhundred years. And it shall be after these years that my Son, the Messiah, shall die ; and all in whom there is human breath. Then shall the world be turned into primeval silence seven days, like as at the beginning ; so that no man is left."

Thus the temporary Messianic reign is to endure four hundred years.

The origin of this definite number is in all probability as follows. According to Gen. xv, 13, Israel was to be oppressed four hundred years in Egypt. Now, in Ps. xc the writer prays: "Make us glad according to the days wherein thou hast afflicted us, and the years wherein we have seen evil." From the combination of these two passages it was inferred that the Messianic kingdom would last four hundred years as a set-off against the oppression in Egypt.¹

On the other hand, in the Revelation of John xx, 1-6, "Christ shall reign a thousand years." This latter computation is explained in the apocryphal "Book of the Secrets of Enoch," composed in the first half of the First Century. "One day is with the Lord as a thousand years" (II Pet. iii, 8; Ps. xc, 4). Therefore, as the six days of creation were followed by one day of rest, the six thousand years of the world's history will be followed by a sabbatical rest of one thousand years; and thus the "Secrets" asserts that the Messianic Kingdom will endure a thousand years.²

However, to return to II Esdras, after this seven days' silence there will be a general resurrection and a Day of Judgment; the righteous will enter into Paradise, and the Gentiles will be cast into

¹ *Doctrine of a Future Life*, by R. H. Charles (London; 1899), p. 286.

² Calculating by the figures of the Septuagint, the world was created 5873 B.C., so that the six thousand years of secular history would be completed about the second century of the Christian Era. The chronology of English Bibles is that of Archbishop Ussher, who founded his calculations on the Hebrew text.

Gehenna. This Day of Judgment will be equal in length to seven ordinary years, and as sun, moon, and stars have been swept away there will be no light "save only the splendour of the brightness of the Most High, whereby all shall be destined to see what has been determined" (vii, 39-43).

II Esdras figures in the English Bible among the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The last work of the kind we shall have to notice has had a higher destiny, for it has been accepted into the Canon of the New Testament under the title of the "Revelation" of John. Being received as canonical it is much better known, and the name of "the Apocalypse" is sometimes restricted to it, as though there were no others. Its main outline is similar to that of the other apocalyptic books. First there is an elaborate description of the wars, famines, plagues, earthquakes, and other calamities which are to fall upon the unfortunate earth, in the midst of which Judaism gives birth to the Messiah, who is caught up to the throne of God. The world is oppressed by the heathen empire of Rome, under the leadership of the resuscitated Nero ("and his number is six hundred and sixty and six"). The Messiah appears upon Mount Zion in the form of a Lamb; the heathen gather against him and are destroyed. Satan is chained for a thousand years. There is a resurrection of the martyrs ("this is the first resurrection"), and the Messiah reigns for a millennium, after which Satan is released for a time and brings out the heathen from the remote corners of the world. There is a

general and final resurrection of the dead, a last judgment; and then a new heaven and a new earth are created, a new Jerusalem comes down from heaven, and the Saints enjoy eternal felicity.

Having thus glanced through the apocalyptic literature, we may now sum up the result of our inquiry into the course of evolution of the Messianic Idea. We have seen that in the Seventh Century B.C. Jewish writers began to conceive of a kingship of God, when the Hebrew deity should become the sole ruler of the earth. During the disturbances in Palestine in the Second Century B.C., an enthusiast produced a prophetic work under the name of Daniel, in which he sketched out a systematic scheme of secular history. He showed that a succession of empires had succeeded one another in the world, and he imagined that these would be followed by a final one—the Empire of God. So far we have been restricted to the Hebrew Canon of the Old Testament, and this did not develop beyond the idea of the Kingdom of God. An entirely new conception suddenly arose uncanonically. It occurred to some pious mind that it was presumptuous to bring the deity into direct contact with mundane affairs, and therefore he imagined that the visible authority in the Empire of God would have to be an angelic being, acting as a representative of the deity. In the Hebrew mind sovereign rule was closely associated with the idea of an “anointed” king. Therefore, by a very natural transition, this angelic intermediary was regarded as an “Anointed”—i.e., as a Messiah.

The books of the Old Testament had told of a mighty overthrow of the Gentiles by Yahweh, who would then inaugurate a long period of prosperity for the benefit of future generations of Israelites: children should play in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man should sit in comfort and security under his own figtree. In the meantime, however, religious thought had accepted certain doctrines which are foreign to the Old Testament. It was now imagined that the soul of man was immortal, and might reappear again on the earth in a general resurrection. The Old Testament had dreamed of a day when Yahweh should sit in judgment on the Gentiles who might then be alive. The new theology remembered that even the Gentiles might have souls, and these souls be called up after death. Therefore, instead of limiting the great judgment to the living, Yahweh was given the additional task of reviving all those who had ever died, and holding a universal assize upon them. This latter idea could not well be reconciled with many passages in the Old Testament, and consequently a way was found to reconcile both conceptions. Yahweh, or his vice-gerent, the Messiah, should suddenly appear and smite all the living Gentiles, and then establish the Kingdom of God. This satisfied the Old Testament programme. The Kingdom of God was limited in duration to a period of four hundred or a thousand years, and at the end of this time there was to be a general resurrection of both justified and unjustified. The justified would be transformed into angels, and the

unjustified would either be tormented with fire or totally annihilated.

Such was the general outline, and such the traditional programme, as we find it developed in successive apocalypses; but the details could be, and were, varied indefinitely according to the imagination of the apocalypticist, and all sorts of bizarre fantasies were woven into the picture. Hence the fantastic imagery in these compositions, and the utterly irreconcilable statements that are frequently made. The writers were frequently steeped in Old Testament lore, and everything striking or poetical in the Hebrew writings was gradually mixed up in the Messianic theory in a bewildering hodge-podge. Inconsistencies were of no consequence, and were never felt by the authors. As a familiar instance of such inconsistencies we may compare the statements in the Gospels in regard to the Advent of the Messiah. In Mark xiii, 7, 8, the disciples are told that the end will be heralded by wars, earthquakes, and famines; and when the "abomination of desolation" appears those who are in Judæa are recommended to fly the country. All this implies that due notice will be given of the Advent, and the disciples may recognize it by unmistakable signs. Yet a few verses further on (xiii, 32-37) they are informed that the appearance of the Messiah will take place with dramatic suddenness, and they must be perpetually on the watch in case they are caught unawares.

The same haziness is found in all the apocalyptic

dreams, and even in the discussions on them. Thus in theological works the Old Testament "Kingdom of God" is generally described as the "Messianic Kingdom," which is a perfect anachronism, and is on a par with the famous performance of the play of *Hamlet* with the part of the Prince of Denmark omitted; because, although it is quite true that it was this conception of a Kingdom which afterwards gave rise to the Messianic Idea, yet the Messiah himself does not appear in the Hebrew Canon at all.¹ The only merit of the phrase is that it makes a distinction with the New Testament Kingdom of God; but even that is a doubtful advantage, for it obscures the real meaning of the Gospels.

A remarkable feature of this belief in a coming Messiah is prominent in Matthew—namely, the so-called Messianic prophecies. The fervent Messianist could not bring himself to perceive that there is no conception of a personal Messiah in the Old Testament. He was firmly convinced that it ought to be there, and the consequence is that we are confronted with quotations of isolated passages that are fondly supposed to refer to that personage; although in every case, if we read the original context, it is quite obvious that they had no Messianic significance whatever. These Messianic prophecies are a striking example of the theologians' usual procedure—namely, to formulate the dogma first, and find texts to support it afterwards,

¹ See the very just remarks of Mr. C. W. Emmet in his article on the "Messiah" in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*.

as in the old story of the clergyman who was scandalized at a new fashion adopted by the ladies of his congregation, who did up their hair in what was called a "top-knot." He searched the scriptures for a pronouncement against this fashion, and seized on Matt. xxiv, 17 : " Let him who is on the house top not come down." Then he rushed into the pulpit and preached an excited sermon on the apposite text, " Top-knot ! come down ! " A slightly different method was pursued by the converted pugilist, who, through a confusion of aspirates, announced that he was about to hold forth on Matt. xiv. 27 : " Hit his eye : be not afraid."

While we were glancing through the apocalyptic books it probably occurred to the reader that this literature gives little or no countenance to the idea that the Messiah would appear upon the earth in the guise of an ordinary man, indistinguishable from his fellows. According to the apocalypses, the Son of Man is to come in the clouds of heaven as a manifestly supernatural being, and the Gospels themselves recognize all the features of the Messianic programme which we have outlined above.

Stephen saw " the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God " (Acts vii, 56). The Book of Enoch (xlvi) says :—

" At that hour that Son of Man was named !
 Yea, before the sun and signs were created :
 Before the stars of heaven were made,
 His name was named before the Lord of Spirits."

The Gospel of John viii, 58, claims the same

pre-existence: "Before Abraham was, I am."
"The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him; and without him was nothing made" (i, 2, 3).

The Messiah was to come from heaven, not from earth. "Then shalt thou see the Son of Man coming in clouds, with great power and glory" (Mark xiii, 26, 27). "The Son of Man coming in his Kingdom" (Matt. xvi, 28).

The apocalypse of Baruch describes this Kingdom of the Messiah as a state chiefly preoccupied with eating and drinking. Behemoth is to supply the butchers' shops, and Leviathan the fishmongers; manna is to descend from heaven, and the faithful will wash it down with wine delivered ready-made from grapes as large as hogsheads. In the Gospels there is the same preoccupation with what children call the "tummy." "Ye may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom" (Luke xxii, 30). "Blessed is he that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God" (Luke xiv, 15). "I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when I drink it new in the Kingdom of God" (Mark xiv, 25).

Finally, the Messiah is to hold a general judgment (Matt. xxv, 31, 32): "The Son of Man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him. Then he shall sit on the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all the nations."

As, therefore, the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament accept so fully the apocalyptic programme, it is difficult to understand what part can be played by a mere mortal man like Jesus of

Nazareth. He is quite unnecessary to the performance, and it is small wonder that he was "Unto Jews a stumbling-block and unto Gentiles foolishness" (I Cor. i, 22). In the strange medley of ideas that went to form the Messianic theory we need not be surprised at anything, and there may have been an expectation of a preliminary earthly visit from the Messiah; all we can say is that none of the extant pre-Christian sources seem to contemplate it. Justin Martyr (114-165 A.D.) in his *Dialogue* makes Trypho, the Jew, say that the Hebrews expected the Messiah to be born as an ordinary human being:—

VIII. But Christ—if he has indeed been born and exists anywhere—is unknown; and does not even know himself, and his own power, until Elijah comes to anoint him, and make him manifest to all.

XLIX. And Trypho said: "Those who affirm him [Jesus] to have been a man, and to have been anointed by election, and then to have become Christ, appear to me to speak more plausibly than you who hold those opinions which you express. For we all expect that Christ will be a man born of men, and that Elijah when he comes will anoint him. But if this man appear to be Christ, he must certainly be known as man born of men; but from the circumstance that Elijah has not yet come, I infer that this man is not he [i.e., the Christ]."

Justin then argues that Elijah has already appeared in the person of John the Baptist.

This testimony of Justin Martyr must be taken for what it is worth, and it cannot be said to be worth very much. He wrote more than a century after the time of Jesus of Nazareth, and he wrote with Christian prepossessions, so that we cannot be sure that he truly represents the Jewish belief "that Christ will be a man born of men, and that Elijah when he comes will anoint him." No one else seems to suggest that Elijah was to anoint the Messiah ; but such a function would naturally occur to the fervent Messianist on reading I Kings xix, 15, 16, where Elijah is commissioned to anoint Hazael, anoint Jehu, and anoint Elisha ; and that this prophet would appear before the final catastrophe was already anticipated from Mal. iv, 5 : "Behold I will send you Elijah before the great and terrible Day of the Lord come." According to John i, 19-27, and Mark vi, 14, 15, the Jews were in expectation of some personage who would either be the Messiah, or Elijah, or some powerful prophet. Mark ix, 2-13, further relates that Elijah actually did appear "talking with Jesus," although Peter, James, and John were the sole witnesses of the interview.

Taking the Messianic theory as a whole, the only hint of humanity seems to be the assumption that the Messiah was to be the Son of David, which might suggest that he should be born on earth in the regular line of succession. We have already seen that the title "Son of David" was merely figurative, and meant that Messiah was to be King of Israel. Matt. ii, 1-6, makes Herod appeal to the

Scribes to know where the Christ should be born, and they reply: "In Bethlehem of Judah." Nevertheless, with customary inconsistency, other passages of the Gospels seek to defend the notorious fact that Jesus was not a descendant of David, but an ordinary personage with a widowed mother and several brothers and sisters (Mark vi, 1-3). The two reasons given in the New Testament for the incarnation of the Messiah as Jesus of Nazareth are, first, that he became a practical proof of the actuality of a resurrection; and, secondly, that he acted the part of a Paschal sacrifice. Neither of these propositions seems to arise naturally out of the Messianic tradition; but so many extraordinary elements were tacked on to that tradition that we need marvel at nothing. The doctrine of a resurrection was presupposed by the Messianic theory, and those who looked forward to the advent of a Messiah were already convinced that the dead arise, so that the resurrection of Jesus was a superfluity as far as they were concerned; while the only apparent foundation for the Paschal idea seems to have been that Jesus is said to have been executed about the date of the Passover.

Josephus relates stories of several impostors who came forward about this time, mostly claiming miraculous powers, and all rapidly gaining a following; but it is not at all clear whether they professed to be Messiahs. Origen, in his treatise against Celsus (i, 57), says:—

And after the time of Jesus, Dositheus, the Samaritan, also wished to persuade the

Samaritans that he was the Christ predicted by Moses ; and he appears to have gained over some to his views.

Unfortunately, we have no information as to when this Dositheus flourished ; and Origen was not born until 185 A.D., so that he is even less qualified than Justin Martyr to tell us whether the Israelites of the first century really expected a human Messiah.

There is still another important question—namely, as to whether the New Testament is correct in its representation that the Messianic Idea was generally accepted by the Jews of that period. As far as one prominent section was concerned, we may say definitely that they did not hold such a doctrine. Josephus tells us (*Ant.* XVIII, i, 4 ; *Wars* II, viii, 14) that the Sadducees did not believe in a resurrection, did not credit future rewards and punishments, and did not accept the idea of divine predestination. Holding these views, they must have rejected the whole Messianic theory, which rests upon these three propositions.

Besides Josephus, Philo of Alexandria is our chief authority for the Jewish ideas of the first century. Philo was a voluminous author ; and if he had had any Messianic beliefs, there was no reason why he should not have expressed them. It is sometimes said that his two treatises, *de Exsecrationibus*, § 9, and *de Praemiis et Poenis*, § 16, refer to the Messiah ; but if the reader will peruse these passages he will probably agree that they contain nothing whatever in the way of Messianic

allusion. The only conclusion, therefore, is that Philo did not accept the doctrine of a Messiah. He looked forward to a great future for Israel; but that is no more than what he could have gathered from the Old Testament expectations of a Kingdom of God.

Josephus stands on a somewhat different footing. His histories were written for Gentiles, and he had to chronicle the failure of the Jewish attempt to conquer the world. He had changed sides; and renegades are regarded with suspicion by both parties. Therefore he had to be careful in what he said. He was a firm believer in the Book of Daniel, which he imagined to have been composed during the Babylonian Captivity; and he draws attention to the extraordinary way in which its prophecies had been fulfilled, as proving that human affairs are regulated by divine destiny (*Ant.* x, xi, 7). Otherwise he speaks apologetically of the Hebrew prophets; and his only clear reference to Messianism is (*Wars* vi, v, 4):—

What did most elevate them in undertaking this war was an ambiguous oracle that was found also in their sacred writings: how about that time one from their country should become governor of the habitable earth. The Jews took this prediction to belong to themselves in particular; and many of the wise men were thereby deceived in their determination. Now this oracle certainly denoted the government of Vespasian, who was appointed Emperor in Judæa. However, it is not possible for men to avoid fate, although they see it beforehand.

But these men interpreted some of those signals according to their own pleasure ; and some of them they utterly despised until their madness was demonstrated both by the taking of their city and their own destruction.

This statement is repeated by both Tacitus and Suetonius (see Appendix D), so that there was, at any rate, a body of believers in Messianism sufficiently powerful to force a war, although it is also evident from the narratives of Josephus that there were large numbers of Jews who had no enthusiasm on the subject and were the victims of their more violent fellow countrymen. Suetonius tells us that astrologers had promised Nero the kingdom of Jerusalem ; which betrays the nationality of the astrologers, for the Romans themselves had no illusions about that city. It is curious to note that Nero in his lifetime was hailed as the coming Messiah, while after his death he was denounced as the Antichrist (Rev. xiii, 18).

It may be objected that the prevalence of the Messianic beliefs is certified by the apocalyptic books which we have passed under review—Enoch, Baruch, II Esdras, and the Revelation of John. But these are only a small part of the apocryphal literature of which the age was so prolific. We may search in vain for the Messiah in the four books of the Maccabees, Tobit, Judith, Ecclesiasticus, the Wisdom of Solomon, the Book of Jubilees, and the pre-Christian portion of the Sibylline Oracles. As Dr. James Drummond remarks :—

The above evidence, when fairly considered, seems sufficient to prove that the belief in a Messiah was far from being universally entertained among the Jews, especially before the time of Christ. Nor can we say that it was rejected by some particular party, for we have failed to discover it in apocalyptic, haggadistic, didactory, historical, and philosophical works, and have found it disputed even in the schools of the Rabbis.¹

The history of the Messianic Idea in later Judaism does not concern us. After a temporary eclipse it was revived, and from the twelfth century onwards it has been received as an essential article of orthodox Judaism, forming part of the "Thirteen Principles of the Faith" which are recited every day in the Morning Prayers:—

12. I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah; and, though he tarry, I will wait daily for his coming.

13. I believe with perfect faith that there will be a resurrection of the dead at a time when it shall please the Creator—blessed be His name and exalted be the remembrance of Him for ever.²

¹ *The Jewish Messiah: From the Rise of the Maccabees to the Closing of the Talmud*, by James Drummond, LL.D. (London; 1877), p. 273.

² This confession was drawn up by the celebrated Moses Maimonides (i.e., Moses, the son of Maimon), often styled the Second Moses, and the Founder of Modern Judaism. He was born at Cordova, 1135 A.D., and died at Cairo, 1204 A.D.

CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF THE SAINTS

WHEN Herod the Great died, in the spring of 4 B.C., he left Judæa and Samaria by will to his son Archelaus, whose official title on his coins was "Herod the Ethnarch." Archelaus buried his father with great pomp and splendour, and then proceeded to Rome in order to have the succession confirmed by Augustus Cæsar.

The death of Herod the Great was the signal for riots and disturbances to break out all over Palestine. An attempt was made to expel the Roman garrison from Jerusalem, and in the fighting which ensued part of the Temple was burned down. In the country districts there was quite an epidemic of kings, for, as Josephus says (*Ant.* xvii, x, 8):—

And now Judæa was full of robberies; and, as the several companies of the seditious lit upon any one to head them, he was created a king immediately, in order to do mischief to the public. They were in some small measure indeed, and in small matters, hurtful to the Romans; but the murders they committed upon their own people lasted a long while.

The Governor of Syria at that time was the famous P. Quintilius Varus, who was afterwards defeated and killed by the Saxons in the Teutobergiensis.

Varus dispersed the robber bands, executed about two thousand of the bandits, and sent some of the leaders to Rome for trial.

Meanwhile Archelaus found himself opposed by his own relatives, and by a number of the Jewish aristocracy, who petitioned Augustus "that they might be delivered from kingly and the like forms of government, and might be added to Syria; and be put under the authority of such presidents of theirs as should be sent to them" (*Ant.* xvii, xi, 2); for in most countries at that time the aristocracy endeavoured to have their country made into a Roman province, whereas the populace desired to be governed by their native kings (*Ant.* xviii, ii, 5). In this case, however, Augustus decided to carry out the will of his old acquaintance, Herod, and confirmed Archelaus in the Ethnarchy of Judæa and Samaria. Archelaus had a somewhat troubled reign of ten years, and then his brethren and the notables accused him to Augustus, and got him banished to Vienna in Gaul and his territories converted into a Roman province. Accordingly, P. Sulpitius Quirinus came to administer affairs, and, as a preliminary, to make an assessment of Palestine for the adjustment of taxation. This excited considerable discontent, which was heightened by the preaching of Judas of Gamala, who proclaimed that Yahweh was the true king of Israel, and the Israelites had no business to recognize any other ruler. In the words of Josephus:—

The Jews had for a great while had three sects of philosophy peculiar to themselves.....

But of the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy Judas the Galilean was the author (*Ant.* xviii, i, 2, 6).

A certain Galilean whose name was Judas prevailed with his countrymen to revolt, and said they were cowards if they would endure to pay a tax to the Romans; and would, after God, submit to mortal men as their lords. This man was the teacher of a peculiar sect of his own, and was not at all like the rest of those their leaders (*Wars* II, viii, 1).

Josephus does not tell us what became of this proclaimer of the Kingdom of God; but we learn from Luke (Acts v, 37) that there "rose up Judas of Galilee in the days of the enrolment, and drew away some of the people after him: he also perished; and all, as many as obeyed him, were scattered abroad." He appears to have left a young family, and, as is usual in the East, his sedition was continued by his descendants. In A.D. 48:—

The sons of Judas of Galilee were now slain—I mean that Judas who caused the people to revolt when Cyrenius came to take an account of the estates of the Jews, as we have shown in a foregoing book. The names of those sons were James and Simon, whom Alexander commanded to be crucified (*Ant.* xx, v, 2).

When the rebellion of 66 A.D. commenced at Jerusalem, "Manahem the son of Judas" became one of the ringleaders (*Wars* II, xvii, 8), though he must have been a grandson, not a son, of the Galilean. Manahem broke into the royal arsenal

at Masada and took out suits of armour, with which he equipped a considerable body of his followers ; and he then arrayed himself in kingly robes and returned to Jerusalem, where he made an attempt to besiege the Roman garrison in the citadel. The high priest, Ananias, and his brother Hezekiah, had concealed themselves from the rebels in one of the numerous underground water-channels. They were hunted out and murdered. Manahem now thought himself ruler of the city, and went to the services in the Temple in royal state, attended by a bodyguard. Here he was attacked by Eleazar, the son of the high priest, and his followers dispersed. Manahem ran away and hid himself, but was speedily captured by the enraged Eleazar and tortured to death. His cousin, another Eleazar, the son of Jairus, fled to Masada, where he got together a band of robbers and assassins, and maintained himself in the fortress all through the war, until Jerusalem was finally captured by Titus. Flavius Silva having been left to stamp out the last embers of rebellion, he led his forces against the stronghold. Masada stood upon a precipitous rock, with no approach but a narrow zigzag path. Food and water were in abundance, and it seemed likely to withstand a siege indefinitely. Silva first surrounded the place with a stockade to prevent the escape of any of the desperadoes. He then erected a massive causeway (which still exists) against the western side, dragged up his battering-rams, and threw down the wall. The bandits within, seeing all was lost, massacred their women

and children, chose out ten men, who cut the throats of the rest, and then deputed one of their number to murder his nine companions. The last survivor set the buildings on fire, searched round to see that no one was left alive, and then committed suicide by falling on his sword. The next day, the second after the Passover, the Romans arose at daybreak to deliver the final assault. There was a strange silence in the fortress, the wall was deserted, and fires were blazing within. At their shout there crept out two trembling women and five young children, who had concealed themselves from the attentions of their friends and relatives, and reported to the besiegers that their task was ended, for no other living soul was left in Masada. Thus terminated the attempt of the family of Judas of Gamala to establish the principle that "God is the sole ruler and lord."

The desperate followers of Judas of Gamala called themselves *Qananai*, from the Aramaic קנן, *Qana*' = "to be zealous." In Greek a *Qanan* was styled a Zealot, Ζηλωτής, but the Romans called him a Sicarius, the ordinary Latin word for an "assassin" (Acts xxi, 38, R.V.), because it was the practice of these Zealots to carry concealed daggers, and mix with the crowds, and secretly stab any of their political opponents whom they might meet. They then joined in the outcry when the crime was discovered in order to divert suspicion from themselves (*Wars* II, xiii, 3). One of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth belonged to this party. In Mark iii, 18, and Matt. x, 3, he is

called Simon the Canaanean, *Σίμων ὁ κανανᾶιος*. In Luke vi, 15, and Acts i, 13, Simon the Zealot, *Σίμων ὁ ζηλωτής*—that is to say, Mark and Matthew gave him his Aramaic title, which Luke translated into Greek.

Thus for sixty years Palestine was kept in a ferment by this "fourth sect of Jewish philosophy" with its doctrine of the Kingdom of God. Insurgents were continually arising to realize it, and many of them claimed miraculous powers. In the days of Cuspius Fadus (41–48 A.D.) a "magician" named Theudas led a mob of people to the Jordan, and announced that he would divide the stream and take them over dryshod. Joseph Smith, the Mormon prophet, professed the same powers, and led his expectant disciples to the Ohio, telling them that he would repeat the feats of Moses in the Red Sea and cause the waters to stand up on either hand. On arriving at the brink of the river he turned to the excited crowd and asked if they really believed that he could perform the miracle. "Yes! yes!" was the reply. "In that case," said Smith, "it is just as good as if I had performed it fifty times." So he tucked his umbrella under his arm and went home. Theudas had no umbrella, and probably no home. His followers were dispersed with cavalry, and he himself was taken prisoner and beheaded; so to this day we do not know whether he could divide the Jordan or not.

Ten years later another prophet appeared. History has not preserved his name, but he was

“an Egyptian,” apparently a Jew from Alexandria. This Egyptian collected a large number of persons in the adjacent wilderness, and led them to the Mount of Olives, that they might see the walls of Jerusalem fall down at his command, so that they could enter in and plunder the city. The walls did not fall down; but the Roman Governor sent out a considerable force and dispersed the crowd. The Egyptian was said to have escaped; at any rate, he never troubled the Romans any more.

It is not to be supposed that Judæa was the only locality where such incidents occurred, or the Jews the only people to breed lunatics. In many parts of their vast dominions the Romans encountered crazy persons of the same type; and we may mention one instance as a specimen—the account given by Tacitus (*His.* ii, 61) of a Gaulish impostor who appeared on the opposite side of the Empire; namely, in central France:—

Amid the adventures of these illustrious men one is ashamed to relate how a certain Mariccus, a Boian of the lowest origin, pretending to divine inspiration, ventured to thrust himself into fortune's game, and to challenge the arms of Rome. Calling himself the Champion of Gaul, and a God (for he had assumed this title), he had now collected eight thousand men, and was taking possession of the neighbouring villages of the Ædui, when that most formidable State attacked him with the picked force of its native youth, to which

Vitellius had attached some cohorts,¹ and dispersed the crowd of fanatics. Mariccus was captured in the engagement, and was soon after exposed to wild beasts; but, not having been torn by them, was believed by the senseless multitude to be invulnerable, till he was put to death in the presence of Vitellius.

The Romans seem to have acted with much forbearance, and to have treated the Jewish populations with great tenderness. Both Philo and Josephus testify that the Jewish parties were continually sending deputations to Rome with complaints of one sort and another, and in most cases they got what they wanted. According to Josephus, the Herodian princes were on excellent terms with the family of the Cæsars, who frequently befriended them. The last survivor of Herod's dynasty was Agrippa II, who had been made rajah of the districts to the east of the Sea of Galilee. This region is now desert, but in the Roman period it supported a considerable population. Agrippa exerted himself on many occasions in favour of the Jews, and did his best to dissuade them from going to war. The only return he got was to be pelted with stones and chased out of Jerusalem by the mob. Josephus further asserts that Poppæa Sabina, the wife of Nero, was a Jewish proselyte (*Ant.* xx, viii, 11), though it is difficult to understand what attractions Judaism could have had for

¹ A cohort at full strength numbered six hundred men. There were ten cohorts in the legion.

a Roman lady. At any rate, it is clear from all this that the Jews had friends at court, and were allowed to do pretty much what they chose. In Palestine the authorities only interfered when large bodies of rioters got together and threatened danger. In fact, the Roman police measures were ineffective, and they neglected to give adequate protection to the peaceable part of the population. The Zealots swarmed about the country, and if people did not join them their villages were set on fire, their cattle were driven away, and all sorts of barbarities practised upon them, while the large farmers were systematically murdered and their houses plundered (*Wars* II, xiii, 6). "And thus the flame was every day more and more blown up, till it came to a direct war."

The actual outbreak arose through a question of the payment of the tribute. The Jews were forty talents in arrears (*Wars* II, xvii, 1), and Gessius Florus sent for seventeen talents on account (II, xiv, 6). His messengers were treated with derision, and he entered Jerusalem with a bodyguard. The populace barricaded the Temple and the higher portion of the city, and the Roman judged it prudent to withdraw. Cestius Gallus, the Governor of Syria, hearing of the insurrection, gathered a small army and marched on Jerusalem. He took the lower part, but his force was not strong enough to storm the upper part. After seven days' fighting, the Roman army abandoned the siege and retreated, with the result that the whole country rose *en masse* and attacked the host on every side.

The tribes is up be'ind us : and the tribes is out in front.
It ain't no jam for Tommy; but its kites and crows for 'im.

Fresh riots broke out in Jerusalem; several of the prominent men were assassinated, and parts of the city set on fire.

After which they carried the fire to the place where the archives were repositied, and made haste to burn the contracts belonging to their creditors, and thereby dissolve their obligations for paying their debts; and this was done in order to gain the multitude of those who had been debtors, and that they might persuade the poorest sort to join in their insurrection with safety against the more wealthy. So the keepers of the records fled away, and the rest set fire to them (*Wars* II, xvii, 6).

This action was on the same level of morality as the Gospel story of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi, 1-9). The Evangelists thought it a cute thing to borrow money and then defraud the creditors instead of paying it back. The burning of registers was a common feature in the riots of the time of Josephus (*Wars* VII, iii, 4), and, in fact, at all periods of civil disturbance. The old play from which Shakespeare took his material for *Henry the Sixth* makes Jack Cade jest on the subject:—

DICKE: I have a sute unto your Lordship!

CADE: Be it a Lordship, Dicke, and thou shalt have it for that word.

DICKE : That we burne all the Records :
 And that all writing may be put downe,
 And nothing usde but the Score and the
 Tally.

CADE : Dicke, it shall be so, and hence-
 forward all things shall be in common ; and
 in Cheapside shall my palphrey go to grass.

Why is't not a miserable thing that of the
 skin of an innocent lamb should parchment
 be made and then with a little blotting over
 with inke a man should undo himself ?

Some saies 'tis the bees that sting ; but I
 say 'tis their waxe, for I am sure I never
 seald to anything but once, and I was never
 mine owne man since.¹

In the Middle Ages the outbreaks were frequently agrarian, and title-deeds and leases were destroyed where possible ; in more modern times it is the police records that are sought out for destruction. In 1871 the Communards burned down the Hotel de Ville at Paris, and so got rid of the police dossiers, together with many other more valuable historical documents. In 1917, at Petrograd, the convicts were released from the prisons for the purpose of terrorizing the law-abiding inhabitants. Their first care was to burn down the police stations and the courts of justice, so that the criminal records might disappear and be no longer available against them.

Fanatics never stop to weigh circumstances, or we might remark that there was nothing in the

¹ Compare *2 Henry VI*, act iv, sc. ii, ll. 83-91.

state of the Roman Empire to suggest that A.D. 66 was a favourable time for revolt. General tranquillity had endured for many years, and, although there were local troubles, they were of ordinary consequence. In the outlying province of Britain the gradual conquest had received a severe check by the uprising of Queen Boudicca, who raised the country in the rear of the Roman army, cut the communications, and, with a little better generalship, might have totally destroyed the invaders. The legions rallied, defeated the queen in a pitched battle, and ended the war at one blow. In Armenia the Romans met with a reverse, but the Parthian prince, Tiridates, was glad to accept the suzerainty of Nero. The most serious event was the great fire at Rome, which broke out on 19th July, 64, and continued for nine days, destroying three-fourths of the city. The next year Lyons, the capital of Gaul, was levelled to the ground by a conflagration. Round the Bay of Naples earthquakes damaged Pompeii and Herculaneum—a prelude to the more terrible disaster in the reign of Titus. There were also violent earthquakes in Asia Minor. None of these calamities affected the main strength of Rome, and so pronounced was the feeling of security that in A.D. 65 Nero solemnly closed the gates of the temple of Janus as a sign that profound peace reigned throughout the world (Suet., *Nero* xiii).

In several passages, Josephus assures us that Jerusalem was in an exceptionally flourishing condition. "Four years before the war began

.....the city was in very great peace and prosperity" (*Wars* VI, v, 3). "Our city Jerusalem had arrived at a higher degree of felicity than any other city under the Roman government" (Pref. § 4). We are further assured that the place was exceedingly rich. Josephus frequently refers to the lavish gilding and plating on the Temple, which must have stood out over Jerusalem like a vast Golden Pagoda. We need not wonder at this abundance of the precious metals, because for many generations the Jews of the Dispersion had been sending rich gifts to the city. We may form some idea of the amount of these contributions from Cicero's oration, *Pro Flacco* (see Appendix D). The Romans, not having had the advantage of the teaching of Adam Smith, were opposed to the exportation of gold, because they imagined that to part with gold was to dissipate the wealth of the country. Flaccus, as governor of the province of Asia Minor, learned that quantities of gold were being sent every year to Jerusalem, and he considered it his duty to stop the export and seize the bullion in the public interest. The priesthood exacted a capitation tax of two drachmas (or half a shekel) per head from every professed Jew (*Exod.* xxx, 13; *Matt.* xvii, 24-7; *Wars* VII, vi, 6). For convenience of transit, the silver was converted into gold, which was shipped from Asia Minor to Palestine. In a very short space of time Flaccus seized more than 120 lbs. weight of gold, representing the contributions of over 70,000 Jews. And this was from that one single province!

Much of this money was expended in the Temple services. Part was absorbed in building operations of various kinds. Just before the war, eighteen thousand workmen were employed on public works at Jerusalem. The water supply of the city has always been defective, and Pontius Pilatus built an aqueduct which brought a plentiful supply from a distance of twenty-five miles. The water was welcome, but a tumult was raised when it was found that he had paid for the work out of the Temple treasure. At an earlier period, during the disturbances which followed the death of Herod the Great, the Roman garrison at Jerusalem was attacked by the mob. In the fighting, part of the cloisters were burned, and the military cleared the populace out of the Temple. "The soldiers fell upon the treasure of God, which was now deserted, and plundered about four hundred talents, of which sum Sabinus got together all that was not carried away by the soldiers" (*Wars* II, iii, 3). Four hundred talents would be about £96,000.

In the course of the siege by Titus, deserters were in the habit of swallowing pieces of gold and slipping through the Jewish and Roman outposts. Those who arrested them found nothing on them, and let them go, whereupon they recovered the gold they had swallowed, and went away in comfort (*Wars* v, x, 1; v, xiii, 4, 5). As the gold was so easily swallowed, it was obviously in the form of Roman aurei, and this is confirmed by the statement that what was formerly sold for twenty-five drachmas now only fetched

twelve.¹ After the capture of Jerusalem, such enormous quantities of precious metal fell into the hands of the soldiery that in Syria a pound weight of gold sold for half its former value (*Wars* v, xiii, 4 ; vi, vi, 1).

As all this gold was in Roman coin or in bullion, it cannot now be identified, but that Josephus was correct in his statements about the plentifulness of silver is proved by the number of "Jewish shekels" still in existence. These pieces are relatively common, and are well known to numismatists. They were struck as shekels, half-shekels, and quarter-shekels, and bear the inscription *Yerushalaim ha-qedoshah* = "Jerusalem the Holy," and are dated in the five Jewish years during which the war lasted.² Josephus (*Wars* v, xiii, 5) mentions that the rebels melted down the sacred vessels of the Temple. No doubt this was to provide the bullion for the coinage.

From all this it will be obvious that finance offered no difficulty. Josephus tells us that he had 4,500 regularly paid soldiers (*μισθοφόρων*) besides the local militia (*Wars* II, xx, 8). From the context, these paid soldiers were probably Jews, although as a general rule mercenary troops were foreigners ; and the most esteemed at that period

¹ The Roman aureus was a gold coin of nearly the same weight as the English sovereign. The drachma was worth about a franc. In the New Testament it is usually called a denarius, the Greek and Roman coins being at that time of equal value. Under ordinary circumstances, the aureus exchanged for twenty-five drachmas. Six thousand drachmas made a talent of silver.

² *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine*, by George Francis Hill (London ; 1914), pp. 269-71.

were the Galatians—i.e., Gauls who had settled in Asia Minor (*Wars* I, xx, 3).

Jerusalem was well furnished with provisions and stores of all kinds, and there were enough to last out a siege of many years (*Wars* v, i, 2, 4). Josephus relates harrowing stories of famine in the city, but that was in the later stages, when many of the corn stores had been destroyed through faction fighting. Tacitus (*Hist.* v, xiii) tells us that "there were weapons for all that could carry them, and more than could be expected"; and we learn from Josephus that in the arsenal at Masada there was armour for ten thousand men. It was the plunder of this arsenal that enabled the Zealots to equip themselves and occupy Jerusalem as an armed force.

Bearing all these things in mind, we need not be surprised at the arrogance of the Jews or their confidence of being able to wage war with the Romans, quite independent of any divine assistance they expected to receive. Josephus (Pref. § 2; *Wars* VI, vi, 2) says that they anticipated help from their co-religionists, especially those in Mesopotamia, which probably implies the prospect of a Parthian invasion. As it was, there were violent outbreaks in the larger Jewish colonies, such as Alexandria, Cyrene, and Cyprus, which were only suppressed by prompt disarmament of the population.

How oft the sight of means to do ill deeds
Make deeds ill done!

So the possession of all these facilities and advan-

tages encouraged the hot-headed among the Jews to rush into the war, "some because they are young and without experience of the miseries it brings; others because they hope to gain by it, and in the confusion of affairs to get what belongs to those too weak to resist them." Josephus began his career as leader of the war party, and therefore he must have thoroughly understood them. One searches his pages in vain for a single creditable action performed by any of the Jewish insurgents. They had a certain reckless courage, but that is the common characteristic of all violent criminals. Josephus can only describe his former associates as robbers, thieves, murderers, assassins, and pirates. Jesus, one of the senior priests, sums up the party of the Zealots as follows (*Wars* iv, iv, 3):—

The very rascality and off-scouring of the whole country, who have spent in debauchery their own substance, and, by way of trial beforehand, have madly plundered the neighbouring villages and cities: in the upshot of all have privately run together into this holy city. They are robbers, who by their prodigious wickedness have profaned this most sacred floor, and who are to be now seen drinking themselves drunk in the sanctuary, and expending the spoils of those whom they have slaughtered upon their insatiable bellies. You may see the houses that have been depopulated by their rapacious hands, with those wives and families that are in black, mourning for their slaughtered relations. You may hear their groans and lamentations

all the city over ; for there is nobody but hath tasted of the incursions of these profane wretches.

Josephus himself says (*Wars* v, x, 5) :—

It is impossible to go over every instance of these men's iniquity. I shall therefore speak my mind here at once briefly, that neither did any other city ever suffer such miseries, nor did any age breed a generation more fruitful in wickedness than this was, from the beginning of the world. Finally, they brought the Hebrew nation into contempt, that they might themselves appear comparatively less impious with regard to strangers. They confessed, what was true, that they were the slaves, the scum, and the spurious and abortive offspring of our nation ; while they overthrew the city themselves, and forced the Romans, whether they would or no, to gain a melancholy reputation by acting gloriously against them.

In addition to their ordinary criminal instincts, these men were animated by religious zeal (*Wars* II, xiii, 4) :—

There was also another body of wicked men gotten together, not so impure in their actions, but more wicked in their intentions, who laid waste the happy state of the city. These were such men as deceived and deluded the people under pretence of divine inspiration, but were for procuring innovations and changes of the government.

The Old Testament prophecies were continually being repeated to the populace ; and when Titus

had taken the lower city, and was engaged in storming the Temple to open up the attack on the upper portion, enthusiasts recalled Zech. xiv, 2-4, which had predicted that in the last days the Gentiles should capture half the city, and then be arrested and miraculously destroyed through the sudden appearance of Yahweh (*Wars* VI, v, 2):—

The soldiers came to the cloisters that were in the outer court of the Temple, whither the women and children and a great mixed multitude of the people fled, in number about six thousand. They set that cloister on fire, by which means it came to pass that some of these were destroyed by throwing themselves down headlong, and some were burned in the cloisters themselves. Nor did any one escape with his life. A false prophet was the occasion of these people's destruction, who had made a public proclamation in the city that very day that God commanded them to get up upon the Temple, and that there they should receive miraculous signs for their deliverance. Now there was then a great number of false prophets suborned by the tyrants to impose on the people, who denounced this to them that they should wait for deliverance from God.

While Josephus was in authority among the rebels (*Wars* II, xx, 7)—

He told them that he should make trial of the good order they would observe in war, even before it came to any battle, in case they would abstain from the crimes they used to indulge themselves in, such as theft and robbery and rapine, and from defrauding their

own countrymen ; and never to esteem the harm done to those that were so near of kin to them to be of any advantage to themselves.

His exhortations do not appear to have had any effect, and we may gather from his lurid pages the awful condition of the country during the time it remained the Kingdom of the Saints of the Most High.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.— These were originally written in Hebrew in the latter years of John Hyrcanus, the Maccabean prince. The book was translated into Greek, and, although considered apocryphal by the Early Church, many Christian interpolations were made in it. In the thirteenth century Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1175–1253), procured a manuscript from Greece and translated it into Latin, being convinced that the book, with all its Christian additions, was a genuine writing of the twelve sons of Jacob. The Bishop's MS. is still in existence in the University Library at Cambridge, and is considered to date from the tenth century. The Testaments are extant in Greek, Armenian, and Slavonic, of which the Armenian is most important, because it was executed at a very early date, and therefore is comparatively free from Christian interpolations.

The Testaments profess to give the last dying speeches of the several Patriarchs to their sorrowing descendants. These speeches chiefly consist of the moral teaching of the period, and present many points of contact with the similar material of the New Testament. Each patriarch alludes to his

history as related in Genesis, and then adds some good advice.

Test. of Dan. vi, 3-7. Dr. Charles considers the following the most remarkable statement on forgiveness in all ancient literature :—

Love ye, therefore, one another from the heart ; and if a man sin against thee, cast forth the poison of hate and speak peaceably to him, and in thy soul hold not guile ; and if he confess and repent, forgive him ; but if he deny it, do not get into a passion with him, lest catching the poison from thee he take to swearing, and so thou sin doubly.....And though he deny it and yet have a sense of shame with reproof, give over reproving him.....For he who denyeth may repent so as not again to wrong thee ; yea, he may also honour thee.....and be at peace with thee. And if he be shameless and persist in his wrong-doing, even so forgive him from the heart, and leave to God the avenging.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH.—This was originally a poetical composition written in Hebrew, or in Aramaic (or both). It is the work of two or three different authors ranging in date between 120 and 60 B.C. Soon after the latter year it was translated into Greek. The Book was highly esteemed by the Early Christians. It was quoted as scripture by Jude xiv, 15, as well as by Barnabas, Tertullian, Origen, and others, who had no doubt that it was the authentic work of the Patriarch. This view, however, was resisted by Jerome and Augustine.

The book was discredited in later Christian circles. It gradually passed into oblivion, and was believed to have been lost until, in 1773, the Scottish traveller, James Bruce, brought from Abyssinia three manuscripts containing the Ethiopic Version. Although this excited some attention among scholars, it was not until 1821 that the work became accessible through the English translation published by Richard Laurence, Archbishop of Cashel.

The Book of Enoch purports to give "the words of the Blessing of Enoch wherewith he blessed the elect and righteous who will be living in the day of tribulation when all the wicked and godless are to be removed." The Patriarch states that he wrote "not for this generation, but for the remote one which is for to come." In the First Section Enoch tells how he had had a vision of future judgment, to be followed by a new earth; and he describes the blessedness of the saints in the Kingdom of God. Then the Patriarch discourses upon the heavenly bodies, and finally relates a series of visions embodying the history of Israel down to the time of the Maccabees, which is to be followed by the Resurrection and Last Judgment. He then calls his children together, headed by Methuselah, dictates to them his visions, and is shortly afterwards taken up into heaven in accordance with Gen. v, 24.

FRAGMENTS OF A ZADOKITE WORK.—As the Jews have a prejudice against destroying any piece

of writing which may have the divine name upon it, there is always a receptacle in a synagogue into which defective or worn-out books are cast, with a view to their mouldering silently away. This receptacle is called a Genizah. As it gets full, the contents are taken away and buried in moist earth. At Fostat, near Cairo, is a very ancient Jewish place of worship. It was originally a Christian church, dedicated to St. Michael; but on the conquest of Egypt by Chosroes in 616 A.D. it became a synagogue, and has remained so ever since. In 1889 the building was being repaired, and the ancient Genizah was accidentally discovered. Some of the contents were buried; others were sold to dealers in antiquities, and little attention paid to them until 1896, when Dr. S. Schechter, of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, found some sheets of the original Hebrew of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. At a later date he discovered nine leaves belonging to two separate copies of a previously unknown Hebrew work, which the discoverer has ascribed to the Zadokites. These leaves date from the tenth or eleventh century; but the original work was certainly composed before the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and may have been as early as 106 B.C. The fragments appear to say that 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (i.e., 196 B.C.) God raised up a Teacher of Righteousness, *Moreh Zadok*. This Teacher was compelled to retire to Damascus, where he founded a sect of Pharisees, distinguished by some peculiar tenets.

Of this teacher we know nothing ; but a Karaite scholar of the tenth century, named Kirkisani, mentions Zadok as one of the earliest sectaries to come into conflict with the Rabbinical schools, chiefly on the question of divorce, and marriage with a niece. Curiously enough, these two points are treated in the fragments recovered from the Cairo Genizah ; so that it is pretty certain that they are derived from the party or sect of the Zadokites.

(*Note.*—These Zadokites had no connection with the Sadducees of the New Testament.)

THE PSALMS OF SOLOMON.—These are a collection of eighteen short religious poems, composed on the model of the Psalms of David. They were originally written in Hebrew, but are now only extant in Greek and Syriac. The second Psalm refers to a “proud sinner” who cast down the walls of Jerusalem with battering rams, and was afterwards killed on the Egyptian shore, where his body remained unburied. This can only refer to the death of Pompey the Great in 48 B.C. Consequently, the Psalms of Solomon must have been composed shortly after that date. The Greek version of the Psalms of Solomon was first published by John Louis de la Cerda in 1626.

SYRIAC APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.—This was originally written in Hebrew between 50 and 100 A.D. It was translated into Greek, and thence into Syriac. Practically nothing is known of the

Hebrew and Greek versions. It has been preserved in Syriac, and was first published by Ceriani in 1866 from a MS. of the sixth century.

It professes to be a prophecy delivered by Baruch, the son of Neriah, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Jeconiah, king of Judah. The Chaldeans surround the city of Jerusalem, but cannot take it until the angels remove and conceal the furniture of the Temple. They then throw down the walls, and the enemy stream in. Baruch then predicts the Resurrection, the Last Judgment, and the coming of the Messiah.

(*Note.*—This work has no connection with the “Baruch” of the English Apocrypha.)

II ESDRAS.—This was originally composed in Hebrew. It is a combination of three or four pre-existing apocalypses. “The purpose of the compilation appears to have been to recommend the apocalyptic literature to certain Rabbinical circles which were hostile, and to secure for it a prominent place within orthodox Judaism.” This attempt was a failure, and the book was rejected by the orthodox Jews. It was translated into Greek at an early date, and is quoted by some of the Christian Fathers; but the work as a whole no longer exists in the Greek language. Our knowledge of it is derived from versions in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Armenian. The translation in the English Revised Version of the Apocrypha has been made from the Latin, which is not always a safe guide for the original text. II Esdras in

its completed form dates from the reign of Hadrian (about 120 A.D.). Some of the material may go back as far as 30 B.C., and the Eagle Vision (chaps. xi and xii) belongs to the time of Domitian, A.D. 81-96, although some critics would make it a little earlier and ascribe it to Vespasian, A.D. 69-79.

The first two chapters and the last two are later additions, made by a Christian hand.

APPENDIX B

THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL

The Book of Daniel found in Greek Bibles is a revision made by Theodotion in the Second Century. The earlier version is called the "Septuagint." It is composed in very good Greek, more pure and elegant than in any other of the Old Testament translations, but it is a paraphrase rather than a translation. For instance, Dan. xi, 30, in our English Version, reads "the ships of Chittim shall come against him." In the Sept. it is "and the Romans shall come, and shall expel him, and shall rebuke him strongly." This is clear evidence that the translator fully understood Daniel to be referring to Antiochus Epiphanes and the Roman interference with the Egyptian war.

The following is the "Septuagint" version of the Prophecy of the Seventy Weeks (ix, 24-27) as rendered into English by Dr. E. B. Pusey, in his *Daniel the Prophet*, p. 381 :—

"Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon the city of Sion ; that the sin be accomplished and the iniquities become rare, and to wipe away the iniquities and the vision be thoroughly understood, and everlasting righteousness be given,

and the visions and a prophet be consummated, and to gladden a holy of holies. And thou shalt be gladdened, and shalt find commands that answer be made, and shalt build Jerusalem, a city to the Lord. And after seven and seventy and sixty-two, chrism shall be removed and shall not be ; and a kingdom of gentiles shall corrupt the city and the holy place with the anointed ; and the consummation thereof shall come with anger, and unto time of consummation it shall be warred upon by war. And the covenant shall have might towards many, and it shall return and shall be built again in length and breadth, and at consummation of times ; and after seventy and seven times and in sixty-two years, unto time of consummation of war, and the desolation shall be taken away, through the prevailing of the covenant for many weeks ; and at the end of the week the sacrifice and the drink-offering shall be taken away, and on the temple shall be an abomination of the desolations unto end, and end shall be given upon the desolation."

APPENDIX C

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

- B.C.
605 Nebuchadrezzar.
562 Amil-Marduk.
560 Neriglissar.
556 Labasi-Marduk.
555 Nabonidus.

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

- 538 Cyrus the Great.
529 Cambyses.
522 Gomates.
521 Darius Hystaspes.
486 Xerxes I.
465 Artaxerxes I Longimanus.
425 Xerxes II.
425 Sogdianus.
425 Darius II Nothus.
405 Artaxerxes II Mnemon.
359 Artaxerxes III Ochus.
338 Arses.
336 Darius III Codomannus ;
Assassinated 331 B.C.

MACEDONIANS

B.C.

- 336 Alexander III the Great (aged 20).
Battle of Arbela, October 2, 331.
Alexander died, April 21, 323.
- 323 Alexander IV Ægus ;
Murdered 311.
- 316 Antigonus (aged 64) ;
Killed at Battle of Ipsus, 301.

SELEUCID DYNASTY

- 312 Seleucus I Nicator.
- 280 Antiochus I Soter.
- 261 Antiochus II Theos.
- 246 Seleucus II Callinicus.
- 226 Seleucus III Ceraunus.
- 223 Antiochus IV the Great.
- 187 Seleucus IV Philopater.
- 175 Antiochus IV Epiphanes.
- 164 Antiochus V Eupator.
- 162 Demetrius I Soter.
- 150 Alexander I Bala.
- 145 Demetrius II Nicator.
- 137 Antiochus VI Sidetes.
- 125 Alexander II Zebina.
- 123 Antiochus VII Grypus.
- 96 Seleucus V.
- 92 Philip.
- 83 Tigranes.
- 65 Conquest of Syria by Pompey.

JEWISH RULERS

B.C.

- 168 Mattathias of Modin.
- 167 Judas Maccabeus.
- 161 Jonathan Apphus.
- 144 Simon Thassi.
- 135 John Hyrcanus I.
- 104 Judas Aristobulus.
- 103 Alexander Janneus.
- 76 Alexandra Salome.
- 67 Aristobulus II.
- 63 John Hyrcanus II.
- 40 Antigonus (Mattathias).
- 37 Herod I the Great.
- 4 Herod II (Archelaus).

A.D.

- 6 Palestine becomes Roman Province.
- 66 Revolt of Jews, 17 Iyyar (*Wars* II, xv, 2).
- 70 Capture of Jerusalem, 8 Elul (vi, x, 1).
- 132 Revolt of Bar-cochab.
- 135 Capture of Bether.

ROMAN EMPERORS

B.C.

- 44 Assassination of Julius Cæsar, March 15.
- 31 Battle of Actium. Augustus becomes Lord of Empire, September 3.

A.D.

- 14 Death of Augustus: Accession of Tiberius, August 19.

A.D.

- 37 Death of Tiberius: Accession of Caligula, March 16.
- 41 Death of Caligula: Accession of Claudius, January 25.
- 54 Death of Claudius: Accession of Nero, October 13.
- 64 Great Fire at Rome, July 19.
- 68 Death of Nero, June 9.
- 69 Death of Galba, January 15.
- 69 Death of Otho, April 15.
- 69 Vespasian proclaimed Emperor, July 1.
- 69 Death of Vitellius, December 19.
- 79 Death of Vespasian: Accession of Titus, June 24.
- 81 Death of Titus: Accession of Domitian, September 13.
- 96 Death of Domitian: Accession of Nerva, September 18.
- 98 Death of Nerva: Accession of Trajan, January 27.
- 117 Death of Trajan: Accession of Hadrian, August 11.
- 138 Death of Hadrian: Accession of Antoninus Pius, July 10.

APPENDIX D

EXTRACTS FROM ROMAN AUTHORS

Lucius Valerius Flaccus was for some years the Governor of the Province of Asia Minor. On his return to Rome in 58 B.C. he was accused by Publius Lælius of malversation and oppression. At his trial he was defended by Marcus Tullius Cicero in the oration, *Pro Flacco*, of which the following is an extract. As a result Flaccus was acquitted from all the charges.

XXVIII: "The next thing is that charge about the Jewish gold; and this, forsooth, is the reason why this cause is pleaded near the steps of Aurelius. It is on account of this charge, O Lælius, that this place and that mob has been selected by you! You know how numerous that crowd is: how great is its unanimity, and of what weight it is in the popular assemblies. I will speak in a low voice, just so as to let the judges hear me; for men are not wanting who would be glad to excite the people against me, and against every eminent man; and I will not assist them, and enable them to do so more easily. As gold, under the pretence of being given to the Jews, was accustomed every year to be exported out of Italy, and all the provinces, to Jerusalem, Flaccus issued an edict establishing a

law that it should not be lawful for gold to be exported out of Asia. And who is there, O judges, who cannot honestly praise that measure? The Senate had often decided (and when I was Consul it came to a most solemn resolution) that gold ought not to be exported. But to resist the barbarous superstition were an act of dignity; to despise the multitude of Jews which at times was most unruly in the assemblies, in defence of the interests of the Republic, was an act of the greatest wisdom. 'But Cnæus Pompeius, after he had taken Jerusalem, though he was a conqueror, touched nothing which was in that Temple!' In the first place he acted wisely, as he did in many other instances, in leaving no room for his detractors to say anything against him in a city so prone to suspicion and evil-speaking. For I do not suppose that the religion of the Jews, our enemies, was any obstacle to that most illustrious general, but that he was hindered by his own modesty. Where, then, is the guilt? Since you nowhere impute any theft to us; since you approve of the edict, and confess that it was passed in due form, and do not deny that the gold was openly sought for and produced, the facts of the case themselves show that the business was executed by the instrumentality of men of the highest character. There was a hundredweight of gold, more or less, openly seized at Apamea, and weighed out in the forum at the feet of the Prætor by Sextius Cæsius, a Roman knight, a most excellent and upright man. Twenty pounds weight, or a little more, were

seized at Laodicea by Lucius Peducæus, who is here in Court, one of our judges. Some was seized also at Adramyttium by Cnæus Domitius, the lieutenant; and a small quantity at Pergamus. The amount of the gold is known: the gold is in the treasury: no theft is imputed to him, but it is attempted to render him unpopular. The speaker turns away from the judges, and addresses himself to the multitude. Each city, O Lælius, has its own peculiar religion. We have ours. While Jerusalem was flourishing, and while the Jews were in a peaceful state, still the religious ceremonies and observances of that people were very much at variance with the splendour of this empire, and the dignity of our name, and the institutions of our ancestors; and they are more odious to us now, because that nation has shown by arms what were its feelings towards our supremacy. How dear it was to the immortal gods is proved by its having been defeated: by its revenues having been farmed out to our contractors: by its being reduced to a state of subjection."

C. CORNELIUS TACITUS wrote his *Histories* in the reign of Trajan (98-117 A.D.).

Book v, cap. 8: "When the Assyrians, the Medes, and the Persians ruled the East, the Jews were the most despised of the subject races. When the Macedonians became predominant King Antiochus endeavoured to destroy their superstition and introduce the manners of the Greeks; but his attempts to improve that most uncivilized of nations were

frustrated by the Parthian War—the revolt of Arsaces having taken place at that time.¹ Thereupon, as the Macedonians were weak and the Parthians had not yet reached their full strength, while the Romans were still far away, they placed themselves under kings of their own. Driven out by the fickle populace, these princes regained their sovereignty by force of arms, and, while banishing citizens, destroying cities, murdering brothers, wives, and parents, and committing other atrocities usual with kings, they clung firmly to the national superstition, seeing that the honours of the priesthood afforded the surest basis for their power.”

Book v, cap. 13: “Many prodigies had occurred, which this nation—so prone to superstition, so hostile to religious observances—will not permit to be expiated by either vows or victims. Hosts joining battle, with arms flashing, had been seen in the sky. The Temple had been lighted up by flames bursting out of a cloud: the doors of the inner shrine had suddenly been thrown open; and a voice louder than the human was heard to say ‘the Gods are departing,’ and then came a mighty stir as they departed.

“Some few regarded these things as betokening disaster; but the greater number put their faith in a prophecy of their ancient priestly writings that at that very time the East would rise to power, and

¹ Tacitus is in error. The Antiochus under whom Arsaces revolted was Antiochus II Theos, the great-grandfather of Antiochus Epiphanes.

that men issuing from Judea would become masters of the world. These dark sayings had reference to Vespasian and Titus; but the multitude, led in true human fashion by their desires, took these mighty prognostications to themselves; nor did even their calamities open their eyes to the truth."

C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS composed his *Lives of the Twelve Cæsars* in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A.D.).

Claudius xxx: "He banished from Rome all the Jews who were continually making disturbances at the instigation of one Chrestus."¹

Nero xvi: "He likewise inflicted punishment on the Christians, a sort of people who held a new and maleficent superstition."

Nero xl: "Nero had been formerly told by astrologers that it would be his fortune to be at last deserted by all the world.....Yet some of the

¹ There has been much discussion upon this sentence. *Χρηστός*—"capable fellow"—was a common servile name. If an individual were the ringleader of the disturbances, the proper course would have been to have arrested Chrestus, and sent him to the mines, where his overflowing energy could be applied to some useful purpose. As, however, the whole Jewish colony was banished, it looks very much as though the trouble were due to a faction; and the most likely subject for a Jewish faction at that time would be the Messiah—i.e., the Christus—which might be confused with the better known personal name Chrestus. Messianic aspirations would be speedily perceived to be politically dangerous, especially in the capital of the Empire. Luke (Acts, xviii, 2) mentions this expulsion. Josephus says nothing about it, but represents Claudius as well affected towards the Jewish people (*Antiq.* XIX, v, 1-3; XX, i, 1-3).

astrologers promised him in his forlorn state the rule of the East, and some, in express terms, the kingdom of Jerusalem. But the greater part of them flattered him with assurances of his being restored to his former fortune."

Vespasian iii: "A firm persuasion had long prevailed through all the East that it was fated for the empire of the world at that time to devolve on some who should go forth from Judæa. This prediction referred to a Roman Emperor, as the event showed; but the Jews, applying it to themselves, broke out into rebellion, and, having defeated and slain their Governor, routed the lieutenant of Syria, a man of consular rank, who was advancing to his assistance, and took an eagle, the standard of one of his legions. As the suppression of this revolt appeared to require a stronger force, and an active general who might be safely entrusted in an affair of so much importance, Vespasian was chosen in preference to all others, both for his known activity and on account of the obscurity of his origin and name, being a person of whom there could not be the least jealousy. Two legions, therefore, eight squadrons of horse, and ten cohorts being added to the former troops in Judæa; and, taking with him his eldest son as lieutenant, as soon as he arrived in his province he turned the eyes of the neighbouring provinces upon him by reforming immediately the discipline of the camp, and engaging the enemy once or twice with such resolution that in the attack of a castle he had his

knee hurt by the stroke of a stone and received several arrows in his shield."

DION CASSIUS (more correctly called by his Roman name Cassius Dio Cocceianus) completed his *History of Rome* about A.D. 220.

In describing the reign of Trajan, Dion relates the following, for the nineteenth year (lxviii, 32) :—

"Meanwhile the Jews in the region of Cyrene had put one Andreas at their head, and were destroying both the Romans and the Greeks. They would cook their flesh, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anointing themselves with their blood, and wore their skins for clothing. Many they sawed in two, from the head downwards. Others they would give to wild beasts, and force still others to fight as gladiators. In all, consequently, two hundred and twenty thousand perished. In Egypt, also, they performed many similar deeds; and in Cyprus under the leadership of Artemio. There, likewise, two hundred and forty thousand perished. For this reason no Jew may set foot in that land, but even if one of them is driven upon the island by force of the wind he is put to death. Various persons took part in subduing these Jews, one being Lucius, who was sent by Trajan."

In Book lxix, 12-14, relating the events of the seventeenth year of Hadrian :—

"In Jerusalem he founded a city in place of the one razed to the ground, naming it *Ælia Capi-*

tolina, and on the site of the Temple of the God he raised a new Temple to Jupiter. This brought on a war, that was not slight nor of brief duration, for the Jews deemed it intolerable that foreign races should be settled in their city and foreign religious rites be planted there. While Hadrian was close by, in Egypt, and again in Syria, they remained quiet, save in so far as they purposely made the weapons they were called upon to furnish of poorer quality, to the end that the Romans might reject them, and they have the use of them. But, when he went further away, they openly revolted. To be sure, they did not dare try conclusions with the Romans in the open field, but they occupied advantageous positions in the country, and strengthened them with mines and walls, in order that they might have places of refuge whenever they should be hard pressed, and meet together unobserved underground; and in these subterranean passages they sank shafts from above, to let in air and light. At first the Romans made no account of them. Soon, however, all Judæa had been upheaved; and the Jews all over the world were showing signs of disturbance; were gathered together, and giving signs of hostility to the Romans, partly by secret and partly by open acts; many other outside nations, too, were joining them through eagerness for gain; and the whole earth almost was becoming convulsed over the matter. Then, indeed, did Hadrian send against them his best generals, of whom Julius Severus was the first to be despatched from Britain, of which he

was the Governor, against the Jews. He did not venture to attack his opponents at one point, seeing their numbers and their desperation ; but by attacking them in separate groups by means of the number of his soldiers and his under-officers, and by depriving them of food, and shutting them up, he was able, rather slowly to be sure, but with comparatively little danger, to crush and exhaust and exterminate them. Very few of them survived. Fifty of their most important garrisons and nine hundred and eighty-five of their most renowned towns were blotted out. Fifty-eight myriads of men were slaughtered in the course of the invasions and battles, and the number of those that perished by famine and disease and fire was past investigating. Thus nearly the whole of Judæa was made desolate, an event of which the people had had indications even before the war. The Tomb of Solomon, which these men regarded as one of their sacred objects, fell to pieces of itself and collapsed, and many wolves and hyænas rushed howling into their cities.

“ Many Romans, moreover, perished in the war. Wherefore Hadrian, in writing to the Senate, did not employ the opening phrase commonly affected by the Emperors : ‘ If you and your children are in health, it shall be well : I and the armies are in health.’ ”

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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(The work of this Unitarian scholar is the best manual of the subject. Unfortunately, it has long been out of print.)

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(A laborious compilation. The author makes the common mistake of confusing together the Kingdom of God and the Messiah. Some of the references may prove useful to the student. The book itself is poor.)

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(A very useful work, giving an outline of the various Eschatologies current at the beginning of the Christian Era.)

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(The standard edition of this literature, giving all the texts, with the necessary critical apparatus. As Dr. Charles's work is large and expensive, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has issued most of the literature in a cheap form, under the title of "Translations of Early Documents." The booklets contain the various texts, with good introductions, and are handy for reference, though Dr. Charles should be read if possible.)

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(Gives the Hebrew Text of the Biblical passages that are interpreted in the Targums as Messianic prophecies, together with the Aramaic of the Targums and English translations of both languages. The volume is a small one.)

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