

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE
FOR SCHOOLS & COLLEGES

THE FIRST BOOK OF
MACCABEES

EDITED BY

W. FAIRWEATHER, MA.,
AND
J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, LL.D.

GENERAL EDITOR

A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.

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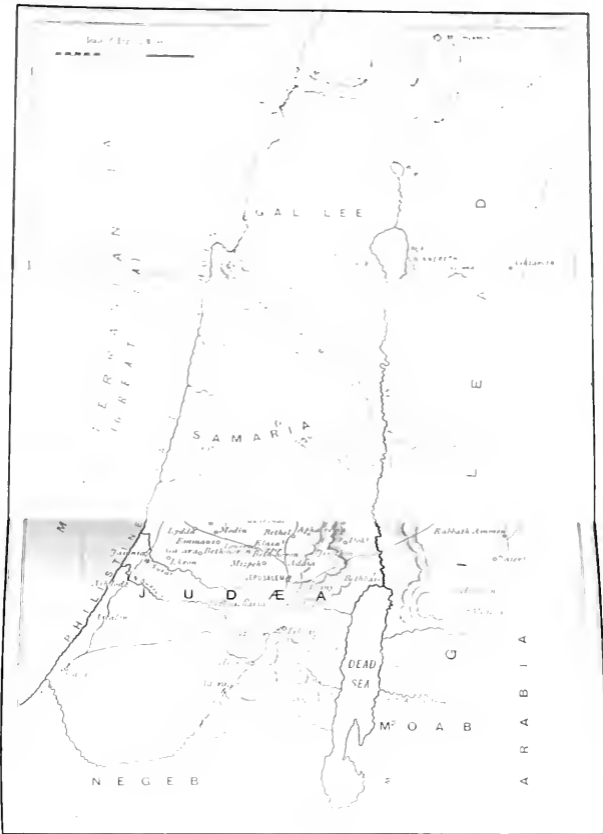
THE FIRST BOOK OF
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JORDAN RIVER
GALILEE

GALILEE

D

SAMARIA

E

JORDAN RIVER
PHILISTINE

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ARABIA

The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges.

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT:—

A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D.

THE FIRST BOOK OF
MACCABEES

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

THE REV. W. FAIRWEATHER, M.A.,

AND

J. SUTHERLAND BLACK, LL.D.

EDITED FOR THE SYNDICS OF THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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PREFACE

BY THE

GENERAL EDITOR FOR THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE present General Editor for the Old Testament in the Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges desires to say that, in accordance with the policy of his predecessor the Bishop of Worcester, he does not hold himself responsible for the particular interpretations adopted or for the opinions expressed by the editors of the several Books, nor has he endeavoured to bring them into agreement with one another. It is inevitable that there should be differences of opinion in regard to many questions of criticism and interpretation, and it seems best that these differences should find free expression in different volumes. He has endeavoured to secure, as far as possible, that the general scope and character of the series should be observed, and that views which have a reasonable claim to consideration should not be ignored, but he has felt it best that the final responsibility should, in general, rest with the individual contributors.

A. F. KIRKPATRICK.

PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

- Jos., *Ant.* Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews.*
 Jos., *B. J.* ,, *De Bello Judaico.*
 Robinson, *B. R.* ... Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, 1841.
 Ewald, *Hist.* Ewald, *History of Israel*, E. T., 1874.
 Stade, *Gesch.* Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1888.
 Schürer, *H. J. P.*... Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the
 Time of Jesus Christ*, E. T., 1890.
 Wellhausen, *Gesch.*... Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*,
 1894.
 Smith, *Hist. Geog.*... G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy
 Land*, 1894.
P. E. F. Q. *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration
 Fund.*
LXX. *The Septuagint: A (Codex Alexandrinus), B (Cod.
 Sinaiticus), V (Cod. Venetus).*
Syr. *The Syriac Version.*
Vulg. *The Vulgate.*
N. (in map) *Nahr*, a perennial stream.
W. (in map) *Wady*, watercourse, especially of a non-perennial
 stream.

The illustrations are taken from Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible* (Murray); Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia and Judaea* (Chapman and Hall); Layard's *Nineveh* (Murray); Madden's *Coins of the Jews*, 2nd ed. (Trübner); Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* (Macmillan and Co.); by permission of the publishers.

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* * The Text adopted in this Edition is that of the Revised Version.

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INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

THE APOCRYPHA.

i. *Meaning of the term.* Both in classical Greek (Eurip. *H. F.* 1070) and in the Septuagint (Is. xlv. 3, 1 Macc. i. 23) the word ἀπόκρυφος means *hidden*; it is also used in the sense of *obscure, secret* (Xen. *Mem.* III. 5, 14; Ecclus. xxiii. 19). The plur. ἀπόκρυφα denotes *hidden treasures*, either material (Dan. xi. 43) or spiritual (Dan. ii. 22, Ecclus. xiv. 21). In the N.T. also it is used of the hidden treasures of wisdom (Col. ii. 3)¹.

The history of the term as technically applied to writings is difficult to trace, inasmuch as the sense attached to it varies not only in different authors, but even in writings of the same author. Irenaeus (*Haer.* I. 20) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* I. 15) seem to have been among the first to apply it to writings. In their day almost every sect had its secret books and esoteric doctrines. The Gnostics especially prided themselves on this. The ordinary rank and file of religious professors were supplied with books for themselves, but were kept in ignorance of the profounder things contained in the ἀπόκρυφα, sc. βιβλία, i.e. hidden books, which were reserved for the initiated, and were thus secret as to their *contents*².

¹ Probably in allusion to the esoteric writings of the Colossian heretics. See Lightfoot's *Comm. ad loc.*

² The Christian Church regarded such books with suspicion (cf. Mark iv. 22; Luke viii. 17). An analogous term, *sephārîm genūzîm* = *hidden books*, was used by the Jewish Rabbis to denote books withdrawn from

From being applied to books thus hidden or private as to their contents, the word was soon applied to such works as were hidden or obscure in respect of their *origin*. This was often as mysterious as their doctrines. If there were cases in which the mystery might really exist, there were also many in which it was expressly created. Books purporting to have been the productions of men celebrated in ancient Israelitish history, but which were really the forgeries of later times, were issued in great numbers. This device was resorted to with the view of obtaining a wide circulation for the books, and in order to give them a show of authority. Thus alongside of the first meaning of the word "apocryphal" there sprang up by the close of the second century another and unfavourable meaning. To the idea of secrecy was added that of suspicion, so that "apocryphal" became synonymous with *false* or *spurious* (Iren. *Haer.* I. 20, Clem. *Strom.* III. 4, Origen *Prol. in Cant.*). In the Nicene period this was the usual application of the word.

Athanasius, the author of the threefold classification of "canonical," "ecclesiastical," and "apocryphal" writings, identifies the last category with the wilful invention of heretics who sought to propagate erroneous doctrines under the authority of great names. But as time went on, particularly in the Western Church, "apocryphal" became the designation of pseudepigraphical (see below) rather than heretical works. Augustine applies the term to books of obscure origin (*De Civ. Dei* xv. 23), and it is used in a similar sense by Jerome (*Ep.* 107, *ad Laetam*).

By an easy transition "apocryphal" next came to signify "uncanonical." Not a little confusion arose, however, from the fact that Jerome, who accepted the shorter Hebrew Canon of the O.T., and Augustine, who accepted the longer Alexandrian, both used *ἀπόκρυφα* as = "non-canonical writings." Thus, according to the one standard, the "ecclesiastical" books were

common use; while *sephārīm ḥizōnīm* = *outside books* is the Talmudic designation for heretical writings such as those of the Samaritans, Sadducees, and Christians. See Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, I. p. 33.

“apocryphal”; according to the other, not. Attempts to reconcile the rival views tended only to greater vagueness of definition¹.

As the pseudepigraphic literature was little known, the title “apocryphal” gradually became limited to the “ecclesiastical” or *deutero-canonical* books (i.e. books which, although inserted in the Greek and Latin Bibles, never had a place in the Hebrew Canon), and it has been used in this technical sense by the Reformed Churches ever since the Reformation. The usage differs from that of the Greek and Roman Churches, and is not historically accurate; but by the end of the sixteenth century it had become so firmly rooted as to compel acquiescence on the part of theologians.

As applied to writings, therefore, the term “apocryphal” has been used in at least five different senses in the history of the Christian Church, viz. (1) secret, (2) spurious, (3) pseudonymous, (4) uncanonical, (5) deutero-canonical. Perhaps the popular mind has been prejudiced against the “apocryphal” books by the depreciatory meaning also attached to the word. From being the original name of these books, it came to be regarded as expressing the judgement of the Church concerning them.

In the Apocrypha of the English Bible are comprised:—
1. 1 Esdras. 2. 2 Esdras. 3. Tobit. 4. Judith. 5. The rest of Esther. 6. The Wisdom of Solomon. 7. Ecclesiasticus. 8. Baruch. 9. The Song of the Three Holy Children. 10. The History of Susanna. 11. Bel and the Dragon. 12. The Prayer of Manasses. 13. 1 Maccabees. 14. 2 Maccabees.

Besides those books known distinctively as the O.T. Apocrypha “an unspeakable quantity of apocryphal writings” (Iren. i. 20), mostly apocalyptic, and commonly designated *Pseudepigrapha*, were in existence in the early centuries of our era. Of these books the oldest and best known are *The Book of Enoch*, *The Sibylline Oracles*, *The Psalter of Solomon*, and *The Book of Jubilees*; for the most part, however, they were

¹ On the variety of uses to which the word was put in the Middle Ages, see Ryle, art. “Apocrypha” in Smith’s *Dict. of the Bible*².

not Jewish but Jewish-Christian productions, and many of them are no longer extant.

ii. *Relation to the Canon.* The Hebrew Canon was formed very gradually, and probably did not assume its final shape until the end of the second century B.C. We cannot tell exactly when it was closed, nor have we any very definite information as to the principles that ruled the selection of the books composing it. It would appear, however, that whatever was the date at which it was finally closed, the Palestinian Jews drew the line at the cessation of prophetic activity (1 Macc. ix. 27). Thus all the later works were thrown out, and only such books as were either actually or presumably written before the decline of prophecy were allowed a place in the Hebrew Canon (cf. Josephus, *c. Apion.* I. 8). Whatever might be the claims of such books as the Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, and 1 Maccabees, they were excluded by their late origin.

With the Greek Canon, or that of the Alexandrian Jews, it was otherwise. They were not very long in forgetting their Hebrew, and thus a translation of the O.T. became a necessity. The work was begun in the third century B.C. in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284—247). This is a general Jewish tradition the genuineness of which there is no reason to doubt, although various legendary stories have grown up around it. The Pentateuch was translated first; the other books (often by different hands) were added by degrees until by the middle of the second century B.C. the whole had well advanced towards completion. The Septuagint, as it came to be called, includes all the books in the Hebrew Canon, but its formation did not end with them. Their philosophy had provided the Jews of Alexandria with fresh thoughts in many directions, and among other influences that it had it led them to adopt a broader view of inspiration, and to ignore the Palestinian distinction between Prophets and Hagiographa. Prophecy was a product derived from Wisdom. But Wisdom was not a fitful element; its influence was unbroken; and though it might penetrate the writings of one time more than those of another, yet it was out of the question to think of a direct break in the succession of

prophets. Accordingly, the Alexandrians valued all literature on sacred subjects, and inserted in their Canon the later as well as the earlier religious books produced by their nation. They also added several works that were never written in Hebrew at all. These writings, so admitted, are now collected in our Apocrypha. Some of them are additions to books already in the Hebrew Canon, for example those to Esther and Daniel; but the greater number are quite new books, the product of the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ¹. Plainly, therefore, this Greek Canon was formed in a manner very different from that which gained authority in Palestine; and there can be no doubt that the embodiment in it of the Apocryphal books gave to many of them an importance and an influence which otherwise they would never have possessed. The Alexandrian Bible was practically the Bible of the Christian Church for centuries. It was through the Septuagint that the O.T. became known to the world; and so great is the recognised value of this version that zealous men have often defended its readings as against those of the Hebrew.

How far it was a sound instinct that led to the exclusion of all the Apocryphal writings from the Hebrew Canon, and whether the Book of Esther, e.g., has a better title to a place in it than the undoubtedly valuable First Book of Maccabees, or whether the whole Apocrypha must stand or fall together—these are interesting questions which cannot be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that even on the lowest view of these writings, and granting them to be neither canonical nor inspired, we must acknowledge their priceless value as relics and mirrors of a very important period of Jewish history.

iii. *General characteristics* of the Apocryphal books as contrasted with the Canonical Scriptures.

1. Their *legendary* character. This applies of course to the historical books only, and to some of these much more than to others. In *Bel and the Dragon*, e.g., we meet with the purely

¹ All the Apocryphal books were originally written in Greek, except Judith, Ecclesiasticus, part of Baruch, 1 Maccabees, and probably Tobit.

fabulous, while in others, such as *Judith*, we have simple romance, though written apparently with a political motive. During the Exile the Jews had undergone a process of intellectual quickening; there are evidences that among the Persians and Babylonians their imaginative and literary powers were stimulated and drawn out (1 Esdr. iii. 4 sq.). "The transition from this to the practice of story-telling was, with the Jews, as afterwards with the Arabs, easy and natural enough. The period of the captivity, with its strange adventures, and the remoteness of the scenes connected with it, offered a wide and attractive field to the imagination of such narrators¹." Thus the scene of the charming ethical story of *Tobit* is laid in the far East, probably in Persia, and the work, though fictitious, supplies us with materials for estimating the circumstances, feelings, and outlook of the exiles there. In 2 Maccabees too the legendary element bulks largely; 1 Maccabees alone is entitled to be regarded as history.

2. Their *lack of original freshness*. These books belong to the decaying period of the nation's life. The earliest of them were written only at the close of the Persian dominion, and belong to a time when prophecy had ceased, and when men were looking not for what might be revealed, but to what had been revealed. Fresh principles and truths were no longer developed, though of course this did not exclude development in the case of what had already found expression. In *Tobit*, *Baruch*, 2 Macc., and the additions to *Daniel* there is, along with a curious deviation on some points (e.g. angelology, mediation of the saints, and prayers for the dead) from O.T. doctrine, a marked development on some other points (e.g. immortality and the resurrection of the just) in the direction of N.T. doctrine. The *Book of Wisdom*, also, apparently from an effort on the writer's part to reconcile the Scriptural and philosophical positions with reference to creation and the soul of man, deviates from the canonical statements. The general standpoint, however, is essentially that of the O.T., although we are carried along once and again on the broader lines that mark the New. For example, there is a clear advance

¹ Plumptre, art. "Apocrypha" in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*¹.

upon the O.T. as regards the doctrine of immortality. A book, moreover, that speaks of God as "the lover of souls," and "the Saviour of all," and declares the knowledge of God to be perfect righteousness, must be considered as having in no small degree paved the way for N.T. doctrine. In general, however, attention was concentrated upon the revelation that had been given in the Law and the Prophets. This was in the hands of the Scribes, to whom the people looked for an interpretation of it, and by whose deadening formalism the spirit of true religion was completely overlaid. The chilling influence of a rigid externalism affected the literature of the period, as well as everything else in the later post-Exilian Judaism. Piety degenerated into mere ritualism, and inflated rhetoric often took the place of the simplicity which invests the O.T. writings with so great a charm. But though its great creative period was past, Jewish literature had not yet reached the stage of decrepitude; and if there was a general absence of the lofty religious tone of the earlier Scriptures, the spirit of the true Israelite was not extinct. The elevation under the Maccabees gave a new impulse to the religious life of this age, and the literature it produced, although not altogether free from the mechanical stiffness of the age, was by no means a barren one.

3. Several of the Apocryphal books reflect *the influence of the Greek philosophy*. Particularly is this the case with the Book of Wisdom—perhaps the finest work in the whole range of Apocryphal literature—which philosophises and moralises about wisdom, creation, man, history, &c. The author was an Alexandrian Jew who beheld the truths of revealed religion through the medium of Greek erudition. His whole method of presenting doctrine shews this combination. It is abstract and Platonic. Even single words and phrases reveal the Alexandrian, as when he describes God as "the first author of beauty." His book also contains some articles of the Platonic philosophy with regard to the human soul. But perhaps the Greek influence is most clearly seen in his descriptions of Wisdom itself (cf. especially vii. 25 sqq.). The teaching of the writer resembles in many respects that of Philo, and some of the

thoughts are much akin to those familiar to us in the writings of St John and in the Epistle to the Hebrews. "In the nervous energy of his proverbial style, and in the depth of his representation, we have a premonition of John, and in the conception of heathenism a preparation for Paul, like a warm rustle of the spring ere its time is fully come¹."

4. *Perhaps also, on the whole, a certain decline in point of honesty and accuracy.* This is seen (1) in the literary method according to which authors issued their books under fictitious names: to this species of literature belong 1 and 2 Esdras, the additions to Daniel, the letters of Baruch and Jeremiah, and the Wisdom of Solomon. (2) In the actual errors which these books contain. Besides those referred to below (ch. vii.), see e.g. the two conflicting accounts of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes in 2 Macc. i. 15—17, ix. 5—29. (3) In the fabrication of what purport to be authentic versions of official documents. For examples of this see ch. vi. below; Esth. xvi., which contains an ostensible decree of Artaxerxes; and the letters from the Palestinian Jews in 2 Macc. i. 1—9; i. 10—ii. 18.

iv. *The Apocrypha in relation to Jewish history.* As that which moulded the immediate world into which Christ came, the period between the Old and New Testaments possesses a peculiar interest for students of sacred history. The conflicts and developments of these four centuries cannot be ignored without loss. Everything that throws any light upon the various ideas and influences which told upon the Jews, and made them what they were when the Messiah appeared, has a real value as an aid to the proper understanding of Christ's teaching. In some respects indeed the interval between Malachi and Matthew has a unique importance as that which shaped the whole future course of Judaism, witnessed the transference of empire from East to West, and completely changed the face of society. Amid all the formative influences of the time none perhaps were more potent than the brilliant and heroic valour of the Maccabees, as the result of which the champions of the Law gained a new sense of the worth of their revealed religion.

¹ Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, v. p. 484.

For what knowledge we have of this intermediate stage of Israel's history we are almost entirely dependent on extra-canonical sources. Save what may be gleaned from the Book of Daniel and, perhaps, a few Psalms¹, there are no materials to hand in the canonical books for determining the condition of the people, their successes and reverses, their strifes and jealousies, their customs and thoughts, during this long and important period. Our principal authorities here are the Apocrypha and the writings of Josephus. With the exception of a few scattered references in Greek and Roman authors², and such particulars as are to be derived from the Jewish Apocalyptic literature, these are indeed our only sources³. The side-lights are not numerous; and the centuries between Malachi and John the Baptist would remain for the most part a blank region to us but for these somewhat fragmentary materials. The information they yield is confessedly meagre, but as they stand they fill the gap between the Old and New Testaments, and are therefore historically of the very highest value. Apart from any question as to their canonical worth, the books of the Apocrypha present us with a picture of the inner life of the Jewish nation during the period they cover, and in all the leading countries of the world, such as is nowhere else obtainable.

v. *The Apocrypha in the Christian Church.* In the N.T. these writings are never directly quoted as Scripture, though

¹ Scholars differ greatly on the question as to how many, and what, Psalms can be reckoned as Maccabæan. Under this category Calvin ranks 2, Theodore of Mopsuestia 17, Cheyne 27, and Reuss 38 psalms. It is, however, pretty generally conceded that at least Psalms xliv., lxxiv., lxxix., and lxxxiii. are of Maccabæan origin. But see the notes on v. 1, 2; vii. 17.

² The former include Polybius (xxvi.—xl.), Diodorus Siculus (xxix. 32), Strabo (xvi. 2. 25—46), Appian (xi. *Syriaca*), and Nicolas of Damascus, quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* xvi. 7. 1; the latter, Livy (xli.—xlv.), Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 1—13), Suetonius (*Vitæ* xii. *Imperatorum*), and the *epitome* by Justinus of the lost historical work of Trogus Pompeius. See Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. pp. 110—117.

³ Some light is also reflected on this period by the Rabbinical literature as representing the labours of the Scribes, who during these centuries reached the climax of their influence and power. See Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. pp. 117 sqq.

numerous coincidences of language make it practically certain that St James, St Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews at any rate were well acquainted with them. A distinction was made by the writers of the early Church between books that were canonical and books that were only "ecclesiastical," i.e. of secondary value, not a source of doctrine, but suitable to be read by the Church for moral instruction. Some of the fathers indeed (notably Cyril of Jerusalem †A.D. 386) forbade the study of apocryphal works altogether, though it is not clear whether he uses the term in the sense of deuterocanonical, or in that of spurious; but the great majority of them (Epiphanius, Ambrose, Isidore, Augustine, &c.) adhered to the position taken up by Jerome. Amid the varying degrees of regard manifested for the Apocryphal books by ecclesiastical writers, and in spite of the decisions of some African councils in favour of Augustinian views upon the subject, the distinction between canonical and ecclesiastical works continued on the whole to be clearly maintained, although the learned investigations of Jerome had produced a tendency towards greater caution in drawing controversial weapons from the Apocryphal writings. These were no longer used as Scripture, without qualification, as they had been by the Greek fathers (Origen, Cyprian, Clement of Alexandria, &c.). They were already excluded from the Canon of Melito, Bishop of Sardis (*cir.* A.D. 172), as the result of personal investigations made in Palestine.

At the Reformation period the several opinions current in the early Church were crystallised into dogmas, the Roman Church practically adopting the Greek, and the Protestant Church the Hebrew Canon. The first two Books of Maccabees were therefore embraced in the Vulgate, and were received as canonical by the Council of Trent (1546). Like nearly all Bibles printed until the latter part of the 17th century, the English Versions all originally contained the Apocrypha. Coverdale's Bible (1535) was the first in which the deuterocanonical books were grouped together under a separate title¹ and placed by themselves at the

¹ "Apocrypha. The books & treatises which among the Fathers of

end of the O.T. The Apocrypha were included in the Geneva Bible (1560), but some copies are found from which they were omitted.

Yet the Churches of the Reformation were far from being at one in their estimate of the Apocryphal books. While e.g. in the sixth of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England (1562) it is set forth that "the other Books [viz. the Apocrypha] the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine," the Westminster Confession (1643) declares with more severity that they "are of no authority in the Church of God, nor to be any otherwise approved or made use of than other human writings" (ch. I. 3). These two different standpoints virtually reflect the subsequent attitude of England and Scotland in regard to the Apocrypha. Although since 1871 these books have not been so largely represented in the lectionary of the Church of England as they were prior to that date, several passages from Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are still retained. The neglect of the Apocrypha in Scotland is doubtless to be explained by the complete rebound against everything savouring of Popery which took place in that country at the Reformation. When even the Lord's Prayer was thrust into the background, and the use of it regarded with suspicion, it is hardly to be wondered at that the Apocrypha came to be generally detested as "a menace to the Protestant conception of the Bible." In 1825 arose a bitter controversy which, two years later, resulted in the exclusion of the Apocrypha from all Bibles circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society; and even so recently as 1862 the engraving on the memorial to the Prince Consort at Balmoral of a quotation from the Book of Wisdom led to fresh debate on the subject.

On any view 1 Maccabees must be allowed to rank as an ancient record of sterling and incalculable worth. It is significant

old are not reckoned to be of like authority with the other books of the Bible, neither are they found in the Canon of the Hebrew." For "Apocrypha" the later editions of the Great Bible generally substitute "Hagiographa."

that in a list of "Corruptions of the Apocryphal Books" appended to one of the "Statements" of the Edinburgh Bible Society not a single extract is taken from the First Book of Maccabees. Luther wished it had the place of Esther in the Canon. "There is, in short, a large consent of testimony to the high merits of the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, and the First Book of Maccabees: the storm of controversy has rather raged around the narratives of Tobit and Judith, and the additions to Daniel. Had portions of the First Book of Maccabees been selected for lessons in the place of the latter, it is probable that less offence would have been taken at the reading of the Apocrypha¹."

CHAPTER II.

THE NAME MACCABEE AND THE BOOKS OF THE MACCABEES.

Maccabaeus (Gr. *Μακκαβαῖος*, (?) Heb. *מַכַּבֵּי*) was originally the distinctive surname of Judas, third son of the Jewish priest Mattathias, and after his death leader of the war of independence against the Syrian kings (1 Macc. ii. 66, iii. 1, v. 24). Partly owing to our ignorance of the original Hebrew form, the derivation of the name is uncertain. Most modern scholars, however, connect it with *maqqābāh* = "hammer." It is probable that the surnames of the sons of Mattathias were used simply for purposes of better designation², and in this aspect that of "hammerer" seems natural enough. Symbolically interpreted, it would also yield a quite suitable meaning: as one who beat down the enemies of his nation Judas, like Charles *Martel* in a later age, might fitly be called the "hammerer³." So Josephus ben Gorion (8th or 9th cent. A.D.) makes Mattathias address his

¹ Churton, *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, p. 26.

² Ewald, *Hist.* v. p. 309, note 1.

³ Cf. the inscription on the tomb of Edward I in Westminster Abbey: "Eduardus primus Scotorum *malleus* hic est."

son as "my son Judas who art called Machabaeus on account of thy bravery."

It has been held by many that "Maccabee" was formed from the initials of the opening (Hebrew) words of Ex. xv. 11 ("who is like Thee among the gods, Jehovah"), which were supposed to have been the watchword of the party; but the doubled κκ of the Greek form remains upon this theory inexplicable. The same consideration tells against the derivation from *kābāh* (כבה) Is. xliii. 17, the "extinguisher" or "queller," i.e. of his enemies¹.

From a very early date the name Maccabee began to be used in a wider sense. Transferred at first to the whole family of which Judas was a member, it soon came to be freely applied to all his relatives and adherents, and even to all who were identified with the struggle against the Seleucidae. In particular it was applied to Eleazar and the seven brothers who, along with, and encouraged by, their mother, endured without flinching the most cruel martyrdom under Antiochus Epiphanes (2 Macc. vi., vii.). From this standpoint the mother of these seven sons is designated by the Church fathers "the mother of the Maccabees." The use of the term as the title of the so-called Third, Fourth, and Fifth Books of Maccabees indicates a still further latitude of application. Modern usage, on the other hand, limits the term to the sons and descendants of Mattathias.

From the circumstance that the great-grandfather of Mattathias bore the name *Chasmon* (i.e. fat, rich = *magnate*; cf. Ps. lxxviii. 31 [32]), Greek *Asamonaios*, he, his sons, and their descendants are more frequently called in Jewish literature "Asmonaeans" or "Hasmonaeans" than Maccabees. But while it is usual to speak of the Hasmonaeian dynasty, and the Hasmonaeian age, no attempt has been made to introduce the phrase "Hasmonaeian books"; writers both ancient and modern use the title "Books of the Maccabees." These books, it should be understood, are not parts of one book, like 1 and 2 Kings, or even a connected series.

1 *Maccabees* is by far the most important of the Books of Maccabees. It records minutely the events of the forty years

¹ S. J. Curtiss, *The Name Machabee*, Leipsic, 1876.

from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon (B.C. 175—135), the most heroic period of Jewish history.

2 *Maccabees* deals with the same history, although covering scarcely half of the ground embraced in the first book. Its starting-point takes us back a year further (B.C. 176), but it does not carry down the narrative beyond the death of Nicanor (B.C. 161). Two spurious letters from the Palestinian Jews, the first addressed to their brethren in Egypt (i. 1—9), and the second to the priest Aristobulus, King Ptolemy's teacher (i. 10—ii. 18), are followed by the writer's own preface in which he indicates the sources and design of his work (ii. 19—32). The remainder of the book consists of an epitome of the five books of Jason of Cyrene on the struggle for freedom called forth by the tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes. In point of reliability and general value it falls far short of the First Book of Maccabees, the authority of which is always to be preferred in case of any discrepancy between the two. Another important difference between 1 and 2 Macc. is that the one was originally Hebrew and the other Greek. Although often inaccurate, highly coloured, and lavish in its use of the miraculous element, 2 Macc. is still in many respects a useful supplement to the first book; but the writer's sympathy with the Pharisees, who latterly became determined opponents of the Hasmonaeans, has imparted to the narrative a strong spirit of partisanship.

3 *Maccabees* tells of a supernatural deliverance experienced by the Egyptian Jews from a religious persecution by Ptolemy IV Philopator (B.C. 221—204) long before the Maccabean rising was heard of. Although having the form of a historical narrative, the book is quite fictitious, and based upon a legend of which a simpler version is given by Josephus (*c. Apion.* II. 5) in connexion with Ptolemy VII Physcon. The title "Book of Maccabees" is therefore in this case a misnomer. The work, which was probably written in the first century A.D., is found in the Syriac translation, and in most MSS. of the Septuagint, but appears never to have met with recognition in the Latin Church.

4 *Maccabees* is a sort of sermon on "the supremacy of reason"

over impulse, written from a Stoic standpoint, and addressed to the Alexandrian Jews. It is called "The Fourth Book of Maccabees" because it embodies, although merely by way of illustration, some incidents from 2 Macc. It must have been composed before the destruction of Jerusalem (probably in the first century A.D.), but its authorship is unknown. It is contained in some important MSS. of the Septuagint (including the Alexandrian and Sinaitic), and also in some MSS. of Josephus, and has been printed under both categories¹.

In the great Ambrosian Peschito there is a so-called "Fifth Book of Maccabees," but it is simply a Syriac translation of the sixth book of Josephus *De Bello Judaico*. The Paris and London Polyglotts contain an Arabic "Book of Maccabees" purporting to be a history of the Jews from Heliodorus (B.C. 186) down to the closing years of Herod's reign (B.C. 6—4?). It is merely a Hellenistic compilation, and without the value of an independent narrative.

The order in which these books are named, while it obviously corresponds to their real worth, as well as to the date of their composition, is not chronological so far as their subject-matter is concerned.

CHAPTER III.

THE HEROIC ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE MACCABEES.

The diffusion of Greek culture and manners that followed the campaigns of Alexander the Great affected Palestine as well as other parts. New Greek townships sprang up everywhere except in the purely Judæan district. Even Judaism could not wholly resist the subtle leaven of Hellenism. Already under the Ptolemies many Jews were fascinated by the charms of the Greek life, and under the Syrian kings there was a further development in the same direction. The educated classes in particular, led by the priestly aristocracy, became saturated with

¹ The Syriac Version, edited by the late Professor Bensly, was published in 1895 by the Cambridge University Press.

the Hellenistic spirit; the Greek language and literature, Greek art and pleasures, Greek fashions and customs, were eagerly cultivated by them.

When in B.C. 175 Antiochus IV Epiphanes succeeded to the throne of Syria this Hellenizing process was steadily advancing. Still, the heart of the nation remained true to its ancestral faith, and a conflict between Hellenism and Judaism was inevitable. Alongside of the Hellenistic movement there had sprung up another in favour of adhering rigorously to the observances of Judaism. Those who thus became the champions of the Law now formed themselves into a corporate society under the name of the Hasidæans (= Heb. *chasîdîm*, pious ones). They devoted themselves to the study and practice of the Law, and were resolved to die rather than cease to serve the God of their fathers.

A section of the Jewish people were prepared to fall in with the heathenising proposals of Antiochus. Their leader was Joshua, brother of the high-priest Onias III. Through bribery he had secured the high-priesthood, and significantly Graecised his Hebrew name into Jason. Under his zealous direction a Greek gymnasium was set up under the very citadel of Sion, while multitudes adopted the Greek dress, speech, and manners. Jason had held the high-priesthood for three years (174—171), when he was in his turn supplanted by Menelaus, a Hellenistic Benjamite. Menelaus gratified Antiochus by apostatising from Judaism, and received military aid to enable him to suppress Jason. The hopes of the latter rose when it was (falsely) rumoured in Palestine that Epiphanes had died during his second expedition into Egypt (B.C. 170), and he obliged his rival to shut himself up in the fortress.

These proceedings Antiochus chose to interpret as a Jewish revolt, and on his return from Egypt he invaded Jerusalem, and massacred thousands of the inhabitants. He also profaned the temple, robbed it of its treasures, and carried off the sacred vessels. The disaster was an appalling one: "all the house of Jacob was clothed with shame."

Two years later Jerusalem had to undergo a yet more terrible

ordeal. After his fourth Egyptian campaign Antiochus sent his general Apollonius with a large force against it. Upon a sabbath-day he attacked the defenceless city, which was pillaged and set on fire. Many of the people were slain, and multitudes of women and children sold as slaves. The sanctuary was laid waste, and a Syrian garrison placed in a citadel (Acra) overlooking the temple precincts.

Not satisfied with these enormities, Antiochus next instructed his commissioner to destroy Judaism root and branch, and forcibly to establish paganism in its stead. He issued an edict forbidding the observance of its distinctive ceremonies upon pain of death, and obliging the Jews to conform to heathen rites. His purpose was to unify his empire through the bond of a universally practised polytheism. The temple at Jerusalem was dedicated to Zeus Olympios, to whom sacrifices were offered upon an idol altar erected over the altar of Jehovah. As many copies of the Law as could be found were burned or defaced; to possess one was declared a crime worthy of death. Many Israelites abandoned their religion in order to save their lives, but the majority were minded rather to die.

Misled by the apostates who represented to him the feasibility of Hellenizing Judaea, Antiochus ordered heathen altars to be erected in every township of Palestine,—a measure that precipitated the fierce conflict which was at hand. While the party of the Law were comforting themselves with the assurances of speedy deliverance contained in the Book of Daniel, the whole situation was suddenly altered by a dramatic episode enacted at Modin, a small town near Beth-horon. An aged priest named Mattathias, head of the family of the Hasmonaeans, refused to lead the way in offering a pagan sacrifice, slew a renegade Jew who was about to step into the breach, struck down the king's commissioner, and demolished the altar. Then with his five brave sons, three of whom were to succeed him in the leadership, he fled into the mountains. In this way the die was cast, and Epiphanes had now to reckon with open revolt throughout the land. He had kindled the fierce flame of a religious war.

It took some time for those who shared the views of Mattathias

to organise themselves for concerted action ; and even in the "secret places" to which they had fled they could not escape the merciless power of Antiochus. In one instance a thousand fugitives allowed themselves to be slain without resistance, rather than profane the sabbath by fighting. But Mattathias and his followers, to avoid extermination, decided to fight in self-defence even upon the sabbath, and he soon found himself at the head of a considerable army of patriotic Jews, including the Hasidæans, who put themselves under his protection. Emboldened by numbers, the insurgents now began to go up and down the country, destroying heathen altars, slaying apostates, and reviving Jewish rites.

Mattathias died in B.C. 166, but his five sons heroically continued the struggle which he had inaugurated, and nobly fulfilled his dying charge to lay down their lives, like the national heroes of former times, for the law and covenant of their fathers.

The immediate successor of Mattathias was his third son Judas, known as Maccabæus or "the hammerer." He proved himself an ideal leader. As in the case of our own General Gordon, his military skill was accompanied by an absolute faith in God to which all things were possible. Before the close of the year B.C. 166 he had defeated and slain the Syrian generals Apollonius and Seron, and already "every nation told of the battles of Judas."

Exasperated at these disasters, Antiochus entrusted his kinsman Lysias with the half of his entire army, and commissioned him to extirpate the Jewish nation and people their land with strangers. Lysias accordingly first sent a strong force under experienced generals to support Gorgias, who commanded in Philistia, but Judas outwitted and defeated them all ; afterwards he advanced against the insurgents in person with an army of 65,000 men (B.C. 165—164), but only to share the fate of his lieutenants. Judas added another to his former victories. As 5000 Syrians lay dead upon the field, Lysias retired to Antioch to raise an army such as the Jews could not hope to withstand.

The Jewish patriots utilised the temporary suspension of the hostilities for the re-establishment of the temple worship. The

heathen altar was demolished, and replaced by a facsimile of that built by Zerubbabel; the sacred furniture was restored; and on the 25th Chislev (Dec.) B.C. 165, exactly three years from the day of its first profanation, the temple was hallowed by the offering of the legal sacrifice. For eight days the feast of the dedication of the new altar was kept up with great rejoicing, and "the reproach of the Gentiles was turned away." Thus was inaugurated the Feast of the Dedication (John x. 22), which continued to be observed annually while the temple stood. Judas proceeded to fortify the temple mount and the important southern frontier town of Beth-zur. These events mark the close of the first stage in the history of the Maccabean struggle. Owing mainly to the splendid courage and generalship of Judas, the insurgents had triumphed all along the line.

But their success was highly distasteful to the surrounding heathen tribes, who proceeded to make fresh attempts to "destroy the race of Jacob." Judas at once took the field, and inflicted heavy defeats upon Edom and Ammon. Having thus chastised the heathen, the Maccabees went on to relieve their brethren in Gilead and in Galilee, who were threatened by formidable combinations of their heathen neighbours. Simon, the second son of Mattathias, marched with 3000 men into Galilee, while Judas with 8000 men hastened to Gilead in order to deliver the Jews who were shut up in the fortresses there. Success attended both expeditions, and the rescued Jews were escorted to safe quarters in Judaea.

After reigning for fourteen years Antiochus Epiphanes died in the far East (B.C. 164). Before his death he nominated Philip, one of his officers, as regent and guardian to his youthful son Antiochus; but Lysias arrogated this function to himself, and set up Antiochus as king with the surname of Eupator.

Meanwhile Judas had laid such vigorous siege to the citadel of Jerusalem as to cause the garrison to appeal to Antioch for aid. This cry of distress, joined to the fact that through Philip's intrigues there was some danger of Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, declaring war against Syria, determined Lysias to stamp out once for all the rebellion in Judaea. Accompanied

by the young king, and with an army of 120,000 men, he bore down upon Beth-zur. Judas marched to the relief of the fortress, but was met by the imperial troops at Bethzacharias, where he suffered his first serious reverse as well as the loss of Eleazar his brother, who bravely crept under a gorgeously-caparisoned elephant on which the king was supposed to be riding, and gave it a deadly thrust, but was himself crushed by its fall. Beth-zur was forced to capitulate, and the Syrians laid siege to the temple mount. Just as they were at the last extremity deliverance came unexpectedly to the beleaguered Jews. In order to have a free hand against Philip, who was in possession of Antioch, Lysias decided to grant them by treaty everything they had been contending for. They were to return to the *status quo ante bellum*; while politically subject to Syria, they were to enjoy perfect religious freedom. The concession of religious liberty marks the second important stage in the conflict. No further attempt was made to Hellenize the Jews by force. They had nobly and heroically vindicated the rights of conscience. In its subsequent phases the war became a war for civil independence.

In B.C. 162 Demetrius I, the rightful heir to the throne of Syria, who had long been detained as hostage at Rome, escaped to Tripolis, was accepted as king in Antioch, and had Lysias and Eupator put to death. Through this change in the political situation a struggle was precipitated between the rival factions in Judaea. At the instigation of the Greek party, Demetrius sent a large army under Bacchides into Palestine to install Alcimus as high-priest. The Hasidaeans, now that they had "a priest of the seed of Aaron," ceased to oppose the Syrian rule; but sixty of them were slain in one day by the treacherous Hellenizer. Judas, who had resisted his wiles, became too strong for the troops left by Bacchides to protect him, and Alcimus had soon again to call in the aid of Syria. A fresh army was sent into Judaea under Nicanor, but this general was defeated in a pitched battle at a place called Capharsalama. He then withdrew to Beth-horon, where he was met by fresh reinforcements, but once more the Syrian troops

were completely routed by Judas at Adasa with only 3000 men, and Nicanor himself fell in the battle. The 13th Adar—the day on which the engagement took place—was afterwards celebrated as “Nicanor’s day.”

As a protection against future hostilities on the part of Syria, Judas at this time concluded a treaty with the great power of Rome. Its sole result, however, was a threatening message to Demetrius that any further attempt to oppress the Jews would mean war with Rome. As it happened, this came too late to be of any avail. Within a few weeks of the defeat of Nicanor Demetrius sent another large army into Judaea under Bacchides. Judas lay encamped at Elasa (? the modern *Khurbet Il'asâ*) with no more than 3000 men, and of these all but 800 deserted him rather than face the unequal conflict. In the sanguinary battle that ensued he was overwhelmed at last by the mere power of numbers. His body was secured by his brothers, and laid in the ancestral sepulchre at Modin.

It was in the nature of things ultimately impossible for the Jews to cope with the imperial power of Syria, but if the struggle could have only one end, surely never man led a forlorn hope as Judas did. No country has been blest with a truer patriot, a better general, or a braver hero.

Alcimus once more held sway in Judaea, and subjected the friends of the Maccabees to a rigorous persecution. But they soon elected as leader in succession to Judas his younger brother Jonathan, who, if inferior to him as a soldier, excelled him in diplomacy. At first Jonathan could act only as a freebooter, and with his followers retired to the wilderness of Tekoah in order to evade Bacchides. On his return, however, from the country east of the Jordan, whither he had gone to avenge the death of his eldest brother John at the hands of a robber tribe of the sons of Jambri, he found himself intercepted by the Syrian commander at the fords of Jordan, yet succeeded in crossing the river and gaining a place of safety.

On the death of Alcimus in B.C. 160 Bacchides returned to Antioch, and the position of the Maccabees rapidly improved. Within two years the Greek party had again to bespeak the

help of the Syrian general. After a brief struggle Bacchides abandoned the campaign and accepted Jonathan's proposals for peace. From this date (*cir.* B.C. 156) the latter took up his abode at Michmash, and for four years peacefully ruled the country like one of the ancient Judges.

When in B.C. 153 Alexander Balas disputed the Syrian throne with Demetrius, the support of the Maccabees was courted on both sides. This gave Jonathan an opportunity of which he was not slow to avail himself. Demetrius first made friendly overtures to him, but he took the side of Balas, who appointed him high priest and sent him the insignia of royalty—a purple robe and a diadem. Demetrius now in turn sought to outbid his rival by making extraordinary concessions; but Jonathan, considering his promises too good to be true, and having confidence in Balas as the ally of the Romans, adhered firmly to the cause of the pretender. The choice proved a fortunate one for Jonathan, for in a subsequent battle Demetrius was defeated and slain, and the victorious Balas did not forget to reward his Jewish ally. At Ptolemais, where in B.C. 150 he married the Egyptian princess Cleopatra, Jonathan was present by special invitation and was received with every mark of honour, while his Hellenizing opponents, who thought to injure him in the eyes of the Syrian king, were refused a hearing.

In B.C. 147, when Demetrius II asserted his claim to the throne, he obtained the support of Apollonius, now governor of Coele-Syria. The latter thereby found himself in antagonism with Jonathan, who stood loyally by the worthless Balas. In the hostilities that ensued Jonathan was victorious. He reduced the garrison of Apollonius in Joppa, defeated this general at Ashdod, and then turned southwards to Ascalon, which opened its gates to him. In recognition of these services Alexander presented him with a buckle of gold and with the city and lands of Ekron. The loyalty of Jonathan could not, however, prevent the overthrow of Balas. Even Ptolemy Philometor, his own father-in-law, allied himself to Demetrius II. Worst of all in battle, Alexander fled to Arabia, where he was assassinated. Philometor had himself been wounded in the fight, and one of

his last sights was the severed head of his former son-in-law, which was brought to him. Thus in B.C. 145 Demetrius II became king.

Regarding the moment as opportune, Jonathan laid siege to the Acra. Demetrius ordered him to appear before him at Ptolemais to answer for his conduct. Jonathan's personal address, however, together with his diplomatic skill and princely gifts, soon rendered harmless the representations of his enemies, and secured for the Jews several of the concessions previously offered by Demetrius I.

Soon afterwards Jonathan extracted from Demetrius a promise to remove the Syrian garrisons in return for his assistance against the rebels in Antioch, who favoured the attempt of a certain Tryphon, a former general of Alexander Balas, to seat Antiochus, the youthful son of Balas, upon the throne of Syria. With Jonathan's aid the rebellion was put down, but as Demetrius faithlessly broke his promises, Jonathan went over to the side of Antiochus. He soon brought under the sway of the new claimant the whole region between Jerusalem and Damascus, and, leaving Simon to reduce Beth-zur, twice successfully thwarted the generals of Demetrius in their attempts to invade Palestine.

In pursuance of the policy inaugurated by Judas shortly before his death, Jonathan now sent ambassadors to Rome and Sparta to establish friendly relations with these powers. At the same time, in concert with his brother Simon, he diligently promoted the interests of Judaea as well as of Syria. The Arabian tribe of the Zabadaeans was subdued, several important cities were fortified and garrisoned, and the walls of Jerusalem repaired. An effort was also made to isolate the Acra.

The self-seeking Tryphon now began to be jealous of the power of the Jewish high-priest, which he suspected would stand between him and his cherished object of securing the kingdom for himself. Jonathan strangely allowed himself to be decoyed into Ptolemais, attended by only 1000 men. No sooner was he within the gates than he was taken prisoner and his men slaughtered.

At this crisis Simon, the only one still left of the sons of Mattathias, naturally took the helm. Immediately he set about completing the fortifications of Jerusalem, and annexed the city of Joppa. Tryphon soon marched into Judaea, with Jonathan as his prisoner. On being intercepted by Simon at Adida, he offered to release Jonathan in return for an indemnity, but although his demands were complied with he failed to keep his promise. Thwarted in his attempts to reach Jerusalem, and to relieve the starving garrison in the Acra, he advanced into Gilead, and at Bascama took a mean revenge by putting Jonathan to death. His body was recovered and interred in the family sepulchre at Modin.

Tryphon resolved at last to appear in his true colours, murdered his ward Antiochus VI, and assumed the Syrian crown in opposition to Demetrius II. Simon now sent an embassy to the latter demanding complete immunity from taxation. Even upon this footing Demetrius was glad to renew the friendship with the Jews, for he was in the difficult position of having to fight both Tryphon and the Parthians. The capture of Demetrius by the latter in B.C. 138 failed, however, to seat Tryphon firmly on the throne ; soon thereafter he was defeated at Dor by Antiochus VII Sidetes, the brother of Demetrius, who then became king.

Through the treaty with Demetrius the wished-for goal of Jewish political independence was at length reached ; “the yoke of the heathen was taken away from Israel.” In recognition of an occasion so glorious, the Jews made it the beginning of a new era, and began to date their documents as from “the first year of freedom,” which was also the first year of Simon’s reign.

With the view of expelling the garrisons which still represented an alien domination, Simon attacked in succession the fortresses of Gazara and Jerusalem. After holding out for a time Gazara capitulated, and the inhabitants were allowed to leave the city unharmed. Simon then cleansed it from heathen impurities, colonised it with adherents of the Law, and made his son John resident governor. The Acra also, which the Jewish patriots had frequently assailed in vain, now fell into his hands.

After the treaty with Simon, Demetrius could not interfere, and the sagacious Maccabee left hunger to do its work. Simon made a triumphant entry into the relinquished citadel on the 23rd Iyar (May) B.C. 142.

The way was now clear for Simon to take up the task of improving the internal administration of Judaea. In this he showed a rare judgement, and attained great success. Under his wise supervision commerce was developed, the defences of the country were strengthened, agriculture flourished, justice was rigorously dispensed, and a great impetus was given to religious life. Never since the Exile had the country either materially or spiritually enjoyed such well-being. "The land had rest all the days of Simon...and they tilled their land in peace...they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to make them afraid...the law he searched out...he glorified the sanctuary" (1 Macc. xiv. 4—15). Besides renewing the alliance with Rome and Sparta, he assumed the prerogative of an independent prince by issuing a new coinage in silver and copper.

The services rendered by the Maccabees to civil and religious liberty had deeply impressed the national consciousness, and at a vast public assembly, held on the 18th Elul (Sept.) B.C. 141, it was resolved to commemorate the acts and honours of Simon, to invest him with an absolute dictatorship, and to make the offices of high-priest, commander, and ethnarch, hereditary in his house "until there should arise a faithful prophet" to determine otherwise. The contents of the popular decree were engraved on brass tablets, which were prominently displayed on pillars in front of the sanctuary. Simon thus became the founder of the Hasmonaean dynasty.

Before commencing his campaign against Tryphon, Antiochus VII Sidetes had written to Simon expressly conferring upon him the right of coinage, and making many flattering promises so as to win the support of the Jews; but after defeating Tryphon, "with the accustomed perfidy of the Seleucidae," he changed his attitude entirely. While besieging Dor, the coast-town to which Tryphon had fled, he proudly declined Simon's gifts and auxiliaries, and demanded the cession of

Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra, or an alternative payment of 1000 talents. Simon offered 100 talents for Joppa and Gazara. Antiochus thereupon dispatched Cendebaeus against the Jews. Now an old man, Simon handed over the military command to his two eldest sons Judas and John, who decisively defeated Cendebaeus and his troops in a pitched battle near Modin.

For two or three years Simon was able to devote his energies once more to the internal development of his kingdom. Then came the tragic end. While engaged in personally supervising the machinery of government in the district of Jericho, he was, along with two of his sons, most foully murdered by his own son-in-law Ptolemy, the son of Abubus, who coveted the supreme power. But Ptolemy's plot failed, owing to the absence on the occasion of his brother-in-law John Hyrcanus, governor of Gazara. The latter, warned in time, cut off those who had been sent to assassinate him, and immediately occupied Jerusalem and the temple mount. As appears from the closing verses of our book, John succeeded his father as high-priest and prince of Judaea (B.C. 135).

More than thirty years had passed since Mattathias struck the first blow for liberty, and the remarkable achievements of his sons had made these years the most stirring epoch in Jewish history. "It is impossible not to admire the character of Judas. His piety and unselfish devotion to his country were unquestionable. The aims and methods of Jonathan were by no means of such an exalted type. Clever, cunning, and unscrupulous, he even used the priest's office as a ladder to power. In some respects Simon was the greatest of them all. The elevation of his subjects was as dear to him as the honour and prosperity of his house. He was a good priest and a born statesman—"the David of this age¹."

¹ Hand-books for Bible Classes : *The Exile to the Advent*, p. 152.

CHAPTER IV.

AUTHORSHIP, CONTENTS, AND LITERARY CHARACTER OF
THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES.

i. The *personality of the author* is unknown. That he was, however, an orthodox Palestinian Jew is manifest alike from his language, from his intimate acquaintance with the topography of the country, and from his undisguised sympathy with the heroic campaigns conducted by the successive Maccabean leaders. While he does not fail to chronicle the reverses sustained by them, he records their successes with enthusiasm, and takes delight in covering them with glory.

ii. *Contents.* The book opens with a brief historical introduction (ch. i. 1—9), in which the writer passes in swift review the conquests of Alexander and the partition of his empire among his successors (B.C. 331—176). The main narrative then falls into four distinct divisions :—

(i) First Division, ch. i. 10—ii. 70. The Rise of the Maccabean Revolt. B.C. 175—166.

(1) ch. i. 10—64. Attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes to suppress the Jewish religion in Palestine.

(2) ch. ii. 1—70. The immediate occasion of the rebellion led by Mattathias and his sons.

(ii) Second Division, ch. iii. 1—ix. 22. The Maccabean struggle for independence under Judas. B.C. 166—161.

(1) ch. iii. 1—iv. 61. The course of the war up to the purification of the temple and the re-dedication of the altar.

(2) ch. v. 1—vi. 63. Account of events between the re-dedication of the altar and the concession of religious liberty.

(3) ch. vii. 1—ix. 22. The history from the concession of religious liberty under Lysias to the defeat and death of Judas.

(iii) Third Division, ch. ix. 23—xii. 53. The leadership and high-priesthood of Jonathan. B.C. 161—143.

- (1) ch. ix. 23—73. The course of events under Jonathan's leadership till the conclusion of peace with Bacchides.
- (2) ch. x. 1—xi. 74. Jonathan's relations to the kings of Syria.
- (3) ch. xii. 1—53. Jewish embassies to Rome and Sparta. Last conflicts and imprisonment of Jonathan.
- (iv) Fourth Division, ch. xiii. 1—xvi. 24. The administration of Simon the high-priest. B.C. 143—135.
- (1) ch. xiii. 1—xiv. 3. Alliance with Demetrius II. Declaration of Jewish independence. Consolidation of Simon's power.
- (2) ch. xiv. 4—49. Simon's prosperous reign: public recognition of his services to the Jewish nation: establishment in his person of the high-priestly dynasty of the Hasmonaeans.
- (3) ch. xv. 1—xvi. 10. Simon's relations to Antiochus VII Sidetes, and victory over his general Cendebaeus.
- (4) ch. xvi. 11—24. Murder of Simon and two of his sons by Ptolemy, his son-in-law. Escape of John Hyrcanus. End of the book.

Of the different periods embraced in the several divisions the second, although actually the shortest, is treated in much greater detail than any of the others. This is natural enough, considering that Judas is the hero of the book, and that the interest of the author is manifestly centred upon his splendid feats of military prowess.

iii. *Literary character.* The foregoing grouping of events is not the result of literary art on the part of the writer; it lay to his hands ready-made in the actual historical developments of the forty years covered by the narrative. Anything of the nature of finished artistic composition was utterly foreign to an orthodox *Palestinian* Jew of the period. Our author simply lets the facts speak for themselves, and rarely ventures to introduce a reflexion of his own. The style of the book is that of simple prose narrative, and is modelled on that of the historical books of the O.T. For the most part it is even as unadorned as that of Ezra and Nehemiah. Yet now and then, as in these canonical works, the

language rises into impassioned rhetoric (i. 25—28, 38—40, ix. 10, xiv. 8—15) and even into poetry (ii. 7—13, 49—68, iii. 3—9, 18—22, 50—53, iv. 8—11, vi. 10—13).

CHAPTER V.

SOURCES, ORIGINAL LANGUAGE, AND UNITY OF THE WORK.

i. *Sources.* It is reasonable to suppose that in composing his book the writer drew largely from his own personal knowledge and recollection of the circumstances described. Even assuming the latest probable date for the book, he may well have lived through many of the years with which the history deals. If we think of him as having attained the age of seventy, ten years after the death of Hyrcanus, he would still have been a man of thirty at the close of the period which he passes under review, and thus in a position to obtain first-hand information from eye-witnesses for that part of it to which his own recollection did not extend. Moreover, the traditions of such a glorious age must have been still fresh and distinct in the popular mind, and such as to enable him to fill in many details of his picture. But it is improbable that he relied *solely* upon his own youthful reminiscences and the floating body of oral traditions current in his day regarding the rising under the Maccabees. Seeing that he lived in the second generation after, it is natural to suppose that he must have laid some *written documents* under contribution. That he had such sources at his disposal is perhaps more than hinted at in the statement of ch. ix. 22: "And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written" (viz. in the earlier existing literature)¹. But what, or of what sort, were those sources is no longer known to us, and nothing definite can be founded on the passage. It is e.g. impossible to conclude

¹ This passage, which is framed after the notices in *Kings*, may, however, simply mean that the writer could not record *all* the circumstances known to him.

from it, as some have done¹, that the preponderance of the poetical element in the part of the book which recounts the history of Judas is due to the character of the earlier written source on which our author depended, it being sufficiently accounted for by the more stirring nature of the events which took place under Mattathias and Judas as compared with those related in the rest of the book. Ewald tries to argue from the reference in ch. xvi. 23 to the chronicles of the priesthood of John Hyrcanus that the written sources in question consisted of official records stored in the archives of the temple; but apart from the general consideration that such records can scarcely have been kept during the turmoil of the Maccabæan wars, the natural interpretation of the reference points to the very opposite conclusion. The writer mentions the existence of these chronicles apparently as a reason for breaking off his narrative just at the point where these take up the history, and thus implies that for the period covered by 1 Macc. no similar records existed. It is, then, much more likely that, with the exception of the documents referred to in the next paragraph, such written sources as were in the author's possession were by no means voluminous, but comprised, besides brief public records (xi. 37, xiv. 18, 27), a certain quantity of private letters, and annalistic pieces dealing with leading personages and events.

As in the Book of Ezra, there are frequently embodied in the narrative what purport to be original documents. Of these there are eleven in all:—(1) the letter of the Roman senate to the Jewish people (viii. 23—32); (2) that of Alexander Balas to Jonathan (x. 18—20); (3) that of Demetrius I to the Jewish people (x. 25—45); (4) that of Demetrius II to Jonathan (xi. 30—37); (5) that of Jonathan to the Spartans (xii. 6—18); (6) that of Arius, king of Sparta, to Onias I the high-priest (xii. 20—23); (7) that of Demetrius II to Simon the high-priest (xiii. 36—40); (8) that of the Spartans to Simon (xiv. 20—23); (9) the decree of the Jewish people declaring the high-priesthood hereditary

¹ Westcott, in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*.

in Simon's family (xiv. 27—45); (10) the letter of Antiochus VII Sidetes to Simon (xv. 3—9); (11) the circular letter of the Romans (xv. 16—21). It is out of the question to suppose that these documents are from first to last pure fabrications on the part of the writer, who expressly calls some of them "copies" (viii. 22, xii. 5, xiv. 20, 27). There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the letter from the Roman senate, or of that of Jonathan to the Spartans, or of those of the several Syrian kings. But with regard to the remaining documents (cf. especially xii. 20—23, xiv. 20—23, xv. 16—21, and the notes *ad loc.*), there are good reasons for suspecting that they are merely attempts at a free reproduction of the lost originals. These documentary materials, collected probably to some extent by others who preceded our author in the same field, are therefore only of relative value as sources. At the best they are twice-translated versions, the Latin and Greek originals having been first rendered by the author into Hebrew, and this Hebrew translation having afterwards been retranslated into Greek by the translator of the book. Moreover, the writer lived so near to the events which he records that he treats his authorities with the greatest freedom, and does not hesitate to abridge, extend, and modify, conformably to his own purpose. In this way his narrative runs on with a uniformity of style which is as different as possible from the literary mosaic which must have resulted from an endeavour simply to translate and piece together a collection of original documents lying before him in different languages.

ii. *Original language.* That 1 Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew cannot reasonably be doubted. Jerome affirms that in his time (A.D. 340—420) it was still extant in Hebrew: "The first book of Maccabees I found in Hebrew; the second is Greek, as can be proved from its very style¹." Origen, too, was acquainted with 1 Macc. in its Hebrew form, but not as belonging to the Hebrew canon. At the end of his catalogue of the canonical books quoted in Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*

¹ *Prolog. Galeat. ad lib. Reg.*

VI. 25, he adds: "But outside the number of these (canonical books) is the Maccabaeian history (*τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ*), entitled *Sarbeth Sabanaiel*" (*Σαρβῆθ Σαβαναίελ*). Although the title seems to suggest several Maccabaeian books, it is practically certain that the work here intended is the First Book of Maccabees. But the Semitic title mentioned by Origen still remains an enigma. It has been suggested that it may mean "the prince of the house which God hath built up," *sar bayith shebbānāh ēl* (שַׁר בֵּית שְׁבִנָּה אֱל), but this seems hardly a probable title for a history. Two other explanations have found considerable favour: (1) "the history of the princes of the sons of God" *shar bath sārē benē ēl* (שְׁרַבְתַּ שְׂרֵי בְנֵי אֱל), i.e. the children of Israel; (2) "the government (sceptre) of the prince of the sons of God" *shar bīt sar benē ēl* (שְׁרַבִּיט שַׁר בְּנֵי אֱל), i.e. Simon, or, collectively, the Maccabaeian princes in general. Both these renderings, however, are based upon the reading *Sarbeth Sarbane El* (*Σαρβῆθ Σαρβανὲ Ἐλ*), adopted by Stephanus and Valesius, not upon that given above, for which there is a preponderance of authority. All that can be said with safety is that the title is a Semitic one, and therefore furnishes an argument for a Hebrew original of our book, and that its meaning may have been something like "history of the princely house of Israel."

The internal evidence pointing in this direction is also cumulative and convincing. The cast of the sentences is decisive in favour of a Hebrew original: O.T. phrases are constantly incorporated; and the Hebraistic character of the Greek is very pronounced. Such expressions as the opening phrase, "And it came to pass" (i. 1; cf. Judg. i. 1; Ruth i. 1; Ezra i. 1, &c.); "the saying was good in their eyes" (i. 13); "after two full years," lit. *years of days* (i. 29); "and it became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary," lit. *and it became for an ambush* &c. (i. 36); "the sons of pride" (ii. 47); "neither suffered they the sinner to triumph," lit. *gave they a horn* to the sinner (ii. 48); "made thy yoke heavy" (viii. 31); "came not any more," lit. *added not to come* any more (ix. 72), &c., inevitably suggest a Hebrew original. It has indeed been contended that these Hebraistic turns of expression are such as might have been

expected in the case of a Palestinian Jew who wrote in Greek; but, even granting that with the Septuagint as a model a Palestinian Jew might have composed the work in Greek, the question still remains whether such slavish Hebraisms can be thus satisfactorily accounted for. There are besides throughout the book several passages, the difficulties of which can be explained only on the hypothesis of errors in translation (e.g. vi. 1; xi. 28; xiv. 5). Moreover, no other instance is known of a Greek book having appeared in Palestine during this epoch. It is therefore even on internal grounds beyond reasonable doubt that the form in which we now possess the work is that of a Greek translation from a Hebrew original.

The question of the original language of the book is really not one as between Hebrew and Greek, but one as between Hebrew and Aramaic. Here again the probabilities are in favour of Hebrew, which, though no longer the vernacular of Palestine, was still the language of letters, especially in the department of sacred literature, and within the province of Judaea. The structure of the sentences and the phraseology of the book appear distinctly to reflect a Hebrew rather than an Aramaic original, though the Hebrew of this period would perhaps be somewhat coloured with Aramaisms¹.

The personality of the Greek translator, like that of the author, is unknown, but his work was probably executed soon after the appearance of the original, and in any case not later than the time of Josephus, who seems to have had access to our Greek text.

iii. Until recently the *unity* of the book has not been called in question. The uniform character of the style, the careful attention given to dates, and the deliberate abstention from the

¹ Classical Hebrew continued to be written to a late period. The Hebrew of the recently discovered fragment of the original text of Ecclesiasticus (*cir.* 200—170 B.C.) is with a few exceptions “classical, not Rabbinical: still less is it an Aramaic dialect, such as that of several of the passages quoted in both Talmuds (the Palestinian as well as the Babylonian), in the Midrashim, and in later Hebrew writings” (Cowley and Neubauer, *Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus*, Oxford, 1897). See also Charles’s arguments for a Hebrew original of the first century *Assumption of Moses* (*Ass. Mos.* London, 1897).

use of the Divine Name (see below), have usually been advanced in support of the view that the work is throughout the production of a single author. But Destinon, following up a suggestion previously made by Whiston, holds the closing section of the book (ch. xiv.—xvi.) to be a subsequent addition unknown to Josephus, and in this he is supported by Wellhausen¹. Schürer also thinks this view “deserves consideration in view of the singular brevity with which the historian disposes of the reign of Simon².” According to Ewald, these chapters dealing with the administration of Simon form the principal part of the book, to which the previous portion of the narrative is only introductory, but there is no real difference in style to support this theory.

CHAPTER VI.

DATE, HISTORICAL VALUE, AND RELIGIOUS STANDPOINT OF THE BOOK.

i. Happily the book itself furnishes information which makes it impossible for us to go far wrong as to the date of its composition. Three separate particulars go to make up this internal evidence. In the first place, the writer says of the family monument erected by Simon at Modin in B.C. 143, that it was still standing when he wrote (xiii. 30). This must be taken to imply that a considerable time had elapsed between the building of the monument and the composition of our book. If the interval be reckoned at thirty years, or one generation, this would point to B.C. 113 as the earliest possible date. In the second place, the author's language in ch. viii. with respect to the Romans supplies us with a *terminus ad quem*. The naïve way in which he speaks of them as a covenant-keeping people, whose disinterested friendship for the Jews stood in marked contrast to the tyranny of the Seleucidae, makes it clear that at

¹ *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 222, note 2.

² *H. J. P.* II. iii. p. 10.

the latest the book cannot have been composed after B.C. 64, the year preceding the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey. The date of composition therefore falls within the half century B.C. 113—64. A third determining factor is the tenor of ch. xvi. 23, 24, which refers the reader to the chronicles of the high-priesthood of John Hyrcanus for further details concerning that prince. Even if this annalistic record were compiled, as some think, from year to year concurrently with the course of his reign, it is natural to conclude that at the soonest the work cannot have been written until towards its close (B.C. 105). But those critics are probably right who interpret the passage to mean that Hyrcanus was no longer alive, and that the author refers to the chronicles of his priesthood as a well-known work already in circulation. If so, the only question to be decided is, To which part of the period B.C. 105—64 ought the composition of the book to be ascribed? This, however, cannot be definitely determined. Ewald thinks our author wrote immediately after the death of Hyrcanus, but the nature of the reference to the annals of that prince renders this scarcely probable. On the whole, the safest conclusion seems to be that the work belongs to the first or second decade of the first century B.C.

ii. *Historical value.* In the eighteenth century an able and learned attempt was made by the brothers E. F. and G. Wernsdorf to discredit I Macc. as a historical work, but the result of the fresh attention thus called to the book has been to establish its authenticity upon a firmer basis than ever. Modern scholars are agreed as to the essentially trustworthy character of the narrative as a whole. Grimm calls it "a record of priceless worth"; Ewald says "it breathes the freshest inspiration of the peculiar elevation of the time"; and Schürer pronounces it "one of the most valuable sources we possess for the history of the Jewish people."

The justice of this estimate of its credibility is in many respects apparent from the book itself. It bears all the marks of genuineness. The writer has at command a mass of details which stamp his narrative as trustworthy. There is no such obtrusion of the marvellous as we find on almost every page of

2 Macc. Neither is there any attempt to conceal unduly the disagreeable side of things; the author records defeat as well as victory, despair as well as courage, on the part of his countrymen. At the same time he indulges in no rancorous abuse of their enemies. Antiochus Epiphanes, indeed, he designates "a sinful root" (i. 10), as even in his capacity of historian he is well entitled to do, but to none of the Syrian generals does he apply a single opprobrious term. The care with which he dates all the more important events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era of B.C. 312) is a further mark of authentic history, and enables us to test the accuracy of his statements by comparison with those of other writers (e.g. Polybius, Livy, Justin, &c.). It is significant that with one exception, viz. that of the time when Tryphon put to death the youthful Antiochus VI, he contradicts no statement upon which these writers are agreed among themselves. Further, his geographical notices are distinguished by a precision and exactness foreign to any but the most sober and genuine narratives. Finally, his chronology is in thorough agreement with the evidence furnished by extant Syrian and Jewish coins of the period.

The general reliability of the book as a history of Jewish affairs is not appreciably affected by such criticisms as may in other respects be brought against it. If it be a literary vice to put speeches into the mouths of prominent personages, and to exaggerate somewhat in the matter of numbers, it is one which our author shares with most historians of his age; and certainly, after all is said, on the latter score he contrasts most favourably with the writer of 2 Macc. Even where he errs, as e.g. in stating that the number of elephants employed by Antiochus the Great at the battle of Magnesia was 120, whereas according to Livy (XXXVII. 39) it was 54, he may only be repeating the exaggerated account handed down by eye-witnesses. His other mistakes are almost entirely due to defective information regarding general history and the outer world. He is wrong in some of his statements about Alexander the Great, e.g. when he says that that monarch himself divided his empire amongst his friends, and that *all* of these crowned

themselves kings (i. 6, 9). His delineation of the Roman State and its system of administration (viii. 1—16) deviates also in several particulars from the known facts of the case (cf. notes *ad loc.*). The same is true of his description of the Spartans as racially akin to the Jews (xii. 6 sq.). These, however, are blemishes sufficiently accounted for by the limitations of his horizon as an orthodox Jew of the period, and are in no sense to be ascribed to any intention to mislead.

iii. The *religious standpoint* of the writer is in general that of orthodox Judaism. He is in thorough sympathy with the spirit which animated the movement of which he is the historian. No reader can fail to discern his deep-seated reverence for the Law as enshrined in the "holy books," and observed in the established ritual (xii. 9; ii. 21). In his eyes the sanctuary and its vessels are sacred and precious, and its profanation by Epiphanes (i. 21) is a wicked impiety. The blasphemies of Nicanor (vii. 34, 35) he also records with undisguised horror. The compulsory desecration of the sabbath and festival days (i. 45), the eating of unclean meats (i. 63) and sacrificing to idols (i. 43) by Israelites, as well as the heathen enormities of destroying the books of the Law and burning incense in the streets (i. 55, 56), are represented as woeful calamities. These things do not, however, affect his belief in the overruling providence of God (i. 64), or his assurance that "none that put their trust in Him shall want for strength" (ii. 61). A great army cannot buttress up an unrighteous cause, for "with heaven it is all one, to save by many or by few" (iii. 18). This attitude is consistently maintained throughout the delineation of the sore oppression, heroic conflict, and triumphant victory of his nation.

Yet the narrative differentiates itself in some important respects from the general tone and character of the earlier historical books of the O.T., and even of such later books as Ezra and Nehemiah. There is certainly a deep undercurrent of theocratic feeling in the book, but much more reserve in the direct expression of it than we are accustomed to on the part of canonical writers. Our author's way of putting things is not exactly theirs. Even the glorious victories of the Maccabees

are nowhere attributed to the special miraculous interposition of God, unless indeed we are to interpret in this sense the conventional phraseology of such passages as iv. 25, v. 50, 54, 62, &c.; they are regarded rather as the natural fruit of the wisdom, bravery, and skill with which the Maccabaeian leaders conducted the campaign. There is no mention of God stirring up the spirits of men, no direct ascription of conquest and deliverance to His hand, as in Ezra (i. 1; viii. 31) and Neh. (ii. 8; iv. 9; vii. 5). The speeches and prayers of his heroes breathe no doubt a spirit of absolute trust in God as the shield and helper of His people (iv. 8 sqq.; xii. 15; xvi. 3); and their devotion to Jehovah's cause is likewise of the most ardent and courageous type (ii. 21 sq.; iii. 59 sq., &c.). But he seldom moralises, and even when he does (e.g. in i. 64; iii. 8; xvi. 17), it is only in such a moderate way as hardly to affect the essential objectivity of his narrative. In this respect he differs *toto caelo* from the homiletically-inclined author of 2 Macc.

The author's religious reticence (which, however, is not incompatible with a religious spirit) is in nothing more conspicuous than in the persistent manner in which he refrains from introducing the Divine Name into his history. The word *God* does not once occur. Nor does he use any other express designation of Jehovah. In general the term "heaven," or merely a pronoun in the second or third person, is employed instead of the definite "God" or "Lord" (iii. 50, 60; iv. 10, 40; ix. 46; xvi. 3), or else the name is simply omitted, the reader being left to supply it himself (i. 62; ii. 21, 26; iii. 22, 53, 60; iv. 10, 55)¹. This can scarcely be explained as a mere illustration of the known Jewish habit of reverential shrinking from the employment of the sacred Name, seeing that this applied only to *Jehovah*, not to *El* and *Elohim*; it seems rather to have been a special feature of the religious usage of the period immediately preceding the Advent of Christ, and is probably to be regarded

¹ According to the true text. In iii. 18, however, *God* has been inserted in some MSS.; in the A.V. the name has been supplied in some cases where it does not appear in the Greek text (ii. 21; iii. 53, 60; iv. 55; ix. 10).

as furnishing its own quota of evidence for the acknowledged fact that the voice of prophecy had become silent (ix. 27). God was absolutely conceived as reigning in the remote heaven, and no longer as dwelling among the people by the Shechinah. Pious men directed their cry not to a present Jehovah, but to the distant heaven (iii. 50 ; iv. 10). Under the influence of the Scribes the warm glow of a living faith had given place to religious ceremonialism ; piety had become external and mechanical. The prophets had long built on faith and morals, but the Scribes, who had now taken their place, were mainly concerned about laying down prescriptions with a view to securing the outward holiness of Israel. The cessation of prophecy and the new avocation of the Scribes are both accounted for by the fact that O. T. religion had no further tangible advance to make. Men no longer spoke directly for God ; they merely tabulated and explained what had been already spoken. As a result the consciousness of sin and the sense of penitence grew continually weaker in the religious life of the nation, and are virtually absent from the prayers put into the mouths of the Maccabean leaders¹ ; while the knowledge of Jehovah as the covenant God of His people became a constantly diminishing quantity, until at length the general name of *God* or *God of heaven* was substituted for the name of Jehovah.

More noticeable still as a fruit of this tendency is the way in which the Messianic hope is watered down into the expectation of a "faithful prophet" who should give an authoritative decision upon doubtful points of ritual, and indicate the Divine will with respect to the temporary and provisional arrangements for carrying on the civil government (iv. 46 ; xiv. 41). In that age of conscious spiritual poverty all questions of vital significance, not already settled by the prophetic pronouncements of the past, were relegated to a future day when the prophetic spirit should

¹ Contrast Nehemiah (i. 6, 7 ; ix. 2, 3, 16, &c.) and Daniel (ix. 3—20). The contrast is curious if the latter is Maccabean, but the change may have come between B.C. 167 and 80. Possibly, however, the lack of the penitential note in 1 Macc. may be chiefly owing to the writer.

once more assert itself in Israel. The war of independence so successfully waged under the Maccabees did not result in the complete re-establishment of the Kingdom of God in its O.T. form, but merely secured for the Jewish people the continued possession of the sanctuary and its worship, together with the Law and the "holy books" (xii. 9); and it is perhaps not unfitting that the work which tells the story of their achievements should be strictly historical, and in no sense didactic.

CHAPTER VII.

TRANSMISSION OF THE GREEK TEXT, OTHER EARLY TRANSLATIONS, AND PATRISTIC TESTIMONY.

i. The Books of Maccabees have no place in the important Codex Vaticanus (B). This omission has been repaired in the Roman (Sixtine) edition of the Septuagint by the transcription of the first two books of this name from another source, probably the Codex Venetus (V)¹. The common text is based on this edition. The oldest and most valuable MSS. of the Greek Bible, through which the text of our book has come down to us, are the Codex Sinaiticus (S), dating from the fourth century, and containing only the First and Fourth Books of Maccabees, and the Codex Alexandrinus (A), which is of the fifth century, and contains four Books of Maccabees. Between these two MSS. there is a large measure of general correspondence, and in many cases they serve to correct the Roman text, although the variations of the Codex Alex. frequently consist of somewhat officious corrections (e.g. in ii. 24; iv. 57; vi. 48; x. 23, &c.). Next to these uncials ranks the Codex Venetus (V), dating from the eighth or ninth century. There are also sixteen MSS. of a later date (twelfth to fourteenth century), the readings of which are given in Holmes and Parsons' edition of the Septuagint². The best modern editions of the Greek text of our book are

¹ Swete, vol. III. p. xv.

² Five vols. Oxford, 1798—1827, *Apocrypha* in vol. v.

those of Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871), and Swete (*Cambridge Septuagint*, 1887—1894). Fritzsche constructs an (often arbitrary) text. Swete prints the text of A, with the various readings of N and V.

ii. There are but two extant versions of 1 Macc. old enough to be taken into account in connexion with the history of the transmission of the text, viz. a Latin and a Syriac.

1. The Latin. Of this there are two recensions:—(a) the common text incorporated in the Vulgate without special revision from the Old Latin already current before Jerome's time; in its original form this version was made from the Greek, of which it is for the most part a closely literal rendering: (b) another text, embracing ch. i—xiii., published by Sabatier¹ from a MS. belonging to the cloister of St Germain in Paris ("S. Germ. 15"), also derived from the Greek, but varying considerably from, and probably older than, the common text. Berger has discovered that this text is to be found in a complete and better form in the great MS. from Alcala, now at Madrid².

2. The Syriac. That this version too sprang from the Greek, and not, as Michaelis thought, directly from the Hebrew, has been so conclusively proved by Trendelburg and other scholars that the Greek MSS. 19, 64, 93 are confidently pointed to as those used by the translator. One peculiarity of this version is its mode of giving *place-names*, and Grimm (*Introd.* § 1c) infers from this that the translator was still familiar with them in their Semitic form, a circumstance which in itself vouches for the antiquity of the version, and adds to its exegetical value. According to Schürer³ the Syriac translation of the Ambrosian MS., extending as far as ch. xiv., "deviates from the printed received text."

iii. The earliest *patristic testimony* to the ecclesiastical use of 1 Macc. is found in the writings of Tertullian (†220), who (*Adv. Judaeos*, c. iv.) says: "For also in the times of the Maccabees they did bravely by fighting on the sabbaths" (cf. 1 Macc.

¹ *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, II. pp. 1017 sqq.

² See *Notice sur quelques textes latins inédits de l'Ancien Testament*.

³ *H. J. P.* III. p. 11.

ii. 41 sqq.). Another of the Church fathers who cites the book is Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, A.D. 248), who always makes use of the formula *in Machabaeis* (*Testimonia*, III. 4, 15, 53). In his commentary on *Daniel*, Hippolytus, in giving an account of the Maccabaeian wars, bases his narrative upon 1 Macc., and quotes almost *verbatim* ch. ii. 33 sqq. Origen also in his commentary upon the *Ep. to the Rom.* (Bk. VIII. ch. i.) says: "As Mattathias, of whom in the First Book of Maccabees it is written *because he was zealous for the law of God*," &c. (1 Macc. ii. 24). Our book is similarly referred to as the First Book of Maccabees in the passage already quoted from Jerome's *Prolog. Gal. ad lib. Reg.*, in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* of Eusebius (VIII. 393), and in the works of Augustine¹ (†430). Clement of Alexandria also alludes vaguely to 1 Macc. as the "Book of the Maccabaeian history."

The principal works consulted in the preparation of the following notes are:—

(a) *Commentaries*, Drusius and Grotius in *Critici Sacri*; Grimm, in the *Kurzgef. exeget. Handb.* series, 1853; Keil, 1875; Bissell, in *Lange-Schaff's Commentary*, 1880; Rawlinson, in the *Speaker's Bible*, 1888; Zöckler, 1891.

(b) *Other works*: the writings of Josephus; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, vol. v., E. T. 1874; Stanley, *Jewish Church*, vol. III. 1876; Churton, *The Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures*, 1884; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1888; Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the time of Jesus Christ*, E. T. 1890; Henderson, *Palestine: Its Historical Geography*², 1893; Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, 1894; G. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, 1894; Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 1896; articles in the *Bible Dictionaries* of Winer, Schenkel, and Smith, and in *Encycl. Brit.*

(c) For the text, Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi Vet. Test. Graece*, 1871; Ball, *The Variorum Apocrypha*; and Swete, *Cambridge Septuagint*, 1894.

¹ *De Civ. Dei* XVIII. 36, 45; *De doct. Christ.* II. 8.

SUMMARY OF THE WARS OF THE MACCABEES.

First Campaign. Judas defeats Apollonius between Jerusalem and Samaria (iii. 10—12), Seron at Beth-horon (iii. 13—26), Nicanor and Gorgias at Emmaus (iv. 1—25).

Second Campaign (of the next year). Lysias defeated by Judas at Beth-zur (iv. 26—35).

Third Campaign. Siege of the Acra by Judas (vi. 18—20); attack by Lysias on Beth-zur, and defeat of Judas at Beth-zacharias (vi. 28—54).

Fourth Campaign. Expedition under Bacchides (vii. 1—25). Judas defeats Nicanor at Capharsalama and Adasa (vii. 26—50). Second expedition under Bacchides and Alcimus. Defeat and death of Judas at Elasa (ix. 1—22).

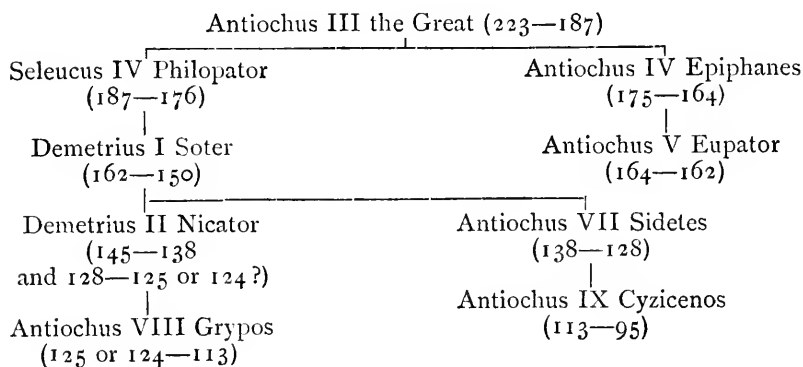
Fifth Campaign. Defeat of Bacchides by Jonathan at the Jordan (ix. 49) and at Bethbasi (ix. 68).

Sixth Campaign. The generals of Demetrius II defeated by Jonathan at Azotus (x. 67—89) and in Hamath (xii. 24—38).

Seventh Campaign. Simon thwarts Tryphon (xiii. 1—22), and captures the fortresses of Gazara and Jerusalem (xiii. 43—52).

Eighth Campaign. Defeat of Cendebaeus near Modin by Simon's sons, Judas and John Hyrcanus (xvi. 1—10).

GENEALOGY AND REIGNS OF THE SELEUCIDAE
DURING THE SECOND CENTURY B.C.



From B.C. 150—145 the throne was usurped by Alexander Balas. During the period 145—138 Tryphon, one of the generals of Alexander, claimed the crown for Alexander's infant son, Antiochus VI, but after a time he had his ward put to death, and (Demetrius II having been taken prisoner by the Parthians) himself assumed the sovereignty. But in B.C. 139 he was defeated by Antiochus VII Sidetes.

THE FIRST BOOK OF THE MACCABEES.

AND it came to pass, after that Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Chittim, and smote Darius king of the Persians and

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION. CH. I. 1—9.

A BRIEF epitome of the history of the Greek supremacy in Judaea, covering the interval—rather more than a century and a half—between the battle of Arbela (B.C. 331) and the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes as king of Syria (B.C. 175). The Greek dominion, it is pointed out, was the result of the conquests of Alexander the Great, and of the subsequent sway of his successors (the Diadochoi). Curiously enough, the writer does not state that Palestine was the possession of the Egyptian Ptolemies for upwards of a hundred years (till B.C. 203) before it was merged in the kingdom of the Seleucidae. The dominion of the latter was at first hopefully welcomed by the Jews, even although it meant merely a transference from one form of Hellenistic rule to another.

1. *And it came to pass*] The equivalent of the Heb. *vayēhi*, with which so many of the O.T. historical books begin. Properly speaking, it has a retrospective reference to some prior narrative, but it seems gradually to have lost this connecting force.

Alexander the Macedonian &c.] So distinguished from other Alexanders of the period, notably Balas and Zabinas, kings of Syria. He is known to the world as Alexander the Great. Upon the assassination of his father Philip, and while only twenty years of age, he was crowned king of Macedonia, the country to the N. of Greece, of which indeed it was reckoned a remote part. Cf. the name “king of Greece” in Dan. viii. 21.

Chittim] i.e. the island of Cyprus, so called from the town Citium (*Larnaca*); but the name subsequently embraced the coasts of Asia Minor and even of south-eastern Europe in general. Cf. Gen. x. 4; Num. xxiv. 24; Is. xxiii. 1.

smote] i.e. vanquished. Cf. ii. 44, iii. 11, iv. 2, &c.

Darius king of the Persians] The reference is to Darius III Codomannus. Cf. Neh. xii. 22. Alexander crossed the Hellespont in B.C. 334, and after annihilating the Persian troops near the Granicus, defeated Darius first at Issus in Cilicia (B.C. 333), and then at Arbela in Mesopotamia (B.C. 331).

Medes, *it came to pass*, after he had smitten him, that he reigned in his stead, in former time, over Greece. And he fought many battles, and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth, and went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of a multitude of nations. And the

and Medes] Subsequent to the union under Cyrus the Persians and Medes are usually represented as twin factors in the empire. See Esth. i. 3; Dan. v. 28, &c.; and cf. the use of the name "Great Britain and Ireland."

he reigned in his stead, in former time, over Greece] What is meant is that Alexander succeeded to the empire of Darius, and his (Alexander's) empire was known as the Greek empire. The text is obscure, and possibly corrupt, but on the whole this is the most probable explanation.

The construction is somewhat involved. An object is wanted for *παράξει*, but it can be supplied from the clause "and he smote Darius," and though the sentence is awkward, it is intelligible. It has been suggested that v. 5 may begin the apodosis: "*And it came to pass after Alexander...had smitten (who came out &c....became tributary unto him): that after these things he fell sick &c.*," but the cumbrousness of this construction is a strong argument against it.

2. *fought many battles*] These included (1) his subjugation of Greece and the barbarian tribes of Illyria, &c., (2) his campaign against the Persians, (3) his conquests in Bactria, Sogdiana, and India. After his coronation war became the business of his life.

won many strongholds] Thebes, Miletus, and Halicarnassus; Tyre and Gaza; Babylon, Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana; the fortresses of Sogdiana, &c. "He besieged no city without capturing it" (Justin). A&V, and a number of cursives, do not contain the word "many."

slew the kings of the earth] A reminiscence of several passages in the Psalms (ii. 2, lxxvi. 12, lxxxix. 27 &c.). Expositors cite the case of Bessus, the murderer of Darius, who assumed the title of king; but it is doubtful whether we have here more than a rhetorical phrase.

3. *to the ends of the earth*] i.e. to the Indian Ocean. His forces were transported thither by the combined waters of the Hydaspes and the Indus.

took spoils &c.] After the battle of Issus Alexander served himself heir to the gold and silver and rich furniture that adorned the tent of Darius. Plutarch says that "the Macedonians, having once tasted the treasures and the luxury of the barbarians, hunted for the Persian wealth with all the ardour of hounds upon scent." Their appetite was again appeased in some measure at Arbela. But the greatest spoils were found in the four capitals which contained the long accumulated hoards of the Persian kings. "It was a prey such as the Spaniards found in Mexico and Peru" (Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, p. 27). After making handsome awards to all his soldiers, Alexander had, it is said, 180,000 talents, or about £44,000,000, which he deposited under a strong guard at Ecbatana.

earth was quiet before him, and he was exalted, and his heart was lifted up, and he gathered together an exceeding 4 strong host, and ruled over countries and nations and principalities, and they became tributary unto him. And after 5 these things he fell sick, and perceived that he should die. And he called his servants, which were honourable, which 6 had been brought up with him from his youth, and he

the earth was quiet before him] This expression is repeated in xi. 38, 52. Cf. also xiv. 4, and the LXX. of Judg. iii. 11; Ps. lxxvi. 8. The idea is that of being quiet from war; no one dared to move against him.

he was exalted &c.] Cf. xvi. 13, and LXX. of Ezek. xxviii. 5. Alexander seems to have become intoxicated by his success. He appears even to have had a fatuous notion that he was divine; at all events he encouraged the spread of a report that Jupiter Ammon had called him his son, and granted him the distinction of being the conqueror of the world. In accordance with this truly "exalted" conception of himself, he exacted divine honours, not only from the Persians, but from the Macedonians as well, and even ordered the philosopher Callisthenes to be put to death for refusing to prostrate himself before him.

The character of Alexander the Great presents something of the nature of a psychological puzzle. It is difficult at the first glance to say whether the noble or the ignoble qualities predominate. But there was evidently a process of degeneration, which became more rapid as the years went on. "Munificence and pride were the only characteristics that never forsook him" (Langhorne's *Plutarch's Lives*).

4. *an exceeding strong host*] i.e. **army**. Cf. ii. 31, v. 11. That Alexander's army at first consisted of only 34,500 men (30,000 infantry and 4500 cavalry) shews that it was "exceeding strong," not so much in numbers as in spirit, discipline, and equipment. Even at Arbela, when many fresh recruits had been added, he had scarcely 50,000 soldiers (Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* III. 12).

principalities] Probably the *satrapies*, i.e. the provinces under the ancient Persian monarchy, are meant. Cf. LXX. of Esth. ix. 3.

they became tributary &c.] Cf. LXX. of Judg. i. 30, 33, 35.

5. *fell sick*] Lit. **fell on the bed**. The same idiom occurs in Jud. viii. 3, where, however, another word is used for bed (*κλίνη* for *κοίτη*).

6. *called his servants*] i.e. his officers or ministers.

which had been brought up with him] i.e. who had been the associates and companions of his youth. Of these "companions" of his youth three (Philotas, Parmenio, and Clitus) had been successively put to death, and one (Hephaestion) had died of fever. The survivors included Antigonus, Cassander, Eumenes, Lysimachus, Menander, Perdiccas, and Seleucus.

divided unto them his kingdom, while he was yet alive.
 7 And Alexander reigned twelve years, and he died. And
 9 his servants bare rule, each one in his place. And they
 did all put diadems upon themselves after that he was dead,

divided unto them his kingdom &c.] This statement appears to rest on no better foundation than that of a widespread Oriental myth. The passage shews, however, that the legend must have arisen at a comparatively early date. It is met with in two forms:—one (the more general) that Alexander divided his kingdom by written testament, the other (adopted by our author), that he gave directions as to the division of it when on his death-bed. Most probably the story was put in circulation by those who after his death usurped kingdoms for themselves, in order to justify their own position. Josephus contradicts it (*Ant.* XI. 8. 7). Another account, given by Arrian (VII. 26), but without circumstantiality, is that on being asked by his friends to whom he left the kingdom, Alexander replied, “To the worthiest” (or “to the strongest”). Greater likelihood attaches to the statement of Justin (XII. 15), Diodorus Siculus (XVIII. 2), and Curtius (X. 5. 7), that when no longer able to speak, the dying Macedonian took off his signet-ring and handed it to Perdiccas, the captain of his body-guard, in token of his desire that he should reign after him. Had Alexander made a testamentary settlement, it seems incredible that no appeal should have been made to it by his warring successors, and that they should have allowed some time to pass before assuming the title of king.

7. *twelve years*] According to Diodorus, twelve years and seven months; according to Arrian, twelve years and eight months (B.C. 336—323).

died] Plutarch states that he was seized with fever on the 18th, and died on the evening of the 28th June, B.C. 323.

8. *in his place*] i.e. in his own province. This does not mean that each took possession of the region over which he was governor at the time of Alexander’s death, but that they each reigned over the territory assigned them in his (supposed) will.

9. *all put diadems upon themselves*] This *all* must not be interpreted literally, as a good many of Alexander’s generals (e.g. Antipater, Craterus, Eumenes, Laomedon, Leonnatus, Meleager, Perdiccas, and others) never assumed the title of king. The statement is *general*, and meant to convey that kings declared themselves all over Alexander’s empire. Ultimately in B.C. 301, five crowned rulers shared the vast inheritance, viz. Seleucus in Babylon, Antiochus in Phrygia, Ptolemy in Egypt, Lysimachus in Thrace and Bithynia, and Cassander in Macedonia and Greece. ‘Diadem’ was the Greek name for the blue band worked with white which went round the *tiara* or head-dress of the Persian kings.

after that he was dead] How long after, the writer does not specify, and probably did not know. In point of fact, Alexander’s officers for a time kept up a show of loyalty to his house, but after the murder of his widow Roxana and her boy of 13 by Cassander, who wanted to

and so did their sons after them many years: and they multiplied evils in the earth.

And there came forth out of them a sinful root, Antiochus¹⁰ Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king, who had been a

make sure of Macedonia as his own portion, they were no longer at pains to conceal their intentions.

their sons after them] The hereditary principle according to which the eldest son succeeded to the diadem on the death of his father was then everywhere recognised.

many years] The interval between Alexander's death and the accession of Antiochus IV Epiphanes to the throne of Syria was one of nearly a century and a half (B.C. 323—175).

they multiplied evils] Through the constant wars of the Successors the whole world was kept in commotion, and more especially in Palestine, which was the battle-field of the Ptolemies and the Seleucidæ during the entire period, were "evils multiplied."

FIRST DIVISION, CH. I. 13—II. 70. THE RISE OF THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT.

FIRST SECTION, CH. I. 10—64. ATTEMPT OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES TO SUPPRESS THE JEWISH RELIGION IN PALESTINE.

10—15. ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AND THE GREEK PARTY IN JUDAEA.

At the time when our narrative begins the Greek mind was rapidly moulding the commerce, education, politics, and even religion of the Jewish community. It was the drastic nature of the measures taken by Antiochus Epiphanes that proved to be its salvation. The people were resolute in their refusal to purchase Greek freedom at the cost of their ancestral religious rites.

10. *came forth*] Cf. Isa. xi. 1.

a sinful root] Or *offshoot*, i.e. a sprout from an old stock (cf. Eccles. xlvii. 22), and of *wicked* quality (cf. Dan. xi. 21, where he is called a reprobate or "vile person").

Antiochus Epiphanes] On his accession Antiochus IV assumed after the fashion of his age (cf. the surnames of the Egyptian Ptolemies: *Philadelphus*, *Euergetes*, &c.) the flattering title of Epiphanes (the Illustrious); but owing to his eccentricities this was soon parodied into the nickname Epimanes (the Madcap). His relations to the Jews, however, were characterised less by an absurd senselessness than by inhuman cruelty. Perhaps his officers were responsible for much of it.

son of Antiochus] i.e. Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria from B.C. 223—187. From the latter date until the accession of Epiphanes the throne was held by his elder brother, Seleucus IV Philopator.

who &c.] "Who" refers to Epiphanes. After the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans at Magnesia (B.C. 190), one of the terms of peace was that twenty hostages, including a son of his own, should be sent to

hostage at Rome, and he reigned in the hundred and thirty and seventh year of the kingdom of the Greeks.

11 In those days came there forth out of Israel transgressors

reside in Rome. There accordingly Antiochus remained during the 12 years of his brother's reign. Just before his assassination by Heliodorus his treasurer (B.C. 176), Seleucus (probably at the call of Rome) had sent his son Demetrius to take the place of Antiochus. Thus released, and in the absence of the true heir, Antiochus succeeded, with the help of the king of Pergamos, in ousting Heliodorus and usurping



TETRADRACHM OF ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES.

Obv. Head of Antiochus, with diadem. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (of King Antiochus, Theos [god], Epiphanes, Nikephoros). Zeus, seated on throne, holding a figure of Nike (Victory).

(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Cf. British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, Pl. XI.)

the kingdom. The words "a hostage at Rome" are perhaps intended to contrast the earlier mildness of Antiochus with the arrogant cruelty afterwards practised by him.

reigned] **Became king**, a frequent usage of the LXX. Cf. 2 Ki. xv. 10.

the hundred and thirty and seventh year &c.] The era of the Syrian Greeks began with the accession of Seleucus I Nicator, on the 1st of October, B.C. 312. The year in question is therefore that between autumn B.C. 176 and 175. Our author, who reckons years by this era, but months after the Jewish method, makes it commence with the 1st Nisan (April) B.C. 312, i.e. six months earlier than the actual date.

11. *In those days*] viz. while Antiochus Epiphanes was king. As an indefinite note of time the expression is frequent in Heb. as well as in N.T. Greek. Cf. Gen. vi. 4; Ex. ii. 11; Judg. xvii. 6; 2 Ki. xx. 1; Matt. iii. 1; Acts vii. 41, &c.

came there forth &c.] As *v. 10*. The question of the adoption of the Greek polytheism was first raised in Judaea by apostate Jews themselves. *Lawless men*, παράνομοι, = *sons of Belial*, as in LXX. of Deut. xiii. 13, and often. R.V. *transgressors of the law* is unsatisfactory here. The reference is to Jason and his party; see on *v. 13*.

of the law, and persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a covenant with the Gentiles that are round about us; for since we were parted from them many evils have befallen us. And the saying was good in their eyes. And certain of the people were forward *herein* and went to the king, and he gave them licence to do after the ordinances of the Gentiles. And they built a place of exercise in Jerusalem ¹²₁₃ ¹⁴

persuaded many] This indicates that the party was numerous.

make a covenant with the Gentiles &c.] The words may simply express a determination to conform in religion and manners to the usages of the surrounding heathen in general, or they may allude specifically to the Greeks, whose townships formed a net-work "round about" Judaea (cf. 2 Macc. iv. 7—10). In either case these agitators were running directly counter to the command of Ex. xxiii. 32. For the phraseology, cf. LXX. of Judg. ii. 2.

were parted from them] viz. by adopting the provisions of the Mosaic law with regard to all outsiders.

many evils have befallen us] Lit. have **found** us—a Hebraism. (Cf. Deut. xxxi. 17, *al.*) An utter reversal this of the prophetic teaching that national misfortune is due to faithlessness towards Jehovah. No doubt their exclusive position had its drawbacks. A mutual feeling of repulsion sprang up between Israel and other nations, and the seed of Abraham were in consequence everywhere subjected to many real hardships as well as petty annoyances. But the proposal of Jason and his friends was no true solution of the problem thus raised. To get rid of such "evils" only the sharper corners of Judaism needed to be toned down. In agitating for Hellenization these men were actuated by the most selfish and sordid motives.

12. *the saying was good &c.*] Cf. LXX. of Neh. ii. 6.

13. *went to the king*] This deputation of Hellenists was led by Joshua, a younger brother of the high-priest Onias III. Having Graecised his name into Jason, he repaired to Antioch and bargained with Epiphanes to pay him so much yearly, provided he would transfer the priesthood from Onias to himself, and would let him set up a regular pagan propaganda in Judaea. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 7—10.

licence &c.] i.e. to observe pagan customs. Cf. 2 Macc. iv. 9. Without this royal permission it would have been hopeless to attempt to introduce such heathenising innovations. The Mosaic law ordained that even enticers to idolatry were to be punished by death (Deut. xiii. 6—10).

14. *a place of exercise*] Gr. *gymnasion*, so-called as a place where competitors exercised themselves *naked*. See 2 Macc. iv. 9, 12. The Syr. renders *stadion*, or race-course, this being a leading feature about such an institution. The Greeks were passionately fond of athletic sports, alike as a training for war and as a means of promoting physical health. For the site of a gymnasium a spacious piece of ground was necessary. This was enclosed by walls, and fitted up with dressing-

15 according to the laws of the Gentiles; and they made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook the holy covenant, and joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil.

16 And the kingdom was well ordered in the sight of Antiochus, and he thought to reign over Egypt, that he might
17 reign over the two kingdoms. And he entered into Egypt

rooms, bath-rooms, and every requisite for leaping, wrestling, boxing, &c. Round about the exercise-grounds there were seats for spectators, and also outer porticoes, much frequented by literati, artists and philosophers. The whole was aesthetically adorned by statuary and paintings. Gymnastics was regarded as a part of education (cf. A.V. *marg.* "they set up an open school"), and even as a branch of medicine, special exercises being prescribed for particular ailments. The gymnasium at Jerusalem was built right under the citadel. Its promoters had no doubt an eye to tactics in the way they chose to inaugurate their campaign. A gymnasium would appeal specially to youth; and if the Jewish youth could be won over to pagan practices, then the future was theirs.

15. *made themselves uncircumcised*] i.e. tried to obliterate the sign of the covenant by undergoing another surgical operation. Cf. 1 Cor. vii. 18. Their motive was to avoid the ridicule of their heathen antagonists in the palaestra.

forsook the holy covenant] Their action was tantamount to a renunciation of the covenant entered into with Jehovah, first by their father Abraham (Gen. xvii. 10), and afterwards at Sinai (Ex. xxiv. 3—8). For the comparatively rare expression "holy covenant," cf. Dan. xi. 28—30 and v. 63.

joined themselves] yoked themselves. Cf. Num. xxv. 3, 5; 2 Cor. vi. 14.

sold themselves to do evil] In furthering the evil designs of a heathen monarch, they shamelessly abandoned their calling as the people of Jehovah. Cf. 1 Ki. xxi. 20, 25; Rom. vii. 14.

16—28. SECOND EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN OF EPIPHANES: DESECRATION OF THE TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM, AND MASSACRE OF THE JEWS.

16. *the kingdom was well ordered*] Rather, perhaps, as A.V., **was established**. Cf. 1 Ki. ii. 12, &c. This was the result of (1) Epiphanes' displacement of Heliodorus, (2) his silencing of a further claim on behalf of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, and (3) his recognition by the Roman senate.
in the sight of Antiochus] i.e. Antiochus saw that his tenure of the throne was secure.

thought to reign over Egypt] Probably this idea took shape in his mind after his first victory. Fritzsche reads, with several MSS. and ancient versions, "the land of Egypt."

the two kingdoms] i.e. Syria and Egypt.

with a great multitude, with chariots, and with elephants, and with horsemen, and with a great navy; and he made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt; and Ptolemy was put to shame before him, and fled; and many fell wounded to

17. *he entered into Egypt*] The hostilities between Antiochus Epiphanes and Egypt were occasioned by the old vexed question as to the possession of Palestine. His sister Cleopatra had been given in marriage to Ptolemy V Epiphanes, and Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine promised as her dowry. But her father, Antiochus the Great, does not appear to have handed over Palestine to Egypt: under Seleucus IV Philopator, the Jews were still subject to Syria. On the other hand, the congratulations sent from Palestine on the birth of Philometor (son of Ptolemy V and Cleopatra) indicate that Egypt was in possession (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 4, 7). Seleucus had perhaps seized the disputed provinces during the infancy of Philometor. Ptolemy Epiphanes was poisoned in B.C. 181, just as he was getting ready an expedition to snatch them from Seleucus. He was a weak prince, and from his time Egypt was virtually in the hands of the Romans. Cleopatra held the regency with prudence till her death, in B.C. 173. Lennaeus and Eulaeus, the new guardians of her infant son, demanded that Antiochus Epiphanes should hand over the territory ceded by Antiochus the Great as Cleopatra's dowry. This claim was repudiated; hence the appeal to the sword.

According to the usual historical reckoning, Antiochus made four separate campaigns against Egypt in four successive years (171—168). The reference here is to the *second* of these campaigns, in which he made himself master of the whole of Egypt, with the exception of Alexandria. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 1.

with a great multitude] Gr. *heavy*, apparently from Num. xx. 20, = *bē'am kābēdh* (בְּעַם כָּבֵד). Syr. has *with a great and strong army*. Cf. Dan. xi. 25.

with chariots] Cf. the fuller description of 2 Macc. xiii. 2: "armed with scythes"; and also Livy XXXVII. 40, 41.

with elephants] After the battle of Magnesia the Romans ordered the disuse of elephants in the Syrian army, but the authorities did not rigorously enforce this demand. Cf. vi. 30 sqq., and 2 Macc. xi. 4; xiii. 2.

a great navy] R.V. marg. *armament*. The Greek word (*στόλος*) means "an equipment, especially for warlike purposes; an expedition by land or sea" (*Liddell and Scott*). Here evidently in the latter sense. In Egypto-Syrian warfare a fleet was indispensable. Syr. renders *with great pomp*.

18. *Ptolemy*] i.e. Ptolemy VI Philometor, then only sixteen years old.

fled] The reference is rather to his army than to himself, since at the time when the battle of Pelusium was fought he was safe in Alexandria. He afterwards weakly submitted to Antiochus.

wounded to death] In classical Greek the word simply means

- 19 death. And they got possession of the strong cities in the land of Egypt; and he took the spoils of Egypt.
- 20 And Antiochus, after that he had smitten Egypt, returned in the hundred and forty and third year, and went up
- 21 against Israel and Jerusalem with a great multitude, and entered presumptuously into the sanctuary, and took the golden altar, and the candlestick of the light, and all that

“wounded,” but in the LXX. it frequently occurs as the rendering of a Hebrew word which means “fatally wounded,” “slain.” The phrase comes from Judg. ix. 40.

19. *strong cities*] e.g. Pelusium and Memphis. Alexandria alone held out against him.

20. *returned &c.*] viz. from Egypt, after “smiting” it in his second campaign. “The 143rd year” of the Seleucid era corresponds to B.C. 170—169. Two great obstacles barred the way to his occupation of Egypt,—the threatening attitude of the Romans, and the stand made by Alexandria.

went up against Israel and Jerusalem] Geographically, Egypt lies lower than Palestine; hence it was usual to speak of going *down* to Egypt (Gen. xlii. 2), and *up* to Canaan or Jerusalem (Gen. xlv. 25).

with a great multitude] See note on v. 17.

The turn which events had taken was very galling to Antiochus, and he at once bethought him of the Jewish people as a convenient object on which to expend his wrath. In Judaea the state of affairs was such as to furnish him with a plausible excuse for interference. Jason and Menelaus were contending for the high-priesthood (2 Macc. iv. 23 sqq.). In the eyes of Antiochus this amounted to a Jewish revolt (2 Macc. v. 11), and his subsequent proceedings were professedly entered upon with a view to its suppression and punishment. His real motive, however, is disclosed in vv. 21—23. Although a former attempt to seize the temple treasures had failed (2 Macc. iii. 6 sqq.), he still coveted them.

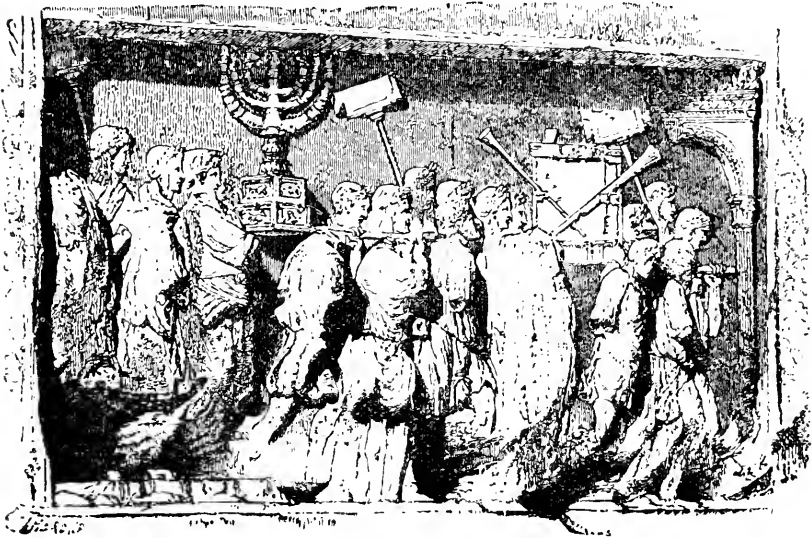
21. *entered presumptuously into the sanctuary*] ‘Presumptuously’ points to the characteristic arrogance of the man. The city having been captured, thousands of Jews were slain, and an equal number sold as slaves (2 Macc. v. 11—14). Our author makes no mention of these things: to him the great enormity is the desecration of the temple which followed. With the traitorous Menelaus as his guide, Epiphanes haughtily entered the Holy of Holies, and removed all valuables from the sacred shrine.

the golden altar] So also 1 Ki. vii. 48, and Josephus, who, however, uses another word for altar. It received this name from its being “overlaid with pure gold” (Ex. xxx. 3). For full description see Ex. xxx. 1—6, where it is designated “an altar to burn incense upon.”

the candlestick of the light] This too was made of gold, and was used every evening (2 Chron. xiii. 11) in the Levitical worship to symbolize the Divine light. It was a candelabrum so framed that three arms branched out on either side of, and rose to the same height as, the

pertained thereto, and the table of the shewbread, and the cups to pour withal, and the bowls, and the golden censers,

central shaft. This gave in all seven lights. Its position was opposite the table, on the south side of the sanctuary. See Ex. xxv. 31—39, and xxxvii. 17—24. An interesting representation of it is still to be seen on the Arch of Titus, at Rome.



The furniture of the Temple, as represented on the Arch of Titus:—the golden candlestick; the table of the shewbread, with cups or censers standing on it; the silver trumpets.

(From Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Sardinia and Judaea.*)

all that pertained thereto] The tongs, snuff-dishes, oil receptacles, &c.

22. *the table of the shewbread*] This stood beside the curtain that screened off the Holy of Holies. For description of this table as part of the furniture of the Tabernacle, see Ex. xxv. 23—30, and Jos. *Ant.* III. 6. 6. Cf. also 1 Ki. vii. 48. It also is figured on the Arch of Titus, bearing two cup-like sacrificial vessels.

the cups to pour withal] Gr. *σπόδια*; in Ex. xxv. 29 R.V. renders “flagons.”

bowls] Gr. *φιάλας*, usually rendered “vials” in A.V., but “bowls” in R.V. See e.g. Rev. vi. 8, &c.

censers] The same word (*θυσιαστας*) occurs in the LXX. of Ex. xxv. 29 and 1 Ki. vii. 50, and is rendered “spoons” both in A.V. and in R.V. According to Grimm it was in use only among the Alexandrians, and its exact meaning is uncertain. Rawl. renders “incense-pots.”

and the veil, and the crowns, and the adorning of gold which was on the face of the temple, and he scaled it all
 23 off. And he took the silver and the gold and the precious vessels; and he took the hidden treasures which he found.
 24 And when he had taken all, he went away into his own land, and he made a great slaughter, and spake very pre-
 25 sumptuously. And there came great mourning upon Israel,
 26 in every place where they were; and the rulers and elders groaned, the virgins and young men were made feeble, and

the veil] The curtain that separated between the holy place and the most holy. Cf. Ex. xxvi. 31.

the crowns] These were apparently hung up as offerings. Grotius supposes them to have been "the gifts of kings." Cf. 2 Macc. v. 16. Others think the reference is to the capitals of the pillars.

the adorning of gold &c.] Probably the golden figuring (Syr.), or the crowns and shields with which, according to iv. 57, "the forefront of the temple" was adorned.

he scaled it all off] Where the decorations were not of solid gold, Antiochus stripped off the plating with which the wood was overlaid. Cf. Gen. xxx. 37; Job iii. 17.

23. *the precious vessels*] Gr. vessels to be desired, i.e. vessels set with precious stones, or venerated as votive offerings. Cf. LXX. of Dan. xi. 8; Hos. xiii. 15; 2 Chron. xxxii. 27, xxxvi. 10.

the hidden treasures] These included (1) money dedicated to God in the temple treasury—"the sacred treasure which is called Corban" (Jos. B. 7. II. 9. 4). Cf. Mark vii. 11. (2) Funds held by the bank of deposit mentioned in 2 Macc. iii. 10—12. The total value of the loss sustained through this robbery is stated in 2 Macc. v. 21 at 1800 (silver) talents.

24. *and he made a great slaughter*] A summing up which introduces what follows, quite in the manner of Heb. narrative. "Thus he (Cod. A *they*) made," &c. The reference is not to his departure for Syria, but to his entry into Jerusalem.

spake &c.] The words probably point to his insolent, boastful attitude towards Jehovah and His worship. Cf. Dan. vii. 8, 20, 25, xi. 36, and see note on v. 21.

25. *great mourning*] i.e. the general expression by the community of their sense of the magnitude of the calamity that had overtaken them. The way in which the writer goes on to particularise the grief of various classes is well fitted to convey the impression that the entire Jewish nation was stunned and paralysed by a disaster so unexpected and so appalling.

26. *the rulers and elders*] These along with the chief priests (xiv. 28) constituted the *Gerousia* or council mentioned in xii. 6. In N.T. times it had developed into the Sanhedrin (*συνέδριον*).

were made feeble] Intense grief weakened even the strength of youth. Cf. Is. xl. 30; Lam. i. 4, 18.

the beauty of the women was changed. Every bridegroom ²⁷ took up lamentation, she that sat in the marriage chamber was in heaviness. And the land was moved for the inhabi- ²⁸ tants thereof, and all the house of Jacob was clothed with shame.

And after two full years the king sent a chief collector of ²⁹ tribute unto the cities of Judah, and he came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude. And he spake words of ³⁰ peace unto them in subtilty, and they gave him credence: and he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it very sore,

was changed] Those who were in the bloom of health became wan and sickly. Cf. LXX. of Ps. cviii. (cix.) 24, and Ecclus. xxv. 17.

27. Every bridegroom] The sense of public misfortune was such as to damp even marriage rejoicings. Cf. Jer. vii. 34, xvi. 9, xxv. 10; Joel ii. 16.

28. for the inhabitants thereof] The land was as it were shaken and convulsed at the sufferings of its inhabitants.

the house of Jacob] i.e. the Jewish people.

clothed with shame] In presence of outsiders who would be ready to draw conclusions adverse to the religion of Jehovah. Cf. Job viii. 22; Ps. cxxxii. 18.

29—40. JERUSALEM LAID WASTE BY APOLLONIUS, CHIEF COLLECTOR OF TRIBUTE: 'THE CITY OF DAVID' OCCUPIED BY A SYRIAN GARRISON: DESOLATION OF THE SANCTUARY.

Finally obliged to abandon his designs against Egypt, Epiphanes resolved to extirpate the Jewish religion. Accordingly, in B.C. 168 his chief collector of tribute was dispatched with a large army to Judaea. Arrived at the Jewish capital, he swiftly and deceitfully effected a second massacre of the inhabitants, and set the city on fire. A Syrian garrison was placed in the Acra, the citadel overlooking the temple. The sanctuary was laid waste. In their stupefaction many of the inhabitants took to flight, and their places were filled by strangers. For the time it seemed as if Mosaism had succumbed before the onslaught of paganism.

29. after two full years] Lit. **after two years of days**—a Hebraism. Cf. Gen. xli. 1; 2 Sam. xiii. 23; and Judith iii. 10, where the LXX. has the parallel 'a month of days.'

a chief collector of tribute] viz. Apollonius. See 2 Macc. v. 24, where he is alluded to as "that detestable ringleader," R.V. "lord of pollutions."

with a great multitude] See note on v. 17. In 2 Macc. v. 24 the strength of his force is stated at 22,000 men.

30. spake words of peace] i.e. gave out that his intentions were peaceable. Cf. Jos. Ant. XII. 5. 4 and 2 Macc. v. 25.

in subtilty] Cf. Dan. viii. 25.

fell upon the city suddenly] Waiting for a sabbath, Apollonius

31 and destroyed much people out of Israel. And he took the spoils of the city, and set it on fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof on every side.
 32 And they led captive the women and the children, and the
 33 cattle they took in possession. And they builded the city of David with a great and strong wall, with strong towers,
 34 and it became unto them a citadel. And they put there a sinful nation, transgressors of the law, and they strengthened
 35 themselves therein. And they stored up arms and victuals, and gathering together the spoils of Jerusalem, they laid
 36 them up there, and they became a sore snare: and it

ordered his troops to cut down in the streets the men who were in their prime, and to reserve the women and children for sale as slaves. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 24 ff.

very sore] Lit. a great stroke.

31. *set it on fire*] It does not appear, however, that there was anything like a general conflagration. "He burnt down the finest buildings" (Jos. Ant. XII. 5. 4).

pulled down the houses &c.] Probably only the houses adjoining those portions of the walls in which breaches were made.

33. *the city of David*] Not Jerusalem in general (see v. 35), but the quarter where David had his residence, i.e. the southern and lower part of the temple mount or "Sion" of 1 Macc. But with our author "city of David" constantly denotes the 'Acra' or stronghold erected by Epiphanes and held by the Syrians until it was captured in B.C. 142—141 by Simon, who contrived to isolate the garrison from the city and market (xii. 36). The natural conclusion is that the Acra, which certainly overlooked the temple, "lay on the temple hill, and presumably on the site of the later Antonia" (W. R. Smith, art. "Jerusalem" in *Encycl. Brit.*), i.e. N.W. of the temple. According to Schürer, it "lay on the southern slope of the eastern hill, therefore to the south of the temple rock" (*H. J. P.* I. i. p. 207). But its exact situation remains a vexed question.

strong towers] These were erected at intervals round the wall. Cf. Neh. iii. 1, 2. There were 250 such towers placed similarly round the wall of Babylon.

a citadel] Gr. *Acra*, which was adopted as the distinctive name of this important fortress. The confusion caused by the references in Josephus probably arose from the word having been at first used appellatively of other heights, and subsequently as the proper name of the Syrian stronghold.

34. *a sinful nation*] The phrase occurs in Is. i. 4. Here it seems to be used loosely, nearly = 'a sinful gang.'

35. *they became a sore snare*] Better, with AN and Syr., *it became*. The occupation by the enemy of a strategic position which was the key to temple and city alike was an obvious source of danger.

became a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually. And they shed ³⁷ innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary, and defiled the sanctuary. And the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled ³⁸ because of them; and she became a habitation of strangers, and she became strange to them that were born in her, and her children forsook her. Her sanctuary was laid waste ³⁹ like a wilderness, her feasts were turned into mourning, her sabbaths into reproach, her honour into contempt. Accord- ⁴⁰ ing to her glory, so was her dishonour multiplied, and her high estate was turned into mourning.

36. *an evil adversary*] The fortress seems to be personified. By the Jews it was "regarded as a perpetual tempter, an adversary or devil in stone—as a personal enemy" (Stanley, *Jewish Ch.* III. p. 295). For the fact cf. iv. 41, vi. 18.

37. *on every side of the sanctuary*] i.e. on the highways leading to the temple, probably a reminiscence of Ps. lxxix. 3.

38. *fled*] The faithful Jews left Jerusalem, and abandoned it to the Hellenizers. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 27, where, strangely enough, no reference is made to Mattathias.

a habitation of strangers] Cf. ii. 7. Formerly the Holy City had been exempt from coarse and brutal heathen.

them that were born in her] The obverse side of the picture reveals her own children in the position of exiles from their own home.

39. *was laid waste*] There was no demolition of the building itself. Cf. ii. 12, iv. 38.

her feasts...into mourning] Cf. LXX. of Amos viii. 10, "I will turn your feasts into mourning," and the reference to this prophecy in Tobit ii. 6, which affords an interesting illustration of the value set on the canonical Scriptures. The idea conveyed is that of men sorrowing because deprived of legitimate occasions for rejoicing. Cf. Lam. ii. 5, 6.

her sabbaths into reproach] Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 6, and Dan. vii. 25: "he shall think to change times and laws."

into reproach, her honour] These words are omitted in some MSS.

40. *According to her glory &c.*] Her present dishonour was as great as her former glory.

41—64. RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS: THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION SET UP IN THE TEMPLE.

Still greater enormities were now to follow. In order to strengthen his commissioner's hands, Antiochus issued an edict that "all should be one people, and that each should forsake his own laws." This, of course, although addressed to the whole kingdom, was in reality aimed at the Jews, to whom a special letter was sent, prohibiting them on pain of death from observing their own worship. On the other hand, they were

41 And king Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all
 42 should be one people, and that each should forsake his
 own laws. And all the nations agreed according to the
 43 word of the king; and many of Israel consented to his
 worship, and sacrificed to the idols, and profaned the sab-
 44 bath. And the king sent letters by the hand of messengers
 unto Jerusalem and the cities of Judah, that they should
 45 follow laws strange to the land, and should forbid whole
 burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink offerings in the
 46 sanctuary; and should profane the sabbaths and feasts, and
 47 pollute the sanctuary and them that were holy; that they

forced to comply with the most obnoxious heathen customs. In every township they were obliged to sacrifice to idols animals which they accounted unclean, and then to eat of the sacrifices. While some acquiesced in these proposals, others resisted them to the death.

The last stage in this process of intolerance and sacrilege was reached when on the 25th of Chislev (December) B.C. 168 a sacrifice was offered to Jupiter upon a new altar erected on the top of the great altar of burnt-offering. Epiphanes appointed officers to see that his behests were everywhere enforced. A monthly inquisition was held to deal with recusants, who all had to die the death. As these measures were also put in force throughout the adjacent regions, it was nowhere "lawful for a man to keep sabbath days or ancient feasts, or to profess himself at all to be a Jew" (2 Macc. vi. 6).

41. *king Antiochus*] Many MSS. omit Antiochus.

that all should be one people] i.e. that there should be religious solidarity throughout his dominions. He desired that all should adopt the Greek polytheism, and so become "one people."

42. *each should forsake his own laws*] i.e. should abandon the customs of his own country.

all the nations agreed] That they willingly assented to the proposal is implied in ch. ii. 19, although this view of the case is not borne out by the tenor of ch. iii. 29.

Some expositors throw doubt upon the statement made in vv. 41, 42. While there is nothing inherently improbable about it, the writer certainly gives the impression of not being very clear as to the wording of the decree.

44. *letters*] Gr. *books*, i.e. written orders, evidently a literal translation of the Heb. *sephārīm* (ספרים), which means any written documents. Cf. 2 Ki. xix. 14.

45. *whole burnt offerings and sacrifice and drink offerings*] i.e. offerings of every kind.

46. *pollute the sanctuary*] See note on v. 37.

them that were holy] Not the priests and Levites, but the faithful Israelites. Holy through separation and legal observance, they were

should build altars, and temples, and shrines for idols, and should sacrifice swine's flesh and unclean beasts: and that they should leave their sons uncircumcised, that they should make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation; so that they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances. And whosoever shall not do according to the word of the king, he shall die. According to all these words wrote he to his whole kingdom; and he appointed overseers over all the people, and he commanded

“polluted” by being forced into contact with unclean objects and compelled to eat of unclean meats. Cf. 2 Macc. vi. 18 sqq.

47. *temples*] In the sense of sacred enclosures. The word *τέμενος* means a piece of land sacred to a god.

shrines for idols] Cf. 1 Cor. viii. 10. Several MSS. and some versions have the reading *idols*, including the Syr., which paraphrases: “build altars, and a house of idols, and to set up idols.” If *idols* is right, *οικοδομήσαι* must be loosely used as = ‘set up.’

sacrifice swine's flesh] It was not unusual for pagan peoples to offer swine in sacrifice; but in view of the provisions of the ceremonial law this represented the grossest profanation to a Jew. Cf. Is. lxvi. 3.

unclean beasts] Lit. **common**. For the usage cf. Mark vii. 2: “common (=unwashed) hands,” and Acts x. 14. Details as to what animals were unclean to the Jews are given in Lev. xi. 3 sqq.

48. *leave their sons uncircumcised*] This was a vital matter to the pious Jew. To neglect circumcision was to break the covenant, of which it was the sign and seal. See Gen. xvii. 10—14.

their souls] As the observance of the Levitical law was binding on the conscience, any omission or transgression of its precepts was tantamount to a pollution of the inner man. Cf. Lev. xi. 23, xx. 25.

all manner of uncleanness] Such as contact with lepers, corpses, unclean meats, &c.

49. *change all the ordinances*] i.e. substitute Greek customs for the Mosaic.

50. *he shall die*] Here there is a transition to the direct form of speech. On the subject-matter cf. 2 Macc. vi. 9. Drastic procedure of this sort inevitably gains its object, or induces rebellion.

51. *According to all these words*] i.e. to the same effect, but with special reference to the circumstances of each case.

wrote he to his whole kingdom] Cf. v. 41. The statement is certainly a sweeping one if we interpret it as enjoining absolute religious uniformity throughout his dominions; and it is more than likely that the Palestinian communities were singled out for special treatment.

appointed overseers] These officers were located up and down the country to see the royal commands duly enforced. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. 5. 4, and 2 Macc. v. 22.

52 the cities of Judah to sacrifice, city by city. And from the
 people were gathered together unto them many, every one
 that had forsaken the law; and they did evil things in the
 53 land; and they made Israel to hide themselves in every
 place of refuge which they had.

54 And on the fifteenth day of Chislew, in the hundred and
 forty and fifth year, they builded an abomination of desolation
 upon the altar, and in the cities of Judah on every side

city by city] Every township would thus appear to have had its own
 sacrificial altar.

52. *unto them*] i.e. to the heathen overseers.

53. *made Israel to hide themselves &c.*] Lit. **put Israel in hiding-
 places in every refuge of them.** Palestine abounded in such retreats.
 Cf. Judg. vi. 2; 1 Sam. xiii. 6; and on the situation reflected in the text,
 ch. ii. 29, 31; 2 Macc. vi. 11.

54. *the fifteenth day*] If this reading be correct, then we must
 regard the 15th of Chislew as the date of the erection of the heathen
 altar, and the 25th as the day on which the desecration was consummated
 by the sacrifice to Jupiter. The 25th is pointed to as the real
 date of the desecration, not only by the statement of v. 59 that it was
 the statutory monthly day for offering sacrifice to pagan deities, but also
 by the precise declaration of ch. iv. 52—54 that the re-dedication of the
 altar took place on the 25th Chislew, or the third anniversary of the day
 on which it had been first profaned. We must therefore suppose that
 a slip was made here either by the Hebrew author himself or by his
 Greek translator. The Greek expressions for the two numbers are so
 similar in sound that anyone writing from dictation might readily mistake
 the one for the other.

Chislew] The ninth month in the Hebrew calendar, nearly corre-
 sponding to December. Cf. Neh. i. 1; Zech. vii. 1. The year 145 of
 the Seleucid era = B.C. 168.

an abomination of desolation] This phrase is the LXX. rendering
 of an expression in Daniel, the precise meaning of which is obscure.
 Dan. ix. 27, LXX. and Theod. βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων; xi. 31, LXX.
 βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως; Theod. βδ. ἠφανισμένον; xii. 11, LXX. τὸ βδ. τῆς
 ἐρ.; Theod. βδ. ἐρ. Cf. Matt. xxiv. 15; Mark xiii. 14. The principal
 idea is that of abomination, and the sense may be: **abomination causing
 desolation.** Our author probably borrowed the expression from the
 LXX. of Dan. xi. 31. The reference is not to the image of the
 Olympian Zeus, as some, straining the language of 2 Macc. vi. 2, have
 supposed; the abomination of desolation was the "idol altar" of v. 59.
 To set up such an altar was to dishonour, and so make desolate, the
 temple.

upon the altar] The altar of burnt-offering was a stone platform of
 considerable size (30 feet square in Solomon's temple), iv. 42—47, on
 which the heathen altar could be erected.

they builded *idol* altars. And at the doors of the houses 55
 and in the streets they burnt incense. And they rent in 56
 pieces the books of the law which they found, and set them
 on fire. And wheresoever was found with any a book of 57
 the covenant, and if any consented to the law, the king's
 sentence delivered him to death. Thus did they in their 58
 might unto Israel, to those that were found month by month
 in the cities. And on the five and twentieth day of the 59
 month they sacrificed upon the *idol* altar, which was upon
 the altar of *God*. And the women that had circumcised 60
 their children they put to death according to the command-
 ment. And they hanged their babes about their necks, 61

idol altars] The word applied to the altar of Jehovah is a different one. These idol altars were built in the streets in front of the images of various gods and goddesses.

55. *at the doors of the houses &c.*] Such offerings were presented to Janus by the Romans, and to Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, &c., by the Greeks. These deities were consequently known as "deities of the street." Their images usually stood in the porches of houses, hence the place of sacrifice "at the doors."

56. *rent in pieces*] Cf. Jer. xxxvi. 23, where King Jehoiakim is said to have cut the scroll of Jeremiah's prophecies with a penknife before burning it. This apparently superfluous act betokened additional contempt.

57. *a book of the covenant*] The Syr. has *book of the law*, and the Vulg. *books of the testament of the Lord*. Cf. v. 56; 2 Ki. xxiii. 2; Eccus. xxiv. 23. The reference is not to the entire O.T., but to the Pentateuch, or possibly only some part of it.

consented to] The observance of the law and the study of it were placed upon a level as criminal acts, punishable with death.

58. *month by month*] District inspectors seem to have made a monthly visit to every town for the purpose of dealing with accused (and imprisoned) persons, much as judges go on circuit with us. The reference to "the cities" does not necessarily imply that the rural parts escaped; a town would naturally be the centre of a district.

59. See on v. 54. The statement of Diodorus (cf. also Jos. *Ant.* XII. 5. 4, where it occurs in a modified form), that a huge sow was sacrificed, and its blood poured out on the newly-built altar as well as inside the Holy of Holies, is generally reckoned a mere piece of exaggeration.

60. *the women*] Two in number, according to 2 Macc. vi. 10; unless indeed we ought to interpret the statement as simply recording a glaring example of this species of cruelty.

that had circumcised their children] The next verse shews the meaning to be that they had sanctioned the performance of the rite.

61. *hanged their babes &c.*] A special refinement of cruelty so far as

and *destroyed* their houses, and them that had circumcised them. And many in Israel were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat unclean things. And they chose to die, that they might not be defiled with the meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant: and they died. And there came exceeding great wrath upon Israel.

2 In those days rose up Mattathias the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of Joarib, from Jeru-

the mothers were concerned, and at the same time a sure way of getting rid of the children, as both together were thrown headlong from the city wall.

their houses] i.e. families. The text is curiously confused.

62. *many in Israel*] The last three verses of the chap. contrast the conduct of the faithful with that of the apostate Jews already described in vv. 52 sqq. While the king's edict had led many to ally themselves with the Syrian Greeks, there were also many who were determined to die rather than profane the holy covenant.

in themselves] i.e. in their inmost souls.

63. *they chose to die*] For examples, see 2 Macc. vi.—vii.

64. *exceeding great wrath*] The wrath intended is, of course, the wrath of God. Cf. i. 49; 2 Ki. iii. 27. Just as with reference to the sack of Jerusalem and the deportation of the people to Babylon, the prophets speak of Nebuchadrezzar as Jehovah's "servant," so were the cruelties of Antiochus Epiphanes regarded as merely the form in which the Divine displeasure expressed itself.

SECOND SECTION. CH. II. 1—70.

In the description given of the efforts of Epiphanes forcibly to substitute heathenism for the Jewish religion in Palestine, the first section has disclosed the cause of the War of Independence. The second section now sets forth in detail the immediate occasion of the rebellion led by Mattathias and his sons.

1—5. THE GENEALOGY OF THE MACCABEES.

As the struggle for freedom was inaugurated by the patriotic zeal of a single family, the author naturally gives some account of that family by way of introduction to this part of his work.

1. *Mattathias*] i.e. **gift of Jehovah**. Cf. Neh. viii. 4, and Luke iii. 25, 26. The abbreviated form *Matthias* occurs in Acts i. 23.

of Simeon] Gr. *Symeon*. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 6. 1, *B. J.* I. 1. 3) has the addition "son (=descendant) of Asamoniaios." Mattathias traced his descent to one of this name; hence the patronymic "Asmonaeans" or "Hasmonaeans," the distinctive historical name for his family. See *Introd.* p. 21. Wellhausen thinks that the name *Symeon* may have

salem; and he dwelt at Modin. And he had five sons, ² John, who was surnamed Gaddis; ³ Simon, who was called ⁴ Thassi; Judas, who was called Maccabæus; Eleazar, who ⁵ was called Avaran; Jonathan, who was called Apphus.

arisen from Haschmon, as also in Syriac, Schemoni from Haschmoni (= Haschmonita, the mother of the Maccabæan martyrs).

a priest of the sons of Joarib] Representatives of this family appear in the lists of those who returned from the Exile; see 1 Chron. ix. 10; Neh. xi. 10, xii. 6, 19. In the division by lot of the sons of Aaron into 24 orders, the first place fell to the sons of Jehoiarib (= Joarib, or *Jehovah will contend*). The prestige thus acquired placed them in the front rank of the Jewish nobility. Although clearly marked out in this passage as an ordinary priest, Mattathias appears in the later Jewish tradition as a high-priest.

from Jerusalem] The words seem naturally to connect with "rose up," the meaning being that Mattathias "dwelt" (=took up his abode) in Modin because he found it dangerous and intolerable to remain longer in the capital. But they may also be joined with "the sons of Joarib" so as to yield the sense: "Mattathias, the established priest at Modin, arose from the Jerusalem line of the order of Joarib." In any case it is clear that Modin was his ancestral home. Cf. vv. 17, 70, and xiii. 25.

Modin] The MSS. give the name in various forms. In 1 Macc. it is usually Modein, but sometimes also (e.g. in ix. 19) Modeim. Sometimes it is called a village (Josephus), and sometimes a city (v. 15). It stood on high ground, on the spur of the mountains (cf. xiii. 27—30). It was situated in the vicinity of Lydda (Diospolis), on the road from Jerusalem to Joppa, and is almost certainly to be identified with the modern village of *el-Medijeh*, 2½ hours east of Lydda (*Ludd*).

2. *John*] The best MSS. have *Joannes* = Heb. *Johanan*, i.e. (whom) *Jehovah gave*. On the future of John, see ix. 36—38.

Gaddis] Apparently the true form, which may represent the Heb. *Gaddi* = *my fortune*, in Num. xiii. 11.

3. *Simon*] The administration of Simon is the theme of ch. xiii. 1—xvi. 17. He was the last survivor of the five brothers of the Maccabees.

Thassi] i.e. either "the zealous," or, in accordance with the Syriac reading, *Tharsi*, "the guide." The latter explanation fits in well with the description given of him in v. 65 as "a man of counsel."

4. *Judas...Maccabæus*] Judas was nominated by his father to be his successor in the leadership (v. 66). The record of his brilliant career is contained in ch. iii. 1—ix. 22. On the etymology of the surname "Maccabæus," see the *Introd.* p. 20.

5. *Eleazar*] = (whom) *God helps*.

Avaran] Syr. *Chavran*, Vulg. *Abaron*. It is doubtfully conjectured that Eleazar got this surname from the episode related in vi. 43—46, and it perhaps means "the piercer," in allusion to his stabbing of the

6 And he saw the blasphemies that were committed in
7 Judah and in Jerusalem, and he said,

Woe is me! wherefore was I born to see the destruction of my people, and the destruction of the holy city, and to dwell there, when it was given into the hand of the enemy, the sanctuary into the hand of aliens? Her temple is become as a man that was glorious: her vessels of glory

elephant, although in this case one would expect some reference to the fact there, "wherefore he was called" or the like.

Jonathan] i.e. (whom) *Jehovah gave*, = the Greek Theodore.

Apphus] The Syr. reads *Happūs*, and "the dissembler" or "the cunning" is supposed to be the meaning of this surname. The chief Greek MSS., however, read *Sapphus*. Jonathan's career is described in ch. ix. 23—xii. 53.

So much obscurity hangs over the origin and meaning of the various surnames of the Maccabees that Ewald and others regard them as mere helps towards their better designation, and as in no sense descriptive of their character and exploits. Grimm, however, thinks that the singularity of the names tells against this view.

6—14. DIRGE OVER THE DESOLATION OF JERUSALEM.

6. *he saw*] The "he" refers to Mattathias, the leading subject of the foregoing section.

and in Jerusalem] i.e. and particularly in Jerusalem. For the usage cf. Mark xvi. 7: "his disciples and Peter."

7. *wherefore was I born &c.*] Face to face with the general wreck of all that he held sacred, the devout priest was overwhelmed with grief, and even felt that existence was a calamity. For a still stronger expression of this sentiment, cf. Job iii. sqq.

and the destruction of the holy city] In most MSS. the substantive *destruction* is repeated for the sake of effect. Jerusalem is called "the holy city" as the seat of the central sanctuary. Cf. Neh. xi. 1.

to dwell there] This reads as if he had been living in Jerusalem (*ἐκεῖ*) and had been an actual spectator of the blasphemies. See note on v. 1.

8. *as a man that was glorious*] This appears to be the best attested reading, altered on account of its difficulty into *ἄδοξος*, "inglorious." The most satisfactory rendering would be: "Her temple was as a man that is glorious" (*ἐγένετο* = *היה*). Possibly some error of text or translation underlies. Ball thinks the original Heb. may have had *as Ichabod* (1 Sam. iv. 21).

9. *her vessels of glory*] i.e. the sacred vessels which by their magnificence brought her glory and renown. Cf. i. 23.

carried away into captivity] An expression frequently used of the spoils as well as of the prisoners of war. On the removal of the sacred vessels of the First Temple cf. 2 Ki. xxv. 14 sqq.; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 7; Ezra i. 7; Dan. i. 2.

are carried away into captivity, her infants are slain in her streets, her young men with the sword of the enemy. What nation hath not inherited her palaces, and gotten possession of her spoils? her adorning is all taken away; instead of a free woman she is become a bond woman: and, behold, our holy things and our beauty and our glory are laid waste, and the Gentiles have profaned them. Wherefore should we live any longer?

And Mattathias and his sons rent their clothes, and put on sackcloth, and mourned exceedingly.

her infants are slain] Cf. i. 61, and 2 Macc. vi. 10.

her young men &c.] Cf. 2 Macc. v. 24.

10. *inherited her palaces*] R.V. follows the reading of the Alex. MS., which seems to be a correction of the common text. A.V. has "What nation hath not had a part in her kingdom." The Syrian army in Palestine was recruited by mercenaries from all the neighbouring peoples,—Philistines, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, &c.—which are conceived as severally taking part in the spoliation of Jerusalem. Cf. 2 Macc. viii. 9.

11. *her adorning*] i.e. her beauty and splendour.

is become a bond woman] Cf. Lam. i. 1, 6, where also Jerusalem is personified as a sorrowing woman bereft of her freedom and her ornaments. In one sense the Jews had long been under vassalage, but, while politically subject, they had been religiously free; and to the true Israelite this was the essence of freedom: his political standing was relatively a matter of indifference.

12. *our holy things*] A.V. renders **sanctuary**, which seems to be the general meaning of τὰ ἅγια in 1 Macc. But the wider meaning of R.V. fits better with *beauty and glory*.

are laid waste] **Are desolate**. The temple building was still intact, but it was without worshippers. Cf. note on i. 39.

the Gentiles] The **nations**. On the profanation in question cf. i. 54 sq.

13. *Wherefore should we &c.*] Mattathias ends his lament with a question much akin to that with which he began it. See v. 7.

14. *rent their clothes*] A common Oriental method of giving expression to grief due to either public or private misfortunes. Cf. Matt. xxvi. 65.

put on sackcloth] Another prevalent custom with mourners. The garment worn by them was of a coarse hairy material, of a sombre colour, without plaits or sleeves, and hung on the body like a sack. Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 34; Job i. 20; Jonah iii. 6.

15—28. THE IMMEDIATE OCCASION OF THE MACCABAEAN RISING.

In accordance with the arrangement referred to in i. 58, a visit was paid by the king's commissioners to Modin, where Mattathias and his

15 And the king's officers, that were enforcing the apostasy,
 16 came into the city Modin to sacrifice. And many of Israel
 came unto them, and Mattathias and his sons were gathered
 17 together. And the king's officers answered and spake to
 Mattathias, saying, Thou art a ruler and an honourable and
 great man in this city, and strengthened with sons and
 18 brethren: now therefore come thou first and do the com-
 mandment of the king, as all the nations have done, and
 the men of Judah, and they that remain in Jerusalem: and
 thou and thy house shall be in the number of the king's
 Friends, and thou and thy sons shall be honoured with

sons were now resident. As the leading personage of the place he was ordered to set an example to the inhabitants by offering the first pagan sacrifice. This he stoutly refused to do. An apostate Jew at once stepped into the breach, but Mattathias, overcome with righteous indignation, slew both him and the king's commissioner. Having further demolished the heathen altar, and summoned all the citizens who were resolved to adhere to the law to follow him, he then fled with his sons into the mountains.

15. *enforcing the apostasy*] Obedience to Antiochus was conceived as rebellion against Jehovah.

to sacrifice] The Vulg. adds "and burn incense and depart from the law of God."

16. *many of Israel*] This seems to point to a special gathering, summoned by the king's officers, for the purpose of enforcing the edict of i. 51.

Mattathias &c.] Very probably he came with the intention of refusing to sacrifice, and taking the consequences.

17. *answered*] Rather, **began their address**. The expression is frequently used in Alexandrian Greek to introduce a speech which is the answer to something previously expressed or implied, and evidently corresponds to the Heb. *'ānāh* (אָנָה). In this case the known attitude of Mattathias furnished the special point to which the commissioners' language was the reply.

a ruler] This term points to his official dignity as priest, or perhaps to his position as *sheikh* of the place.

great man] Probably the most important man in the town.

brethren] i.e. kinsmen in general.

18. *do the commandment &c.*] viz. by approaching the idol altar and offering sacrifice.

as all the nations] Cf. i. 42.

men of Judah] The Alex. MS. reads *rulers*.

they that remain in Jerusalem] Many had been put to death, and many had fled.

the king's Friends] i.e. his leading officials and advisers. The title was one well-known and recognised under most of the Eastern

silver and gold and many gifts. And Mattathias answered ¹⁹ and said with a loud voice, If all the nations that are in the house of the king's dominion hearken unto him, to fall away each one from the worship of his fathers, and have made choice to follow his commandments, yet will I and ²⁰ my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the law and ²¹ the ordinances. We will not hearken to the king's words, ²² to go aside from our worship, on the right hand, or on the left.

And when he had left speaking these words, there came ²³

monarchies of the age. It had existed under the Persians (cf. LXX. of Esth. i. 3, and Dan. iii. 91 (24), 94 (27)); Alexander the Great also had his "companions"; and the Graeco-Syrian kings, according to Polybius (XXXI. 3, 7) had one order of "Companions" and another of "Friends." Into the latter class Mattathias and his sons, as was Jonathan at a later period, were now offered admission. Cf. vi. 10, 14, x. 16, 20, 60, 65.

many gifts] The word properly signifies *parting gifts*. In later Greek, however, it came to be used for gifts generally. Cf. LXX. of 1 Ki. ix. 16; 2 Macc. iii. 2. Gifts from kings to their courtiers and favourites frequently took the form of gold and silver ornaments. Cf. x. 20, 89.

19. *with a loud voice*] Mattathias desired to make his position clear to all.

If all the nations] The heroic priest of Modin was not afraid of being in a minority. Cf. Matt. xxvi. 33.

have made choice to follow] **Have accepted for themselves** &c., a late Greek equivalent for the Heb. *choose*. Cf. ix. 30, and LXX. 2 Chron. xxix. 11.

20. *yet will I*] The conjunction expresses total dissent from the hypothesis of the previous verse. *καὶ γὰρ* (ANV &c.) is the best attested reading; *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ* is probably a change by a Greek scribe who did not know *καί* = Heb. *Vav* in apodosis.

the covenant of our fathers] See Ex. xxxiv. 3—8; and cf. v. 50; iv. 10.

21. *Heaven forbid*] Lit. *may he* [God] *be propitious*, i.e. be it far from us. The expression occurs in Matt. xvi. 22, and = Heb. *Halilah* in Gen. xlv. 7, 17; Josh. xxii. 29; 2 Sam. xxiii. 17; Job xxvii. 5, &c. A.V. has "God forbid", a rendering which is best avoided because the name of God does not occur in the book.

22. *the king's words*] The Alex. MS. reads *the king's law*. *on the right hand, or* &c.] i.e. by a single hairsbreadth. This was a familiar and proverbial saying among the Jews. Cf. Deut. v. 32; 2 Sam. xiv. 19.

23. *when he had left speaking*] Better: **as he ceased speaking**.

a Jew in the sight of all to sacrifice on the altar which was
 24 at Modin, according to the king's commandment. And
 Mattathias saw it, and his zeal was kindled, and his reins
 trembled, and he shewed forth his wrath according to judge-
 25 ment, and ran, and slew him upon the altar. And the
 king's officer, who compelled men to sacrifice, he killed at
 26 that time, and pulled down the altar. And he was zealous
 for the law, even as Phinehas did unto Zimri the son of
 27 Salu. And Mattathias cried out in the city with a loud
 voice, saying, Whosoever is zealous for the law, and main-
 28 taineth the covenant, let him come forth after me. And he

to sacrifice] The Alex. MS. reads: *to burn incense*.

on the altar...at Modin] i.e. the idol altar erected by the heathen. Cf.

i. 54.

24. *his reins trembled*] To the Hebrew "the reins" (i.e. kidneys) were the seat of the emotions, whether of joy (Prov. xxiii. 16) or of grief (Ps. lxxiii. 21), and thus the metaphorical designation for the *inmost soul*. Hence the frequent conjunction of heart and reins. See Ps. vii. 9, xxvi. 2; Jer. xi. 20, xvii. 10, xx. 12.

he shewed forth his wrath] **He gave vent to anger**—let it loose. Cf. "classique immittit habenas" (throws the reins loose to the fleet, i.e. sets sail), Virg. *Aen.* vi. 1.

according to judgement] i.e. not merely = *as was right*, but *according to the statute* (Vulg. "according to the judgement of the law"), with special reference to Ex. xxii. 20; Deut. xiii. 6—11. In the circumstances such wrath was a righteous thing and even obligatory, in the estimation of a Jew.

ran] Zeal like his brooks no delay.

upon the altar] i.e. in the very act of sacrificing. Cf. 2 Ki. xxiii. 20.

25. *the king's officer*] Lit. *the king's man*. Josephus calls him "Apelles, the king's general." The slaughter of this official was in no sense a judicial act, but a declaration of war.

pulled down the altar] As a defilement to the holy land. This step was also required by law (Ex. xxxiv. 13; Deut. xii. 3). Cf. Judg. vi. 25.

26. *Phinehas...Zimri*] See Num. xxv. 6 sqq.; Ps. cvi. 30, 31.

Salu] Cf. Num. xxv. 14, where the Greek text reads *Salom*.

27. *zealous for the law*] i.e. in earnest about the preservation of true religion in face of the effort to extirpate it.

the covenant] Cf. i. 63.

come forth after me] From the town. Cf. the similar appeal of Roman patriots in cases of great danger: "Qui rempublicam salvam volunt me sequantur" (Livy xxii. 53). In the noble resistance offered by Mattathias, and in the action with which he followed it up, the signal was given for general rebellion. The Maccabean fight for faith and freedom, the most glorious epoch in Jewish history, had begun.

and his sons fled into the mountains, and forsook all that they had in the city.

Then many that sought after justice and judgement went²⁹ down into the wilderness, to dwell there, they, and their³⁰ sons, and their wives, and their cattle; because evils were multiplied upon them. And it was told the king's officers,³¹

28. *fled into the mountains*] Mattathias had no thought of measuring himself in open warfare against the king of Syria. He retired with as many followers as he could muster to the remoter mountain-fastnesses of Judaea, where, by taking advantage of the numerous caves and inaccessible retreats with which that region abounded (cf. i. 53, and Matt. xxiv. 16), he contrived to carry on a growingly successful movement against the officers of Epiphanes.

29—38. MASSACRE OF A THOUSAND SABBATARIANS
IN THE WILDERNESS.

From time to time, under the stress of the persecution, small and scattered detachments of religious enthusiasts betook themselves to the wilderness; but the agents of Antiochus invaded their hiding-places, and gave them the alternative of submission or death. One large contingent of 1000 fugitives allowed themselves to be cut down rather than fight upon the sabbath,—the day deliberately chosen by their persecutors for making the attack.

29. *justice and judgement*] These words usually occur in the reverse order, but they are found as here in Gen. xviii. 19; Ps. lxxxix. 14; Ps. xcvi. 2; and Eccles. xxxviii. 33. Cf. also Deut. xxxiii. 21. The aim of the fugitives was to live in accordance with the law of justice and judgement as intuitively written on the human heart, and as particularly elaborated in the Pentateuch.

the wilderness] i.e. the country between the "hill country" (mountains) of Judaea and the Dead Sea.

30. *their cattle*] Although its dry and sandy soil rendered it unsuitable for agriculture, the "wilderness," Heb. *midbar*, lit. "place where cattle may be led," was not without value as a pastoral region. Its vegetation must have been considerable. Jerome (*Proleg. to Amos*) says: "the whole district (of Tekoah) is full of herdsmen."

evils were multiplied upon them] Cf. i. 9. The Alex. MS. reads: *became hard*, while N and some other MSS. have both verbs: "because evils were grievous and were multiplied." The sense is that the enormities committed by the persecutors made it impossible for them longer to remain in the cities.

This simple narration of facts as to its origin is sufficient to prove the purity of motive underlying the Maccabean rebellion. It was the outcome of the highest religious enthusiasm; it was based upon the grandest faith; it was characterised by the most splendid bravery.

31. *officers*] Lit. *men*, i.e. the local authorities. Cf. v. 25.

and the forces that were in Jerusalem, the city of David, that certain men, who had broken the king's commandment, were gone down into the secret places in the wilderness; and many pursued after them, and having overtaken them, they encamped against them, and set the battle in array against them on the sabbath day. And they said unto them, Thus far. Come forth, and do according to the word of the king, and ye shall live. And they said, We will not come forth, neither will we do the word of the king, to profane the sabbath day. And they hastened to give

the forces] This is the writer's favourite designation for a troop of soldiers, and occurs in the book no fewer than 39 times.

in Jerusalem, the city of David] Apparently "city of David" is used here in an unusual sense as = Jerusalem, or "Jerusalem" is a gloss.

certain men, who] Lit. **men of the kind who**, &c.

broken] Lit. **scattered abroad**. The word is used in the LXX. in the sense of **making of no effect** the law, the covenant, &c. (Num. xv. 31, *al.*).

the king's commandment] See i. 44—50.

secret places] Cf. v. 29, and i. 53. Palestine in general, and the wilderness of Judaea in particular, abounded in subterranean cavities, rocky clefts, and grottoes. Some of these were very large as well as dry. One is mentioned in Judg. xx. 47 as having room for 600 men. In primitive ages these caves appear to have been used as dwellings, e.g. by the Horites who dwelt in Mt Seir (Gen. xiv. 6; Deut. ii. 12, 22), and afterwards continued to be so used by shepherds and harvesters in summer. Hermits made their homes in them (1 Ki. xviii. 19), and robbers found them a convenient retreat (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 15. 4). In times of war or persecution they were resorted to as strongholds or hiding-places. Cf. Josh. x. 16 sqq.; Judg. vi. 2, xv. 8 sqq.; 1 Sam. xiii. 6, xxii. 1 sqq.; Ezek. xxxiii. 27; Is. xlii. 22. They served also as stables, tombs, and even temples. Cf. 2 Macc. x. 6; Is. lxxv. 4.

32. on the sabbath day] In the expectation that the religious scruples of the Jews would preclude them from offering active resistance. So in B.C. 320 Ptolemy I took Jerusalem on a sabbath day.

33. Thus far] Lit. *until now*, i. e. let it suffice you to have resisted thus far. The Syr. and some Greek MSS. complete the sense by reading, 'Thus far be it *enough*,' and the Vulg. paraphrases "Resist ye even now still?"

34. We will not come forth] A direct refusal. Not for dear life itself would they exchange their miserable lodgment at the cost of obedience to the royal edict. Submission to the powers that be (Rom. xiii. 1) is no duty where civil law clashes with the Divine (Dan. vi. 10; Acts iv. 19, 20).

the word of the king, to profane &c.] The meaning cannot be that only on the sabbath was it criminal to obey the royal decree, nor that

them battle. And they answered them not, neither cast they a stone at them, nor stopped up the secret places, saying, Let us die all in our innocency: heaven and earth witness over us, that ye put us to death without trial. And they rose up against them in battle on the sabbath, and they died, they and their wives and their children, and their cattle, to the number of a thousand souls.

And Mattathias and his friends knew it, and they mourned over them exceedingly. And one said to another, If we all do as our brethren have done, and fight not against the Gentiles for our lives and our ordinances, they will now

its demands were limited to the one point of sabbath desecration, although the Greek text might be so construed. There is good ground for the conjecture of Michaelis that the original Heb. ran thus: "nor will we profane the sabbath day," viz. by fighting.

35. *hasted to give them battle*] i.e. attacked them without further parley.

36. *answered them not*] i.e. made no counter movement. They received the onslaught of the Syrians with silent resignation.

neither cast they a stone at them] The Israelites were experts in the use of the sling. Cf. Judg. xx. 16; 1 Sam. xvii. 40.

37. *in our innocency*] Lit. **in our simplicity**, i.e. integrity = Heb. *tōm* (טוֹם). The reference is to the guilelessness and purity of their religious endeavour. Cf. v. 60.

without trial] Ἀκρίτως = *bēlō mishpāt* (בְּלֹא מִשְׁפָּט) = wrongfully, as in xv. 33.

38. *they died*] i.e. were killed. Their protest was unheeded by the Syrians, who included even "cattle" within the sweep of their cruelty. *a thousand souls*] Gr. *souls of men* (marg.).

39—48. CONDUCT OF THE WAR BY MATTATHIAS IN ALLIANCE WITH THE HASIDAEANS.

In view of the disaster which had befallen their brethren, Mattathias and his friends resolved to pursue a more spirited policy, and to repel hostile attacks even on the sabbath. The effect of this change of front was very marked. Many fugitives, including the party of the Hasidaeans, rallied to the standard of Mattathias. Emboldened by numbers, they began to assume the offensive. Traversing the country, they destroyed heathen altars, enforced circumcision, hunted down apostates, and restored the observances of Judaism. By this masterful procedure their oppressors would appear for the time to have been fairly cowed.

39. *knew it*] The slaughtered Jews were not of the company of Mattathias.

40. *one said to another*] Lit. **a man said to his neighbour**—a Hebraism. Cf. 2 Ki. vii. 9.

41 quickly destroy us from off the earth. And they took
 counsel on that day, saying, Whosoever shall come against
 us to battle on the sabbath day, let us fight against him,
 and we shall in no wise all die, as our brethren died in the
 42 secret places. Then were gathered together unto them a
 company of Hasidæans, mighty men of Israel, every one
 43 that offered himself willingly for the law. And all they
 that fled from the evils were added to them, and became a
 44 stay unto them. And they mustered a host, and smote

41. *Whosoever*] Lit. every man who &c. For a similarly emphatic nominative absolute, cf. Matt. x. 32.

shall come against us &c.] These words, which intimate the new departure, probably point to a distinction as regards offensive and defensive warfare. Only the latter seems to have been declared legal on the sabbath. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 2. Although providing against the danger of absolute extermination, this arrangement naturally subjected the Jews to serious disadvantage. E.g., in the first siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, the sabbaths were carefully utilised by the invaders for improving their strategic position. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 4. 3. The whole attitude of the Jews in this matter must be ascribed to ultra-Pharisaic scrupulousness, the Mosaic law having never forbidden *necessary* secular labour on the sabbath. Cf. Matt. xii. 2—11.

42. *Hasidæans*] = Heb. *hasidim*, i.e. *pious ones*,—a Jewish religious party created by the persecution under Antiochus, and organised with a view to resist his heathen propaganda prior to the Maccabæan revolt. They were not identical with the followers of the Maccabees, as might be assumed from 2 Macc. xiv. 6, which employs their name as a general designation for all adherents of the law. Although for the present they joined the forces of Mattathias as the likeliest means of securing their object, we find them afterwards taking independent action (vii. 13). Their aims were exclusively religious, and in no sense political; and so soon as religious liberty was conceded, and an Aaronic high-priest again ministered at the altar, they refused to fight further for Jewish independence. The word *hasidim* occurs in many of the Psalms, among others in Ps. lxxix. (v. 2), which was perhaps composed at this period. But see note on vii. 17.

mighty men of Israel] Cf. LXX. of 1 Chron. vii. 2, 40. The Alex. MS. reads *ισχυρά* for *ισχυροί*, i.e. (*a company*) *strong in might, out of Israel*.

that offered himself willingly for the law] i.e., who was ready to fight to the death for its preservation. Cf. Judg. v. 2.

43. *fled from the evils*] i.e. the miseries brought upon the land by the Syrian oppressors. It was this rather than zeal for the law that drove some to the desert fastnesses; but they immediately made common cause with Mattathias.

44. *mustered a host*] So largely had their numbers increased.
smote] Cf. note on i. 1.

sinner in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath : and the rest fled to the Gentiles for safety. And Mattathias and his friends went round about, and pulled down the altars ; and they circumcised by force the children that were uncircumcised, as many as they found in the coasts of Israel. And they pursued after the sons of pride, and the work prospered in their hand. And they rescued the law out of the hand of the Gentiles, and out of the hand of the kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

lawless men] i.e. apostate Jews. There was a good deal of work of this sort for the new army to overtake. Cf. i. 43.

the rest] i.e. those of the apostates who escaped destruction at the hands of Mattathias and his allies.

for safety] Lit. **to be saved**.

45. friends] The Alex. MS. has *sons*.

pulled down the altars] viz. the idol altars, as Mattathias had done at Modin (v. 25).

46. by force] Parents who had complied with the royal edict they compelled to satisfy the requirements of the Mosaic law in this particular.

47. sons of pride] A Hebraism (cf. 2 Sam. iii. 34 *al.*), denoting the *insolent foes*, i.e. the Syro-Grecians. Cf. what is said of Epiphanes in i. 21. Mattathias and his friends did not confine themselves to dealing with apostates from Judaism ; they also attacked the king's troops, and in several instances put them to rout.

48. rescued the law] Perhaps the idea is that of redemption from slavery. It may be said to have been recovered (1) from the dishonour put upon it by the heathen, (2) through the protection afforded to those who wished to carry out its provisions.

the kings] This title is applied to his chief lieutenants as well as to Antiochus himself. See note on i. 2.

neither suffered they the sinner to triumph] Lit. **and gave not a horn to the sinner**. *Horn* being a well-known figurative expression for strength (1 Ki. xxii. 11 ; Ps. xviii. 2, Ps. lxxxix. 17), the meaning is that they successfully thwarted the efforts of the heathenising party. The term "sinner" is used generically.

49—70. PARTING EXHORTATION OF MATTATHIAS TO HIS SONS, AND HIS DEATH.

The death of Mattathias in B.C. 167—166 (cf. v. 70), while the movement was still in its initiatory stage, must have come as a sad blow to the patriotic party among the Jews. Yet their leader himself, with wise prescience, had made what provision he could against such a contingency. Feeling his end to be near, he summoned his five sons and gave them his dying charge to be faithful even unto death. Pointing to the shining example set by several heroes in the past history of their nation, he urged them to quit themselves like men. Then, having nominated

49 And the days of Mattathias drew near that he should die,
and he said unto his sons,

Now have pride and rebuke gotten strength, and a season
50 of overthrow, and wrath of indignation. And now, my children,
be ye zealous for the law, and give your lives for the
51 covenant of your fathers. And call to remembrance the
deeds of our fathers which they did in their generations;
52 and receive great glory and an everlasting name. Was not
Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned
53 unto him for righteousness? Joseph in the time of his distress

Simon to be their counsellor and Judas to be their captain, he blessed them and passed away. His sons buried him in the family sepulchre at Modin, amid the lamentations of all leal-hearted Israelites.

49. *drew near that he should die*] The same phrase as in Gen. xlvii. 29 and 1 Ki. ii. 1. It points to a peaceful death in the usual course of nature.

he said unto his sons] Such a parting address is quite after the manner of O.T. narrative. The poetical form of it seems to be modelled after the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. xlix.) and Moses (Deut. xxxiii.).

wrath of indignation] i.e. wrath expressing itself in indignation. The reference is to the Divine anger. Cf. i. 64.

50. *be ye zealous for the law*] "Zeal for the law" was the key-note of the Maccabæan movement, and the idea which afterwards became crystallised in the sect of the Zealots. This party, which had an apostolic representative in Simon Zelotes, offered a desperate resistance to the Romans from about 6 A.D. till the fall of Jerusalem.

the covenant of your fathers] See note on v. 20.

51. *the deeds of our fathers*] He cites the heroic deeds of the fathers as a stimulus to his sons.

receive] The imperative, according to a common Heb. idiom (e.g. Gen. xlii. 18) expresses the certain result of compliance with the exhortation of the first clause.

an everlasting name] The immortality of being remembered was greatly prized by the men of this period. Cf. Eccles. xlv.—l., in which the author "praises famous men" who "have left a name behind them"; the threat against Babylon in Is. xiv. 22; the promise to the eunuchs in Is. lvi. 4, 5; and the delineation of the fate of the wicked in Job xviii. 15—17. The Jew desired the preservation of his family, and shrank from the idea of having no one left to represent him in Israel. Whether this craving for renown was the only immortality present to their minds is another question.

52. *Abraham...in temptation*] The "temptation" or trial referred to is that connected with the sacrifice of Isaac. Cf. Gen. xxi. sqq.; Heb. xi. 17; Eccles. xlv. 20.

reckoned] Doubtless the original Heb. had the same word as Gen. xv. 6.

53. *Joseph &c.*] Some apply the term "distress" to his enslave-

kept the commandment, and became lord of Egypt. Phine- 54
has our father, for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained
the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua for ful- 55
filling the word became a judge in Israel. Caleb for bearing 56
witness in the congregation obtained a heritage in the land.
David for being merciful inherited the throne of a kingdom 57
for ever and ever. Elijah, for that he was exceeding zealous 58
for the law, was taken up into heaven. Hananiah, Azariah, 59
Mishael, believed, and were saved out of the flame. Daniel 60
for his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions.

ment; others, with more reason, would apply the statement to Joseph's temptation at the instance of Potiphar's wife (Gen. xxxix.).

54. *our father*] i.e. our ancestor. Mattathias traces his descent to Phinehas, and so to Aaron.

he was zealous exceedingly] See on v. 26, and cf. Ecclus. xlv. 23, 24. *covenant*] i.e. promise. The phrase is from Num. xxv. 13. Cf. 2 Macc. vii. 36.

55. *fulfilling the word*] i.e. obeying the Divine command in Num. xxvii. 18—23; Josh i. 2 sqq.

a judge] i.e. ruler.

56. *Caleb for bearing witness &c.*] The allusion is to the faithful report of the land of Canaan which he gave along with Joshua. Cf. Num. xiii. 30 sqq., xiv. 6—10.

a heritage in the land] Or, perhaps, a **heritage of land**, viz. the city of Hebron. Cf. Num. xiv. 24, and Josh. xiv. 13, 14.

57. *David for being merciful*] This is supposed by some to refer to his treatment of Saul (1 Sam. xxiv. 4—11, xxvi. 5—12) and Shimei (2 Sam. xix. 23; 1 Ki. ii. 8). But it seems preferable to render **through his goodness** (or piety). This more general sense of the word occurs again in iii. 44 as the equivalent of the Heb. *hesed* in Jer. ii. 2; Hos. vi. 4, 6.

the throne of a kingdom for ever and ever] Cf. the promise given in 2 Sam. vii. 13, 16; Ps. lxxxix. 3, 4; Ps. cxxxii. 11. Perhaps the writer had in view the restoration of the Davidic kingdom through the appearance of the Messiah, although it is at least doubtful whether he meant to ascribe this expectation to Mattathias.

58. *Elijah &c.*] On the expression cf. v. 54. Elijah's fervent zeal finds illustration in 1 Ki. xviii. 18—40, xix. 10, xxi. 20—24; 2 Ki. i. 10—12.

59. *believed*] The expression covers (1) their trust in God for deliverance, (2) the courageous confession of their faith. Cf. Dan. i. 6 sqq., iii. 16—19; Rom. x. 9.

saved out of the flame] See Dan. iii. 25—27.

60. *Daniel for his innocency &c.*] See note on v. 37. The word rendered *innocency* in Dan. vi. 22 the LXX. renders by *righteousness*, and Theod. by *uprightness*. The examples of vv. 59, 60 are clearly

- 61 And thus consider ye from generation to generation, that none that put their trust in him shall want for strength.
 62 And be not afraid of the words of a sinful man; for his glory shall be dung and worms. To-day he shall be lifted up, and to-morrow he shall in no wise be found, because he
 63 is returned unto his dust, and his thought is perished. And ye, my children, be strong, and shew yourselves men in
 64 behalf of the law; for therein shall ye obtain glory. And, behold, Simon your brother, I know that he is a man of counsel; give ear unto him alway: he shall be a father unto

taken from the Book of Daniel, where they are introduced in the same order.

61. *thus*] i.e. in keeping with the foregoing examples just adduced. *consider ye &c.*] i.e. draw the conclusion with reference to all ages.

in him] It is a feature of the book that it avoids the use of the sacred name. See Introd. p. 46. For the thought cf. Eccus. ii. 10.

62. *the words of a sinful man*] i.e. the commands and threats (cf. v. 55) of the heathen (see on i. 34) Antiochus. But the exhortation applies, of course, to the case of any such "sinful man." Cf. Is. li. 12; Matt. x. 28.

his glory &c.] However imposing his magnificence, he must die, and his body "putrify and become the food of worms" (Grotius)—a figurative way of saying, "shall decay and perish."

63. *To-day...and to-morrow*] Cf. Eccus. x. 10: "He that is to-day a king to-morrow shall die." In our passage, probably through a clerical error, "to-morrow" is omitted in the Alex. MS.

his dust] i.e. the dust out of which his body was formed.

his thought] Lit. **his reasoning**, i.e. the hope he cherished, after due calculation, that his plans would succeed. Ps. cxlvi. 4 seems to have been in the writer's mind.

64. *be strong &c.*] Cf. Josh. x. 25; 1 Sam. iv. 9; 1 Ki. ii. 2.

in behalf of the law] Lit. **in** the law, which is conceived as the sphere in which their bravery is to be shewn. The Alex. MS. has *your law*.

glory] See note on v. 51.

65. *Simon*] In the Greek the form of the name here is Symeon; elsewhere, however, always Simon. In the N.T. also the first form is comparatively rare (Acts xv. 14; Gr. of 2 Pet. i. 1).

a man of counsel] A description fully justified by the career of Simon. Although rendering most efficient military service, he was the last of the brothers to assume the conduct of the campaign. But his strong point was not fighting; it lay rather in his judgement and administrative ability. In drawing this distinction the writer probably intended to account for his future elevation as prince.

give ear unto him alway] Lit. **hear him all the days**. Cf. Deut. xviii. 15; Matt. xvii. 5.

you. And Judas Maccabæus, he hath been strong and 66
mighty from his youth: he shall be your captain, and shall
fight the battle of the people. And take ye unto you all 67
the doers of the law, and avenge the wrong of your people.
Render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the 68
commandments of the law.

And he blessed them, and was gathered to his fathers. 69
And he died in the hundred and forty and sixth year, and 70
his sons buried him in the sepulchres of his fathers at
Modin, and all Israel made great lamentation for him.

a father] i.e. adviser and guide, not "patriarchal chief" (Grimm). The
eldest son (John) would naturally take rank as the head of the family.

66. *Judas Maccabæus*] See on v. 4. The use of the surname by
Mattathias (he omits that of Simon) is very curious; but, even if he did
not really use it, there are other indications (cf. v. 24, 34) that in the
case of Judas the surname adhered with exceptional closeness. Yet
Judas simply is generally used in 1 Macc., while in 2 Macc. *Macca-*
bæus alone is the favourite designation.

your captain] Lit. captain of the army, i.e. military general.

and shall fight] The Alex. MS. and several cursives read *ye shall*
fight.

of the people] Lit. of peoples, i.e. the tribes of Israel; *πόλεμον λαῶν* =
π. Ἰσραήλ, iii. 2, and R.V. is substantially right in rendering "people."
So also the Lat. version, *bellum populi*. Syr., however, renders "war
with the peoples."

67. *avenge the wrong of your people*] Rather, **fully avenge** (cognate
accus.) your people, the same phrase as in Num. xxxi. 2. For the usage
cf. Greek of vv. 54, 58, 68.

68. *Render a recompense &c.*] Cf. LXX. of Joel iii. 4, 7.

69. *he blessed them*] After the ancestral models. Cf. Gen. xxvii.
4—40, xlix. 3—28; Deut. xxxiii. 1—29.

was gathered to his fathers] i.e. departed this life. Cf. Gen. xxv. 8;
Deut. xxxii. 50, &c. According to the O.T. conception the souls of the
departed were in Sheôl, where at death a man rejoined his fathers.

70. *in the hundred and forty and sixth year*] i.e. B.C. 167—166.

Modin] We must therefore suppose the town of Modin to have been
already rescued from the domination of the Syrians.

all Israel &c.] i.e. the whole party of the Law. Such public mourning
was usual upon the demise of leading men. Cf. Gen. i. 10; Deut.
xxxiv. 8, &c.

SECOND DIVISION. CH. III. 1—IX. 22. THE MACCABAEAN STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE UNDER JUDAS.

FIRST SECTION. CH. III. 1—IV. 61.

This section describes the course of the war up to the purification of
the temple and the re-dedication of the altar.

3 And his son Judas, who was called Maccabæus, rose up
 2 in his stead. And all his brethren helped him, and so did
 all they that clave unto his father, and they fought with
 3 gladness the battle of Israel. And he gat his people great
 glory, and put on a breastplate as a giant, and girt his
 warlike harness about him, and set battles in array, pro-
 4 tecting the army with his sword. And he was like a lion in

1—9. INTRODUCTORY ENCOMIUM ON JUDAS MACCABÆUS:
 HIS PERSONALITY, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND FAME.

Judas is the central figure in the remarkable elevation which characterised the Maccabaean movement; 2 Macc. virtually glorifies him as the sole author of the deliverance from the Syrian oppression (v. 27, viii. 1 sqq., x. 1, &c.). His personal qualities, combined with his extraordinary success, made him the darling of his nation. A giant in stature, and of warlike mien (v. 3), he was the beau-ideal of a champion of popular liberties. The pride of his friends, he was in an equal measure the terror of his enemies (vv. 5, 6). Bold as a lion, his battle-cry resounded like the roar of that forest-king (v. 4). As a protector of the helpless, and an enthusiast for the religion of his fathers, he had no equal (7—9). To his devotion and prowess was due the restoration of the temple worship (iv. 36—54). His generalship overthrew the Syrian generals Apollonius (vv. 10—12), Seron (vv. 13—23), Gorgias (iv. 1—23), and Nicanor (vii. 31—49). At last, "facing fearful odds," he fell at Elasa (ix. 12—18). In the further stages of the conflict nothing occurred to dwarf the exploits of Judas, or to impress the public imagination to anything like the extent that his marvellous feats had done. After his death the story of his triumphs continued to be handed down to future sons of Israel, by whom his memory was warmly cherished (v. 7).

1. *rose up in his stead*] i.e. assumed the leadership.

2. *all they that clave &c.*] i.e. the whole company of the faithful. The "gladness" (cf. iv. 58) with which they took up the sword in defence of their national religion indicates the popularity of Judas as leader.

3. *gat his people great glory*] Better, perhaps: **spread the fame of his people far and wide.**

as a giant] Or, **hero**. For the Greek cf. LXX. of Is. iii. 2. The expression conveys the idea of *majestic mien*. Judas was of exceptional stature, like Saul.

warlike harness] i.e. armour="weapons of war," as in Deut. i. 41; 1 Sam. viii. 12, &c.

protecting the army &c.] Rather, **the camp**, as in v. 41, iv. 4 &c., although in our book the Greek word most frequently means "army." Judas trusted to no defences for the safety of his troops; his own "sword" (cf. v. 12) was their protection. That the word, which belongs to the later Greek, is used here without the article, is due to the poetical vein into which the writer has drifted in this passage.

his deeds, and as a lion's whelp roaring for prey. And he pursued the lawless, seeking them out, and he burnt up those that troubled his people. And the lawless shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled, and salvation prospered in his hand. And he angered many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever. And he went about among the cities of Judah, and destroyed the ungodly out of the land, and turned away wrath from Israel: and he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth, and he gathered together such as were ready to perish.

4. *like a lion*] A favourite O.T. figure to denote warlike strength and daring. Cf. 2 Sam. i. 23; Gen. xlix. 9; Num. xxiii. 24, xxiv. 9; 2 Macc. xi. 11.

roaring for prey] i.e. in the act of springing upon his prey. Cf. Amos iii. 4.

5. *the lawless*] i.e. the heathen, and perhaps also the apostate Jews. Cf. i. 43, 52, ii. 23.

burnt up] Either generally = "utterly destroyed," or with more specific reference to cases alluded to in v. 5, 35, 44; 2 Macc. viii. 33. Probably the Heb. was **עָרַב**, which means (1) burn, (2) consume, utterly remove, frequently in Deut. of removing evil.

6. *shrunk*] i.e. became dispirited. Cf. v. 25 and v. 3.

salvation] i.e. the work of deliverance from the oppression of Antiochus. See note on ii. 47.

7. *kings*] Used in a hyperbolic sense, as in ii. 48. The Syrian monarchs Antiochus Epiphanes, Antiochus Eupator, and Demetrius I, against whom in succession Judas fought, are of course specially in the writer's mind; unless indeed for the two successors of Epiphanes (whose reigns were very brief) we are rather to substitute his *leading officers*.

Jacob] i.e. the Israelitish people. Cf. v. 45.

his memorial is blessed for ever] Apparently a combination of Prov. x. 7 with Ps. cxii. 6. See on ii. 51.

8. *wrath*] As in i. 64, q.v.

9. *renowned*] Cf. v. 63.

such as were ready to perish] i.e. the scattered Israelites.

10—26. EARLY TRIUMPHS OF JUDAS OVER APOLLONIUS AND SERON.

In the hands of Judas the struggle immediately assumed the proportions of regular warfare. In B.C. 166 Apollonius, who had led the attack upon Jerusalem in the previous year (i. 29—32), marched with a large army out of Samaria to cross swords with the new leader of the insurgent Jews. The battle resulted in the defeat and death of

10 And Apollonius gathered the Gentiles together, and a
 11 great host from Samaria, to fight against Israel. And
 Judas perceived it, and he went forth to meet him, and
 smote him, and slew him: and many fell wounded to death,
 12 and the rest fled. And they took their spoils, and Judas
 took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith he fought all
 his days.

13 And Seron, the commander of the host of Syria, heard
 say that Judas had gathered a gathering and a congregation

Apollonius. Judas carried off his sword as a trophy, and fought with it during the remainder of his life (*vv.* 10—12). No better success attended the efforts of Seron, the governor of Coele-Syria, who in the same year advanced with a huge army to take vengeance on the rebel troops. At the pass of Beth-horon Judas suddenly attacked him with a small force, and routed the Syrian host, of whom 800 were slain, the rest saving themselves by flight into Philistia (*vv.* 13—24). His fame was now firmly established (*v.* 26).

10. *Apollonius*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 7. 1), military governor of Samaria, and probably to be identified with the Samaritan “meridarch” (see on 1 Macc. x. 65) of the same name (*Ant.* XII. 5. 5). That he is also one and the same person with the “chief collector of tribute,” mentioned in i. 29, and designated “that lord of pollutions Apollonius” in 2 Macc. v. 24, seems likely from the author’s manner of introducing him in this passage as one already known.

from Samaria] Light is thrown upon the origin of the Samaritans in 2 Ki. xvii. sqq. In respect of religious standpoint and ritual they differed essentially from the older Israelites; but the enmity between them and the Jews dates only from the early days of the post-exilic period. See Ezra iv. 1—5; Neh. iv. 1, 2, xiii. 28; Jos. *Ant.* XI. 7. 2, 8. 2. On both sides the animosity was peculiarly fierce and relentless. Cf. *Ecclus.* i. 26; Luke ix. 52, 53; John iv. 9. It is therefore easy to understand how Apollonius would find many willing recruits in Samaria.

11. *went forth to meet him*] It was the policy of Judas to fight whenever an opportunity offered. Cf. *vv.* 16, 23, iv. 12 &c.

12. *Judas took the sword of Apollonius*] “Dean Stanley well compares David’s use of the sword of Goliath (1 Sam. xxi. 9). It was one of the main disadvantages of the patriotic party that they were ill-armed (iv. 6). The Jewish sword appears to have been a short straight weapon, like the Persian (*Ancient Monarchies*, vol. IV. p. 114), not much better than a dagger. The Macedonian sword was of the same shape, but probably longer and better tempered” (Rawl.).

13. *Seron*] In the Syriac and one Greek MS. *Heron*, and possibly the same name as the Phoenician Hiram.

the host of Syria] i.e. the contingent located nearest to Jerusalem now that the battle had gone against Apollonius.

a gathering and a congregation] The words denote a band of men

of faithful men with him, and of such as went out to war; and he said, I will make myself a name and get me glory ¹⁴ in the kingdom; and I will fight against Judas and them that are with him, that set at nought the word of the king. And there went up with him also a mighty army of the ¹⁵ ungodly to help him, to take vengeance on the children of Israel.

And he came near unto the going up of Bethhoron, and ¹⁶ Judas went forth to meet him with a small company. But ¹⁷ when they saw the army coming to meet them, they said unto Judas, What? shall we be able, being a small company, to fight against so great and strong a multitude? and we for

without military training. Afterwards, however, Judas did his best to remedy this defect, and to make them soldiers (*v.* 55).

faithful] The word appears to be used with a twofold reference so as to include devotion alike to God and to their leader. Cf. 2 Sam. xx. 19; Prov. xiv. 5, xx. 6.

14. *that set at nought the word of the king*] Cf. i. 62, ii. 22, &c. Many MSS. read: “and those who set,” &c. So far as the sense goes, this is a decided improvement, for not everyone who shewed contempt for the king’s commandment, and had to suffer in consequence, could join Judas on the battle-field.

15. *And there went up with him also*] As the best attested text stands, the natural rendering would seem to be “and again there went up with him” (lit. “there added and went up,” &c.—a Hebraism); but as the same army had not gone up before, we must render as R. V.

a mighty army of the ungodly] Probably the full muster of the Graeco-Syrian troops quartered in the province.

16. *he came near*] Many MSS. read *they* &c.

Bethhoron] The main line of communication between Jerusalem and the sea coast was by the Upper and the Nether Beth-horon (Josh. xvi. 3, 5). The Upper (*Beit-'âr el Fôka*) lay about 12 Roman miles N.W. from Jerusalem. From it to the lower Beth-horon (*Beit-'âr el Tahta*) the descent of some 500 feet in $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles is “very rocky and rough; but the rock has been cut away in many places and the path formed into steps” (Robinson). From a military point of view Beth-horon was an important outpost, and to an invading force from the maritime plain the key to Jerusalem. Cf. Josh. x. 16—26. That Sanballat, the Samaritan, is called the Horonite (Neh. ii. 10, &c.), shews that in Nehemiah’s time it belonged to Samaria, but in B.C. 161 it is reckoned a city of Judaea (1 Macc. ix. 50).

17. *saw the army*] From their vantage-ground at the top of the pass Judas and his picked force would have a full view of the Syrian army as it filed up the ascent of Beth-horon from the plain.

and strong] The Alexandrian MS. omits.

18 our part are faint, having tasted no food this day. And Judas said, It is an easy thing for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with heaven it is all one, to save by
 19 many or by few: for victory in battle standeth not in the
 20 multitude of a host; but strength is from heaven. They come unto us in fulness of insolence and lawlessness, to destroy us and our wives and our children, for to spoil us:
 21 but we fight for our lives and our laws. And he himself
 22 will discomfit them before our face: but as for you, be ye not afraid of them.

23 Now when he had left off speaking, he leapt suddenly upon them, and Seron and his army were discomfited before him. And they pursued them in the going down of

we for our part] *We* is emphatic, in contrast to so great an army.

18. *to be shut up in*] i.e. delivered into, as 1 Sam. xvii. 46, &c. A huge army can avail nothing against a superhuman power. Cf. Judg. vii. 2—7; 1 Sam. xiv. 6; 2 Chron. xiv. 11; Rom. viii. 31; Judith ix. 11.

with heaven] R.V. is right in omitting **the God of**, with Alex. and some other MSS., and Syr. The author never makes use of the Divine Name. See note on ii. 61, and Introd. p. 46.

19. *in the multitude of a host*] Cf. Ps. xxxiii. 16.

20. *insolence and lawlessness*] The first term points to wanton violence arising from the pride of strength; the second, to the unrighteousness of the attempt of Antiochus to deprive the Jews of privileges conceded to them by Alexander the Great, and never cancelled either when they came under the dominion of the Ptolemies, or when they accepted the suzerainty of Syria.

to destroy us] Cf. v. 35, vi. 12, 19, viii. 9, &c.

21. *we fight for our lives &c.*] The general drift of vv. 20—22 is that Heaven will smile on those who draw the sword in a good cause, and will scatter those who, to gratify selfish ends, initiate an unrighteous war of oppression.

22. *he himself*] R.V. rightly. Only a few MSS. insert "the Lord."

discomfit] Lit. **break**. Cf. the next verse. Our author frequently uses the expression of the defeat of an army. Cf. iv. 10, v. 7, 21, vii. 42, &c.

23. *leapt suddenly upon them*] From some place of concealment in the pass between the two Beth-horons, so as to take them unawares, and before they could form themselves into battle array.

Seron...discomfited] It is not necessary (with Josephus) to interpret this as meaning that Seron was himself killed, with the result that his army became demoralised and fled.

24. *in the going down of Bethhoron*] See note on v. 16. This pass had been the scene of a similar rout when Joshua defeated the Amorites

Bethoron unto the plain, and there fell of them about eight hundred men; but the residue fled into the land of the Philistines.

And the fear of Judas and his brethren, and the dread of ²⁵ them, began to fall upon the nations round about them: and his name came near even unto the king, and every ²⁶ nation told of the battles of Judas.

But when king Antiochus heard these words, he was full ²⁷ of indignation: and he sent and gathered together all the forces of his realm, an exceeding strong army. And he ²⁸ opened his treasury, and gave his forces pay for a year, and

(Josh. x. 10, 11); and here also, in A.D. 66, during the war with the Romans, Cestius Gallus was hemmed in and compelled to steal away by night (Jos. B. 7. II. 19. 8).

unto the plain] i.e. the maritime country to the south of Joppa. Cf. v. 40; Josh. xv. 33; Obad. 19.

about eight hundred men] This comparatively moderate loss suggests that the Syrian army had not been thrown into utter confusion.

the land of the Philistines] Where the Syrians were still masters.

25. *the fear of Judas and his brethren &c.*] Other alarms succeeded to this, which is set down as the first shock of the kind experienced.

nations round about them] i.e. dependencies of the empire.

26. *his name &c.*] Epiphanes learned particularly about Judas by name as the ringleader of the revolt.

27—37. ANTIOCHUS MARCHES INTO PERSIA IN THE INTERESTS OF HIS FAILING TREASURY: LYSIAS IS COMMISSIONED TO PROSECUTE THE WAR AGAINST JUDAS.

Much as Antiochus would have liked to wreak his vengeance upon Judaea, the low state of his exchequer led him to divide his troops, with the view of at once crushing his foes and improving his finances. With one half of his available forces he marched into Persia to enforce the payment of tribute throughout the provinces; the other half he left under the command of his general Lysias—to whom he committed the care of the imperial interests on the hither side of the Euphrates, and the tutorship of his son Antiochus—with instructions to extirpate the Jewish nation, and to colonise their land with strangers.

27. *all the forces of his realm*] Probably a prudential measure in view of the possibility of other subject peoples following the example set by the Jews. As Lysias with only half the army could still bring into the field 47,000 (v. 39), and even 65,000 men (iv. 28), the full number of troops at the disposal of Epiphanes must have been at least equal to that with which Sidetes besieged Dor, viz. 128,000 men (xv. 13).

28. *gave his forces pay for a year*] Ever since the defeat of Antiochus the Great by the Romans at Magnesia in B.C. 190, and the consequent

29 commanded them to be ready for every need. And he saw that the money failed from his treasures, and that the tributes of the country were small, because of the dissension and plague which he had brought upon the land, to the end that he might take away the laws which had been
30 from the first days; and he feared that he should not have enough as at other times for the charges and the gifts which he gave aforetime with a liberal hand, and he abounded
31 above the kings that were before him. And he was ex-

necessity of defraying the cost of the campaign, the Syrian Government had suffered from impecuniosity. Under Epiphanes the money that should have gone to pay the soldiers had often been spent on games and spectacular displays. In order to secure their hearty co-operation, it was therefore essential for him to pay the soldiers in advance.

for every need] i.e. for any service. Things had taken such a turn that troubles might arise in any part of the kingdom, and Antiochus desired that his army should be ready to march in any direction on the shortest notice.

29. *treasures*] Rather, *treasure-chests*; cf. Deut. xxviii. 12; Ezek. xxviii. 4; Matt. iii. 11. The vanishing of their contents seems more than once to have dictated his policy. Cf. the account of the temple robbery in i. 21—23.

the dissension &c.] Or, disaffection and trouble which he had brought about in the land. Judaea was apparently not the only part of the king's dominions where the edict enjoining religious uniformity (i. 41, 42) had met with serious opposition; the Persians, e.g., who were now causing trouble, were known to be zealously attached to Zoroastrianism (cf. v. 31, vi. 1—4), and to this probably their disaffection was due. One of the first results of such a situation was that the machinery for collecting the taxes was thrown out of gear.

take away the laws] Cf. i. 42. It was only natural that Orientals should resent the compulsory substitution of Hellenism for their own customs.

30. *the charges*] i.e. the regular cost of administration.

gifts...with a liberal hand] His recklessness in this respect must have seriously added to the financial embarrassments of the empire. In view of his erratic munificence as well as his other extravagances, Polybius (xxvi. 1) says: "Rational people were at a loss what to think about him. Some regarded him as a simple and homely man, others looked upon him as crazed....To some he gave bone dice, to others dates, to others gold. But if perchance he should meet any one whom he had never seen before, he would give him unexpected presents." At Naucratis, in Egypt, he presented every Greek inhabitant with a gold piece. Cf. Dan. xi. 24.

and he abounded above the kings that were before him] Some MSS. omit. The fact, however, is undisputed. Polybius, *l.c.*, continues:

ceedingly perplexed in his mind, and he determined to go into Persia, and to take the tributes of the countries, and to gather much money. And he left Lysias, an honourable man, and one of the seed royal, to be over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus, until he came again. And he delivered unto him the half of his forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge of all the things that he would have done, and concerning them that

“But in the sacrifices which he had offered up in cities, and in the honours which he gave to the gods, he *went beyond all other kings*. As a proof of this we may point to the temple of Zeus at Athens, and the images around the altar at Delos.”

31. *Persia*] The name is used here (and elsewhere in the Books of Maccabees) in the widest sense as the designation of those eastern parts of the territory of the Seleucidae which lay beyond the Euphrates. Cf. vi. 1, 5, 56 (where the double name “Persia and Media” is used in the same sense); 2 Macc. i. 13, ix. 1, 21. According to Appian, *Syr.* 45, Epiphanes in B.C. 165 proceeded first against Armenia (since B.C. 190 subject to the Romans) from which he carried off much spoil, and only the year following against “Persia.”

the countries] i.e. provinces.

to gather much money] The phrase expresses the general purpose of Antiochus, apart from the particular object specified. The collecting of tribute was only one method out of several by which he hoped to scrape together a huge sum of money. There still remained the power of extortion; there were lands not his to be plundered; above all, there were temples to be robbed. This last and most desperate expedient, from which European conquerors had for the most part shrunk, came to be regarded by Antiochus as an obvious source of revenue. Cf. i. 21—23, vi. 1—4.

32. *an honourable man*] Or, **a man of note**. This description accords with the part he played in the Syro-Jewish war until his assassination in B.C. 161 (vii. 1—4). His prominence, however, was due more to his position as regent of the Western provinces than to any exceptional military genius.

of the seed royal] Lit. **of the race of the kingdom**. Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 1.

the affairs of the king] i.e. imperial business.

33. *his son Antiochus*] The future Antiochus V Eupator, who after reigning for two years perished along with Lysias at the hands of Demetrius I, whose right of succession to the Syrian throne had been usurped by Epiphanes. See vii. 1—4.

34. *the half of his forces*] See on v. 27.

and the elephants] i.e. all the elephants, not the half only. Antiochus handed them over to Lysias because, owing to the mountainous character of Armenia, Parthia, and other regions which he intended to visit, they could be of little service to himself.

35 dwelt in Judæa and in Jerusalem, that he should send a
 host against them, to root out and destroy the strength of
 Israel, and the remnant of Jerusalem, and to take away
 36 their memorial from the place; and that he should make
 strangers to dwell in all their coasts, and should divide their
 37 land to them by lot. And the king took the half that re-
 mained of the forces, and removed from Antioch, from his
 royal city, the hundred and forty and seventh year; and he
 passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper
 countries.

35. *to root out...the strength of Israel*] Cf. xii. 53; Ps. lxxxiii. 4. No monarch had ever before issued such a drastic decree with respect to the Jews. Under Shalmaneser and Sargon the ten tribes were removed to Mesopotamia and Media (2 Ki. xvii. 6), while foreign settlers were brought by Esarhaddon (Ezra iv. 2) and "the great and noble Osnappar" (probably Assur-bani-pal, B.C. 668—626) of Ezra iv. 10, and "placed in the cities of Samaria, instead of the children of Israel" (2 Ki. xvii. 24). But Epiphanes meant to improve upon this by selling as slaves such Jews as might remain unslaughtered. Cf. v. 41, and 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11.

the remnant of Jerusalem] Jer. xxiv. 8 *al.* i.e. the handful of Jews still in the Holy City. Most of those who were yet alive had fled. Cf. i. 38, 53.

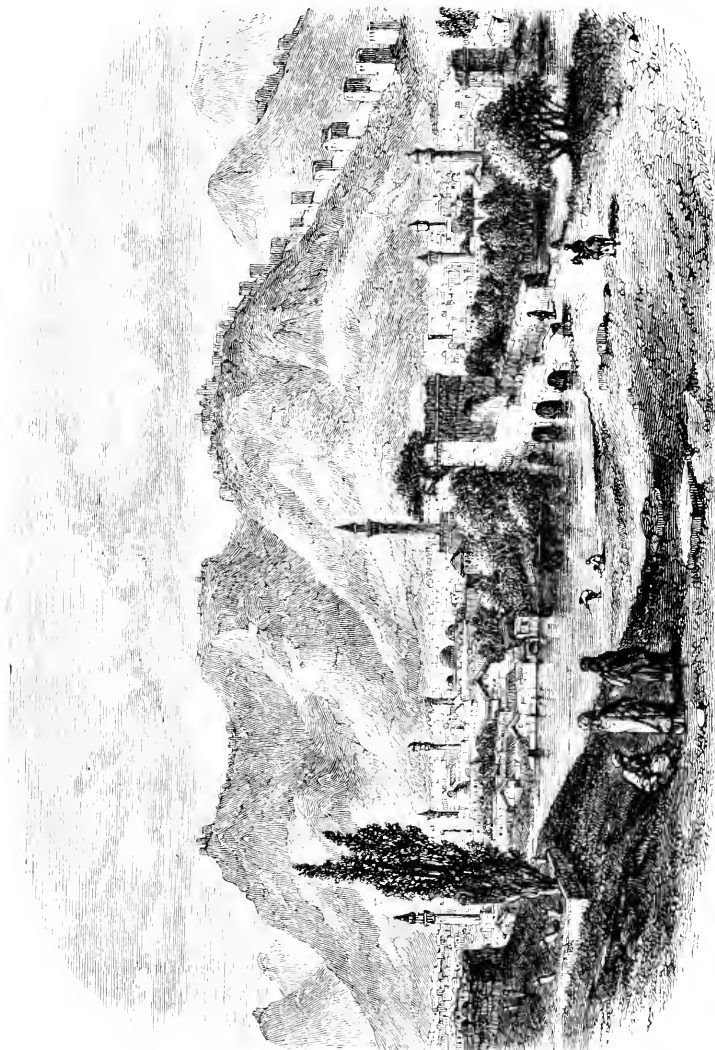
36. *strangers*] Lit. **alien sons**, a Hebraism. Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 45; Is. lx. 10.

37. *the half that remained*] The other half, under command of Lysias, had apparently left the Syrian capital at an earlier date.

Antioch] On the river Orontes. For the purposes of a royal residence, and also as a meeting-place between the East and the West, the site was admirably chosen, although in some respects it was disadvantageous for Syria to have the capital so far from the centre of the kingdom. Antioch was a very flourishing and populous city (xi. 47), and under the successive kings had grown quickly in size and beauty. In time it became a conglomerate of four cities, each with its own walls, and all enclosed within common fortifications. Epiphanes continued the work of his predecessors, and did much to adorn his capital. Antioch has lost much of its former splendour, and is now an insignificant Turkish town (*Antaki*) of 6000 inhabitants. It has suffered greatly from earthquakes.

the hundred and forty and seventh year] Corresponding to B.C. 166—165.

the upper countries] This may denote the mountainous regions beyond the Euphrates, including Armenia, Assyria, Media, and Persia, cf. vi. 1; 2 Macc. ix. 25; but perhaps it means no more than "inland" (Acts xix. 1).



ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES.
(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible.*)

38 And Lysias chose Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes, and
 Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the king's Friends;
 39 and with them he sent forty thousand footmen, and seven
 thousand horse, to go into the land of Judah, and to destroy
 40 it, according to the word of the king. And they removed
 with all their host, and came and pitched near unto Emmaus

38—60. **LYSIAS SENDS AGAINST JUDAEA AN ARMY OF 40,000
 INFANTRY AND 7,000 CAVALRY, UNDER THE TRIPLE COMMAND
 OF PTOLEMY, NICANOR, AND GORGIAS: JEWISH PREPARA-
 TIONS, RELIGIOUS AND MILITARY, FOR THE IMPENDING
 STRUGGLE.**

38. *Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes*] This Ptolemy is mentioned in 2 Macc. (1) as the son of Dorymenes (iv. 45)—probably that Dorymenes who opposed Antiochus the Great on his occupation of Coele-Syria (*Polyb.* v. 61); (2) as the governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia (viii. 8); (3) with the surname of Macron (x. 12). In 1 Macc. his name does not again occur. Appointed governor of Cyprus by Ptolemy Philometor, he handed over the island to Epiphanes, who rewarded him with the governorship of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. At this juncture the coarse Phrygian, named Philip, whom Antiochus had left as governor of Jerusalem (2 Macc. v. 22), had written to Ptolemy, urging the necessity of taking more spirited action in the imperial interest. If meanwhile the latter put himself into communication with Lysias, this would explain the origin of his commission as a general. Under Eupator he incurred the royal displeasure, and took this so much to heart that he poisoned himself (2 Macc. x. 13).

Nicanor] The son of one Patroclus (2 Macc. viii. 9). In 2 Macc. he virtually appears as sole leader of the campaign. On the circumstances of his death cf. vii. 43; 2 Macc. xv.

Gorgias] In both Books of the Maccabees the three generals are mentioned in the same order,—that of their relative rank, according to 2 Macc. viii. 8, 9, where Ptolemy is represented as handing over the conduct of the expedition to his two subordinates. But while in 2 Macc. Nicanor appears as the chief actor on the Syrian side (viii. 12, 23), in 1 Macc. this position is assigned to Gorgias. See note on iv. 1.

mighty men] **Valiant men**, as in v. 58.

the king's Friends] See note on ii. 18.

39. *forty thousand footmen &c.*] The Syriac version has “ten thousand footmen,” and in 2 Macc. the full strength of the force is stated at 20,000.

40. *Emmaus in the plain country*] Not the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. 13, nor the watering-place of the same name near Tiberias (*Jos. Ant.* xviii. 2. 3), but a town of some importance, lying at the base of the mountains of Judaea, 22 Roman miles from Jerusalem. It was one of the places afterwards fortified by Bacchides (ix. 50). From the third century A.D. it bore the name of Nicopolis (now *Amwâs*).

in the plain country. And the merchants of the country⁴¹ heard the fame of them, and took silver and gold exceeding much, with fetters, and came into the camp to take the children of Israel for servants: and there were added unto them the forces of Syria and of the land of the Philistines.

And Judas and his brethren saw that evils were multiplied,⁴² and that the forces were encamping in their borders; and they took knowledge of the king's words which he had commanded, to destroy the people and make an end of them; and they said each man to his neighbour, Let us⁴³ raise up the ruin of our people, and let us fight for our people and the holy place. And the congregation was⁴⁴ gathered together, that they might be ready for battle, and that they might pray, and ask for mercy and compassion. And Jerusalem was without inhabitant as a wilderness, there⁴⁵ was none of her offspring that went in or went out; and the

41. *the merchants of the country*] In Phoenicia, and in the coast-towns of Philistia, slave-dealing was a regular branch of commerce (Joel iii. 6, 8; Am. i. 6, 9; Ezek. xxvii. 13). According to 2 Macc. viii. 10, 11, Nicanor had advertised a sale of Jewish captives, at the tempting rate of ninety for a talent, in order to raise the amount of the yearly tribute to Rome.

with fetters] This reading, which is that of the Syr. and of Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 7. 3), is preferable to that of the Greek MSS., Vulg. and A.V., which have "servants," and may be accepted, with R.V., as an emendation, since a copyist might readily mistake the one word (*πέδας*) for the other (*παιδας*); but if the best attested reading be adopted, the meaning will be that "servants" were taken to look after such captives as their masters might purchase.

the forces of Syria &c.] This may mean either that troops were requisitioned from Syria proper, and from Philistia, as a support to the main army, or that a number of Philistines and natives of Syria voluntarily joined them as auxiliaries.

the Philistines] Lit., as marg., **strangers**. This (*ἀλλόφυλοι*) is the usual Greek rendering of **Philistines** in the O. T. Cf. iv. 30; v. 66; and LXX. of Judg. xiv.—xvi.; 1 Sam. iv. sqq.

43. *raise up the ruin of our people*] The idea is that of restoring a ruinous building. Cf. Amos ix. 11.

45. On this verse generally, cf. i. 25—28; ii. 8—14.

Jerusalem...as a wilderness] A hyperbolic expression to denote (from the standpoint of the writer) the terrible desolation of the Holy City. As a matter of fact, a good many had remained in their homes (ii. 18) in virtue of their compliance with the demands of Antiochus.

none of her offspring &c.] Those worthy of being called her children had left her to a man (i. 38). In this respect she was as an uninhabited

sanctuary was trodden down, and the sons of strangers were in the citadel, the Gentiles lodged therein; and joy was taken away from Jacob, and the pipe and the harp ceased.
 46 And they gathered themselves together, and came to Mizpeh, over against Jerusalem; for in Mizpeh was there a
 47 place of prayer aforetime for Israel. And they fasted that

desert. For the phrase "that went in or went out," as representing the peaceful routine of every-day existence, cf. 2 Chron. xv. 5; Jer. xxxvii. 4; Zech. viii. 10; John x. 9; Acts ix. 28.

trodden down] i.e. profaned. Cf. v. 51, and Rev. xi. 2.

the sons of strangers were in the citadel] The Graeco-Syrians held the fortress of Jerusalem from its seizure by Apollonius until the time of the administration of Simon, when the garrison were at last starved into submission (xiii. 49—51).

the Gentiles lodged therein] Lit. (Jerusalem was) a **lodging-place among the nations**. This may be taken as implying that Jerusalem, besides being a domicile for Gentiles, became a trading centre for the surrounding pagan population. But there would seem to be some mistranslation here; *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν* is the best attested reading, but it does not fit *κατάλυμα*. Possibly the original Heb. text had *mēlūnāh* (מְלוֹנָה), a solitary lodge, Is. i. 8, this being rendered as if it were *mālōn* (מָלוֹן), a hospice.

the pipe and the harp ceased] A more extended list of Israelitish musical instruments is given in Is. v. 12: "the harp and the lute, the tabret and the pipe are in their feasts." A cessation of joy meant a cessation of music. Cf. Is. xiv. 11, xxiv. 8.

46. *Mizpeh*] "Maspha" of A.V. is the Greek form of Heb. *Mizpeh* or *Mizpah* ("watch-tower"); cf. v. 35, and LXX. of Josh. xv. 38; 2 Chron. xvi. 6; Neh. iii. 19. There were several places of this name, but the one alluded to here is clearly that in the tribe of Benjamin, a few stadia N.W. of Jerusalem, and in full view of it (Josh. xviii. 26; Judg. xxi. 1; 1 Sam. vii. 5, x. 17). Robinson identifies it with the modern village of *Neby Samwīl* (2,970 feet). So also Buhl, who says, "In the Middle Ages the mountain bore the name *Mons gaudii*, because from it pilgrims for the first time saw the town of Jerusalem lying before them" (*Palästina*, par. 94). This may perhaps explain the use of the phrase 'over against' Jerusalem, even as applied to a place five miles distant, although it better fits another proposed identification, viz. with *Scopus*, a plateau only seven furlongs north of Jerusalem. The similarity of the name (*σκοπός*=watchman) might be held to point to the latter site.

a place of prayer aforetime] Shut out from the temple, the Israelites naturally resorted to Mizpeh, hallowed of yore as the place of the national reformation under Samuel. Cf. 1 Sam. vii. 6—9, which seems to be in the writer's mind. Both passages speak of (1) a national assembly, (2) fasting, (3) prayer.

day, and put on sackcloth, and *put* ashes upon their heads, and rent their clothes, and laid open the book of the law, ⁴⁸ concerning which the Gentiles were wont to inquire, seeking the likenesses of their idols. And they brought the priests' ⁴⁹

47. *they fasted that day*] Cf. ii. 14; v. 17. They observed the order of (1) humiliation, (2) prayer, and exhibited, as was customary upon such occasions, all the external signs of grief. Special fasts were often proclaimed over wide areas (Jer. xxxvi. 9; 2 Chron. xx. 3), because of national sin (1 Sam. vii. 6), defeat in war (Judg. xx. 26), land-plagues (Joel i. 14, ii. 12, 15), or (as here) in order to ask God's blessing upon some enterprise the success of which would mean the averting of a public calamity. Cf. Ezra viii. 21.

48. *laid open*] i.e. spread before Jehovah, as Hezekiah did in the case of the blasphemous letter of Sennacherib (cf. 2 Ki. xix. 14 sqq.; Is. xxxvii. 14), in the expectation that Heaven's vengeance would swiftly overtake those guilty of such impiety.

the book of the law] This, of course, would be in the form of a parchment roll. The Vulg. has *books*, in keeping with the following plural "concerning which." But this is really an example of the plural of category, the idea being "one of those concerning which" &c. The copy which the pious Jews unfolded in the sight of Jehovah bore marks of desecration; the heathen had disfigured it with pictures of their own deities, by way of pouring contempt on Jewish exclusiveness, and in order to outrage Jewish religious feeling. It was thereby rendered useless to the Jews, to whom graven images were forbidden as well as idols.

concerning which the Gentiles &c.] R.V. is an attempt to translate the text given in the best MSS., and the meaning thus obtained is that the heathen searched the law with a view to discovering analogies to their own mythology, and thereby finding support for it. E.g., they would have identified the giants of Genesis with the Greek Titans, Jehovah with Jupiter, Samson with Hercules, &c. But apart from the improbability of it, it is doubtful if the words will bear this sense, which would require *ἐν οἷς* instead of *περὶ ᾧν*. The reading which inserts *τοῦ ἐπιγράφειν ἐπ' αὐτῶν* is probably only a gloss, though it may give the correct sense, viz., "They spread out the book of the law, for copies of which the heathen used to make search, in order to draw upon them the likenesses of their idols." The Greek text is probably a mistranslation. Prof. Kirkpatrick (*Journal of Philology* XIV. p. 112) suggests that the original Heb. may have had "upon which the heathen had scrawled the likenesses of their idols"; and that קקח, to inscribe, draw, was confused with קרר and rendered by *ἐξηρεύνων*, and אשר...עליהם rendered by *περὶ ᾧν* instead of *ἐφ' ᾧν* to suit *ἐξηρεύνων*. He also shews how upon this assumption we can explain the free paraphrase of the Syriac version, "And they spread out the roll of the law, and lamented before the Holy One concerning the heathen, who compelled them to behave after their fashion."

49. *they brought the priests' garments*] On the dress appointed for

garments, and the firstfruits, and the tithes: and they stirred
 50 up the Nazirites, who had accomplished their days. And
 they cried aloud toward heaven, saying, What shall we do
 with these men, and whither shall we carry them away?
 51 And thy holy place is trodden down and profaned, and thy
 52 priests are in heaviness and brought low. And, behold, the
 Gentiles are assembled together against us to destroy us:
 53 thou knowest what things they imagine against us. How
 shall we be able to stand before them, except thou be our
 54 help? And they sounded with the trumpets, and cried with
 a loud voice.

55 And after this Judas appointed leaders of the people,

the Jewish priests, see Ex. xxviii. 4—42. As official robes these could be worn only in the temple.

the firstfruits, and the tithes] The legal obligations as to the presentation of these in the temple are set forth in Ex. xxiii. 19; Lev. xxiii. 10 sqq.; Num. xviii. 12—15; Deut. xxvi. 2.

stirred up the Nazirites] The Nazirite came under an obligation to abstain “from wine and strong drink” and from cutting the hair of the head during the time of “separation unto the Lord” (Num. vi. 3, 5). It was only by offerings in the temple and by the burning in the sacrificial fire of the hair which had been left to grow freely until their days were fulfilled, that the Nazirites could be released from their vows. They were now induced to emphasise the distressful nature of the situation by presenting themselves as men vainly waiting for relief. In spite of v. 50, Wellhausen would read “shaved” for “stirred up.”

50. *with these men*] viz. with the Nazirites, and those who had brought the firstfruits and tithes. How shall we contrive to enable them to discharge their legal obligations? Sacred as ancient Mizpeh was, it was no proper substitute for Zion.

51. *trodden down and profaned*] By the heathen. Cf. Luke xxi. 24.
are in heaviness and brought low] Lit. **are in grief and humiliation**, ‘as Mattathias had been’ (Grotius).

52. *imagine*] Rather, **intend**, or **reckon upon doing**.

53. *except thou be our help*] The appeal for Divine aid was the point to which their whole appearance at Mizpeh led up.

54. *sounded with the trumpets*] Cf. Num. x. 9. This was at once a signal for breaking up the camp (v. 57; Num. x. 2), and a blast of defiance to the foe.

cried &c.] i.e. shouted their war-cry.

55. *Judas appointed leaders &c.*] The only respect in which this division of the army differed from that which had been usual in Israel was in regard to the appointment of “captains of tens”; and yet this can scarcely be considered as altogether a deviation from ancient practice in view of the scheme of judicial organisation adopted by Moses

captains of thousands, and captains of hundreds, and captains of fifties, and captains of tens. And he said to them ⁵⁶ that were building houses, and were betrothing wives, and were planting vineyards, and were fearful, that they should return, each man to his own house, according to the law. And the army removed, and encamped upon the south side ⁵⁷ of Emmaus. And Judas said, Gird yourselves, and be ⁵⁸ valiant men, and be in readiness against the morning, that ye may fight with these Gentiles, that are assembled together against us to destroy us, and our holy place: for it is better ⁵⁹ for us to die in battle, than to look upon the evils of our nation and the holy place. Nevertheless, as may be the ⁶⁰ will in heaven, so shall he do.

And Gorgias took five thousand footmen, and a thousand 4

(Ex. xviii. 21—26). On the military significance of the fact here recorded cf. note on v. 13.

56. *them that were building houses*] A necessary occupation for many who had fled from their own homes.

and were fearful] Cf. the parallel action of Gideon (Judg. vii. 3).

according to the law] See Deut. xx. 5—8.

57. *the army removed*] Having prayed to God and organised his troops, Judas was now ready for battle.

encamped...Emmaus] On the situation of Emmaus see note on v. 40. The spot selected by Judas for encampment must have been on the sloping ground that led up from this town to the highlands of Judaea.

58. *Gird yourselves*] In allusion to the custom of tucking up the wide upper garment and securing it by a girdle so as to allow of greater freedom of movement in walking or working. The word came to be used as equivalent to "prepare." Cf. Is. viii. 9; Luke xii. 35, 40.

be valiant men] Cf. v. 38, and for the Greek cf. LXX. of 2 Sam. ii. 7, xiii. 28.

in readiness against the morning] Cf. LXX. of Ex. xxxiv. 2.

60. *as may be the will in heaven &c.*] Again we notice the author's avoidance of the Divine Name. Judas was content to leave his cause absolutely in the hand of God. Cf. Matt. vi. 10; 2 Sam. x. 12.

CH. IV. 1—25. JUDAS PUTS TO ROUT THE SYRIAN HOST LED BY NICANOR AND GORGIAS.

While the bulk of the Syrian army, under Nicanor, lay entrenched in the plain of Philistia, Gorgias with 6000 men attempted to surprise the Jewish camp by night. Judas, however, cleverly turned the stratagem to his own advantage, defeated the main body under Nicanor, and awaited the reappearance of the disappointed Gorgias. At sight of the smoke of the burning tents, the Syrians at once fled in disorder.

1. *Gorgias took five thousand footmen*] As nothing is said of

2 chosen horse, and the army removed by night, that it might
 fall upon the army of the Jews and smite them suddenly:
 3 and the men of the citadel were his guides. And Judas heard
 thereof, and removed, he and the valiant men, that he might
 4 smite the king's host which was at Emmaus, while as yet the
 5 forces were dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came
 into the camp of Judas by night, and found no man; and
 he sought them in the mountains; for he said, These men
 6 flee from us. And as soon as it was day, Judas appeared
 in the plain with three thousand men: howbeit they had
 7 not armour nor swords to their minds. And they saw the
 camp of the Gentiles strong *and* fortified, and horsemen
 compassing it round about; and these were expert in war.
 8 And Judas said to the men that were with him, Fear ye

Ptolemy, we may fairly infer his absence; and as nothing is said of Nicanor having dispatched Gorgias and his contingent, it is evident that the writer did not take Nicanor for commander-in-chief. The reasonable conclusion from the narrative is that the two generals conferred on a footing of equality, and agreed upon a plan of campaign.

the army] Some MSS. have *his army*. In any case the reference is to the band of 6000.

2. *the men of the citadel &c.*] Lit. **sons of the citadel**,—a Hebraism. Cf. Ossian, *Fingal*, Bk. v., "Go to Allad, the grey-haired son of the rock" (so called from his dwelling in a cave). Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 7. 4) describes these guides as "certain of the fugitive Jews."

3. *Judas heard thereof*] Through scouts, or from friendly residents. *smite the king's host*] By suddenly flinging himself on and capturing their well-appointed camp.

Emmaus] See on iii. 40, 57.

4. *while as yet the forces were dispersed*] Judas was anxious to seize the opportunity offered by the division of the Syrian forces, and to strike a blow while the contingent under Gorgias was absent from the camp.

5. *Gorgias...by night*] He thus walked into the trap laid for him by Judas, whose deserted camp lured him on.

sought them in the mountains] Apparently in the belief that the Jewish troops had fled into the recesses of the hilly region to the south of Emmaus. In this way he was always increasing the distance between himself and the main body under Nicanor.

6. *they had not armour nor swords*] i.e. neither defensive nor offensive weapons. Cf. LXX. of Num. iv. 8; 1 Macc. vi. 2.

7. *fortified*] Lit. **guarded with a breast-work**.

horsemen compassing it &c.] These patrols made it impracticable for Judas to carry out his idea of surprising it suddenly (*v.* 3).

8. *And Judas said*] A more expanded version of his speech is given in 2 Macc. viii. 16—20, while *vv.* 21—23 contain an account of his military arrangements in prospect of immediate action.

not their multitude, neither be ye afraid of their onset. Remember how our fathers were saved in the Red sea, 9 when Pharaoh pursued them with a host. And now let us cry unto heaven, if he will have us, and will remember the covenant of our fathers, and destroy this army before our face to-day: and all the Gentiles shall know that there is 11 one who redeemeth and saveth Israel. And the strangers 12 lifted up their eyes, and saw them coming over against them: and they went out of the camp to battle. And they 13 that were with Judas sounded their trumpets, and joined 14 battle, and the Gentiles were discomfited, and fled into the plain. But all the hindmost fell by the sword: and they 15 pursued them unto Gazara, and unto the plains of Idumæa

neither be ye afraid] The Greek verb used here does not occur in the LXX. outside of this book, in which it is thrice repeated. Cf. *v.* 21, *v.* 41, *xvi.* 6.

9. *Pharaoh pursued them]* See Ex. xiv.

10. *if he will have us]* i.e. "if he (God) will take pleasure in" us (*θελω* with accus.). For sense (not construction) cf. 2 Sam. xv. 26; for constr., Ps. xvii. 20 (*xviii.* 19); Matt. xxvii. 43.

this army] Or, **camp.**

11. *that there is one who redeemeth]* The establishment of this truth in the sight of the heathen lay very near the heart of the O.T. saint. Cf. Ex. xv. 14—16; Ps. lxxxiii. 18; Ps. xcvi. 2, &c.

12. *strangers]* The Syriac translates by "Philistines," the ordinary Hellenistic meaning of the word (cf. iii. 36). In this passage, however, it can be so rendered only if we suppose the Philistines mentioned in iii. 41 to have been left to guard the camp, and it is better to take *allophuloi* (*ἀλλόφυλοι*) generally, as in *v.* 26. The Syriac rendering goes to shew that that version was made not from the Hebrew but from the Greek. See *Introd.* p. 49.

13. *sounded their trumpets]* In order to nerve themselves and strike terror into the hearts of their antagonists.

14. *were discomfited]* The word denotes a *crushing* reverse. Grimm is disposed to accept the figures given in 2 Macc., which doubles the number of Jews, and halves the number of Syrians. Historical parallels, however, are not wanting to render the representation of our author conceivable. At Marathon, e.g., 10,000 Athenians routed 100,000 Persians; and at Narwa 8000 Swedes defeated 80,000 Russians.

15. *Gazara]* Gr. *Gazēra*, identical with the O.T. Gezer (Josh. x. 33, xii. 12, xvi. 3), the Mont Gisart of the Crusades, the modern *Tell-el-Jezer*, and not the village of *Yazûr* near Jaffa, as was supposed prior to 1870. In that year M. Clermont-Ganneau, following up a clue derived from an Arabian writer, discovered near *Abû Shushêh* the real site of the ancient Gezer. Four years later his theory received further confirmation by his own discovery, as an agent of the *Palestine*

and Azotus and Jamnia, and there fell of them about three
 16. thousand men. And Judas and his host returned from
 17. pursuing after them, and he said unto the people, Be not
 greedy of the spoils, inasmuch as there is a battle before us;
 18. and Gorgias and his host are nigh unto us in the mountain.
 But stand ye now against our enemies, and fight against

Exploration Fund, and on the same spot, of "bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew deeply carved upon the rock, with the Biblical name of Gezer written in full and repeated twice" (*P. E. F. Q.* 1875). This site corresponds well enough with the terms of Josh. xvi. 3 and 1 Ki. ix. 15—17, and particularly suits the references in 1 Macc. (iv. 15, vii. 45, ix. 52, xiv. 34, xv. 28, 35, xvi. 1, 19, 21). But if it lay on the border of Ephraim (Josh. xvi. 10), the tribal territory must have stretched southwards farther than it is usual to suppose. In the light of recent research it is necessary to regard as inaccurate the statement of Eusebius in his *Onomasticon* that Gezer lay 4 Roman miles N. of Nicopolis (Emmaus). Its direction was *west* rather than north. This explains the "day's journey" of vii. 45.

Idumæa] A and V read Judæa; but Idumæa (*v.* 29) included the S. of Judæa at this time. The most plausible meaning that can be put upon the passage is that while the Jews pursued them to Gazara, the Syrians at that point scattered in three directions,—some towards the Idumæan plain, others towards Azotus, and a third contingent towards the plain of Jamnia—without being further pursued by their victorious adversaries.

Azotus] The ancient Ashdod, and the modern village of *Esdūd*. It was one of the five confederated Philistine towns, and lay near the coast on the direct route between Syria and Egypt. A huge mound probably marks the site of the old fortress captured by the Assyrians in B.C. 710, and by Psammetichus I some eighty years later, after a prolonged siege of 29 years (Herod. II. 157).

Jamnia] The modern *Yabneh*, 3½ hours from Jaffa, and about four miles from the coast. Other forms are Jabneel (Josh. xv. 11), and Jabneh (2 Chron. xxvi. 6). During the first and second centuries of our era it became famous as a Rabbinical school. On the port of Jamnia (*Minet Rubin*) see Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 131.

16. *Judas and his host returned*] The pursuit could not be continued, for (1) Gorgias had still to be dealt with, and (2) the next day was the sabbath (2 Macc. viii. 26, 27).

17. *Be not greedy of the spoils*] i.e. "lest while you busy yourselves about booty the enemy make a sudden attack."

a battle] Better: **war**. So long as Gorgias was in the vicinity it was premature to think of the struggle as ended.

18. *in the mountain*] i.e. in the highlands of Judæa (*cf. v.* 5)—not the "Shephelah" or lower hills amid which Emmaus itself was situated, but the western spurs of the higher range composing the chain of Judæa, called in the Talmud "the King's Mountain."

them, and afterwards take the spoils with boldness. While ¹⁹ Judas was yet making an end of these words, there appeared a part of them looking out from the mountain: and they saw ²⁰ that their host had been put to flight, and that the Jews were burning the camp; for the smoke that was seen declared what was done. But when they perceived these ²¹ things, they were sore afraid; and perceiving also the army of Judas in the plain ready for battle, they fled all of them ²² into the land of the Philistines. And Judas returned to ²³ spoil the camp, and they got much gold, and silver, and blue, and sea purple, and great riches. And they returned ²⁴ home, and sang a song of thanksgiving, and gave praise

with boldness] i.e. with confidence that you are secure from hostile interruption. Grotius recalls the interesting circumstance that Tacitus (*Annals* XIV. 36) speaks of the Roman general Suetonius as having exhorted his troops in similar terms during a campaign in Britain.

19. *looking out*] viz. after their fruitless quest among the hills.

20. *that their host &c.*] Lit. **that they** (i.e. the Syrians) **had been put to flight, and they** (i.e. the Jews) **were firing the camp.** For a similar change of the subject, cf. x. 58. Judas had doubtless calculated on the moral effect which the sight of the smoking tents would have upon the troops of Gorgias. As he anticipated, it saved him a second battle, and left him master of the situation.

22. *the Philistines*] Gr. **strangers.** See note on iii. 41.

23. *the camp*] i.e. of Nicanor.

gold, and silver] Not only in specie, but in the form of vessels, cups, ornaments, &c.

blue] Gr. *hyacinth*, the word invariably used in LXX. to translate the Heb. *tēkhēleth* (תִּכְחֵלֶת), i.e. a *dark blue* or *violet purple*.

sea purple] i.e. garments coloured with genuine purple derived from the juice found in a shell-fish (*murex trunculus*) that abounds on the Phoenician coast. (Tristram, *Nat. Hist. of Bible*, p. 297.) This was the celebrated and expensive Tyrian dye. Cf. Ex. xxv. 4; Esth. i. 6; Jer. x. 9; Dan. v. 7, 16, 29; Acts xvi. 14¹.

24. *they returned home*] i.e. from the plain to the hill-country.

unto heaven] Or, **with eyes and voices directed towards heaven** (R.V. marg.; Mt. xiv. 19 *al.*; LXX. of 1 Ki. viii. 29, 30). In the later Hebrew "heaven" = *the LORD*. (Cf. v. 55; iii. 18.) For the expression *sang...and gave praise*, cf. xiii. 47, and on the situation generally cf. the song of Moses and the Israelites in Ex. xv.

¹ *Sea purple*, the reading of N, is supported by the Syriac, but no similar expression occurs in the Massoretic text. On the other hand the reading of A "blue and purple *καὶ θαλασσίαν*" suggests Dan. x. 6 (LXX.), where *θαλάσσης* represents *תְּרִשִׁי*, a precious stone (perhaps the chrysolite?). In Ezek. i. 16 Vulg. has *maris* for *tarshish*.

unto heaven; because *his mercy* is good, because his mercy endureth for ever. And Israel had a great deliverance that day.

26 But the strangers, as many as had escaped, came and
27 told Lysias all the things that had happened: but when he heard thereof, he was confounded and discouraged, because neither had such things as he would been done unto Israel, nor had such things as the king commanded him come to pass.

28 And in the next year he gathered together threescore
29 thousand chosen footmen, and five thousand horse, that he might subdue them. And they came into Idumæa, and encamped at Bethsura; and Judas met them with ten

because his mercy &c.] The familiar liturgical formula of the post-exilic congregation, Ps. cvi. 1; cvii. 1; but in use also before the exile, Jer. xxxiii. 11. The original Heb. probably means *for he is good*. So LXX. in Pss. cxviii. 1, 29, cxxxvi. throughout. Cf. 1 Chron. xvi. 41; Jer. xxxiii. 11; Ezra iii. 11.

25. *that day*] Probably the reference is merely general, "that day" being used as in Ex. xiv. 30, and often.

26—35. CAMPAIGN OF THE NEXT YEAR (B.C. 165—164).

Lysias proceeds against Judæa in person with a force of 65,000 men, but is defeated by Judas at Beth-zur.

26. *the strangers*] i.e. the Graeco-Syrian troops. Cf. v. 12.

27. *discouraged*] Or, *vexed*, as in LXX. of 2 Sam. vi. 8.

28. *the next year*] viz. 148 of the Seleucid era = B.C. 165—164.

threescore thousand &c.] A strong army considering that Antiochus had left behind only half of the available forces of the kingdom (iii. 34).

five thousand horse] The number of cavalry seems small, but in such a mountainous district as that of Judæa the main reliance had to be placed upon the infantry.

29. *Idumæa*] See note on v. 15.

Bethsura] In Josh. xv. 58 it is mentioned as Beth-zur (= *House of the rock*), and its situation is indicated as lying between Halhul and Gedor, among the mountains of Judah. Cf. 2 Chron. xi. 7. According to Eusebius, it was 20 Roman miles S. of Jerusalem, and on the highway to Hebron. Three centuries prior to the Maccabaean movement it was reckoned as a Jewish possession (Neh. iii. 16); now it was a stronghold on the border of Idumæa, to which it apparently belonged. It still exists in the modern *Beit-Sur*. In the *P. E. F. Q.* for Jan. 1895 Herr Baurath von Schick, who had recently visited the locality, expresses disappointment at finding no traces of such an important place further than a stony hill with a ruined tower on the summit. He infers that the Beth-zur of the Maccabees included a considerable tract of the

thousand men. And he saw that the army was strong, and he prayed and said,

Blessed art thou, O Saviour of Israel, who didst quell the onset of the mighty man by the hand of thy servant David, and didst deliver the army of the Philistines into the hands of Jonathan the son of Saul, and of his armourbearer : shut up this army in the hand of thy people Israel, and let them be ashamed for their host and their horsemen : give them faintness of heart, and cause the boldness of their strength to melt away, and let them quake at their destruction : cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, and let all that know thy name praise thee with thanksgiving.

And they joined battle ; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men, and they fell down over

country stretching eastwards towards Halhul, and also advances the theory that "the Beth-zur near Jerusalem (2 Macc. xi. 5) was situated on the Mount of Olives, and on its middle top, where now stands the village of *Kefr-el-Tôr*, the Arabic version of the Heb. Beth-zur." This view is confirmed by the discovery at this village of a large number of rock-hewn cisterns, "which were of course once inside the fortifications."

with ten thousand men] That the army of Judas had grown to such dimensions is easily accounted for by his success.

30. *O Saviour of Israel*] Cf. Jer. xiv. 8 ; 2 Ki. xiii. 5 ; Is. xliii. 3, xlix. 26, lxiii. 8.

the mighty man] The term applied to Goliath in 1 Sam. xvii. 51 (גִּבּוֹרָם, *gibbôrām*, LXX. ὁ δυνάτης αὐτῶν).

into the hands of Jonathan] The allusion is to the exploit of Jonathan and his armour-bearer, who crossed over from Gibeah to assail the garrison of the Philistines in Michmash, and drove them with loss from their encampment (1 Sam. xiv. 1 sqq.).

31. *in the hand*] Ἐν χειρὶ = בְּיַד ; eis χεῖρας of A is probably a correction, but it gives the right sense for בְּיַד סָגַר, *sāgar bēyadh* = deliver *into* the power of, 1 Sam. xvii. 46 *al.* The phrase is an echo from the previous verse.

32. *the boldness of their strength*] i.e. the arrogance begotten of their consciousness of strength.

33. *thy name*] i.e. the excellency (Ps. viii. 1, lxvi. 2), immutability (2 Chron. xxxiii. 7 ; Ps. lxxii. 17), and faithfulness (Ps. ix. 10, lxxxix. 24) of Jehovah as revealed in His Name.

praise thee with thanksgiving] The prayer is one for a repetition of victory in order to a repetition of thanksgiving as in v. 24.

34. *five thousand men*] As against 3000 on the former occasion when Nicanor was driven from the field.

35 against them. But when Lysias saw that his array was put to flight, and the boldness that had come upon them that were with Judas, and how they were ready either to live or to die nobly, he removed to Antioch, and gathered together hired soldiers, that he might come again into Judæa with even a greater company.

36 But Judas and his brethren said, Behold, our enemies are discomfited: let us go up to cleanse the holy place, and to
37 dedicate it afresh. And all the army was gathered together,
38 and they went up unto mount Sion. And they saw the sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the courts as in a

35. *hired soldiers*] The hiring of mercenaries had been much in vogue since the time of Alexander the Great, and was now resorted to by Lysias apparently under the conviction that half the Syrian army (iii. 34) was unable to cope with the situation in Judæa.

with even a greater company] The text is in some confusion, but this gives the sense.

36—59. PURIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE, AND RE-DEDICATION OF THE ALTAR.

The Jewish patriots could now turn their attention to the restoration of their ancestral worship. At sight of the desolation of the sanctuary they were profoundly moved (vv. 38—40). The Acra was still held by Syrians, but provision was made for keeping them at bay until a chosen band of priests had cleansed the sacred courts (vv. 41—43). A new altar of burnt-offering replaced the heathen altar, and the feast of its dedication was celebrated with great rejoicing.

36. *to cleanse the holy place &c.*] The work lying to the hands of Judas and his brethren was twofold:—(1) to purify the temple from the defilements of the heathen (cf. i. 43—49, ii. 8, 12), and (2) to restore the religious usages of Judaism (vv. 47 sqq.), and re-dedicate the sanctuary to Jehovah's service.

37. *mount Sion*] The temple hill. See note on i. 33.

38. *the gates burned up*] Cf. 2 Macc. i. 8, viii. 33. Of these gates there were at least *three*, viz. (1) the gate of Sur (2 Ki. xi. 6) on the west, probably = Shallecheth (1 Chron. xxvi. 16) or the horse-gate (2 Ki. xi. 16, xxiii. 11; Neh. iii. 28); (2) the king's entry (2 Ki. xvi. 18), or the upper gate (2 Ki. xv. 35; 2 Chron. xxiii. 20; Jer. xx. 2) which lay to the north (Ezek. ix. 2), probably = the gate of the guardsmen (2 Ki. xi. 6); (3) the eastward gate (Ezek. x. 19, xi. 1). 'The gate of the foundation' in 2 Chron. xxiii. 5 is probably a corrupt reading. See 2 Ki. xi. 6.

shrubs growing in the courts] In semi-tropical countries the growth of vegetation is much more rapid than in colder climates. In South

forest or as on one of the mountains, and the priests' chambers pulled down; and they rent their clothes, and made great lamentation, and put ashes upon their heads, and fell on their faces to the ground, and blew with the solemn trumpets, and cried toward heaven. Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the citadel, until he should have cleansed the holy place.

And he chose blameless priests, such as had pleasure in the law: and they cleansed the holy place, and bare out the stones of defilement into an unclean place. And they took counsel concerning the altar of burnt offerings, which

Africa, e.g., a period of three or four years—the period during which the site had lain waste—is ample for the production of a thicket of shrubs.

or as on one of the mountains] Cf. "the perpetual desolations" of Ps. lxxiv. 3. To human vision and impatience they seemed such.

the priests' chambers] Blocks of cells built in the porches of the temple, particularly in proximity to the gates (2 Ki. xxiii. 11; Ezra x. 6; Jer. xxxvi. 10; Ezek. xl. 38, 44) and for the use of the priests (Ezek. xlii. 13, 14). They also served as store-rooms for the tithes and the sacred vessels (Neh. x. 38, xiii. 5).

39. *rent their clothes*] Cf. ii. 14, iii. 47.

40. *fell on their faces* &c.] A token of extreme horror, or mourning. *blew with the solemn trumpets*] Lit. **trumpeted with the trumpets of signals**. Cf. Num. x. 2—10, xxxi. 6; 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

cried toward heaven] Cf. iii. 41, iv. 10, ix. 46.

41. *those...in the citadel*] On the Acra itself see note on i. 33. The Syrian garrison had held it continuously since its first occupation by them as described in i. 33—36.

until he should have &c.] The expedient was a temporary one: Judas had no hope of capturing the citadel.

42. *blameless priests*] Priests without blemish would better represent the original. ἀμωμος = *tāmīm* (טָמִיִּם), which may mean "without (physical) blemish," or "without (moral) blemish." Ps. cxix. 1.

had pleasure in the law] i.e. loved and held by the law. Cf. Ps. i. 2. The writer wishes to bring out the contrast between their conduct and that of those priests who had gone over to the Greek party.

43. *the stones of defilement*] i.e. the stones used in the erection of the heathen altar which had been built over the Jewish altar of burnt-offering. See note on i. 54.

an unclean place] Probably a place hard by certain sepulchres. As nearer determinations of the spot there have been suggested (1) Tophet in the valley of Hinnom (Jer. xix. 13); (2) the valley of the Kidron (2 Ki. xxiii. 4, 6, 12).

44. *the altar of burnt offerings*] viz. that built on the site of Solomon's altar after the Exile. It was not, however, a brazen altar such as that monarch had erected (1 Ki. viii. 64; 2 Chron. iv. 1); but, like the

45 had been profaned, what they should do with it: and there came into their mind a good counsel, that they should pull it down, lest it should be a reproach to them, because the
 46 Gentiles had defiled it: and they pulled down the altar, and laid up the stones in the mountain of the house in a convenient place, until there should come a prophet to give an
 47 answer concerning them. And they took whole stones according to the law, and built a new altar after the fashion
 48 of the former; and they built the holy place, and the inner 49 parts of the house; and they hallowed the courts. And

more primitive altars, was made of unhewn stones (Ex. xx. 25). The Jewish patriots were at a loss what to do with it, seeing that, although recently polluted by the heathen, it had been hallowed by its ancient usage. After deliberation, they decided to pursue a middle course, to pull down the desecrated altar and leave the question as to the destination of the stones for future settlement.

45. *there came into their mind &c.*] i.e. they conceived the happy idea of pulling it down.

lest it should be a reproach to them] This was the consideration that weighed with them most. No testimony against idolatry could be so strong as that implied in the removal of the altar.

46. *in the mountain of the house*] i.e. within the area of Mount Sion. Cf. Micah iii. 12, and the fuller designation "the mountain of the Lord's house," in Is. ii. 2.

in a convenient place] According to tradition, the stones were stowed away in a chamber belonging to the high priest.

until there should come a prophet] Cf. xiv. 41. That prophetic activity had ceased was by this time fully recognised (cf. ix. 27); yet the note struck by Malachi, who as the last of his order had pointed to the coming of a great prophet like Elijah, and the consequent solution of all the religious problems of the age, was still vibrating in the hearts of the pious (cf. Matt. xvii. 11). The reference in the text is not, as some have thought, specifically to the Messiah; the words are simply intended to convey that the question as to the destination of the stones was reserved until God should be pleased to intimate His will in the matter through the authoritative medium of a prophetic voice.

47. *whole stones according to the law*] i.e. stones in the rough, unhewn, untouched by any iron tool, as prescribed in Ex. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 5, 6. The Mishna (*Middoth* iii. 4) makes mention of a stone quarry in the valley of Bethcherem from which would probably be taken the stones for the altar in the temple.

48. *they built the holy place*] i.e. rebuilt it wherever the masonry had been damaged.

hallowed the courts] i.e. rescued them from a profane use, and set them apart for the service of God. One of the Popes claims to have done this for the Pantheon at Rome.

they made the holy vessels new, and they brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into the temple. And they burned incense ⁵⁰ upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the candlestick, and they gave light in the temple. And ⁵¹ they set loaves upon the table, and spread out the veils, and finished all the works which they made.

And they rose up early in the morning, on the five and ⁵² twentieth day of the ninth month, which is the month Chislev, in the hundred and forty and eighth year, and ⁵³ offered sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings which they had made. At what time and ⁵⁴

49. *made the holy vessels new*] “Vessels”=the temple furniture generally. In this respect Zerubbabel’s temple was poorer than Solomon’s. The ark with its contents, and the mercy-seat, perished at the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar, and no attempt was made to replace them. “In the Holy of Holies there was nothing at all” (Jos. B. 7. v. 5. 5). But the altar of incense, the golden candlestick, and the table of shewbread (cf. i. 21, 22), which had been removed by Antiochus Epiphanes, were now reconstructed.

the altar of burnt offerings and of incense] This is the reading of the oldest MSS., but it is difficult to attach any significance to it, as the altar of burnt-offerings stood in the outer court, and has already been mentioned (v. 47). Some MSS., the Vulg., and the Syr. omit “of burnt offerings and.”

and the table] See note on i. 22.

50. *upon the altar*] i.e. the altar of incense just mentioned.

the lamps] Cf. note on i. 21, and Ex. xxv. 37.

51. *set loaves upon the table*] i.e. the twelve cakes as prescribed in Lev. xxiv. 5—9.

the veils] One of these covered the entrance from the porch into the “Holy Place”; the other screened off the latter from the Holy of Holies. See Ex. xxvi. 36, and cf. i. 22; Matt. xxvii. 51.

52. *they rose up early*] The language reflects their eagerness to see the fire kindled once more upon the altar.

the five and twentieth day &c.] The very day on which three years before the heathen had first sacrificed on their idol-altar. Cf. i. 54, 59.

Chislev] See note on i. 54.

in the hundred and forty and eighth year] viz. B.C. 165—164.

53. *according to the law*] See Ex. xxix. 38—41.

54. *At what time &c.*] i.e. just three years (the “after two years” of 2 Macc. x. 3 is a mistake) from the date of the profanation of the altar of burnt-offerings. “Time” points specially to the month (Chislev) and “day” to the 25th of this month (cf. i. 59).

on what day the Gentiles had profaned it, even on that *day* was it dedicated afresh, with songs and harps and lutes, and with cymbals. And all the people fell upon their faces, and worshipped, and gave praise unto heaven, which had given them good success. And they kept the dedication of the altar eight days, and offered burnt offerings with gladness, and sacrificed a sacrifice of deliverance and praise. And they decked the forefront of the temple with crowns of gold and small shields, and dedicated afresh the gates and the priests' chambers, and made doors for them. And there was

was it dedicated afresh] It is to be understood not of the temple, but of the altar, which was the prime essential of Jewish worship.

harps and lutes &c.] The usual instrumental accompaniment of the psalmody in the temple. Cf. the parallel expression "with cymbals, psalteries and harps" (1 Chron. xxv. 6; 2 Chron. v. 12). The *κιθάρα*, A.V. *cithern*, R.V. *harp* = German *Zither*, probably resembled the modern guitar, although its precise construction is a matter of dispute; the *κλύρα*, A.V. *harp*, R.V. *lute* = Heb. *kinnōr*, Germ. *Knarren*, was a ten-stringed instrument played with the hand, or with a plectron. See Additional Note in Prof. Driver's *Amos*, p. 234.

55. *gave praise unto heaven, which had given &c.*] Or, **praised toward heaven** (cf. *vv.* 24, 40) **him who &c.** See R.V. marg. Another instance of the habitual tendency of the writer to withhold the sacred Name. Cf. ii. 61, iii. 18.

56. *kept the dedication &c.*] In accordance with the precedent established by Solomon (1 Ki. viii. 66). The Feast of the Dedication or *Renewal* (John x. 22), thus founded by Judas Maccabaeus, continued to be observed annually thereafter in commemoration of this joyous occasion (*v.* 59).

offered burnt offerings] Cf. i. 45.

with gladness] The antithesis of the situation depicted in iii. 45—"joy was taken away from Jacob, and the pipe and the harp ceased."

a sacrifice of deliverance and praise] Lit. of **peace-offerings** (*thank-offerings*) and **thanksgiving**. Cf. LXX. of Lev. vii. 1, 2 (E.V. vii. 11, 12).

57. *decked the forefront of the temple &c.*] Curiously enough, as such decorations were more akin to the genius of paganism than to the spirit and practice of Judaism. The case of the coronet made for the high-priest Joshua (Zech. vi. 14) presents no real analogy. It was more of the nature of a trophy, and was hung *inside* the sacred building, as were also in all probability the crowns of i. 22.

small shields] Not shields captured in war and hung up as trophies, but ornamental bosses carved in the form of small shields. Cf. 1 Ki. x. 17. According to Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 994) the Jewish synagogues in Alexandria were decorated with shields.

the priests' chambers] See on *v.* 38.

exceeding great gladness among the people, and the reproach of the Gentiles was turned away. And Judas and his brethren⁵⁹ and the whole congregation of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their seasons from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Chislev, with gladness and joy. And at that season they builded up the⁶⁰ mount Sion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest haply the Gentiles should come and tread them down, as they had done aforetime. And he set there a force to⁶¹ keep it, and they fortified Bethsura to keep it; that the people might have a stronghold over against Idumæa.

59. *the whole congregation*] Possibly through their representatives, although there may have been a popular assembly.

that the days...should be kept...from year to year] This ordinance was duly respected down to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. It was celebrated for the same term, and (according to 2 Macc. x. 6, 7) nearly in the same manner, as the Feast of Tabernacles. In 2 Macc. i. 9 it is actually called "the Feast of Tabernacles of the month Chislev." The *eight days'* celebration was probably adopted in imitation of the arrangements for the Feast of Tabernacles, although a very different explanation of its origin is given by the Rabbis. According to a Talmudic tradition, only a single flask of oil was found to have escaped pollution at the hands of the heathen, and that contained enough only for one day; but as it miraculously sufficed for eight days, the festivities were subsequently continued for a like period. A leading feature in the celebration was the illumination of the houses; hence the additional name Feast of *Lights*. Cf. 2 Macc. i. 18, x. 6—8. For a detailed account of the celebration of this festival (*Chănukkah*) by modern Jews, see Stanley, *Jewish Church*, III. pp. 343 sqq.

60—61. FORTIFICATION OF THE TEMPLE MOUNT AND THE CITY OF BETH-ZUR.

After the Feast of the Dedication Judas set about fortifying the temple mount. This was necessary because the Syrians still held the remainder of the city, including the fortress. "From this time till B.C. 142 the two Jerusalems stood one over against the other, watchful and hostile, like the Latin and the Sabine Romes on the Quirinal and the Palatine" (Rawlinson). Beth-zur was also fortified and garrisoned by Jewish troops.

60. *mount Sion*] See on i. 33.

strong towers] For the defence of the walls. Cf. i. 31.

61. *fortified Bethsura*] (1) as a protection against the Idumæans, who might otherwise attack them in the rear whilst they waged war with the Syrians on the north; (2) as an outwork for the further defence

5 And it came to pass, when the Gentiles round about heard that the altar was built, and the sanctuary dedicated
 2 as aforetime, they were exceeding wroth. And they took counsel to destroy the race of Jacob that was in the midst of them, and they began to slay and destroy among the

of the temple. The importance of Beth-zur as a stronghold had long been recognised. Cf. 2 Chron. xi. 7. As to its geographical position cf. note on v. 29.

to keep it] In some MSS. these words are omitted as a mechanical repetition from the first part of the verse. The text is very puzzling, but as it stands it can only be taken to mean that Beth-zur was fortified in order to the better guarding of the temple hill.

Idumæa] Cf. v. 15.

SECOND SECTION. CH. V. 1—VI. 63.

This section contains an account of events between the re-dedication of the altar and the concession of religious liberty.

CH. V. 1—8. JUDAS AGAIN ACTS ON THE AGGRESSIVE: SUBJUGATION OF IDUMAEANS, BAEANITES, AND AMMONITES.

1, 2. Many scholars refer Ps. lxxxiii. to the situation here described. The tone of the Psalm, it is contended, together with the fact that half of the names of peoples mentioned as "taking counsel together against Jehovah's hidden ones" are met with in this narrative, suggests a Maccabaean origin. Against this view others urge (1) the difficulty of referring Psalms in the Elohist collection to the Maccabaean period at all, (2) the fact that Moab no longer existed, (3) the subordinate place assigned to Asshur, which does not fit with the supposition that it means Syria. The truth is that in spite of the apparently definite historical background, no single recorded episode in Israelitish history can be fixed upon with certainty as the occasion of the Psalm. On the whole question see the Commentary on *Psalms*, by Prof. Kirkpatrick, who says, "It is of course possible that the Psalm refers to some episode in Jewish history of which no record has been preserved; nor must the possibility be excluded that the Psalm is not historical, but, so to speak, ideal."

dedicated] The word may be taken as = *restored and dedicated*.

took counsel to destroy &c.] "By laying snares for them and making secret conspiracies against them" (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 8. 1). Cf. vv. 9, 13—15, 26; iii. 35.

the race of Jacob &c.] i.e. their Israelitish neighbours. Even the strictly Jewish territory had never been wholly cleared of the hostile elements by which it had been overrun during the Exile.

began to slay &c.] Their chagrin at the success of Judas and his party was such that in their organised displeasure they proceeded to put a number of Jews to death.

people. And Judas fought against the children of Esau in 3 Idumæa at Akrabattine, because they besieged Israel: and he smote them with a great slaughter, and brought down their pride, and took their spoils. And he remembered the 4 wickedness of the children of Bæan, who were unto the people a snare and a stumblingblock, lying in wait for them in the ways. And they were shut up by him in the towers; 5 and he encamped against them, and destroyed them utterly, and burned with fire the towers of the place, with all that were therein. And he passed over to the children of 6 Ammon, and found a mighty band, and much people,

3. *the children of Esau*] An ancient designation of the Idumæans. Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 10; Deut. ii. 8 *al.*

Idumæa] Apparently by a scribe's error, the Alex. MS. reads "Judæa." The two names were very apt to be interchanged. Cf. *iv.* 15.

Akrabattine] So called from the high ridge Akrabbim, *ma'âleh Akrabbim* = ascent of the scorpions (Num. xxxiv. 4; Josh. xv. 3; Judg. i. 36), which formed the boundary of the land towards the S.E., and from which the adjacent portion of the west Jordan highlands was afterwards called Akrabattene. This Edomite district is not to be confounded with the toparchy of Akrabattene, which lay to the N. of Judæa.

brought down their pride] Vulg. omits. A.V. "abated" is an archaism for 'bated,' from Fr. *abattre*, to beat down. See Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 4.

4. *wickedness*] Lit. **evil deeds**. The reference is not to any one particular act, but to a course of organised malice.

the children of Bæan] Not otherwise known. "Bæan" may be either a personal or a place name. Among the conjectures offered are (1) *Baian*, S.E. of Hebron; (2) a mountain range called Jebel-el-Bayâna; (3) the Beon of Num. xxxii. 3, elsewhere called Baal-Meon, Beth-Baal-Meon, or Beth-Meon, the modern *Ma'in*, 5 miles S.W. from Madaba.

a snare and a stumblingblock] **And a trap**. The same words are used figuratively in the LXX. of Ps. lxxix. 22, quoted in Rom. xi. 9.

5. *in the towers*] i.e. in **their** towers, from which they sallied forth, or into which they retreated, as they had occasion.

destroyed them utterly] The Greek word *anathematizo* (ἀναθεματίζω) is frequently used in the LXX. in the same sense, as the equivalent for Heb. *hehërim* (הִחְרִים), to devote to destruction.

the towers of the place] Lit. **its** towers (? the towers of Baian). The natural reading would be "*their* towers"; so Vulg., and one or two MSS. Cf. Judg. ix. 49.

6. *he passed over to the children of Ammon*] i.e. he crossed the Jordan to attack the Ammonites, whose territory lay N.E. of the Dead Sea. Their chief city was Rabbath-Ammon, on the upper Jabbok. Like the

7 with Timotheus for their leader. And he fought many battles with them, and they were discomfited before his face; and he smote them, and gat possession of Jazer, and the villages thereof, and returned again into Judæa.

9 And the Gentiles that were in Gilead gathered themselves

Edomites, they were traditional enemies of Israel. Cf. Deut. xxiii. 3, 4; Judg. xi. 4, 12; 2 Sam. x. 6—14; Neh. ii. 10 &c.

much people] The fertile district in which the Ammonites dwelt could support a large population.

Timotheus] Either a Graeco-Syrian general (cf. 2 Macc. xii. 2) or an Ammonite who had (in accordance with a widespread custom of the period) assumed a Greek name.

8. *gat possession of Jazer*] The Greek verb indicates a seizure by surprise. Jazer (or Ja'āzer) was situated to the E. of Jordan, and belonged to the tribe of Gad (Josh. xiii. 24, 25). It was a region of vineyards (Is. xvi. 8; Jer. xlvi. 32), and in the days of Joshua and the Conquest was one of the cities of the Levites (Josh. xxi. 39). Jerome states that it lay 14 Roman miles N. of Heshbon. Some suppose it to be identical with the modern *es-Sâr* or *Szâr*, from which a small stream flows into the Jordan; others (e.g. Conder) think that Jazer is better identified with *Bêt-zera'*.

and the villages thereof] Lit. **and its daughters**, i.e. the dependent villages. Cf. Num. xxi. 25, 32, xxxii. 42, and our own analogous term "mother city."

9—54. FURTHER SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS OF SIMON AND JUDAS IN GALILEE AND GILEAD.

Under the leadership of one Timotheus, a pagan confederacy had compelled the Jews in Gilead to take refuge in the fortresses. In Galilee also the Jews were being hard pressed by their heathen neighbours. They appealed to the Maccabees for aid, which was readily given. With 3000 men Simon marched into Galilee, and after repeated engagements with the enemy, rescued the distressed Israelites, and took them to Judæa. Aided by his brother Jonathan, and by the friendly Nabathæans, Judas who had hastened to Gilead, destroyed Bosora, defeated Timotheus at Dathema, and took several other cities (*vv.* 35, 36). Meanwhile the heathen rallied once more under Timotheus, and, recruited by Arab mercenaries, lay entrenched at Raphon, in a strong strategic position "beyond the brook." Judas dashed across, pursued the enemy to Ashteroth-Carnaim, and set fire to the temple into which they had retreated. He then collected the Jewish residents and with them started for Judæa. The gates of Ephron having been closed against them, a way was soon cleared over the dead bodies of its inhabitants for the victorious army. Arrived at Jerusalem, they gratefully offered sacrifice upon Mount Zion.

9. *Gilead*] The term denotes no particular district, but the whole of the Israelitish territory E. of the Jordan. Cf. Deut. xxxiv. 1; Josh.

together against the Israelites that were on their borders, to destroy them. And they fled to the stronghold of Dathema, and sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, saying, The 10 Gentiles that are round about us are gathered together against us to destroy us: and they are preparing to come and get 11 possession of the stronghold whereunto we are fled for refuge, and Timotheus is the leader of their host. Now 12 therefore come and deliver us from their hand, for many of us are fallen. And all our brethren that were in the land of 13 Tubias have been put to death; and they have carried into captivity their wives and their children and their stuff; and they destroyed there about a thousand men. While 14 the letters were yet reading, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their clothes rent, bringing a report after this wise, saying, That there were gathered 15 together against them those of Ptolemais, and of Tyre,

xxii. 9; where Gilead is similarly used in this wide sense. It was a well-watered and fertile region.

on their borders] This appears to mean **in their territory**. The object of the heathen was of course to assail the Jews throughout the district.

Dathema] Or, according to another reading, **Dametha**. Syr. reads *Rametha*, which has been supposed to point to Ramoth of Gilead. Some geographers identify it with *Damêh* in Trachonitis, 30 miles N. of Bosora; others (e.g. Furrer) with '*Atamân* on the great plain E. of Muzêrîb. But perhaps its situation cannot be more nearly determined than by the statement in v. 29, which describes it as within a few hours march of Bosora. Cf. note on v. 26. But with the reading *Rametha* cf. the modern *Remtheh*, which, however, is nearly ten hours due E. of Bosora. There was another Dathema in the neighbourhood of Gaza.

11. *Timotheus*] Probably the person already mentioned in v. 6 as leader of the Ammonites.

13. *the land of Tubias*] Probably the land of Tob, which lay in the vicinity of Ammonitis. Cf. Judg. xi. 3; 2 Macc. xii. 17. Perhaps the name still survives in *Taiyibeh*, east of Pella, and 12 miles S.E. of the Sea of Galilee. Buhl, however (*Geogr.* note 867), points out another *et-Taiyibeh* between Edrei and Bosora.

their stuff] i.e. all their property, including flocks and herds.

14. A reminiscence of Job i. 14, 16, &c.

15. *Ptolemais*] The O.T. *Accho* (Judg. i. 31). On the partition of Alexander's empire it was named Ptolemais. In the Middle Ages, during the Crusades, the ancient name was revived, and the place is known to moderns as "Akka" or "Acre" (*St Jean d'Acre*). After the demolition of Tyre it became the leading Phœnician seaport. It lies

and of Sidon, and all Galilee of the Gentiles, to consume them.

16 Now when Judas and the people heard these words, there assembled together a great congregation, to consult what they should do for their brethren, that were in tribu-
 17 lation, and were assaulted of them. And Judas said unto Simon his brother, Choose thee out men, and go and deliver thy brethren that are in Galilee, but I and Jonathan my
 18 brother will go into the land of Gilead. And he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, as leaders of the people, with
 19 the remnant of the host, in Judæa, for to keep it. And he gave commandment unto them, saying, Take ye the charge of this people, and fight no battle with the Gentiles until
 20 that we come again. And unto Simon were divided three thousand men to go into Galilee, but unto Judas eight thousand men to go into the land of Gilead.

near the mouth of the brook Belus, almost midway between Tyre and Caesarea.

Tyre...Sidon] Tyre had been destroyed by Alexander the Great after a seven months' siege, and many of its citizens were hanged on the sea-shore (B.C. 332). It had again to some extent recovered from the blow; but, like its northerly neighbour Sidon, it does not figure largely in Maccabæan history.

Galilee of the Gentiles] i.e. Upper Galilee, so called on account of the mixed character of its population, which included besides Jews and Arabians a large Syro-Phoenician element. Cf. Is. ix. 1; Matt. iv. 15.

16. *a great congregation*] An assembly was held, as in the time of the Judges, 1 Sam. vii. 5, xi. 7, &c. All the fighting men were called out to see what could be done in view of the atrocities committed against the Jews in the northern districts by the pagan population.

17. *Judas said unto Simon*] The function assigned by Mattathias to Simon was that of "counsellor" (ii. 65); but now that it was deemed advisable to divide the forces, Judas judged it best that Simon should be the second in command.

I and Jonathan] This association of Jonathan with himself in the leadership was a public recognition by Judas of his brother's military skill, and paved the way for his future elevation to the position of commander-in-chief of the Jewish forces (ix. 28—30).

18. *Joseph...and Azarias*] Nothing is known of either beyond what is conveyed in this passage. Cf. vv. 56—62.

leaders of the people] They had charge of the civic administration, and also the command of the troops left to defend Judæa. Cf. v. 56.

19. *fight no battle with the Gentiles*] A wise order, which, however, was disobeyed. Cf. vv. 55—62.

20. *three thousand*] Exactly the number of men that (according to

And Simon went into Galilee, and fought many battles ²¹ with the Gentiles, and the Gentiles were discomfited before him. And he pursued them unto the gate of Ptolemais; ²² and there fell of the Gentiles about three thousand men, and he took their spoils. And they took to them those that ²³ were in Galilee, and in Arbatta, with their wives and their children, and all that they had, and brought them into Judæa with great gladness.

And Judas Maccabæus and his brother Jonathan passed ²⁴ over Jordan, and went three days' journey in the wilderness; and they met with the Nabathæans, and these met them in ²⁵

iv. 6) Judas had with him at Emmaus. If this statement is correct we must infer that the rapid growth of his army, which at Beth-zur numbered 10,000 (iv. 29), had since been fully maintained. Reckoning the 8000 who accompanied Judas to Galilee, we get a total of 11,000 Jewish troops engaged in aggressive warfare. But there must also have been a considerable force left behind in Judæa, seeing that 2000 of them fell in the battle foolishly risked by Joseph and Azarias (v. 60).

22. *the gate of Ptolemais*] Some MSS. read *gate* or *gates*, and others *cities* (i.e. dependencies; cf. v. 8). The latter reading arose probably out of the similarity of the two words in the original (πυλῶν—πόλεων), but the common text gives a sufficiently good sense.

23. *Arbatta*] The situation of this place, the name of which is very variously written in the Greek MSS., is quite uncertain. The conjecture that it is another form of Akrabattine in Idumæa (cf. v. 3) is certainly wrong, as it was manifestly in the neighbourhood of Galilee. Probably the upper part of the Jordan valley (*Arābah* or *Arāboth*, Deut. iii. 17) is meant. Others, however, think of the toparchy of Nabatha (Jos. B. J. II. 14. 5), 5 miles to the S.E. of Caesarea.

brought them into Judæa] i.e. for safety. The reference seems to be not merely to those Jews who had been shut up in the fortresses (Josephus), but to all Israelites in the district who had adhered to the faith of their fathers.

24. *three days' journey*] i.e. 21 hours, or about 60 miles according to the modern Oriental reckoning of a day's march at 7 hours. But among the ancients the length of a day's journey was variously estimated from 150 to 210 stadia.

the wilderness] A general designation of the region between Rabbath-Ammon and the Arnon, together with the Arabian desert on the east. Cf. G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 588, note 3.

25. *Nabathæans*] A powerful Arab tribe who had their headquarters at Petra, and were ruled by their own kings. For the most part nomadic, they also in the time of the Maccabees included within their ranks many traders and agriculturists. "Their inscriptions are scattered all over Eastern Palestine, where they had many settlements, and in Arabia, but have even been discovered in Italy, proving the

a peaceable manner, and told them all things that had
 26 befallen their brethren in the land of Gilead: and how that
 many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and
 Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim; all these cities are
 27 strong and great: and how that they were shut up in the
 rest of the cities of the land of Gilead, and that to-morrow
 they have appointed to encamp against the strongholds, and

extent of their trade" (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 547). Josephus (*Ant.* i. 12. 4) designates as Nabatené the entire region between the Red Sea and the Euphrates. That Judas found them in Gilead may have been due to their nomadic habits. Their friendliness towards the Jews is again mentioned in ix. 35.

26. *Bosora*] Probably identical with Boşra or Bostra, the capital of the Hauran, 22 miles S.E. of Edrei. "Boşra was a strong Greek centre in the time of the Maccabees" (G. A. Smith). It is not to be confounded with the Idumæan town of the same name, the modern *El-Busaireh*, which lay too far south to be the place intended.

Bosor] Probably Buşr (*el-Harîri*) on the southern border of the Lejá.

Alema] The position of this place is uncertain. Schumacher (*Across Jordan*) would identify it with the village *Kefr-el-mâ*, and Buhl (with a free handling of the prepositions in this verse) would find it in 'Ilma, further east (*Geogr.* p. 253).

Casphor, Maked] Neither of these places can be said to have been identified. The form of the names varies greatly in the MSS. and Versions. Casphor is doubtless identical with *Caspis* of 2 Macc. xii. 13 sqq., described as a stronghold near a lake two stadia in breadth. This description would suit *El-Muzêrib* (but see on "Carnaim"), the ancient name of which, however, has not been ascertained. Philologically and otherwise the common identification with *Hîsfin* is improbable.

Carnaim] = "Carnion" of 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26, "Ashteroth-Karnaim" (so called from the "two-horned (images of) Astarte," Gen. xiv. 5), and "Ashtaroth" mentioned along with Edrei as a residence of Og, king of Bashan (Deut. i. 4). It stood on the eastern border of the tribe of Manasseh, lay according to Eusebius six miles from Edrei, and still exists in *Tell' Ashtereh*. In O. T. times there possibly existed not far off another place of the same name. Buhl's identification with *Muzêrib* (*Palästina*, par. 127) is unproven.

strong and great] The mention of their strength emphasises the difficulty of the task that lay before Judas.

27. *to-morrow*] Perhaps to anticipate Judas and his army of rescue the enemy had resolved upon a speedy massacre of the Jews.

they have appointed to encamp] Or, **to marshal their forces**. The subject of the verb is of course the heathen band led by Timotheus.

against the strongholds] The passage is difficult. Unless we regard it as possible that Dathema should be called *ὄχυράματα* (pl.) as well as *ὄχυρωμα* (in v. 65 the reading varies between sing. and plur.), or that its use

to take them, and to destroy all these men in one day. And Judas and his army turned suddenly by the way of the wilderness 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 removed from thence by night, and went till he came to the stronghold. And the morning came, and they lifted up their eyes, and, behold, much people which could not be numbered, bearing ladders and engines of war, to take the stronghold; and they were fighting against them. And Judas saw that the battle was begun, and that the cry of the city went up to heaven, with trumpets and a great sound, and

is due to an inaccuracy in the report of the Nabathaeans, there is some reason, even against the authority of the MSS., to doubt the correctness of the plural here. The whole trend of the passage is in favour of confining the reference to the single fortress of Dathema. If the plural "strongholds" be adhered to, we must think of some minor fortresses inside the outer bulwarks of Dathema. Wellhausen would construe: "many heathen out of Bosora, &c....have assembled themselves together...against the fortress" (Dathema), but his rewriting of the whole passage seems mere guesswork. The most probable sense appears to be as follows: Dathema was the only fortress in Gilead held by the Jews. All the other strongholds were in the hands of the heathen, who detained many Jews as prisoners. To-morrow, say the Nabathaeans, Timotheus intends to capture Dathema, and to follow this up by a general massacre of the Jews in the various strongholds. Acting upon this information, Judas surprises Bosora, relieves Dathema after the attack upon it had begun, and goes on to capture the other cities. In any case the narrative is significant as shewing that, beyond the limits of Judaea, the Jews in Palestine were at this period but a small minority.

28. *turned suddenly...unto Bosora*] The authority of the MSS. is divided between Bosora and Bosor. The former is confirmed by the separate mention of the capture of Bosor in v. 36, but does not suit the expression "into the wilderness," as according to vv. 24, 25 Judas was still there when met by the Nabathaeans. Grimm therefore (with A, Vulg., Jos.) adopts the reading *Bosor*, supposes the final *a* may have been taken over from the first letter in the Greek word for "suddenly" (*ἄφνω*), and renders "suddenly turned their course backwards into the wilderness towards Bosor."

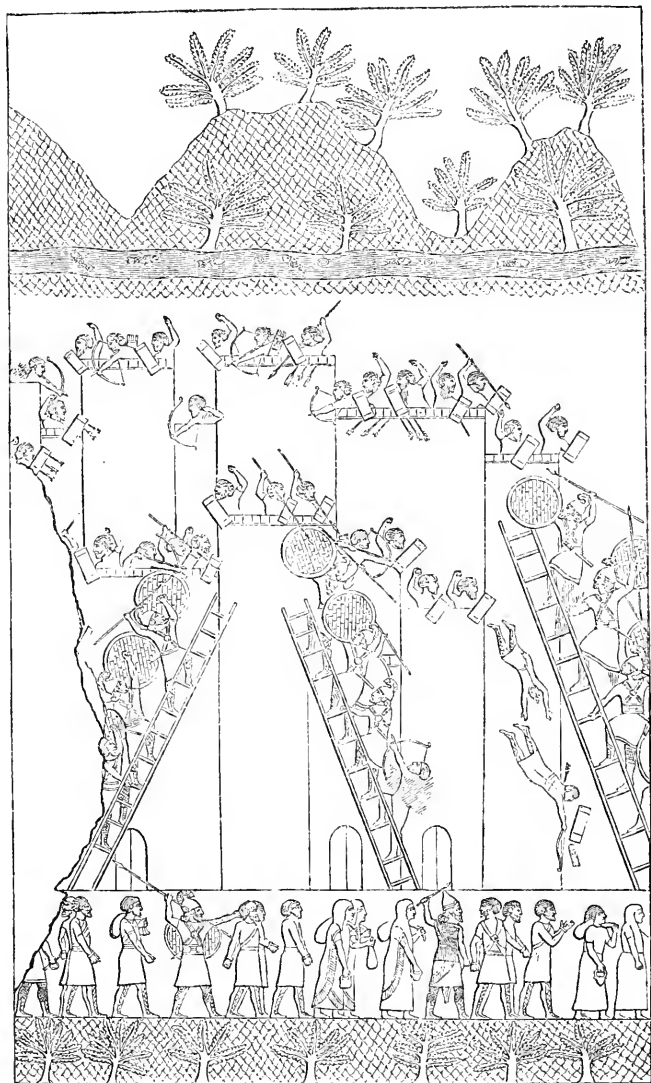
the males] i.e. the male population who were not Jews. Cf. v. 35.

29. *the stronghold*] i.e. Dathema, for the *raison d'être* of the expedition was the relief of the Jews shut up in this place (vv. 9, 11).

30. *ladders*] i.e. scaling ladders. See illustration on p. 124.

engines of war] The reference is to battering-rams, which had been in general use for centuries. Cf. Ezek. iv. 2, xxi. 22. See p. 143.

31. *with trumpets*] These were used by heathen and Jews alike as



An Assyrian representation of a city taken by assault and the inhabitants led away captive, shewing the use of scaling ladders. (From Layard's *Nineveh*.)

he said unto the men of his host, Fight this day for your brethren. And he went forth behind them in three companies, and they sounded with their trumpets, and cried out in prayer. And the army of Timotheus perceived that it was Maccabæus, and they fled from before him: and he smote them with a great slaughter; and there fell of them on that day about eight thousand men. 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. From thence he removed, and took Casphor, Maked, Bosor, and the other cities of the land of Gilead.

Now after these things Timotheus gathered another army, and encamped over against Raphon beyond the brook. And Judas sent men to espy the army; and they brought him word, saying, All the Gentiles that be round about us are gathered together unto them, an exceeding great host. And they have hired Arabians to help them, and are encamping beyond the brook, ready to come against thee

signals, and as incentives to the troops to do their duty. "We see them represented in the Egyptian and Assyrian sculptures; and we hear of them as in use among the Greeks and Romans from a very early date" (Rawlinson).

33. *behind them in three companies*] Like Gideon, Judg. vii. 16, and Saul, 1 Sam. xi. 11, he divided his army into three companies, and attacked the heathen who were storming Dathema on three sides. The trumpets also remind us of Gideon.

35. *Mizpeh*] Not "Mizpeh of Moab" (1 Sam. xxii. 3), but either "Mizpeh of Gilead" (Gen. xxxi. 49; Judg. x. 17, xi. 11), a place which has not been identified, or "Ramath-Mizpeh" (Josh. xiii. 26), a Levitical city of the tribe of Gad (Josh. xx. 8, 9), which according to Eusebius lay about 15 Roman miles N.W. of Rabbath-Ammon. This latter, however, seems too far south.

36. *Casphor, Maked, Bosor*] See comments on v. 26.

37. *Raphon*] Probably = Raphana, described by Pliny as one of the cities of the "Decapolis." Cf. Jos. Ant. XII. 8. 4. It was evidently in the vicinity of Ashteroth-Carnaim (v. 43), but its site must still be regarded as unknown. If Carnaim = *el-Muzêrîb* (see on v. 26), Raphon might be placed in *Tell-es-shehâb* (Buhl, par. 127). Merrill would identify it with *Rafeh*, 3 miles W. of Edrei, while G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* p. 599) describes its probable situation as being "on a wady—perhaps the present Nahr-el-Awâred, a tributary of the Yarmuk."

beyond the brook] Gr. *cheimarrous*, *χειμάρρους*, "the winter flowing" (stream) = Heb. *nahal* (נַחַל).

40 to battle. And Judas went to meet them. And Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, when Judas and his army drew nigh unto the brook of water, If he pass over first unto us, we shall not be able to withstand him; for he will
41 mightily prevail against us: but if he be afraid, and encamp beyond the river, we will cross over unto him, and prevail
42 against him. Now when Judas came nigh unto the brook of water, he caused the scribes of the people to remain by the brook, and gave commandment unto them, saying, Suffer no man to encamp, but let all come to the battle.
43 And he crossed over the first against them, and all the people after him: and all the Gentiles were discomfited before his face, and cast away their arms, and fled unto the
44 temple at Carnaim. And they took the city, and burned

38. *unto them*] i.e. to the force led by Timotheus.

39. *hired Arabians to help them*] Although the Arabs had previously served along with the enemies of the Jews (Neh. iv. 7), there is no reason to suppose that they were specially hostile to them. They are rather to be viewed as mercenaries prepared to serve under *any* flag, so long as there was a prospect of victory and spoil.

Judas went to meet them] According to his invariable practice. Cf. iv. 3, 6, 21, 29, v. 3, 7.

40, 41. *Timotheus said &c.*] Knowing the impetuosity with which Judas conducted his attacks, Timotheus had a premonition that if the Jewish leader should attempt to cross the brook he would not fail to get the victory. On the other hand, his hope was that Judas would decline so hazardous an enterprise, and so give him the advantage of engaging a demoralised army diffident as to its own strength.

42. *the scribes of the people*] Ewald is probably right in the opinion that "these scribes are the registrars mentioned in Deut. xx. 5—9, who kept the lists of the troops, assigned the place of encampment, and looked after the order of the march" (*Hist.* v. p. 314, note 2). Officials of this class continued to exist not only at the time of the Conquest (Josh. i. 10, iii. 2), but also under the Jewish kings (2 Chron. xxvi. 11).

Suffer no man to encamp] The order of Judas was that every available man must cross the stream—a significant comment on the statement of v. 38 regarding the numbers of the enemy.

43. *he crossed over the first*] i.e. before Timotheus, as in v. 40.

cast away their arms] Cf. vii. 44, xi. 51. In such cases it was customary to throw away the shield first, it being the greatest impediment to flight. Cf. Horace, *Odes*, Bk. II. 7. 9, 10,

"Tecum Philippos et celerem fugam
Sensi, relictâ non bene parmula."

the temple at Carnaim] i.e. the temple-precincts &c. These walled enclosures were capacious enough to accommodate the survivors of the

the temple with fire, together with all that were therein. And Carnaim was subdued, neither could they stand any longer before the face of Judas.

And Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were ⁴⁵ in the land of Gilead, from the least unto the greatest, and their wives, and their children, and their stuff, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of Judah. And they came as far as Ephron, and this same city was ⁴⁶ great, *and it was* in the way as they should go, exceeding strong: they could not turn aside from it on the right hand or on the left, but must needs pass through the midst of it. And they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the ⁴⁷ gates with stones. And Judas sent unto them with words ⁴⁸

army of Timotheus. According to 2 Macc. xii. 26, this temple was dedicated to the Syrian goddess Atargatis or Derketo (= Phoenician Ashtoreth or Astarte, and Babylonian Ishtar or Nanea). Strabo and others identify her with Venus, but Lucian considers her to be a different deity. She is represented on coins, &c. as a Siren with the head of a woman and the body of a fish (cf. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 4, "Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne"). Like those who afterwards fled to the temple of Dagon at Ashdod (x. 83), the heathen evidently expected to find an asylum in Carnaim. They did not reckon with the fact that to a Jew no idea of sacredness could attach to a seat of idol-worship. Cf. Ex. xxxiv. 13. On Carnaim see note on v. 26.

44. *with all that were therein*] For similar instances of the ruthless policy of setting fire to an enemy's retreat, cf. Josh. vi. 24; Judg. ix. 49, 52; Herod. vi. 80.

45. The deportation to Judaea of all Jews resident in Gilead told advantageously in two directions. It secured them against further molestation on the part of the surrounding pagan population, while it also tended to strengthen the Jewish power at the centre.

46. *Ephron*] Not the "Mount" on the border of Judah and Benjamin (Josh. xv. 9) = "Ephraim" (2 Chron. xiii. 19), but, as appears from vv. 43, 52 and 2 Macc. xii. 27, a fortress lying between Carnaim and the Jordan, over against Scythopolis (Beth-shan), and "undoubtedly to be identified with *Gefrun*, which Alexander the Great took after he had conquered Pella" (Buhl, par. 130). It lay in the deep *Wady Kafr*, W. of Irbid. That Judas requested to be allowed to pass through it in peace suggests that at first it appeared to him to be too strong for him to attack, or at all events that he wished to avoid needless bloodshed.

in the way &c.] The text of A seems to be corrupt. Both A.V. and R.V. follow the reading *ἐπὶ τῆς ὁδοῦ*.

they could not turn aside &c.] Cf. Num. xxii. 26. It appears to have lain in a narrow pass, right across the Wady, in the bottom of which was the only road.

of peace, saying, We will pass through thy land to go into our own land, and none shall do you any hurt, we will only pass by on our feet. And they would not open unto him.
 49 And Judas commanded proclamation to be made in the army, that each man should encamp in the place where he
 50 was. And the men of the host encamped, and fought against the city all that day and all that night, and the city
 51 was delivered into his hands; and he destroyed all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over
 52 them that were slain. And they went over Jordan into the great plain over against Bethshan. And Judas gathered
 53 together those that lagged behind, and encouraged the

48. *with words of peace*] Cf. i. 30.

We will pass through &c.] The variant "I will pass through" (A, *al.*) is interesting, as representing the sing. of Num. xxi. 22.

on our feet] i.e. as ordinary travellers, without using our weapons or exacting anything from the inhabitants. Cf. Num. xx. 19; Deut. ii. 28.

would not open unto him] Their refusal to give passage to the Jewish troops is accounted for by the statement of 2 Macc. xii. 27 that the Syrian general Lysias had a residence at Ephron.

49. *in the place where he was*] The time and pains usually expended in fitting up a camp could not be spared at this juncture; in pitching his tent everyone must make the best he could of the spot where he was.

50. *the city was delivered &c.*] i.e. as the result of God's overruling providence, which determines the issue of battles. Cf. Gen. xiv. 20; Deut. iii. 3; Judg. xi. 21.

51. *rased the city*] It appears never to have recovered from this demolition, and to have dropped quite out of notice.

over them that were slain] The language conveys the impression of very great carnage.

52. *the great plain over against Bethshan*] Bethshan = *House of security*. During the Greek period the name was changed to Scythopolis, in which form it occurs in the LXX. (Judg. i. 27), in 2 Macc., and in Josephus (*B. J.* III. 9. 7). Ultimately, however, the old name ousted its Greek rival, and is still preserved in that of the village *Beisân*, 4 miles W. of the Jordan in the *Wady Fâltûd*. One tragic event of O.T. history is associated with Bethshan,—the fastening up on its walls of the dead bodies of Saul and his sons (1 Sam. xxxi. 10, 12). The "great plain" referred to was in all probability the expansion westward of the Jordan valley at Bethshan. See Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 483, note 2.

53. *that lagged behind*] In so hostile a region as that of the Jordan

people all the way through, until he came into the land of Judah. And they went up to mount Sion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace.

And in the days when Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, and Simon his brother in Galilee before Ptolemis, Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, rulers of the host, heard of their exploits and of the war, what things they had done; and they said, Let us also get us a name, and let us go fight against the Gentiles that are round about us. And they gave charge unto the men of the host that was with them, and went toward Jamnia. And Gorgias

valley the laggards who did not keep up with the main body ran a serious risk of being cut off.

encouraged the people] This seems to indicate that Judas and his company did not complete their homeward march unmolested.

54. *mount Sion*] See note on i. 33.

not so much as one of them &c.] It is just possible that the writer's meaning is: none had fallen *from the time they left Ephron and crossed the Jordan* (v. 52). If, however, as seems probable, the reference be to the army of Judas, and to the whole campaign in Gilead (which included a great battle (v. 34) and the storming of several towns), it is impossible to regard it as strictly accurate. Perhaps the author simply reports the tradition current in his time (i.e. after the death of Hyrcanus in B.C. 105).

in peace] i.e. safe and sound. Cf. 1 Ki. xxii. 28.

55—62. DEFEAT OF JOSEPH AND AZARIAS BEFORE JAMNIA.

In their anxiety to rival the victorious exploits of the Maccabees Joseph and Azarias, who had been left to defend Judaea, but with strict orders not to act upon the aggressive (vv. 18, 19), rashly assailed the heathen in Jamnia. They were defeated by Gorgias, and lost 2000 men before regaining the frontier (v. 60). From the standpoint of our author nothing else was to be expected (v. 62).

55. *And in the days when &c.*] The history here reverts to the course of events in Judaea during the absence of the Maccabees in Gilead and Galilee.

56. *rulers of the host*] Cf. v. 18, where Joseph and Azarias are called "leaders of the people."

58. *they gave charge unto &c.*] Probably in the sense of *ordering out* the men of the army. While not on active duty, the troops may have been permitted to give some attention to their domestic affairs.

went toward Jamnia] Or, **marched against** Jamnia. On the situation of this place see note on iv. 15.

- and his men came out of the city to meet them in battle.
- 60 And Joseph and Azarias were put to flight, and were pursued unto the borders of Judæa; and there fell on that day
- 61 of the people of Israel about two thousand men. And there was a great overthrow among the people, because they hearkened not unto Judas and his brethren, thinking
- 62 to do some exploit. But they were not of the seed of those men, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel.
- 63 And the man Judas and his brethren were glorified exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and of all the Gentiles,
- 64 wheresoever their name was heard of; and men gathered together unto them, acclaiming them.
- 65 And Judas and his brethren went forth, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south;

59. *Gorgias*] Cf. iii. 38, iv. 1; 2 Macc. viii. 9, where he is described as a general of "great experience."

60. *unto the borders of Judæa*] i.e. across the maritime plain, which belonged to the Philistines.

62. *they were not of the seed &c.*] The real culpability of Joseph and Azarias lay in their disobedience to the instructions given them (vv. 19, 61); but to the writer their enterprise was sufficiently condemned by the fact that they were not scions of the Hasmonæan house. In his view the Maccabees were called of God to liberate their nation from the tyranny of the heathen, although they had received no formal commission to undertake the task.

63—68. FURTHER VICTORIOUS CAMPAIGNS OF JUDAS AGAINST EDOMITES AND PHILISTINES.

From 2 Macc. xii. 31, 32 we learn that Judas and the refugees from Gilead arrived in Jerusalem on the eve of the Feast of Pentecost (B.C. 163), and that the expedition into Idumæa was undertaken after the celebrations were over. The chief result of this raid was the destruction of the old fortress of Hebron. Marching next into Philistia, Judas and his troops ravaged the region of Ashdod.

63. *the man Judas*] Cf. Ex. xi. 3 and Num. xii. 3, where the similar expression "the man Moses" occurs. In such usage "the man" = the man *par excellence*, the man of renown, the hero. It denotes ideal manhood in contrast to the incapacity of men like Joseph and Azarias.

glorified] i.e. honoured. The disaster which had befallen the Jewish troops under other leadership brought into stronger relief the brilliant service rendered by the Maccabees.

64. *acclaiming them*] Applauding their courage and success.

and he smote Hebron and the villages thereof, and pulled down the strongholds thereof, and burned the towers thereof round about. And he removed to go into the land of the Philistines, and he went through Samaria. In that day certain priests, desiring to do exploits there, were slain in battle, when as he went out to battle unadvisedly. And Judas turned aside to Azotus, to the land of the Philistines, and pulled down their altars, and burned the carved images of their gods with fire, and took the spoil of their cities, and returned into the land of Judah.

65. *Hebron*] The ancient patriarchal city (Gen. xiii. 18), previously called Kiriath-Arba (Judg. i. 10), and situated some 20 miles S. of Jerusalem. One of the cities of refuge (Josh. xx. 7), Hebron was also for a time the Davidic capital (2 Sam. v. 5). It lay in a fertile district, and within reach of the desert. "Like so many ancient towns, Hebron must have combined the attractions of a market and a shrine" (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 318). In post-exilic times it was still inhabited by Jews (Neh. xi. 25). Its modern name is *El-Khalil* = "The Friend,"—with special reference to the Scriptural designation of Abraham as "the friend of God" (2 Chron. xx. 7; Is. xli. 8; Ja. ii. 23). The inhabitants are mostly Mohammedans.

the villages thereof] Lit. **the daughters**. See note on v. 8.

66. *the Philistines*] Greek *strangers*. Cf. iv. 12, 26.

went through Samaria] This reading is difficult, but it is that of nearly all the authorities. Judas may have had good reason for making a *détour* by Samaria. Instead of "Samaria" the Old Latin has *Marisan*, and Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 8. 6) has *Marissa* (= Mareshah, or Moresheth-Gath, Mic. i. 14, 15); cf. 2 Macc. xii. 35, where some cursives and Syr. have Samaria for Marisa. This town (now *Mer'ash*) lay in the low country of Judaea (Josh. xv. 44) on the route from Hebron to Ashdod, not far from Eleutheropolis (*Beit-Fibrin*). But there were other towns besides Marissa which Judas must have assaulted on the direct road to Ashdod.

67. *certain priests...were slain*] In 2 Macc. xii. 40 their death is attributed to a Divine judgement upon them for having concealed upon their persons articles removed from the idol temples of Jamnia.

when as he went out] The text is confused here. Some ancient authorities read "they." On the archaic use of "when as" = when, cf. Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 652.

68. *Azotus*] See note on iv. 15.

pulled down their altars] These were more completely destroyed afterwards by Jonathan. Cf. x. 84. De Wette (*Hebr. Jüd. Archäologie*, § 254) reckons as the usual accompaniment of victory (1) the devastation of the land, (2) the extermination or deportation of the inhabitants, (3) the destruction of their sanctuaries.

carved images] Cf. 1 Sam. v. 3, 4.

6 And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries; and he heard say, that in Elymais in Persia there
 2 was a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold; and that the temple which was in it was rich exceedingly, and that therein were golden shields, and breastplates, and arms, which Alexander, son of Philip, the Macedonian king, who
 3 reigned first among the Greeks, left behind there. And he came and sought to take the city, and to pillage it; and he

CH. VI. 1—17. DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES, AND ACCESSION OF ANTIOCHUS V EUPATOR.

Epiphanes died unexpectedly in B.C. 164, shortly after a futile attempt made by him to rob a rich temple in Elymais (vv. 1—3). Apparently before he could carry into effect his design of falling back upon Babylon, he learned the fate of his forces in Judaea (vv. 4—7). He seems to have become a prey to mental agony (vv. 8—11), and to have been greatly troubled in conscience because of the sacrilege committed by him at Jerusalem (v. 12). Before his death he appointed his officer Philip to act as regent, but Lysias, determined to remain at the helm of affairs, assumed this position for himself, and crowned the young Antiochus king, with the surname of Eupator (vv. 14—17).

1. *the upper countries*] Cf. note on iii. 37.

Elymais] = the O.T. "Elam," a province lying between Media and the Persian Gulf. Strabo reckons it as a part of Susiana, although sometimes the name was applied to the entire region between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea.

Persia] Cf. note on iii. 31.

a city] According to 2 Macc. ix. 2, Persepolis,—a mere conjecture of later tradition, as that city lay considerably to the S. of Elymais.

silver and gold] Cf. note on iv. 23. That Antiochus, in attacking the temple in Elymais, was prompted by cupidity, is also the view of Polybius (XXXI. 11).

2. *the temple which was in it*] According to Appian, it was "a temple of Aphrodite"; according to Polybius, "a temple of Artemis." In 2 Macc. i. 13 it is mentioned as "a temple of Nanea," or Anaitis, a goddess sometimes identified with Aphrodite, and sometimes with Artemis. The writer of 2 Macc. states that Epiphanes entered the temple of Nanea in the guise of her bridegroom, and that he appropriated the gold and silver in the name of a dowry. This story has been confirmed by the discovery in 1857 of some fragments of the Annals of Granus Licinianus (see Ewald, *Hist.* v. p. 316, note 2).

golden shields &c.] Cf. note on iv. 6.

Alexander, son of Philip] See comments on i. 1—7.

who reigned first among the Greeks] See note on i. 1.

left behind there] viz. as thankofferings and trophies.

3. *sought to take the city*] Undeterred by the fact that his father Antiochus the Great had met his death while engaged in a similar expedition in this very region.

was not able, because the thing was known to them of the city, and they rose up against him to battle: and he fled,⁴ and removed thence with great heaviness, to return unto Babylon.

And there came one bringing him tidings into Persia, that⁵ the armies, which went against the land of Judah, had been put to flight; and that Lysias went first with a strong host,⁶ and was put to shame before them; and that they had waxed strong by reason of arms and power, and with store of spoils, which they took from the armies that they had cut off; and that they had pulled down the abomination which⁷ he had built upon the altar that was in Jerusalem; and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls, as before, and Bethsura, his city. And it came to pass, when⁸ the king heard these words, he was astonished and moved exceedingly: and he laid him down upon his bed, and fell sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he looked for. And he was there many days, because great grief was⁹ renewed upon him, and he made account that he should

4. *to return unto Babylon*] This intention seems to have been frustrated by his death, soon after, in Persia (*vv.* 5, 9, 16, 56).

5. *one bringing him tidings*] Probably a messenger from Lysias (*cf.* iii. 32), but possibly the Philip of *v.* 14.

the armies...had been put to flight] Those *viz.* of Seron (iii. 23), Nicanor (*iv.* 14), and Gorgias (*iv.* 22).

6. *Lysias &c.*] *Cf.* *iv.* 34, 35.

by reason of arms] The Jews appear to have followed the example of their leader (iii. 12) in appropriating the armour and weapons of the slaughtered Syrians. *Cf.* notes on *iv.* 6, 23.

7. *the abomination*] See *i.* 54, *iv.* 43—45. The writer makes the heathen messenger speak like a Jew.

as before] *Cf.* *iv.* 60. It may be doubted whether the temple area had ever up to this point been fortified on the two sides flanked by the city itself.

Bethsura, his city] *i.e.* the city of Beth-zur, which was morally and geographically *his*, as king of Syria.

8. *upon his bed*] *Cf.* note on *i.* 5.

9. *there*] *viz.* in Persia, where the messenger had met him. According to Polybius (XXXI. 11) Antiochus died in the town of Tabae.

great grief &c.] Constantly recurring fits of melancholy aggravated his sickness, and prevented the prosecution of the journey to Babylon.

10—13. This speech, embodying the king's reflections as to the cause of his sufferings, cannot, of course, be regarded as strictly historical, but simply as an expression, after the manner of the historians of the period

10 die. And he called for all his Friends, and said unto them,
 Sleep departeth from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for
 11 care. And I said in my heart, Unto what tribulation am I
 come, and how great a flood is it, wherein I now am! for I
 12 was gracious and beloved in my power. But now I re-
 member the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took
 all the vessels of silver and gold that were therein, and sent
 forth to destroy the inhabitants of Judah without a cause.
 13 I perceive that on this account these evils are come upon
 me, and, behold, I perish through great grief in a strange
 14 land. And he called for Philip, one of his Friends, and set
 15 him over all his kingdom, and gave him his diadem, and

(cf. ii. 49—68), of what the writer from his Jewish standpoint conceived to be suitable in the mouth of the dying monarch. In 2 Macc. ix. 12—17 he is represented as having spoken quite otherwise.

10. *his Friends*] See note on ii. 18.

Sleep departeth &c.] For the Greek cf. LXX. of Gen. xxxi. 40.

my heart faileth] Lit. **I have failed at heart**, i.e. I am heartbroken.

Cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 32.

11. *how great a flood is it &c.*] A metaphorical expression for misfortune. Cf. Ps. xviii. 4, xlii. 7, xlvi. 4; Jonah i. 4.

gracious and beloved] His kingly munificence, in spite of his lawless passion and his many eccentricities, was such as to ensure a large measure of popularity. See note on iii. 30.

12. *I took all the vessels &c.*] Cf. i. 21—23.

sent forth to destroy &c.] See above i. 60, 61, iii. 34, 35.

without a cause] i.e. solely on account of their religion, which certainly could not afford just cause for such cruelty.

13. *on this account these evils &c.*] An apologetic purpose seems to underlie this confession on the part of Antiochus, as well as the compunction expressed in the previous verse for the enormities committed at Jerusalem. That the writer here follows certain traditions, however, is confirmed by the somewhat similar representation of Polybius, viz. that the death of Antiochus was due to insanity produced by dreadful supernatural apparitions during his attempt to plunder the temple in Elymais. Appian says that he died of consumption.

in a strange land] Essentially a Greek, Antiochus felt himself a foreigner in Persia. Although it was a part of his own kingdom, it was a remote part, and his doings in it had not been such as to predispose the inhabitants to be sympathetic.

14. *Philip, one of his Friends*] In 2 Macc. ix. 29 Philip is said to have been brought up with Antiochus as a boy (cf. 1 Macc. i. 6), and is probably to be identified with the coarse Phrygian to whom Antiochus committed the governorship of Judaea (2 Macc. v. 22, viii. 8).

and set him over &c.] In thus designating Philip, and not Lysias (cf. iii. 32—34), as regent and guardian to the minor Antiochus, he may have

his robe, and his signet-ring, to the end he should bring Antiochus his son, and nourish him up that he might be king. And king Antiochus died there in the hundred and forty and ninth year. And Lysias knew that the king was dead, and he set up Antiochus his son to reign, whom he had nourished up being young, and he called his name Eupator.

been influenced by the utter failure of the campaign conducted by Lysias against Judaea.

15. *his signet-ring*] Among Oriental princes the conveyance of the *signet-ring* was the usual mode of investing any one with the highest powers or offices of State; cf. Gen. xli. 42; Esth. iii. 10, viii. 2. It was the symbol of regal authority. Alexander the Great is said to have given his signet-ring to Perdicas, thereby intimating that he wished him to be his successor in the kingdom. So also, on the death of her husband, Queen Helena of Adiabene "set up Monobazus, the eldest son, to be king, and put the diadem upon his head, and gave him his father's signet-ring" (Jos. Ant. xx. 2. 2).

should bring Antiochus his son &c.] R.V. takes τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν as = *lāqahath* (לָקַחְתָּ), but it may also = *παῖδαγωγεῖν*, so that the A.V. rendering "bring up" is not impossible. In the latter case "upbringing" must be understood of intellectual and moral culture, and "nourishing," of education on the physical side. Cf. 2 Macc. vii. 27.

16. *died there*] i.e. at Tabae. See above, v. 9. This place lay N. of Persis, E. of Susiana, towards Media.

in the hundred and forty and ninth year] = B.C. 164—163.

17. *Lysias...set up Antiochus &c.*] For the civil war that followed this disregard of the king's last wishes Lysias was wholly to blame.

being young] According to Appian the young prince was only nine years of age when his father died. Eusebius is probably wrong in stating his age at fourteen.

he called his name] A Hebraism. Cf. Matt. i. 21.

Eupator] This surname was chosen, Appian says, "on account of the virtues of his father!"

18—63. GREAT STRUGGLE BETWEEN JUDAS AND THE SYRIANS UNDER LYSIAS AND EUPATOR FOR THE POSSESSION OF JERUSALEM AND BETH-ZUR: SUBSEQUENT TREATY OF PEACE.

18—27. These verses disclose the immediate occasion of the campaign. Deeming the time opportune, Judas laid siege to the Acra, the sole outpost now held by the Syrians. Its commanding position, and its proximity to the Temple, rendered it a perennial source of annoyance to the party of the Law (cf. i. 33—36, iv. 41). By a determined attack upon it they compelled the occupants to appeal for assistance to Antioch.

18 And they that were in the citadel shut up Israel round
 about the sanctuary, and sought always their hurt, and
 19 the strengthening of the Gentiles. And Judas thought to
 destroy them, and called all the people together to besiege
 20 them. And they were gathered together, and besieged
 them in the hundred and fiftieth year, and he made mounds
 21 to shoot from, and engines of war. And there came forth
 some of them that were shut up, and there were joined unto
 22 them certain ungodly men of Israel. And they went unto
 the king, and said, How long wilt thou not execute judge-
 23 ment, and avenge our brethren? We were willing to serve
 thy father, and to walk after his words, and to follow his
 24 commandments; and for this cause the children of our
 people besieged the citadel, and were alienated from us;
 but as many of us as they could light on they slew, and
 25 spoiled our inheritances. And not against us only did they

18. *shut up Israel &c.*] i.e. were hemming Israel in. This does not refer to a regular blockade of the Temple, but to the steps taken to prevent free access to it on the part of the people.

20. *the hundred and fiftieth year*] i.e. B.C. 163—162.

mounds to shoot from] For the Greek cf. LXX. of Ezek. iv. 2, xvii. 17, xxi. 22; where A.V. renders "forts." From these batteries arrows were shot, or projectiles hurled, as represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs. See Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 149. In this case, of course, the dashing bravery of the Maccabees could effect nothing; if the citadel was to be won, it could only be by a patient and sustained use of the appliances of scientific warfare.

engines of war] Cf. note on v. 30.

21. *there came forth &c.*] Probably under cover of night.

ungodly men] i.e. the Hellenizing apostates. Cf. i. 11, 43, 52 &c.

22. *went unto the king*] Their suit must have been made rather to his guardian Lysias than to the boy-king himself, even if the latter was present.

our brethren] i.e. all those besieged in the citadel, whether foreign soldiers or Jews like-minded with them.

23. *We were willing*] **well-pleased.** Cf. xiv. 46, 47. They represented that their present distress was owing to their having complied with the orders of Epiphanes (i. 41—50).

24. *for this cause &c.*] A perversion of the truth in the interests of the speakers themselves. The garrison was besieged not for their obedience to Antiochus, but because they molested those going out and in from the Temple. Some MSS. omit "besieged the citadel," probably as superfluous. Cf. v. 26.

as many of us...they slew] Cf. ii. 44, iii. 8.

stretch out their hand, but also against all their borders. And, behold, they are encamped this day against the citadel ²⁶ at Jerusalem, to take it: and the sanctuary and Bethsura have they fortified. And if ye are not beforehand with them ²⁷ quickly, they will do greater things than these, and thou shalt not be able to control them.

And when the king heard this, he was angry, and gathered ²⁸ together all his Friends, *even the rulers of his host*, and them that were over the horse. And there came unto him from ²⁹ other kingdoms, and from isles of the sea, bands of hired

25. *against all their borders*] The allusion is to the expeditions against neighbouring tribes already described in ch. v.

26. *the sanctuary and Bethsura &c.*] Cf. iv. 60, 61. These measures, which proved the strength of the king's enemies, are mentioned last, apparently in order to impress the imperial authorities.

27. *not be able to control them*] i.e. they can be checkmated only by immediate action.

28—54. On account of the change in the Syrian government, matters had been practically left in abeyance in Judaea. Lysias was not so zealous an apostle of Hellenism as Epiphanes had been; and the Jews would seem to have had some influential friends who even advocated a policy of conciliation (2 Macc. x. 12). But in view of this bitter cry of the Greek party, that they were being forced to pay dear for their loyalty, and of the danger of interference on the part of Egypt, it was resolved effectually to quell the insurrection in Judaea. With a huge army (*v.* 30) Lysias and his ward, entering from the south, encamped against Beth-zur (*v.* 31). Judas advanced to give them battle, but at Beth-zacharias his troops were beaten, and his brother Eleazar perished. After the reduction of Beth-zur, the king's forces went on to besiege the temple mount (*vv.* 49—54).

28. *when the king heard this*] What is here said of the king is properly to be attributed to Lysias. His "anger" may very well have been reflected in the mind of the youthful Antiochus; but the massing of the forces must have been the work of the regent himself. Cf. notes on *vv.* 17 and 22.

his Friends] i.e. in modern phraseology the members of the "Cabinet."
them that were over the horse] Lit. **over the reins**, i.e. the cavalry officers, or perhaps (so the Syr. and Old Lat. versions) those in command of *chariots*. Cf. 2 Macc. xiii. 2.

29. *other kingdoms*] Those of Asia Minor, and in particular, perhaps, Pergamos, Bithynia, Pontus, and Cappadocia.

isles of the sea] i.e. the islands of the Archipelago, as well as the larger islands of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, from which a supply of mercenaries could always be derived. By the treaty of the Romans with Antiochus the Great, after the battle of Magnesia, the Syrian kings were prohibited from raising or receiving recruits for their army in countries

30 soldiers. And the number of his forces was a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and
 31 two and thirty elephants trained for war. And they went through Idumæa, and encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it many days, and made engines of war; and they of *Bethsura* came out, and burned them with fire, and
 32 fought valiantly. And Judas removed from the citadel, and encamped at Bethzacharias, over against the king's camp.
 33 And the king rose early in the morning, and removed his army at full speed along the road to Bethzacharias, and his forces made them ready to battle, and sounded with the
 34 trumpets. And they shewed the elephants the blood of grapes and mulberries, that they might prepare them for the

under the suzerainty of Rome, and also from employing elephants in war. But some of these provisions may have become a dead letter, or the Romans may have winked at their non-observance, in order to have a pretext for war when it suited them. For the expression cf. Esth. x. 1; Isa. xi. 11, xxiv. 15, &c.

30. *the number of his forces*] While not absolutely beyond belief, the figures given here seem to be exaggerated, for (1) only half of the fighting power of Syria was at the command of Lysias (iii. 37), (2) the whole strength of the army at the battle of Magnesia, when the kingdom was larger and more prosperous than in the time of Epiphanes, was only 80,000 men (Livy XXXVII. 39), (3) Lysias could hardly have raised so many Greek troops without coming into collision with the Romans (see on previous verse).

31. *they went through Idumæa*] Thus precisely repeating the tactics of Lysias at an earlier period. Cf. note on iv. 29.

burned them with fire] Being largely made of wood, the war engines of the period were very liable to be destroyed in this way.

32. *Bethzacharias*] This place (which is probably the same as Bethzochar or Bethzachar of the tribe of Simeon, according to Epiphanius the birth-place of Habakkuk) lay between Jerusalem and Beth-zur, at a point 8 miles N. of the latter (Jos. Ant. XII. 9. 4, 5). It still exists as *Beit Sakariyeh*, which occupies a prominent site on a solitary mountain spur between two deep valleys, and contains a number of ancient ruins, graves, and cisterns.

over against the king's camp] i.e. within sight of it, for it was eight miles distant.

33. *removed his army at full speed*] Or, **eager for the fray**. Cf. note on v. 28. In 2 Macc. xiii. 21 mention is made of a traitor in the Jewish camp, and the sudden movement of the Syrian troops may have been due to information as to plans, &c. received from such a quarter.

34. *the blood of grapes and mulberries*] i.e. either liquors prepared from the juice of these fruits, or more probably "the expressed juice of the two fruits, unfermented" (Rawl.). This was apparently meant to

battle. And they divided the beasts among the phalanxes, ³⁵ and they set by each elephant a thousand men armed with coats of mail, and helmets of brass on their heads; and for each beast were appointed five hundred chosen horsemen. These were ready beforehand, wheresoever the beast was; ³⁶ and whithersoever the beast went, they went with him; they departed not from him. And towers of wood were ³⁷ upon them, strong *and* covered, one upon each beast, girt fast upon him with cunning contrivances; and upon each *beast* were two and thirty valiant men that fought upon

represent blood to the elephants, and was "shewn" to them as a preparation for battle. Assuming their fondness for it, which seems to be implied, some have surmised that the tempting liquor was repeatedly shewn to the animals, and then withdrawn, in order to infuriate them and excite their pugnacity. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 2, 42.

35. *divided the beasts among the phalanxes*] The Syrian kings had adopted the Macedonian order of battle. The proper placing of the elephants would seem, however, to have been a matter of some difficulty. Sometimes they were set in the forefront of the fight; at Magnesia they were distributed in couples between the battalions (Livy xxxviii. 41); in the present case still another experiment was made.

coats of mail] i.e. chain-armour. Cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 5. Corslets of this sort had superseded the scale-armour of older date.

36. *These were ready beforehand &c.*] i.e. the cavalry and elephants were always together during military drill and upon the march.

departed not from him] Without such previous closeness of association with the men and horses of their own side elephants were apt to do more injury to it than to the enemy. Horses, too, unless accustomed to them, were shy of acting alongside of elephants; hence the policy of taking pains to ensure their mutual acquaintance.

37. *towers of wood*] These were manned by archers, and were already in use at the battle of Magnesia (B.C. 190).

cunning contrivances] Probably of the nature of saddle-girths, which are still used in India to keep similar "towers" in position on the backs of elephants.

two and thirty valiant men &c.] Some MSS. omit "valiant," and instead of 32 some give 30 as the number of men accommodated, but either statement must be regarded as grossly exaggerated. A *posse* of five is credible, and has been known in modern times; but a war-elephant usually carried only three or four combatants. The Greek translator may have misunderstood the Hebrew text which perhaps read *two or three*, or there may have been an error of transcription¹.

¹ Possibly the original text may have read שְׁלִישִׁים, 'picked warriors,' the term used in Ex. xiv. 7, xv. 4 of the picked men in Pharaoh's chariots, which the translator mistook for שְׁלִשִׁים, 'thirty.'

38 them, beside his Indian (and the residue of the horsemen
 he set on this side and that side at the two parts of the
 army), striking terror *into the enemy*, and protected by the
 39 phalanxes. Now when the sun shone upon the shields of
 gold and brass, the mountains shone therewith, and blazed
 40 like torches of fire. And a part of the king's army was
 spread upon the high mountains, and some on the low
 41 ground, and they went on firmly and in order. And all
 that heard the noise of their multitude, and the marching of
 the multitude, and the rattling of the arms, did quake: for
 42 the army was exceeding great and strong. And Judas and
 his army drew near for battle, and there fell of the king's
 43 army six hundred men. And Eleazar, who was *called*

his Indian] i.e. his Indian driver. As India was the home of the elephant, Indians naturally made the best drivers. But the term came to be used generally of those who followed this occupation, even though not Indian-born. So, among ourselves, an "Indiaman" = a large vessel, whatever its destination.

38. *the residue of the horsemen*] A comparison of *v.* 30 with *v.* 35 shews that the residue amounted to 4000.

on this side and that side] Cf. ix. 45. The meaning seems to be that 2000 horsemen were placed on either wing of the army.

striking terror &c.] The Greek verb means to shake and throw down, as e.g. fruit from trees. The purpose of so placing the cavalry was to "shake" i.e. to alarm (the enemy), and thus prevent them from executing any flanking movement.

protected by the phalanxes] R.V. seems to be the least objectionable rendering of a very difficult passage. The text is in disorder.

39. *the shields of gold*] It is not to be supposed that any considerable section of the army were provided with such shields, or even that the shields so described were wholly made of gold. They may have been confined to the officers, and either plated or embossed with gold. Golden shields seem to have been possessed only by princes (1 Ki. x. 17), or to have been reserved for transmission as gifts to foreign powers (1 Macc. xiv. 24, xv. 18). It is possible, however, that we have here nothing but a rhetorical delineation of the extraordinary splendour of the invading army. Cf. Byron's description of Sennacherib's army: "his cohorts were gleaming in purple and gold."

40. The imperial troops probably advanced upon Bethzacharias by way of a wady with rising ground on either side.

41. *the army was exceeding great and strong*] Cf. note on *v.* 30.

42. *Judas and his army drew near*] It was his uniform practice never to decline a battle. Cf. iii. 11, 16, iv. 29, v. 43.

there fell of the king's army &c.] This probably resulted from the first furious onslaught of the Jews; but the tremendous odds against which they had to contend proved too strong for them in the end (*v.* 47).

Avaran, saw one of the beasts armed with royal breastplates, and he was higher than all the beasts, and the king seemed to be upon him; and he gave himself to deliver his people, 44 and to get him an everlasting name; and he ran upon him 45 courageously into the midst of the phalanx, and slew on the right hand and on the left, and they parted asunder from him on this side and on that. And he crept under the 46 elephant, and thrust him from beneath, and slew him; and *the elephant* fell to the earth upon him, and he died there. And they saw the strength of the kingdom, and the fierce 47 onset of the hosts, and turned away from them.

But they of the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet 48

43. *Avaran*] Cf. note on ii. 5¹.

armed with royal breastplates] i.e. superbly caparisoned.

higher than all the beasts] A parallel instance is mentioned by Plutarch in his narrative of the war between Alexander the Great and the Indian king Porus.

the king seemed to be upon him] The language conveys the impression that while the king, who was too young to be upon the field of battle, was not mounted as Eleazar supposed, the animal in question was actually "the royal elephant."

44. *gave himself*] i.e. gave his life. Cf. Gal. i. 4; Tit. ii. 14.

to deliver his people] Had matters been as Eleazar supposed, nothing is more likely than that the Syrian army would have become panic-stricken.

an everlasting name] See note on ii. 51.

45. *into the midst of the phalanx*] Eleazar fought his way to the elephant upon which the king appeared to be riding.

they parted asunder from him] i.e. the soldiers guarding the elephant parted asunder from Eleazar, so that he could get at the beast. Possibly, however, the meaning may be that the soldiers stationed beside the elephant were parted from him.

on this side and on that] For the Greek cf. LXX. of 2 Ki. ii. 8.

46. *thrust him from beneath*] i.e. thrust his sword into him from beneath. For the Greek cf. LXX. of 2 Macc. xiv. 41.

47. *And they saw &c.*] i.e. Judas and his men.

the strength of the kingdom] As manifested in the furious onset of this powerful army.

turned away from them] i.e. retreated, or fled. From this abrupt ending to a narrative otherwise so detailed it can be gathered that the Jews suffered a defeat, and did not merely retire in an orderly fashion.

48. *they of the king's army*] While the main body proceeded to

¹ A reads Ἐλεάζαρ ὁ Σαυαράν; cf. the Vulg. *filii Saura*. But this reading is probably only a wrong division of words for Ἐλεάζαρος Ἀυαράν, which is the reading of several cursives. B has Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ Ἀυράν, V Ἀυαράν.

them, and the king encamped toward Judæa, and toward
 49 mount Sion. And he made peace with them of Bethsura ;
 and he came out of the city, because they had no food there
 to endure the siege, because it was a sabbath to the land.
 50 And the king took Bethsura, and appointed a garrison there
 51 to keep it. And he encamped against the sanctuary many
 days ; and set there mounds to shoot from, and engines of
 war, and instruments for casting fire and stones, and pieces
 52 to cast darts, and slings. And they also made engines

Jerusalem in order to attack the temple mount, a smaller contingent of the Syrian troops remained to besiege Beth-zur, and subsequently formed the garrison there (v. 50).

toward Judæa] The intention was to make the royal camp a base of operations against the whole region of Judæa.

49. *he made peace*] i.e. granted certain terms to the garrison, evidently a euphemism as in v. 47. The garrison was starved out.

he came out of the city] This can only mean that after its capitulation there was nothing to detain him in Beth-zur. So ANV. But most cursives, Syr., and Vulg. have "they came out of the city," i.e. *surrendered* the city, 1 Sam. xi. 3, 2 Ki. xviii. 31, which gives a better sense.

it was a sabbath to the land] i.e. a Sabbatical year (Ex. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 2—7). Every seventh year the arable land lay untilled, the usual sowing, pruning, and reaping being intermitted; only the natural produce of the soil was available for food. Before the Exile this institution seems to have suffered neglect, but in the Maccabæan period it was scrupulously observed. The events narrated in vv. 20—53 occurred in the Seleucid year 150, or B.C. 163—162, "between spring and 1st of Tizri" (Schürer). During a Sabbatic year scarcity was caused not merely by the want of the year's crop, but by the necessity imposed on every agriculturist to lay up from the harvest of the sixth year extra supplies for his own use.

50. *took Bethsura*] Beth-zur capitulated, because it had no store of provisions to enable it to hold out, and Lysias occupied it.

51. *many days*] But for the dearth of provisions the temple fortress was now so strong (iv. 60) that its inmates could have held out against siege for an indefinite period.

instruments for casting fire and stones] i.e. catapults for shooting tow-covered, pitch-smearred, ignited arrows, and *ballistæ*, from which huge stones were hurled against the fortifications.

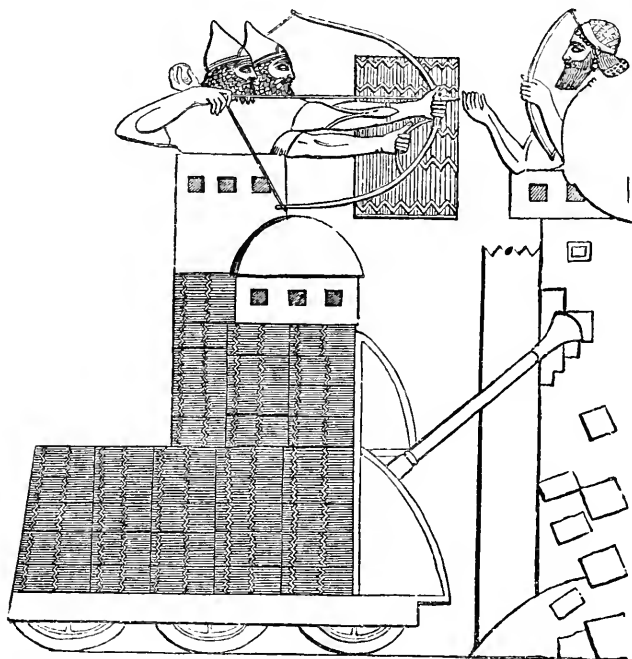
pieces] Lit. *scorpions*. The Greek noun is a diminutive, signifying instruments of a smaller sort for throwing arrows. They could be managed by one man, and were very deadly. Cf. Shakespeare, 1 Hen. VI. i. 4. 15, "A *piece* of ordnance 'gainst it I have placed."

52. *they also*] i.e. the besieged Jews.

made engines against their engines] Those on the walls used similar

against their engines, and fought for many days. But there were no victuals in the sanctuary, because it was the seventh year, and they that fled for safety into Judæa from among the Gentiles had eaten up the residue of the store; and there were but a few left in the sanctuary, because the

contrivances in order to destroy such machines as were being used against them, together with those who worked them. Cf. 2 Chron.



Moveable siege-tower containing warriors and a battering-ram.
(From Layard's *Nineveh*.)

xxvi. 15. The methods here described were still in use among Europeans in mediæval times.

fought] 'Held them battle' of A.V. is an archaism.

53. *no victuals in the sanctuary*] This is the best attested reading. Some MSS. have *in their vessels* = magazines.

they that fled for safety into Judæa &c.] In Jerusalem the Jews were as badly provisioned as they had been at Beth-zur (v. 49). In this case, however, they had not only the Sabbatic year to reckon with, but they had also to feed the refugees from Gilead and from Galilee (v. 23, 45).

54. *there were but a few left*] Owing to the desertion and flight of those who had no mind to starve.

famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered, each man to his own place.

55 And Lysias heard say, that Philip, whom Antiochus the
king, whiles he was yet alive, appointed to nourish up his
56 son Antiochus, that he might be king, was returned from
Persia and Media, and with him the forces that went with
the king, and that he was seeking to take unto him the
57 government. And he made haste, and gave consent to
depart; and he said to the king and the leaders of the host
and to the men, We decay daily, and our food is scant, and
the place where we encamp is strong, and the affairs of the
58 kingdom lie upon us: now therefore let us give the right

scattered, each man to his own place] Cf. John xvi. 32.

55—63. The course of events rendered it necessary for Lysias to repair with all speed to Antioch. Philip was trying to make good his position as duly appointed regent (*v.* 14) and was actually in possession of the capital (*v.* 63), with half of the Syrian army at his back. Lysias therefore made peace with the Jews, and conceded to them religious liberty. After breaking faith with them so far as to demolish the wall of Mount Sion (*v.* 62), he marched straight to Antioch, which he succeeded in wresting from Philip (*v.* 63).

55. *Philip*] Cf. note on *v.* 14.

56. *Persia and Media*] i.e. the Eastern provinces beyond the Euphrates. Cf. note on iii. 31.

the government] Lit. *the management of affairs*.

57. *And he made haste, and gave consent to depart &c.*] The various readings are very bewildering, but the sense required seems to be that Lysias was anxious to get back to Antioch and wanted to give other reasons to the king. If we could read simply *καὶ κατέσπευδεν τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν καὶ εἶπεν*, and *he was anxious to depart and said*, it would give a good sense, but it is difficult to suppose with Grimm that *ἐπένευσεν*, R.V. "gave consent," was a corruption of *κατέσπευδεν*, from which sprang the other readings found in some MSS. Possibly some word corresponding to it may have stood in the original, giving the sense, "And he made haste and schemed how to depart."

and to the men] The Syriac and one or two Greek MSS. have **the great men**, i.e. the leading magnates; others omit the words altogether. But in the circumstances it was a matter of some importance for Lysias to have the concurrence of the whole body of the troops.

We decay] **We grow weaker**, viz. in numbers and in strength. The besiegers, too, felt the scarcity caused by the Sabbatic year. There was little forage or provision to be got out of the adjoining territory.

lie upon us] **press upon us**. Owing to the action of Philip they were face to face with a great crisis.

58. *let us give the right hand &c.*] The symbol of reconciliation and friendship. Cf. xi. 50, 66.

hand to these men, and make peace with them and with all their nation, and covenant with them, that they shall walk ⁵⁹ after their own laws, as aforetime: for because of their laws which we abolished they were angered, and did all these things. And the saying pleased the king and the princes, ⁶⁰ and he sent unto them to make peace; and they accepted thereof. And the king and the princes sware unto them: ⁶¹ thereupon they came forth from the stronghold. And the ⁶² king entered into mount Sion; and he saw the strength of the place, and set at nought the oath which he had sworn, and gave commandment to pull down the wall round about. And he removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and ⁶³ found Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city by force.

59. *because of their laws &c.*] This rational and statesmanlike deliverance marks the transition to a more tolerant policy on the part of the Syrian government. It was the formal abandonment of the attempt to suppress the Jewish faith and worship.

60. *the saying pleased the king*] Cf. viii. 21, and for the Greek see LXX. of 2 Chron. xxx. 4.

sent unto them to make peace] Cf. the (doubtless fabricated) correspondence given in 2 Macc. xi. 16—33.

61. *the king and the princes sware unto them*] The princes took the oath along with the king on account of his not yet having reached his majority.

thereupon] **upon these conditions.** Swete punctuates *ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξήλθεν*, but the asyndeton is harsh.

they came forth] Cf. v. 49. This attested the surrender of the fortress.

62. *set at nought the oath &c.*] So also Josephus. Grimm doubts the accuracy of the charge, on the ground that nothing is said in the treaty as to the continuance of the fortress; but with greater justice it may be said that, unless the Syrians stipulated for its demolition, they had no right to damage it after its surrender. For the breach of faith, not the king, of course, but Lysias must be held responsible.

63. *found Philip*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 9. 7), Philip was taken prisoner and slain by order of Lysias. In 2 Macc. ix. 29, on the other hand, it is stated that Philip, fearing Eupator, fled into Egypt to Ptolemy Philometor.

THIRD SECTION. CH. VII. 1—IX. 22.

This section carries on the history from the concession of religious liberty under Lysias to the defeat and death of Judas.

7 In the hundred and one and fiftieth year Demetrius the son of Seleucus came forth from Rome, and went up with a

CH. VII. 1—25. ACCESSION OF DEMETRIUS I AS KING OF SYRIA, AND RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES AGAINST THE JEWS UNDER THE DIRECTION OF BACCHIDES AND ALCIMUS.

Lysias had now to deal with a more formidable rival than Philip in the person of Demetrius, son of Seleucus, and rightful heir to the throne. While yet a boy he had been sent to Rome as a hostage in the room of Epiphanes, and had been kept there under protest for many years. Having at length escaped, he made his way to Tripolis, and asserted his position as king of Syria. At Antioch he caused Lysias and Antiochus Eupator to be put to death.

In response to an appeal from the Greek party the new sovereign sent an army under Bacchides to force the recognition of Alcimus as high priest, and to seize the person of Judas. Content to have as holder of the sacred office one who was 'of the seed of Aaron,' the Hasidaeans now acquiesced in the Syrian supremacy, but the perfidious Alcimus had sixty of them slain in one day (*v.* 16). On the departure of Bacchides for Antioch, Judas soon made things impossible for Alcimus, who had once more to implore help from Syria.

1. *the hundred and one and fiftieth year*] = B.C. 162—161.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus] Afterwards Demetrius I (Soter), son of Seleucus IV (Philopator), whom he should naturally have succeeded. But at the time of his father's death he was a hostage in Rome, and his uncle Antiochus (Epiphanes) usurped the throne. Before the demise of the latter the succession had been vested in his son Antiochus (Eupator), who had actually been declared king. By this



TETRADRACHM OF DEMETRIUS I.

Obv. Head of Demetrius, with diadem. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (of King Demetrius Soter): date ΑΞΡ=161 of Seleucid era. Figure of Tychè (Fortune), seated on throne, with sceptre and cornucopiae.

(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Cf. British Museum Cat. of Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, Pl. XIV.)

time Demetrius had been fourteen years in Rome, and he now requested the Senate to recognise his claim to the Syrian kingdom, but in vain. It suited the Romans better that it should be in the hands of a boy than under the control of one who had reached his twenty-third year.

few men unto a city by the sea, and reigned there. And it² came to pass, when he would go into the house of the kingdom of his fathers, that the army laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him. And the thing was³ known to him, and he said, Shew me not their faces. And⁴ the army slew them. And Demetrius sat upon the throne of his kingdom. And there came unto him all the lawless⁵ and ungodly men of Israel; and Alcimus was their leader, desiring to be high priest; and they accused the people to⁶

came forth from Rome] Through the friendly aid of the historian Polybius, Demetrius managed to escape in a Carthaginian vessel and landed in Syria (Polyb. xxxi. 19—23).

went up] According to the usual Hebrew conception, a journey to Palestine (in which the author appears to have mentally located the town in question) was an ascent, even when as in this case the town was situated on the coast.

with a few men] Five servants and three boys, according to Polybius.

a city by the sea] Tripolis (Jos. Ant. xii. 10. 1; 2 Macc. xiv. 1).

reigned there] i.e. was there proclaimed king. Cf. x. 1, xi. 54. According to Polyb. xxxi. 20 sq., Demetrius was informed by his tutor Diodorus, who had just arrived in Rome, that Lysias was mistrusted in Syria, and that were he to appear on the scene he would undoubtedly obtain the kingdom. The event proved the correctness of this judgement.

2. *the house of the kingdom of his fathers*] Either the imperial residence strictly so called, or the royal city of Antioch as a whole. Cf. Esth. i. 9; Dan. iv. 29.

the army laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias] When Demetrius prepared to go to Antioch, the army declared in his favour and arrested Antiochus and Lysias with the view of delivering them up to the new king.

3. *Shew me not their faces*] Merely a euphemistic way of saying that he wanted to be rid of them, without actually giving orders for their execution.

4. *Demetrius sat upon the throne*] Only some years afterwards, at the instance of Tiberius Gracchus (Polyb. xxxii. 4), did the Romans recognise him as king.

5. *the lawless and ungodly*] viz. the Hellenizers. Cf. i. 43, 52, ii. 44, &c.

Alcimus] In Greek this means "brave." Josephus says his original name was *Jakim*, which is probably an abbreviated Graecised form of "Eliakim."

their leader] i.e. the principal personage in their deputation.

desiring to be high priest] i.e. to be reinvested with the rights of high priest. He had apparently held this office before, but had been deprived of it by the Jews owing to his pagan proclivities (2 Macc. xiv. 7). Upon

the king, saying, Judas and his brethren have destroyed all
 7 thy friends, and have scattered us from our own land. Now
 therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go
 and see all the havock which he hath made of us, and of
 the king's country, and *how* he hath punished them and all
 8 that helped them. And the king chose Bacchides, one of
 the king's Friends, who was ruler in the country beyond the
 river, and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to
 9 the king. And he sent him, and that ungodly Alcimus, and
 made sure to him the high priesthood, and he commanded
 him to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.
 10 And they removed, and came with a great host into the
 land of Judah, and he sent messengers to Judas and his
 11 brethren with words of peace deceitfully. And they gave

the execution of Menelaus, however, he had already been reinstalled by Eupator in his lost office (Jos. *Ant.* XII. 9. 7, XX. 10. 1). These facts are quite consistent with what is said about Alcimus "desiring" and (*v.* 21) "striving" for the high-priesthood. The writer is not concerned with the details of these prior incidents; he merely wishes to point out that Alcimus sought to push his claims through the Syrian king.

6. *the people*] i.e. the patriotic section of them.

all thy friends] i.e. the Jewish adherents of the government whom they had been able to lay hands on. The statement in itself was accurate enough. Cf. ii. 44, iii. 8.

7. *and how he hath punished them*] This is the best attested reading, although the imperative "and let him punish" (as in A.V.) reads more naturally, and agrees with *v.* 9.

8. *one of the king's Friends*] Cf. note on ii. 18. Bacchides is mentioned by Josephus as "a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes" (*Ant.* XII. 10. 2).

beyond the river] i.e. the Euphrates. Cf. Ex. xxiii. 31; Is. viii. 7, &c. According to Josephus *l.c.*, he was "entrusted with all Mesopotamia."

faithful to the king] i.e. one upon whom the king could rely to carry out his measures.

9. *that ungodly Alcimus &c.*] Demetrius now gave effect to the claims of this pretender because he saw in him a likely tool for tightening his hold upon Judaea. It should be noted that this new expedition of the Syrians against the Jews was not entered upon with the view of reintroducing heathenism, but solely with the intention of promoting the interests of the Greek or anti-Maccabean party among the people.

take vengeance] Cf. iii. 15.

10. *with words of peace deceitfully*] Among Orientals an invitation to a conference has often been a mere preliminary to the treacherous seizure of prominent adversaries. "So Tissaphernes seized the Greek

no heed to their words; for they saw that they were come with a great host. And there were gathered together unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to seek for justice. And the Hasidæans were the first among the children of Israel that sought peace of them; for they said, One that is a priest of the seed of Aaron is come with the forces, and he will do us no wrong. And he spake with them words of peace, and sware unto them, saying, We will seek the hurt neither of you nor your friends. And they gave him credence: and he laid hands on threescore men

generals at Cunaxa; so the Parthians got possession of Crassus after Carrhae" (Rawl.); and so, recently, in connexion with the Chitral Expedition (1895), the little force under Lieutenants Fowler and Edwards were the victims of treachery. Like Nehemiah, however, (Neh. vi. 2—4), Judas refused to walk into the trap laid for him.

11. *gave no heed to their words*] Insight and prudence, no less than dash and bravery, characterised the generalship of Judas. Whatever the nature of their words, the presence of a large army was to him sufficiently conclusive as to the peaceableness of their intentions.

12. *a company of scribes*] The expression is exactly similar to that in ii. 42, "a company of Hasidæans," and in view of what is stated in the next verse some would identify the two phrases in point of meaning also. But at the time when our book was written the term "Scribe" meant a professional student of the law,—a Jewish professor of theology, exegesis, and religious jurisprudence all in one. This usage was quite distinct from that already noticed in v. 42.

to seek for justice] i.e. to demand fair terms, either in the way of claiming that the concessions granted by Lysias should not remain a dead letter, or in that of claiming exemption from compliance with fresh demands made upon the Jews.

13. *the Hasidæans*] Cf. note on ii. 42.

the first among the children of Israel] Some would interpret: "(now the Hasidæans were the chief among the sons of Israel); and they were asking for peace." According to this view, the scribes were simply a deputation of Hasidæans. Others think the Hasidæans are here *contrasted with* the scribes. But neither theory is necessitated by the language of the writer.

14. *he will do us no wrong*] Their confidence was based upon considerations both of blood and office.

15. *spake with them words of peace*] i.e. pretended to be animated by the feelings of one who was true to the law. Cf. i. 30.

sware unto them] According to the context, Alcimus is still the subject. Josephus (*Ant.* xii. 10. 2) represents Bacchides and Alcimus as having jointly taken the oath not to harm the Hasidæans. Although he afterwards makes Bacchides responsible for the massacre that followed, there can be no doubt that Alcimus acted in concert with him.

of them, and slew them in one day, according to the word which *the psalmist* wrote,

17 The flesh of thy saints *did they cast out*,
And their blood did they shed round about Jerusalem;
And there was no man to bury them.

18 And the fear and the dread of them fell upon all the
people, for they said, There is neither truth nor judgement
in them; for they have broken the covenant and the oath
19 which they swear. And Bacchides removed from Jerusa-
lem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent and took many
of the deserters that were with him, and certain of the

16. *according to the word which the psalmist wrote*] This is closely analogous to the usual formula of citation from the Scriptures. Cf. John v. 46. Stress is laid upon what follows as forming part of Holy Scripture. The construction "which one (*indefinite*) wrote," is known both in Hebr. and Gr.

17. *The flesh of thy saints &c.*] A quotation from Ps. lxxix. 2, 3. This does not, however, imply that this Psalm was written with reference to the slaughter of the Hasidaeans by Alcimus. The circumstances described in the Psalm are not those of B.C. 162, when the temple was no longer desecrated, but had been re-dedicated to the worship of Jehovah. The Psalm further seems to contemplate a more sweeping massacre of Jews, and says nothing about the treachery which is so prominent a feature here. All this does not, however, prove that the Psalm is pre-Maccabean, and it may possibly have been occasioned by the earlier massacres of Antiochus and Apollonius (1 Macc. i. 24, 30) in B.C. 170 and 168.

no man to bury them] Cf. Jer. xiv. 16. Like the ancients in general, the Jews contemplated with horror the case of a corpse having to lie unburied. Cf. 1 Ki. xiii. 22, xiv. 11; Jer. vii. 33; Ezek. xxix. 5; and the well-known story of Antigone.

That Judas and those who still remained with him did not share the fate of their unfortunate countrymen was due to his foresight in keeping his troops together in case of emergency.

18. *the fear and the dread of them*] Cf. Gen. ix. 2; Is. viii. 13; 1 Pet. iii. 14.

neither truth nor judgement] Cf. Ps. cxi. 7.

19. *Bezeth*] In Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 10. 2, 11. 1) the name is given as "Bethzetho" or "Berzetho," and the place is described as "a village." It evidently lay somewhere in the vicinity of Jerusalem, but its exact position is uncertain. Some would identify it with "Bezetha," a hill on which was afterwards built the N.E. quarter of Jerusalem = the "new city" of Josephus. Bezeth is probably contracted from Beth-zayith = "house of the olive." Βηθζαθ is the form in \aleph , but it looks like a Hebraising correction.

the deserters that were with him] R.V. follows the best MSS. in

people, and he slew them, *and cast them* into the great pit. And he made sure the country to Alcimus, and left with 20 him a force to aid him; and Bacchides went away unto the king.

And Alcimus strove for his high priesthood. And there 21 were gathered unto him all they that troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did great hurt in Israel. And Judas saw all the mischief that 23 Alcimus and his company had done among the children of Israel, *even above the Gentiles*, and he went out into all the 24 coasts of Judæa round about, and took vengeance on the men that had deserted from him, and they were restrained from going forth into the country. But when Alcimus saw 25 that Judas and his company waxed strong, and knew that he was not able to withstand them, he returned to the king, and brought evil accusations against them.

reading *μετ' αὐτοῦ*. A.V. has "the men that had forsaken him" (*ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*). The passage is obscure, but the allusion is probably to Jews who had joined the Syrian party, but whom Bacchides now distrusted. Cf. below, ix. 24.

certain of the people] Either persons who had hitherto remained neutral, but regarding whom Bacchides was suspicious, or inhabitants of Bezeth who had sheltered the fugitives.

the great pit] Lit. the great well. The cistern in question was evidently known to the general public.

20. *made sure the country to Alcimus*] Alcimus thus found himself civil governor as well as high priest.

21. *strove*] i.e. used force to get possession of the temple.

22. *all they that troubled their people*] Cf. Gal. v. 10. The underlying ethical assumption is that in any circumstances the real "troublers" in Israel are the ungodly. Cf. 1 Ki. xviii. 18.

23. *even above the Gentiles*] Drusius points in illustration to the civil wars of the Belgians, and declares that he knew of many who suffered at the hands of their countrymen injuries such as had never been inflicted by the Spaniards (*Annot. in Crit. Sac.*).

24. *all the coasts of Judæa*] Rather, all the borders &c.

the men that had deserted from him] Deserters seem to have been severely dealt with on both sides. Cf. v. 19.

restrained &c.] i.e. they had to shut themselves up in walled cities.

25. *evil accusations*] i.e. he accused them of evil deeds, under which category the Syrian authorities would certainly place all the doings of the Maccabees as rebels against the State.

26 And the king sent Nicanor, one of his honourable princes,
 a man that hated Israel and was their enemy, and com-
 27 manded him to destroy the people. And Nicanor came to
 Jerusalem with a great host; and he sent unto Judas and his
 28 brethren deceitfully with words of peace, saying, Let there
 be no battle between me and you; I will come with a few
 29 men, that I may see your faces in peace. And he came to
 Judas, and they saluted one another peaceably. And the
 30 enemies were ready to take away Judas by violence. And
 the thing was known to Judas, *to wit*, that he came unto
 him with deceit, and he was sore afraid of him, and would
 31 see his face no more. And Nicanor knew that his counsel

26—50. GREAT VICTORIES OF JUDAS OVER NICANOR
 AT CAPHARSALAMA AND ADASA.

In response to the appeal of Alcimus, Demetrius sent into Palestine a fresh army under Nicanor, who after a vain attempt to seize the person of Judas by treachery (*v.* 29), was repulsed with heavy loss at Capharsalama, on the northern frontier of Judaea (*vv.* 31, 32). Falling back upon Mount Sion, he gratuitously insulted the priests, and tried to intimidate the Maccabaean party (*vv.* 33—35). As, however, his threats effected nothing, he retired to Beth-horon, and waited for reinforcements from Syria (*v.* 39). He then renewed his attack on Judas at Adasa, but his army was completely routed, and he himself slain. The head and hand of the impious foreigner were publicly “hung up toward Jerusalem”; and the 13th Adar was ordered to be annually observed as “Nicanor’s day” (*v.* 49).

26. *Nicanor*] Already mentioned in iii. 38 as warring against the Jews in the time of Epiphanes. According to 2 Macc. xiv. 12 he had formerly been “master of the elephants.”

one of his honourable princes] Demetrius held Nicanor in the highest esteem. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 10. 4) and Polybius (XXXI. 22) speak of him as having been a confidant of Demetrius at Rome.

a man that hated Israel] This is easily accounted for by his experience at Emmaus (*iv.* 14, 15).

commanded him to destroy the people] Cf. iii. 35, 36.

27. *with a great host*] According to 2 Macc. xv. 27 there were slain at Adasa 35,000 Syrians, but the writer’s numbers are unreliable.

28. *may see your faces*] A Hebraism. Cf. *v.* 30, and Ex. x. 28.

in peace] i.e. in mutual confidence, and without evil intention.

29. *the enemies were ready to take away Judas*] According to 2 Macc. xiv. 22, Judas had taken the precaution to have troops at hand, while Josephus says that upon Nicanor’s giving a signal to his soldiers to seize Judas, the latter at once darted back to his own guard.

30. *was sore afraid of him*] In classical Greek the verb means to be *frightened* or *scared away*, but here perhaps it means little more than ‘he was ware of him.’

was discovered; and he went out to meet Judas in battle beside Capharsalama; and there fell of Nicanor's side about five hundred men, and they fled into the city of David.

And after these things Nicanor went up to mount Zion: and there came some of the priests out of the sanctuary, and some of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to shew him the whole burnt sacrifice that was being offered for the king. And he mocked them, and laughed at them, and entreated them shamefully, and spake haughtily, and sware in a rage, saying, Unless Judas and his army be now delivered into my hands, it shall be that,

31. *Capharsalama*] The situation of this place is uncertain. It has been variously proposed to find it in *Carvasalim* near Ramleh, *Selmeh* or *Selâmeh* near Joppa, and *Salim* near Nablûs.

32. *they fled*] i.e. the remainder of Nicanor's troops. Josephus unaccountably reverses the position, ascribing the victory to Nicanor, and the flight to Judas (*Ant.* XII. 10. 4).

the city of David] i.e. the "Acra," or fortified part of Jerusalem, of which the Syrians were in possession. Cf. note on i. 33.

33. *went up*] The author would naturally speak of 'going up' to Mount Zion without reflecting that the Acra was higher.

out of the sanctuary] i.e. the outer court of the temple, as appears from v. 36, which speaks of the priests entering into the inner sanctuary and standing before the altar.

the elders of the people] The elders are similarly mentioned along with the priests in xi. 23. Cf. i. 26.

to salute him peaceably] In token of their submission to him as the representative of the imperial government.

for the king] Prayers and sacrifices were offered by the Jews for their heathen rulers in accordance with a long established custom. It already existed in the Persian period (*Ezra* vi. 10), and had been recommended by Jeremiah in a letter to the exiles in Babylon (*Jer.* xxix. 7). Cf. *Baruch* i. 11.

34. *entreated them shamefully*] Lit. as marg. **polluted** them, made them ceremonially unclean—in what particular way cannot be determined.

spake haughtily] Or, **insolently**. Cf. note on i. 21.

35. *Unless Judas &c.*] If this be the correct rendering, the meaning will be that Nicanor was simply trying to exact a promise that Judas should be betrayed into his hands. But it seems natural to translate: "Verily (*ἐὰν μὴ* = לֹא אֲנִי 'im lō) this time, or presently (*τὸ νῦν* = *happa'am*, הַפְעַם) shall Judas and his army be delivered into my hands, and it shall come to pass that if (or *when*, אֲנִי) I return in peace, I will burn" &c. For constr. cf. *Jer.* xxii. 6, 7. Nicanor brags and insults, though he does not dare destroy the sanctuary, but threatens that when he has defeated Judas he will return and burn the temple.

if I come again in peace, I will burn up this house: and he
 36 went out in a great rage. And the priests entered in, and
 stood before the altar and the temple; and they wept, and
 37 said, Thou didst choose this house to be called by thy
 name, to be a house of prayer and supplication for thy
 38 people: take vengeance on this man and his army, and let
 them fall by the sword: remember their blasphemies, and
 suffer them not to live any longer.

39 And Nicanor went forth from Jerusalem, and encamped
 40 in Bethhoron, and there met him the host of Syria. And
 Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men: and
 41 Judas prayed and said, When they that came from the king

in peace] i.e. safe and sound. Cf. v. 54.

I will burn up this house] Nicanor's threats are the expression of his insolence (v. 34); they "have nothing to do with the object of the war, and are personal extravagances" (Wellhausen, *Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.* p. 214, note 2). His attitude amounted to a repetition of the blasphemies of Sennacherib (cf. v. 41, and 2 Ki. xviii. 29—35).

36. *the priests entered in*] Deeply agitated, they went into the inner court (cf. note on v. 33), and besieged Jehovah's altar with tears and prayers.

37. A.V. has *Thou, O Lord*; R.V. omits "O Lord" in accordance with the best MSS. (NAV). Cf. ii. 61, iii. 18, 22, iv. 55. See *Introd.* p. 46.

to be called by thy name, to be a house of prayer and supplication for thy people] An obvious reminiscence of Solomon's prayer (1 Ki. viii. 38, 43).

38. *remember their blasphemies*] It is here assumed that Nicanor had spoken in the name of the Syrians.

suffer them not to live any longer] Lit. **grant them none abiding** (viz. upon earth). Cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 15.

39. *Bethhoron*] See note on iii. 16.

40. *Adasa*] Described by Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 10. 5) as a village distant 30 stadia (3 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles) from Bethhoron. Its situation has been more definitely fixed as "1 mile east from *El-Fib*, on the road from Jerusalem to Bethhoron, over the Wady Ed-Dumm (valley of blood)." — Henderson, *Palestine*, p. 182. "Probably the present *Kurbet Adasa*" (G. A. Smith).

with three thousand men] Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 10. 5) has 2000, or according to some MSS. 1000, while he gives the number of the enemy at 9000. Yet in 2 Macc. xv. 27 it is stated that 35,000 Syrians lay dead upon the field!

41. A.V. has *O Lord, when they* &c. Here again R.V. omits "O Lord" in accordance with the best MSS.

the king] A.V. adds "of the Assyrians," but this is a gloss not found in the best MSS. Cf. 2 Ki. xviii. 17 sqq., xix. 35, and Byron's lines on "The Destruction of Sennacherib."

blasphemed, thine angel went out, and smote among them a hundred and fourscore and five thousand. Even so discomfit thou this army before us to-day, and let all the rest know that he hath spoken wickedly against thy sanctuary, and judge thou him according to his wickedness. And on the thirteenth day of the month Adar the armies joined battle: and Nicanor's army was discomfited, and he himself was the first to fall in the battle. Now when his army saw that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their arms, and fled. And they pursued after them a day's journey from Adasa until thou comest to Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them with the solemn trumpets. And they came forth out of all the villages of Judæa round about, and closed them in; and these turned them back on those, and they all fell by the sword, and there was not one of them left. And they took the spoils, and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he

42. *the rest*] viz. of the nations—Edomites, Ammonites, &c.

43. *Adar*] The last month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, corresponding to the closing days of February, and the first three weeks of March. The date of this battle (March, B.C. 161) is given with reference to the future celebration of the day (*v.* 49).

was the first to fall] Josephus, probably with a view to dramatic effect, gives quite another complexion to the matter: "at last Nicanor himself fell fighting gloriously" (*Ant.* XII. 10. 5).

44. *cast away their arms*] See note on *v.* 43.

45. *a day's journey*] The distance between the two places was from 15 to 20 miles.

Gazara] Cf. note on *iv.* 15.

sounded an alarm] See note on *iv.* 40.

46. *out of all the villages*] The people readily responded to the summons of the signal-trumpets.

closed them in] Lit. **began to outflank them** (*imperf.*). They did so by occupying the passes.

these turned them back on those] This does not mean that the fugitives turned upon their pursuers, but that in order to avoid the pursuers who bore down upon them from all the surrounding villages, they wheeled round only to collide with their own comrades in full flight behind them.

not one of them left] A rhetorical way of saying that the enemy was completely routed. Cf. Num. xxi. 35; John viii. 22, x. 28—30, &c.

47. *the booty*] In classical Greek the word denotes *forage*, but in the LXX. it is used in a wider sense. Cf. Deut. xxi. 11, where it is used of captives.

smote off Nicanor's head] For other examples of this ferocious custom,

stretched out so haughtily, and brought them, and hanged
 48 them up beside Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding
 glad, and they kept that day as a day of great gladness.
 49 And they ordained to keep this day year by year, *to wit*, the
 50 thirteenth day of Adar. And the land of Judah had rest a
 little while.

which appears to have been very general in ancient times, cf. 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; Judith xiii. 8—15; Herod. vii. 238.

his right hand] “Which with proud brags he had stretched out against the holy house of the Almighty” (2 Macc. xv. 32). Cf. v. 35.

hanged them up] Lit., as marg., **stretched them out**. The verb is repeated in order to indicate the exact correspondence between the sin and the punishment.

beside] i.e. in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and, according to 2 Macc. xv. 31, 32, of the temple. Gorionides (III. 22. 12) says: “They hung them up in front of the (Eastern) gate. Therefore that gate is called the Gate of Nicanor to this day.”

48. *the people was exceeding glad*] Their hearts were more than ever flushed with victory on account of the threats and brags in which Nicanor had indulged.

49. *the thirteenth day of Adar*] The yearly observance of this day was still continued in the time of Josephus, but appears to have ceased not long after the beginning of the Christian era. That it is still celebrated under the name of *Little Purim* (the Feast of Purim itself falling on the following day, the 14th Adar) is a view that has found some currency, but has no foundation in fact, *Little Purim* being the name applied to the minor feast observed in Jewish leap years at the usual date of the first Adar, the main festival in such cases being reserved for the 14th and 15th days of the intercalary month or “second Adar.” Although in our narrative there is no mention of the Feast of Purim (cf. 2 Macc. xv. 36), it cannot be inferred that at the time it was written the observance of this Feast had not become customary in Palestine. Josephus, who certainly knew of both Feasts, says nothing about the one occurring immediately after the other.

50. *the land of Judah had rest*] Cf. ix. 57, xiv. 4; and for the Greek cf. LXX. of Judg. v. 31, &c.

a little while] Lit. **a few days**. The interval of rest was only about a month. See note on ix. 3.

CH. VIII. TREATY OF THE JEWS WITH THE ROMANS.

Dreading the speedy return of the Syrians in overwhelming numbers to avenge the defeat of Nicanor, Judas took advantage of the temporary cessation of hostilities to invoke the protection of Rome. He was led to take this step by reports which had reached him regarding their bravery, their success in war, and their well-ordered national constitution (vv. 1—16). Two ambassadors, Eupolemus and Jason, succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Roman Senate (vv. 17—21).

And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they 8
are valiant men, and have pleasure in all that join them-
selves unto them, and make amity with all such as come
unto them, and that they are valiant men. And they told 2

The provisions of this treaty were inscribed on brass tablets and conveyed to Jerusalem (*vv.* 22—30). It remained, however, entirely inoperative.

The details of this narrative have been called in question by many critics, although the fact of a treaty having been concluded between the Jews and the Romans has been generally admitted. Wellhausen, e.g., while asserting that the journey to Rome, the negotiations with the Senate, and the return to Jerusalem could not have been accomplished in a single month, goes on to say: "This would be decisive, only I am not convinced that the usual assumption is correct. For the festival of Nicanor's day is unintelligible, if the sensation of victory had been forthwith effaced through a reverse of the worst description. It is not maintained that the statement of 1 Macc. viii. 17 (2 Macc. iv. 11) is drawn purely from the imagination" (*Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.*², p. 250, note 3). That the narrative does contain inaccuracies (*vv.* 8, 15, 16) is not to be denied. These, however, may be accounted for by the defective means of international communication in those days, and still more by the fact that the interests of the Jews were practically confined to agriculture and their ancestral religion. The writer's graphic picture is upon the whole "not unfaithful" (Rawl.), and has "quite the character of that *naïveté* and candour with which intelligence of that sort is propagated in the mouth of the common people" (Grimm). In spite of what is said in *v.* 13, he is apparently blind as to the dangers attending negotiations with the Romans.

1—16. WHAT JUDAS HAD HEARD CONCERNING THE ROMANS.

This is first laid down generally in three propositions (*v.* 1), which are then severally established by a statement of facts in *vv.* 2—16.

1. *the fame of the Romans*] This was spread in the East after the battle of Magnesia in B.C. 190. On the expression cf. iii. 41.

they are valiant men] The first proposition.

and have pleasure in all &c.] The second proposition. "The Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians" (Rawl.).

and make amity &c.] The third proposition. The 'friendship' of the Romans had "a recognised diplomatic and political significance" (Grimm); it meant that they bound themselves to protect their allies, but it implied also on the part of the latter a position of vassalage.

2—11. Detailed treatment of the first point: the bravery of the Romans in war.

2. *and that they are valiant men*] An apparently superfluous repetition from *v.* 1, yet occurring in all the Greek MSS. The Syr. is the only authority which omits. Perhaps it is made for the sake of emphasis.

him of their wars and exploits which they do among the Gauls, and how that they conquered them, and brought
 3 them under tribute; and what things they did in the land of Spain, that they might become masters of the mines of
 4 silver and gold which were there; and how that by their policy and persistence they conquered all the place (and the place was exceeding far from them), and the kings that came against them from the uttermost part of the earth, until they had discomfited them, and smitten them very
 5 sore; and how the rest give them tribute year by year: and Philip, and Perseus, king of Chittim, and them that lifted

the Gauls] A.V. "Galatians," marg. "Frenchmen." Until recently it has always been held that the reference is to the Galatians or Celts of Asia Minor (= Gallograeci), a warlike Gallic tribe who in the third century B.C. migrated from Europe and settled down in that region. Prior to B.C. 189, when they were conquered by the Romans under Cn. Manlius Vulso, they had constantly menaced the peace of the surrounding countries. Mommsen, however, and some other scholars think the allusion is to the conquest of the Gauls of Upper Italy (Polyb. II. 14—34), because (1) only the latter were under tribute to the Romans, (2) they are mentioned before Spain, (3) the campaigns of Rome against the Gauls of Italy were the events which would have been soonest and most widely known in the East.

brought them under tribute] This is nowhere recorded of the Gauls of Asia Minor. Livy (XXXVIII. 40) merely says they were ordered to leave off their habit of wandering about armed, and to keep to their own territory.

3. *Spain*] Spain was ceded by the Carthaginians to the Romans in B.C. 201, after the battle of Zama, at the end of the Second Punic war; but some of the Iberian tribes were not subdued until nearly two centuries later.

the mines of silver and gold] Pliny says that "almost the whole of Spain abounds with mines of lead, iron, copper, silver, and gold." These naturally made the country a much-coveted possession.

4. *conquered all the place*] An unhistorical exaggeration, since the conquest of the peninsula was completed by the subjugation of the Cantabrians only in 19 B.C., under Augustus.

kings...from the uttermost part of the earth] The reference is probably to Pyrrhus, the Illyrian Gentius, &c., as well as the Carthaginian generals, Hannibal and Hasdrubal, who were sometimes spoken of as *kings*.

5. *Philip*] Philip III, king of Macedon, who after repeated and lengthened hostilities was finally defeated by the Romans at Cynoscephalae, in Thessaly, B.C. 197 (Livy XXXIII. 7).

Perseus] Illegitimate son of Philip III, and his successor. He was defeated and taken prisoner by Aemilius Paulus at the battle of Pydna, B.C. 168. Thereafter Macedonia became a Roman province (Livy XLIV. 10).

up themselves against them, did they discomfit in battle, and conquered them: Antiochus also, the great king of Asia, who came against them to battle, having a hundred and twenty elephants, with horse, and chariots, and an exceeding great host, and he was discomfited by them, and they took him alive, and appointed that both he and such as reigned after him should give them a great tribute, and should give hostages, and a parcel of land, to wit, the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the

Chittim] See note on i. 1.

them that lifted up &c.] i.e. the Thracians, Thessalians, Epirots, &c., who supported Perseus.

6. *Antiochus*] Antiochus III the Great, king of Syria (B.C. 223—187). He sustained a crushing defeat at Magnesia (B.C. 190).

the great king] This may allude either to his distinctive title, "the Great," or to his position of superiority over the governors of provinces, who were also called "kings." See on i. 2.

Asia] Probably in the limited sense = Asia Minor, although *v.* 8 (erroneously) presumes the empire to have also embraced India. The title "king of Asia," as embodying a claim of right, was still retained by Antiochus and his successors. Cf. xi. 13, xii. 39, xiii. 32.

a hundred and twenty elephants] At the battle of Magnesia, according to Livy (xxxvii. 39), there were only 54. It is most likely that in the popular tradition the original number was exaggerated.

chariots] Cf. note on i. 17. According to Livy (xxxvii. 41), and Appian (*Syriac.* 33), these war-chariots, which were armed with scythes, did more damage to the Syrian army itself than to that of the enemy.

7. *they took him alive*] Here the author has been misled by a false report. According to the unanimous testimony of the classical writers, Antiochus succeeded in making his escape.

such as reigned after him] viz. Seleucus IV Philopator (187—176), and Antiochus IV Épiphanes (175—164), in whose reign the last instalment was paid.

a great tribute] What Antiochus and his successors were forced to pay was not *tribute* in the strict sense, but the whole expense of the war. This, according to Polybius XXI. 17 (cf. Livy xxxviii. 38), amounted to 15,000 Euboic talents, of which 500 were to be paid on the conclusion of the negotiations, 2500 on the ratification of the treaty by the Senate, and 1000 yearly for twelve years (B.C. 190—178). That Epiphanes was still burdened with this 'tribute' in B.C. 173 (Livy XLII. 6) shews that the Syrians had fallen considerably into arrears with their payments.

hostages] Cf. note on i. 10.

and a parcel of land] The word so translated (*διαστολή*) presents considerable difficulty. It properly means *separation*, and may be taken as = the *object* of separation, i.e. a part of the empire.

8. *India, and Media*] As the kingdom of the Seleucidae never extended so far east as India, and as Antiochus was not bound in terms

goodliest of their countries; and they took them from him, and gave them to king Eumenes: and how they of Greece took counsel to come and destroy them; and the thing was known to them, and they sent against them a captain, and fought against them, and many of them fell down wounded to death, and they made captive their wives and their children, and spoiled them, and conquered their land, and pulled down their strongholds, and spoiled them, and brought them into bondage unto this day: and the residue of the kingdoms and of the isles, as many as rose up against

of the treaty to retire from Media, but only from the provinces west of the Taurus ("cis Taurum montem," Livy XXXVIII. 38), the inclusion of these countries as a part of the territory ceded to Rome is manifestly erroneous. In all probability the error arises from defective knowledge on the part of the writer, although possibly the text is corrupt.

king Eumenes] Eumenes II, king of Pergamus (B.C. 198—158). In recognition of the services rendered by him during the war with Antiochus, and especially at the battle of Magnesia, the Romans added to his territory all that was taken from the Syrians, except a small part (Lycia, &c.), which was made over to the Rhodians.

9. *they of Greece took counsel &c.*] No record exists of any such resolution on the part of the Greeks. The threat of the Aetolian praetor Damocritus against the Roman ambassador Flaminius, on the refusal of the latter to sanction a treaty of the Aetolians with Antiochus III—"that he would give him an answer in Italy, when he had pitched his camp on the banks of the Tiber" (Livy XXXV. 33, XXXVI. 24)—was a mere personal threat, which moreover could hardly have come to the ears of the Jews.

10. *a captain*] If the passage could be read in connexion with the Aetolian war of B.C. 194—190, the "captain" in question might be either Acilius Glabrio (Livy XXXVI. 14) or Fulvius Nobilior (Livy XXXVII. 50); but the remainder of the verse fits in much better with the circumstances of the later war between the Romans and the Achaeans in B.C. 146, and in this case the "captain" must be held to be L. Mummius. By this time, however, Judas had been dead for 15 years. As regards this anachronism, it should perhaps be considered that "by our author only the final event in the struggle of the Greeks against the Romans is given by way of a summary" (Keil).

made captive their wives &c.] When Corinth was taken, "all the adult males were slaughtered, all the women and children were sold into slavery, the city was ruthlessly plundered and burnt to the ground, the walls of the remaining cities were thrown down, and soon thereafter the whole of Greece was transformed into a Roman province under the name of Achaia" (Grimm).

11. *the isles*] Sicily was ceded by Carthage to Rome in B.C. 241, at the end of the First Punic war. In B.C. 238 Rome further demanded

them at any time, they destroyed and made them to be their servants; but with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept amity; and they conquered the kingdoms that were nigh and those that were far off, and all that heard of their fame were afraid of them: moreover, whomsoever they will to succour and to make kings, these do they make kings; and whomsoever they will, do they depose; and they are exalted exceedingly: and for all this none of them did ever put on a diadem, neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified thereby: and how they had made for themselves a senate house, and day by day three hundred and twenty men sat in council,

from her the islands of Sardinia and Corsica. Corcyra also became Roman through the treachery of Demetrius of Pharos, who acted as chief counsellor to the Illyrian queen Teuta (B.C. 228).

12—16. In these verses the writer returns (although with disproportionate brevity) to the second and third points already affirmed with regard to the Romans, viz. their pleasure in forming alliances, and their good faith towards their "friends." He also alludes admiringly to their system of government.

12. *such as relied upon them*] For the Greek word cf. LXX. of Ezek. xxix. 7; Mic. iii. 11; Rom. ii. 17.

they kept amity] This is no more true to fact than the statement of v. 9. The Romans notoriously kept faith with their allies only so long as it suited their own interests to do so. Perhaps the writer's representation is coloured by his knowledge of the good fortune of Eumenes.

all that heard of their fame were afraid of them] This was strikingly illustrated by the prudent manner in which, though greatly mortified, Epiphanes retired from his last Egyptian campaign when ordered to do so by Popilius Laenas.

13. *these do they make kings*] Masinissa, the Numidian king, Eumenes I and Eumenes II, of Pergamus, Prusias and Nicomedes II, of Bithynia, Alexander Balas, of Syria, Ariarathes V, of Cappadocia, and all the later Egyptian kings, owed their position to their alliance with Rome.

14. *none of them did ever put on a diadem*] As an Oriental the writer can scarcely dissociate imperial authority from the usual trappings of royalty.

with purple] The purple robe also formed part of the insignia of royalty. Cf. Judg. viii. 26; Xenophon, *Cyrop.* I. 3. 2, VIII. 3. 14; Plutarch, *Tib. Gracch.* ch. 14.

15. *day by day*] This is quite a mistake. The regular sittings of the Senate were confined to the Kalends, Nones, Ides, and Festivals. In case of emergency, however, it could be summoned in a moment, as its members were not allowed to leave Rome for more than a day, and

consulting alway for the people, to the end they might
 16 be well ordered: and how they commit their government
 to one man year by year, that he should rule over them,
 and be lord over all their country, and all are obedient to
 that one, and there is neither envy nor emulation among
 them.

17 And Judas chose Eupolemus the son of John, the son

only a few of them at a time. In the later days of the Republic the Senate sat on all lawful days in February to receive foreign ambassadors, but there is no evidence that the practice was as old as the time of the Maccabees. If it was, the writer's mistake is easily explained.

three hundred and twenty men] This also is inexact, the membership of the Roman Senate having never been statutorily fixed at 320. "Roman tradition represents the Senate as consisting originally of 100 members (Livy I. 8), and as having been gradually enlarged to 300, though of the steps by which this increase was effected it gives no consistent account. That 300 remained the normal number down to the time of Sulla is generally agreed."—Smith's *Dict. of Gk. and Rom. Antiq.*³, s.v. "Senatus."

well ordered] **well governed.** The Greek verb does not seem to occur elsewhere, but a substantive form is used in a similar sense by Aristotle (*Pol.* IV. 15. 9).

16. *to one man year by year*] Another proof of the author's ignorance of the actual relations. There were, of course, *two* consuls, although their provinces usually lay widely apart.

neither envy nor emulation] The picture drawn here is much too complimentary in view of the early conflicts of patricians and plebeians, the friction between the consuls and tribunes, the rivalries of the consuls themselves, and the sanguinary commotions in the days of the Gracchi.

17—32. TREATY CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE JEWS AND THE ROMANS.

17. According to the representation of 1 Macc. Judas was influenced mainly by (1) the apparent disinterestedness of the Romans, and (2) their orderly system of government; but all this looks like a device on the part of the historian to cover the fact that Judas lost faith and in extremity appealed to Rome. Judas's real motive seems to have been the *power* of Rome.

Eupolemus] Possibly the Hellenistic writer of that name quoted by Alexander Polyhistor, and author of the fragment upon the history of David and Solomon in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* 30—34. See Schürer, *H. J. P.* II. iii. 203.

the son of John] In 2 Macc. iv. 11 this John is said to have been instrumental in obtaining from Antiochus the Great some special privileges for the Jews.

of Accos, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy with them, and that they should take the yoke from them; for they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in bondage. And they went to Rome (and the way was exceeding long), and they entered into the senate house, and answered and said, Judas, who is also *called* Maccabæus, and his brethren, and the people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you, and that we might be registered your confederates and friends.

And the thing was well-pleasing in their sight. And this is the copy of the writing which they wrote back again on tables of brass, and sent to Jerusalem, that it might be with them there for a memorial of peace and confederacy:

Accos] i.e. Hakkoz. Cf. 1 Chron. iv. 8' R.V.; xxiv. 10; Ezr. ii. 61 R.V.; Neh. iii. 4 R.V. John was therefore of priestly descent.

Jason the son of Eleazar] Otherwise unknown, but, to judge from the name, also of priestly lineage.

18. *take the yoke from them*] The embassy appears to have been sent before the victory over Nicanor recorded in ch. vii.

they saw] i.e. the Romans (from the statements of the ambassadors).

the Greeks] i.e. the Seleucidae.

19. *and the way was exceeding long*] This description shews that at that time it was unusual for Jews to travel to Rome. In winter especially the voyage was protracted, owing to the precaution taken to keep vessels for the most part to the coast line. Cf. Acts xxvii., xxviii.

and answered and said] Cf. note on ii. 17.

20. *registered your confederates and friends*] i.e. placed on the list of Rome's allies. Only the gist of what they said is given here, of course.

21. *was well-pleasing*] Cf. note on vi. 60.

22. *which they wrote back again*] i.e. as their written reply to the representations made by the Jewish ambassadors. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 10. 6) says that the original bronze tablet containing the decree was laid up in the Capitol, while a copy (which the author may perhaps have seen) was sent to Judaea. For a similar treaty between Rome and Astypalaea, of date B.C. 105, see Hicks, *Manual of Gk. Hist. Inscr.* pp. 347—349. It concerns the raising of Astypalaea to the rank of a *civitas foederata*, and in its phraseology bears a considerable resemblance to the treaty entered into with the Jews. It was also deposited in the Capitol (line 11). Cf. Marquardt, *Röm. Alt.* IV. 347 sqq.

on tables of brass] From time immemorial legal documents in general, as well as treaties, had been inscribed on such tablets (Julius Pollux VIII. 128). Polybius mentions (III. 26) that the treaties

23 Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the
 Jews, by sea and by land for ever: the sword also and the
 24 enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome first,
 25 or any of their confederates in all their dominion, the nation
 of the Jews shall help them as confederates, as the occasion
 26 shall prescribe to them, with all their heart: and unto them
 that make war upon them they shall not give, neither
 supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good
 unto Rome, and they shall keep their ordinances without
 27 taking anything therefore. In the same manner, moreover,
 if war come first upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans
 shall help them as confederates with all their soul, as the
 28 occasion shall prescribe to them: and to them that are
 confederates *with their foes* there shall not be given food,
 arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome;

between Rome and Carthage were in his time still similarly preserved in the Capitol.

23. *Good success be to the Romans &c.*] A rendering of the usual Roman formula "Quod bonum, faustum, felixque sit populo Romano &c."

24—30. Contents of the treaty. For other examples of treaties concluded by Rome with foreign powers see Polyb. III. 22, 24, 25.

24. *first*] i.e. sooner than for the Jews.

their dominion] viz. that of the Romans.

25. *as the occasion shall prescribe*] Or, as A reads, **is prescribed**, i.e. as circumstances may demand. The settling of this point lay with the Romans.

with all their heart] Lit. **with a full heart** (=Heb. *with a perfect heart*, cf. LXX. of 1 Chron. xxix. 9; 2 Ki. xx. 3).

26. *unto them...they shall not give*] "They" = the Jews. Two things are stipulated: (1) the Jews shall help the Romans as opportunity prescribes (or "is prescribed," according to another reading), (2) they shall not in any case furnish supplies to the enemies of the Romans. It was usual to express these conditions by the phrase "neu com meatu, neu qua alia ope juvato" (cf. Livy xxxviii. 11, 38 &c.).

ships] Although the Jews had no navy, the Romans may either have had in view the possibility of their obtaining possession of part of the coast line, or (as Rawl. suggests) the items mentioned may have formed part of a regular list of "contraband of war."

as it hath seemed good] i.e. according to the obligation imposed by the Romans in this treaty; unless the aorist (ἔδοξεν) renders the Heb. perf. in the sense of fut. perf., meaning "as it shall seem good" in each case.

without taking anything therefore] Though receiving nothing. Under this treaty their obligations were greater than their privileges.

28. *as it hath seemed good unto Rome*] Had the arrangement of terms been perfectly fair and impartial, "Jews" must have been inserted here

and they shall keep these ordinances, and that without deceit. According to these words have the Romans made a covenant thus with the people of the Jews. But if hereafter the one party and the other shall take counsel to add or diminish anything, they shall do it at their pleasure, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be established. And as touching the evils which king Demetrius doeth unto them, we have written to him, saying, Wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends and confederates the Jews? If therefore they plead any more against thee, we will do them justice, and fight with thee by sea and by land.

instead of "unto Rome." As it was, the Romans practically left themselves free to do as they pleased.

without deceit] = "sine dolo malo" (Livy xxxviii. 11).

30. *at their pleasure*] i.e. by mutual agreement. This stipulation with reference to alterations or additions was commonly inserted in such treaties.

31, 32. Intimation by the Romans to Demetrius that the Jews were now their allies, and that further interference with them would mean war with the Republic.

doeth] The Greek verb conveys the idea of carrying through a project in order to serve one's own ends. Cf. 2 Macc. v. 5, xiii. 8.

made thy yoke heavy] A Hebraism. Cf. 2 Chron. x. 10, 14; Is. xlvii. 6.

we will do them justice] Cf. vi. 22; Gen. xviii. 25; Ps. xcix. 4.

and fight with thee] This did not prevent the Romans from waiting until the internal troubles of the Syrian empire made it possible for them to crush Demetrius with small risk to themselves (x. 1—50).

Verses 31, 32 form no part of the treaty, but are an addition to it, either orally communicated to the two ambassadors, or given to them in written form as the Senate's answer to the complaints of Judas and his brethren against the Syrian king. In any case what appears here is the author's own free summing up of Rome's reply. This is manifest from the Hebraisms retained in the Greek translation.

That Judas made a mistake in treating with the Romans has been generally recognised. Such a step was undoubtedly a departure from the best traditions of Israelitish thought and history, for, as Ewald points out (*Hist.* v. p. 322), "every one of the greater prophets of old would have lifted up his voice against it." It was, indeed, just because of this lack of the prophetic spirit that, in spite of all the bravery displayed, the Maccabean rising failed to accomplish its patriotic object of overcoming the power of the heathen. Some excuse, however, may be found for Judas in the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed. He saw no probability of being long able to withstand Syrian oppression apart from the protection of powerful allies.

The attitude of the Hasidæans (vii. 12 sqq.) rendered the position

9 And Demetrius heard that Nicanor was fallen with his forces in battle, and he sent Bacchides and Alcimus again into the land of Judah a second time, and the right wing of
 2 his army with them: and they went by the way that leadeth to Gilgal, and encamped against Mesaloth, which is in

even more critical than it would otherwise have been, although it is possible that their opposition may have arisen as a protest against entering into diplomatic relations with a foreign power. At all events it is obvious that had Judas apprehended what was involved in making a treaty with the Romans he would never have acted as he did. He had evidently no idea of the perfidious way in which, under the guise of friendship, they were wont to deprive their allies of all real independence.

It is further clear that Judas did not live to see the return of the Jewish ambassadors. They were sent to Rome in the last month of the Seleucid year 151 (vii. 1, 43, 49), and his death occurred in the first month of the year 152 (ix. 3, 18). The warning sent to Demetrius from Rome arrived too late to prevent him from undertaking the campaign which proved fatal to the power of Judaea.

CH. IX. 1—22. SECOND EXPEDITION AGAINST JUDAEA UNDER BACCHIDES AND ALCIMUS: JUDAS FALLS IN BATTLE AT ELASA, AND IS BURIED AT MODIN.

In April, B.C. 160, i.e. in less than two months after the defeat of Nicanor, Demetrius sent a fresh army to Judaea under Bacchides, in co-operation with Alcimus the high priest. After taking Mesaloth in Galilee, the invading host marched southwards to meet Judas. The latter had pitched at Elasa with 3000 picked men (v. 5), nearly three-fourths of whom now deserted him. Left with only 800 men, and these, too, disinclined to risk an engagement (v. 9), Judas fully realised the critical nature of the situation. As he had anticipated, and in spite of some success at first (v. 15), the battle went against him. He who for seven years had led the Jewish troops to victory lay dead upon the field, and the survivors of his little band were scattered in flight (v. 18). Amid great lamentations, his body was buried at Modin (vv. 19, 20).

1. *Nicanor was fallen &c.*] Cf. vii. 43, 44.

a second time] On the former sending see vii. 8, 9.

the right wing] Either that division of the Syrian army which was stationed on the right bank of the Euphrates towards the west, or that section of it which guarded the south, and which was therefore the nearest to Judaea.

2. *by the way... Gilgal*] Indicating the Syrian line of march. Various identifications of this Gilgal have been suggested: (1) Gilgal (Jiljülieh) near Jericho, Josh. iv. 19, &c.; (2) Jiljülieh, on the direct line between Shechem and Jerusalem; and (3) Jiljülieh, in the plain of Sharon. But none of these seems quite satisfactory as defining the objective of a military movement from Antioch, and Josephus seems to have read

Arbela, and gat possession of it, and destroyed much people. And the first month of the hundred and fifty and second³ year they encamped against Jerusalem: and they removed,⁴ and went to Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horse. And Judas was encamped at Elasa, and⁵ three thousand chosen men with him: and they saw the⁶ multitude of the forces, that they were many, and they feared exceedingly: and many slipped away out of the army; there were not left of them more than eight hundred men. And Judas saw that his army slipped away, and that⁷ the battle pressed upon him, and he was sore troubled in

“Galilee” (*Ant.* XII. II. 1). See Josh. xii. 23, LXX. B (*Galilaia*) and compare Josh. xv. 7 with xviii. 7 (*Gilgal = Geliloth*).

Mesaloth, which is in Arbela] Neither district nor place can be identified with certainty. Robinson (*B. R.* III. 280), followed by most moderns, identifies Arbela with the modern *Irbid*, and suggests that Mesaloth may perhaps be nothing more than the Heb. *mēsillōth* in the sense of *steps, stories, terraces* (2 Chron. ix. 11); and this identification seems certain if we accept the reading “Galilee” for “Gilgal” (see preceding note). Other scholars reading “Gilead” for “Gilgal,” think of Arbela (modern *Irbid*) on the E. of the Jordan. Others still, taking Gilgal as = Jiljūlieh between Shechem and Jerusalem, while admitting that no Arbela can now be found there, suggest that Mesaloth may be either *Meselieh* or *Meithalun*, both S. of Jenin.

3. *the first month*] The first month of the Seleucid year 152 corresponds to Oct. B.C. 161, but here “the first month” may refer to the Jewish year, in which case the date would be April B.C. 160. Less than two months, therefore, and probably about six weeks, had elapsed since the defeat of Nicanor on 13th Adar (vii. 43).

encamped against Jerusalem] The arrival of Bacchides seems to have come upon the Jews as a sudden surprise. Ewald thinks it must have been during the celebration of the Passover (*Hist.* v. p. 323), but the Syrian army can scarcely have reached Jerusalem before the last quarter of the month.

4. *Berea*] The situation of this place, which must clearly be sought near Jerusalem, is unknown. It is of course not to be confounded with the Beroea (modern *Aleppo*) of 2 Macc. xiii. 4. Josephus reads “Zetho.” Various suggested identifications, such as that with *Bîr-er-Zeit*, near Gilgal (2), or with *Beeroth*, 9 miles N. of Jerusalem, seem improbable.

5. *Elasa*] Otherwise *Alasa*, *Elsa* (Syr.), *Elesa* (It.), *Laisa* (Vulg.) may possibly be the Laish, or rather Laishah, of Is. x. 30, or the modern *Khurbet Il'asâ* between the two Beth-horons.

6. *feared exceedingly*] It is not easy to explain why the soldiers of Judas did not on this occasion exhibit their usual bravery in presence of superior numbers; but, whatever the cause, they were evidently panic-stricken.

heart, for that he had no time to gather them together, and
 8 he waxed faint. And he said to them that were left, Let us
 arise and go up against our adversaries, if peradventure we
 9 may be able to fight with them. And they would have
 dissuaded him, saying, We shall in no wise be able: but let
 us rather save our lives now: let us return again, *we* and
 10 our brethren, and fight against them: but we are few. And
 Judas said, Let it not be so that I should do this thing, to
 flee from them: and if our time is come, let us die man-
 fully for our brethren's sake, and not leave a cause of
 11 reproach against our glory. And the host removed from the
 camp and stood to encounter them, and the horse was
 parted into two companies, and the slingers and the archers
 went before the host, and all the mighty men that fought in
 12 the front of the battle. But Bacchides was in the right

7. *he waxed faint*] Cf. Deut. xx. 3 and Heb. xii. 3, 5.

8. *Let us arise and go up*] In this Judas was true to his uniform practice. Cf. iii. 18, iv. 8, 9, 32, v. 32.

to fight with them] i.e. to engage them successfully, in spite of adverse appearances and serious misgivings.

9. *dissuaded him*] **turned away from him**, i.e. would not listen to him as on a former occasion. Cf. iii. 17. A.V. "dehorted" is an archaism = the converse of "exhort," which still remains, and neither *dissuade* nor any other term is an exact substitute. For examples of its usage in old English works, see Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 191 sq. *we are few*] i.e. **too few**.

10. *Let it not be so &c.*] Cf. Gen. xliv. 7, 17; Josh. xxii. 29; 1 Macc. xiii. 5, &c.

if our time is come] i.e. the time appointed for our death. For the Greek cf. LXX. of Lam. iv. 18, and Matt. xxvi. 18. For Judas and his "eight hundred," however, to face a well-equipped army of 22,000 was necessarily a Quixotic march into "the jaws of death." In the Alex. MS. and several others "if" is omitted, probably through a scribe's error or correction.

and not leave a cause of reproach &c.] To the heroic spirit of Judas, who seems to have had a presentiment that he was going to fight his last battle, death and honour must not be dissociated.

11. *stood to encounter them*] Or, **stood up** to meet them, with their slingers and archers in the forefront, and their cavalry drawn up in two divisions to cover both wings of the army.

the mighty men] The bravest soldiers were placed in the front rank immediately behind the slingers and archers.

in the front] A.V. "in the foreward." For this archaic usage Wright (*Bible Word-Book*, p. 269) quotes Hail, *Rich. III. f. 29 b*: "Kyng Richard...ordered his *forward* in a marueylous length."

wing; and the phalanx drew near on the two parts, and they blew with their trumpets. And the men of Judas' side, even they sounded with their trumpets, and the earth shook with the shout of the armies, and the battle was joined, and continued from morning until evening. And Judas saw that Bacchides and the strength of his army were on the right side, and there went with him all that were brave in heart, and the right wing was discomfited by them, and he pursued after them unto the mount Azotus. And they that were on the left wing saw that the right wing was discomfited, and they turned and followed upon the footsteps of Judas and of those that were with him: and the battle waxed sore, and many on both parts fell wounded to death. And Judas fell, and the rest fled. And Jonathan and Simon took Judas their brother, and buried him in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin.

12. *in the right wing*] This was also the position chosen by Alexander the Great in his engagements with the Persians.

the phalanx] i.e. the army drawn up in battle array, here perhaps with special reference to the solid mass of heavy infantry which formed the bulk of the Syrian army.

on the two parts] Rather: **with both divisions**, or wings.

13. *the earth shook*] Cf. 2 Sam. xxii. 8; Joel iii. 16, &c.

until evening] That Judas and his noble eight hundred should have during an entire day withstood an army more than 27 times as numerous would remain an unparalleled feat of arms were it clear (1) that they had no advantage of ground, (2) that the numbers are trustworthy.

14, 15. *there went with him all that were brave &c.*] This manœuvre on the part of Judas, and the success attending it, shews that in war he could accomplish all but the impossible.

mount Azotus] Not the Philistine Ashdod. Josephus reads 'Eḡā, "Eza" (? Gaza); Lat. has "Gazara." Some conjecture that the name is a mistranslation of the Heb. word *Ashēdōth* meaning "the declivities," of "the mountain," i.e. of the hill country of Judaea.

16. *followed upon the footsteps of Judas*] The verb is used in a pregnant sense = **they wheeled round and followed**. While getting a decided advantage over the enemy's right wing, Judas and his men were thus attacked in the rear by the other division of the Syrian army, and ultimately overpowered.

17. *the battle waxed sore*] For the Greek cf. LXX. of 1 Chron. x. 3.

19. *Jonathan and Simon took Judas*] i.e. recovered and carried off his body. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 11. 2) says they received it by special arrangement with the enemy.

in the sepulchre...at Modin] See comments on ii. 1, xiii. 27.

20 And they bewailed him, and all Israel made great lamentation for him, and mourned many days, and said, How is the mighty fallen, the saviour of Israel! And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written; for they were exceeding many.

23 And it came to pass after the death of Judas, that the lawless put forth their heads in all the coasts of Israel, and all they that wrought iniquity rose up (in those days was there an exceeding great famine), and the country went over with them. And Bacchides chose out the ungodly

20. The public lamentation over the death of Jonathan is described in exactly the same terms (xiii. 26).

21. *How is the mighty fallen*] An echo of 2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27. *the saviour of Israel*] Cf. Judg. iii. 9; 2 Ki. xiii. 5.

22. *the rest of the acts of Judas*] i.e. the further details of his history. The expression corresponds to that used in connexion with the history of the kings of Judah and Israel (cf. 2 Ki. x. 34, xiv. 28, &c.), except that our author says nothing about supplementary sources of information.

they are not written] See *Intro.* p. 37.

THIRD DIVISION. CH. IX. 23—XII. 53. THE LEADERSHIP AND HIGH-PRIESTHOOD OF JONATHAN.

FIRST SECTION. CH. IX. 23—73.

This section describes the course of events under Jonathan's leadership till the conclusion of peace with Bacchides.

CH. IX. 23—31. JONATHAN APPOINTED SUCCESSOR TO JUDAS.

Leaderless, and face to face with famine (*v.* 24), the Jewish nationalists were now in an evil plight. Apostate Jews returned to fill the offices from which they had been expelled, and began to persecute the friends of Judas. But the Maccabees were not yet reduced to the point of tame submission; they elected as their leader Jonathan, the youngest of the five sons of Mattathias (*v.* 30), who proved a most efficient substitute for his lamented brother.

23. *the lawless*] i.e. the apostate Jews who had concealed themselves through terror of Judas. Cf. vii. 24, 25. The verse is apparently a reminiscence of Ps. xcii. (xci.) 8 (LXX.).

24. *an exceeding great famine*] Such an occurrence was by no means rare in Palestine. Cf. Gen. xii. 10, xlii. 5, xlvii. 4, 13; Ruth i. 1; 2 Sam. xxi. 1; 2 Ki. vi. 25, &c.

the country went over with them] *Ἀυτομόλησεν μετ' αὐτῶν*: cf. vii. 19. In the only other passage where *αὐτομόλειν μετὰ* occurs (2 Sam. x. 19), it renders *hishlim eth* (הִשְׁלִים אֶת) = *went over to the side of, made terms with*. Presumably therefore the meaning here is that the country in

men, and made them lords of the country. And they sought out and searched for the friends of Judas, and brought them unto Bacchides, and he took vengeance on them, and used them despitely. And there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that no prophet appeared unto them. And all the friends of Judas were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan, Since thy brother Judas hath died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies and Bacchides, and among them of our nation that hate us. Now therefore we have chosen thee this day to be our prince and leader in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles. And Jonathan took the governance upon him at that time, and rose up in the stead of his brother Judas.

And Bacchides knew it, and he sought to slay him. And Jonathan, and Simon his brother, and all that were with

general, as distinguished from staunch patriots, made terms when they saw their leader gone, and were famine-stricken to boot.

25. *chose out the ungodly*] i.e. rewarded with promotion those who had kept themselves aloof from the national movement.

26. *sought out and searched for*] The same words as in 1 Pet. i. 10.

27. *since the time that no prophet appeared*] i.e. since the days of Malachi, who exercised his ministry during the interval between Nehemiah's two visits to Jerusalem (B.C. 433—424). The statement that the general distress exceeded that experienced at any time since the disappearance of the prophets seems to be a rhetorical exaggeration.

30. *prince and leader*] Rather: **ruler and leader**. Cf. ii. 66. Strictly speaking it was reserved for Simon to bear the title of ethnarch or prince (xv. 1, 2).

31. *the governance*] An archaism for *government*; lit. *the leadership*.

32—49. FLIGHT OF JONATHAN INTO THE WILDERNESS. HE THWARTS BACCHIDES AT THE JORDAN.

Jonathan, having withdrawn to the wilderness of Tekoah, was followed thither by Bacchides, who resolved that, if possible, the new leader should soon share the fate of Judas (v. 32). At this stage John, the eldest of the sons of Mattathias, who had gone to deposit their baggage with the friendly Nabathaeans, was seized and slain by the sons of Jambri at Medaba (v. 36). Jonathan avenged his brother's death by slaughtering many of these robbers while they were celebrating a marriage (vv. 37—40). But Bacchides awaited his return at the banks of the Jordan (v. 43). The position was critical, but the Israelites boldly attacked the Syrian host, repelled them with the loss of 1000 men, and found a place of safety by swimming across the river (vv. 47—49).

him, knew it; and they fled into the wilderness of Tekoah, and encamped by the water of the pool Asphar. And Bacchides knew it on the sabbath day, and came, he and all his army, over Jordan. And Jonathan sent his brother, a leader of the multitude, and besought his friends the Nabathæans, that they might leave with them their baggage,

33. *the wilderness of Tekoah*] Tekoah (modern *Tekû'a*) lay on a height (2783 feet) five miles S.E. of Bethlehem. Cf. 2 Sam. xiv. 2, 4, 9; 2 Chron. xi. 6, xx. 20; Jer. vi. 1; Am. i. 1. "The wilderness of Tekoah," which took its name from the town, was the purely pastoral region lying between it and the Dead Sea.

the pool Asphar] According to Buhl identical with *Ez-zaferâne*, S. of Tekoah. Rather = *Bir Selhub* (Robinson, *B. R.* II. 202), a little S.W. of Engedi, the hills round which still bear the name *Süfra* (G. A. Smith). Buhl's identification puts Jonathan's refuge too near the W. border of the Desert. The Alex. MS. has *Asphal*.

34. This verse presents considerable difficulty. The reading of the Vulg. "came on the sabbath day, he and all his host" seems to be merely an emendation to make the verse intelligible. A.V. and several expositors regard vv. 35—42 as parenthetical, and take the tenses as pluperfects, but this seems neither natural nor grammatically justifiable. The excision of v. 34 would remove serious difficulties, but it is retained by all the authorities. Possibly it has been misplaced, but it does not connect well with either v. 43 or v. 44 in their present form. It may quite well refer to some movement of Bacchides different from that of v. 43, and as it stands it explains why Jonathan wanted to get rid of his non-combatants &c. Assuming that we may put Bacchides on the E. of Jordan to start with, the course of events will then be, v. 33 Jonathan goes to Tekoah, 34 Bacchides crosses the Jordan to attack him, 35, 36 Jonathan accordingly sends off his impedimenta, which are captured, 37 sqq. After some interval he gets his revenge, but on retiring with his spoils is met by Bacchides. If this happened on the E. of Jordan, then Jonathan and his followers swam over to the W. side and returned to Tekoah; if on the W. of Jordan, they escaped to the E. of the Jordan again. The position of "the marsh of Jordan" (see note on v. 42) seems to point to the former alternative, while the expression "came unto the banks of Jordan" rather favours the latter.

knew it on the sabbath day, and came] These words constitute a further difficulty, but may mean that having received the news on the sabbath he at once crossed the Jordan, feeling sure that his passage would not be disputed on the sabbath.

35. *a leader of the multitude*] Rather, perhaps (with Rawl.): **in command of the camp-followers**. The latter would include old men, women, and children.

Nabathæans] See note on v. 25.

their baggage] Their moveable property, including flocks and herds. Cf. v. 13.

which was much. And the children of Jambri came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way with it. 36

But after these things they brought word to Jonathan and Simon his brother, that the children of Jambri were making a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from Nadabath with a great train, a daughter of one of the great nobles of Canaan. And they remembered John their brother, and went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain: and they lifted up their eyes, and saw, and, behold, a great ado and much baggage: and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends and his brethren, to meet them with 37
38
39

36. *the children of Jambri*] Probably the name of a family or clan which lived at Medaba. "The sons of Ambri" is another reading; no such tribe, however, is known.

Medaba] In Heb. *Mēdēba* (now *Mādaba*), originally a Moabite town, which, after passing into the hands of the Amorites, was captured by Israel and assigned to the tribe of Reuben (Num. xxi. 21—30; Josh. xiii. 9). According to the Moabite Stone, "Omri took the land of Medeba, and [Israel] dwelt in it during his days and half of the days of his son, altogether forty years." About the middle of the ninth century B.C. it again reverted to the Moabites, until under Jeroboam II they were driven out of all the cities N. of the Arnon (2 Ki. xiv. 25; Is. xv. 2). It lay 12 miles E. from the north end of the Salt Sea.

all that he had] i.e. the entire caravan of which he was in charge.

37. *Nadabath*] This place, which had a "Canaanite," i.e. heathen population, must have lain E. of the Jordan, but has not been identified. Josephus reads *Nabatha* (cf. Syr. *Nabath*), and the Vulg. *Madaba*.

with a great train] viz. the usual bridal procession. The men would as a matter of course have their arms, for show as well as safety.

Canaan] A general designation for the heathen inhabitants of the district, and not, as Ewald supposes, merely a name for "persons engaged in trade" (*Hist.* v. p. 324, note 4).

38. *the covert of the mountain*] Probably = *b'sēthēr hāhār* (בְּסֵתֶר הַהָר) = ἐν σκέπη τοῦ ὄρους, 1 Sam. xxv. 20, i.e. in some ravine or defile. "The mountain" = either some particular mountain in the neighbourhood, or, more probably, the mountain region E. of the Jordan, which abounds in wooded hills and glens, and therefore affords ample scope for ambuscades.

39. *much baggage*] Including possibly vehicles for the transport of the bride's dowry.

his friends] Cf. Judg. xiv. 11; Matt. ix. 15; John iii. 29.

to meet them] Cf. the almost identical expression in Gr. of Matt. xxv. 6. "Them" = the bride and her retinue, not the company of the Maccabees.

40 timbrels, and minstrels, and many weapons. And they rose up against them from their ambush, and slew them, and many fell wounded to death, and the remnant fled into the
 41 mountain, and they took all their spoils. And the marriage was turned into mourning, and the voice of their minstrels
 42 into lamentation. And they avenged fully the blood of their brother, and turned back to the marsh of Jordan.
 43 And Bacchides heard it, and he came on the sabbath day
 44 unto the banks of Jordan with a great host. And Jonathan said to his company, Let us stand up now and fight for our lives, for it is not *with us* to-day, as yesterday and the day
 45 before. For, behold, the battle is before us and behind us; moreover the water of the Jordan is on this side and on

minstrels] More probably, *musical instruments* (μουσικῶν). Cf. Dan. iii. 5.

many weapons] An indispensable adjunct in the case of such an escort. Grimm thinks "torches" may be included in the meaning of the term, but these were carried only at nocturnal bridal processions. Cf. Matt. xxv. 1 sqq.

40. *from their ambush*] As in Judg. ix. 35. Cf. also 2 Chron. xiii. 13.

many fell wounded to death] Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 1. 4) states the number at 400. For the expression cf. note on i. 18.

42. *the marsh of Jordan*] Shortly before emptying itself into the Dead Sea, the Jordan at certain seasons (Josh. iii. 15) overflows its banks, especially at a point on the eastern bank where its course is considerably deflected in that direction. The loop of land left between the river and the north-east corner of the Sea was thus converted into what was currently known as "the marsh." It was here that Jonathan had to pitch his camp.

43. *heard it*] i.e. learned of Jonathan's expedition to Medaba and his return. He probably "received his information from traitors" (Ew.).

came...unto the banks of Jordan] The Syrian general apparently held the fords on the W. of the Jordan. But see note on v. 34.

on the sabbath day] Ch. ii. 41 implies that the Jews had resolved to defend themselves if attacked on the sabbath, but not to attack. Bacchides could thus move his troops without fear of molestation.

44. *as yesterday and the day before*] Cf. LXX. of Gen. xxxi. 2; 2 Ki. xiii. 5, &c. The meaning is that the situation was now more perilous for the Maccabees than it had ever been before.

45. *the battle is before us and behind us*] Cf. 1 Chron. xix. 10. This may refer either to the dual arrangement of the Syrian forces, or may be intended to indicate that while these were entrenched on the banks of the Jordan in front of them, the Maccabees were menaced by the sons of Jambri in the rear.

that side, and marsh and wood; and there is no place to turn aside. Now therefore cry unto heaven, that ye may⁴⁶ be delivered out of the hand of your enemies. And the⁴⁷ battle was joined, and Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he turned away back from him. And⁴⁸ Jonathan and they that were with him leapt into the Jordan, and swam over to the other side: and they did not pass over Jordan against them. And there fell of Bacchides'⁴⁹ company that day about a thousand men; and he returned⁵⁰ to Jerusalem. And they builded strong cities in Judæa, the stronghold that was in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timnath, Pharathon, and Tephon,

on this side and on that side] Turn whichever way they would, they had to face either the current of the river or marsh and jungle.

no place to turn aside] The only possible course for the Jews was to cut their way through the Syrian host.

46. *cry unto heaven]* Cf. iii. 18, 50, iv. 10.

47. *stretched forth his hand]* This seems to point to a personal encounter between the two leaders.

48. *the other side]* i.e. the *west* bank, if, as seems probable, the fight took place on the E. of Jordan (see Schürer, *H. J. P.* I. i. p. 235, note 3). But cf. note on v. 34. The historian certainly does not say that Jonathan got back to his camp at Tekoah. His representation as a whole suggests that he is trying to cover up a virtual defeat.

50—57. BACCHIDES STRENGTHENS THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT IN PALESTINE. DEATH OF ALCIMUS. RETURN OF BACCHIDES TO ANTIOCH.

The capital and the more prominent strongholds remained in the hands of Bacchides, who proceeded to fortify them still further, and to supply them with garrisons (*vv.* 50—52). He also retained the sons of leading men as hostages (*v.* 53). Either with the intention of rebuilding it on a grander scale or of weakening it as a fortress, Alcimus ordered the wall of the inner court of the temple to be pulled down. His sudden death at the outset of his operations was looked upon as a judgement from heaven upon such sacrilege (*vv.* 54—56).

50. *the stronghold that was in Jericho]* i.e. the castle at Jericho, and not, as represented by Josephus, Jericho itself. Strabo (xvi. 2. 40) speaks of two castles near Jericho, named Taurus and Thrax, as having been destroyed by Pompey, and it may have been one of these that Bacchides now built. Cf. xvi. 15.

Emmaus] See note on iii. 40.

Bethhoron] See note on iii. 16.

Bethel] The well-known ancient centre of Israelitish worship (now *Beitin*). It stands on the watershed (2890 feet), and is reached by a

51 with high walls and gates and bars. And in them he set a
 52 garrison, to vex Israel. And he fortified the city Bethsura,
 and Gazara, and the citadel, and put forces in them, and
 53 store of victuals. And he took the sons of the chief men of
 the country for hostages, and put them in ward in the citadel
 at Jerusalem.

54 And in the hundred and fifty and third year, in the second
 month, Alcimus commanded to pull down the wall of the
 inner court of the sanctuary; he pulled down also the works

steep ascent from Jericho, which is about eight miles distant, and 700 feet below sea-level. Cf. Gen. xii. 8, xxviii. 11 sqq., &c.

Timnath] or, Timnah. The name of three different places in Palestine: (1) in Mt Ephraim, probably = Timnath-heres where Joshua was buried (Josh. xix. 50, xxiv. 30; Judg. ii. 9); (2) on the border between Dan and Judah (Josh. xv. 10, xix. 43; Judg. xiv. 1); (3) in the hill country of Judaea, nine miles W. of Bethlehem (Gen. xxxviii. 12—14; Josh. xv. 57). The reference here is to the first of these places, the modern *Tibneh*, about 10 miles N.W. of Bethel.

Pharathon] The Pir'athon of the O.T.; unidentified. G. A. Smith (who, however, takes Thamnatha-Pharathoni here—see A.V.—as “evidently one place”) would find it in Pir'aton in *Wady Far'ah*.

Tephon] Most probably = Tappuah. Perhaps the modern *Teffûh*, the Beth-Tappuah of Josh. xv. 53, about three miles W. of Hebron, may be meant.

51. *in them*] i.e. in every one of them.

52. *fortified*] i.e. (in the case of Beth-zur and the Acra) added to the existing fortifications.

Bethsura...Gazara] See notes on iv. 29 and iv. 15.

the citadel] i.e. the Acra. It is mentioned at the close of the list as the centre of the whole system of defensive works. Cf. note on i. 33.

store of victuals] Cf. vi. 53.

53. *took...for hostages*] In this Bacchides adopted a policy frequently resorted to by the Romans (cf. viii. 7). By “chief men” are meant the most eminent and influential.

54. *in the second month*] The second month (Iyar) of the Seleucid year 153 = May B.C. 159.

Alcimus] See note on vii. 5.

the wall of the inner court of the sanctuary] Either the boundary which divided the priests' court from the space to which all Jews had access, or more probably the so-called Soreg—a low breastwork—which separated the court of the Jews (i.e. the inner court) from that of the Gentiles. See Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. p. 237. In any case the offence consisted in the attempt made by Alcimus to destroy the lines of demarcation between the “holy” space of the court and the unholy outer space, and thus to admit the Gentiles freely within the court.

of the prophets ; and he began to pull down. At that time 55
was Alcimus stricken, and his works were hindered ; and
his mouth was stopped, and he was taken with a palsy, and
he could no more speak anything and give order concerning
his house. And Alcimus died at that time with great tor- 56
ment. And Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, and he 57
returned to the king : and the land of Judah had rest two
years.

And all the lawless men took counsel, saying, Behold, 58
Jonathan and they of his part are dwelling at ease, and in

the prophets] Haggai and Zechariah, who urged on the erection of the post-exilic temple.

55. *began to pull down]* The former clause "he pulled down," &c. seems to set forth the significance of the command given by Alcimus, while this points to the actual work of demolition.

stricken] With paralysis, as we learn immediately. The writer evidently looks upon this as a Divine judgement.

his mouth was stopped] In paralysis the power of speech is usually affected.

give order concerning his house] = *צוה לביתו* (*צוה לביתו*), "set his house in order," i.e. Antiochus was incapacitated for making his last will and testament. Cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 23 ; 2 Ki. xx. 1.

56. *with great torment]* Some suppose *tetanus* to be meant, especially as that disease was also embraced under the term paralysis.

57. *he returned to the king]* Either from a desire to be done with persecuting the Jewish nationalists, or because Rome had ordered the Syrians to leave off molesting the Jews (viii. 31 sqq.).

had rest two years] The Syrian garrisons having probably received instructions to modify the attitude prescribed in v. 51, and to content themselves with holding their several positions.

58—73. BACCHIDES, RECALLED AT THE INSTANCE OF "THE UN-GODLY," IS DEFEATED BY, AND AGREES TO MAKE PEACE WITH, JONATHAN, WHO THEN GOVERNS JUDAEA FROM MICHMASH.

At the end of two years (v. 57) the Maccabees had regained the consciousness of strength, and their opponents bespoken the help of Bacchides, undertaking to deliver Jonathan into his hands without delay. The Jewish leader, however, apprised of their intentions, slew fifty of the conspirators (v. 61), and entrenched himself at Bethbasi. In vain did Bacchides besiege this stronghold ; he was repulsed with loss by Simon, while Jonathan raided the surrounding district. In his chagrin Bacchides put to death many of his advisers (v. 69), accepted Jonathan's proposals for peace, and pledged himself never more to interfere in Judaea. Securing himself at Michmash, Jonathan now (B.C. 156) began to make his power felt in the land.

58. *the lawless men]* i.e. the Hellenizers. Cf. ii. 44, &c.

security: now therefore we will bring Bacchides, and he
 59 shall lay hands on them all in one night. And they went
 60 and consulted with him. And he removed, and came with
 a great host, and sent letters privily to all his confederates
 that were in Judæa, that they should lay hands on Jonathan
 and those that were with him: and they could not, because
 61 their counsel was known unto them. And *they that were of*
Jonathan's part laid hands on about fifty of the men of the
 country, that were authors of the wickedness, and he slew
 62 them. And Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with
 him, gat them away to Bethbasi, which is in the wilderness,
 and he built up that which had been pulled down thereof,
 63 and they made it strong. And Bacchides knew it, and he
 gathered together all his multitude, and sent word to them
 64 that were of Judæa. And he went and encamped against
 Bethbasi, and fought against it many days, and made engines
 65 of war. And Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city,
 and went forth into the country, and he went with a few
 66 men. And he smote Odomera and his brethren, and the
 67 children of Phasiron in their tent. And they began to smite
 them, and to go up with their forces. And Simon and they

and in security] For the Greek cf. LXX. of Lev. xxv. 19.

59. *consulted with him*] By means of delegates, no doubt. The details of their plot are not given, but from v. 60 it is evident that they must have undertaken to aid Bacchides in seizing Jonathan.

60. *he removed, and came*] Lit. he removed **to come**, started on his way.

62. *Bethbasi*] Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 1. 5) reads "Beth-alaga," which suggests Beth-hogla (*Josh.* xv. 6, &c.), the modern 'Ain Hajlah, five miles S.E. of Jericho.

63. *all his multitude*] Cf. v. 60.

sent word &c.] i.e. summoned the Jewish apostates, who supported the Greek party.

64. *made engines of war*] While these were being laboriously manufactured on the spot, the power of Jonathan daily increased.

65. *left his brother Simon*] At an opportune moment during the siege, and in order to raise a relief column.

with a few men] For the Greek cf. LXX. of Is. x. 19.

66. *Odomera*] Some MSS. have *Odoarrhes*, but both forms of the name are otherwise unknown. The Vulg. has *Odares*, and A.V. *Odonarkes*, but for the latter there seems to be no authority.

The children of Phasiron] An unknown desert tribe.

67. *they began...their forces*] Or, as A.V., following a different

that were with him went out of the city, and set on fire the engines of war, and fought against Bacchides, and he was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore; for his counsel was in vain, and his inroad. And they were very wroth with the lawless men that gave him counsel to come into the country, and they slew many of them. And he took counsel to depart into his own land. And Jonathan had knowledge thereof, and sent ambassadors unto him, to the end that they should make peace with him, and that he should restore unto them the captives. And he accepted the thing, and did according to his words, and sware unto him that he would not seek his hurt all the days of his life. And he restored unto him the captives which he had taken aforetime out of the land of Judah, and he returned and departed into his own land, and came not any more into their borders. And the sword ceased from Israel. And

reading, "he began"... "his forces." The "forces" were recruited doubtless from the foes of the subjugated tribes, as well as by fresh accessions from the party of the Law. In these circumstances the appearance of Jonathan encouraged Simon to make what proved to be a most successful *sortie* against the Syrians.

69. *they were very wroth*] This would seem to mean that Simon and his men took vengeance on the Hellenizers. But several authorities have the singular, and on the whole this seems to be more natural here than the plural, which may have been occasioned by the following "they slew," i.e. the Syrians slew them by order of their commander. Cf. iii. 27.

70. *sent ambassadors*] By his proposal to conclude a treaty of peace Jonathan shrewdly turned to account the present mood of Bacchides, of whose angry dissatisfaction with the Hellenizers he had become aware.

the captives] i.e. the Jewish patriots who had previously fallen into his hands. Cf. v. 72.

72. *restored unto him the captives*] The Jewish hostages in the city of Jerusalem were, however, still retained, as were also the Syrian garrisons in that and other strongholds. Cf. x. 6, 12.

came not any more] Lit. **added not to come any more**—a Hebraism. 1 Sam. vii. 13, &c.

73. *the sword*] i.e. war.

ceased from Israel] The period of peace lasted until the outbreak of the contest between Alexander and Demetrius for the Syrian crown in B.C. 152 (x. 1), i.e. (allowing two or three years for the events narrated subsequent to the date B.C. 160 given in v. 3) quite four or five years. This interval of rest was of great consequence for the revival of the Maccabean party, but the writer passes it over in silence because his purpose is to give a history of the war.

Jonathan dwelt at Michmash; and Jonathan began to judge the people; and he destroyed the ungodly out of Israel.

10 And in the hundred and sixtieth year Alexander Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus, went up and took possession

Michmash] Now *Mukhmâs*, on the N. of the deep *Wady es-Surweinit*, and four miles S.E. of Bethel. Cf. 1 Sam. xiii. 2, 5, 11, &c. From a military point of view it was a strong position.

to judge the people] i.e. the Jewish population of the province of Judaea, and not merely a small band of declared adherents. Cf. Judg. iii. 10, iv. 4; 1 Ki. iii. 9. At the same time Jonathan's rule was as yet strictly subject to the supervision of the Syrian government, to which tribute also had to be paid. That he could neither raise troops nor undertake military expeditions appears from the subsequent offer of Demetrius to concede liberty in these respects (x. 6).

destroyed the ungodly] i.e. forced them to conceal themselves and desist from their attempts to Hellenize the Jewish nation.

SECOND SECTION. CH. X. 1—XI. 74. JONATHAN'S RELATIONS TO THE KINGS OF SYRIA.

CII. X. 1—21. IN THE RIVALRY BETWEEN ALEXANDER BALAS AND DEMETRIUS I JONATHAN SUPPORTS ALEXANDER.

Between the events of the previous chapter and those of ch. x. there elapsed an interval of about five years. See note on ix. 73. In B.C. 153 a low-born Syrian named Balas, under the assumed name of Alexander, and posing as the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seized Ptolemais and arrogated to himself the title of king. Demetrius thereupon recalled from the fortresses of Judaea all his garrisons except those in the citadel of Jerusalem and Beth-zur, and wrote to Jonathan giving him power to raise an army and an order for the liberation of the hostages in the Acra (*vv.* 3—6). On the strength of this letter Jonathan established himself in Jerusalem, and set about repairing the fortifications of the city and the temple mount (*vv.* 10, 11). Alexander Balas, however, nominated him high priest, conferred on him the dignity of "King's Friend," and sent him the insignia of royalty (*v.* 20). This offer completely captivated the ambitious Jonathan, who officiated for the first time as high priest at the Feast of Tabernacles, and made extensive preparations for assisting his benefactor Balas (*v.* 21).

1. *in the hundred and sixtieth year*] viz. of the Seleucid era = B.C. 153—152. As the revolt of Alexander against Demetrius occurred before the Feast of Tabernacles of the year referred to (*v.* 21), B.C. 153 must be regarded as the real date.

Alexander Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus] Extant coins of the reign of Alexander Balas are inscribed with the surname *Epiphanes*. Our author seems to have actually credited his claim to be the "son of Antiochus," as does also Josephus; but in view of the pains taken to represent it as genuine throughout Syria and Asia Minor, this is not surprising. Alexander Balas was even accepted by the Roman Senate as

of Ptolemais : and they received him, and he reigned there. And king Demetrius heard thereof, and he gathered together ² exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him in battle.

And Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with words of ³ peace, so as to magnify him. For he said, Let us be before- ⁴ hand to make peace with them, ere he make peace with Alexander against us: for he will remember all the evils ⁵ that we have done against him, and unto his brethren and unto his nation. And he gave him authority to gather ⁶

the real heir to the Syrian crown, although this rather shews that they retained a grudge against Demetrius than that they were blind to the falsity of the pretensions of Balas.



TETRADRACHM OF ALEXANDER BALAS.

Obv. Head of Alexander, with diadem, and chlamys round neck. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ: date ΓΞΡ=163 of Seleucid era. Eagle, standing upon beak of galley; over its shoulder, palm-branch.

(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. See also Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, Pl. XV.)

went up] Cf. note on vii. 1.

Ptolemais] See note on v. 15.

reigned there] Cf. vii. 1.

2. *Demetrius...went forth to meet him in battle]* In his first battle Demetrius defeated Alexander, but as the latter was promptly reinforced by the three kings who had set him up as a claimant for the crown (Ptolemy VI Philometor, Attalus II of Pergamus, and Ariarathes V of Cappadocia), and as the Syrians still continued in considerable numbers to desert from him, he reaped no benefit from his success.

3. *with words of peace]* Cf. i. 30, v. 47.

so as to magnify him] It is not meant that he flattered him, but that he wrote to him in terms recognising the importance of his position.

6. *gave him authority &c.]* Although raising Jonathan to a position of honour, Demetrius made it plain that he was subject to Syrian sovereignty.

together forces, and to provide arms, and that he should be his confederate: and he commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages that were in the citadel.

7 And Jonathan came to Jerusalem, and read the letters in the audience of all the people, and of them that were in the
8 citadel: and they were sore afraid, when they heard that the king had given him authority to gather together a host.
9 And they of the citadel delivered up the hostages unto
10 Jonathan, and he restored them unto their parents. And Jonathan dwelt in Jerusalem, and began to build and renew
11 the city. And he commanded them that did the work to build the walls and the mount Sion round about with square
12 stones for defence; and they did so. And the strangers, that were in the strongholds which Bacchides had built, fled
13 away; and each man left his place, and departed into his
14 own land. Only at Bethsura were there left certain of those that had forsaken the law and the commandments; for it was a place of refuge unto them.

15 And king Alexander heard all the promises which Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan: and they told him of the

the hostages &c.] See note on ix. 53.

7. *Jonathan...read the letters]* Jonathan at once took steps to bring under the notice of the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the occupants of the citadel—in the latter case perhaps by means of a flag of truce—the contents of the documents received from Demetrius.

in the audience of] Lit. in the ears of, i.e. so that they should hear. Cf. Ex. xxiv. 7.

8. *they were sore afraid]* Particularly would this be the case with the adherents of the Greek party, who would dread the vengeance of Jonathan.

10. *dwelt in Jerusalem]* i.e. made it his headquarters instead of Michmash.

11. *the walls]* i.e. of Jerusalem as distinct from “the city of David” which had been converted into a Syrian stronghold (the Acra).

mount Sion] i.e. the temple mount. Cf. note on i. 33.

with square stones] i.e. with regular masonry = *abhnē mahçēbh* (אבני כְּחֶזֶק), 2 Chron. xxxiv. 11. For *τετραγώνων* some authorities read *τετραπόδων*, “four-foot” i.e. large stones.

12. *the strangers]* The aliens located by Bacchides in the fortresses erected by him (ix. 50—52). Cf. Luke xvii. 18.

14. *Bethsura]* See note on iv. 29. Josephus here adds (justly, as appears from *v.* 32, and xi. 20), “and those that were in the citadel of Jerusalem.” These were now the only two places of refuge left for the Hellenizers.

battles and the valiant deeds which he and his brethren had done, and of the toils which they had endured; and he ¹⁶ said, Shall we find such another man? and now we will make him our Friend and confederate. And he wrote ¹⁷ letters, and sent them unto him, according to these words, saying,

King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting: We ¹⁸ have heard of thee, that thou art a mighty man of valour, ¹⁹ and meet to be our Friend. And now we have appointed ²⁰ thee this day to be high priest of thy nation, and to be

15. *king Alexander heard*] It would seem as if the news of the offer made by Demetrius had first opened the eyes of Alexander to the real value of a Jewish alliance.

17. *letters*] Or, a letter. The plural is frequently used to denote one letter. Cf. *vv.* 3, 7, xi. 29, xii. 2, &c.

18. *his brother*] It could not cost an upstart like Alexander Balas much to apply this term to Jonathan, and the latter would feel flattered by it. Cf. xi. 30.

greeting] In Greek the regular epistolary form of salutation. Compare, besides the many instances in which it occurs in our book, Acts xv. 23, xxiii. 26; Jas. i. 1.

19. *We have heard*] Plural of majesty. Except in 2 Macc. ix. 20 sqq. this is used in all royal documents embodied in the Books of Maccabees. In 1 Macc., however, the plural usually occurs only at the beginning of such documents, the singular being substituted for it in what follows. A different usage prevails in the canonical books of the O.T. where, with a few exceptions, Oriental kings are made to speak in the first pers. sing. Cf. Ezr. iv. 18, 19, vii. 13, 21; Dan. iii. 29.

a mighty man of valour] For the Greek cf. LXX. of Judg. vi. 14; 1 Chron. xii. 30; Ps. ciii. 20.

20. *we have appointed thee...to be high priest*] For nearly four centuries the high-priesthood, although held subject to the dictation of foreign secular authority, had been hereditary in the house of Joshua, the coadjutor of Zerubbabel. But, on the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, and in the person of Jason, who bribed the Syrian king to take it from his brother Onias III and confer it upon himself, it had suffered the deepest degradation. A further step was taken when Epiphanes sold the office to Menelaus, a Hellenistic Benjamite, and therefore not even of priestly family. Alcimus, who had been appointed by Eupator, and acknowledged by Demetrius (vii. 9), possessed this qualification, and on that account was welcomed at first by many pious Israelites (vii. 13, 14). Since the death of Alcimus (ix. 56) the office had remained vacant for seven years until now, in a moment of happy inspiration, Alexander Balas bethought himself of nominating Jonathan to fill it, in order thereby to secure his goodwill

called the king's Friend (and he sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold), and to take our part, and to keep friendship with us.

21 And Jonathan put on the holy garments in the seventh month of the hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of tabernacles, and he gathered together forces, and provided arms in abundance.

22 And Demetrius heard these things, and he was grieved, and said, What is this that we have done, that Alexander hath been beforehand with us in establishing friendship with 24 the Jews, to strengthen himself? I also will write unto them words of encouragement and of honour and of gifts, 25 that they may be with me to aid me. And he sent unto them according to these words :

and support in the contest against Demetrius. As a member of a priestly family, and in view of the fact that the legitimate successor to the dignity had fled to Egypt after the murder of his father Onias III (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 3. 1), Jonathan was of course quite as eligible as any other, even from the standpoint of the law.

the king's Friend] "Corresponding in Macedonian usage to something like our peer" (Ewald, *Hist.* v. p. 327). Cf. note on ii. 18.

a purple robe and a crown of gold] Properly speaking, the emblems of royalty (viii. 14), but also the special marks of royal favour towards distinguished persons (*vv.* 62, 64; *Esth.* viii. 15; *Dan.* v. 7). The parenthesis shews that the writer has simply given a free version of the contents of this letter.

21. *the holy garments*] i.e. the official dress of the high priest, on which see Ex. xxviii. 4 sqq. It was regarded as a happy omen that Jonathan should have first officiated as high priest on the opening day of the Feast of Tabernacles, "a most holy and most eminent feast" (Jos. *Ant.* VIII. 4. 1).

in the seventh month &c.] Therefore on the 15th Tisri of the Seleucid year 160, i.e. autumn of B.C. 153. Cf. note on v. 1. The writer seems to make his *terminus a quo* the 1st of Nisan (April), and not the 1st of Tishri (October). See Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. p. 43.

22—50. FURTHER CONCESSIONS OFFERED BY DEMETRIUS I TO THE JEWS. HOSTILITIES BETWEEN ALEXANDER BALAS AND DEMETRIUS, IN WHICH THE LATTER IS DEFEATED AND SLAIN.

22. *he was grieved*] Chagrined at being outmanœuvred, he determined by making unheard-of concessions to secure even yet, if possible, the adhesion of the Jews.

25. *according to these words*] As to the reliability of the contents of this and other letters from Syrian kings embodied in the book, see *Intro.* p. 39.

King Demetrius unto the nation of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as ye have kept your covenants with us, and continued in our friendship, and have not joined yourselves to our enemies, we have heard hereof, and are glad. And now continue ye still to keep faith with us, and we will recompense unto you good things in return for your dealings with us, and will grant you many immunities, and give you gifts. And now do I free you, and release all the Jews, from the tributes, and from the customs of salt, and from the crowns. And instead of the third part of the seed, and

unto the nation of the Jews] In his first letter Demetrius, like Alexander, writes to Jonathan personally (v. 3); in his second he addresses himself to the Jewish people, and, unlike Alexander, not only ignores Jonathan completely, but is careful not to commit himself regarding the high-priesthood. This may have been due to pique arising from the latter's preference for Alexander, and to a desire to alienate the people from his leadership; but perhaps it is best explained by the very different relations in which the rival kings stood to the Jewish nation.

26. *your covenants]* See ix. 70—72. With considerable *finesse* Demetrius still chooses to take for granted the continued loyalty of the Jews to his person and throne.

28. *immunities]* Lit. **remissions**. Cf. xiii. 37. These are specified in vv. 29—35, and in v. 42.

gifts] These are enumerated in vv. 38—41, 43—45. In vv. 36, 37 are mentioned the conditions on which the various privileges will be granted.

29. *you]* viz. the Palestinian Jews. *All the Jews*, i.e. all other Jews resident within the bounds of the empire.

the tributes] i.e. poll-taxes. This was a capitation tax, the amount of which was proportioned to the rank or wealth of the individual. It is a species of tax very common in the East (Luke xx. 22; Rom. xiii. 6), and was at one time levied in England.

the customs of salt] i.e. the duty payable on salt. Salt was obtained in large quantities from the waters of the Dead Sea, and was subject to imperial taxation. Cf. xi. 35.

from the crowns] This tax consisted of a fixed money payment like the Roman *aurum coronarium* (Cic. *in Pison*. ch. 37), in room of the wreath or crown of gold which at one time it was customary, and even obligatory, for subject peoples to present as gifts of honour (2 Macc. xiv. 4) to the reigning king on certain occasions. Cf. xi. 35, xiii. 39.

30. *the third part of the seed]* "Seed" is used here for the crop which springs from it. The fruit-tax was proportionably higher than the grain-tax, amounting to a full half of the yield. Both of these taxes had under the Seleucidae been commuted for an equivalent in money. The sum thus annually exacted must have been very oppressive to the

instead of the half of the fruit of the trees, which falleth to me to receive, I release it from this day and henceforth, so that I will not take it from the land of Judah, and from the three governments which are added thereunto from the country of Samaria and Galilee, from this day forth and for
 31 all time. And let Jerusalem be holy and free, and her
 32 borders; the tenths and the tolls *also*. I yield up also my authority over the citadel which is at Jerusalem, and give it to the high priest, that he may appoint in it such men as he
 33 shall choose to keep it. And every soul of the Jews, that

Jews, and but for the fertility of the Palestine of that day it could not have been paid.

which falleth to me] Cf. Luke xv. 12.

the three governments] called *toparchies* or districts in xi. 28; cf. 34, where their names are specified as Aphaerema, Lydda, and Ramathaim; and in both places, as well as in v. 38 of our chapter, they are represented as Samaritan possessions transferred to Judaea. These districts had probably been a bone of contention between the Jews and the Samaritans; and if so, the formal cession of them to Judaea by Demetrius would be specially gratifying.

and Galilee] Apparently an error on the part of the writer or of a copyist. The three districts are in the sequel repeatedly mentioned as belonging to Samaria; and Galilee was too remote to be a factor in the case.

31. *holy*] i.e. treated as a city *dedicated to God*. Josephus (*Ant.* XII. 3. 4) quotes a decree of Antiochus the Great in which it is provided that it should be unlawful for foreigners, and even for a Jew who had not previously purified himself, to come within the temple area; that no flesh or skin of unclean animals, wild or tame, should be bred up in the city or brought into it; and that the sacrifices should be offered in accordance with the law of Moses.

free] Lit. **released**, i.e. from all assessments.

and her borders] These did not share in the *sacredness* of Jerusalem, but only in its *freedom from imposts*.

the tenths and the tolls also] Sc. *shall be free*. Under the latter were embraced the half-shekel payable yearly by every adult male Israelite (after the Exile, on account of the general poverty of the people, restricted to a third part of a shekel, Neh. x. 32), the offerings connected with firstlings and firstfruits, and the sums payable by those releasing themselves from their vows. No part of these charges, or of the tithes, was now to be paid into the royal treasury. This shews that hitherto the temple revenues had been taxed. Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 3.

32. *the citadel*] = Acra, as in vv. 6—9. Cf. i. 33—36.

33. *every soul of the Jews*] i.e. every Jewish person, whether man or woman, young or old. The number of Jews taken prisoners in the campaigns against the Maccabees, and now toiling as slaves, must have

hath been carried captive from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom, I set at liberty without price; and let all remit the tributes of their cattle also. And all the feasts, ³⁴ and the sabbaths, and new moons, and appointed days, and three days before a feast, and three days after a feast, let them all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews that are in my kingdom. And no man shall have authority ³⁵ to exact from any of them, or to trouble them concerning any matter. And let there be enrolled among the king's ³⁶ forces about thirty thousand men of the Jews, and pay shall

been considerable, and their liberation would naturally be of importance to their countrymen.

the tributes of their cattle also] i.e. tolls for beasts of burden, or perhaps levies (=forced services) of their cattle. In either case the "all" must be understood of the government officers concerned in the exaction. Cf. 1 Ki. v. 13, ix. 21; 2 Chron. viii. 8.

34. *all the feasts*] With special reference no doubt to the three principal feasts,—the Passover, the Feast of Pentecost, and the Feast of Tabernacles.

appointed days] i.e. days *set apart* for religious rites. The expression is a general one, and intended to cover the feasts already mentioned and other days of a kindred nature, such as the Day of Atonement and the Fast-days of Zech. viii. 19.

three days before a feast &c.] This provision, which probably applied to the three great feasts only, was specially designed to meet the case of pilgrims who had to make a long journey to and from Jerusalem.

days of immunity and release] Probably the two words are used simply for the sake of emphasis. Taxes seem to have been reckoned by the day.

35. *to exact from any of them*] i.e. during sabbaths and feast-days. Demetrius declared that on such occasions, when business would be inconvenient and distasteful, it would be legally incompetent to bring any suit against a Jew. Cf. Dan. xi. 20; Luke iii. 13.

36. *enrolled among the king's forces*] i.e. publicly entered in the military lists, and entitled to all privileges which such registration carried with it.

about thirty thousand &c.] From the king's point of view this provision had the advantage of rendering impossible further rebellion on the part of the Jews, at the same time that it secured him a powerful ally against Alexander. That Demetrius should have asked for so large a number of Jewish soldiers as 30,000 seems to shew that he had in his mind not the people of Judaea alone, but the Jews of Palestine as a whole, or even the entire Jewish population of the empire.

pay] Properly speaking, the Greek word denotes the state or rights of a *stranger*, and so came to signify the wages of a hireling who entered into foreign service. The "pay" of such mercenary troops included food

be given unto them, as belongeth to all the king's forces.

37 And of them some shall be placed in the king's great strongholds, and some of them shall be placed over the affairs of the kingdom, which are of trust: and let those that are over them, and their rulers, be of themselves, and let them walk after their own laws, even as the king hath
38 commanded in the land of Judah. And the three governments that have been added to Judæa from the country of Samaria, let them be added to Judæa, that they may be reckoned to be under one, that they may not obey other
39 authority than the high priest's. As for Ptolemais, and the land pertaining thereto, I have given it as a gift to the sanctuary that is at Jerusalem, for the expenses that befit
40 the sanctuary. And I give every year fifteen thousand shekels of silver from the king's revenues from the places

and clothing as well as money. For other instances of Jews serving in foreign armies, cf. *Jos. Ant.* XI. 8. 5, XII. 2. 5; 3. 1.

37. *the king's great strongholds*] Cf. note on i. 2.

and some of them &c.] An even more signal proof of the king's complaisance than the placing of Jewish troops in the fortresses, although (perhaps purposely) nothing definite is said as to the nature of these responsible offices. Josephus, indeed, is more explicit: "some of them I will place as guards about my own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court" (*Ant.* XIII. 2. 3). According to the same authority, many of the highest posts, both civil and military, were held by Jews in Egypt under the Ptolemies (*Ant.* XII. 2. 5).

let those that are over them...be of themselves] This would be a welcome deliverance from the indignity of subjection to heathen centurions and commanders. Cf. *Jer.* xxx. 21.

38. *the three governments*] See note on v. 30.

under one] The districts in question appear to have hitherto had separate governors. They were now to be merged in Judæa.

other authority than the high priest's] The high priest is here recognised as the foremost native Jewish authority—the temporal as well as the spiritual head of the people.

39. *Ptolemais &c.*] Ptolemais, although belonging to Demetrius by right, was really in the hands of his opponent (v. 1); but he thought that by appealing to the instinctive Jewish desire for the aggrandisement and glory of their temple he had hit upon a plan likely to make them take up arms on his behalf.

40. *I give*] The subject is emphatic: **I for my part give**, i.e. in contrast to the revenue from Ptolemais which had to be won by the Jews themselves.

fifteen thousand shekels of silver] In the Maccabaean period the Hebrew shekel amounted to 218 grains, and "the Phoenician shekel was

that are convenient. And all the overplus, which they that ⁴¹ manage the king's affairs paid not in as in the first years, they shall give from henceforth toward the works of the house. And beside this, the five thousand shekels of silver, ⁴² which they received from the uses of the sanctuary from the revenue year by year, this also is released, because it appertaineth to the priests that minister. And whosoever ⁴³ shall flee unto the temple that is at Jerusalem, and *be found* within all the borders thereof, whether one owe moneys to the king, or any other matter, let them go free, and all that they have in my kingdom. And for the building and ⁴⁴

a little more, about 224 grains" (Bevan, in the *Cambridge Companion* &c. p. 255). The value of a shekel was (roughly) 2s. 6d. in English money; 15,000 shekels would therefore = £1875.

from the places that are convenient] i.e. from the most easily accessible sources where the amount of the taxes was sufficient to cover the sum required. Cf. for the expression Eph. v. 4. Similar grants for the temple had been already made by Darius Hystaspis, and Artaxerxes I (Ezr. vi. 9, vii. 21, viii. 25), by Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus the Great (Jos. *Ant.* xii. 2. 6; 3. 3), and by Seleucus IV Philopator (2 Macc. iii. 3).

41. *all the overplus*] i.e. the additional yearly subsidy granted for the temple service out of State funds, and regularly paid "in the first years" under the Persians, Ptolemies, and Seleucidae, prior to Antiochus Epiphanes, payment of which was to be *resumed* "from now on."

the works of the house] Not repairs on the fabric, as these are specially provided for in the sequel (v. 44), but (as in LXX. of Neh. x. 33, 1 Chron. xxiii. 4, 2 Chron. xxxv. 2) matters connected with the service.

42. *five thousand shekels*] About £625 in English money.

from the uses of the sanctuary] This was an imperial tax upon the temple income from tithes and offerings (v. 31), and upon articles required for the various rites of worship, such as oil, salt, wood, and animals for sacrifice.

this also is released] A change of construction instead of "I will release."

43. *whosoever shall flee unto the temple*] Under the law the sole place of asylum, apart from the six cities of refuge, was the altar (not the temple as a whole) at Jerusalem (Ex. xxi. 14; 1 Ki. i. 50, ii. 28 sqq.); the right of asylum, moreover, was conceded only to involuntary murderers, and in no case to insolvent debtors. This last extension was of Greek origin.

all the borders thereof] i.e. any of its precincts. Debtors would be safe anywhere within the sacred enclosure.

and all that they have] Their property likewise would be put beyond the risk of confiscation.

renewing of the works of the sanctuary the expense shall
 45 be given also out of the king's revenue. And for the building
 of the walls of Jerusalem, and the fortifying thereof
 round about, shall the expense be given also out of the
 king's revenue, and for the building of the walls in Judæa.
 46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words,
 they gave no credence unto them, nor received them, be-
 cause they remembered the great evil which he had done
 47 in Israel, and that he had afflicted them very sore. And
 they were well pleased with Alexander, because he was the
 first that spake words of peace unto them, and they were
 48 confederate with him always. And king Alexander gathered
 together great forces, and encamped over against Demetrius.
 49 And the two kings joined battle, and the army of Alexander
 fled; and Demetrius followed after him, and prevailed

44. *the building and renewing &c.*] Cf *vv.* 10, 11. In this Demetrius undertook to follow the example of the Persian kings Darius Hystaspis and Artaxerxes I (*Ezr.* vi. 8; vii. 20).

revenue] The Greek word is often used in the sense of "account" or "reckoning" (*Matt.* xii. 36, xviii. 23, &c.), but here, and in *v.* 40, it means that which is reckoned, viz. *income*.

45. *the walls in Judæa*] i.e. the remaining strongholds throughout the country.

46. *gave no credence unto them*] Neither Jonathan nor the people believed in the sincerity of Demetrius.

had afflicted them very sore] See chaps. vii.—ix.

47. *the first that spake words of peace unto them*] Or, perhaps, a **prince of peaceful words**, in which case the meaning must be that Alexander was the first to make peace, not in the order of time but of merit. Demetrius had previously written empowering Jonathan to raise troops and obtain restoration of the hostages (*vv.* 3, 6), but Alexander had at once designated Jonathan high priest and King's Friend, and sent him the symbols of sovereignty as an earnest of good faith (*v.* 20). 'Entreated' of A.V. is an archaism for *treated*. See Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 230.

48. *Alexander gathered together great forces*] These would consist partly of mercenaries (*Jos.*), and partly of troops sent by the kings who supported him, although at least one of these (Attalus of Pergamus) gave him at first no military assistance.

49, 50. *the army of Alexander fled &c.*] If this reading, which is strongly attested (NA and several cursives), be correct, then we have in *v.* 49 a description of one battle in which Demetrius got the victory, and in *v.* 50 an account of a second, in which he lost his life. The alternative reading, followed by A.V.—"the army of Demetrius fled; and Alexander followed after him"—takes account only of the later and

against them. And he strengthened the battle exceedingly 50
until the sun went down : and Demetrius fell that day.

And Alexander sent ambassadors to Ptolemy king of 51
Egypt according to these words, saying, Forasmuch as I am 52
returned to my kingdom, and am set on the throne of my
fathers, and have gotten the dominion, and have overthrown
Demetrius, and have gotten possession of our country; yea, 53
I joined battle with him, and he and his army were dis-
comfited by us, and we sat upon the throne of his kingdom:
now also let us establish amity one with the other, and give 54
me now thy daughter to wife : and I will make affinity with
thee, and will give both thee and her gifts worthy of thee.
And Ptolemy the king answered, saying, Happy is the day 55
wherein thou didst return into the land of thy fathers, and
didst sit on the throne of their kingdom. And now will I 56
do to thee, as thou hast written : but meet me at Ptolemais,
that we may see one another ; and I will make affinity with
thee, even as thou hast said. And Ptolemy went out of 57
Egypt, himself and Cleopatra his daughter, and came unto
Ptolemais in the hundred and threescore and second year :

decisive engagement. For a more detailed description of this see Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. 2. 4. If with R.V. reading Alexander could be taken as the subject to "strengthened the battle," this would bring the account pretty much into line with that of Josephus.

51—66. MARRIAGE OF ALEXANDER BALAS TO THE EGYPTIAN PRINCESS CLEOPATRA, AT PTOLEMAIS, AND THE DISTINGUISHED RECEPTION GIVEN TO JONATHAN ON THAT OCCASION.

51. *Ptolemy*] Ptol. VI Philometor, whose reign, including the period of his mother's guardianship, lasted from B.C. 180—146. Demetrius had incurred his wrath by endeavouring to seize upon Cyprus.

54. *thy daughter*] viz. Cleopatra (*v.* 57). Cf. *Jos. Ant.* XIII. 3. 2. *I...will give both thee and her gifts*] In accordance with Oriental custom. What the bride received formed part of her dower ; what was given to the father was really a survival of the primitive practice of purchasing a wife.

56. *now will I do to thee &c.*] This was probably only the formal ratification of a matter that had been settled beforehand, seeing that Ptolemy had actively aided Alexander to usurp the Syrian throne. In any case his later action (xi. 1) confirms the suspicion that his ready acquiescence was by no means disinterested.

Ptolemais] This place was selected for the marriage festivities, owing

58 and king Alexander met him, and he bestowed on him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her marriage at Ptolemais with great pomp, as the manner of kings is.

59 And king Alexander wrote unto Jonathan, that he should
60 come to meet him. And he went with pomp to Ptolemais, and met the two kings, and gave them and their Friends silver and gold, and many gifts, and found favour in their
61 sight. And there were gathered together against him certain pestilent fellows out of Israel, men that were transgressors of the law, to complain against him: and the king gave no
62 heed to them. And the king commanded, and they took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple: and
63 thus they did. And the king made him sit with him, and said unto his princes, Go forth with him into the midst of the city, and make proclamation, that no man complain against him of any matter, and let no man trouble him for

to its convenient situation between Egypt and the Syrian capital, to which apparently Alexander Balas had transferred his residence.

57. *in the hundred and threescore and second year*] = B.C. 151—150.

59. *king Alexander wrote unto Jonathan*] The way in which Jonathan figures in connexion with it is evidently the reason why the writer gives such a detailed account of this royal marriage.

60. *gave them and their Friends...many gifts*] It would have been contrary to all Oriental custom had Jonathan appeared empty-handed on such an occasion. The temple treasures, or the liberality of the Jewish people, probably enabled him worthily to sustain the dignity of his new position. His gifts to the two kings and to their servants (cf. xi. 24) were the tangible and diplomatic expression of his homage and adherence, and were such as to raise him still further in their estimation. For "found favour in their sight" cf. LXX. of Gen. vi. 8.

61. *certain pestilent fellows*] Lit. men (who were) pests, i.e. unworthy and infamous men, as in xv. 3. Cf. the Heb. expression, "sons of Belial" i.e. worthlessness (1 Sam. ii. 12, x. 27), in rendering which LXX. uses the Greek word here translated "pestilent" (λοιμός).

transgressors of the law] i.e. apostates from Mosaism. Cf. i. 11.

62. *took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple*] It was an ancient custom in the East thus to confer public honour upon distinguished men. A similar compliment was paid to Joseph by Pharaoh (Gen. xli. 42, 43), and to Mordecai by Xerxes (Esth. vi. 11). According to Grimm, Oriental princes are still in the habit of presenting distinguished statesmen, strangers, and savants with a costly robe (particularly in cases where they desire publicly to repel any accusation) as a preliminary to their being borne in triumph through the streets.

63. *sit with him*] i.e. by his side.

his princes] Perhaps in the sense of officers, as in iii. 13.

any manner of cause. And it came to pass, when they that⁶⁴ complained against him saw his glory according as *the herald* made proclamation, and *saw* him clothed in purple, they all fled away. And the king gave him honour, and⁶⁵ wrote him among his Chief Friends, and made him a captain, and governor of a province. And Jonathan re-⁶⁶turned to Jerusalem with peace and gladness.

And in the hundred and threescore and fifth year came⁶⁷ Demetrius, son of Demetrius, out of Crete into the land

65. *wrote*] i.e. enrolled in a list kept for the purpose. Cf. Esth. ii. 23, vi. 1.

among his Chief Friends] There seem to have been several orders of "King's Friends." Alexander had already named Jonathan his Friend (*v.* 20); he now raised him to the rank of a "Chief Friend." Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 4. 2 has "the chief of his Friends," but this is probably an exaggeration. See note on ii. 18.

made him a captain] i.e. appointed him military commander over the forces in Judaea. He had already been acting as such by leave of Demetrius (*vv.* 6, 21). The citadel of Jerusalem still remained, however, in the hands of a Syrian governor.

governor of a province] Gr. **Meridarch**. This title (occurring only here and in Jos. *Ant.* XII. 5. 5) carried with it the *civil*, as the former did the military, command. Jonathan was to be governor over one of the provinces into which Coele-Syria had been divided. These powers, together with his spiritual supremacy as high priest (*v.* 20), gave him absolute sway in Judaea within the limits of the recognised suzerainty of Syria.

67—89. VICTORY OF JONATHAN OVER APOLLONIUS, GOVERNOR OF COELE-SYRIA AND GENERAL OF DEMETRIUS II.

When, in B.C. 147, Demetrius II, with an army of mercenaries, came from Crete as the avenger of his father, he secured an adherent in Apollonius, governor of Coele-Syria, who thus came into collision with Jonathan. In response to an insulting challenge (*v.* 71) Jonathan took the field, made himself master of Joppa, defeated Apollonius at Ashdod, which with its heathen temple was burnt down (*v.* 84), and received the submission of Ascalon (*v.* 86). Alexander rewarded the services of the Jewish high priest by presenting him with a buckle of gold, and with the city and lands of Ekron (*v.* 89).

67. *the hundred and threescore and fifth year*] = B.C. 148—147. This was three years after Alexander's marriage with Cleopatra.

Demetrius, son of Demetrius] Demetrius II Nicator, the elder of the two sons of Demetrius I. He had been sent by his father to Cnidus when Alexander invaded Syria, and had remained in exile until he became aware that Alexander had forfeited the esteem of his subjects. Cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 4. 3.

68 of his fathers: and king Alexander heard thereof, and he
 69 was grieved exceedingly, and returned unto Antioch. And
 Demetrius appointed Apollonius, who was over Coelesyria,
 and he gathered together a great host, and encamped in
 Jamnia, and sent unto Jonathan the high priest, saying,
 70 Thou alone liftest up thyself against us, but I am had in
 derision and in reproach because of thee. And why dost
 71 thou vaunt thy power against us in the mountains? Now
 therefore, if thou trustest in thy forces, come down to us
 into the plain, and there let us try the matter together; for
 72 with me is the power of the cities. Ask and learn who I
 am, and the rest that help us; and they say, Your foot
 cannot stand before our face; for thy fathers have been

68. *returned unto Antioch*] This seems to imply that he had remained in Ptolemais and its neighbourhood ever since his marriage.

69. *Apollonius, who was over Coelesyria*] It is implied that he had already been governor under Alexander Balas. According to Polybius (XXXI. 19. 21), this Apollonius had been a trusted friend of Demetrius I during his stay in Rome, and this may explain his readiness to take up the cause of his son.

Coelesyria] Properly the hollow between the Lebanons, but frequently used in a much wider sense to denote the whole of Southern Syria except Phoenicia (cf. 2 Macc. iii. 5—9, where Jerusalem is reckoned one of its towns). In the Greek period, and to Josephus, Coele-Syria is the name for all Eastern Palestine. Classical writers (Polyb. v. 80, Diod. Sic. XIX. 59) include the Philistine coast, and even Josephus once (*Ant.* XIV. 4. 5) uses it in the very widest sense: "Coele-Syria as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt." Here also it is to be so understood.

Jamnia] See note on iv. 15.

sent unto Jonathan] Cf. the insulting challenge given by Goliath of Gath, 1 Sam. xvii. 8—10.

70. *Thou alone*] Rather: Thou **quite** alone. In the southern parts of the territory W. of the Jordan, Jonathan seems to have stood alone in his adherence to Alexander.

I am had in derision &c.] viz. for not having long ago given thee thy choice between submission to the new king and utter annihilation.

why dost thou] *Thou* is emphatic, and used contemptuously.

in the mountains] Where in the event of being hard pressed it is so easy to retreat into hiding-places. Cf. v. 73, ii. 28, 31, &c.

71. *the power of the cities*] The contrast intended seems to be that between the trained cavalry (v. 73) of the wealthy coast-towns and the rude infantry of an upland district like Judaea. Having the former at his back, Apollonius felt confident as to the result of a trial of strength.

72. *thy fathers &c.*] If the reference is to the Maccabean period,

twice put to flight in their own land. And now thou shalt ⁷³ not be able to abide the horse and such a host as this in the plain, where is neither stone nor flint, nor place to flee unto.

Now when Jonathan heard the words of Apollonius, he ⁷⁴ was moved in his mind, and he chose out ten thousand men, and went forth from Jerusalem, and Simon his brother met him for to help him. And he encamped against Joppa: ⁷⁵ and they of the city shut him out, because Apollonius had a garrison in Joppa: and they fought against it. And they ⁷⁶ of the city were afraid, and opened unto him: and Jonathan became master of Joppa. And Apollonius heard, and he ⁷⁷

we must understand "fathers" in a loose sense of Jonathan's predecessors in the conduct of the campaign, and think of the reverses recorded in vi. 47 and ix. 6, 18. Some, however, think that the allusion is to the earlier conflicts between the Philistines and the Jews, and that Apollonius or the narrator has presumably in his eye only the two most famous victories of the Philistines,—that gained in Eli's time, when the ark of the covenant was captured (1 Sam. iv. 10, 11), and that secured at Gilboa, when Saul met his death (1 Sam. xxxi.). But it is not clear why Apollonius should identify himself with the Philistines.

in their own land] Where they could choose their own ground.

^{73.} *the horse*] The Syrian cavalry were of course seriously hampered in such a hilly country as Judaea.

neither stone nor flint] Rather: nor **shingle**. Josephus has: "where we may fight with weapons and not with stones." From their vantage-ground upon the rugged heights the Jews were wont to pelt their enemies with stones. Cf. 2 Macc. i. 16.

^{74.} *he was moved in his mind*] i.e. he was very indignant. It was certainly a risky thing for Jonathan to let himself be thus drawn out of his strong position among the mountains.

chose out ten thousand] This means that a reserve force was still left to occupy Judaea, and as there was also an auxiliary battalion under Simon, the number of available Jewish troops must have been considerably larger than at any previous stage in the history of the Maccabees.

and Simon...met him] The writer is silent as to the locality where the juncture was effected.

^{75.} *Joppa*] The "Japho" of Josh. xix. 46, now *Yāfa* or *Jaffa*, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Jamnia, where Apollonius lay encamped (*v.* 69), and the port of Jerusalem, from which it is distant about 40 miles. Jonathan's object in capturing Joppa was no doubt to protect his rear.

^{76.} *they of the city*] The inhabitants, as distinguished from the garrison of Apollonius, the presence of which had at first restrained them from opening the gates.

gathered an army of three thousand horse, and a great host, and went to Azotus as though he were on a journey, and therewithal drew onward into the plain, because he had a
 78 multitude of horse, and trusted therein. And he pursued
 79 after him to Azotus, and the armies joined battle. And Apollonius had left a thousand horse behind them privily.
 80 And Jonathan knew that there was an ambushment behind him. And they compassed round his army, and cast their
 81 darts at the people, from morning until evening: but the people stood still, as Jonathan commanded them: and their
 82 horses were wearied. And Simon drew forth his host, and joined battle with the phalanx (for the horsemen were
 83 spent), and they were discomfited by him, and fled. And the horsemen were scattered in the plain, and they fled to

77. *a great host*] Erroneously estimated by Josephus at 8000. This was really the number of the slain (*v.* 85), and could not be called a great army in comparison with Jonathan's.

Azotus] Or Ashdod. Cf. note on *iv.* 15.

as though he were on a journey] This was a mere manœuvre on the part of Apollonius to draw Jonathan after him.

drew onward into the plain] i.e. made a *détour* to the east in order to command the flank of Jonathan's troops, and so confine them to that part of the plain where the cavalry could fight to most advantage.

78. *to Azotus, and the armies joined battle*] A comparison with *v.* 83, which states that the defeated cavalry "fled to Azotus," shews that the engagement must have taken place not exactly at, but somewhere in the vicinity of, that town.

79. *privily*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 4. 4) they lay concealed in the bed of a winter stream.

80. *Jonathan knew*] **Learned**—in what way is not specified.

cast their darts] Or, **shot arrows**. For the Greek cf. LXX. of *i Sam.* xx. 20, 21, 36.

81. *the people stood still*] Josephus, *l.c.*, says that by Jonathan's orders they formed themselves into a square and acted on the defensive, while the arrows of their enemies rebounded harmlessly from their armour and from the continuous protecting wall of their closely-adjusted shields. By these tactics the object of the ambush was skilfully defeated.

82. *Simon drew forth his host*] Simon's army was still fresh, having apparently been held as a reserve which at the critical moment of the fight could advance to strike the decisive blow. The Syrian cavalry having been already rendered harmless, Simon's troops confined their attention to the infantry, which was soon routed.

83. *they fled*] "They"=the infantry. Presumably those who were mounted could still keep at a safe distance from the Jewish soldiers.

Azotus, and entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's temple, to save themselves. And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the ⁸⁴ cities round about it, and took their spoils; and the temple of Dagon, and them that fled into it, he burned with fire. And they that had fallen by the sword, with them that were ⁸⁵ burned, were about eight thousand men. And from thence ⁸⁶ Jonathan removed, and encamped against Ascalon, and they of the city came forth to meet him with great pomp. And Jonathan, with them that were on his side, returned unto ⁸⁷ Jerusalem, having many spoils. And it came to pass, when ⁸⁸ king Alexander heard these things, he honoured Jonathan

Beth-dagon] i.e. **house (temple) of Dagon** (diminutive from *dâg*=fish) a national Philistine deity, whose image was partly in the form of a man, and partly in that of a fish, like the Assyrian deity figured below from Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 168. [Some recent writers however question whether Dagon was really a fish-god, and connect the name with *dagan* 'corn.' See Bandissin in *Herzog's Encycl.*]



The fugitives took refuge in the consecrated space between the outer wall and the inner shrine. Cf. 1 Sam. v. 2 sqq.; Judg. xvi. 23.

84. *the temple of Dagon...he burned*] See notes on v. 43, 44.

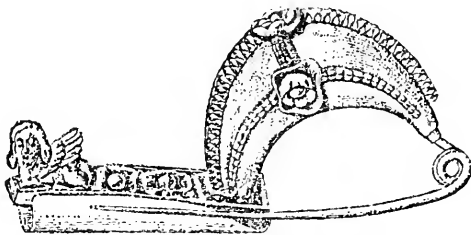
86. *Ascalon*] Heb. *Ashkelon*, one of the cities of the Philistine Pentapolis (Josh. xiii. 3), situated on the Mediterranean coast, 12 miles N. of Gaza, and celebrated as a seat of the worship of Atargatis, the Syrian Venus. It was still a place of importance after the Exile (Zech. ix. 5). Arab writers used to call it "the bride of Syria," but it is now a dreary heap of ruins. The site, which still bears the name (*Askalân*), is "a rocky amphitheatre in the low bank of the coast, and filled by Crusading ruins" (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geog.* p. 189).

with great pomp] Cf. v. 58, xi. 60. This ostentatious profession of loyalty proved advantageous to them not only under Jonathan, but also subsequently under "that excitable savage" Alexander Jannaeus.

88. *honoured...yet more*] Lit. **added to honour**—a Hebraism. Cf. iii. 15, ix. 1.

89 yet more; and he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the use is to give to such as are of the kindred of the kings: and he gave him Ekron and all the coasts thereof for a possession.

89. *a buckle of gold*] Buckles or brooches were used by Greeks and Orientals for fastening the upper garment over the shoulder. "Several shapes were employed; but the most common was a flat circular ring with a pin passing across its centre" (Rawl.). The Etruscan brooch figured below is a fine example of this ornament. Among the Syrians the right



A gold *fibula* or buckle (Etruscan), from Schreiber's *Atlas of Classical Antiquities*, Pl. LXXXIII.

to wear *gold* buckles was apparently confined to princes and other distinguished persons (xi. 58, xiv. 44).

the kindred of the kings] Probably in the strict sense of blood-relationship (as in 2 Macc. xi. 1, 35), rather than in the wider sense of aristocratic birth.

Ekron] Now *'Akir*, the most northerly, and the nearest to Israelitish territory, of the five confederated cities of the Philistines. The site (200 feet above the sea level) lies on the line of the new railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, at a point 12 miles N.E. of Ashdod, and 9 miles from the Mediterranean. Ekron contained the shrine of Baal-zebub (2 Ki. i. 2).

for a possession] i.e. Alexander gave Jonathan an absolute title to Ekron and its lands, and did not merely assign to him the amount of the imperial taxes yielded by them.

CH. XI. 1—19. THE DOWNFALL OF ALEXANDER BALAS.

An unlooked for element now entered into the situation. Ptolemy VI Philometor deserted the cause of Alexander Balas, and allied himself to Demetrius II. He gave out that Alexander had made an attempt upon his life (*vv.* 10, 11), but in point of fact his invasion of Syria was prompted by ambition (*v.* 1). In the coast towns, which unsuspectingly opened their gates to him, he left Egyptian garrisons (*v.* 3). At Ashdod complaints were made to him against Jonathan, but he paid them no heed (*vv.* 4, 5). The Jewish leader met him at Joppa, and accompanied him

And the king of Egypt gathered together great forces, 11
as the sand which is by the sea shore, and many ships, and
sought to make himself master of Alexander's kingdom by
deceit, and to add it to his own kingdom. And he went 2
forth into Syria with words of peace, and they of the cities
opened unto him, and met him; for king Alexander's com-
mandment was that they should meet him, because he was
his father in law. Now as he entered into the cities of 3
Ptolemais, he set his forces for a garrison in each city. But 4
when he came near to Azotus, they shewed him the temple
of Dagon burned with fire, and Azotus and the suburbs
thereof pulled down, and the bodies cast abroad, and them
that had been burned, whom he burned in the war, for they
had made heaps of them in his way. And they told the 5
king what things Jonathan had done, that they might cast
blame on him: and the king held his peace. And Jonathan 6

as far as the river Eleutherus, but returned to Jerusalem on discovering that he was acting against Alexander. Philometor then openly allied himself to Demetrius II, handed over Cleopatra to him to be his wife, and at Antioch assumed "the diadem of Asia" (vv. 9—13). Defeated in battle, Alexander escaped to Arabia, where he was beheaded by Zabdiel, an Arab Sheikh (vv. 15—17). Philometor, however, had himself been badly wounded in the fight, and died a few days after the head of his quondam son-in-law had been brought to him. Thus in B.C. 145 Demetrius II became king.

1. *the king of Egypt*] Ptolemy VI Philometor. See note on x. 51.
as the sand which is by the sea shore] Cf. Gen. xxii. 17; Josh. xi. 4;
1 Sam. xiii. 5, &c.

many ships] Egypt had for long been a maritime power. Pharaoh Necho (B.C. 611—605) maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, and another in the Red Sea (Herod. II. 159). Of the 1207 triremes which made up the fleet of Xerxes, Egypt contributed 200 (*Ib.* VII. 89).

sought...by deceit] According to Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 4. 5, Ptolemy entered upon this expedition in good faith, and with the intention of aiding Alexander as a relative; but this view is not confirmed by the sequel.

2. *with words of peace*] Herein lay the "deceit" practised by Ptolemy; he pretended that he came to assist his son-in-law against Demetrius II, and on this understanding was admitted into the cities.

3. *set his forces for a garrison &c.*] This fact is not decisive for either theory as to the purpose of Philometor. It might denote hostility towards Alexander, or it might be regarded as a precaution rendered necessary by the partiality which these Syrian coast towns had shewn for Demetrius.

4. *the suburbs thereof*] Cf. xi. 61.

5. *the king held his peace*] So long as he himself ostensibly favoured

met the king with pomp at Joppa, and they saluted one
 7 another, and they slept there. And Jonathan went with
 the king as far as the river that is called Eleutherus, and
 8 returned to Jerusalem. But king Ptolemy became master
 of the cities upon the sea coast, unto Seleucia which is by
 the sea, and he devised evil devices concerning Alexander.
 9 And he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius, saying,
 Come, let us make a covenant with one another, and I will
 give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou
 10 shalt reign over thy father's kingdom; for I have repented
 that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.
 11 And he cast blame on him, because he coveted his kingdom.

his son-in-law, Ptolemy could not well censure Jonathan for what he had done. Besides, he was no doubt anxious not to make an enemy of the powerful high priest. On the other hand, he perceived that to express approval of Jonathan's doings would have militated against his own project of annexing Syria.

6. *at Joppa*] As the most southerly city belonging to him.

7. *Eleutherus*] The modern *Nahr-el-Kebir*, a considerable stream—at least in winter—which rises at the base of Lebanon, and flows into the Mediterranean between Orthosia and Tripolis. It formed the boundary between Syria and Phoenicia (Strabo XVI. 2. 12).

8. *Seleucia which is by the sea*] So called to distinguish it from the eight other towns of the same name founded or rebuilt by Seleucus I Nicator. It also bore the name of *Pieria* from Mt Pierius, at the southern base of which it lay. Seleucia was about eight miles N. of the mouth of the Orontes, and 15 miles from Antioch, of which it was the port. When Paul and Barnabas left Antioch to preach the gospel in Cyprus, they embarked at Seleucia (Acts xiii. 4). This town was beautifully situated, strongly fortified, and commercially important.

9. *sent ambassadors &c.*] Demetrius appears to have been still in Cilicia, which had revolted from his rival (v. 14).

I will give thee my daughter whom Alexander hath] Cf. x. 54—58. "Divorce for political reasons was common at the time among all the Oriental princes" (Rawlinson).

10. *he sought to slay me*] According to our author (and Diod. Sic. *Fr.* XIX.) this was a trumped up charge, invented by Ptolemy as an excuse for his change of front (cf. v. 1). Josephus, however, asserts that an attempt was really made upon the life of Ptolemy at Ptolemais, by one Ammonius, who was Alexander's friend, and that on being refused satisfaction, Ptolemy credited Alexander himself with the crime, and went over to the side of Demetrius. Possibly Alexander, becoming cognisant of his father-in-law's real intention, "may have brought about the attempted assassination (Jos.), whereupon Ptolemy threw off the mask...and played at Antioch the rôle mentioned by Josephus" (Grimm).

And taking his daughter from him, he gave her to Demetrius, and was estranged from Alexander, and their enmity was openly seen. And Ptolemy entered into Antioch, and put on himself the diadem of Asia; and he put two diadems upon his head, the diadem of Egypt and that of Asia. But king Alexander was in Cilicia at that season, because they of those parts were in revolt. And Alexander heard of it, and he came against him in war: and Ptolemy led forth *his host*, and met him with a strong force, and put him to flight. And Alexander fled into Arabia, that he might be sheltered there; but king Ptolemy was exalted. And Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's head, and sent it to Ptolemy. And king Ptolemy died the third day

12. *gave her to Demetrius*] This is mentioned by Livy, *Epit.* LII.

13. *Ptolemy entered into Antioch*] According to Diodorus, Hierax and Diodotus, whom Balas had left in charge, despairing of Alexander's position now that Ptolemy had turned against him, and fearing Demetrius on account of their former opposition to his father, induced the people of Antioch to invite Ptolemy to become king of Syria.

put two diadems upon his head] i.e. assumed the crown of Syria in addition to that of Egypt.

Asia] See note on viii. 6.

14. *were in revolt*] It was in Cilicia that Demetrius II landed from Crete (x. 67), and the people of that region soon rallied round his standard.

15. *Alexander...came against him in war*] In the hope of stamping out the revolt by taking summary vengeance in the quarter where it had arisen, Alexander had gone into Cilicia to oppose Demetrius, but on learning what had occurred in his absence he returned at once to Antioch to meet his new and more formidable foe.

put him to flight] According to Strabo (xvi. 2. 8) the battle in which Alexander Balas was defeated by Philometor was fought on the banks of the river Oenoparas, in the plain of Antioch.

16. *Alexander fled into Arabia*] Diodorus (*Fr.* xx.) says that he betook himself to Abae, where he sought the protection of Diocles, a prince to whose care he had already entrusted his infant son Antiochus, and that he was betrayed by Heliades and Casius, two of his own lieutenants, who had followed him into exile. These men treacherously communicated with Demetrius, and undertook to make away with Alexander as a condition of receiving a pardon for themselves.

was exalted] This does not mean that Ptolemy was raised in public esteem, but that he had reached the summit of his power.

17. *Zabdiel*] Possibly to be identified with the *Diocles* of Diodorus. *sent it to Ptolemy*] "His sending Alexander's head to Ptolemy is parallel to the act of those who brought Pompey's head to Julius

after, and they that were in his strongholds were slain by
 19 them that were in the strongholds. And Demetrius reigned
 in the hundred and threescore and seventh year.

20 In those days Jonathan gathered together them of Judæa,
 to take the citadel that was at Jerusalem: and he made
 21 many engines of war against it. And certain that hated

Caesar" (Rawl.). The severed head of Alexander, however, was probably sent first to Demetrius, and transmitted by him to Ptolemy.

18. *Ptolemy died*] Certain details omitted by our author as not essential to his narrative are supplied by Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 4. 8).

the third day after] i.e. the third day after he had been shewn the head of Alexander, and the eighth (see *Jos. l. c.*) after he had received his wounds.

they that were in his strongholds &c.] i.e. the garrisons placed by Ptolemy in the fortified towns (*v.* 3) were slain by the inhabitants.

19. *Demetrius reigned*] *Became king*, after both of his rivals were dead. Cf. i. 10.

the hundred and threescore and seventh year] = B.C. 146—145.



TETRADRACHM OF DEMETRIUS II.

Obv. Head of Demetrius, with diadem. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ (of King Demetrius, Theos [god], Philadelphus Nicator). Date $\Xi P \Theta$ = 169 of Seleucid era. Apollo seated on omphalos, holding arrow and bow.

(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, Pl. XVII., XVIII.)

20—37. NOTWITHSTANDING HIS HAVING LAID SIEGE TO THE
 CITADEL OF JERUSALEM, JONATHAN'S DIPLOMACY SECURES
 FOR HIM THE FAVOUR OF DEMETRIUS II.

Jonathan having at this juncture laid siege to the Acra (i. 33—36), Demetrius ordered him to desist, and summoned him to a personal interview at Ptolemais. The Jewish high priest armed himself with rich presents and went to meet the king, who not only confirmed him in the high-priesthood, but, in consideration of a payment of 300 talents, declared Judæa free from tribute. The narrative is silent as to the conditions on Jonathan's side, but he must certainly have promised to give up his attack upon the Acra.

their own nation, men that transgressed the law, went unto the king, and reported to him that Jonathan was besieging the citadel. And he heard, and was angered; but when he heard it, he set forth immediately, and came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan, that he should not besiege it, and that he should meet him and speak with him at Ptolemais with all speed. But when Jonathan heard this, he commanded to besiege it *still*: and he chose certain of the elders of Israel and of the priests, and put himself in peril, and taking silver and gold and raiment and divers presents besides, went to Ptolemais unto the king. And he found favour in his sight. And certain lawless men of them that were of the nation made complaints against him, and the king did unto him even as his predecessors had done unto him, and exalted him in the sight of all his Friends, and confirmed to him the high priesthood, and all the other honours that he had before, and gave him preeminence among his Chief Friends. And Jonathan requested of the king, that he would make Judæa free from tribute, and the three provinces, and the country of Samaria; and promised

20. *the citadel that was at Jerusalem*] Cf. note on i. 33. Demetrius I had not, of course, removed the Syrian garrison according to his promise (x. 32), because it formed part of a general offer which had been repudiated by the Jews.

engines of war] Cf. vi. 31, 52, ix. 64, xv. 25.

21. *that hated their own nation*] i.e. who were destitute of patriotism.

22. *was angered*] i.e. viewed the attack upon the citadel as an act of rebellion.

23. *put himself in peril*] By appearing to answer for himself before the king. In accepting the risk, Jonathan trusted probably to the weakness of Demetrius, as well as to his own tact.

24. *taking silver and gold and raiment &c.*] See note on x. 60. Jonathan appears to have provided himself with the means of ingratiating himself not only with the king, but with his officers as well.

27. *confirmed to him the high priesthood*] Cf. vii. 9. Jonathan had been appointed to this office by Alexander Balas (x. 20).

all the other honours &c.] See x. 20, 64, 65, 89.

gave him preeminence among his Chief Friends] Cf. note on x. 65. This speaks volumes for the dexterous diplomacy of Jonathan, for no Syrian king would be disposed lightly to excuse hostilities directed against the garrison in the Acra.

28. *the three provinces*] See note on x. 30.

and the country of Samaria] This reading, although supported by all

29 him three hundred talents. And the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan concerning all these things after this manner :

30 King Demetrius unto his brother Jonathan, and unto
31 the nation of the Jews, greeting : The copy of the letter which we wrote unto Lasthenes our kinsman concerning you, we have written also unto you, that ye may see it.
32 King Demetrius unto Lasthenes his father, greeting : We
33 have determined to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends, and observe what is just toward us, because
34 of their good will toward us. We have confirmed therefore unto them the borders of Judæa, and also the three govern-

the MSS., is manifestly wrong. Apart from the impossibility of conceiving that Jonathan would exert himself to lighten the burdens of the hated Samaritans, the references to the three toparchies in x. 30, and in v. 34 below, render it necessary to read : **of Samaria**, or (with Ball) **which were added to Judæa from Samaria**. The error has probably arisen from a misunderstanding of the Hebrew text on the part of the Greek translator.

three hundred talents] Equal to £73,125 in Attic, or £15,470 in Syrian, talents. It is not clear whether this was a sum paid once for all as a discharge of Jewish obligations, or an annual payment in lieu of the tribute collected by the imperial officers.

29. *the king consented*] Influenced probably by the rich presents which Jonathan had brought him.

30. *his brother*] As in x. 18, *q. v.*

and unto the nation of the Jews] It is noticeable that Demetrius II addressed both Jonathan and the Jewish nation, whereas Alexander Balas had addressed Jonathan only (x. 18), and Demetrius I (in his second letter) the Jewish nation only (x. 25).

31. *Lasthenes*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 4. 3), the Cretan who had raised the army with which Demetrius landed in Cilicia. While the term "father," applied to him in the following verse, may denote *senior relative*, it may also signify nothing more than *trusted counsellor*. Cf. Gen. xlv. 8, where Joseph calls himself "a father to Pharaoh." That the king sent the intimation of his will concerning the Jews to Lasthenes, must have been due to his official position. Perhaps he was governor of Coele-Syria (cf. x. 69), or grand vizier of the kingdom.

our kinsman] It is difficult to decide whether this epithet is to be interpreted strictly as affirming a blood relationship, or simply as a species of court title. In this instance the latter appears the more likely supposition. Cf. note on x. 89.

33. *because of their good will*] As shewn through Jonathan their representative. Cf. vv. 24, 28.

34. *the three governments*] See note on x. 30.

ments of Apherema and Lydda and Ramathaim (*these* were added unto Judæa from the country of Samaria), and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the king's dues which the king received of them yearly aforetime from the produce of the earth and the fruits of trees. And as for the other things that pertain ³⁵ unto us from henceforth, of the tenths and the tolls that pertain unto us, and the saltpits, and the crowns that pertain unto us, all these we will bestow upon them. And not ³⁶

Apherema] In all probability a Greek form of the word *Ephraim*, the place to which our Lord withdrew shortly before his death (John xi. 54), and = the Ophrah of Benjamin, now *Taiyibeh*. It lay on the borders of the wilderness, and according to Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 9. 9), in the vicinity of Bethel. Jerome places it five Roman miles E. of the latter town. Cf. 2 Sam. xiii. 23; 2 Chron. xiii. 19.

Lydda] The district lying about the O.T. Lod (1 Chron. viii. 12; Ezra ii. 33), afterwards called Diospolis, and now the Mohammedan village of *Ludd*, on the road between Joppa and Jerusalem. Cf. Jos. *B. J.* ii. 20. 4.

Ramathaim] The well-known city of Samuel (1 Sam. i. 1), frequently called Ramah, Heb. *HaRamah*, for which, however, LXX. generally has *Appathalu*. *HaRamah* = "the height," *HaRamathaim* (apparently the later form) = "the two heights." Ramah lay in the hill country of Ephraim, in the land of Zuph. Jerome says it was "in regione Thamnitica." This agrees with what is here said of Ramathaim as having previously belonged to Samaria, and seems to favour its identification with *Beit-rima*, a little to the N. of *Tibneh* (Thamna), and the Arimathæa of the Gospels (Matt. xxvii. 57; Joh. xix. 38).

for all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem] i.e. the orthodox party as distinct from the Hellenistic Jews and the Samaritans resident in the three toparchies. Perhaps we get a better sense here by altering the punctuation so as to read: **For all such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem (we will bestow what was to be paid) instead of the king's dues &c.**, and substituting a comma for the period at the end of v. 34.

instead of the king's dues] Critics are agreed that some word or words must have fallen out of the text. But the sense evidently is that instead of having to pay the royal dues formerly collected from Judæa and "the three provinces," the Jews were to receive the latter absolutely without burden, and were to be exempt from paying tribute to Syria.

from the produce of the earth &c.] See note on x. 30.

35. the other things] i.e. all the departments of revenue.

that pertain unto us from henceforth] The meaning probably being that any arrears due at the date of the king's decree were to be paid, but that no subsequent claim would be made.

the tenths and the tolls] See note on x. 31.

the saltpits] These were ponds filled with water from the Dead Sea at the yearly overflows, in which by the mere process of evaporation

one of these things shall be annulled from this time forth
 37 and for ever. Now therefore be careful to make a copy of
 these things, and let it be given unto Jonathan, and let it be
 set up on the holy mount in a meet and conspicuous place.

38 And king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before
 him, and that no resistance was made to him, and he sent
 away all his forces, each man to his own place, except the
 foreign forces, which he had raised from the isles of the
 39 Gentiles: and all the forces of his fathers hated him. Now

considerable deposits of salt were formed. See note on x. 29 and cf.
 Ezek. xlvi. 11; Zeph. ii. 9.

the crowns] Cf. note on x. 29.

37. *in a...conspicuous place*] It would probably be engraved on a
 brass tablet. Cf. viii. 22.

If the concessions obtained by Jonathan were not so numerous as
 those previously offered by Demetrius I (x. 28—45), they were perhaps,
 both religiously and politically, of greater value. The appointment of
 Jonathan as high priest, and as civil and military governor (xi. 27
 compared with x. 65) was a sufficient guarantee alike of religious
 liberty and of political independence. No doubt the Acra was still
 kept in the hands of the Syrians, but the situation was now such as to
 point to the early cession of it also.

38—53. JONATHAN AS THE ALLY OF DEMETRIUS II AGAINST TRYPHON.

Demetrius II having produced widespread disaffection by discharging
 his regular troops and retaining only a contingent of foreign merce-
 naries, a certain Tryphon, who had formerly been an adherent of
 Alexander Balas, attempted to set up as king of Syria Antiochus, the
 youthful son of Balas. Jonathan also took occasion to demand the
 removal of the Syrian garrisons from the Jewish fortresses, and to
 this Demetrius agreed on condition that Jonathan would help him to
 put down the rebellion in Antioch. The high priest at once dispatched
 3000 Jews, who, after rendering effectual aid to the king, returned to
 Jerusalem with much honour and spoil. But Demetrius, once more
 secure in his kingdom, broke his promises, and "estranged himself
 from Jonathan."

38. *the land was quiet before him*] Cf. i. 3, and v. 52.

from the isles of the Gentiles] i.e. of the Mediterranean, according
 to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 4—9) chiefly from Crete (cf. x. 67). Rhodes,
 Cyprus, and the islands of the Archipelago are also probably intended.

the forces of his fathers] i.e. the troops that had served under his
 predecessors Seleucus IV Philopator, Antiochus Epiphanes, and
 Demetrius I. Their hatred, while chiefly the result of their own dis-
 missal, may also have been partly due to his sloth (*Justin* XXXVI. 1)
 and cruelty (*Livy, Epit.* LII.).

Tryphon was of those who aforetime had been of Alexander's part, and he saw that all the forces murmured against Demetrius, and he went to Imalcue the Arabian, who was nourishing up Antiochus the young child of Alexander, and pressed sore upon him that he should deliver him unto him, 40

39. *Tryphon*] Strabo tells us that this was only a surname (meaning *débauché*) adopted by himself after his victory over Demetrius II, and therefore applied to him here by anticipation. Tryphon's real name was Diodotus. A native of Kasiana, and brought up in Apamea on the Orontes, he was associated with Hierax in the government of the kingdom during Alexander's campaign against Demetrius in Cilicia. Cf. note on v. 13.

Imalcue] The Vulg. has *Emalchuel*, Josephus *Malchus*, and Diodorus *Iamblichus*. In Arabic the name might take the form *Almalikī* or its Ethiopic equivalent *Almalkūī* = *Kingly*. In any case it appears to be a derivative from the Arabic root *malik* (Heb. *melek*) = *king*. Imalcue may have been a relative of Zabdiel (xi. 17), or the son and successor of Diocles, the Arabian prince in whose hands Balas had placed his son Antiochus for safe custody (Diodorus, *Fr.* xxxii. 10. 1).

Antiochus the young child of Alexander] According to Livy (*Epit.* liii.), he was only about two years old when committed to Diocles.



TETRADRACHM OF ANTIOCHUS VI.

Obv. Head of Antiochus, radiate. *Rev.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ (of King Antiochus Epiphanes Dionysus). In field ΤΡΥΦ (Tryphon). Date ΘΞΡ=169 of Seleucid era. The Dioscuri on horseback, wearing chlamydes and pilei surmounted by stars; lances couched.

(From Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*. Cf. Brit. Mus. Cat. of Coins, Seleucid Kings of Syria, Pl. XIX.)

Some, however, would read *puero* for *bimulo*, in which case the statement would be a general one to the effect that he was "a mere boy."

40. *pressed sore upon him*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* xiii. 5. 1) Malchus distrusted Tryphon.

that he might reign in his father's stead: and he told him all that Demetrius had done, and the hatred wherewith his forces hated him; and he abode there many days.

- 41 And Jonathan sent unto king Demetrius, that he should cast out of Jerusalem them of the citadel, and them that were in the strongholds; for they fought against Israel continually. And Demetrius sent unto Jonathan, saying, I will not only do this for thee and thy nation, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if I find fair occasion.
- 42
43 Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men who shall fight for me; for all my forces are revolted. And Jonathan sent him three thousand valiant men unto Antioch: and they came to the king, and the king was glad at their coming.
- 44
45 And they of the city gathered themselves together into the

many days] i.e. until the Arabian relented. Within this period falls the rebellion against Demetrius described in vv. 41—53, which with the help of Jonathan he succeeded in putting down.

41. *them of the citadel*] i.e. the Syrian garrison in the Acra. The removal of the foreign troops from this stronghold had been a long cherished ambition on the part of the Maccabees, and Jonathan shrewdly demanded its accomplishment at a time when Demetrius II had no alternative but to yield to their wishes.

them that were in the strongholds] For a list of the fortresses established by Bacchides, see ix. 50—52. With the exception of Bethzur, these had been relinquished on the outbreak of the war between Demetrius I and Alexander Balas (x. 12—14), but they appear to have been subsequently reoccupied.

42. *I will not only do this*] Demetrius was very ready to promise, because he never meant to perform.

I will greatly honour thee and thy nation] Lit. with glory will I glorify thee.

if I find fair occasion] i.e. as soon as opportunity offers.

43. *thou shalt do well, if &c.*] A delicate form of request. Cf. xii. 18, 22; Acts xv. 29; 3 John 6.

all my forces are revolted] This is scarcely to be considered as a mere pretext, for although Demetrius had himself disbanded his Syrian troops (v. 38 and note), he probably did so because he was afraid of them.

44. *valiant men*] Lit. **men mighty in strength**=the O.T. phrase "mighty men of valour," i.e. experienced veterans. Cf. note on x. 19. Even 3000 regulars were capable of doing effective service against the undisciplined mob of citizens who had raised the standard of rebellion in Antioch. The Syrian soldiers were by this time dispersed throughout the kingdom (v. 38); a certain percentage of them, however, would still be resident in the capital.

midst of the city, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand men, and they were minded to slay the king. And the king fled into the court of the palace, and they of the city seized the passages of the city, and began to fight. And the king called the Jews to help him, and they were gathered together unto him all at once, and they dispersed themselves in the city, and slew that day to the number of a hundred thousand. And they set the city on fire, and gat many spoils that day, and saved the king. And they of the city saw that the Jews had made themselves masters of the city as they would, and they waxed faint in their hearts, and they cried out to the king with supplication, saying, Give us thy right hand, and let the Jews cease from fighting against us and the city. And they cast away their arms, and made peace; and the Jews were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that were in his kingdom; and they returned to Jerusalem, having many spoils. And king Demetrius sat on the throne of his kingdom, and the land was quiet before him. And he lied in all that he spake, and estranged himself from Jonathan, and recompensed him

45. *a hundred and twenty thousand men*] The numbers both of the rebels and of the slain (*v.* 47) are probably exaggerated.

46. *the court of the palace*] An attempt to seize Demetrius outside had evidently failed.

seized the passages] i.e. occupied the thoroughfares. Not the gates, but the streets, of the city are meant. Cf. LXX. of Deut. xiii. 16; Jer. vii. 34. Josephus says they "seized upon all the ways of getting out," i.e. on the thoroughfares connecting the palace with the city gates.

47. *the king called the Jews to help him*] The Jews were not, however, the only troops engaged on the king's side. "His own mercenaries" also took part in the fray (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. 5. 3).

they dispersed themselves] i.e. the Jews divided into different parties. For the usage cf. 1 Sam. xiv. 34.

49. *waxed faint in their hearts*] For Greek cf. LXX. of Is. vii. 4.

50. *Give us thy right hand*] See note on vi. 58.

51. *cast away their arms*] See note on v. 43, but here the phrase probably means simply "threw down their arms."

52. *the land was quiet before him*] See note on *v.* 38. This tranquillity was, however, short-lived. In all probability Tryphon was in the field as patron and standard-bearer of the young Antiochus (*v.* 54) before Demetrius had worn the crown for a full year.

53. *he lied in all that he spake*] Rather: **he proved false as to all that he had promised**, viz. to Jonathan (*vv.* 42, 43).

not according to the benefits with which he had recompensed him, and afflicted him exceedingly.

54 Now after this Tryphon returned, and with him the young
55 child Antiochus ; and he reigned, and put on a diadem. And
there were gathered unto him all the forces which Demetrius
56 had sent away with disgrace, and they fought against
57 him, and he fled and was put to the rout. And Tryphon
took the elephants, and became master of Antioch. And

benefits] i.e. acts of kindness and tokens of good will.

afflicted him exceedingly] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 3) by threatening him with war unless he consented to pay all the taxes previously levied upon the Jews by the earlier Syrian kings. As the sole object of our author is to bring out the *ingratitude* of Demetrius, it is not surprising that he omits all mention of the king's mercenaries, as well as of the general details of the struggle.

54—74. JONATHAN UNDER ANTIOCHUS VI.

Having at length induced the Arabian chief to commit his *protégé* to his care, Tryphon had Antiochus VI crowned as king (B.C. 145—144). The troops whom Demetrius II had discharged rallied round his rival, and enabled him to defeat Demetrius and obtain possession of the capital (*vv.* 55, 56). In the young king's name Tryphon wrote confirming Jonathan in all his dignities, and appointing his brother Simon commander over the sea-board of Palestine (*vv.* 57—59). Naturally Jonathan transferred his allegiance to the new king. At once he entered upon the task of bringing the entire region between Jerusalem and Damascus under his dominion. Having won Ascalon and Gaza (*vv.* 60—62), he left Simon to take Beth-zur (*vv.* 64—66), and proceeded to Galilee, where (near Hazor) he met and, after a temporary reverse, routed the generals of Demetrius (*vv.* 67—74).

54. *the young child Antiochus*] See note on *v.* 39.

he reigned] **Became king.** Cf. *i.* 10, *vii.* 1.

put on a diadem] The youthful son of Alexander Balas received at his coronation the titles of *Epiphanes* and *Dionysus*. See the coin, p. 207.

55. *the forces which &c.*] These now gathered round Tryphon, who, according to Diodorus, had already encamped with a small army near Chalcis on the Arabian frontier, and was raiding the surrounding districts. At first Demetrius treated him with contempt, and merely ordered his arrest as a robber ; but Tryphon went on recruiting his forces until he was obliged to deal with him as a formidable enemy.

and he fled] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 4), he retired to Cilicia ; according to Livy (*Epit.* LII.), to Seleucia.

56. *elephants*] These may have previously belonged to the Egyptian army, and come into the possession of Demetrius II after the death of Ptolemy Philometor. Demetrius could have kept them himself only by violating the provisions of the treaty of Magnesia. But see note on *vi.* 30.

the young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying, I confirm unto thee the high priesthood, and appoint thee over the four governments, and to be one of the king's Friends. And he sent unto him golden vessels and furniture for the table, and gave him leave to drink in golden vessels, and to be clothed in purple, and to have a golden buckle. And his brother Simon he made captain from the Ladder of Tyre unto the borders of Egypt. And Jonathan went forth, and took his journey beyond the river and through the

57. *the young Antiochus wrote*] Although it was written in the king's name, the real author of the letter was Tryphon.

the four governments] Three of these are named in v. 34. Expositors are not agreed whether the fourth was Ptolemais, Judaea, or Ekron (cf. x. 89). This last supposition has in its favour the statement of Josephus, *l. c.*, "he yielded up to him the four prefectures which had been added to Judaea," as also the unlikelihood of Judaea being reckoned simply as a district along with the others.

58. *golden vessels &c.*] It was customary for Oriental kings (Egyptian and Persian) to dispense gifts of gold plate to their favourites. See Xenophon, *Anab.* i. 2. 27.

gave him leave to drink in golden vessels] Cf. 1 Esdr. iii. 6 and note on x. 89. The permission to "drink in gold" seems analogous to the conferring of an "order" such as the Garter or Ribbon, which is intended to be worn on State occasions. Gold seems to have been regarded as the metal of kings, and their most distinguished guests (Esth. i. 7; Homer, *Od.* i. 137, 142). It would therefore be conferring a signal honour on a man for a king to say: "I give you liberty in public functions and banquets to drink in the royal metal."

clothed in purple] See on x. 20, 62.

a golden buckle] See on x. 89.

59. *Simon he made captain*] This was a fitting acknowledgment of the service rendered by him in the war waged by the Maccabees against Apollonius, the governor of Coele-Syria and general of Demetrius, on behalf of Alexander Balas, father of Antiochus (x. 74—82).

the Ladder of Tyre] According to Josephus (*B. J.* ii. 10. 2), a high mountain on the sea coast between Tyre and Ptolemais, 100 furlongs N. of the latter city. It has been identified with the modern Cape *Râs-en-Nakûrah*, "a lofty headland which descends sheer into the sea, and effectually cuts off the Bay of Acre from the maritime plain to the north... It is surmounted by a path cut in zigzags, and exceedingly steep" (Rawl.). This explains why it is called "the Ladder." See the views in *Picturesque Palestine*, vol. III. pp. 64, 69. The steep ascent called the "Devil's Staircase," at the entrance to Glencoe, affords a modern parallel.

the borders of Egypt] i.e. most probably "the river of Egypt" (Torrens Aegypti), the modern *Wady el-Arish*.

60. *beyond the river and through the cities*] According to some

cities; and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to be his confederates. And he came to Ascalon, and they of the city met him honourably. And he departed thence to Gaza, and they of Gaza shut him out; and he laid siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them. And they of Gaza made request unto Jonathan, and he gave them his right hand, and took the sons of their princes for hostages, and sent them away to Jerusalem; and he passed through the country as far as Damascus. And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Kedesh, which is in Galilee, with a great host, purposing

interpreters "the river" is, as usual (cf. vii. 8), the Euphrates, and the region into which Jonathan penetrated was therefore that part of Syria which lay beyond the Euphrates. It is, however, more probable that the Jordan is meant, and that "the cities" are those of Perea, already known to Jonathan (v. 24—52, ix. 37—48), although there may be a wider reference to the cities of Palestine generally.

the forces of Syria] viz. the disaffected troops whom Demetrius had dismissed. Jonathan's intention was evidently to secure the adhesion of these, in order afterwards to advance against the cities of Philistia, which still took the side of Demetrius, as they had done at the first (x. 75—86). This purpose had, however, to be temporarily abandoned, owing to the necessity of checkmating the troops of Demetrius in Galilee (vv. 63—64).

Ascalon] See x. 86, and note.

61. *Gaza*] Heb. 'Azzah = *the strong*, the most southern of the five principal cities of the Philistines, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Mediterranean, and about 15 miles S.W. of Ascalon. From a very ancient date it had been an important stronghold. It took Alexander the Great two months to capture it (Jos. Ant. XI. 8. 4). To-day it has a population of 16,000, and goes by the name of Ghūzzeh.

shut him out] Cf. x. 75. Their action was based upon their faith in the strength of their position, and their loyalty to Demetrius II.

burned the suburbs] As previously in the case of Azotus (v. 4).

62. *took the sons of their princes for hostages*] Cf. ix. 53. Jonathan's retention of the hostages at Jerusalem, instead of handing them over to Tryphon, shews the degree of power to which he had attained.

Damascus] Modern *Esh-Shâm*, on the border of the Syrian desert, about 120 miles N.E. of Jerusalem, and 200 miles S. of Antioch. It lay, of course, beyond the bounds of Palestine, but Jonathan's zeal in the service of Antiochus did not stop at the frontier.

63. *Kedesh*] i.e. *holy*, the ancient Levitical city in the tribe of Naphtali, and one of the cities of refuge. It was situated among the mountains, four miles N.W. of Lake Merom, and was called Kedesh-Naphtali (Josh. xx. 7; Judg. iv. 6), to distinguish it from Kadesh-Barnea in the south of Judah (Num. xxxii. 8; Josh. x. 41, xv. 23), and

to remove him from his office; and he went to meet them, 64 but Simon his brother he left in the country. And Simon 65 encamped against Bethsura, and fought against it many days, and shut it up: and they made request to him that he 66 would give them his right hand, and he gave it to them; and he put them out from thence, and took possession of the city, and set a garrison over it. And Jonathan and his 67 army encamped at the water of Gennesareth, and early in the morning they gat them to the plain of Hazor. And, 68 behold, an army of strangers met him in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him in the mountains, but themselves met him face to face. But they that lay in ambush rose out 69

from another Kedesh in Issachar (1 Chron. vi. 72). Kedesh-Naphtali was the residence of Barak (Judg. *l. c.*), and was one of the places whose inhabitants were removed by Tiglath-Pileser to Assyria (2 Ki. xv. 29). It is now the insignificant village of *Kedes*.

65. *Bethsura*] See on iv. 29. Beth-zur had been taken by Eupator, who placed a Syrian garrison in it (vi. 50). Its fortifications were further strengthened, and its garrison increased by Demetrius I (ix. 52). When, in B.C. 152, Alexander Balas rose to dispute the claim of Demetrius to the crown, Beth-zur and the citadel of Jerusalem (the Acra) were the only two strongholds from which the Syrian troops were not withdrawn (x. 12—14). As Demetrius had, in accordance with Jonathan's request, promised to remove them (xi. 41, 42), but failed to keep his word (v. 53), the Maccabees now took the matter into their own hands.

shut it up] i.e. surrounded it with a blockade.

67. *the water of Gennesareth*] Greek *Gennēsar*. The earliest occurrence of this name for the Sea of Galilee, afterwards so intimately associated with the life of our Lord. "Gennesar" is the original form... 'Nesar' according to Halévy is 'Galilee,' and 'Nazarenes' 'Galileans,' compare Matt. xxvi. 69 with xxvi. 71. 'Gen' is 'garden'" (Wellhausen, *Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.*² p. 255, note 1).

Hazor] = **stronghold**, an ancient Canaanitish capital, situated to the S. of Kedesh, on one of the heights overlooking the W. side of Lake Merom. It was subdued and burnt by Joshua, but was afterwards rebuilt and assigned as a "fenced city" to the tribe of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36). On its subsequent history cf. Judg. iv. 2—16; 1 Ki. ix. 15; 2 Ki. xv. 29. The prophecy regarding Hazor in Jer. xlix. 28—33 bespeaks its importance. The question of its identification has not yet been settled. Robinson, *B. R.* vol. III. pp. 364, 5, locates it at *Tell-el-Kuraimbeh*, while according to Buhl (par. 71), "on the N. side of *Wady hendāğ* there is a mount *hadîre*, and west of it a plain *Merğ hadîre*, which have undoubtedly preserved the ancient name."

68. *an army of strangers*] i.e. the foreign mercenaries maintained by Demetrius II. Cf. v. 38, iv. 12.

of their places, and joined battle; and all they that were of
 70 Jonathan's side fled: not one of them was left, except
 Mattathias the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of
 71 Chalphi, captains of the forces. And Jonathan rent his
 72 clothes, and put earth upon his head, and prayed. And he
 turned again unto them in battle, and put them to the rout,
 73 and they fled. And they of his side that fled saw it, and
 returned unto him, and pursued with him unto Kedesh unto
 74 their camp, and they encamped there. And there fell of the
 strangers on that day about three thousand men: and Jonathan
 returned to Jerusalem.
 12 And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose
 men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm and renew the

69, 70. *all...except*] "A few there were, in number about fifty, who stayed with him," is the representation of Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 7). Mattathias and Judas doubtless had some following, however small.

70. *Absalom*] Probably the same as Absalom in 2 Macc. xiii. 11. If the Absalom there mentioned were a Jewish ambassador in the time of Lysias (*circa* B.C. 163), his son may very well have been in active service when the events of our chapter occurred (B.C. 144).

Chalphi] A name which appears in the N. T. as *Alphaeus*. Cf. Matt. x. 3.

71. *Jonathan rent his clothes &c.*] According to Lev. x. 6, xxi. 10, the high priest was not permitted to uncover his head or rend his clothes. An exception to this rule would seem to have been made, however, upon occasions of great public calamity. Cf. Matt. xxvi. 65. For Oriental modes of expressing grief, see on iii. 47, iv. 39.

73. *they of his side that fled*] or, perhaps, that **were fleeing**, were in the act of flight. The reading is doubtful.

returned unto him, and pursued with him] This part of the narrative is not very clear. Perhaps an engagement with the main body of the enemy is not meant. The "ambush" joined battle, and Jonathan's men fled; but it may have been only a small force, such as a few men in a good position might have held their ground against. We are justified in supposing that a certain number of men, besides the two captains specially named, stood by Jonathan (see above); and yet, perhaps, the incident is hardly stranger than that of 1 Sam. xiv. 11 sqq. The rally of Jonathan's army explains the heavy slaughter of Syrians that took place during the rout (*v.* 74).

their camp] Which was fortified, and proof against such assault as the Jews could make on it.

they encamped there] i.e. the soldiers of Jonathan pitched near or in front of the enemy's camp at Kedesh. Cf. note on *v.* 63.

74. *three thousand men*] Josephus has 2000 (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 8).

friendship that they had with them. And to the Spartans, and to other places, he sent letters after the same manner. And they went unto Rome, and entered into the senate house, and said, Jonathan the high priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for them the friendship and the confederacy, as in former time. And they gave them letters unto the men in every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace.

THIRD SECTION. CH. XII. 1—53. JEWISH EMBASSIES TO ROME AND SPARTA. LAST CONFLICTS AND IMPRISONMENT OF JONATHAN.

CH. XII. 1—23. JONATHAN SENDS AMBASSADORS TO ROME AND SPARTA.

Probably because he deemed that circumstances might arise in which it would be advantageous for him to be known as the ally of the brave and powerful, Jonathan sent ambassadors to the Romans, Spartans, and other nations, to establish friendly relations with them. At Rome they met with a favourable reception, and were provided with a safe escort on their return (v. 4). Our author gives what purports to be a copy of Jonathan's letter to the Spartans (vv. 5—18). Appended to this, as an explanation and justification of the present diplomatic movement, is a copy of a letter addressed at an earlier date by the Spartan king, Arius I (B.C. 309—265), to the Jewish high priest, Onias I.

1. *served him*] i.e. was favourable.

chose men] viz. Numenius and Antipater, who were commissioned to visit both Rome and Sparta, the latter on the return journey (vv. 16, 17, xiv. 22).

to confirm and renew the friendship &c.] See ch. viii. 17 sqq.

2. *the Spartans*] Sparta, the capital of Laconia, frequently gave its name thus to the entire people of the Laconians or Lacedaemonians.

after the same manner] i.e. to the same effect. The two ambassadors must therefore have been the bearers of a letter to the Roman Senate also. Its terms, however, are not communicated, presumably because it formed merely the credentials necessary for the ambassadors in negotiating for a renewal of the former treaty.

3. *the senate house*] In the Roman Senate foreign ambassadors were permitted to speak for themselves (Livy VII. 20, &c.; Polyb. XXXI. 6, &c.). Cf. note on viii. 15.

to renew for them the friendship] This practice, which was very common upon the accession of a new king, did not imply any previous breach of friendly relations.

as in former time] Cf. viii. 21—32.

4. *the men in every place*] i.e. the Roman authorities in the several places and countries to be visited by them on their way back to Judaea.

bring them on their way] i.e. escort them, and otherwise facilitate their journey (Acts xv. 3; 3 John 6). This grant of a safe conduct

5 And this is the copy of the letters which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans :

6 Jonathan the high priest, and the senate of the nation, and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Jews, unto
7 their brethren the Spartans, greeting : Even before this time were letters sent unto Onias the high priest from Arius, who was reigning among you, to signify that ye are our brethren,
8 as the copy here underwritten sheweth. And Onias entreated honourably the man that was sent, and received the letters, wherein declaration was made of confederacy and
9 friendship. Therefore we also, albeit we need none of these

to the Jewish embassy committed the Romans, of course, to nothing, and left them a free hand to deal with the situation after the close of the struggle between Demetrius II and Tryphon.

5. *the letters*] Rather, **the letter**; so also in *v.* 19, x. 17, xiv. 20, &c. The plural form is used in Greek (as in Latin) to denote a single letter. Probably R.V. retains the plural as we still sometimes use it of a formal document.

6. *the senate of the nation*] From the time of the Ptolemies the high priest was assisted in the administration by an aristocratic council of rulers and elders, called the *gerousia* or senate, which appears either to have originated or to have been reorganised under the reforming influence of Hellenism. What, at this period, was the precise nature of its constitution, and the scope of its authority, is unknown; but, as the supreme court of the country, it afterwards developed into the Sanhedrin. This is the only passage in our book where it is mentioned; but in 2 Macc. (iv. 44, xi. 27) it is referred to as already existing in the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and Antiochus V Eupator. Cf. i. 26, xiv. 28.

people] Gr. *δημος* (=Lat. *populus* as opposed to *plebs*). The writer limits his use of this term almost exclusively (xiv. 25 is an exception) to international documents (viii. 29, xiv. 21, xv. 17), with the intention, apparently, of marking out the Jews as a free and independent people.

brethren] viz. in the wide sense of having a supposed common origin. See *v.* 21, xiv. 20, 40.

7. *Arius*] All Greek MSS. read *Darius*, but the Old Latin and Josephus read *Arius*, and from *v.* 20 it is clear that the latter is the correct form. Arius, or Areus I reigned in Sparta from B.C. 309—265, and was a contemporary of the Jewish high priest Onias I (B.C. 323—300). The letter contained in *vv.* 20—23 must therefore have been written not earlier than B.C. 309, nor later than B.C. 300.

as the copy here underwritten sheweth] i.e. according to the copy subjoined (*vv.* 20—23).

8. *the man that was sent*] According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 8) his name was Demoteles.

9. *these things*] i.e. alliance and friendship. It may seem odd that

things, having for our encouragement the holy books which are in our hands, have assayed to send that we might renew ¹⁰ our brotherhood and friendship with you, to the end that we should not become estranged from you altogether: for long time is passed since ye sent unto us. We therefore at all ¹¹ times without ceasing, both in our feasts, and on the other convenient days, do remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as it is right and meet to be mindful of brethren: and moreover are glad for your ¹² glory. But as for ourselves, many afflictions and many wars ¹³ have encompassed us, and the kings that are round about

the Jews should thus declare that they had no need of the very things they were seeking; but the statement is a characteristic one, and illustrative of the proud consciousness of their privileged position as the people of Jehovah which made any diplomatic connexion with another nation an act of condescension on their part.

for our encouragement] Or, **comfort**, as the word is rendered in Rom. xv. 4. The sacred books afforded comfort to the Jews not only by their assurance that God would succour those who kept his commandments, but also through the concrete examples of deliverance in straits which they shewed to have marked the history of Israel.

the holy books] The attempts to destroy these (i. 56, 57, iii. 48) had only endeared them the more to all faithful Israelites.

10. *have assayed &c.]* Grimm takes this expression as indicating some doubt whether such a mission would be acceptable in the sight of God, but more probably it is merely a diplomatic form.

long time] Upwards of a century and a half.

11. *our feasts]* The great festivals of the Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles, as well as the minor feasts of Purim and the Dedication. Cf. note on x. 34.

other convenient days] e.g. sabbaths and new moons. It is certainly credible enough that the Jews, who offered sacrifices and prayers for the heathen kings to whom they were subject (vii. 33), should have done so for foreign communities to whom they believed themselves to be racially akin.

12. *glory]* Doubtless the original was *kābōdh* (כבוד), which would include both fame and wealth.

13. *many afflictions and many wars]* The references in this verse may include the attempted profanation of the sanctuary in Jerusalem by Ptolemy Philopator in B.C. 217, and the placing in the city of an Egyptian garrison by Scopas, the general of his successor Ptolemy V Epiphanes in B.C. 198, but it is no doubt the Syrian kings (Epiphanes, Eupator, Demetrius I and Demetrius II) and their deputed governors, as well as the princes and generals of the tribes mentioned in ch. v. (Edomites, Baeanites, Ammonites, Phoenicians, and Trans-Jordanic heathen) that the writer has chiefly in view. Cf. note on v. 2.

14 us have fought against us. We were not minded therefore
to be troublesome unto you, and to the rest of our con-
15 federates and friends, in these wars; for we have the help
which is from heaven to help us, and we have been delivered
from our enemies, and our enemies have been brought low.
16 We chose therefore Numenius the son of Antiochus, and
Antipater the son of Jason, and have sent them unto the
Romans, to renew the friendship that we had with them,
17 and the former confederacy. We commanded them there-
fore to go also unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver
you our letters concerning the renewing of *friendship* and
18 our brotherhood. And now ye shall do well if ye give us
an answer thereto.

19 And this is the copy of the letters which they sent to
Onias:

20 Arius king of the Spartans to Onias the chief priest, greet-
21 ing: It hath been found in writing, concerning the Spartans
and the Jews, that they are brethren, and that they are of

14. *troublesome unto you*] By applying to you for military aid.

15. *the help which is from heaven*] The Jews of this period held as strongly as David did when he went to meet Goliath that "the battle is the Lord's" (1 Sam. xvii. 47), and their experience as recorded in this verse must have confirmed them in this belief. Cf. iii. 18—23, iv. 30—34, 55; 2 Chron. xx. 15.

16. *Jason*] The father of Antipater, and possibly the son of Eleazar, whom Judas had previously sent as an ambassador to Rome (viii. 17). Numenius and Antipater were probably chosen because of their familiarity with the Greek language.

sent them unto the Romans] Nothing could have been better calculated to raise the Jews in the esteem of the Spartans than the mention of the treaty with Rome.

friendship] 'Amity' of A.V. is an archaism for political friendship. Thus:

First, to do greetings to thy royal person;
And then to crave a league of *amity*;
And lastly to confirm that *amity*
With nuptial knot.

SHAKESPEARE, 3 *Hen.* VI. III. 3. 53, 54,
quoted in Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 36.

19. *which they sent to Onias*] A.V., "which Oniaries sent," follows a wrong reading. The dative *Onia* at the end of v. 19, and the *Arvios* with which v. 20 begins, were combined by a careless copyist so as to form one name.

21. *in writing*] Rather: in a writing. What particular document is alluded to remains undetermined.

the stock of Abraham : and now, since this is come to our²² knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us of your prosperity. And we moreover do write on our part to you,²³ that your cattle and goods are ours, and ours are yours. We do command therefore that they make report unto you on this wise.

of the stock of Abraham] See on v. 6, and also below.

22. of your prosperity] Lit., with reference to your *peace*.

23. And we moreover do write &c.] Rather: **And we also purpose to write back to you.** The use of the present tense indicates a settled purpose to write again, the action though still future being as good as performed already. This letter (vv. 20—23) is not, of course, the answer to Jonathan's, which precedes.

your cattle and goods are ours &c.] i.e. we will stand by one another to the extent of our power and resources alike in peace and in war. This way of expressing alliance may seem strange on the part of a war-like people like the Spartans, but the words are intended to set forth chiefly the union of brotherhood, and cattle and other possessions are the indispensable means of subsistence for all peoples, whether pastoral and agricultural or not. Cf. 1 Ki. xxii. 4; 2 Ki. iii. 7.

that they make report] i.e. that the bearers of the letter give more extended verbal expression to its condensed statement.

The section xii. 1—23 seems awkwardly placed between the account of the defeat of the Syrians at the Sea of Gennesareth and Jonathan's subsequent fruitless pursuit after them from Hamath. As commander of Coele-Syria, he was, ostensibly at all events, fighting in the interests of Tryphon, and therefore prudently limited his efforts for the time to the north. In these circumstances it is certainly difficult to understand why he should have divested himself of the character of a Syrian officer, and by entering into a treaty with Rome should have assumed the attitude of an independent sovereign. Wellhausen accordingly declares against the credibility of the embassy to Rome, on the ground that, in contrast to viii. 17, no names are mentioned (*Gesch.* p. 220, note 4). The fact that the deputies to Sparta (Numenius and Antipater) are said in Jonathan's letter to the Spartans to have been "sent unto the Romans as well" (v. 16), is of no significance unless the genuineness of that document can be established.

Although the Jews and Spartans had not, as claimed, a common lineage, there is no reason to doubt the actual existence of such a mutual alliance as that here mentioned. No motive can be imagined for *feigning* it, for if either in the traditional accounts known to him or in the writer's own mind there had been a tendency to magnify the Jews by representing them as in treaty with foreign nations, there were many such that lay more naturally to his hand than did the Spartans. It has also been aptly suggested (Palmer: *De epistolarum, quas Spartani atque Judaei invicem sibi misisse dicuntur, veritate*) that in B.C. 302, when Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the conquest of the Peloponnesus,

24 And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were re-
 25 turned to fight against him with a greater host than afore,
 and he removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the
 country of Hamath; for he gave them no respite to set
 26 foot in his country. And he sent spies into his camp, and
 they came again, and reported to him that they were ap-
 pointed in such and such a way to fall upon them in the

came to the assistance of his father Antigonus against the combined forces of Seleucus, Ptolemy Lagi, Lysimachus, and Cassander, the Spartans did their best to defeat the ambition alike of father and son by stirring up opposition to them among the Asiatic peoples, the Jews included. If this be correct, the step taken by Jonathan towards the renewal of old friendly relations becomes perfectly intelligible.

Assuming that there was such an alliance between the Jews and the Spartans, it is only reasonable to infer the existence and interchange of written documents in connexion therewith. It does not, however, necessarily follow that we have these records in the letters before us, which appear rather to represent an independent effort on the part of the writer, or his authority, to restore the original documents which were no longer extant.

24—38. SECOND FUTILE CAMPAIGN OF THE GENERALS OF DEMETRIUS AGAINST JONATHAN. SUBJUGATION OF THE ZABADAEANS, AND FORTIFICATION OF JEWISH STRONGHOLDS.

In B.C. 144 the armies of Demetrius meditated another descent upon Palestine; but Jonathan at once led his troops beyond Lebanon and met them in Hamath. By means of spies he discovered that a night-attack upon his camp had been planned by the Syrians; and when the latter learned in their turn that the Jews were not off their guard, they hastily retreated across the Eleutherus (*v.* 30). Thereupon Jonathan successfully attacked the Zabadaeans, a tribe of Ituraean Arabians on Lebanon, and returned by Damascus to Jerusalem. Meanwhile his brother Simon, following up his victory at Beth-zur (*xi.* 65, 66), occupied Ascalon (*v.* 33) and garrisoned Joppa (*vv.* 33, 34), and soon afterwards fortified Adida on the Philistine frontier (*v.* 38). On his return to the capital, and after consultation with the elders, Jonathan proceeded to repair the walls of Jerusalem. In order to starve out the Syrian garrison, which still held by Demetrius, he also attempted by means of huge earth-works to isolate the Acra from the city (*vv.* 35—39).

24. This verse connects with *xi.* 74, and resumes the narrative of the conflict with the generals of Demetrius in Galilee.

25. *the country of Hamath*] The Syrian district which lay around the important city of the same name on the Orontes, at the northern base of Lebanon. The frontier or "entering in of Hamath" is often alluded to as the extreme northern limit of Palestine (*Num.* *xiii.* 21; *1 Ki.* *viii.* 65; cf. *Am.* *vi.* 2). Called by the Greeks *Epiphania*, the city afterwards resumed, and still retains, its ancient name as *Hamah*.

night season. But so soon as the sun was down, Jonathan ²⁷ commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms, that all the night long they might be ready for battle: and he put forth sentinels round about the camp. And the adversaries ²⁸ heard that Jonathan and his men were ready for battle, and they feared, and trembled in their hearts, and they kindled fires in their camp. But Jonathan and his men knew it ²⁹ not till the morning; for they saw the lights burning. And ³⁰ Jonathan pursued after them, and overtook them not; for they were gone over the river Eleutherus. And Jonathan ³¹ turned aside to the Arabians, who are called Zabadæans, and smote them, and took their spoils. And he set out ³² from thence, and came to Damascus, and took his journey through all the country. And Simon went forth, and took ³³ his journey as far as Ascalon, and the strongholds that were near unto it. And he turned aside to Joppa, and took

26. *were appointed*] were arranging for this purpose. Cf. v. 27.

27. *he put forth sentinels*] Lit. he threw out (*ἐξέβαλεν*, cf. xi. 68; Matt. ix. 38, &c.) pickets.

28. *feared, and trembled in their hearts*] i.e. were seized with panic. *kindled fires in their camp*] In order to deceive the Jews by making it appear as if they were still there. Cf. 2 Ki. vii. 7.

Some cursive MSS., the Syr., and Josephus, add to this verse the words *and departed*. This seems necessary to the sense of the passage, as otherwise no intelligible meaning can be attached to the statement of the following verse, that "Jonathan and his men knew it not till the morning." It is, however, so natural a gloss, that one doubts whether it may not be only a gloss.

29. *the lights*] This term is used for camp fires by Xenophon, *Cyrop.* vii. 5. 10, &c. Cf. Luke xxii. 56.

30. *Eleutherus*] See note on xi. 7. Jonathan did not cross the river, because he did not choose to pass into Syria.

31. *Zabadæans*] The name appears to be preserved in *Zebdini* or *Zebedány*, a plain, streamlet, and township on the western slope of the Antilibanus. The village, which to-day has a population of 3000, lies some 15 miles N.W. of Damascus, on the road to Baalbek. Whether the conflict here mentioned is to be identified with the battle between the Jews and the Zabadæans represented in the *Megillath Taanith* as having been fought on the 17th Adar is disputed.

32. *Damascus*] See on xi. 62. Jonathan seems to have now assumed jurisdiction over this important city.

33, 34. *And Simon went forth &c.*] With a spirit of enterprise befitting his new rank (xi. 59). His exploits on the Philistine sea-board were simultaneous with those of Jonathan in the neighbourhood of Damascus.

Ascalon...Joppa] See notes on x. 75, 76, 86.

34 possession of it; for he had heard that they were minded to deliver the stronghold unto the men of Demetrius; and he set a garrison there to keep it.

35 And Jonathan returned, and called the elders of the people together; and he took counsel with them to build
36 strongholds in Judæa, and to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great mound between the citadel and the city, for to separate it from the city, that so it might be
37 all alone, that men might neither buy nor sell. And they were gathered together to build the city, and there fell down part of the wall of the brook that is on the east side,
38 and he repaired that which is called Chaphenatha. And Simon also built Adida in the plain country, and made it strong, and set up gates and bars.

took possession of it] Lit. pre-occupied it. Cf. v. 8.

set a garrison there] In view of the strategic importance of the place, it is rather surprising that Jonathan did not do this on capturing Joppa, but perhaps the garrison of Apollonius had changed its allegiance, or a garrison drawn from the town may have been installed as sufficient in time of peace. Cf. x. 75, 76.

36. *the walls of Jerusalem*] As the fortifications of the temple, which on the east side formed part of the city wall, had been demolished by order of Antiochus Eupator (vi. 62), Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 11) adds correctly: "and to rebuild the portion of the temple-wall which had been thrown down."

a great mound &c.] If this was ever erected, all traces of it have disappeared. It cannot have existed even a year or two later, since Simon, after taking the citadel, not only destroyed it, but proceeded to level the very eminence on which it stood, "that so the temple might be higher than it" (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. 6. 6).

that men might neither buy nor sell] i.e. "that there might be no buying or selling" between those within and those without. The idea was to starve the garrison by preventing any kind of intercourse, and so cutting off their supplies (xiii. 49).

37. *there fell down*] viz. while the building operations were in process, and because the foundation was unable to bear the additional weight put upon it by the heightening of the wall.

the brook] i.e. the brook (lit. **winter-torrent**, cf. v. 37) Kidron, which flows through the precipitous ravine "on the east side" of Jerusalem. Except during the rainy season it is quite dry. Cf. John xviii. 1.

Chaphenatha] Probably the designation of the part of the wall that had fallen down. No satisfactory interpretation has yet been found for the name, which does not occur elsewhere.

38. *built*] i.e. fortified (as a cover to the road from Joppa).

Adida] The O.T. **Hadid**, a town of Benjamin (*Ezr.* ii. 33; *Neh.* vii.

And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth his hand against Antiochus the king. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathan should not suffer him, and lest he should fight against him; and he sought a way how to take him, that he might destroy him. And he removed, and came to Bethshan. And

37; xi. 34). According to Josephus, it was situated on a height overlooking "the plains of Judaea" (*Ant.* XIII. 6. 5), and from a military point of view was important; Vespasian when besieging Jerusalem made it a fortified camp (*B. J.* IV. 9. 1). It lay four miles E.N.E. of Lydda (*Ludd*), and is now the considerable village of *El-Hadithah*. Probably it is the *Hudita* mentioned by the Egyptian king Thothmes III in his Karnak list (Tomkins, *Records of the Past*, 2nd ser. v. 48).

in the plain country] Gr. *Sephela*, i.e. the low hills, or lowlands. The Heb. Shephêlah is usually rendered in the LXX. simply by "the valley" or "the plain," and has often been applied to the Plain of Philistia, the flat, open region lying between the mountains of Judaea and the Mediterranean. But G. A. Smith (*Hist. Geog.* pp. 202 sqq.) has shewn that "though the name may originally have been used to include the Maritime Plain, and this wider use may have been occasionally revived, yet the Shephêlah proper was the region of low hills between that plain and the high Central Range." The present appears to be "the most northerly instance of the name."

39—53. TRYPHON ASPIRES TO BE KING, AND TREACHEROUSLY SEIZES THE PERSON OF JONATHAN.

Tryphon now shewed his hand. Only two things stood between him and the kingdom,—the life of the boy-king Antiochus VI, and the power of Jonathan, which he suspected would be exercised against him. The former could now be thrown away as a tool that had served its purpose; the latter, too, must somehow be crushed (vv. 39, 40). Tryphon decided to proceed first against Jonathan, who, cunning as he was, fell into a trap at Ptolemais, and was taken prisoner (v. 48). Jonathan had left 2000 men behind in Galilee; these also Tryphon attempted to cut off, but without success (vv. 49—51). The heathen around were as much elated as the Jews were dejected at the fate of Jonathan (vv. 52, 53).

39. *Tryphon*] See xi. 54 sqq.

sought to reign over Asia] Coins bearing his name prove that Tryphon actually wore the crown.

to put on himself the diadem &c.] See xiii. 31. For "to stretch forth his hand &c." cf. 2 Sam. i. 14 (though the Greek is different). According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 6. 1), Tryphon resolved upon this course after hearing that Demetrius II had been taken prisoner by the Parthian king Arsaces VI. Cf. xiv. 1—3.

40. *Bethshan*] i.e. Scythopolis, now the dilapidated village of *Beisân*. See note on v. 52. The action taken by Jonathan under

Jonathan came forth to meet him with forty thousand men
 42 chosen for battle, and came to Bethshan. And Tryphon
 saw that he came with a great host, and he was afraid to
 43 stretch forth his hand against him: and he received him
 honourably, and commended him unto all his Friends, and
 gave him gifts, and commanded his forces to be obedient
 44 unto him, as unto himself. And he said unto Jonathan,
 Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is
 45 no war betwixt us? And now send them away to their
 homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall be with
 thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give
 it up to thee, and the rest of the strongholds and the rest
 of the forces, and all the king's officers: and I will return
 46 and depart; for this is the cause of my coming. And he
 put trust in him, and did even as he said, and sent away his
 47 forces, and they departed into the land of Judah. But he
 reserved to himself three thousand men, of whom he left
 two thousand in Galilee, but one thousand went with him.
 48 Now as soon as Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of

similar circumstances (*v.* 25) shews that Tryphon got so far south only because nothing was known in Judaea about this movement.

41. *forty thousand men*] The largest force the Maccabees had as yet been able to put into the field.

43. *commended him*] For the Greek word cf. 2 Macc. iv. 24; 2 Cor. x. 18.

gave him gifts] Cf. x. 20, 60, 89, xi. 58.

44. *seeing there is no war betwixt us*] The war with Cleopatra (consort of Demetrius II) and her generals broke out only after Tryphon had murdered the young Antiochus, assumed the diadem, and made himself universally detested.

45. *Ptolemais*] Ever since this city had been promised to Jonathan by Demetrius I (x. 39) he must have longed to possess it. To the people of Galilee especially it would be valuable as providing them with an outlet to the sea.

strongholds] Probably those on the sea coast between Ptolemais and Joppa, rather than the Acra and other strongholds in Judaea.

forces] viz. those stationed in the district but not in the fortresses.

this is the cause of my coming] Tryphon conveyed the impression that he had made the journey expressly in order to hand over to Jonathan the mastership of the entire coast region from Ptolemais to Joppa. It is certainly surprising that a man so shrewd as this Jewish prince should have been so easily deceived.

46. *put trust in him*] Cf. i. 30.

sent away his forces] So putting himself at Tryphon's mercy.

Ptolemais shut the gates, and laid hands on him; and all them that came in with him they slew with the sword. And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee, and into the great plain, to destroy all Jonathan's men. And they perceived that he was taken and had perished, and they that were with him; and they encouraged one another, and went on their way close together, prepared to fight. And they that followed upon them saw that they were ready to fight for their lives, and turned back again. And they all came in peace into the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathan, and them that were with him, and they were sore afraid; and all Israel mourned with a great mourning. And all the Gentiles that were round about them sought to destroy them utterly: for they said, They have no ruler, nor any to help them: now therefore let us fight against them, and take away their memorial from among men.

49. *the great plain*] Not the Shephêlah (see note on v. 38), but the Plain of Esdraelon, of which Thomson (*Land and Book*, p. 208) says: "Mount Gilboa and the ridge of Little Hermon divide the plain on the east into three irregular branches or smaller plains. The most northern extends round the base of Tabor; the central, descending to the Jordan by *Beisân*, is 'the valley of Jezreel'; the southern is merely the extension of the plain southward into the range of Gilboa." It is the "central" section that is referred to here. Cf. note on v. 52.

Jonathan's men] i.e. the 2000 mentioned in v. 47 as left in Galilee.

50. *had perished*] This did not take place till later (xiii. 23). It is not, however, surprising that rumour added this sensational climax to the disaster.

close together] i.e. **with closed ranks**, "like the Ten Thousand on their return from Cunaxa" (*Xen. Anab.* III. 3. 6).—Rawl.

51. *to fight for their lives*] i.e. with desperation.

52. *they mourned for Jonathan*] Cf. ix. 20, xiii. 26.

53. *all the Gentiles &c.*] Their jubilation over the disaster that had befallen the Jews does not appear, however, to have been followed up by any such concerted action as that taken after the early victories of Judas (ch. v.).

nor any to help them] **Nor helper**, since both the rival kings were now hostile to them. Hitherto they had always had an ally either in the reigning monarch or in the pretender who sought to wear the diadem. But now they must trust to their own strength.

take away their memorial &c.] Cf. iii. 35; Deut. xxxii. 26; Ps. lxxxiii. 4; Ecclus. x. 17.

13 And Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a
 2 mighty host to come into the land of Judah, and destroy it
 3 utterly. And he saw that the people trembled and was in
 4 great fear; and he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the
 5 people together; and he encouraged them, and said unto
 6 them, Ye yourselves know all the things that I, and my
 brethren, and my father's house, have done for the laws
 and the sanctuary, and the battles and the distresses which
 we have seen: by reason hereof all my brethren have
 perished for Israel's sake, and I am left alone. And now
 be it far from me, that I should spare mine own life in any
 time of affliction; for I am not better than my brethren.
 Howbeit I will take vengeance for my nation, and for the

FOURTH DIVISION. CH. XIII. 1—XVI. 24. THE ADMINISTRATION OF SIMON THE HIGH PRIEST.

FIRST SECTION. CH. XIII. 1—XIV. 3. ALLIANCE WITH DEMETRIUS II. DECLARATION OF JEWISH INDEPENDENCE. CONSOLIDATION OF SIMON'S POWER.

1—11. SIMON SUCCEEDS TO THE LEADERSHIP.

Although Jonathan had all but established the independence of his nation, his unexpected capture by Tryphon, together with the threatening attitude thereupon assumed by the neighbouring heathen, had naturally unnerved the Jews to a considerable extent (*vv.* 1, 2). But there still remained one of the sons of Mattathias to stand in the breach. Simon, who already held a position of trust (*xi.* 59), at once came to the front, and at a public assembly in Jerusalem declared his readiness to sacrifice his life for the law and the sanctuary (*vv.* 2—6). His brave words aroused the enthusiasm of the people, who chose him as their leader, and promised him obedience (*vv.* 7—9). He promptly pushed forward the work of fortifying Jerusalem, and placed a powerful garrison in Joppa (*vv.* 10, 11).

1. *gathered together a mighty host*] Jonathan's imprisonment was but a preliminary step towards carrying out his avowed intention of invading Judaea; and for this he was now making active preparations.

destroy it utterly] Cf. *v.* 20, *xiv.* 31.

3. *the sanctuary*] See on *iii.* 43.

4. *all my brethren have perished*] Simon shared the general belief that Jonathan had been already put to death. Cf. *xii.* 50. The death of Eleazar is recorded in *vi.* 46; that of Judas in *ix.* 18; and that of John in *ix.* 36, 42.

5. *be it far from me*] See on *ix.* 10.

I am not better] Cf. *i Ki.* *xix.* 4.

6. *I will take vengeance for my nation*] Simon's brothers had died "for Israel's sake," and he desired nothing better than to have a place

sanctuary, and for our wives and children ; because all the Gentiles are gathered to destroy us of very hatred. And ⁷ the spirit of the people revived, as soon as they heard these words. And they answered with a loud voice, saying, Thou ⁸ art our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brother. Fight thou our battles, and all that thou shalt say unto us, ⁹ that will we do. And he gathered together all the men of ¹⁰ war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and he fortified it round about. And he sent Jonathan the son ¹¹ of Absalom, and with him a great host, to Joppa : and he cast out them that were therein, and abode there in it.

And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a mighty ¹²

in this noble succession. To announce this was virtually to offer himself as leader and avenger of his nation.

all the Gentiles are gathered to destroy us] See note on xii. 53.

^{7.} *revived*] Cf. Gen. xlv. 27.

^{8.} *Thou art our leader*] Cf. ix. 30. Ch. xiv. 35 seems to indicate that he was at the same time nominated high priest. Shortly afterwards he was recognised as such by Demetrius II (*v.* 36).

^{9.} *all that thou shalt say unto us &c.*] Cf. Ex. xix. 8 ; Josh. i. 16 ; 2 Ki. x. 5.

^{10.} *made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem*] The work of repairing these had already been inaugurated by Jonathan (xii. 36, 37).

^{11.} *Jonathan*] Probably brother of Mattathias the military captain of xi. 70, *q.v.* Absalom appears from patriotic motives to have named his sons after members of the Maccabean family.

them that were therein] i.e. the native population, whom Simon suspected of a desire to hand over the city to Tryphon (*Jos. Ant.* XIII. 6. 4). He had already placed a garrison in Joppa (xii. 33), but it may not have been strong enough to prevent this.

12—24. TRYPHON INVADES JUDAEA, IS CHECKMATED BY SIMON, AND PUTS JONATHAN TO DEATH AT BASCAMA.

Tryphon now marched against Judaea, with Jonathan as his prisoner. Intercepted by Simon at Adida, he pretended that Jonathan's detention was owing merely to his having withheld certain imperial dues, and offered to set him at liberty on receiving 100 talents of silver and two of his sons as hostages. Simon complied with this insincere demand, but Tryphon declined to observe his part of the compact. He then attempted to get at Jerusalem by way of Adora, but Simon was too wide awake for him. In the winter of B.C. 143 he was also prevented by a heavy fall of snow from crossing the wilderness with supplies for the garrison in the Acra. Baffled and irritated, he then advanced into Gilead, and at Bascama had his prisoner put to death.

host to enter into the land of Judah, and Jonathan was
 13 with him in ward. But Simon encamped at Adida, over
 14 against the plain. And Tryphon knew that Simon was
 risen up instead of his brother Jonathan, and meant to join
 battle with him, and he sent ambassadors unto him, saying,
 15 It is for money which Jonathan thy brother owed unto the
 king's treasure, by reason of the offices which he had, that
 16 we hold him fast. And now send a hundred talents of
 silver, and two of his sons for hostages, that when he is set
 at liberty he may not revolt from us, and we will set him at
 17 liberty. And Simon knew that they spake unto him deceit-
 fully; and he sendeth the money and the children, lest
 peradventure he should procure to himself great hatred of
 18 the people, and they should say, Because I sent him not
 19 the money and the children, he perished. And he sent the
 children and the hundred talents. And he dealt falsely, and
 20 did not set Jonathan at liberty. And after this Tryphon
 came to invade the land, and destroy it, and he went round
 about by the way that leadeth unto Adora: and Simon and
 his army marched over against him to every place, where-
 21 soever he went. Now they of the citadel sent unto Tryphon

12. *Jonathan was with him in ward*] Tryphon doubtless reckoned on making capital out of his prisoner, whom the Jews would be prepared to ransom almost at any cost.

13. *Adida*] See note on xii. 38. The position taken up by Simon obliged Tryphon to decide between a battle here and approaching the newly-fortified capital in some other direction.

14. *was risen up*] Cf. ix. 31.

15. *the king's treasure*] **The royal treasury.** Cf. 2 Macc. iii. 13. *the offices which he had*] viz. those of high priest, general, and governor. Cf. x. 65, xi. 63; and on the use of *χρεῖται* in this sense, Polyb. III. 45. 2. Tryphon put this forward as a mere pretext; it had no foundation in fact. Cf. v. 17.

16. *a hundred talents of silver*] Equal to nearly £24,500 sterling.

17. *of the people*] **From** the people.

19. *he sent the children*] Nothing is known as to the subsequent fate of these hostages.

he dealt falsely] i.e. Tryphon. A good example of change of subject.

20. *Adora*] The O.T. Adoraim, on the southern border of the tribe of Judah (2 Chron. xi. 9), about 6 miles S.W. of Hebron. Josephus calls it Dora (*Ant.* XIII. 7. 2), and it still exists as the large village of *Dûra*. This approach by way of Idumæa (to which it probably belonged in post-exilic times) was a favourite route with the Syrians in their hostile designs against Jerusalem. Cf. iv. 29, vi. 31.

ambassadors, hastening him to come unto them through the wilderness, and to send them victuals. And Tryphon made ready all his horse to come : and on that night there fell a very great snow, and he came not by reason of the snow. And he removed, and came into the country of Gilead. But when he came near to Bascama, he slew Jonathan, and he was buried there. And Tryphon returned, and went away into his own land.

And Simon sent, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried him at Modin, the city of his fathers.

marched over against him to every place] As the Syrian army marched along the Shephêlah to the south, Simon led his forces simultaneously by the mountain paths, so as always to occupy a position directly between the invader and Jerusalem. The mountains afforded protection to the Jews, and Tryphon did not hazard an engagement. Michaelis compares the way in which Q. Fabius Maximus (Cunctator) kept alongside of Hannibal, but always on the mountains.

21. *they of the citadel*] The measures taken by Jonathan (xii. 36), and doubtless continued by Simon, were evidently producing their calculated effect upon the hostile garrison in the Acra.

the wilderness] i.e. the "wilderness of Judaea," W. of the Dead Sea.

22. *his horse*] The cavalry were intended to protect the supplies for the famished garrison.

a very great snow] Even in Palestine snow not unfrequently falls in winter, especially in the hill country and in Jerusalem, to the depth of a foot or more, but usually disappears in a day's time. Heavy falls such as that here referred to occur now and then, and the snow lies sometimes as long as a fortnight.

And he removed] He gave up the enterprise as too hazardous.

came into...Gilead] Probably by marching round the southern extremity of the Dead Sea. Cf. note on v. 9.

23. *Bascama*] Called by Josephus *Basca*. This place, which must have lain somewhere in Gilead, has not been identified, and its site can be only very precariously conjectured.

24. *his own land*] viz. Syria.

25—30. BURIAL OF JONATHAN AT MODIN, AND ERECTION OF A FAMILY MONUMENT.

After the departure of the Syrians, the body of Jonathan was brought from Bascama and interred in the ancestral sepulchre at Modin, where the bones of Mattathias (ii. 70), and of his sons Eleazar, Judas, and John were already buried (ix. 19, xiii. 27). The erection of the magnificent monument described in vv. 27—30, although naturally mentioned at this point in the narrative, probably took place somewhat later on.

25. *the bones of Jonathan*] Cf. Gen. i. 25; 1 Sam. xxxi. 13.

Modin] See note on ii. 1.

26 And all Israel made great lamentation over him, and
 27 mourned for him many days. And Simon built a *monu-
 ment* upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and
 raised it aloft to the sight, with polished stone behind and
 28 before. And he set up seven pyramids, one over against
 another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren.
 29 And for these he made cunning devices, setting about them
 great pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned all manner
 of arms for a perpetual memory, and beside the arms ships

26. *made great lamentation &c.*] This description is exactly similar to that given of the mourning for Mattathias (ii. 70), and for Judas (ix. 20), and goes to disprove Ewald's conclusion (*Hist.* v. p. 334, note 4) that the writer "places Jonathan on a lower level than his brothers."

27. *And Simon built a monument*] Cf. 2 Sam. xviii. 18; Isa. xxii. 16. Rawlinson thinks it was like the Mausoleum according to Fergusson's restoration (*Hist. of Architecture*, vol. I. p. 282 of ed. 3). Ever since, in the 4th century B.C., Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, king of Caria, erected at Halicarnassus a stately monument to his memory—hence the word *mausoleum*—the custom of building similar sepulchral edifices had been spreading in the East.

raised it aloft to the sight] i.e. built it high so as to make it visible a great way off. Cf. v. 29, and note.

with polished stone] Josephus has: *of white and polished stone* (*Ant.* XIII. 6. 6). Cf. Homer, *Il.* vi. 243—248; 1 Esd. vi. 9.

behind and before] Not merely one façade but in all probability all the four sides being of polished stone.

28. *seven pyramids*] The seventh appears to have been intended for himself. These pyramids were most probably erected not *upon* the building, but rather as adjuncts to it. Josephus seems distinctly to describe them as separate, and says that they were still existing in his time.

one over against another] According to this arrangement the seventh pyramid must have occupied an isolated position at one end.

29. *And for these he made cunning devices &c.*] In embellishing the pyramids with sculpture Simon deviated from the plain style of the Egyptians. The reliefs ("devices") may have consisted of engraved war-engines in commemoration of the reduction of the fortresses, or of artistic designs in general. The columns or "pillars," which, according to Josephus, were monoliths, formed porticoes round about the main structure. The arms (Gr. "panoplies") were "imitations probably of the ordinary Greek trophy, which consisted of a helmet and coat of mail, supported by a post or trunk of a tree" (Rawl.). By the representation of "ships" in stone carving it was intended, perhaps, to give expression to the importance attached by the Jews to the possession of the sea-port of Joppa (x. 76, xii. 33 sq., xiv. 5).

carved, that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, *and it is* ³⁰ *there* unto this day.

Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young king An- ³¹ tiochus, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, and put ³²

that they should be seen] Only in its main outlines, of course, and not in its minor features, could this monument be visible from the Mediterranean, which at the nearest point was more than 12 miles distant.

all that sail on the sea] Cf. Ecclus. xliii. 24.

30. unto this day] Josephus says that this monument, with its pyramids, still stood when he wrote (i.e. in the latter half of the first century of our era); and Eusebius (*circa* 320 A.D.) says in his *Onomasticon: Modeim...unde fuerunt Maccabaei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur*. Some (doubtful) traces of it are supposed to have been discovered at *El-Mediyeh*, where there are ancient "graves of the Jews." Cf. Stanley (*Jewish Church*, III. p. 361), who remarks concerning this tomb: "A monument at once so Jewish in idea, so Gentile in execution, was worthy of the combination of patriotic fervour and philosophic enlargement of soul which raised the Maccabæan heroes so high above their age."

31—42. ASSASSINATION OF THE YOUNG KING ANTIOCHUS BY TRYPHON: SIMON STRENGTHENS THE DEFENCES OF JUDAEA, AND CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH DEMETRIUS II.

Tryphon now threw off the mask, slew the young king Antiochus VI, and usurped the throne of Syria. Meanwhile Simon busied himself in strengthening the defences of Judaea, and sent an embassy to Demetrius II, who granted him all he asked for, including complete exemption from taxes. The long and desperate struggle for Jewish independence was thus at length successful (*v.* 41).

31. slew him] Josephus—rightly, according to many modern critics; but see below on xiv. 1—places the murder of Antiochus after the disastrous campaign of Demetrius against Media (xiv. 1 sqq.). The writer of our book groups together in succession the deaths of Jonathan and Antiochus at the hands of Tryphon, who is thus held up to reprobation as a double-dyed assassin. But, chronologically, the two events must have been separated by a considerable interval. According to Livy (*Epit.* LII.), Antiochus was only two years old when handed over to Tryphon by the Arabian Diocles, while at the time of his death he had attained the age of ten (*Epit.* LV.). This would fix the period during which he was puppet-king at eight years. A comparison of 1 Macc. x. 67, xi. 19, 38—40, 54, and xiv. 1, shews, however, that Antiochus cannot have been set up as rival king until towards the end of the year 167 of the Seleucid era, i.e. B.C. 145, or *two years* before the death of Jonathan. If, as Josephus says, "he reigned four years," his death must still be placed two years later than that of Jonathan. Livy affirms that, upon the pretext that the boy suffered from calculus, he was

on himself the diadem of Asia, and brought a great calamity
 33 upon the land. And Simon built the strongholds of Judæa,
 and fenced them about with high towers, and great walls,
 and gates, and bars; and he laid up victuals in the strong-
 34 holds. And Simon chose men, and sent to king Demetrius,
 to the end he should give the country an immunity, because
 35 all that Tryphon did was to plunder. And king Demetrius
 sent unto him according to these words, and answered him,
 and wrote a letter unto him, after this manner :
 36 King Demetrius unto Simon the high priest and Friend
 of kings, and unto the elders and nation of the Jews,
 37 greeting : The golden crown, and the palm branch, which

subjected to an operation by surgeons who were directed to extinguish his life. Cf. Joseph. *Ant.* XIII. 7. 1.

32. *reigned in his stead*] The duration of his reign appears to have been about three and a half years (B.C. 142—139).

Asia] See note on viii. 6.

brought a great calamity upon the land] This he did by rendering himself detestable in the eyes of the soldiers, who revolted to the side of Demetrius (Jos. *l.c.*), by his extortionate cruelties (*v.* 34), and probably also by the slaughter of his opponents, and the general havoc produced by his conduct of the war against the legitimists.

33. *built*] Cf. i. 33, iv. 60, xii. 37 &c.

the strongholds] Cf. ix. 50, 52. It was characteristic of Simon as "a man of counsel" (ii. 65) that he should thus have seized the opportunity of improving the defensive position of his own country while Tryphon and Demetrius II were contesting the throne of Syria.

laid up victuals in the strongholds] By provisioning them also Simon put the Jewish fortresses into a state of readiness to withstand a siege.

34. *sent to king Demetrius*] Simon's messengers may have sailed from his own port of Joppa (xiv. 5) to Seleucia, where Demetrius seems to have established himself (Livy, *Epit.* LII.).

an immunity] Alike from taxation and from further blame in regard to any former offence against the Syrian government. Cf. *vv.* 15, 39.

all that Tryphon did was to plunder] This is said probably with special reference to the demand for 100 talents of silver (*vv.* 16, 19, 20).

36. *Simon the high priest*] See note on *v.* 8. Demetrius does not appoint Simon high priest, but addresses him as if he had already received his title to the office.

Friend of kings] Probably a vague general statement, as if Simon was so honoured by other kings also. Perhaps, however, the term 'kings' is used widely so as to include the royal relatives; or the meaning may be that Simon would enjoy the dignity of a 'Friend' not only under Demetrius himself, but also under his successors.

elders] i.e. members of the Gerousia. Cf. i. 26, and note on xii. 6.

37. *the palm branch*] βᾶν (=palm branch) seems to be the right

ye sent, we have received: and we are ready to make a stedfast peace with you, yea, and to write unto our officers, to grant immunities unto you. And whatsoever things we confirmed unto you, they are confirmed; and the strongholds, which ye have builded, let them be your own. As for any oversights and faults committed unto this day, we forgive them, and the crown which ye owed us: and if there were any other toll exacted in Jerusalem, let it be exacted no longer. And if there be any among you meet to be enrolled in our court, let them be enrolled, and let there be peace betwixt us.

In the hundred and seventieth year was the yoke of the heathen taken away from Israel. And the people began to

reading; and 2 Macc. xiv. 4 seems decidedly to favour this reading, whatever precisely is meant. The reference appears to be to a gold sceptre or staff wrought into the form of a palm branch. Some, adopting the reading *βατῆνη*, 'palm-branched,' think that an artistic garment like the Roman *palmata* is meant, and would render: "a robe embroidered with palm twigs," viz. in gold, and "as symbols of victory." See Ewald, *Hist.* v. p. 334, note 5.

a stedfast peace] Lit. a great peace, i.e. such a full peace as would remove all occasion for fresh disputes.

our officers] See on xii. 45.

to grant immunities unto you] Cf. note on x. 28, also v. 34 above.

38. *whatsoever things we confirmed unto you*] See xi. 30—37.

39. *we forgive them*] This amounted to a complete amnesty for all political offences committed by the Jews since they sided with Alexander Balas against Demetrius (xi. 47).

the crown] See on x. 29.

if there were any other toll] This refers to the collective imposts apart from the crown tax. For these cf. x. 29, 30. All alike were now to be abrogated, and Judaea was to be a free country.

in Jerusalem] It is not meant that the concessions of Demetrius were made to Jerusalem alone, to the exclusion of the rest of Judaea, but Jerusalem is mentioned as the place where the bulk of the revenue from taxation had been collected.

40. *in our court*] Or, in our body-guard (lit. amongst those about us). Cf. x. 36. Demetrius does not appear to have been partial to native Syrians (cf. xi. 38); and he had already had evidence of the value of Jewish soldiers (xi. 47).

41. *the hundred and seventieth year*] i.e. B.C. 143—142.

was the yoke of the heathen taken away] The independence thus at length gained by the Jews was not absolute, but if they still had to submit to the suzerainty (xiii. 38 sqq.), they had at all events thrown off for the time the oppressive yoke of the Syrian kings. After this the

write in their instruments and contracts, In the first year of Simon the great high priest and captain and leader of the Jews.

43 In those days he encamped against Gazara, and compassed it round about with armies; and he made an engine

high priest governed the Jews under the title of *ethnarch*, i.e. as a vassal prince (xiv. 47, xv. 1).

42. *instruments*] Documents in general (*συγγραφαί*).
contracts] Documents relating to commerce, barter &c.

In the first year of Simon] The Jews thus began a new era of their own. No documents in which use is made of this mode of reckoning have been preserved; but specimens of silver coins bearing the year numbers, 1, 2, 3, 4, and supposed to belong to Simon's reign, are still extant. Cf. xv. 6 and note. The fact that in the public memorial of Simon's deeds and services, erected shortly after its commencement, the new era is used only along with the Seleucid era (xiv. 27) seems to shew that it did not long maintain its ground.

43—53. SIMON'S CAPTURE OF THE FORTRESSES OF GAZARA AND JERUSALEM.

Simon now laid siege to the important fortress of Gazara. It was forced to capitulate, and its inhabitants by agreement evacuated the city. Simon then saw to its being duly purified, entered it in triumph, and placed in it Jewish settlers belonging to the party of the Law. The garrison of the Acra, too, were reduced to starvation, and forced to surrender. Simon acceded to their request that their lives should be spared, and after it had been properly cleansed, triumphantly entered the coveted fortress on the 23rd Iyar (May) B.C. 142. He also instituted an annual festival in commemoration of the joyous occasion. Shortly afterwards, he made his son John commander-in-chief of his forces.

43. *Gazara*] Though all the MSS. and Versions read *Gaza*, it seems certain that we must emend the text and read *Gazara*. This is necessitated (1) by the parallel text of Josephus; (2) by the relatively greater proximity of Gazara to the Acra, the twin object of attack; (3) by the fact that about half a century later (B.C. 96) Gaza was taken by the Jews after a protracted siege; (4) by a comparison of other parts of the text of 1 Macc. itself. E.g., in v. 48 of this ch. Simon is said to have built for himself a dwelling-place in the captured city, and in v. 53 his son is mentioned as resident in *Gazara*. Again, the conquest of Gazara by Simon is recorded in xiv. 7, 34; in xv. 28 Antiochus VII Sidetes demands its cession to him as its rightful owner; and in xvi. 1 it is represented as a Jewish possession. Also, the statement in xiv. 34 that Simon "fortified...Gazara...wherein the enemies dwelt aforesaid, and placed Jews there," has an obvious retrospective reference to the description of the taking of the city in xiii. 47 sqq.

an engine of siege] Lit. a city-taker. It was a huge moveable

of siege, and brought it up to the city, and smote a tower, and took it. And they that were in the engine leaped forth into the city; and there was a great uproar in the city: and they of the city rent their clothes, and went up on the walls with their wives and children, and cried with a loud voice, making request to Simon to give them his right hand. And they said, Deal not with us according to our wickednesses, but according to thy mercy. And Simon was reconciled unto them, and did not fight against them: and he put them out of the city, and cleansed the houses wherein the idols were, and so entered into it with singing and giving praise. And he put all uncleanness out of it, and placed in it such men as would keep the law, and made it stronger than it was before, and built therein a dwelling place for himself.

But they of the citadel in Jerusalem were hindered from going forth, and from going into the country, and from buying and selling; and they hungered exceedingly, and a

machine, of a special design, invented by Demetrius Poliorcetes, and capable of making immense gaps in the walls of a besieged city. For a description of this engine, see Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiq.* under *helepolis*. Cf. the illustration above, p. 143.

smote a tower] i.e. made such a breach in it as enabled him to get possession of it.

44. *leaped forth into the city*] viz. from the vantage-ground secured by the capture of the tower.

uproar] Rather: **commotion**.

45. *to give them his right hand*] Lit. **right hands**. See on vi. 58, xi. 50 &c.

46. *our wickednesses*] Cf. LXX. of Isa. i. 16; Mark vii. 22; Acts iii. 26. The reference is perhaps specially to the sin of apostasy from Judaism. Cf. ii. 44, iii. 8 &c.

47. *was reconciled unto them*] i.e. made terms with them. Cf. 2 Macc. xi. 14.

cleansed the houses wherein the idols were] Cf. i. 55.

48. *all uncleanness*] i.e. everything connected with idol-worship.

such men as would keep the law] i.e. adherents of the Maccabean party.

built therein a dwelling place for himself] See note on v. 43.

49. See note on xii. 36. Whether the original plan of erecting "a great mound between the citadel and the city" had been executed or not, it is evident that an effectual blockade of some sort had been established. The garrison were cut off from all communication with city and country alike.

50 great number of them perished through famine. And they
cried out to Simon, that he should give them his right hand;
and he gave it to them: and he put them out from thence,
51 and he cleansed the citadel from its pollutions. And he
entered into it on the three and twentieth day of the second
month, in the hundred and seventy and first year, with
praise and palm branches, and with harps, and with cymbals,
and with viols, and with hymns, and with songs: because a
52 great enemy was destroyed out of Israel. And he ordained
that they should keep that day every year with gladness.
And the hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made
stronger than before, and there he dwelt, himself and his
53 men. And Simon saw that John his son was a *valiant*
man, and he made him leader of all his forces: and he
dwelt in Gazara.

50. *from its pollutions*] viz. those of heathen altars, &c. Cf. note on v. 48.

51. *the second month*] i.e. Iyar (May).
the hundred and seventy and first year] Or B.C. 142—141.
palm branches] Well-known emblems of joy. Cf. 2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13.

and with harps, and with cymbals] Cf. note on iv. 54.
a great enemy] For many a long year the Jews had regarded the Acra as a fiend in stone and mortar. Cf. i. 36. It had looked down mockingly upon their most brilliant victories, resisted their most determined assaults, and laughed at the favourable provisions they had got inserted in their treaties.

52. *he ordained that they should keep that day*] Cf. iv. 59, and the parallel case of Nicanor's day in vii. 49.
the hill of the temple that was by the citadel] i.e. the side of the temple mountain facing the Acra.

he made stronger than before] No reference is made to any such fortification of the temple mount by Josephus, who states that Simon spent three years in removing the hill upon which the Acra stood, so that the temple might be the highest building in Jerusalem, and no foreign garrison might ever again be in a position to molest the Jews as the newly-expelled garrison had done (*Ant.* XIII. 6. 7). Considerable difficulty is thrown in the way of accepting this statement, however, by the terms of xiv. 7, 37, xv. 28—30. But see Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. p. 263, note 14.

and there] i.e. in the newly-fortified temple mount.
53. *John his son*] Afterwards known as the Jewish high priest and prince *John Hyrcanus*.
was a valiant man] Lit. was a man, i.e. had shewn himself to be such. Cf. v. 63.

And in the hundred and seventy and second year king 14
Demetrius gathered his forces together, and went into
Media, to get him help, that he might fight against Tryphon.
And Arsaces, the king of Persia and Media, heard that 2

dwelt in Gazara] In the residence which Simon had built for himself (v. 48). Gazara was at this period one of the three principal Jewish strongholds. See further iv. 15, note.

CH. XIV. 1—3. EXPEDITION OF DEMETRIUS II INTO MEDIA,
AND HIS CAPTURE BY ARSACES.

One result of the Syrian dissensions regarding the succession to the throne was the gradual absorption by the Parthians of the "upper countries" (iii. 37, vi. 1). In less than twenty years the Seleucidae were thus deprived of more than half their kingdom. Demetrius considered that with the help of an ally so powerful as Simon (xiii. 20—24, 43—50), he might leave his subordinates to keep Tryphon at bay, while he marched eastwards to clear his provinces of the Parthian invaders, and to recruit his army. On hearing of his approach, Arsaces, king of Media and Persia, sent one of his generals with instructions to seize the person of Demetrius—an object in which he was successful.

This whole episode (which, as here delineated, certainly leaves something to be desired in point of clearness) would have found a more fitting place immediately before the account given in xv. 1 sqq. of the doings of Antiochus VII Sidetes; but, as Grimm suggests, our author probably inserted it here "with the view of explaining how it came about that Simon had experienced no opposition from Demetrius, while the Syrian kings, earlier and later alike, had uniformly been in the habit of respecting their treaties of peace with the Jews only so long as they were without the power and means of breaking them."

1. *the hundred and seventy and second year*] = B.C. 141—140. Josephus erroneously antedates this Parthian expedition by two or three years, placing it before the murder of Jonathan (*Ant.* XIII. 5. 11; cf. note on xiii. 34). On the other hand, he is supported as against our author by Diodorus, Justin, and Appian in placing the murder of Antiochus VI *subsequent* to the seizure of Demetrius (see on xii. 39). Cf. Schürer, *H. J. P.* I. i. p. 177.

help] i.e. auxiliary forces. As Demetrius had calculated, the population of these provinces (Greeks, Persians, Bactrians &c.), who hated the domination of the Parthians, rallied in large numbers to his support.

2. *Arsaces*] This name, originally that of the founder of the Parthian empire, was adopted by all his successors. The Arsaces referred to here is Arsaces VI, better known as Mithridates I.

Persia and Media] Cf. vi. 56. These now formed part of the Parthian kingdom to which, as its two chief provinces, they here give their historic name. The inhabitants of these regions had for some time been growing restive under the Syrian yoke (iii. 29—31, vi. 56).

Demetrius was come into his borders, and he sent one of
 3 his princes to take him alive: and he went and smote the
 army of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to
 Arsaces; and he put him in ward.

4 And the land had rest all the days of Simon: and he
 sought the good of his nation; and his authority and his
 5 glory was well-pleasing to them all his days. And amid
 all his glory he took Joppa for a haven, and made it an
 6 entrance for the isles of the sea; and he enlarged the

into his borders] Demetrius would doubtless regard the territory in question as still belonging to him.

to take him alive] So that in case of necessity he might be in a position to utilise him as a pretender against the Syrian kings.

3. *took him*] By treachery, not in the open field, as might be concluded from the very concise account given here, and from the statement of Josephus: "he...lost all his army, and was himself taken alive."

he put him in ward] After ten years Demetrius regained his liberty and reigned once more in Syria.

SECOND SECTION. CH. XIV. 4—49. SIMON'S PROSPEROUS REIGN:
 RECOGNITION OF HIS SERVICES TO THE JEWISH NATION:
 ESTABLISHMENT IN HIS PERSON OF THE HIGH-PRIESTLY
 DYNASTY OF THE HASMONAEANS.

4—15. THE PROSPERITY OF JUDAEA UNDER SIMON, AND HIS
 MANIFOLD SERVICES TO HIS NATION.

Now that the citadel had been won for the orthodox party, and Demetrius had set out on his expedition into Parthia, while Tryphon also had enough to do in maintaining his position in Syria, Simon was free to devote his attention to the development of the internal resources of Judaea. The happy state of things depicted in *vv.* 4—15 lasted from the capture of the Acra (B.C. 142) until the invasion under Cendebaeus in B.C. 138—7 (*xv.* 40).

4. *the land had rest*] Cf. *vii.* 50; LXX. of *Judg.* v. 31.

all the days of Simon] This was not strictly the case, as towards the end of his reign his relations with Antiochus Sidetes became strained (*xv.* 27 sqq.), and war broke out between them (*xv.* 40, *xvi.* 3); but in its general character the period of Simon's administration was one of comparative tranquillity.

his glory] i.e. the honour he won by his achievements. Cf. *v.* 5. In *xv.* 32, 36 the same word is used of the princely splendour of his court.

5. *for a haven*] Joppa (the modern *Faffa*) has maintained its importance as a sea-port up to the present day, and carries on a considerable trade with Alexandria. Like so many Eastern coast towns, however, it possesses no dock, and in stormy weather landing is attended with considerable danger.

made it an entrance for the isles of the sea] i.e. opened naval

borders of his nation, and gat possession of the country ; and he gathered together a great number of captives, and gat the dominion of Gazara, and Bethsura, and the citadel, and he took away from it its uncleannesses ; and there was none that resisted him. And they tilled their land in peace, and the land gave her increase, and the trees of the plains their fruit. The ancient men sat in the streets, they communed all of them together of good things, and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. He provided

communication with them from Joppa. The expression "isles of the sea" (= ים הים), as in O.T., includes the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean generally. Syr. and a few MSS. read "ships" instead of "isles." Cf. note on vi. 29.

6. *enlarged the borders of his nation*] The allusion is apparently to his occupation of Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem (xiii. 11, 43—51). No such extension of Jewish territory took place under him as was effected by Jonathan.

7. *gathered together a great number of captives*] i.e. he liberated many Jews living in compulsory exile, and restored them to their native land. Although the expression is curious, this seems to be the sense required.

Bethsura] Cf. xi. 65, 66.

the citadel] i.e. the Acra (xiii. 49—51).

there was none that resisted him] This is a rhetorical exaggeration of the same type as that already noticed in v. 4. Probably the meaning is that no adversary could cope with him. That resistance to him was offered, however, is clear from subsequent allusions in our book. Cf. xv. 27—39, 40, 41, xvi. 1—10, 11—16.

8. *they tilled their land in peace*] During the wars agricultural pursuits had necessarily been at a standstill; they were now resumed in this time of peace, and the industry of the labourers was rewarded with an abundant yield both of grain and fruit. Cf. Lev. xxvi. 4; Ezek. xxxiv. 27.

the land gave her increase] An expression taken from Zech. viii. 12.

the trees of the plains] Vines, figs, olives, pomegranates &c. Cf. Deut. viii. 8; Hag. ii. 19.

9. *The ancient men*] i.e. old men as contrasted with young men.

sat in the streets &c.] This way of delineating the blessings of peace appears to be borrowed from the picture of Messianic bliss drawn in Zech. viii. 4, 5.

of good things] i.e. of the public welfare.

glorious and warlike apparel] **with the honours and (=namely) the garments of war**, i.e. attired themselves in military uniform. As the happiness of the old men, the men of experience and wisdom, is betokened by their leisurely social intercourse in the streets, so it is the special delight of the youths to glory in their strength, and to shew themselves off in the accoutrements of war.

victuals for the cities, and furnished them with all manner of munition, until the name of his glory was named unto the end of the earth. He made peace in the land, and Israel rejoiced with great joy: and they sat each man under his vine and his fig tree, and there was none to make them afraid: and there ceased in the land any that fought against them: and the kings were discomfited in those days. And he strengthened all those of his people that were brought low: the law he searched out, and every lawless and wicked person he took away. He glorified the sanctuary, and the vessels of the temple he multiplied.

10. *furnished them with all manner of munition*] Gr. **implements** of munition, i.e. equipped them with means of defence. Cf. xiii. 33.

until the name &c.] This has reference not merely to the last particular, but to all that has been already said regarding the services of Simon to his people and country.

unto the end of the earth] For the fact cf. xv. 22, 23, and for the expression, Rom. i. 8.

12. *sat each man under his vine &c.*] A standing formula to express the enjoyment of the blessings of peace. Cf. 1 Ki. iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10.

none to make them afraid] 'Fray' of A.V. = 'make afraid.' Cf. Deut. xxviii. 26; Jer. vii. 33; Zech. i. 21.

13. *the kings*] The allusion seems to be to the seizure of Demetrius and the defeat of his army by the Parthians, and to the misfortunes of Tryphon (xv. 25, 37, 39).

14. *those of his people that were brought low*] Lit. **the lowly of his people**, i.e. pious persons who were also the victims of suffering and oppression.

the law he searched out] i.e. he investigated it with the view of punishing those who transgressed it. For the Greek cf. LXX. of Ps. cv. (civ.) 45.

took away] Removed by banishment or death.

15. *glorified the sanctuary*] "As well through diligent maintenance of the ritual as through outward adornment of the temple" (Keil).

16—24. RENEWAL OF THE FRIENDSHIP AND TREATY WITH THE ROMANS AND SPARTANS.

The tidings of Jonathan's death was received at Rome and Sparta with regret, and from both places ambassadors were sent to Simon as his successor in order to renew the friendly relations already established under Judas and Jonathan (vv. 16—19). In vv. 20—23 is given the reply of the Spartans to the embassy previously sent to them by the Jews (xii. 2, 5 sqq.). By way of ratifying the treaty with the Romans Simon sent to them a massive shield of gold (v. 24). This renewal of

And it was heard at Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even unto Sparta, and they were exceeding sorry. But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high priest in his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein, they wrote unto him on tables of brass, to renew with him the friendship and the confederacy which they had confirmed with Judas and Jonathan his brethren; and they were read before the congregation at Jerusalem. And this is the copy of the letters which the Spartans sent :

The rulers of the Spartans, and the city, unto Simon the high priest, and unto the elders, and the priests, and the residue of the people of the Jews, our brethren, greeting : The ambassadors that were sent unto our people made report to us of your glory and honour : and we were glad for their coming, and we did register the things that were

the alliance between Rome and Sparta is here set down by the writer as an additional service rendered by Simon to his nation.

16. *even unto Sparta*] The writer thinks of Sparta as the more distant, probably because the Jewish ambassadors visited it last.

18. *they wrote unto him*] It is not clear that this applies to the Romans, who certainly did not take the initiative in such cases (Liv. XLII. 6; Polyb. XXXIII. 16). But in fact the passage is not arranged in strict chronological sequence. A comparison of vv. 22, 24 with xv. 16—21 shews that the gift of the shield by the hand of Numenius must have preceded the renewal of the treaty with Rome, so that in reality the first overtures were made by Simon.

on tables of brass] See on viii. 22.

the friendship and the confederacy...with Judas and Jonathan] Cf. viii. 17—30, xii. 1, 3—4.

19. *the congregation*] i.e. an assembly of the Jews. The letter from Rome was not read along with that from Sparta because it was not directly addressed to the Jews, but to the allies of the Romans, who were thus notified of the renewal of the treaty (xv. 16—21). Simon merely received a copy of this circular letter (v. 24).

20. *the letters*] Cf. note on xii. 5. The letter as now embodied in the text of I Macc. is (if authentic) the Greek translation of a Hebrew translation of the original. Cf. the parallel case of xii. 20—23.

The rulers of the Spartans] The last 'king' of Sparta was Pelops (circa B.C. 211); 'tyrants' ruled until B.C. 192, in which year Nabis, the last of them, was murdered; subsequently the government was in the hands of the *Ephors*, who are intended here.

and the city] i.e. in concert with the inhabitants of the city.

the elders...the people...our brethren] See note on xii. 6.

spoken by them in the public records after this manner: Numenius son of Antiochus, and Antipater son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us. And it pleased the people to entertain the men honourably, and to put the copy of their words in the public records, to the end that the people of the Spartans might have a memorial thereof: moreover they wrote a copy of these things unto Simon the high priest.

24 After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, in order to confirm the confederacy with them.

22. *in the public records*] Lit. **counsels of the people**, i.e. decrees, which were written out and preserved for future reference.

Numenius &c.] The same persons had already been sent as ambassadors to Rome and Sparta by Jonathan. See on xii. 16.

23. *to put the copy of their words in the public records*] Lit. as marg. **in the books that are appointed for the people**. R.V. gives the sense, but the exact meaning is doubtful.

Some critics have questioned the genuineness of the above letter (1) because of its abrupt ending, (2) because it fails to give the names of the Ephors, (3) because it contains no answer to the communication of the Jews. Of these objections the first two have regard only to the *form* of the letter, and the third to its *contents*. Grimm, while offering the first two, replies to the third that the welcome given to the ambassadors amounted to the recognition of the Jews as a free and independent people, while the embodiment of their proposals in the state records signified agreement with the tenor of them.

24. *After this Simon sent Numenius*] Apparently the writer speaks loosely in v. 16 about the Romans, and vv. 17 and 18 refer to the Spartans only. As the result of the mission of Numenius is stated in xv. 15 sqq., it certainly looks as if the historian regarded it as subsequent to the Spartan embassy. The alternatives are (1) to regard this as a *second* mission, (2) to view the statement of this verse as an anachronism, and the mission of Numenius as having really been prior to what is related in vv. 16—23. The supposition that v. 24 has been misplaced by a copyist is precluded by the fact that, as it stands, it cannot be fitly inserted between vv. 15 and 16.

a great shield of gold] Cf. vi. 39. Crowns (viii. 14) and shields of gold were not unfrequently presented to the Romans by their allies in token of loyal adherence to their engagements, especially on the renewal of a treaty.

of a thousand pound weight] As the Greek mina was equal to rather more than 15 ounces, this appears to be a gross exaggeration, even supposing the shield were not made of solid gold throughout. Grimm would therefore, on the authority of the Syriac version, strike out the

But when the people heard these things, they said, What thanks shall we give to Simon and his sons? for he and his brethren and the house of his father have made themselves strong, and have chased away in fight the enemies of Israel from them, and confirmed liberty to Israel. And they wrote on tables of brass, and set them upon pillars in mount Zion: and this is the copy of the writing :

word "weight," and understand the phrase "of a thousand minas" as indicating the money value of the shield (£3500, or thereabouts). Cf. xv. 18.

25—49. THE JEWS SET UP IN THE TEMPLE A MEMORIAL TABLET TO SIMON AND THE MACCABAEAN FAMILY. HIS OFFICIAL RANK AS HIGH PRIEST AND GOVERNOR DECLARED HEREDITARY.

"The national gratitude to Simon was expressed by the erection of a brazen tablet in the Temple, recording the absolute power entrusted to him. He was to be 'their governor (R.V. leader) and high priest for ever until there should arise a faithful prophet.' The reservation is remarkable. But certainly no Jewish ruler had ever had a like honour paid to him, and none had possessed authority so ample and so despotic" (*Camb. Companion*, p. 147).

Apart from the simple statement that Simon 'was made high priest by the multitude' (*Ant.* XIII. 6. 7; cf. *B. J.* I. 2. 2), Josephus makes no allusion to the events narrated in the latter part of our chapter. Grimm thinks this may be because he did not consider them of sufficient general interest, more especially as the principal point, the *hereditary* character of the priestly sovereignty, is only vaguely (*v.* 41) and indirectly (*vv.* 25, 49) indicated; but the real explanation may possibly be that the copy used by Josephus wanted these concluding chapters. This is the view of his English translator Whiston (see note on *Ant.* XIII. 7. 1), and of Wellhausen, who regards them as "a later addition unknown to Josephus" (*Gesch.* p. 222, note 2).

25. *the people*] i.e. the Jewish people, not *populus Romanus* (Vulg.).

26. *he and his brethren &c.*] Cf. xiii. 3, xvi. 2.

confirmed liberty to Israel] i.e. further established their independence of Syria.

27. *tables of brass*] Cf. *v.* 18, and see note on viii. 22.

pillars] Gr. *στήλαι*. *Stele* has now become almost naturalised as an English word to denote "any block (usually of stone or marble) set up for a monumental purpose"; in ancient inscriptions it is "constantly applied to the block on which a public document is to be incised" (Smith, *Dict. Gr. and Rom. Ant.*² s. v. *Stele*, where illustrations are given). One of the most famous examples of such inscriptions is the *monumentum Ancyranum* of Augustus. Grimm mentions other instances.

On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the hundred and seventy and second year, and this is the third year of
 28 Simon the high priest, in Asaramel, in a great congregation
 of priests and people and princes of the nation, and of the
 29 elders of the country, was it notified unto us: Forasmuch
 as oftentimes there have been wars in the country, but
 Simon the son of Mattathias, the son of the sons of Joarib,
 and his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and withstood
 the enemies of their nation, that their sanctuary and the
 law might be established, and glorified their nation with
 30 great glory: and Jonathan assembled their nation together,
 and became their high priest, and was gathered to his
 31 people: and their enemies purposed to invade their country,
 that they might destroy their country utterly, and stretch
 32 forth their hands against their sanctuary: then rose up
 Simon, and fought for his nation, and spent much of his
 own substance, and armed the valiant men of his nation,

Elul] The sixth month of the sacred, and the last of the civil, year. It corresponded nearly to our September.

the third year of Simon] Cf. xiii. 42.

28. *in Asaramel*] According to another reading *in Saramel*; or possibly as one word, *ensaramel* or *enasaramel*. The translator has obviously retained the original Heb. word or words. Possibly the original phrase was *wšar 'am 'el* (וֹשֵׁר עַם אֱל) = "and prince of the people of God," i.e. ethnarch. If the translator mistook *w* (ו) for *b* (ב) and read *év*, he might have left the phrase untranslated, supposing it to be the name of a place. Ewald and others think *enasaramel* = *bāḥāṣar 'am 'el* (בַּחֲצַר עַם אֱל) = "in the forecourt of the people of God," i.e. the forecourt of the temple.

priests...people...princes...elders] The division, if not strictly accurate, is in any case comprehensive.

was it notified unto us] The text is obscure, probably owing to an error on the part of the Greek translator.

29. With this verse the writer commences the catalogue of Simon's services to the nation, which extends to v. 37 inclusive.

Joarib] Cf. note on ii. 1.

30. *assembled their nation together*] By assuming the commandership of the forces upon the death of Judas. There is no real inconsistency between this statement and that of ix. 28 sqq., where the people are represented as approaching Jonathan in the matter. There was a perfect understanding between the two parties.

was gathered to his people] See on ii. 69.

31. *purposed to invade their country*] Cf. xiii. 1 sqq.

32. *then rose up Simon*] Cf. xiii. 10 sqq.

and gave them wages: and he fortified the cities of Judæa, ³³ and Bethsura that lieth upon the borders of Judæa, where the arms of the enemies were aforetime, and set there a garrison of Jews: and he fortified Joppa which is upon the ³⁴ sea, and Gazara which is upon the borders of Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime, and placed Jews there, and set therein all things convenient for the reparation thereof: and the people saw the faith of Simon, and ³⁵ the glory which he thought to bring unto his nation, and they made him their leader and high priest, because he had done all these things, and for the justice and the faith which he kept to his nation, and for that he sought by all means to exalt his people: and in his days things prospered ³⁶ in his hands, so that the Gentiles were taken away out of their country, and they also that were in the city of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a citadel, out of which they issued, and polluted all things round about the sanctuary, and did great hurt unto its

gave them wages] i.e. made due arrangements for the payment of the troops. For the Greek word cf. Luke iii. 14.

33. fortified the cities of Judæa] Cf. xiii. 13.

Bethsura] See on iv. 29. Beth-zur is mentioned first among the fortresses occupied and strengthened by Simon on account of its importance as a bulwark of the temple fortress. Cf. iv. 61, xi. 65 sq.

34. he fortified Joppa] Cf. xii. 33, 34.

and Gazara] Cf. xiii. 43—48.

which is upon the borders of Azotus] This description of the situation of Gazara is a little puzzling, as Azotus lay quite 17 miles to the S.W.; but if we assume a somewhat wide extension of the territory of the latter city in a north-westerly direction, the lands belonging to the two townships may well have been conterminous.

wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime] Cf. iv. 15, ix. 52. It had been a considerable time in the possession of the Syrians before Simon laid siege to it.

placed Jews there] Cf. xiii. 48.

the reparation thereof] Or rather, more widely, **maintenance**, i.e. of the strongholds:

35. the faith of Simon] Some authorities read **conduct**=acts.

made him their leader and high priest] The succession to Jonathan (xiii. 8) manifestly included the high-priestly dignity. See note on xiii. 36.

the faith which he kept to his nation] Cf. xiii. 5, 6.

36. their country] i.e. the country of the Jews. Cf. xiii. 49, xiv. 31. *they also that were in the city of David*] See xiii. 49—51.

37 purity; and he placed Jews therein, and fortified it for the
 safety of the country and the city, and made high the walls
 38 of Jerusalem: and king Demetrius confirmed to him the
 39 high priesthood according to these things, and made him
 one of his Friends, and honoured him with great honour;
 40 for he had heard say, that the Jews had been called by the
 Romans friends and confederates and brethren, and that
 41 they had met the ambassadors of Simon honourably; and
 that the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon
 should be their leader and high priest for ever, until there
 42 should arise a faithful prophet; and that he should be

did great hurt unto its purity] By their heathen practices. See i. 37, 59; 2 Macc. vi. 4. The very accompaniments of their heathen orgies in its vicinity were reckoned as a defilement to the temple itself.

37. *he placed Jews therein, and fortified it*] See note on xiii. 52.

38. *confirmed to him the high priesthood*] i.e. recognised him as high priest. Cf. xiii. 36.

according to these things] i.e. in accordance with what has been related of Simon's deeds, and the public recognition with which they met.

39. *one of his Friends*] See on x. 65, and cf. xi. 27, xiii. 36, &c.

40. *for he had heard say*] To enjoy the protection of Rome was in those days equivalent to exemption from molestation on the part of neighbouring states.

and brethren] Doubtless a Jewish addition to the phraseology of the Roman dispatch, which spoke only of friendship and alliance (v. 18). There was no attempt on the part of the Jews to claim kinship with the Romans as they had done with the Spartans (xii. 6, 7, 17, 21).

41. *and that the Jews and the priests &c.*] Although it is wanting only in one codex, the word "that" should be omitted as a mechanical repetition from the previous verse. Both the construction and the sense appear to demand this. What is given here is evidently not the report which Demetrius had heard about the Jewish popular decree, but that decree itself. Verse 41 is therefore to be connected with v. 35, which states that "the people made him their leader and high priest"; to this is now added the formal proclamation that they conferred upon him this double office "for ever," i.e. in perpetuity as a hereditary family possession. Cf. Ps. cx. 1, 4. This idea finds more definite (although still indirect) expression in vv. 25, 29, where we have the phrase "Simon and his sons."

until there should arise a faithful prophet] i.e. a trustworthy prophet, one who declares what God has revealed to him, as opposed to the false prophets, whose only inspiration was their own misguided judgement. The popular decree declaring the hereditary character of the honours bestowed upon Simon was thus after all only provisional. In view of the earlier solemn affirmation of the permanent establishment of

captain over them, and should take charge of the sanctuary, to set them over their works, and over the country, and over the arms, and over the strongholds; and that he should take charge of the sanctuary, and that he should be 43 obeyed by all, and that all instruments in the country should be written in his name, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold; and that it should not be 44 lawful for any of the people or of the priests to set at nought any of these things, or to gainsay the words that he should speak, or to gather an assembly in the country

the Davidic throne (2 Sam. vii. 13, 16, compared with 1 Macc. ii. 57), and of the prophecy in Ps. cx. (cf. Zech. vi. 12, 13), where the divinely-chosen (Davidic) king is represented as being also "a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek," it would be for "a faithful prophet," as the mouthpiece of God, to decide whether things were to be allowed to rest where they were, or whether the present arrangement must give place to another.

There remains the question, Who is the "prophet" here referred to? Nearly all the older expositors, on the strength of Deut. xviii. 15—19, understand him to be the Messiah; Stade (*Gesch.* II. p. 382) thinks he is either the Messiah Himself, or His immediate forerunner; Grimm argues that, owing to the want of the article, the reference can hardly be directly to the Messiah, and to this opinion others subscribe, with the qualification that the allusion may still fairly be regarded as Messianic in the general sense that the expected "faithful prophet" first appeared in Christ. Cf. iv. 46.

42. *captain over them*] i.e. commander of their forces.

and should take charge of the sanctuary] The repetition of these words, unless due to the error of a scribe, may be intended to mark the importance attached by the writer to the orderly administration of the affairs of the sanctuary.

to set them over their works] i.e. to apportion their several parts to those responsible for the temple service.

and over the country] In virtue of his position as State president and commander of the army, Simon was to have a general power of appointment to civil and military offices also.

43. *instruments*] i.e. legal, political, and administrative documents. The introduction of the practice of dating "instruments and contracts" according to the year of Simon's reign has already been mentioned (xiii. 42).

clothed in purple] The recognised mark of princely dignity. Cf. viii. 14, x. 20, 62, xi. 58.

wear gold] This is said with special reference to the privilege of wearing a gold buckle. See on x. 89, and cf. v. 44.

44. *the words that he should speak*] i.e. the commands he might give.

to gather an assembly] i.e. to convene a public meeting of any sort.

without him, or to be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle
 45 of gold; but whosoever should do otherwise, or set at
 nought any of these things, he should be liable to punish-
 46 ment. All the people consented to ordain for Simon that
 47 he should do according to these words; and Simon accepted
 hereof, and consented to be high priest, and to be captain
 and governor of the Jews and of the priests, and to be pro-
 tector of all.

48 And they commanded to put this writing on tables of
 brass, and to set them up within the precinct of the sanc-
 49 tuary in a conspicuous place; and moreover to put the
 copies thereof in the treasury, to the end that Simon and
 his sons might have them.

without him] i.e. without his permission.

45. *liable to punishment*] The document beginning with *v.* 27 some suppose to end here; others, at *v.* 47; others still, with perhaps greater probability, at the close of the chapter. But see below.

47. *governor*] **Ethnarch.** This title (= "ruler of a nation") was applied only to vassal princes like Simon, Archelaus (*Jos. Ant.* xvii. 13. 4), Aretas (2 Cor. xi. 32) &c. See on xiii. 41. In Alexandria the head of the Jewish community enjoyed the title and dignity of an ethnarch.

protector] i.e. guardian. Cf. 2 Macc. iii. 4; or perhaps simply = chief; lit. *one who stands before*.

48. *tables of brass*] See on viii. 22, and cf. *vv.* 18, 27 of this chapter.

within the precinct of the sanctuary] The reference is probably to the outer court of the temple, where the people were in the habit of assembling.

in a conspicuous place] The Alex. MS. has "in a **sure** place." Cf. Is. xxii. 23.

49. *the treasury*] This was not a particular place set apart for the storing of written documents, but the treasury proper (i.e. a part of the temple buildings, 2 Macc. iii. 6, 28, 40, v. 18; John viii. 20), in which it was customary to deposit important political documents.

Whether this long document (*vv.* 27—49) is to be regarded as genuine is a matter upon which critics are not agreed. Ewald speaks of "manifest faults" in the Greek syntax of the passage, but declares that "its contents are indisputably authentic" (*Hist.* v. p. 336, note 6). According to Grimm, who points out that the grouping of events in this document is inconsistent with the (otherwise very reliable) chronology of the previous part of our book, it is merely a free reproduction by the author of the lost original. Wellhausen regards the whole concluding portion of 1 Macc. (from xiv. 15 onwards) as the work of a later hand. Of this particular section he says: "the commencement of the piece (*vv.* 27, 28) seems to be the only documentary fragment."

And Antiochus son of Demetrius the king sent letters 15
from the isles of the sea unto Simon the priest and governor
of the Jews, and to all the nation; and the contents thereof 2
were after this manner:

King Antiochus to Simon the chief priest and governor,
and to the nation of the Jews, greeting: Forasmuch as 3
certain pestilent fellows have made themselves masters of
the kingdom of our fathers, but my purpose is to claim the
kingdom, that I may restore it as it was before; and more-
over I have raised a multitude of foreign soldiers, and have
prepared ships of war; moreover I am minded to land in 4

THIRD SECTION. CH. XV. 1—XVI. 10. SIMON'S RELATIONS TO
ANTIOCHUS VII SIDETES, AND VICTORY OVER HIS GENERAL
CENDEBAEUS.

1—9. ANTIOCHUS (SIDETES) CLAIMS THE SYRIAN THRONE, AND
SOLICITS THE SUPPORT OF SIMON.

Now that Demetrius II was held as a prisoner by the Parthians
(xiv. 3), his younger brother Antiochus determined to assert his claims
to the kingdom against the usurper Tryphon, and wrote to solicit the
friendship of Simon. In his letter he not only confirmed the concessions
made to the Jews by Demetrius II, but also conferred upon Simon as
ethnarch the right of coinage (v. 6). He further held out a most
flattering prospect of honours for Simon and his nation in the event
of success attending his arms (v. 9).

1. *Antiochus son of Demetrius the king*] The reference is to Antiochus VII Sidetes, who reigned in Syria from B.C. 138—128. He was the son of Demetrius I, and the younger brother of Demetrius II. His surname of *Sidetes* he derived from Side, where he was brought up. Cf. below xv. 23.

letters] See note on xii. 5.

from the isles of the sea] i.e. the Mediterranean. Cf. vi. 29, xiv. 5. According to Appian (*Syr.* 68) Antiochus was at Rhodes when tidings came of his brother's imprisonment.

governor] **Ethnarch.** See on xiv. 47.

2. *King*] This title he assumed by anticipation. He was not actually king as yet, but claimed the sovereignty as his by right.

3. *pestilent fellows*] Cf. x. 61, xv. 21.

the kingdom of our fathers] As brother of Demetrius II he was the seventh in the direct line from Seleucus Nicator, one of the Diadochoi.

foreign soldiers] At this period many Greeks and others were ready to enlist as soldiers of fortune under the banner of anyone who had a cause to maintain, and money to maintain it with.

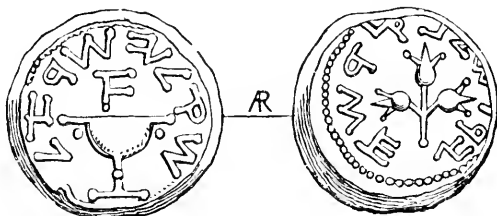
ships of war] These were necessary for the transport of his troops from Rhodes to the coast of Syria. He would probably land at Seleucia.

the country, that I may punish them that have destroyed our country, and them that have made many cities in the kingdom desolate: Now therefore I confirm unto thee all the exactions which the kings that were before me remitted unto thee, and whatsoever gifts besides they remitted unto thee: and I give thee leave to coin money for thy country

5. This verse begins the apodosis to the protasis in *vv.* 3, 4. *the exactions*] The tributes, i.e. virtually, remissions of tribute, as some MSS. read.

whatsoever gifts besides] e.g. the *aurum coronarium* (see note on x. 29), and gifts of honour apart from fixed charges.

6. *I give thee leave to coin money*] Jewish coins appear, however, to have been issued in Simon's time before he got this formal permission. The right of coinage was, in fact, an attribute of the independence which had been granted to Judaea (xiii. 41, 42), or at all events had been



SILVER SHEKEL OF SIMON MACCABAEUS.

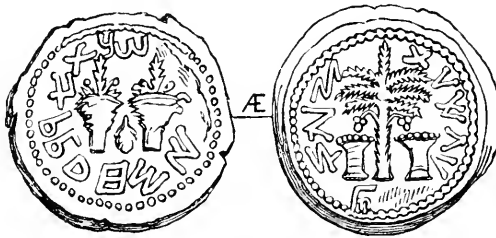
Obv. In archaic Hebrew characters שקל ישראל, *shekel of Israel*. A cup or chalice, on either side a pellet: above the cup the letter נ, i.e. the numeral letter for one, indicating the first year of Simon's mintages. *Rev.* ירושלם קדשה, *Jerusalem the holy*. A central device (? Aaron's rod).

(From Madden's *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 67.)

interpreted as such, and was enjoyed at this period by several free cities of the Syrian kingdom. The coins issued in virtue of the assumption of this privilege are to be regarded not so much as coins of Simon as of the civic commune of Jerusalem in his day. The year numbers on the coins may also be those of a civil era of Jerusalem, "as also other cities of Phoenicia, such as Tyre, Sidon, Ascalon, had begun toward the end of the second century B.C., in token of the freedom which they had obtained, to adopt a cycle of their own" (Schürer, I. i. p. 258). If, on the other hand, they denote the year of Simon, it is strange that among extant specimens (which are numerous) there should be only one with the stamp of the year 5, and none with that of the years 6 and 7, seeing that Simon reigned for eight years (xiii. 41, 42, xvi. 14). It is of course possible that the practice of stamping on the coins the year of issue was after a time discontinued. The silver coins struck were of the value of a shekel, a half-shekel, and a quarter-shekel. On one side they bear

with thine own stamp, but that Jerusalem and the sanctuary ⁷ should be free: and all the arms that thou hast prepared, and the strongholds that thou hast built, which thou hast in thy possession, let them remain unto thee: and everything ⁸ owing to the king, and the things that shall be owing to the king from henceforth and for evermore, let them be remitted unto thee: moreover, when we shall have established our ⁹ kingdom, we will glorify thee and thy nation and the temple with great glory, so that your glory shall be made manifest in all the earth.

the inscription, "Jerusalem the holy," and on the other "Israel's shekel," or "half-shekel" &c. These belong to the years 1, 2, and 3. Copper coins were also issued, all as yet discovered bearing the inscription, "Year 4 of the emancipation of Israel." Both classes of coins



COPPER COIN ATTRIBUTED TO SIMON.

Obv. שנת ארבע חצי. *In the fourth year—one half.* Two bunches of thickly leaved branches (*Lulab*, the festal branches for the Feast of Tabernacles, Lev. xxiii. 40), between them a citron (*Ethrog*, the fruit used in the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles). *Rev.* לגאולת ציון. *For the redemption of Zion.* A palm-tree between two baskets filled with dates and other fruits. The baskets represent the baskets of firstfruits (Deut. xxvi. 2). Cf. 1 Macc. xiii. 51, xiv. 8 ff.

(From Madden's *Coins of the Jews* (1881), p. 71.)

were inscribed in the old Hebrew (Phoenician) characters, but under the later Hasmonaean princes these were displaced by the Greek. These Jewish coins were formed after the Greek models, but give no name or portrait profile of any high priest or prince. They are adorned with simple symbols, e.g. a cup, a lily branch, a grape-cluster, a palm &c. For engravings of them, see Madden, *Coins of the Jews* (1881), pp. 67 ff., from which two examples are here given.

7. *should be free*] i.e. from taxation. See on x. 31.

the arms...the strongholds] Cf. xiii. 33, xiv. 10, 42.

8. *everything owing*] The land had already been declared free from tribute (see on x. 30), but there may have been some arrears due before this enactment, and still unpaid. Now all royal debts whatsoever were to be remitted.

- 10 In the hundred and seventy and fourth year went Antiochus forth into the land of his fathers; and all the forces came together unto him, so that there were few men with
 11 Tryphon. And king Antiochus pursued him, and he came,
 12 as he fled, unto Dor, which is by the sea: for he knew that troubles were come upon him all at once, and that his
 13 forces had forsaken him. And Antiochus encamped against Dor, and with him a hundred and twenty thousand men of
 14 war, and eight thousand horse. And he compassed the city round about, and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he vexed the city by land and sea, and suffered no man to go out or in.
 15 And Numenius and his company came from Rome,

10—14. THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ANTIOCHUS VII
AND TRYPHON.

The campaign opened very hopefully for Sidetes through the desertion in his favour of his rival's troops (*v.* 10). Tryphon had made himself universally disliked, and on the arrival of Antiochus at Seleucia found himself left with a mere fraction of his army. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 7. 2), Tryphon was defeated in a regular engagement. In any case he had to retreat to the coast town of Dor, which Antiochus proceeded to invest both by land and sea (*v.* 14).

10. *the hundred and seventy and fourth year*] = B.C. 139—138.

11. *Dor*] An ancient Phœnician town on the Mediterranean, 9 miles N. of Caesarea. Cf. Josh. xi. 2, xii. 23, xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 1 Ki. iv. 11. It is now the village of *Tantûrah*, which lies a little to the south of the ruins that mark the ancient site.

he came &c.] Rather, as R.V. marg., *he came unto Dor, fleeing by the way which is by the sea* (Dora being a neut. pl.).

13. *a hundred and twenty thousand men of war*] The numbers appear to be excessive in view of the comparative insignificance of the place.

14. *vexed*] Probably = רָצַד , *besieged*.

15—24. RETURN OF THE JEWISH AMBASSADORS FROM ROME,
AND RESULT OF THEIR MISSION.

Numenius and his company were successful in their mission, the former friendship and alliance between the Jews and the Romans being frankly avowed (*v.* 17). A circular letter was even dispatched to all the neighbouring powers allied to or dependent upon the Romans, requiring them to refrain from hostilities against the Jews, and to hand over to the jurisdiction of Simon such malefactors as might have fled from Palestine. A copy of this letter was duly transmitted to Simon.

having letters to the kings and to the countries, wherein were written these things :

Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemy, greet-¹⁶
 ing : The Jews' ambassadors came unto us as our friends¹⁷
 and confederates, to renew the old friendship and con-
 federacy, being sent from Simon the high priest, and from
 the people of the Jews : moreover they brought a shield of¹⁸
 gold of a thousand pound. It pleased us therefore to write¹⁹
 unto the kings and unto the countries, that they should not
 seek their hurt, nor fight against them, and their cities, and
 their country, nor be confederates with such as fight against
 them. Moreover it seemed good to us to receive the shield²⁰
 of them. If therefore any pestilent fellows have fled from²¹
 their country unto you, deliver them unto Simon the high
 priest, that he may take vengeance on them according to
 their law.

15. *having letters to the kings &c.*] It appears from v. 24 that it was only the *copy* of the circular letter which the ambassadors brought to Jerusalem. The Roman consul communicated directly with the king of Egypt upon the subject, and the letter addressed to him is given as a sample of that sent "to the kings and to the countries" generally (vv. 22, 23). By the latter term we are probably to understand (free) lands, cities, and islands without kings of their own, or to some extent under Roman suzerainty.

16. *Lucius, consul*] i.e. probably L. Calpurnius Piso¹, who was consul along with M. Popilius Laenas in B.C. 139.

king Ptolemy] i.e. the Egyptian Ptolemy Euergetes II, or Physcon, the brother, and after B.C. 146 the successor, of Ptolemy VI Philometor. Cf. i. 18, xi. 18.

17. *the old friendship and confederacy*] The treaty with the Romans was, however, barely a quarter of a century old as yet. Cf. viii. 17 sqq.

18. *a shield of gold*] See note on xiv. 24.

20. *it seemed good to us to receive the shield*] Lucius writes as if the Romans were conferring a boon upon the Jews in accepting their gift. This standpoint is probably due to the implied obligation of extending to them the protection of the empire.

21. *pestilent fellows*] Cf. x. 61, and v. 3 of this chapter.

that he may take vengeance on them &c.] Simon's zeal against the Hellenizers had led to the exodus of many Jews from the country, but the tendency of the orthodox party, even as the vassals of a heathen power, to insist upon executing the sentences of the Mosaic law against its transgressors (John xix. 7) now shewed itself in the endeavour to bring offenders to book by means of extradition. It suited the Romans

¹ That Lucius, not Cneius, was his real prænomen has been pointed out by Ritschl, Westcott, and other scholars.

22 And the same things wrote he to Demetrius the king, and
 23 to Attalus, and to Arathes, and to Arsaces, and unto all the
 countries, and to Sampsames, and to the Spartans, and unto
 Delos, and unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria,
 and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto Lycia, and
 unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis,

to acquiesce in their views upon this matter, because it enabled them to pick a quarrel at will with the powers concerned, on the ground of failure to observe this regulation. So also at a later date Herod the Great was empowered by Augustus (Jos. B. 7. 1. 24. 2) to demand the return of Jewish refugees.

22. *the same things*] i.e. essentially the same. In the case of the Syrian king, e.g. some account may have been taken of the special relation in which he stood to the Jews.

Demetrius] It may not have been known in Rome at the time when Lucius wrote that Demetrius was a prisoner in Parthia. That the circular was addressed to Demetrius, and not to Antiochus, speaks for the general trustworthiness of the narrative.

Attalus] Probably Attalus II (Philadelphus), king of Pergamus. Strabo calls him "the friend of the Roman people."

Arathes] Or Ariarathes V (Philopator), king of Cappadocia, who appears to have been a man of high character, and a faithful ally. He fell in war, B.C. 130.

Arsaces] King of Parthia. See on xiv. 2. Arsaces owed no allegiance whatever to the Romans.

23. *Sampsames*] Probably to be identified with *Samsoun*, a seaport town in Pontus, between Sinope and Trebizond.

the Spartans] Sparta was then a free city.

Delos] The smallest of the Cyclades, famed as the seat of Apollo. To-day it is uninhabited, and goes by the name of *Dili* or *Sedli*.

Myndos] A maritime town of Caria, near Halicarnassus (now *Mentesche*).

Sicyon] A very ancient and strong city on the north coast of the Peloponnesus, W. of Corinth, and the capital of Sicyonia (now *Basilico*).

Caria] A country lying on the S.W. coast of Asia Minor.

Samos] An island in the Aegean Sea, separated by a narrow strait from the W. coast of Asia Minor.

Pamphylia] A country of Asia Minor comprising the coast region between Lycia and Cilicia.

Lycia] A country of Asia Minor, bounded by the Mediterranean on the south, by Pamphylia on the east, by Caria on the west, and by Phrygia on the north. Its inhabitants were skilled archers.

Halicarnassus] The strongly fortified capital of Caria, and at one time a royal residence. It was the only city of Asia Minor that dared to offer serious resistance to Alexander the Great.

Rhodes] A well-known island, 120 miles in circumference, to the S. of the Carian coast, from which it is distant about twenty miles. It contained a celebrated statue of Apollo.

and unto Cos, and unto Side, and unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus, and Cyrene. But the copy ²⁴ hereof they wrote to Simon the high priest.

Phaselis] A large maritime city of Lycia, and a famous resort of pirates. As the result of the war carried on by the Roman consul P. Servilius Isauricus in B.C. 77—75 it lost its independence.

Cos] Now *Zia*, one of the Cyclades, lying about 15 miles from Halicarnassus.

Side] A seaport town of Pamphylia. Cf. v. 1.

Aradus] The name of an island and city on the coast of Phoenicia, nearly opposite the mouth of the river Eleutherus (xi. 7).

Gortyna] An important inland town of Crete.

Cnidus] A town on a promontory of the same name in Caria, famed for a marble statue of Venus by Praxiteles.

Cyrene] The capital of Libya, situated about 11 miles from the Mediterranean. In the Dispersion which followed the Greek conquests in Asia, Cyrene became a favourite resort of the Jews, who formed one fourth of the population. Cf. Acts ii. 10.

In connexion with the above enumeration of these names it is noteworthy (1) that the nineteen cities and countries of which mention is made were at that time, in fact, subject neither to the Romans nor to any of the kings named in v. 22 (cf. Schürer, *H. J. P.* i. i. p. 266, note 20); (2) that, from the haphazard order in which the list is drawn up, it is clear that the writer had no real knowledge of the geography of the ancient world.

24. *the copy hereof*] i.e. only of the letter sent to King Ptolemy (vv. 16—21), all the rest—with the probable exception of that to Arsaces—being in substantially the same strain. Simon was thus enabled to see for himself the nature of the Senate's instructions to their allies.

Josephus makes no reference to the sending of Jewish ambassadors to Rome, and merely mentions that Simon made a league with the Romans (*Ant.* XIII. 7. 3). On the other hand, in connexion with the history of Hyrcanus II (*Ant.* XIV. 8. 5), he has embodied a decree of the Roman Senate which, as regards its essential contents, coincides with that given here (vv. 15—21). It is evident, however, that Josephus must have got his facts from some other source than our book. According to Wellhausen, "the section xv. 15—24 is a supplementary insertion in an unsuitable part of the appendix" (xiv.—xvi.).

25—41. ANTIOCHUS SENDS CENDEBAEUS AGAINST THE JEWS.

Antiochus went on with the siege of Dor, and Tryphon was forced to secure his safety by flight (v. 37). Thereupon Antiochus reversed his policy towards the Jewish high priest and nation. Simon's gifts and auxiliaries were disdainfully declined, and the cession of Joppa, Gazara, and the citadel of Jerusalem, or a payment of 1000 talents, peremptorily demanded (vv. 28—31). Simon offered 100 talents for Joppa and Gazara. Antiochus thereupon sent Cendebaeus against the Jews, while he himself went in pursuit of Tryphon (vv. 38, 39). The Syrian

25 But Antiochus the king encamped against Dor the second day, bringing his forces up to it continually, and making engines of war, and he shut up Tryphon from going in or
26 out. And Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to fight on his side; and silver, and gold, and instruments of
27 war in abundance. And he would not receive them, but set at nought all the covenants which he had made with him
28 aforetime, and was estranged from him. And he sent unto him Athenobius, one of his Friends, to commune with him, saying,

Ye hold possession of Joppa and Gazara, and the citadel
29 that is in Jerusalem, cities of my kingdom. The borders thereof ye have wasted, and done great hurt in the land, and got the dominion of many places in my kingdom.
30 Now therefore deliver up the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places whereof ye have gotten

general invaded Judaea by way of Jamnia, and occupied Kidron (vv. 40, 41).

25. *Antiochus the king encamped against Dor*] The writer here resumes the account of the siege begun in vv. 13, 14, and interrupted by the document of vv. 15—24.

the second day] viz. of his arrival. But the word ἡμέρα is absent from some good MSS., and some interpreters prefer to take τῆ δευτέρα as = "the second time" (Heb. *shēnūth*). See below.

continually] This is meant to bring out the protracted nature of the siege.

27. *he would not receive them*] This seems inconsistent with the statement of Josephus, that it was at the request of Antiochus that Simon sent supplies "for those that besieged Dora" (*Ant.* XIII. 7. 2). The theory of two sieges (Ewald, *Hist.* v. p. 338, note 4) would however remove the difficulty.

set at nought all the covenants &c.] Cf. vv. 2—9.

was estranged from him] Cf. xi. 53.

28. *to commune with him*] The mission of Athenobius to Jerusalem evidently synchronizes with the siege of Dor.

Ye hold possession of Joppa] Cf. xii. 33, xiv. 5, 34.

and Gazara] Cf. xiii. 43—48, xiv. 34.

the citadel that is in Jerusalem] i.e. the Acra, which Simon had at length succeeded in wresting from the Syrians (xiii. 49—51). Antiochus calls it *his* as having been erected by Epiphanes, his great uncle. Cf. i. 33 sq.

29. *got the dominion of many places*] e.g. Ekron, which Alexander Balas had presented to Jonathan (x. 89), Gaza (xi. 61), and perhaps also Adida (xii. 38).

30. *the tributes of the places*] i.e. the sums which, but for their

dominion without the borders of Judæa: or else give me ³¹ for them five hundred talents of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred talents: or else we will come and subdue you.

And Athenobius the king's Friend came to Jerusalem; ³² and he saw the glory of Simon, and the cupboard of gold and silver vessels, and his great attendance, and he was amazed; and he reported to him the king's words. And ³³ Simon answered, and said unto him,

We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it was had in possession of our enemies wrongfully for a certain time. But we, ³⁴ having opportunity, hold fast the inheritance of our fathers. But as touching Joppa and Gazara, which thou demandest, ³⁵ they did great harm among the people throughout our country, we will give a hundred talents for them.

And he answered him not a word, but returned in a rage ³⁶ to the king, and reported unto him these words, and the glory of Simon, and all that he had seen: and the king was exceeding wroth. But Tryphon embarked on board a ship, ³⁷ and fled to Orthosia.

occupation by the Jews, would have been paid into the royal exchequer as tribute by these cities. In the next verse the loss thus sustained is calculated at 500 talents.

without the borders of Judæa] i.e. **beyond** the borders &c. This distinction between places inside and outside of Judæa was not hinted at in the overtures previously made by Antiochus to the Jews.

32. *the cupboard of gold and silver vessels*] i.e. a "sideboard" on which it was customary to exhibit the gold and silver plate.

attendance] =retinue of attendants. Cf. 1 Kings x. 5.

he was amazed] viz. that any one in the position of a mere vassal prince should surround himself with such magnificence.

33. *the inheritance of our fathers*] According to the Divine promises (Ex. xxiii. 31; Deut. xi. 24; Josh. xi. 23), Simon was justified in claiming as Israelitish territory every foot of land as far as the Mediterranean coast.

35. *a hundred talents*] = £24,375. To satisfy in full the extortionate demand of Antiochus for a thousand talents was, of course, out of the question.

36. *the king was exceeding wroth*] All the more so, perhaps, because he expected to find some note of submission in Simon's answer.

37. *fled to Orthosia*] Perhaps under cover of night. First of all he

38 And the king appointed Cendebæus chief captain of the
 39 sea coast, and gave him forces of foot and horse: and he
 commanded him to encamp before Judæa, and he com-
 manded him to build up Kidron, and to fortify the gates,
 and that he should fight against the people: but the king
 40 pursued Tryphon. And Cendebæus came to Jamnia, and
 began to provoke the people, and to invade Judæa, and to
 41 take the people captive, and to slay them. And he built
 Kidron, and set horsemen there, and forces of foot, to the
 end that issuing out they might make outroads upon the
 ways of Judæa, according as the king commanded him.
 16 And John went up from Gazara, and told Simon his

fled to Ptolemais, as we learn from the heathen philosopher Charax (Müller's *Fragm. Gr. Hist.* III. 14), then to Orthosia, a few miles N. of Tripolis, and finally to Apamea on the Orontes, where he had been brought up, and where he met his death (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. 7. 2).

38. *Cendebæus*] In Arabic legends = *Cendû*, a N. Arabian king or chief hostile to the Jews. According to Schürer, the name is from the town *Canduba* in Lycia. The region now placed under his command included, besides the coast-line from Carmel to Gaza, the low-lying plain that stretched away for miles behind it. Cf. xi. 8.

chief captain] Ἐπιστράτηγον seems to be the best attested reading, but its precise meaning is doubtful. Strabo XVII. 798 uses the word in the sense of *sub-commander*. Perhaps the meaning intended here is that of *joint-commander*, one associated with the commander-in-chief, στρατηγὸς πρόταρχος (2 Macc. x. 11).

39. *to build up Kidron*] Cf. i. 33, xvi. 9. Perhaps to be identified with Gederah (Josh. xv. 36), now *Ghedera*, a village about 4 miles S.E. of Jamnia, or with *Katra* (also *Kûtrah*), 3 miles S.W. of *Akir* = Ekron. Cf. below, xvi. 5.

40. *Jamnia*] See on iv. 15.

began to provoke the people] i.e. the Jews, many of whom were carried off as prisoners, probably to be disposed of in the slave-markets (cf. iii. 41), while others who resisted this indignity were put to death.

41. *outroads upon the ways*] i.e. forays along the roads. R.V. retains the archaism of A.V., which exactly renders the Gk. ἐξοδῶσιν. Kidron appears to have been a good centre for operations of this sort.

CH. XVI. 1—10. DEFEAT OF CENDEBAEUS BY JUDAS AND JOHN HYRCANUS.

Now an old man, Simon transferred the military command to his sons Judas and John, and provided them with a picked army of 20,000 men to fight the Syrians. Near Modin they obtained a decisive victory; Judas was wounded, but John pursued the enemy first to Kidron, and then to Ashdod, which was once more given to the flames (cf. x. 89).

1. *John went up from Gazara*] Cf. xiii. 53.

father what Cendebæus was doing. And Simon called his ² two eldest sons, Judas and John, and said unto them, I and my brethren and my father's house have fought the battles of Israel from our youth, even unto this day; and things have prospered in our hands, that we should deliver Israel oftentimes. But now I am old, and ye moreover, by ³ *his* mercy, are of a sufficient age: be ye instead of me and my brother, and go forth and fight for our nation; but let the help which is from heaven be with you. And he chose ⁴ out of the country twenty thousand men of war and horsemen, and they went against Cendebæus, and slept at Modin. And rising up in the morning, they went into ⁵ the plain, and, behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen. and there was a brook betwixt them. And he encamped over against them, he and his ⁶ people: and he saw that the people were afraid to pass over the brook, and he passed over first, and the men saw

2. *two eldest*] A third son, Mattathias, is mentioned in *v.* 14.

I and my brethren and my father's house] Cf. note on xiii. 3.

3. *I am old*] As the second son of Mattathias who had already so far back as B.C. 167—166 gained a reputation for wisdom (ii. 65), Simon must now presumably have been approaching seventy.

by his mercy] Or, *by the mercy*. Cf. iv. 24. The author refrains as usual from the introduction of the sacred Name. So also at the end of the verse, where God's help is referred to as "the help from heaven." Cf. iii. 18, 22, 53, iv. 10 &c.

be ye instead of me and my brother] Simon seems to have had in view merely the period during which he and Jonathan as joint commanders (xi. 59) had between them successfully vindicated the national cause, and had thus no occasion to refer to Judas.

4. *twenty thousand men*] That Simon could command such a number even of selected troops is not surprising in view of the statement in xii. 41.

and horsemen] This is the first mention of the use of cavalry on the part of the Maccabees,—a fact that illustrates the advance in military efficiency secured under Simon. Cf. iv. 31.

slept] Cf. xi. 6.

Modin] See note on ii. 1.

5. *a brook*] A **water-course**, i.e. the dry bed of a winter torrent, "supposed to have been the modern Wady Rubin, which runs a little to the east of Kûtrah, the supposed site of Kidron" (Rawl.). Cf. xv. 39.

6. *he and his people*] This leaves it uncertain which of the two brothers is intended, but in all probability the reference is to John as the experienced general (xiii. 53) and the most prominent figure on the Jewish side.

7 him, and passed over after him. And he divided the
 8 people, and *set* the horsemen in the midst of the footmen :
 9 but the enemies' horsemen were exceeding many. And
 they sounded with the trumpets ; and Cendebæus and his
 army were put to the rout, and there fell of them many
 10 wounded to death, but they that were left fled to the strong-
 hold : at that time was Judas John's brother wounded : but
 John pursued after them, till he came unto Kidron, which
 Cendebæus had built ; and they fled unto the towers that
 are in the fields of Azotus ; and he burned it with fire ; and
 there fell of them about two thousand men. And he re-
 turned into Judæa in peace.

7. *the people*] Here a collective name for the entire army.
and set the horsemen in the midst of the footmen] In departing from
 the usual custom of placing the cavalry on the right and left wings of
 the army, John was probably influenced by two considerations,—their
 numerical inferiority, and their inexperience. He could not reckon
 upon their being able to protect the flanks.

8. *the stronghold*] viz. Kidron (xv. 39, 41).

9. *came unto Kidron*] i.e. as far as Kidron, not *into* the fortress.

10. *they fled*] i.e. those who failed to find an asylum at Kidron.

the towers &c.] The allusion is to the watch-towers which it was
 usual to erect and occupy as a precaution against sudden attack. Cf.
 2 Ki. xvii. 9, xviii. 8.

burned it] viz. Azotus (Ashdod). Only ten years previously it had
 met with the same fate at the hands of Jonathan (x. 84), and at this
 period can scarcely have recovered itself.

two thousand men] The number of the slain is uncertain. Some
 MSS. state it at 1000, others at 3000.

in peace] Cf. note on v. 54.

The foregoing account of the war with Cendebæus is distinguished
 by its sobriety and historical worth from the highly coloured narrative
 of Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 7. 3; *B. J.* I. 2. 2).

FOURTH SECTION. CH. XVI. 11—24. MURDER OF SIMON AND
 TWO OF HIS SONS BY PTOLEMY HIS SON-IN-LAW. ESCAPE OF
 JOHN HYRCANUS. END OF THE BOOK.

After the defeat of Cendebæus Simon was enabled for two or three
 years to devote his energies to the internal development of his king-
 dom (xiii. 27—30, xiv. 5—15). Then came the tragic end. While
 engaged in personally supervising the machinery of government in the
 district of Jericho, he was, along with two of his sons, at a banquet
 prepared for them in the castle of Dok, most treacherously murdered
 by his own son-in-law, Ptolemy the son of Abubus, who coveted the
 supreme power. Ptolemy's plot failed owing to the absence on the
 occasion of his brother-in-law John Hyrcanus, governor of Gazara. The

And Ptolemy the son of Abubus had been appointed ¹¹ captain for the plain of Jericho, and he had much silver and gold; for he was the high priest's son in law. And ¹² his heart was lifted up, and he was minded to make himself ¹³ master of the country, and he took counsel deceitfully against Simon and his sons, to make away with them. Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, ¹⁴ and taking care for the good ordering of them; and he went down to Jericho, himself and Mattathias and Judas his sons, in the hundred and seventy and seventh year, in the eleventh month, the same is the month Sebat: and the ¹⁵ son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the little stronghold that is called Dok, which he had built, and

latter, warned in time, cut off those who had been sent to assassinate him, and immediately occupied Jerusalem and the temple mount (*vv.* 19—22). John succeeded his father as high priest and prince of Judaea (*vv.* 23, 24).

11. *captain*] i.e. governor, with civil as well as military power.

the plain of Jericho] The fertile tract of country near the mouth of the Jordan, specifically described by Josephus (*B. J.* iv. 8. 3) as 70 stadia in length and 20 stadia in breadth. The district was also strategically important as commanding the fords of the Jordan at this point.

he had much silver and gold] Some think the reason of this is given in the next verse: "for he was the high priest's son in law," and as such would receive a large dowry with his wife. But his wealth must also have been largely the result of the lucrative post to which Simon had appointed him. In any case the causal "for" in *v.* 12 must apply to the first as well as the second clause of *v.* 11.

13. *his heart was lifted up*] Cf. i. 3.

was minded to make himself master of the country] Following the example of usurpers like Alexander Balas and Tryphon.

14. *Mattathias and Judas*] The reverse order might have been expected, as Judas was older than Mattathias (*v.* 2), who is here mentioned for the first time.

the hundred and seventy and seventh year] = B.C. 135.

Sebat] In the Jewish calendar the eleventh month of the ecclesiastical, and the fourth of the civil year. It corresponded nearly to our February. Cf. Zech. i. 7. The date of Simon's arrival at Jericho is given with special reference to the subsequent event.

15. *the son of Abubus*] The omission of the first name is probably a mark of contempt. Cf. Saul's habit of referring to David as 'the son of Jesse' (1 Sam. xxii. 7, 8, 13 &c.).

the little stronghold that is called Dok] The name, which is Graecised by Josephus into *Dagon*, and in the Vulg. appears as *Doch*, is still

16 made them a great banquet, and hid men there. And when Simon and his sons had drunk freely, Ptolemy and his men rose up, and took their arms, and came in upon Simon into the banqueting place, and slew him, and his
 17 two sons, and certain of his servants. And he committed
 18 a great iniquity, and recompensed evil for good. And Ptolemy wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him forces to aid him, and should deliver him
 19 their country and the cities. And he sent others to Gazara to make away with John: and unto the captains of thousands he sent letters to come unto him, that he might give
 20 them silver and gold and gifts. And others he sent to take possession of Jerusalem, and the mount of the temple.
 21 And one ran before to Gazara, and told John that his father and brethren were perished, and he hath sent to slay thee
 22 also. And when he heard, he was sore amazed; and he laid hands on the men that came to destroy him, and slew them; for he perceived that they were seeking to destroy him.

preserved in 'Ain Dik, a group of springs about 4 miles N.W. of Jericho. Cf. note on ix. 50.

16. *had drunk freely*] R. V. may give the right sense of $\mu\epsilon\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega = שָׁכַר$ (Gen. xliii. 34, cf. John ii. 10), but the term usually implies *intoxication* (LXX. of Gen. ix. 21; 1 Sam. xxv. 36; 2 Sam. xi. 13). If Simon and his sons were intoxicated, they would also necessarily be defenceless, like Elah king of Israel, who was similarly murdered while in his cups (1 Ki. xvi. 8, 9).

his men] Lit. **those with him**, i.e. the men who were concealed.

his two sons] viz. Judas and Mattathias (v. 14).

17. *a great iniquity*] The Greek word ($\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$) denotes faithlessness to solemn engagements. The Alex. MS. reads $\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$, *atheism*, i.e. ungodliness.

18. *deliver him their country*] Ptolemy, while probably reckoning on the king's gratitude to him for relieving him of a formidable enemy, was at the same time careful to make it worth his while to comply with the request for aid. Not only would Joppa, Gazara, and the Acra (the cession of which had been demanded by Antiochus from Simon as a condition of peace, xv. 28), but the whole country would again become a Syrian possession.

21. *to slay thee also*] A transition from the indirect to the direct speech. Cf. i. 50.

22. *slew them*] Not merely in self-defence, but in virtue of the judicial functions vested in him as hereditary head of the State (xiv. 41, 49). It was his duty to suppress rebellion.

And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds which he did, and of the building of the walls which he built, and of his doings, behold, they are written in the chronicles of his high priesthood, from the time that he was made high priest after his father.

seeking to destroy him] A.V. 'to make him away' = to make away with him. Cf. Wright's *Bible Word-Book*, p. 383.

23. *the rest of the acts]* Lit. of the **words**; but the Heb. term (*dibrêy*) of which this is almost certainly the translation, means *deeds* as well as words. Cf. the formula in Kings (1 Ki. xi. 41; 2 Ki. x. 34 &c.).

his wars] Cf. Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. 8—10).

the building of the walls] This must refer to a somewhat later period of John's career. At the time of his succession to the supreme power the fortifications of Jerusalem were in a good state of repair (xii. 36, xiii. 52, xix. 37).

24. *in the chronicles of his high priesthood]* Lit. **in the book of days** &c. Cf. *on brass tablets*, viii. 22 &c. During the Maccabean crisis it was impossible that the public annalist could be at work, but in the reign of Hyrcanus attention may have once more been paid to such matters. This particular record, which dealt with the events of John's priesthood, and which seemed to the writer of our book to render further labour on his part superfluous, has not come down to us. Writing in 1566 "Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca Sancta*, I. p. 39) affirms that he saw in the library of Santes Pagninus at Lyons the manuscript of a very Hebraistic Greek Book of the Maccabees, which embraced the history of 31 years, and began with the words: 'After the murder of Simon, John his son became high priest in his stead'" (Grimm). Unfortunately this library of Pagninus was soon afterwards destroyed by fire, and while of course it cannot be definitely asserted, it is still possible, that this MS. was a Greek translation in some form of the "chronicles" in question. Schürer, however, in view of the description of the contents given by Sixtus, thinks that the book was "simply a reproduction of Josephus, the style being changed perhaps for a purpose" (*H. J. P.* II. iii. p. 14).



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