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DANIEL;

OR,

THE APOCALYPSE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.



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WITH

AN INTRODUCTION,

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“Le Christianisme n'est vraiment défendu que par une science amoureuse de la vérité. Toute apologétique *à priori* se renfermant dans le cercle, étouffant des traditions et des préjugés traditionnels, fera désormais plus de tort à la cause de l'Evangile qu'elle ne lui proeurera d'avantages. 'Celui qui est de la vérité entend ma voix,' a dit le Seigneur Jésus. Il faut donc d'abord 'être de la vérité' pour venir à lui: et il est pénible de se dire que tous les apologètes qui se mettent à l'œuvre avec le dessein *préconçu* de défendre à tout prix, même contre l'évidence, les opinions théologiques dont l'Evangile peut être la source, mais dont en soi-même il est fort distinct, n'auraient pas entendu la voix du Christ s'ils eussent vécu de son temps: car ce n'est pas 'être de la vérité' que de se prescrire d'avance à soi-même le but auquel il *faut* arriver.”—
REVILLE.



WILLIAMS AND NORGATE,

14, HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN, LONDON;

AND

20, SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, EDINBURGH.

1865.

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AN INTRODUCTION,

ETC., ETC.

“Nobis summoperè studendum est, ut maneat vera et certa Scripturæ intelligentia.”
CALVINUS IN HOSEAM.

“I leave it to themselves to consider, whether they have in this first point, or not, overshot themselves.”—HOOKER, *Ecc. Pol.*, last paragraph of Book ii.

THE author of the following treatise having been good enough to wish that I should introduce it to the world, I imply a readiness to carry out his wishes, rather than a concurrence in his estimate of what was expedient, by offering some preliminary remarks.

1. Those amongst us whose recollection goes back to their earliest impressions of the Sacred Volume, can hardly fail to remember that Daniel struck them from the beginning as unlike the rest of the Prophets. We may in some instances, or at some times, have preferred stories of marvel to sublime denunciations: yet the stir awakened in us at the words, “*Hear, O Heaven, and give ear, O Earth, for the Lord hath spoken,*” had but faint counterpart in the languid feeling with which we listened to an enumeration of “*the princes, the governors, and captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces gathered together unto the dedication of the image that Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up.*” The one had the trumpet-sound of song; the other drawled, like official prose. If we grew up within the circle of ecclesiastical sayings, other differences could hardly fail to be impressed upon us. Other Prophets had

foretold the sufferings and glory of Christ; Daniel had marked the time of his coming. The Jews might, with some violence, explain the other Prophets away: despairing of Daniel, they had removed him out of the roll of the Prophets into a secondary place. Even Butler, whose sagacity needed only a larger literary furniture to anticipate many difficulties of our time, and who ought to be quoted on the side of conscience instead of on that of tradition, formally excepted Daniel from the large concessions which he contemplated as possible under the head of Prophetic Interpretation. A question which involved the honour of Christianity could hardly remain a question. If digressions from Babylon to the Ottoman empire and the Church of Rome were unlike the general style of the Prophets, they were the more interesting, as long as they did not perplex us. Sir John Marsham, whose "Canon Chronicus" seems to have been more valued in foreign countries than in his own, might explain the seven weeks as the period from the commencement of the captivity (and if he had made this commence at the destruction of the city, B.C. 588, he would have found the period just forty-nine years down to Cyrus, whom the Isaiah of the Return calls the Anointed of God, B.C. 538); similarly, he found sixty-two weeks, four hundred and thirty-four years (which, with sabbatical allowances, might be made more exact), down to Antiochus. Collins might go farther in questioning the authorship of the book. Gibbon might write in a feigned name a letter on the subject, not destined to be fully answered by Bishop Hurd. "Such objections were as old as Porphyry." It did not always occur to us that Porphyry's judgment as a critic in literature was infinitely superior to that of almost any Christian Father, or that his opportunities of information exceeded our own. Bentley, one of the few scholars of the very highest eminence whom the English Universities have produced, seems to have been unable to prevent himself from taking Porphyry's side, and might have left us fuller disclosures if it had not been for a person who

promised to obey him.¹ But this great scholar, as Bishop Monk has finely observed, does not appear to have lived under the dominion of Christian principles. To Dr. Arnold belongs the merit of first among English clergymen saying outright, and without the possibility of his judgment being ascribed to religious indifference, that the same tests which on the whole vindicate the genuineness of the larger part of the Prophets, compel us to assign to Daniel a lower chronological rank, which must affect the degree in which history or prediction enter into its contents. It was not Arnold's desire to draw dangerous inferences; though he might not have been able to prevent such from being drawn.

If any such thing can be conceived as a question affecting religion, yet turning upon literary evidence, and opening one course of investigation to all men independently of religious creeds or theories, such was this question of the book of Daniel. So the Church of the Reformation conceived, when, with a noble simplicity, in an age² when such questions were already

¹ "He was so far from being satisfied, that he immediately began to suppose that his disappointment arose from the sacred books of Daniel and the Revelation themselves, and not only from his own, or the Bishop's, misunderstanding them. . . . He pretended also that there had never been a version of Daniel made by the Septuagint. . . . Nay, when Dr. Bentley was courting his lady, who was a most excellent Christian woman, he had like to have lost her, by stating to her an objection against the book of Daniel, as if its author, in describing Nebuchadnezzar's image of gold (Daniel vi.) to be sixty cubits high and but six cubits broad, knew no better than that men's height were ten times their breadth, whereas it is well known to be not more than six times, which made the good lady weep. . . . He aimed also to pick a quarrel with some small niceties in Daniel's chronology, and supposed the book to have been written after the time of Onias, the high priest; and that Onias was Daniel's Messiah, and that *the slaughter of this Onias at Antioch was the cutting off of the Messiah*. In short, he was very anxious to get clear of the authority of the book of Daniel."—1 *Whiston's Memoirs*, 94-5. The passage oddly suggests the antithesis of "a despotism of professors."

² "Equally paradoxical, my lords, and dialectically, as I conceive, suicidal, was the use which the Queen's Advocate made of a passage in St. Augustine. 'Here,' he says, 'are strong views of inspiration, in a passage known to our Reformers.' Now, why did our Reformers, knowing St. Augustine's doctrine of election and grace, insert it in their Articles? Because, I presume, they believed it. Why did the same Reformers, knowing also St. Augustine's doctrine of inspiration, not insert it? Because, I presume, they did not believe it with such a certainty as to think it

stirred, she declared her acceptance of "four Prophets the greater and twelve Prophets the less," but laid no restriction upon investigations as to the interpretation, authorship, and history. Still, if one theory of the book be called Christian, while another is called the Jewish or rationalistic theory, it may be foreseen that hardly one mind in a thousand will compare evidence for the two dispassionately. The comfort which men who practise their religion derive from it, and the awe with which men who do not practise it regard it, are employed to weight the scales; until, paradoxical as it may sound, thousands who know nothing of the literary evidence but what some one, a little less ignorant than themselves has told them, will not only stake their salvation upon a point of literary chronology, but will imagine this to be the only, or the strongest, reason for believing things of an entirely different kind, which their experience has taught them to value, and without which they would have judged the literary matter differently. If God wrote the book of Daniel so that it should contain predictions to prove Christianity, a theory which explains the predictions and destroys the proof, may with no greater extravagance than polemicists allow themselves, be said to place us in an attitude of defiance toward the Divine Majesty, taking away from mankind their dearest hopes, or sapping the

proper for legislative imposition. I doubt if any argument on our side better deserves your lordships' attention than this which the Queen's Advocate has generously suggested, for it is often assumed that our Reformers would have rejected with horror any notions of Biblical freedom. Such an assumption always seemed to me a violation of all canons of historical verisimilitude; for our Reformers lived in a country where the free handling of Scripture by Reginald Pecock, Bishop of St. Asaph, was well known, and had shared condemnation with the heresies of Wicliffe—and while the atmosphere was rife with the rationalistic hints of Raleigh and Hariot. Nothing is more certain than that their relations were most friendly with Luther, whose Biblical freedom was such that his criticisms are often identical with those for which the volume of *Essays and Reviews* is indicted. Yet our Reformers, equally attached to Augustine on one side, and to Luther on the other, and having (we are now told) strict views before them by the side of lax views, deliberately refrained from recording a legislative preference for either, and by this indifference, or rather wisdom, guaranteed, as I trust, our freedom."—*Final Reply, before the Judicial Committee.*

foundation on which they rest. It is not wonderful that men who have definite duties, and indefinite ideas of what criticism means, should shrink from the appearance of such presumption as is thus ascribed to them. Who are we that the evidence which satisfied Sir Isaac Newton should not content us? Whether he examined the evidence, or what he sometimes said upon it, and whether his doctrinal views in general should be our model, is a different thing. But why should we forfeit one world, and risk another; that, too, one in which any hope of an ending of penalties is itself penal?

*Per me si va nella città dolente,
Per me si va tra la perduta gente :
Lasciate ogni speranza, voi che 'ntrate.*

2. On the other hand, the grave nature of the interests involved in what seemed at first only a question of sacred literature, tends to remove it out of the category of curiosity into that of duty. If there are elements in our faith, practical or speculative, which we are justified in refusing to prove, leaving the burden of argument on whoever assails them, a literary position, especially one considered as an outwork, can claim no such immunity from account; some investigation of the evidence is in this case required by justice to the Jews, whose tradition of the canon has been arraigned; by loyalty to the faith of which we are ministers, whose evidences are supposed to be jeopardied; above all, by reverence for the holy name of God, which if not righteously invoked, has been wantonly paraded. The strong language which the Oxford Regius Professor of Hebrew has permitted himself to use on this subject might not be too strong, though it would be needless, if the critics against whom he directs it had either falsified their statement of the evidence, or violated a sanctity antecedent and paramount to all evidence. There should be some criterion by which the tone of righteous indignation may be distinguished from the gall of bitterness. Most men have some Rubicon of sacredness in regard to Revelation: with one it has been the

Anglican version ; with another it has been, in one stage of his life, the voice of the English Episcopate,—surely a criterion short of the highest ; with many men it is whatever the Bible shall on due explanation be found to contain ; with others it is the religious element in the Bible ; with others the spirit of the Bible, the life out of which the book sprang, and which in turn it has tended to generate in the world ; with some it is the New Testament, independently of the Old ; with others, it is the mind of Christ, to which the New Testament affords the best approximative clue ; with others, it is the human conscience, placed sensibly in presence of the heart-searching God ; or again, the ultimate evidence, and a great point of sacredness, is the perpetual coincidence between the words of Christ and the voice of our conscience, whenever they are brought fairly into contact : to some, the only trustworthy evidence of revelation seems miracle ; to others, Divine illumination enforcing truth or fitness of doctrine, appears, in the midst of undoubted miracles, to be alone capable of implanting the faith that saves, and where miracles are questioned, to be not merely their permitted substitute, but the rightful occupant of their place : again, men of phlegmatic thought, without denying the Divine origin of illumination, think its effects not different from such mental operations as enable us to embrace moral evidence : almost any of these views, or a combination of them, leaves place for the Church, as harmonising the consciences, and embodying the convictions, of the community. Can a reason be given why, on any theory of Revelation or of its evidences, one account of the book of Daniel is to be preferred to another ? Must the preference be such, that the one account has its place on the sacred soil, and within the charmed bower, where none may lift a spear ? or in this, as in other instances, is the life independent of place and time, permitting us to settle history in whatever way the evidence may suggest ? Suppose a person predisposed to believe whatever he ought ; take rather one who believes all the articles of the Christian faith, but who doubts

whether a particular account of the book of Daniel has a place among them; one who thinks, perhaps, that Christ would not have his disciples seek such knowledge¹ of the times and seasons as one interpretation of the book seems to disclose; yet one, whose faith in the Divine power of inspiration, the historical reality of miracles, and the prescience of prophecy, may give to enquiries on such subjects an interest vital and absorbing. How is such a person to decide between accounts of the book of Daniel so conflicting as the one set forth for English readers in the following treatise, and another which has the benefit of Dr. Pusey's exposition in a more academic form? Can he be certain that his choice may not be fatal to his own soul? Some attempt to answer these questions will be the limited scope of this Introduction; which must not be understood to imply adoption of the more general views of either one of the two expositors.

3. On opening a common Hebrew Bible, we find three great Prophets, followed by the twelve minor Prophets, in familiar order. Only Daniel is wanting, and has to be sought in a subsequent collection of books. Among its neighbours there are, the Song of Songs, an ancient book, but one reckoned by the Jews semi-canonical; Ecclesiastes, whose signs of later origin bring it within about two centuries of the Christian era; Esther, a book unfixed, but falling low in the Persian, if not in the Grecian, period; the books of Chronicles, which are allowed to contain genealogies implying interpolation or compilation subsequent to Alexander the Great;² and the collection of Psalms, which is believed (though not without dispute, yet) for reasons which cannot be lightly set aside, to contain compositions as late as the Maccabaic period. The "foolish man

¹ Acts i. 7.

² 1 Chron. iii. 21-24, where six generations have an appearance of following Zerubbabel (compare Jaddua, in Nehemiah xii. 11).

Dr. Pusey (p. 330) "gives to the section the appearance of an ancient gloss,"—a solution, which the passage, in common with others, may bear; but which its sponsor might have been expected to deplore as rationalism, if not to describe as "mere insolent assumption against Holy Scripture, grounded on unbelief" (p. 346).

blaspheming daily" of Psalm lxxiv. (with which Psalm lxxix. should be compared) seems a direct allusion to the madman (*ἐπιμανής*) Antiochus. Without laying undue stress on conjectures, the result of this arrangement of the book of Daniel is as if the English reader found it half-way between Malachi and St. Matthew. It is not an adequate explanation to say that Daniel, though gifted with prophecy, was excluded as not being a prophet by office. Neither was Amos a prophet, or a son of a prophet; yet his book is separated but by Joel from Hosea, to whose age he belonged. Daniel would probably have been placed by Ezekiel, if he had belonged to the same age. The inference of a lower date, which is obviously suggested by a place in the canon posterior to that of the prophets, is confirmed by the observation, that neither Zechariah, nor Haggai, following immediately the return from exile, contain any such allusion to Daniel or his book, as a career so marvellous, and a book so significant, if they had been known, would have rendered natural, if not necessary. How could Ezra, or more strikingly Nehemiah, describe his own relation to Artaxerxes, and not be reminded of the eminence which Daniel had enjoyed in a Persian court, and of the marvellous revelations by which it had been won? If their thoughts called them in a different direction, at least an enumeration of all the worthies of Israel would not overlook so famous a name among the fathers that had gone before. Yet the son of Sirach in chaps. xlviii., xlix. of Ecclesiasticus, has a word for Elijah and Elisha, Isaiah and Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Nehemiah, coming down to Simon, the son of Onias; but with strange ingratitude, or natural unconsciousness, omits mention of Daniel. This kind of omission is exclusion, until at least some evidence appear on the other side. Its exclusive tendency will be increased, if Zechariah, without knowing Daniel, can be shown to enfold in germ what Daniel will expand.

Among the evidences by which the Old Testament Scriptures may to some extent, though not to a high antiquity, be tested,

a prominent place belongs to ancient versions. Now, if we turn from a Hebrew canon of the Prophets, in which Daniel does not occur, and from a catalogue of the greater Prophets which does not mention him, to the Greek version, we are met by a singular phenomenon. Daniel is the solitary book of which Jerome¹ tells us, the Church read a version by Theodotion, in preference to the Septuagint, which required asterisks and obelisks to mark its errors and redundancies, though the censorious of that day, who have so many wonderful parallels in our own, blamed St. Jerome for departing from it. He does not explain why the Septuagint version of this book should be worse than that of others, but if the book did not exist, or had a doubtful and hardly canonical recognition, at the time when the Greek translation is supposed to have been made, we should have the groundwork of an explanation, the details of which may be filled in hereafter.

4. It can hardly be wrong at this stage of our enquiry to say that the external yet Biblical evidence suggests on its first blush a later origin for Daniel, than for the Prophets in general. Will the contents of the book furnish any reason for a contrary conclusion?

That parts of the book are written in Chaldee, that is in a language differing from Hebrew much as old lowland Scottish (say in Bishop Douglas's *Virgil*) differs from English, is not in itself conclusive of one date rather than another between B.C. 600 and B.C. 100. Can we, however, supposing Ezra under Artaxerxes about B.C. 460, and accepting the Targum called of Onkelos as falling at the earliest within the Christian era, detect a variation in the texture of the Chaldee, which would suggest for Daniel a place anterior, or subsequent to Ezra? No wide difference need be expected. A clear tendency of variation is thought to have been traced.

(a). The earliest verse of Chaldee in the Bible (*Jer. x. 11*) gives LeHoM as the pronoun for *to Them*. *Ezra v. 3, 4*, gives for

¹ Pref. lib. Dan.

the same, LeHoM, but also v. 2, 3, gives LeHoN. In Daniel the latter form LeHoN habitually occurs, *e.g.* vi. 3 (comp. v. 2, 3, 23), while the former, whatever may be the reason, has vanished. Now in the Targum of Onkelos on Genesis xl. 22, it is LeHoN, the latter form, the one current in Daniel, which is characteristic, while the former, if ever, does not normally occur. This implies something. More decidedly, the pronoun for *to You* in the proportion of five times to one throughout Ezra, as in chap. v. 3, and vii. 24, is LeCHoM, whereas in Daniel iii. 4 (comp. ii. 5-9) it is LeCHoN. It is difficult to explain this particular variation otherwise than by supposing Daniel the later book. Turn to Onkelos on Genesis ix. 3; the word by which he expresses *To You* is LeCHoN. This is his normal, I believe his invariable usage. The first six verses of the 43rd chapter of Genesis give several instances for comparison of both pronouns. (b). Again, in Ezra, the words *This house of God*, are expressed *Beith Eloho* DeCH, and *This city Kiriathah* DaCH; the forms DeCH and DaCH representing the Hebrew ZeH and ZoTH. It is not denied that the form DeNah also occurs in Ezra. The point is, that on turning to Daniel the forms DeCH and DaCH are no longer found; but are replaced by DA or DeNah, commonly the latter, as in ii. 18; v. 24, 25, and often (not to urge on either side a quasi-adverbial usage). I have no wish to strain out of this, the most disputable of the differences, more than I fairly ought, but still must adhere to those who see in it a later tendency of language. For how do the Targums, alike of Onkelos and of Jonathan Ben Uzziel, on Genesis v. 1, express *This Book*, Hebr. ZeH SePHeR? They use the form DeyN SePHaR. Similarly on Genesis xxviii. 16, 17, they express *This Place* by ATHRa HaDeyN, or ITHRa HaDeyN. The form is even reduplicated into a sort of plural, DeNaN (Gen. xxxi. 38). Let any one accustomed to weigh such transitions say, whether the cardinal letters in the Targums do not retain what is more characteristic of Daniel than of Ezra. It is a partial, but not a complete, answer, that

on Gen. xxiv. 65, Onkelos expresses *That man* by *Gavra Deychi*. (c). Once more, the Hebrew word for *These* is ELeH. So in Jer. x. 11, and in Ezra v. 15, we read for *These*, ELeH (for *Those* we read in Ezra v. 9, ILLeCH). Whereas in Daniel we actually find for *These* the form ILLeN, vi. 7, and its still later equivalent ILLeYn (chaps. ii. 44; vi. 3: vii. 17), with which may be compared INNōN in ii. 44, and vi. 25. This is a most remarkable variation, the nature of which is placed beyond reasonable doubt by the form ILLeYn in Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uzziel on Gen. ii. 4; ix. 19; x. 1, and wherever, otherwise than by *Denan*, the word *These* is expressed. The reader will have the pith of the argument before him, if he imagine himself opening a Rabbinical Bible, and observing this:

<i>Hebrew Column.</i>	<i>Targum Column.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Eleh Toledoth.	Illeyn Toledath.	These are the generations.

Eleh in Ezra and Jeremiah.	IlleN, or Illeyn, in Daniel.	These.
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This juxtaposition of forms weighs with my idiosyncrasy more than any multiplication of possibilities, or hard words. It is an exact analogy, that the Hebrew for *What* is MeH or MaH, but the Chaldee is MaN; and it is a less obvious illustration that the Hebrew for *Mouth* is PeH, but the Chaldee PouM. If any one contends, that in their own homes the Chaldee forms may have been the older, and that here is no euphonical change, nor necessary affinity, but only correspondence, my argument¹ makes no objection, provided it be allowed that in the Hebrew Scriptures, of which our enquiry is, the Chaldee forms (with

¹ Little as my argument needs it, I might suggest a hope of mercy for a philologist who should doubt the doctrine that the singular DeN and the plurals DeNaN and ILLeYn have the same element in their termination; even if he appealed with dubious success to such forms as *Mah* and *Man*, *Dagah* and *Dagan*, *Nadah* and *Nadan*, *Gachah* (?) and *Gechan*, for a different explanation. The question of Daniel and Ezra does not turn on euphonic mutation, but on Biblical priority. If James I. spoke ever so old Scotch, it might be late English. But *viri docti sententiæ ut assentiar, a me non impetro.*

the disputed exception of *Manna*) appear later, and furnish criteria of a book's lateness. The transition from *Eleh* in the earlier Scriptures and *Ezra*, to *Illeyn* in *Daniel* and the *Targums*, is complete; whatever its analogies, fancied or real, in external dialects.

Enough of these variations here to show that they are not insignificant; they may not, apart from all other circumstances, have a force approaching to demonstration; their tendency is to indicate in *Daniel* a stage of language subsequent to *Ezra*, and advancing in the direction of the *Targums*. The greater the differences are, the more favourably shall we be able hereafter to judge of the author's directness in writing suitably to his time; whereas, on the less favourable supposition of his designedly imitating *Ezra*, we might find no differences.

A more striking, and for general readers available, characteristic of style as indicating age, may be found in the numerous Iranian, or Indo-European, words which occur in the book under consideration. An useful list of these has been appended, with the assistance of Professor Müller, to Dr. Pusey's recent lectures. In order however that the student may derive from this list all the instruction which it is capable of affording, he should remember a circumstance of which neither the divine nor the philologer has informed him, that Persian would have been as strange to *Nebuchadnezzar*, as Greek. We are not dealing with *Ezra*, who lived under *Artaxerxes*, but with an author supposed to represent the Syro-Chaldean age of *Babylon*. If anything is known of the distribution of languages and races, we know for certain, that the indigenous *Babylonians* of *Nebuchadnezzar's* age (if not of all ages, for Mr. Rawlinson's supposed discovery would not here affect us) were of that Syro-Arabian race, at the head of which the Bible places *Chesed*, father of the *Chasdim* or *Chaldæans*, and whose patriarch is *Shem*.¹ So the priests or astrologers

¹ This is fully discussed in *I Vater's Adelung*, with which may be compared *Rosenmüller's Note on Habbauc i*, the opinion in *Layard's Nineveh*, ii. p. 237,

(chap. ii. v. 4) are made to address the king *Aramith*, or *Συρισι*, and (not to dwell on Strabo's identification (lib. xvi.) of the terms Syrian and Assyrian) the existence of our Aramaic Chaldee in large portions of this book is both significantly dramatic and conclusive as to the author's conception of Chaldæan ethnology. The supposition of an intrusive warrior caste of Kurds, though it has had an occasional place among the conjectures of scholars, and though it is now convenient to a class of writers who lately called it "infidel," is on wider grounds more justly set aside. Those who hold it, can least explain, how a position like that of the Turkish troops under the Arabian Caliphs could be that of a learned caste of astronomers.

How then are we to explain the occurrence of Iranian, *i.e.* Indo-European, words in Daniel? The opening verses give, in connexion with a decree of Nebuchadnezzar's, *partemim* (*i.e.* nobles), akin to the Sanscrit *prathama*, Pehlvi *pardom*. There are many others, an explanation of which was attempted by Dr. Jahn in his excellent Introduction to the Old Testament, and gently criticised by his episcopal editor in America. It was taken from Dr. Jahn by Dr. Mill in his publication as "Christian Advocate," and is taken from Dr. Mill by Bishop Cotton,¹ of Calcutta, who now sends it from Asia to Europe as a novel

and the Article by Mr. Bevan on *Tongues, Dispersion of*, in Smith's *Bibl. Dict.* The most recent philologist on the Kurdish side seems to be M. Rénan, whom I might hesitate to contradict, if I had not observed (*Lang. Sémi.*, p. 66), that he quotes among his authorities Mr. Layard, who has expressly summed up for the Semitic theory; while the difficulty, to my own mind very great, of making Abraham a Kurd, and the weight of the Mosaic genealogies, which I am not neologist enough to desert with Dr. Pusey, unless much graver reason compelled me, confirmed too, as these are by the Aramaic of Daniel, almost conclude the question. In truth, M. Rénan's undoubted accomplishments as an Orientalist do not preserve him from a proneness to conjecture in more provinces than one. He does not make the Chaldees priests; so that his alliance with Dr. Pusey is imperfect.

¹ I prefer a glance at Bishop Cotton's philological discoveries to one at his personal judgments; though the latter, especially in so far as they blame a clergyman for imputing to "the great body of believers" certain exaggerations, which the clergyman had complained of as exceptionally exacted from himself, in an age when the great body of educated believers had expressly or tacitly surrendered them, exemplify in a memorable measure what the good bishop justly calls "the guilt of misrepresentation."

discovery, which it is only wonderful should not be known to an essayist who had considered and, out of respect for some of its advocates, passed it over in silence. No chronology brings Cyrus to Babylon before 540. Suppose him there in 536. Daniel would be at least eighty, approaching ninety years of age (i. 1-3). If he equalled the highest historical instances of longevity, it would be a strange employment for one on the brink of the grave, first to learn Persian, then to translate into it portions of his former work, and the edicts of Nebuchadnezzar. Would such a procedure be even consistent with inspiration? Without wearying the reader on this point, I trust a moment's reflexion will show him, that Iranian words, *e.g.* *Partemim*, *Sagan*, *Sarbal*, (*i.e.* *bracca*, Gr. *σπαβάρα*), *Achashdarpemim* (satraps), etc., etc., tend greatly to strengthen any previous presumption in favour of the later date assigned to the book of Daniel.

We have not yet exhausted our linguistic indications. Having never myself consented to vote for depriving the word *kitharas* of its Greek citizenship, I rejoice to see Professor Müller set aside the desperate attempts to make it Persian. Here the question is not, whether a stray Greek term might float from Ionia to Babylon; but how came other books of the Bible, even those written at Babylon, to call a harp by its Hebrew name *kinnor* (comp. *Cinyras*), and only the one which external evidence places after Alexander's conquest, to use the Greek word *kithara* (in what was probably its genitive form, though punctuated *caythros*)? Ezekiel, captive by Chebar's stream, wrote *kinorayeh*, thy harp; those daughters of Zion who remembered their past tears at Babylon, had hung, they say, "*kinorotheynou*, our harps," upon the trees that were there. In Daniel the Hebrew word has vanished; a Greek substitute appears. If this were not enough, we find the word *pesanteeryu*, or *psanteryon*, which, whether its peculiar form be certainly, or but probably, connected by Gesenius with the Macedonian use of N for L (mentioned by Gregory of Corinth)

must in any case be a modification of the Greek *psalterion*.¹ That a gentleman has been found to suggest a Semitic root PSaL, proves so little about the Greek inflexion, which was the point, that it is difficult to imagine the suggestion serious, though Reviews applaud it. The word SamBuCa retains too much trace of its Asiatic original to be urged, though it is probably on its return as a visitor from Greece, as our own adoption from France of *boire* (*bibere*), if for an illustration's sake I may so far follow Voss, does not prevent our restoring it in the form *la bière*. A more certain word is Soumphonía, of which, notwithstanding the alternative writing Siphonia, I should feel the force needed no argument, if it were not eminently significant, that Polybius (Athenæ. x. p. 439) mentions Antiochus (the tyrant symbolised by Nebuchadnezzar) as dancing to the *symphony*, whether one instrument, or more; Polybius, I think, meant it of one; as also did Livy. But what shall we say of Ashaphim; the wise men, or diviners? Hebrew lexicographers seldom scruple to invent roots, and in the comparatively modern colluvies, called Syriac, the word has been adopted out of Daniel. No Semitic warrant for it approaches within ages the time required for a precedent, unless any one chooses to make it a dialectic variation of the Hebrew *Cashaph*. A more probable clue is furnished by the frequent recurrence of *σόφος* in the LXX. Ashaph, I suspect, can only be Sophos, and it bears to its Greek original the same relation as the Hebrew *Ani*, a ship, bears to its Greek and Sanscrit cognate *Nau*-s. I will not urge barer possibilities; if the above instances exhaust the Greek words in Daniel, they present, standing alone, a chronological suggestion, which with

¹ Compare the Homeric *γέντο* for *έλετο*. Doric *βεντίον* for *βελτίον*, *βέντιστος* for *βέλτιστος*. The Doric usage does not exclude the Macedonian, but renders it probable. The word *ψαλτήριον* could not have come from the Dorians, for it was not a Dorian name, but was a comparatively modern substitute for the older name *μάγαδις*, which meant the lyre with some special number of strings. See Athenæus, xiv. p. 636 (v. 309, Schweighæuser). Dr. Pusey must pardon this correction, which I would have spared, if his extreme confidence had not taken such a tone of rebuke; not sparing even St. Gregory, a bishop and a father, as well as a grammarian.

accompanying circumstances may be a link of proof. If they were possible under Nebuchadnezzar, they are natural after Alexander.

5. To the common sense of the multitude a consideration of the subject-matter of the book may furnish plainer ground. There will be found in the following treatise abundant evidence that the four kingdoms described in symbol by Daniel are Babylonian, Persian, and Macedonian, with either a Median as the second, or the Seleucid dynasty of Syria (and possibly its Egyptian contemporaries) as the fourth. Either alternative leaves the "little horn" as the well-known, widely-acknowledged, representation of Epiphanes, who in his love of Greek fashion thought to change Semitic times and seasons, and who raised by his insults the splendid outburst of fanatical valour which is the glory of the Maccabees. Expositors so unlike as Porphyry and Jerome¹ agree so nearly as this: the one supposes Daniel to describe Antiochus; the other prefers Antichrist under the type of Antiochus; in either view, a knowledge of Antiochus is presupposed. All introductions into the text of the Ottoman empire or the Pope—as a primary meaning—as an historical form which the writer gives to his thought, may safely be set aside. Some few scholars may conceive allusion to Antiochus a proof that the book was as late as his age; a far larger number of divines imagine the predictive form in which the allusion is conveyed abundantly demonstrative that the book existed earlier; otherwise, they say, it would be deceptive.² A middle, and a moderate, course is, to ask on

¹ Hieron. in Dan., vii., viii.

² A most reverend writer has said upon St. Luke: "It is painful to remark, how the opinions of many commentators who *refuse to fix* the date of this Gospel earlier than the destruction of Jerusalem, have been influenced by the determination that nothing like prophecy shall be found in it. Believing that our Lord did really prophesy that event, we have *no difficulty* in believing that an evangelist reported the prophecy before it was fulfilled." Now, supposing his grace to know by inspiration, or otherwise, the motives of commentators, who might have deduced their apparent axiom from previous instances, the laws of thought still permit us to see a correspondent assumption on his grace's side. Granting that there are truths to

behalf of a book, for which prediction is claimed, that some evidence, or a probability, however slight, of its existence anterior to the event, should be shown. We have seen, in the case of Daniel, the external evidence against a date earlier than Antiochus. While this remains so, it is respectful to hope the "intention" was not "deceptive," in a practice which even Christian poets, Tasso, and our own Spenser, and Geoffry, who was a bishop, have sanctioned; and which can hardly surprise us in a lower age, two centuries before the Christian era, when it is known to have existed largely among Jews and Gentiles. The books of the Sibylline Prophecies,¹ formerly ranked by church authority with David's Psalms, may exemplify the habit for the Greeks, the book of Enoch (the date of which I do not presume to fix) for the Jews, and Virgil's sixth *Æneid* for the Romans. If the divinest inspiration is shown by many instances to include the free spontaneity of poetry, parable, apologue, patriotism, and passion, we cannot, antecedently to investigation, assume that it must exclude a play of imagination in prose, which we might call dramatic, but consistent with the modes of thought of that age, and of many ages. At least, on the side of "evidences," the predictive or symbolical form, in which the book of Daniel enfolds its allusions to the period of Antiochus, is not sufficient to counteract the tendency of those allusions in fixing the date as contemporary or subsequent to Antiochus.

It would be a departure from the principles which govern this enquiry (and are inculcated by me elsewhere,) to assume that the presence of miracles in a narrative disproves its genuineness or its authenticity. Still, there are narratives in

which our assent properly commences in volition, it is not clear that the existence of a prediction for near half a century before an event, if it is not attested until half a century after the event, belongs to such an order of truths. At all events, the acceptance of such a prediction is too much a result of faith or volition, to be a foundation. It does not furnish that proof, for the sake of which it was alleged. I only borrow here an illustration of reasoning, the two cases being manifoldly unlike in themselves.

¹ *Oracula Sibyllina*. Friedlieb. Lipsiæ, 1852.

Daniel, which even upon comparison with other miracles in the Old Testament retain a certain air of strangeness; and in proportion as things are strange, they require more evidence; whereas here the evidence is less than usual; thus the book being on other accounts questioned, if we proceed to ask what inherent verification is afforded by such narratives as represent the fire not burning, and the lions not rending, the answer can hardly avoid a tone of suspicion, which would make us rejoice to find such an interval of elapse between the author and his subject-matter, as on independent grounds we have already found. This would be stated more strongly by those who magnify the presumption in favour of an Order of Nature into a certainty that exceptions from that order are precluded by its Divine Author's all-sufficing omniscience. There is so little likelihood of that view's being confounded by any sincere mind with my own, that I may venture to say, it does not appear to me contemptible. It deserves more respectful treatment than the triple series of prejudications, Miracles are necessary; Miracles must have occurred; All records of miracles must be placed, even without evidence, in such an order of time as may render them available proofs. There is more consistency in saying with the physical philosopher, Miracles, as we enlarge our grasp upon Nature, become less probable; and with the critical historian, Records of miracle ought to be vigilantly scrutinised; yet in no less maintaining, as a Christian divine, Nothing is impossible with God; and, at the same time, if all the miracles of the Bible are undoubted and literal history, our faith in the Supernatural does not depend upon them, since to ground faith in sensuous miracle is that very materialism which Christ rebuked in Nicodemus¹ (St. John iii. 2, 5, 10).

¹ If Bishop Warburton and Archdeacon Hare (comp. "Mission of the Comforter," pp. 212, 351-68) are adequate representatives of the two schools, to one of which the foundation of faith seems phenomenal, and to the other spiritual, we not only see that both schools are equally bound to produce historical evidence, and to limit their affirmations in accordance with it, so that it is the merest polemical artifice to ascribe to the spiritualist rather than the phenomenalist any 'assumptions' de-

I hasten reluctantly by many questions of interest connected with Daniel, a discussion of which would swell this Introduction into a treatise. It is disputed, whether the emphasis with which almsgiving and ascetic practices are prescribed, marks a stage of Judaism intermediate between the Old Testament and the New. At least it is in perfect consonance with a period, when the received interpretation of righteousness as almsgiving (See Beza, Mill, Elsley, on St. Matth. vi. 1) shows the natural sentiment of a "blessing on him who considereth the poor" passing into that more formal code on the subject, which finds countenance in the infant Christianity of the Gospels, and which, though firmly rejected by St. Paul, has been revived in parts of Christendom. A more difficult enquiry is, how far Zoroastrianism appears? So much is certain, that names and other distinctions of an angelic hierarchy come forward in a way unknown to the older Scriptures; if this change may be ascribed to a fresh revelation, it is more naturally explained by contact with a faith likely to have suggested it, and of high antiquity, although the books which now present it to us do not yet admit a settlement of their age or interpretation. The bearings of a great argument are not affected by the possibility of complicating its collateral or supplementary details. The tendency, as it seems to me, of research up to our own days, from the time when Dean Prideaux¹ conceived of Zoroaster as an apostate Jew, is to magnify the antiquity, importance, and spiritual force of the impulse which the East received, when the great Bactrian reformer scattered the night of Nature from eyes sealed in the slumber of Vedic infancy, and out of the contrast of light and darkness evoked the prerogatory to history; but in fact the spiritual school has often been the stronger on the historical ground. We shall not arrive at an understanding, until the impartial neutrality of the intellect is guaranteed by an habitual distinction between things historical or ratiocinative, which are subject-matter of belief, and things spiritual, which are objects of faith; the latter being tests of character, inasmuch as our relation to them is affected by volition.

¹ Conn. O. N. T. i. 4, with which his account of Judith, i. 1, is curious enough to bear comparison. (Comp. Pusey, p. 97.)

sonalities, or foreshadowed the conflicts, of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

To those who would prosecute this part of the subject, Heeren's *Asiatic Researches*, cap. ii., Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, and the brilliant chapters in Gibbon, and in Milman's *History of Christianity*, with the authorities cited therein, will afford the means of doing so. Von Lengerke's *Daniel*, and Dr. Pusey's *Lectures*, may be considered in respect of our entire book as the two authorities standing to each other in strongest antithesis. The view taken by Mr. Desprez occupies an intermediate and moderate position. Those who wish to contrast the two sides, treated moderately, with exact equipoise of ability (and after reading adverse criticisms I can add, with considerable erudition and acumen), may compare two editions of Dr. Davidson,—the first, 1856, maintaining the earlier, and the second, 1863, the later date.

6. There is one branch of evidence, hitherto but glanced at, which deserves consideration from divines of all schools. It depends upon no modern theory, or scholar; is not only "as old as Porphyry," but older. The Greek version,¹ edited from the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., whether it were originally part of the Septuagint, or were borrowed from any one else, presents in its existing form a book of Daniel between Ezekiel and the Maccabees. This book of Daniel commences with the apocryphal narrative of Susannah; proceeds subsequently, so as not to need remark, to the third chapter, in which a long prayer of Azarias is introduced, and the song which we call "the Song of the Three Children." Nebuchadnezzar hearing them sing, is astonished (as he might well be), and rises up in haste. The book then proceeds until the end of the twelfth chapter; when Astyages the Mede (whom the writer probably identified with "Darius") dies, and Cyrus the Persian succeeds. Then comes the story of Bel and the

¹ Oxonii, MDCCCXVII. Accedit Introductio Carpozvii.

Dragon, followed by that of Habbaeue the Prophet, who is borne through the air by the hair of his head, in order to carry food to Daniel in the den of lions. A brief recital of Daniel's deliverance closes the book. When Porphyry read this collection of stories, he fairly argued, that it must have been written in Greek, since the first tale of Susannah contains two Greek puns (*σχῆνον* and *σχίσσει, πλῆνον* and *πρίσαι*). His argument is adopted by our orthodox apologists, as a reason to the Church of Rome for our not accepting the Apocrypha. Jerome fairly answered, that the Greek puns in Susannah do not affect the portion of Daniel which is found in the Hebrew. His answer is generally accepted. Still, he did not explain, why in the third chapter Nebuchadnezzar was astonished and rose up in haste—a phenomenon, of which the Greek, with its Song of the Three Children, supplies an account: while the Hebrew, with its omission of that song, supplies none. Hence it is an open, though neglected, question, whether the Greek be not, after all, the original of Daniel; or to speak more closely to probability, whether it does not represent an ancient collection of stories, out of which the Hebrew compiler in the Maccabean age selected the most dignified for the purpose of encouraging his countrymen to trust in the Lord God of their fathers; not expecting them to enquire, nor nicely enquiring for himself, how much was documentary, and how much traditional. This view would explain, why *Citharas* appears in the genitive case; why such words as *Sophos* are retained; especially, why *Upharsin* is absent from the Greek text, though introduced into the Hebrew; its absence being more consistent than its presence, with the conception, originally native to the writer, that the Iranian dynasty in Babylon began with the Medes, and was transferred to the Persians. Why should it be more startling for Greek elements to find a way into the Hebrew Canon, than for the New Testament to be in Greek? or to take a more exact analogy, for the Greek of Aquila and Theodotion to be imitated or replaced, as is believed, by the Hebrew transforma-

tions¹ of Onkelos and Jonathan? Can any better explanation be given of the circumstance, that Daniel's interpretation, vv. 26-28, corresponds with the three words of the Greek, but not with the four words of the Hebrew and English? Priority on part of the Greek would be an explanation; and more so, if we remember the Hebrew fondness for rhythmical response.

Tempting as may be that hypothesis, it would have difficulties of its own, and should not divert us from certainties; especially since to native inheritors of the Hebrew, who claim a Hebrew original even for Susannah, it will hardly be welcome. At all events, the incorporation of legendary stories in the Greek Daniel proves how little the idea of sacredness prevented such a thing, on the strictest theory, in this case; or need have prevented it in the case of the Older Prophets, on the theory of their having received Daniel as a late addition. The argument from "deception," the most invidious of all to answer, is destroyed by our Deutero-Canonical books, especially by such as the book of Wisdom, called of Solomon, the author of which writes with every appearance of piety, yet does not scruple in his eighth and ninth chapters to personate the son of David. An older, a more absolutely canonised, instance of the same practice is presented in the book of Ecclesiastes. It is entitled "The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, king of Jerusalem." Some may restrict the force of this title by understanding it to imply only a representation of the character of Solomon: that the authorship does not belong to Solomon, is allowed too generally for argument upon it to be needful. If the adoption of character seem more innocent than the invention of incidents, I am not contending for the latter; although examples of it, without going so far as the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, abound in Jewish books of the period to which Daniel probably belongs.

A friend once pointed out to me that the force of these cou-

¹ Geiger, pp. 162-163, *Urschrift*. Breslau, 1857. Compare Carpzovius, as above, p. lxxxvii.

siderations is much increased by a comparison of the Coptic version of Daniel. On proceeding to an examination of this, I found it framed upon the basis of the Greek, and divided into thirteen visions, of which Susannah is the first; although it seems that by an act of judgment which, without disrespect to a man of learning, it may be permitted to think mistaken, the portions absent from the Hebrew have been placed in Archdeacon Tattam's edition of the Coptic¹ at the end, under the head of "*Additions to Daniel.*" The most remarkable point is, that at the end of the thirteenth vision appears a fourteenth, in which the four Empires are re-cast into the forms of the Persian, Roman, Byzantine, and Saracenic. Whether the writer of this fresh vision were inspired, or uninspired (though it is hard to say, why that Spirit which taught all nations of the earth their languages should have any of its gifts confined to one language, or two), he conceived of Daniel, as of a book to which such an addition might not irreverently be made, and thereby gave some indication of what nature he conceived the book to be, and rendered it easier for us to throw off the invidious topic of deception. Nothing is more usual with Rabbinical writers, both Jewish and Christian, than to re-adapt prophecies, whose aspect was originally contemporaneous, to fresh events and new enemies; but this Coptic addition is more creative in its spirit, and its place in Daniel eminently suggestive.

On returning from a comparison of the Versions, and of the Deutero-Canonical books, to the Daniel of our Canon, the reader will be less surprised at the fragmentary and half-coherent plan on which this is composed. Since he is told, "not even a rationalist now believes" that the materials of the work are not all of the same age, he may be less disturbed on

¹ *Prophetæ Majores, in dialecto ling. Ægypt. Memphiticâ sen Copticâ, edidit Henricus Tattam, S.T.P. Oxonii, MDCCCLII.* In the third chapter, the Editor has permitted the cause of Nebuchadnezzar's astonishment to appear more fully than in the Hebrew. The word *Upharsin* in ch. v. is wanting. As this passes through the press, I observe a possible subject for comparison, in the Persian Targum mentioned by Mr. Deutsch at p. 1664 of Smith's *Dict. Bibl.*

finding such an impression suggested to him by the book itself; at least, the unchronological order in which visions belonging to Belshazzar's period follow the mention of Darius, and the third year of Cyrus is appended to a career which had been previously implied to end in the first of Cyrus, may be observed as indications of such a thing, however much a loose unity may seem given by the final compiler. Also, the important suggestion arises, that although our Church, in search of a boundary which should limit sources of necessary doctrine, determined wisely to make that boundary conterminous with the Hebrew Canon, we are not justified on grounds of religious philosophy, or of literature, in making all within that boundary Divine, nor all external to it destitute of a Divine element. Let us at length learn, the Spirit bloweth where it listeth.

The English reader, who imagines that a book invariably retains the shape in which it first left its author's hand, may be asked to consider some instances to the contrary. It is said, though I have not ascertained it by comparison, that Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Propheying* underwent considerable changes in the edition after the Restoration. I have observed in Professor Blunt's *Sketch of the English Reformation*, a gradual raising of the ecclesiastical tone in successive editions, from the old Anglican Protestantism of the earlier to the pronounced Anglo-Catholicism of the later; yet the change is produced by very minute variations of phrase. A more marked instance is Dr. Cooke Taylor's *Manual of Modern History*. Numerous passages, containing reflexions or anecdotes, chiefly of that kind which conductors of educational establishments a quarter of a century ago thought proper, but which amidst the stronger ecclesiasticism of our day seem less proper, have been gradually withdrawn. Some of these changes (neither the authority nor fitness of which do I for a moment question), have been made subsequently to the author's death. If it be said that books employed in education enjoy a peculiar license of epitome, the *Chronicles* of our Middle Ages present a more

striking and instructive instance. Any one who compares the *Flores Historiarum* and other specimens from Bede to Rudborne, many of them edited by Dr. Giles, will find large passages adopted by the later from the earlier, but with such freedom of recasting as the later writer's opportunities or inclination suggested. The circumstances under which some of our chronicles were written, in religious societies, or with an eye to some special cause, with little care to preserve the author's name, and with occasional conjecture to supply the absence of record of authorship, are so analogous, if not parallel, to those under which our Canonical and Deutero-Canonical writings came in succession into being, that some resemblances in the uncertainty of authorship or compilation cannot surprise us. My reader will be good enough to observe, that I am here introducing only an illustration. The proof of the thing illustrated is to be found in a comparison of the book of Daniel, as our Bible gives it, with the other versions: *e.g.* with either the Vulgate or the Septuagint; the last mentioned has been done in the Appendix to Dr. Pusey's volume, though not nearly in so instructive a manner as any intelligent reader will do it for himself.

It may be asked, are not the words *Canon*, *Canonical*, *Deutero-Canonical*, a sufficient condemnation of such ideas as are here suggested, whether a Greek original, or traditional stories, or even innocent compilation, or gradual addition? Certainly, if the word canonical meant, as we have been told, "written by the special and miraculous interposition of the Almighty," we should be driven to imagine that the interposition, although miraculous, had taken place with a singular adaptation to the appearance of a natural occurrence. Again, if there were the slightest colour of any other than a rhetorical foundation for the statement that *Canonicity* is by the native pregnancy of the term a synonym for *Inspiration*, the last word being taken in the most exaggerated sense, we might seem forbidden to investigate the instrumentality of

circumstance, with which He, who is the Foreseer and Arbiter of events, as well as inspirer of thoughts, introduced his manifold lessons into the world.

Unfortunately for all such theories—which, even if a violent straining of law could have extorted authority for them, would have remained without foundation in literature—but happily for the truth of religion, and welfare of the Church, the well-known meaning of the word *Canon*, in relation to objects enumerated under it, is a list. When Ptolemy placed in his “Canon” the names of certain Babylonian kings, he was not aware that by making these monarchs canonical, he was constituting them, for the province of York, plenarily inspired. He ignorantly thought, he was only stamping them genuine, by placing them in the list. Sir Henry Rawlinson and his brother equally give us canons, *i.e.* lists, of Assyrian kings, but have not yet inferred inspiration from their canonicity. Within the Christian Church, the historical sense, as distinct from devout rhetoric formerly, and litigation of late, has never been doubtful. Athanasius spoke of books canonised, and un-canonised; thereby showing the subject-matter of canonisation to be not “the faith and manners of Christians,” but the books en-listed, or enumerated. Bishop Marsh, whose authority may be higher in criticism than in doctrine, laid down with a direct eye to both sides of the question, that “in the writings of the Fathers of the fourth and following centuries, after the number of sacred books which were to be read in the churches had been determined by public authority, the word canon signifies a list, or a catalogue.” After exemplifying this from Gregory, of Nazianzus, he proceeds: “Canonical books signify properly those admitted by public authority into the catalogue of writings destined for the service of the Church; and (though their divine origin was considered as a necessary qualification to entitle them to this admission, yet) the words *Canonical* and *Inspired* are by no means synonymous.” 1 Michälis, pp. 375, 376. A writer, who passes as Cranmer, though his

materials, but not their arrangement, may have come from the Archbishop, says, "We believe the holy canon of the Bible, because that the primitive Church of the Apostles and eldest writers, and next to their time, approved them in their REGISTER, that is, in their writings, which partly saw and partly heard them from the Apostles." *Confut. Unw^d. Verities*, p. 59. Here with a writer, whose slightly Genevan tone already verges more toward the identification of the Word and the Record, than either our General Exhortation and Absolution, taken together, or the habitual recognition by Cranmer and Latimer of the *Gospel* as the Word, or the spirit of Hooker's second book would suggest, we still find *register* used either as the synonym, or, on the least favourable construction, as the determinant of the canon. Such is in connexion with Scripture, the historical, as distinct from the polemical, meaning of the word canon. I have too recently argued this verbal question under singularly¹ painful circumstances to care to linger over it. The thoughtful reader will understand, that the church, as other societies, enjoys a right to enumerate the books, which she will read in her assemblies, or stamp with doctrinal authority; that as a religious society she would naturally place on her list, books fullest of the spirit of that faith, which it is her mission to keep

¹ The diligence of the junior counsel on the other side has brought some quotations from Suicer and another book. I accept those quotations, and ask, which way do they point? How could Athanasius and others apply such words as *κανονιζόμενα* and the Latin *Canonizare* to the sacred books, or how could the word *ἀκανόνιστα* have arisen, unless the subject of canonization were the works themselves, and not, as in the moralising rhetoric of divines, the faith and manners of Christians? I conceive such quotations agree with those which I ventured to adduce from Quintilian, Athanasius, Cranmer, and Bishop Marsh, in establishing a strong distinction between canonicity and authority immediately Divine. The concurrence, my lords, of two predicates in one subject does not prove the predicates to be synonymous terms. The Scriptures are canonical and inspired: it does not follow that canonicity is inspiration. If this seems only a verbal controversy, the inferences drawn from words, especially in theology, may be so far-reaching, and it may be for some minds so vitally important to feel, that in acknowledging a thing to be canonical they do not assert it to be immediately Divine, that I would humbly suggest to your lordships the great desirableness for the Church, of not narrowing her Articles by a construction which, even if it be legal, is not historical, and which I believe to be as harshly novel, as it is evidently strained.—*Final Reply before the Judicial Committee.*

alive; that there may be a probability, greater in the eye of her children than in that of mere enquirers, that her selection will be divinely guided, or proceed upon a well-weighed claim of antecedent sacredness; yet that the mere canonicity, or enrolment on the list of the church, in itself determines nothing as to the inherent quality, whether human or divine, of the book enrolled; that the canonization of books of different kinds, a history, a tradition, a chronicle, a psalm, a parable (and though I hardly like to add it, possibly a legend¹), recommends to us each on its own ground, and leaves us free to discriminate each; not willingly excluding any from that breath of God, by which all things noble and pure live, and have being; yet suffering us to think that the fierceness of man in some parts praises God less acceptably than the more excellent way in others; and that as the liveliest record of an inspired community left us in either Testament discloses traces of infirmity (1 Cor. xiv. 23-32), so analogous traces of an humanity not bereft of God, but working imperfectly under His influence, may stamp the sacred writings of the Canon. Thus, if the Church of the Maccabean period had seen her afflicted children roused by tales current among them of bye-gone suffering or deliverance, she might enroll a well-weighed selection of such tales in her list, for future edification; thus the book, especially if its tales of older tyrants were cast into parables with a vein of covert allusion to the living tyrant, would mark the history of the time which adopted it, if only the traditions of an older time. I do not write with a view of unduly exalting the church; still less a special order within it; nor do I apprehend the question of inspiration to be in this stage

¹ Has any one shown why a legend need be less inspired than a genealogy, or a chronicle? Might it not be more so? especially if unconsciousness of feigning be what distinguishes it from moral tale. Among a people of strong idioms of speech, such as "bowing down to idols," "passing through fire and water," being "saved out of the mouth of the lion," the literature may be so tinged by them, as to make interpretation more a feeling than a certainty. All I would ask, in such a case, is that things of the highest spiritual import should not be made dependent upon doubtfulness, or literary possibility. My own question is rather of fidelity of statement.

of our enquiry affected; whatever theory of inspiration we hold, from the strongest to the weakest, it is certain that the inner gift was accompanied by Divine Providence with an outward instrumentality of circumstance; and religious societies, even if the cry of their guilt in crushing the personal conscience has gone up horrible before God, have yet played an important part in educating individuals, collecting their devotions, elaborating their experiences in the form of an historical canon. Our business was with testimony as to the age of the book of Daniel; but the question was difficult to disentangle from various ecclesiastical considerations.

7. Let us sum up the case. Our masters of reasoning, whether profound as Butler, or narrowly acute as Whately, have taught us that practical conviction may depend, not on a single line of proof, but on an accumulation of particulars, some of them collateral to each other. So the proof of the later of the dates assigned to the book of Daniel does not depend solely on the testimony of the Jewish Church, though that church placed it among her latest writings; it is not merely the silence of witnesses anterior to the Maccabees, though some one of the Canonical writers, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, or of the Deutero-Canonical, as the Son of Sirach, in giving a sort of list of the Prophets, might well have mentioned the book, if it had been known to them; it is not only that, if allusions are at all traceable, it is rather from Daniel back to Zechariah; it is not that the Chaldee of Daniel permits itself to be marked off by clear shades of variation from that of Ezra; nor that Iranian words stand out with significant prominence upon a page to which the earlier date would suppose them unknown; nor even that Greek words, and those not merely musical names, defy all attempts to explain them away; again, it is not merely, that prediction requires some slight indication of its existence anterior to the event predicted: (far less will any one who habitually governs his affirmations by evidence, ascribe to the author of the present argument any assumption of the impossi-

bility, or even *à priori* unlikelihood of prediction): nor is it only, that some of the narratives in Daniel are peculiarly strange, and unlike most of the Old Testament miracles, but like those of the secondary canon, with which also the external evidence of the age of their record associates them: (far less has the present author given reason for being seriously supposed to deny the possibility, or historical reality, of miraculous occurrences, or shown any wish to disprove them): nor again, is it merely that the ancient Versions, the Greek and Coptic, and the Vulgate in its representation of Theodotion present in the case of Daniel peculiar and exceptional phenomena; and that these are of a kind suggesting the idea of a collection of stories, rather than the unity of a contemporaneous record; nor is it altogether, that the manners are Persian more than Babylonian, the religion Judaising rather than Hebrew, the angelic names novel, and possibly of Zoroastrian suggestion; nor simply that the history, though put in such a predictive form as the third book of the Sibylline Oracles, contemporary with the Maccabees, exemplifies, is still history, written with a patriotic object, and history reaching to about that date, at which the external evidence of the Hebrew Church (and of Hebrew scholars, who are not bold to accumulate exploded errors), would lead us to place the origin of the book—the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes—the death of the heroic¹ and anointed Maccabee—the struggle, still dubious, for the free worship of God in Zion, against a foolish man blaspheming daily; nor once more, is it only that Livy and Polybius ascribe to Antiochus what Daniel ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar, while Psalms apparently contemporaneous illustrate, and receive light from, this

¹ The 30th chapter of Livy's 41st book is in favour of "the anointed one cut off without help, or successor," being Seleucus Philopator. "Seleucus insidiis Heliodori, unius ex purpuratis, oppressus interiit." Nor is the description of Antiochus in the two following chapters unimportant: "Antiochus pravus et inconsultus fuit ipse statim *cum poculo et symphonia* improvisus aderat, commissabundus et lasciviens," etc. It is not, however, unreasonable to prefer applying the term Anointed to a Jewish prince or priest; and Mr. Desprez believes himself to have found one appropriate.

view of the origin of the book, to which so many particulars tend in convergence—it is the accumulation of all these things in the aggregate which constitutes something very like a proof of the later date of the book; a proof of such a kind as our Maker has rendered it difficult for the human mind to resist: one to which we may resign ourselves without fear that He who knoweth whereof we are made, will blame his children for so doing; and in reliance upon which we turn from partisan maledictions, saying to Him, LORD, *though they curse, yet bless Thou*. Our trust in doing so will be justified, in proportion as our enquiry has been upon legitimate ground, without assumption opposed to any part, or evidence, of revelation. We should have still to learn the meaning of Revelation at the feet of Christ, if we fancied it to imply merit or duty in swerving an iota from historical probability.

But is there nothing on the other side? There is a passage in Josephus, A. J. xi. 8, which declares that the high-priest Jaddua, having appeared in a dream to Alexander, while yet in Macedonia, and encouraged him to conquer Asia, subsequently on his march from Tyre to Jerusalem showed him also the book of Daniel, in which he had been predicted. I can add nothing to what two historians of Greece, the first manfully,¹ the second enigmatically, have suggested upon this passage. But if we consider that the military companions of Alexander, so far as their testimony is delivered to us through good writers, knew nothing of this march to Jerusalem, or of its results, and that Arrian may be interpreted as negating it, we may wonder how Josephus, four centuries afterwards, was able to dress up

¹ Mitford, chap. xlviii. § iv. (vol. vii. p. 534); Thirlwall, chap. i. (vol. vii. p. 206); Comp. Lord A. Hervey, in Jaddua, *Dict. Bibl.* Some features in Josephus's account of the Fall of Jerusalem (such as the *μεταβαίνωμεν ἐντεῦθεν*) are suspiciously like some in Alexander's siege of Tyre, though doubtless common to many ancient cities; as Servius teaches on *Æneid*, ii. 351:

(Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis

Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat; succurritis urbi

Incensæ)

where Burmann makes the parenthesis stop too soon.

the particulars so fully; say, we admit some act of grace to have furnished a foundation for the tradition, and even go so far as to imagine any part of the Old Testament shown to Alexander, it does not follow that Josephus might not conjecture Daniel as a part likely to be shown; and when we add the obliquity of the man's character, atoning for flattery of the Romans, by exaggerations as to the country and creed which he had deserted, the whole passage becomes suspicious for reliance, if not damaging.

It has been attempted to find a testimony of a far different order in the language of the New Testament. We read in Matth. xxiv. 15 (corroborated by a doubtful reading in Mark xiii. 14) that "the abomination of desolation" which the Jews should see in the last days of Jerusalem had been "spoken of by Daniel the Prophet." This passage is employed, as if it brought the whole authority of Christ and of God into the field in favour of the earlier date of the book, and of such interpretations as exclude a proper reference to the times of Antiochus. Is not such employment of it a carrying of the Ark of God, unbidden, into the battle? Certainly the passage proves the canonical reception of Daniel at the time of the Gospel's being written, and we may fairly assume, at that of Christ's speaking; but that such canonical reception was then established, and had been so for a full century, is what no critic calls in question. The passage may also prove that the standards of Titus on the walls, or the statue of Caligula in the Temple, brought home to the Jews a vivid fulfilment of an old prophetic saying. I discern no approach to even an indication, that the book had originated in the time of Nebuchadnezzar rather than of Epiphanes; or that the "abomination of desolation" was not formally recognised by our Lord as denoting acts of Antiochus which were before the eyes of the writer of the book of Daniel, and which accurately typified those of Caligula and Titus. We cannot too carefully observe in Matth. xxiv. 15 (where it is not important that the citation is tinged

by the Greek *βδελυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*) the remarkable phrase, "let the reader understand." The most approved explanation of these words, apart from controversy, is, that they point out the symbolical adaptation of an ancient image to something new, which could not be more distinctly expressed. So possibly in Daniel, Nebuchadnezzar may stand for Epiphanes: certainly in the Apocalypse Babylon stands for Rome. If this be so (and there seems neither scripture nor reason against it), the authority of Christ and of the written Gospels comes round to be in favour of the natural interpretation, which finds a description of the abominations of Antiochus in Daniel, yet acknowledges it, in the Gospel, applied to the Romans. It can hardly be grudged as a concession that Christ unquestionably describes the Baptist under the title of Elias; this alone furnishes a clue to a series of difficulties. It is therefore needless to urge, that the New Testament quotes Zechariah under the name of the Prophet Jeremy, calls our second Psalm the first Psalm, describes the rock of water as not only refreshing, but following the Israelites through the wilderness; although any consideration of the manner in which our Lord's words are reported, and of the interval which, with a growing consent of critics,¹ is thought to have intervened between their utterance and their compilation, may suggest the un-wisdom of exaggerating the burden which they are to bear. If we lived in a time when there were no difficulty in making good the contemporaneousness of the narratives, such a burden as that of proving the Babylonian date of Daniel might be much; as it is, we should rejoice that we need not ask it to be borne.

These are, I believe, the only two arguments antecedent to such as arise from the interpretation of the book, in favour of the earlier date claimed for its composition. If they have been

¹ Westcott's *Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, 1860. Réville, *L'Évangile selon St. Mathieu*, 1862. These books, belonging to different schools, are equally marked by fairness. A comparison of the two might enable a reader to understand the *method*, not quite without data, yet not free on either side from arbitrariness, by which that particular enquiry is conducted.

correctly stated, it would follow that an assertion of the Maccabaic date is forbidden by no law, human or Divine, but may be an exercise of the rights of orthodox Anglicanism; and is not only consistent with a strong sense of responsibility for belief, but may be prompted by it.

The reader will observe, no stress has been laid upon the hopelessness of identifying "Darius the Mede," or upon the half-removed difficulty of the occurrence of no reigning king in Babylon named Belshazzar (which is but a collateral issue), or generally upon such questions (arising, like that of the "Seventy Weeks," out of interpretation), as press with about equal weight against whatever view is taken of the origin of the book. To the defenders, however, of the earlier date, it might seem a problem calling for their especial attention, to explain how Daniel, if he wrote under Nebuchadnezzar, could be comforted by the prospect of a period, which, not commencing until the reign of Artaxerxes, would be as undefined in its commencement as in its end. Suppose he lived under Antiochus; it might console him to have a view of Messiah's coming at the end of certain weeks from the issue of a decree enrolled in history: but if that decree yet lay wrapped in the darkness of the Future's womb, the consolation must have been to him at least an enigma.

8. The critic, employed in the discharge of his sacred office, is not primarily concerned with the consequences of the conclusion to which literature conducts him. Yet in our practical England, and for a clergyman, it is difficult to be altogether deaf to the question, What is to follow from all this research? What is the result of proving that our book of Daniel must be distinguished from the man Daniel, or that being written in the era of Antiochus, it is one of the latest books, perhaps the last, in the canon of the Old Testament? The first and most obvious result is, to clear up difficulties, and thereby to save the clerical conscience from the burthen of appearing in the eyes of the educated world to be misrepresenting literature for a

religious end. We have that crisis of agony, one of the most rousing which ever befell a nation, in which the Jews reclaimed the free use of their Scriptures, and vindicated the shrine of God, brought vividly before our eyes. We see a devout patriot seeking to awaken his own faith, or stimulate that of his countrymen, by going back to stories which he had received of suffering in Babylon: meditating upon ancient promises, and devising for them a fresh explanation, which by analogy, if not otherwise, might suggest fresh hopes for the coming time. If the form which he gave to his aspirations involves something of imagery, whether angelic or figurative, I do not know that the absence of imagery can be predicated as a necessary condition of inspiration. All Christendom believes Christ to sit at the right hand of God; yet all thoughtful christians admit God has no hand such as ours: they would for the most part add (though I observe such is not the view of some among the later Bampton Lecturers), that the Throne of God is but an image for that presence, which if we go up into heaven, is there; and if we go down into hell, is there also. Why, then, the author of the book of Daniel should not typify thoughts annunciative or conjectural of the Divine mercy, in the forms of Gabriel or Michael, I confess myself not to understand. He sees the great empires, or their lordly monarchs, who had most nearly affected the history of his own land, pass in the visions of memory before him. He names to us Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon (chap. ii. 37); he appears to designate with equal clearness Alexander of Macedon (chap. viii. 21): if this is so, he suggests to us that we should interpose as second and third, the Medes and Persians, especially since he seems to have shared (and extended, we know not why, to Babylon) the Greek conception of a Median hegemony in the times preceding Cyrus. If the author of the following treatise should be right in preferring a combination of Syro-Egyptian princes as the fourth (and this is a view in favour of which much may be properly said): the result is essentially identical,

in that the oppressor of Judah, the king of fierce countenance, understanding dark sentences, represents the hateful Epiphanes, as he thought to change the Temple festivals, and wear out the worshippers of Jehovah. The kingdom which succeeds is the Asmonean kingdom, glorified in ideal anticipation, not as the triumph of a dynasty, but as an expression of national independence and religious liberty, while in its time, or in that coming hour, which to the gleaming eye of faith is ever at hand, the inspired writer discerns something greater than an earthly form, a majesty of which all visible kingdoms are but symbols, a liberty to which human liberty only tends—of all of which he knew not the manner of its coming, but only that it should come, and which in the event came. If we apply to the entire matter the principle laid down by Bishop Butler, that the correspondence of a picture to one object does not necessarily exclude reference to a second object in which a similar correspondence recurs; then, although we may regret that in this as in other cases Butler proved Christianity to be possible, without proceeding to prove that it was true, we still find ourselves at liberty to believe the nearer or earlier of the two objects to have been in the eye of the painter or writer, however much by a recurrence of likeness or of principle it may have pleased an over-ruling Providence to bring about a potential applicability to a later or remoter object as well. External evidence suggests a probability that the compiler lived in the Maccabaic age; the correspondence of that age with his picture is almost a proof that he sketched it. How far the certain designation of any ten princes as intended by the “ten horns” is affected by the large number and rapid transitions of the provincial forms through which the fragments of Alexander’s empire flitted; whether it be permissible to take princes from both Syria and Egypt, or necessary to restrict ourselves to one kingdom; whether again the writer cared so much for dynasties and kingdoms, as for relations to his own native land—are questions on which I gladly leave to Mr. Desprez the office of

instructing the readers of his treatise. Certainly it would be a gratuitous increase of the difficulty, if we thought proper to include all possible satrapies from Epirus to the Punjaub within the horizon of a writer who is describing the fortunes of a city in Judæa. Probably the points remaining as matters of opinion will not in proportion to the extent of the book be so numerous as present themselves in a single verse of Isaiah, without impeding our apprehension of the passage. It is written in Isaiah xiv. 29, that Philistia should not rejoice, because the rod that smote her is broken; for out of the serpent comes forth a cockatrice. Here it is doubted, whether the striking rod is Judah, a Jewish king, or a king or general of Assyria; while as to the cockatrice, there are four corresponding doubts. Yet no interpreter of the passage hesitates to understand Isaiah in that verse as speaking of contemporary objects. So little need the amphibolous nature of details affect the certainty of the general reference. The readers of Mr. Desprez's popular and lucid exposition will probably find the difficulties in Daniel fewer than they expected.

The enigma of the "seventy weeks" retains the doubtfulness incidental to a duration, the interpreters of which are not agreed as to its date of commencing, or of ending. Suppose it to commence with a decree of Artaxerxes, B.C. 460, or 445, and to end during the life or ministry of Christ. It can hardly be reconciled to Hebrew idiom, that *Davar*, the prophetic word, or utterance of a Divinely-prompted presentiment, should be applied to a Persian king's decree. Let the English reader compare the twenty-fifth verse of Daniel ix., with the second verse of the same chapter. A comparison of the two verses will put him on the probable track, that the writer was speaking of no Persian decree, but of a word of Jehovah to Jeremiah. It suits all the analogies of Scripture, that Jeremiah, not enduring the sight of Jerusalem desolate, should conceive a divine word for her restoration going forth at each step of her fall. It can hardly be accidental, that just forty-nine or fifty years intervene

between the destruction at the commencement of the Captivity, and the advent of Cyrus in Babylon, or the restoration under Zerubbabel, whether we follow the suggestion of Isaiah in calling Cyrus the Anointed, or that of Zechariah in applying the term to Zerubbabel; and again that from certain epochs of the Captivity to points in the Maccabean struggle should be 434 years; while the first period gives us seven weeks, and the second gives sixty-two weeks. If we remember that even the calculation of the seventy years at Babylon admits of some disagreement, while the possibility of the omission of Sabbatical years opens room for discrepancy, we shall find sufficient approximation here to induce us to give an interpreter on this hypothesis a candid hearing; which is all I wish to bespeak for Mr. Desprez. There is a difference in the Hebrew and English punctuation of the passage mentioning the seventy weeks (Daniel, ix. 25), which (without arraignment, as Dr. Pusey does, the good faith of either) suggests a possibility that both might be amended. Is there any reason we should not construe thus: vv. 23-26.

“At the beginning of thy supplications the word went forth, and I am come to announce *it* (since thou art *a man of loves*), that thou mayest understand the word, and comprehend the vision: Seventy weeks are determined (?) upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to bring the offence to an end, and to blot out sins, and to cover over iniquity, and to bring in righteousness of ages, and to seal vision and prophecy (?) and to anoint the holy of holies: And that thou mayest know and understand, from the going forth of the word to bring back *captivity* (?) and to restore Jerusalem, to an Anointed *and* a Prince are seven weeks: and for sixty and two weeks shall be builded again street and wall (?); but in distress of times and after the sixty and two weeks shall be cut off *the* Anointed, and for him nought: and the people of the coming prince shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and the end thereof shall be with flood, and to the end of the war is determined desolation.”

The slight change I have ventured to make in the punctuation may assist some readers to understand Mr. Desprez's argument upon the passage. It does not exclude the possibility of other interpretations, or of a distinct one yet to be discovered; nor, in the face of the Regius Professor's disapproval, will I say more than that it seems to me worth considering.

A greater difficulty than any connected with enigmas of weeks may be thought to lie in the anticipation, which the last chapter introduces, of a Resurrection immediately following upon the other events: "*Many that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake*" (xii. 2). Are we not hence compelled to throw forward the entire scenery of the book to that end of our existing dispensation, which we describe, or symbolise, as the general Resurrection? I can only suggest in extenuation of this difficulty, that Ezekiel (xxxvii. 3-14) had already under the parable of the "*dry bones reviving*" described the restoration of Israel from Babylon; and Isaiah (xxvi. 9) had expressed triumph over Moab under the same emphatical figure, *Thy dead men shall live*. Whether, then, it were the fervour of poetry, grasping all things in earth and heaven, or whether the "unsearchable groaning" of our better nature, not consenting to mortality (Romans viii. 22-26), made its foreboding felt by lavishing on national restoration the imagery of something higher, there seems even in earlier Prophets, and may well have been in Daniel, the last, a habit of anticipating the Last Things by adapting phraseology borrowed from them to the revolutionary or dynastic events of a nearer time. Something of the same kind must, to an ill-defined extent, be admitted of the language, human in its simplicity, Divine in its grandeur, in which the Gospels describe the Fall of Jerusalem (Matth. xxiv. 34; Mark xiii. 30), for to no other event, before that generation passed away, can their language be applied. No view, however, would seem to myself more fundamentally unsatisfactory, than that which, in the manner of Schleiermacher, and of some, apparently, in this country, regards the horizon of the Apostles

as altogether temporal, and limits the kingdom of God to a renovation of Earth. Not to dwell on the improbability (which may be more a feeling than an argument), that Christ's promises should fall below the aspirations of gifted servants of God in Gentile lands, his own language seems a sufficient proof, that he neither misunderstood the Prophets spiritually, nor acquiesced in their temporal applications, but inverted them in a direction of which their authors had little idea, and transformed them not only by the creation of a new centre, but by the infusion of a wisdom beyond their own; on the same principle as, when he spoke of Moses in the bush, he won out of the association of the patriarchs with Jehovah an assurance of the eternity of Man's destiny. It is useless to argue this, the only mode consistent with a reasonable respect for Scripture, in which the vast majority of the New Testament applications of prophecy can be justified, so long as the shorter and readier mode, of which Dr. Pusey's Lectures contain so many curious examples, continues in vogue. Enough in this place has been said to limit the effect upon our interpretation of Daniel, which need arise from its mention of a resurrection. A satisfactory proof, that a Judaic kingdom, as of the Asmonean princes, however magnified in presentiment, was more intended by the writer than such a spiritual and eternal kingdom as God set up by Christ in the hearts of faithful men, may be found in chap. ii. 44, "*the kingdom shall not be left to another people.*" This is the stumbling-block of national Messianism, which Christ destroyed by inverting it, and by disappointing the expectation of which He in part, if not principally, shocked the feelings of his nation (Luke iv. 28; Luke iii. 8; Acts xxii. 22).

Upon the whole, the book falls so naturally into its Maccabaic date, that the thoughtful reader might well ask, on which side is there most danger of fighting against God? Must it not be on that which, apart from coercion built upon misrepresentation, stands self-convicted of helplessness?

9. It is by no means an absolute necessity that the more

marvellous narratives in Daniel should lose their historical character from the placement of the book in a later age. They may be accepted, as traditions historically handed down; or they may retain credence and authority from the character of Inspiration, with which the book recording them is invested. There seems no logical inconsistency in the position of one who, otherwise persuaded of the Divine authority of Scripture, continues upon, its authority, or from religious associations, to receive narratives for which he cannot secure independently an impregnable basis. In such a case, the miracles will not be the support of the religious feeling, but the burden borne by it. Probably those of my readers, who are accustomed to analyse their thoughts, will often have found, that convictions which they might have been inclined to regard as primary, are in reality dependent upon association with something simpler. Such seems eminently the case with the miraculous narratives of the Old Testament; at least with such of them as, being removed beyond easy means of verification, we believe actively or passively from their associations with religion. Although it has been said, that "it is certain, that no one ever believed in a miracle for the sake of a moral lesson," I suspect that our habitual assent to the fitness of the Ten Commandments disposes us to receive whatever may be the scriptural account of the Passage of the Red Sea; and that the Decalogue is in the dialectics of conscience more fundamental than the Exodus. So in other actions, more nearly attested, which the hope or affection of generations has embraced too fondly to let them willingly be questioned, we should certainly judge the testimony with a different eye, if it exalted wicked persons, or exemplified cruelty, or bade us practise crime, or tended to despair. Thus Faith in the true supernatural everywhere gives to phenomenal Miracle more than she receives from it. However little this principle may be apprehended by those who prefer making phenomena the foundation of faith (either because the bodily senses seem to them better guides than the

mental perceptions, or because they are conscious of straining doctrine into so exaggerated a form that it no longer carries its witness to the heart), they seldom in practice fail to give involuntary sign of its truth. Their method, when they are asked for proof, is not to strengthen the "evidence" (which in consistency it should be), but to enlarge on professional obligation, which is a form, and the coarsest form, of resolving the question into religious associations. A similar testimony is implied in the circumstance, that an ardent defender of traditional views of Prophecy could find no better proof of the gift of prediction, than that the authors claimed—therefore must not be doubted to have possessed it. Prediction¹ here, as Miracle elsewhere, had moral or personal sympathy as its ground of acceptance. The indignant language used at the possibility of Daniel's intention being deceptive, though it proceeds on a misconception, appeals fundamentally to the same principle. The intention of these remarks is to point out, that whenever miracles are believed on other ground than that of unbiassed assent to testimony, they are no longer evidences, and cannot be foundations of faith; although they may stand on their own basis, if the evidence be adequate; or may be accepted, through the force of religious associations, as inseparably connected with a faith otherwise established. Thus parts of the book of Daniel, which judged by "a remorseless criticism" might be thought to resemble the Deutero-Canonical narratives with which the Greek Version associates them, may still be regarded as sacred history by any one persuaded, not of the inspiration, but of the dictation of the Bible, in so strong a sense as to make the Divine veracity responsible for all the contents of the volume.

Still it may be a true, though undesired, presentiment, that portions of the book will have their acceptance modified in the judgment of many by a recognition of its Maccabaic origin. Especially such may be the case with those who consider Miracle the criterion of Revelation. Their case being that,

¹ *Aids, etc.*, p. 95.

antecedently to miracle, we have no knowledge of the supernatural, they are bound to approach the enquiry without the prepossessions of others by whom the supernatural is on truer grounds honoured. They cannot, after systematic disparagement of the faculties which apprehend moral and spiritual goodness, refuse to fortify by facts that position of sensuous phenomenon as the basis of dialectics, which they deliberately chose as the best antidote to speculation, and as a substitute for the reverence and aspiration which ground the faith of conscience and of reason. They need not magnify the romantic element in the manner of Hitzig and Von Lengerke. If they conduct their enquiry on the principle, which Sir G. C. Lewis, with a steadiness typical of the Anglo-British mind, exemplified, of postulating evidence contemporaneous with events, especially with strange events, an interval of nearly four centuries (that normally fatal period for the fullest development of story), gives room for imagination, as well as brings the book into contact with influences unfavourable to precise chronicle. So little has the book the framework of chronicle, that it presents four kings in succession, Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar, Darius, and Cyrus, whom no discoverable history arranges in that order, even if Belshazzar be sufficiently discovered for hypothesis, and if Darius the Mede have his existence gratuitously conceded. The historical critic in such a region will not be induced by the great desirableness of miracles to except them from the doubtfulness with which he regards the political picture. If a clergyman sighs, he may feel bound to consider the case of an historian who has a soul, and may be a member of his congregation. Instead of wearying ourselves with protestations that we neither desired such a result, nor are responsible for it, we shall act more worthily, if we contemplate steadily the probabilities of the case, and ask how far they affect our doctrinal position. We were examining the date of a book's authorship; but it has brought us into a question about particular miracles. Now, at worst, a result thus reached is utterly

different from prejudgment against possibility; it implies no exaggeration of physical science; no Hegelian metaphysics; it rejects nothing effectual enough to have been providentially designed as evidence; it sets no limits to the power of the Creator; lessens in no way our childlike readiness to receive His revelations; by no strain of imagination can a devout mind deem it to lessen the motives to prayer or personal religion, unless any one chooses to take the element of resignation out of prayer, by requiring miraculous answers to be co-extensive¹

¹ "We know, O Lord, that there is no word impossible with thee, and that if thou wilt, thou *canst* even yet raise him up . . . yet forasmuch as in all appearance the time of his dissolution draweth near, so fit and prepare him against the hour of death, that after his departure hence in peace his soul may be received," etc., etc.—Church Service, for the Visitation of the Sick.

According to an argument, the bearings of which are ultimately and profoundly sceptical, though its hollowness in principle and in detail, except for personal purposes, is too utter to need much exposition, our church ought to have taught us to pray for a miracle in every sick room. For any thought which tends towards a subordination of the human will to the Divine, it is argued with characteristic forgetfulness of Gethsemane, "will not bear to be prayed." Except that nothing need despair of passing in favourable circumstances, for argument, I would not point out, that the everlasting compassion of God is a more logical ground of appeal to Him than histories of bygone times; yet our devotional feelings may be encouraged by recalling instances of wants and prayers like our own: not the less would it be an inconsistency in any one to make such instances evaporate in poetry, and still retain them as main grounds of prayer. Nearer home, it may be a blemish, that we are not permitted to ask of God a blessing of the sunshine, or of the early and latter rain, without having expressions put in our mouths of such quaintness as to be rarely appropriate; but in the case of "dearth and famine" we have a choice of prayers, the first of which proceeds upon philosophical, the second upon historical, data, yet the first acknowledges the true supernatural as fully as the second.

Turning from one who thought, as was natural for him to think, my suggestion of prayer as a test of theology an appropriate subject for sardonic playfulness, I find my Sarum Diocesan adopt it in simplicity, and attempt to retort it upon me. "*Lex orandi,*" he exclaims, "*est lex credendi.*" But could his lordship apply the maxim which he has adopted from me, unless he modified it by such qualification, to damnatory clauses which seem definitely directed against "heretical persons?" Should we pray, "Let Milton burn for ever; may Dr. Watts have no mitigation of torment?" This adoption of a maxim, consistent in its author's hands, may be inconvenient for others, who either employ it to raise a simple historical issue into alarming proportions, or who associate it with formularies which require great explanation, or greater thoughtlessness, before they will bear to be prayed? A combination of the two assumptions, that revelation must be proved by evidence not moral but miraculous, yet that miracle and prediction must be assumed as intuitive truths, unites the extreme errors of rationalism and superstition.

with our supplications; nor has it any direct effect upon the New Testament, or upon such other parts of Scripture as do not fall within the literary conditions which have been found here to apply. Indirectly it may tend to familiarise men's minds with the conception of a larger play of imagination than most of us had been prepared to expect within the limits of the Bible; thus it opens a door of interesting, but dangerous, enquiry as to narratives in obscure antiquity, remote from contemporaneous verification; still all this leaves the religion essentially untouched, and is one out of many movements of thought, which, starting ever so innocently, unite in forcing us to consider fundamentally the meaning and limits of the Inspiration of Holy Writ. The acknowledgement of this tendency should not obscure the circumstance that questions of the authorship and arrangement of the Sacred Volume are antecedent to Inspiration, and independent of miracle: even if it be convenient for advocates of repression to precipitate them on to ground where clergymen may have difficulty in following, it is more logical¹—may be more consistent with personal history—that each question should stand upon its own basis; but I have no objection, without repeating what has been said elsewhere, to glance at the natural consequences of the conclusion at which we have arrived.

The antecedent probability of Revelation seems to depend upon our greater need of aid in respect of the will of God and

¹ *A.* How beautiful is Nathan's parable to David!—*B.* Most beautiful and touching.—*A.* Is it not alone a proof, or are not such things proofs, of the inspiration of the Bible?—*B.* Of a certain spiritual influence, perhaps yes; but yet within the limits of humanity.—*A.* But does not it also prove that David wrote the beautiful Psalm, "By the waters of Babylon," which is a clear case of prediction, and so all the cavils against the book of Daniel are removed?—*B.* I hardly see that the one question throws any light on the other.—*A.* Cruel man! then you forbid my children, or my clergy, to hope for a future life! how can you read the service of the Church, without believing in the resurrection of Christ, or of any one?—*B.* My dear Madam, or my dear Lord, I was not speaking of the resurrection, nor then thinking of it; though you are more likely to hurt the belief in it, than to help improbable traditions about the Old Testament, by tying them all together. My advice would be, whatever you do, avoid straining or overstating things.—*A.* Then, has the Church of England no Ecclesiastical Courts? etc. etc.

the expectations which He holds out of a life to come, than in respect of ordinary business of the world. Hence if we imagine what would be probable conditions of a supernaturally inspired record, we should expect the supernatural element in it to bear chiefly, if not exclusively, upon religion. Again, the finiteness of man's faculties and knowledge would suggest many limitations incidental to humanity as likely to affect even the subject-matter of the supernatural aid, or the degree in which religious knowledge would be communicated, or sensibility to it awakened. Still more, if free agency, no less than limitation, be incidental to humanity, we should expect the action of man's creative faculties, imagination and the like, to be not destroyed, but animated, by the supernatural influence which we suppose an element in the religious record. Once more, if the religion communicated, or divinely awakened in man, were to be not a mere abstract of past events, but to involve the permanent presence of a supernatural influence, in the form of light, comfort, moral guidance, or any other—or if, which comes to the same thing, the religion pre-supposed the immanence of a supernatural agent, distributing gifts, whose diversity did not prevent them from having a supernatural element in common—whatever limitations might in any case be imposed by conditions of circumstance, we could not avoid an expectation, that the supernatural element in the record would have in essence, if not in degree, something in common with the permanent gift, or distributor of gifts, whose presence in the hearts of faithful men is by our hypothesis an everlasting presence. In other words, Divine Inspiration may be expected to impart religious rather than general knowledge; to teach what it teaches in part, measure, and degree; to leave the creative and spontaneous agency of the human faculties in unimpaired freedom; and to render its own nature and limits cognisable by the identical nature—the analogous limits—of that supernatural aid whose Giver is without change or shadow of turning. More briefly still, it would be a spiritual animation, or insight, but not a

formal chronicle; an inspiration, not a dictation. Harmonious with reason, it would in some respects more resemble instinct.

Let us apply these probabilities to our Bible and Prayer Book. The habit of restricting modern knowledge, and dwarfing precedents of conduct, to the range and type of the Old Testament, has so far passed away, that if it be still exacted in remoter provinces (where its exaction is safe), it is disowned in London or Calcutta as an injurious imputation. The right of tracing diverse times and sundry manners in the steps of revelation, and personal variations in apostolic views, may be disliked, but is hardly denied. The freedom of authorship which Scripture displays, as a vast literature containing tradition, chronicle, psalm, hymn, poetry, apologue, parable, with every form of boldly anthropomorphic figure and accommodation, involves too many enquiries to be observed at a glance, or to be conceded when observed; but a confession of such freedom is slowly, sometimes reluctantly, forcing through obstacles natural and artificial its hesitating but inevitable way. Once more, the eternal identity of that Spirit which spake by the prophets, is taught in our Prayer Book as still persuading the clergy to undertake their sacred office, underlying the sacraments which they administer, animating whatever holy thoughts and good desires come to good effect: and however strange this doctrine may sound to men of the world—with whatever reluctancé, still stranger, it may be admitted by prelates or judges who impose formularies teaching it—this identity of the inspirer, if not of the inspiration, of the writers of Scripture and of good men in all ages, will be found the healing element arising out of the controversies of to-day.

It might aid the reader's apprehension of this point, to consider what ought to be thought of the claims which ancient doctors (of whom let Cyprian be an example) prefer to an immediate inspiration. I give the utmost advantage to the upholders of the negative, by acknowledging that the most learned of our existing prelates has pronounced the citation of

such claims “glaringly futile.” Dr. Pusey, on the other hand, recognizes the claims as earnest, and contends for their validity. Dr. Conyers Middleton was too accurate a scholar not to recognize the claim habitually made, and not devout enough to believe it valid. Hence, in his hands it became an argument against the Fathers. It may be an inconsistency in Dr. Pusey that he believes the claim, and yet assails one who would apply it to illustrate the doctrine of inspiration; his own view, however, is more consistent with ecclesiastical history than that of either Dr. Connop Thirlwall or Dr. Conyers Middleton. Suppose the rhetorical exaggerations of Cyprian’s age render his claims hardly available except as a passing illustration of the way in which language on the subject has been used in the church; there is at least one doctrine which, if not in every aspect fundamental, and if it has been abused by uncharitable speculation, is still the most dogmatic development of our faith, and is so connected with our ecclesiastical framework of thought, that neither inspiration, nor any other cardinal doctrine, in our communion, can be stated accurately without reference to it. The Father, we hold, is everlasting, but unsearchable. The eternal Word was manifested in time. The Holy Spirit (Life, Breathing, let philosophers name it as they will), is ever immanent in the church. It follows that the most certainly permanent (bolder thinkers might say, the only permanent) element in Christianity is the supernatural; and that manifestation of the supernatural, with which we specially associate inspiration. Yet its gifts to us now come by measure and in part; violate no law of consciousness; interfere with no instrumentality of Providence; obey all limits of time, place, circumstance, education; dispense with no faculty of earthly information; lend themselves to each temperament; are so manifest in their effects, that no devout man doubts them; so unseen in their operation, that whoever pleases may ignore them.

If it would be presumptuous *à priori* to say that the limita-

tions within which the Supernatural operates must have affected its operations in the case of the writers of Scripture, it is consistent with the utmost reverence to ascertain by investigation how far such was the case. I do not speak of error,¹ the possibility of which is no ground for assuming its existence, nor of which is there such improbability that we must *a priori* assume its absence. The question is of poetical freedom, or of such a form of it, as branches into legend; and the point to which these reflexions tend, is that the existence of such freedom, if made out independently by argument, is not fatal to the co-existence of inspiration, so far as probability, the contents of the Bible, and the doctrines of our Prayer-book, enable us to form a conception of what inspiration properly means. A reader who may not have studied the historical origin of the term, or who does not reflect that the meaning above all, of ecclesiastical words, must be influenced by their history, may ask, whether it would not be better to abandon the doctrine, than to attempt so forced a reconciliation. If such a one will turn to the book of Psalms, the inspiration of which is on all sides allowed, and ask how the freedom of the poetry originated, how the local and national features can without violence be spiritualised, how the harsher maledictions on the Psalmist's foes can be reconciled with a theory of divine dictation, he may be led to conclude that the error is on the side of those who import into the idea of inspiration such an absence of human conditions as it was not of old intended to convey.²

¹ Quæritur . . . quare Paulus maledixerit . . . Ut homo, et adhuc vasculo clausus infirmo. Hieron in Galat. v. Cf. H. in Gal. iii. et ad Pammach: Ep. lvii. de Marc. Ev. i. 1.

² "Again, in the 22nd Homily, part I., we are "forbidden to think to learn the knowledge of God and of ourselves in any earthly man's work or writing *sooner or better than* in the Holy Scriptures written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost." But in the 1st Homily we are taught that "in reading of God's word he most profiteth that is most inspired with the Holy Ghost." Now, my lords, it is vitally essential to the argument of the other side, that the words "inspired" and "inspiration" in these two Homilies should be used with such difference, or rather with such opposition of sense, as to denote two operations generically different; the one supernatural, and conferring infallibility, but the other natural, and leaving men

If it be asked, will not so free a notion of Inspiration reduce many questions which divide religious denominations into matters of secondary importance, and even into anthropomorphic shades of diction or conception; will it not, while it greatly lessens the reasons for religious division, take away the right of aggravating it by anathema or misrepresentation; and is not its ultimate tendency to leave a clearer manifestation of the supernatural the only thing permanent in Christianity?—to answer such questions with all due distinctions would require a volume; but if such results arise, it is not easy to see why any humble believer in Divine Providence should lament them, or desire them ignored. It here abundantly contents me, if other more definite questions, as those about the book of Daniel, be allowed to arrive at their natural solution by means of investigation, without prejudice from true but strained doctrines, such as inspiration, or other more imaginary, inferences. On which side the determination fall, so it be fairly, I believe myself indifferent. Motive, temper, manner, are more important in such things, than the special conclusion arrived at.

More has been said of miracles here than might have been, if circumstances, needless to explain, had not brought the topic into greater prominence than naturally belonged to it. An

fallible. Where, my lords, has the church laid down, that she used the same words, on the same class of subjects, with such a difference of sense? Especially, when our translators, having the Homilies and Liturgy before them, applied in their version the word inspiration to Scripture (it being already applied both to Scripture, and to other spiritual effects or influences of the Holy Ghost), it would have been actually misleading men, if they had conceived so immense a difference to exist between things which they described by one identical term. Grant that the one inspiration may be distinguished as “special or extraordinary,” and the other as “general or ordinary,” yet no man can define in what the distinction consists; so that I venture to repeat a question, which the other side has not answered, and which may be submitted to all your lordships’ legal acumen, how can an undefinable distinction between two supernatural operations, one of which is mysterious, while the other is said to have its “mode and limits unknown to man,” be with any fairness made the subject of penal requirement from a clergyman?”—*Final Reply before the Judicial Committee.*

Much illustration of this topic, with ample proof of the “supernaturalness” considered by our Reformers permanent, may be found in Bullinger’s *Decades*; and in Knox’s *Christian Philosophy*, as in several of the Homilies, *e.g.* for Whitsunday.

unhappy collision between our religion and men's consciences may arise, if a powerful priesthood strains its doctrines into an exaggerated form (say, the Sacramental Presence into Transubstantiation, or Inspiration into Dictation), because it has a surplus fund of miracles to fall back upon as a bond of compulsory belief. A clergyman's fabric of doctrine must differ in spirit, if not in form, according as he persuades men by fitness, with the grace of God, or as he presumptuously daunts them with terror of the unknown. It is infinitely important for all men that we should prefer Christ to Nicodemus, and be sure that God wills not his candle in us quenched by power human or divine. Within a narrower circle, the entanglements which arise from requiring educated teachers to state the evidence for miracles favourably to the prejudication of their necessity, have been pointed out elsewhere. If such evils are not introduced, the degree in which God's wonderful deliverances of His people of old were exceptional, is a question of evidence, which nothing would be gained by resolving wantonly in the negative. It is probable that our religious associations, which are but an unmethodical trust in God, will often extend our belief beyond the rigour of demonstration, and the faith which grasps principles, or reverences persons, will become associated with incidents. Still, it is well to remember, that such associations may strike others differently; that of the fourteen centuries between Moses and Christ, the second seven left little trace of miracle on Palestine, yet did not estrange it from the Eternal Providence; that whether the greater abundance of miracles in the first seven be explained by the more poetical character of earlier literature, or by the lesser need of a later period, what is determined in either case is no foundation of our belief in the supernatural, but a particular mode of action of Providence, to which one view of the nature of inspiration may be more favourable than another; that some believers in inspiration may think it safest not to load the doctrine with unhistorical consequences; that St. Paul's abolition of the Law included not only

its terrors, but its imperfections as of intellectual infancy; that precepts destined to be revoked by Christ may as well be ascribed to the earlier hardness of men's hearts, as to a transient enactment of the Almighty; that in any case the topics most pregnant with religious instruction are such as the experience of the spiritual life in all ages permits us to verify afresh; or amongst things exceptional, those which possess features coming nearest home to our daily wants. Thus, without denying the vision of angels, or the ladder reaching into heaven, or the bodily wrestler, we may find in the prayer of Jacob at Bethel or Peniel our truer source of encouragement. The range of the pictorial faculty of man in embodying things spiritual admits of many a varying estimate, but never can be of fundamental import. It is true, the New Testament has miracles, which we should be reluctant to surrender. I share all that reluctance, but cannot admit the fairness of inviting any one who investigates the date of the book of Daniel or the composition of the Pentateuch, to disprove the omnipotence of God, as if that were in question, or to deny the resurrection of Christ, as if this belief, attested by the common voice of the Apostles (and confirming our highest hope, but in no way contradicting our conscience), stood on no firmer basis than obscure problems in the obscurest parts of the Old Testament. Even in this case, the principle of Faith before Miracle probably holds good. Consciously to some minds, if not unconsciously to others, whose eagerness to draw conclusions which may sound irreverent, seems a homage to a principle which they do not recognise, the ground on which the miracles of the New Testament are most convincingly based, is reverence for some one connected with them, whom we cannot bear to think of as misleading or misled,—rather than the symmetrical cogency of proof, which Warburton and Paley, with Rénan and Baur following them, could in a legal manner extract from the records. If this be so, it harmonises with the practice of Christ, who to relieve distress wrought many wonderful cures,

on the condition of antecedent faith, but either wrought none to create faith, or rebuked those who would not believe¹ without them: as also in a most striking parable he made the witness of conscience, awakened by Moses and the Prophets, as strong a ground of belief in the life to come, as if one should rise from the dead.² The best proof to us now of Christ's own resurrection may be the Pentecostal gift of the Spirit, including its effects and affinities. If to say this be to make faith, and not knowledge, the ultimate standing-ground of Christianity, this characteristic is shared with her by the foundations of morality at least, and perhaps of those parts of knowledge which are usually reckoned demonstrative. Thus, on the assumption which many will not concede to us, of the reality of every miraculous occurrence in the New Testament, it remains that Faith is neither logically nor spiritually grounded in Miracle, although she may bear many miracles joyfully; a fair inference is, that we act unwisely to select as our main anchorage proofs which to many minds are harder than the thing to be proved, while the weakest proof possible would be to create miracles of slender occasion, attestation, and result, in one age, into precedents for miracles in another, in which the conditions of belief are on many accounts more favourable. As I write, I feel the difficulty which most of us have in disengaging our thoughts from the consideration of consequences which may seem legitimate, or the repudiation of inferences which may be extreme; but I must beg my reader to aid me, by endeavouring to decide all questions of the book of Daniel upon the evidence; remembering, in what connexion, and for what purpose only, miracles have been glanced at. Not that a man believes miracles, but that he proves by their

¹ John iv. 48. Matth. xxiv. 24. Mark vi. 5, 6; viii. 12. Revel. xiii. 14; xvi. 14. 1 Cor. i. 22. 2 Thess. ii. 9. Matth. xv. 23; xvii. 20; xvi. 4; vii. 22, 23; xi. 5, 6. John ix. 4; xiv. 12.

² Luke xvi. 31. Very striking on the same subject is Archdeacon Hare (*Mission of the Comforter*, p. 354) whose historical belief can hardly be arraigned, because he taught the subordination of miracles as pointedly as Pascal and Jeremy Taylor.

power a distorted revelation, instead of recommending a true one by its goodness; and not that he forms any view of Scripture, but that he extorts, upon any ground except evidence, the view most favourable to a peremptory demand for miracle, is the source of perplexity and of the loss of souls, so far as ecclesiastical mismanagement can wrest souls out of the hand of God. If "the question is thus stated there can be no room for rational hesitation," remarks the Bishop of St. David's: I agree with his lordship, there can¹ be none rationally; my experience has not taught me that there is no room for practical hesitation among those who hold the un-revealing theories of revelation of Dr. Pusey and Mr. Mansel: or that such hesitation may not be increased, and the question in a given controversy metamorphosed, by one who starting with the assumption that error must be found, sneers at the barrenness of the land until he finds, or not finding, invents it.

10. The most serious apprehensions, arising out of a natural interpretation of Daniel, hardly turn upon the mere effect as regards the marvellous stories, whose chief importance arises from their bearing upon theories of inspiration. It is impossible not to foresee some effect upon the entire theory of prophecy; and this is not a mere adjunct, but a thing which affects the framework and kernel of the New Testament. We need not disturb ourselves much about the Seventy Weeks, which on any theory were too disputable to have much "evidential" value. We might spare a certain amount of prediction of secular events in ancient times, not perhaps without damage to preconceptions, but with signal benefit to our interpretation of a large part of the Old Testament. It is not only

¹ It must be conceded, there might be room for even rational hesitation on the subject, if we did not possess by nature or by grace the moral or spiritual capacity of verifying internally the meaning and worthiness of a Divine message, as well as its phenomenal or written attestation. But even the existence of God is a truth hardly more fundamental to pure and undefiled religion, than that whatever manifestations he vouchsafes us of the Supernatural assume a form of reason, or bring accompaniments of morality, rather than ever the opposite of either.

a possibility, but, whenever discussion ceases to be suspended or prejudiced by extraneous influences, it will be a necessity, that we should resign cheerfully, like mariners throwing infected goods overboard with their own hands, all those "*directly* Messianic" interpretations, in which, without the intervention of any earlier person, or without broader suggestion of spiritual principle, Jesus of Nazareth is held to be distinctly, personally, foreseen as the Christ. So much will come of itself, from the perusal of the Old Testament, translated by its context, without regard to tradition. If, as most critics think, the appearances of prediction in Daniel are, from their minute developments and dramatic phantasmagoria, unlike the bulk of Old Testament prophecies, it need not alarm us that such unique features have an unique lateness of origin, not devised as their explanation, but pre-existent as their cause. The far more serious ground of alarm is that, if the horizon of Daniel's Messianic kingdom was merely Maccabaic or temporal, it suggests a similar construction for kindred passages in the Gospels, and raises the question how far the horizon of these latter was eternal. Considering the vast number of features in the Gospels and the Apocalypse, which seem to identify Christ's second coming with the fall of Jerusalem, and to shut up the completion of the promises within the range of a renovation of society, or the establishment of better sentiments and reformed institutions in the world, have we any longer a Gospel to preach, not merely of "the coming age," but of life eternal? Does the whole story resolve itself into the Idea bursting its mould, and developing a new one; the thought of God fulfilling itself in many ways? I can neither think such questions trivial, nor follow those who resolve them in a merely temporal sense.

Before any one hastily concludes, that such a result arises from our natural interpretation of Daniel, let him consider well the language of Christ and the Apostles, on these several subjects: on the nature of his kingdom; on his relation to the Old Testament; on the warfare of his disciples; on whether they

should fear what comes before death, or what follows death ; and whether the rest remaining for them should be at Jerusalem, under David's throne ; or meeting the Lord in the air, in some one of many mansions, not seen and temporal, but unseen and eternal.

"*My kingdom,*"¹ says Christ, "*is not of this world.*" "*The kingdom of God is within you.*" *Sin reigned*, says St. Paul, till Christ came, but henceforward *grace reigns*. Such things were "*said of old time,*" says Christ thrice on the mount, blaming the Old Testament, "*but I say unto you,*" he proceeds, other things. There had been a temple made with hands ; Christ promises one made without hands. St. Paul had been a servant of *the Old Testament in the letter which killed* ; but became a preacher of *the New, in the Spirit which quickens*. He too had known temples and rites wrought with hands, but thought them merely instrumental. Again, Christ's disciples were not to return evil for evil, yet to fight the good fight ; their enemies were *not flesh and blood, the weapons of their warfare not to be carnal* ; they were *not to fear what could kill the body, but what could hurt the soul : not the flame that is quenched, but the undying worm* ; nor was the rest remaining for them to be amongst walls already to a prescient eye crumbling in destruction ; but *where Christ was, they were to be* ; in the glory which he had from His Father, in a realm where spirits made perfect know, as they have long ago been known.

The conclusion upon the whole (the details of which may be found elsewhere) is that, although the New Testament must not be called contrary to the Old (as the bright side of a cloud is not contrary to the dark) there is sufficient difference in the nature, genius, and horizon of each, for us to read the Prophets

¹ "Seek God alone, who is the true kingdom for which we and all men daily pray when we say the Lord's prayer." . . . "Therefore, children, seek first the kingdom of God, which is God himself, and naught else."—*Tauler's Sermon xxiv., for the Fifteenth Sunday after Trinity.*

One of the most beautiful collects in our older Liturgy had, "*Cui servire regnare est.*"

and the book of Daniel in their natural and undistorted sense, yet believe that, in the fulness of the times, Christ *threw light on life and immortality*. The view here suggested is not essentially different from that of the earliest Fathers of the Church, or from that of Milton in the *Paradise Regained*;¹ though it makes larger provision for the natural interpretation of the Old Testament, than Justin Martyr's criticism rendered possible, or Milton's design required.

Should it be thought that Mr. Desprez's² researches in this volume, or elsewhere, tend too exclusively in the direction which has been deprecated, it may be suggested that whatever scope for variety of feeling is afforded by spiritual adaptations, their indispensable preliminary in all cases must be a frank acknowledgment of the natural sense of the document. Whatever tends to bring about such acknowledgment, is in the first instance a good, whatever may be afterwards built upon it. One of the features most painful and injurious to the Church in Dr. Pusey's recent Lectures, is that, in entire consistency with his career, he labours to throw back interpretation, and fix upon the Bible the seven seals of tradition which had hardly for Englishmen been taken off it; hence whatever possibility might be of winning a right of adaptation, or of recasting temporal images into a spiritual mould, is postponed or thrown away, while traditional glosses upon the text are repeated, by one who says he has considered these things for forty years.

¹ But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns.

—*P. R.*, ii. 473.

Compare, less directly, De David quoque, licet multi de Domino nostro æstiment prophetatum (quod nos etiam non negamus), *Spir. Sanct. in typo venturi canit*. Hier. in Gal. v. Jerome is exceedingly inconsistent, and may suggest what he blames elsewhere.

² My perusal not having yet extended to the later chapters of the volume, I can only refer to them from some intimation of their purport.

Thus it is laid down with authority (p. 483) that in Isaiah ix. 5, "No one can doubt that *Mighty God* is the natural meaning "of the words *El Gibbor*. Any one acquainted with Hebrew "would answer at once *Mighty God*; just as one acquainted with "Latin would answer that 'Deus Omnipotens' means *God Al-* "*mighty*. There is no more real doubt about the one than the "other. . . . No one that believes the doctrine of the Trinity, "doubts these passages No one who had not a repug- "nance to the doctrine would hesitate." I feel almost unable to resist such asseverations, and must suppose that no one doubts. All those, then, who feel innocent of repugnance to the doctrine of the Trinity, may be assured that they agree with Dr. Pusey about this verse, although they were not aware of it. This conclusion may have the incidental recommendation, that it restores the Protestant Luther, who has been vulgarly supposed orthodox, to his proper place among Unitarians: for Luther, translated *El, Gibbor*, 'Kraft, Held,' *Might, Hero*, less happily perhaps than De Wette's 'Starker Held,' *Mighty Hero*. Still, if any enquiring pupil should in an unlucky hour ask our authorised version, in connexion with the Hebrew text of Gen. x. 9; Daniel xi. 3; 2 Sam. xvii. 10; Proverbs xxx. 30; Isaiah v. 22; 1 Kings i. 8, what Hebrew word describes the mightiness of Nimrod, and Alexander, and David chafed in his mind, or of the lion among beasts, or of men "mighty to drink wine," he might find the words to be *Gib-bor* and the plural of *Gibbor*. He might begin to wonder, whether such persons, or David's soldiers, enjoyed the attribute of omnipotence. If he proceeded to Psalms xxix. 1; lxxxix. 7, weighing well what sons of the mighty must mean; or if he asked upon Ezekiel xxxi. 11, and xxxii. 21, whether a Hebrew Prophet would ascribe very Deity to Gentile heroes, he might more than doubt whether the Bible were wrong or only Dr. Pusey mistaken. If such a one had time to argue out the context of Isaiah ix. he would find it infinitely stronger against the Regius Professor than the verbal argument can be, when taken alone.

If at such a stage of enquiry the doubts which Dr. Pusey has pronounced impossible should begin to vindicate their right of existence, they would not be conjured into non-entity by the suggestion (for which we are also indebted to Oxford), that in Isaiah vii. 15, the butter and honey eaten by the child who was a sign to Ahab, express "the sorrows of the Incarnation." If, returning for help to Dr. Pusey (pp. 476-78), we ask him for an accurate account of St. Jerome's statement about the second Psalm, or for reason to reject the rendering, *Worship purely*, which St. Jerome preferred, we shall not obtain what we ask. He does not err so curiously as a leading English critic, who thought that Jerome altered *Kiss the Son*, without so much as finding it; or altered *Worship the Son*, because it was "indecent" to use such a phrase; but he characteristically omits to make it clear to his readers that *Bar* never elsewhere in the Old Testament means *Son*, except in a late and Chaldaized postscript to the Proverbs: that if it could, in pure Hebrew, mean *Son*, it would require the article; that the Old Testament never in any place mentions *The Son* in the manner of St. John, without some affix or term of limitation (e.g. *my son*, *thy son*): that the verb *kiss*, or *worship*, joined with *Bar* here, rarely takes a case without a preposition, and more rarely (if 1 Sam. x. 1 be admitted as a possible instance) denotes the kiss of homage without a qualifying word; that the ancient versions, Septuagint, Vulgate, Chaldee, Arabic, Aquila, three at least of them guided by pure Hebrew, found no possibility of a *son* in the verse; that the Syriac translators, naturally misled by their own language, first fancied *Bar* to mean in Hebrew what it means in Syriac; that the example once set, was followed by Jews and Christians (as, after our last four years' experience, it may be followed more largely); yet that the great Rashi, whose Hebrew shoe-latchet it would require many Professors to unloose worthily, reverted to the pure Hebrew so far as to give *in purity of heart* (*be-vor levav*) as the equivalent to *Bar*, though he took the word *worship* differently; and that

in Isaiah xxxiii. 7, we find in *Mar*, *bitterly*, a justification for our taking *Bar* adverbially. Instead of thus interpreting Hebrew by Hebrew philology, or by critical history, our Regius Professor flies to Phœnician, in order to tell us that *Bar*, a son, "belongs to the earliest stock of the language." It is a blemish which he would treat bitterly in another, that his Phœnician instances are conjectures drawn by disputed readings through the Latinisms of Plautus and Livy (the first of them having the drawback of not being in the Manuscripts of Plautus, which for *Mebar* give *Mehar*¹), or else are names of which not one appears to have belonged to the mother country; some are Carthaginian, the most probable Maltese. Since St. Paul was shipwrecked at Malta, seldom a divine has taken so tortuous a course. Grant that such possibilities were certainties, they are removed by centuries of time, and by geographical region, and colonial development, from the Psalmist in Palestine, a millennium before Christ: so that even if king Hiram, instead of David, wrote the Psalms, our Professor's proofs from "the earliest stock of the language," are as if he quoted

¹ My edition of Gesenius's *Phœnicia* is of Leipzig, 1838. I must presume the Regius Professor uses a different one, unless he took a little liberty of citation in an out of the way region. Though Gesenius gives *Bar* as one out of three explanations of what was then thought to be in Plautus, and though he interprets Carthaginian and Maltese names, some of them, as Bomilcar, not very probably, by the same clue, he vouchsafes *Bar* no place in his Phœnician vocabulary (p. 348), but gives, as the native inscriptions *sexcenties*, *Ben* as the word for Son. Weise, on the *Pœnulus*, says, "Codd. non habent Mebar, sed Mehar." Similarly, our old friend Farnabius's note might have preserved Dr. Pusey from mistranslating Seneca with such an air of virtuous satisfaction (p. 624). He may have been thinking of Hebrew tenses instead of Latin. The Chorus in *Medea*, Act ii., did not mean by "Venient annis sæcula seris," that remote ages had arrived, but that they would come, big with voyages stranger than those of the Argonauts. The fabled past is described by "Palluit Typhis;" the Poet's contemporaries by "Albim Persæ, Æthenumque bibunt;" and ages to come by "Venient sæcula." A comparison of the Chorus with Dr. Pusey's Note (p. 624) might enable a mere classical scholar to conceive how a Patristic philology introduces confusion into the Old Testament. If it seem ungracious not to throw a completer veil over the multitudinous mistakes of an elderly clergyman, I would suggest that the temper, the organisation, and the connexion of events, with which dogmatism erects blunders into articles of faith, may render it not only a temptation, but a duty, for the Christian Pastor to examine them.

the newest Americanism to justify finding the steam-engine in the laws of King Alfred. Jerome's unhappy manner of defending himself renders it tedious to repeat here his vindication against the Ruffinus of his own day, or of ours; and I need not ask for proof that Hupfeld, a very eminent critic, proposed a construction "well knowing it (Pusey, p. 477) to be unknown in Hebrew," since if this were as true as it is improbable and ungracious, it would in no way affect the meaning of the Psalm. Suffice it, that Jerome felt he would lay himself open to reprehension from Hebraists, if he retained *Worship the Son* instead of altering it to *Worship purely*;¹ and we see abundantly from pure Hebrew, and from versions more ancient than the Syriac corruption, what the grounds of such reprehension must have been. Notwithstanding all the ostentation of crude material in pp. 476-78, hardly one of Dr. Pusey's arguments—certainly not the majority of them—will bear poising in impartial scales. But alas! *Dii me terrent, et Jupiter hostis.*

Those who attribute to me (as if I had a fancy for winnowing chaff) pleasure in such disputes misjudge me. I have selected two which concerned me out of numerous interpretations of an erroneous kind; the erroneousness of the mass need not be here argued, and might, even in favourable circumstances require time for its full evincement; much more may do so at present. If any of my readers meditate a study of Dr. Pusey's Chapter on Prophecy, it may be convenient for them to have a distinction suggested of three elements in it. There are several mystical adaptations, such as some of the proofs out of the Psalms in favour of a resurrection, which one would prefer not hurting, and which may be left unproved for whoever is able to receive them. Again, there are many assumptions as to secular prediction in ancient times, which do not readily admit of either proof or disproof, unless it were agreed, on which side

¹ I do not know that there would be any fatal objection to treating *Bar*, in the sense of *chosen*, as a subordinated or predicate accusative, "Worship as elect"—or "Honour as elect"—Him who has been anointed (not, of course, worship the elect). This, however, does not appear to have been proposed.

the *onus probandi* lay ; for instance, the high probability that Nahum described the fall of Nineveh as an eye-witness of the event, or of its preludes, may be met by an assumption that he ought to have lived a century before. It might be called profane, or at least irreverent, in him if he did not do so. Those things I set on one side, except so far as they are employed to prevent study of the Bible. Once more, there are Dr. Pusey's "*direct* Messianisms," which he places alike under the protection of the Divine vengeance and of his own bitter misrepresentations ; of this third category we may affirm, as the nett result of a thousand enquiries, that every interpretation in it is wrong. Some amongst us remember reading in the *Christian Year* :—

And what no more on Zion's fane
His visible ensign wave,
'Tis Zion, wheresoe'er they dwell,
Who, with his own true Israel,
Shall own Him strong to save.

Such applications are generally pleasing, and though men may differ in the degrees of confidence with which they affirm them divinely intended, few would deny the possibility of their being so. Yet if any one therefore contended there was no such place as Zion, we should think him too insane for argument. The reader will be good enough to understand me as implying analogy rather than parallel, when I lay down the general proposition that personal Messianic prophecies apply to the Lord Jesus only in a manner corresponding to that in which what is said of Israel may be applied to the church, the land of Canaan represent heaven, the river Jordan stand for death, the sojourn in the wilderness for human life, the passage of the Red Sea for baptism.

Now the task which Dr. Pusey with erudite trifling and serious acerbity has undertaken, is no less desperate than to obliterate the primary, natural, sense of all quasi-Messianic passages out of the Old Testament ; which is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as if he should affirm the land of Canaan not to exist, the river Jordan not to flow, the history of Israel in the wilder-

ness to have been not a reality, but a prophetic dream. Whatever differences exist between the class of subjects just mentioned, and Messianic prophecies of a strictly personal stamp, do not affect the common principle of a primary reality. Tradition, holding in abeyance that article of our Reformation which made Scripture free, may prolong for such delusions as Dr. Pusey's *direct* Messianisms a parasitical life; but no pure Anglican, who is a student, can permanently hold them. So far are they from deserving shelter under the inspiration of Scripture, that they are its very greatest dangers. The whole question may seem to latitudinarians of an advanced order worthy of no treatment more serious than quotations from Joseph Wolff, who found Chaldees in Caledonia; but the more any one feels that the sacredness of the Bible imposes on men the duty of studying it seriously, the more it will appear to him a subject for regret or censure, that the hierarchy of a church professing to be Protestant and learned, should, I do not merely say have impeded, but not have judged it a sacred duty to promote, the understanding of the Bible in a matter vital to a reasonable faith. For only in proportion as the class of interpretations here glanced at is absolutely surrendered, will students or congregations have any key to the profound moral significance of the Old Testament, or to the method by which prophecy may become a persuasive,¹ if not an argument, in favour of Christianity. In the mean time, a view may be useful as a preliminary which is far from exhausting the relations of the subject, and which, if assumed to do so, might be very unsatisfactory.

In case the question should have arisen in a reader's mind, was there a particle of truth in the asseverations above quoted as to the effect upon interpretations of Isaiah ix., exercised by disposition towards the doctrine of the Trinity, I will go back

¹ "Christianity and Hinduism," chapters ix., x., xi. "Rational Godliness," Sermons xii. and xiv. It was with exclusive reference to prophetic interpretations in these volumes, that the phrase "Natural religion" and some declamation upon it originated, though accident subsequently aided a skilful transfer to different ground.

to point out, this much may have been hidden ; any meditative student of Scripture proofs of the Trinity will be likely to find himself led, whether he wishes it or not (perhaps the more, the less he wishes it) to a far more metaphysical and refined conception of the distinctions in the Divine Being than that of the corporeal grossness implied by technical prattlers about personalities ; but thereby he will exercise the right, if not discharge the duty, of treading in the paths of Athanasius, Augustine, Anselm, Aquinas, and not of any pretended heresy. If this likelihood had not been stated by the asseverator in the inversion most calculated to mislead plain people, it would have been unlike himself and his school. All their peculiarities in respect of Sacrament, Scripture, Doctrine, Communion, are developed in harmony with the fundamental conception involved in Tertullian's question, *Quis negabit Deum corpus esse ? etsi spiritus est.* That they should be adversely disposed towards others whose system flows with equally dogmatic consistency from the axiom that *God is Spirit*, may be natural ; but their outcries of heresy, and their representations of Scripture and the Church as necessarily on their side, are hardly ingenuous ; certainly would find no countenance from power associated with a high standard of moral obligation, and with a high estimate of the inspired Volume. An historical study of the development and meaning of our doctrines may be our best preservative against the falling asunder of the system into a dogmatism which hands on religion as the remains of some extinct language, and a latitudinarianism whose delicate test of credibility, with neither grasp of doctrine nor precision of philology, is manipulation of the pulse of the hour.

The reader whose patience has accompanied me thus far, may have observed an inclination to limit the consequences, confessedly not unimportant, which arise from fixing a book of the Old Testament in its natural place. This seems more provoking to some persons, than if it were really accompanied by doctrinal error. Yet it may be pardoned as a weakness in a

clergyman, by philosophers who think it impossible to decline joining in the most vulgar misrepresentations, without wishing everything surrendered. The problem, whether the demonstrations of criticism can be taken up into orthodoxy, may be not free from complexity, yet deserve more attention than it has received from any section in our church, or sect outside. The opposite habit of drawing consequences into their extremest form, may be found in Dr. Pusey and M. Rénan, as well as in two publications by the Bishop of St. David's, who all, if their premises and objects differ, yet in that exaggeration harmonise. In whatever degree the author of *Tancred* is a theological authority, he must be added to the three distinguished persons already mentioned; though one who perceives that churches require belief as their spiritual basis, should explain what act of volition can render it easier for faith to contradict literature, than to commence in the spiritual region, where all probability is in her favour. Those again, who inopportunately introduce questions of the fortunes of religious institutions, can only by such treatment of a neutral topic invest it with injurious consequences, which were not inherent in its own nature. I feel it superfluous for any reader who may have traced the argument, that I should digress into examination of accounts of my creed and motives, which, if they are "a lawful exercise of the poetical gift" of their authors, have historical value only as an exhibition of *animus*.¹ It is a weakness to feel such weapons, but a consolation not to have used them.

¹ Though it must be needless, it is right to testify that the account given of my views on Inspiration in Lord Chancellor Westbury's judgment, was practically adequate; and, if not absolutely, in points of theory, coincident, was marked by more ingenuousness, as well as penetration, than the distorting guesses of one who knows of me as much as he does of the prophet Daniel. I wish to speak throughout of Dr. Pusey with the respect due to the most consistent theologian remaining within our pale on the obstructive, as distinct from the orthodox, side. Morally, he has lost, if he ever possessed, the power of stating a question fairly, and betrays, from his first page to his last, an incapacity of conceiving that a strong preference for orthodox conclusions may consist with a refusal to misstate evidence in their favour. Hence I feel no temptation to be rude enough to contradict his repeated statement, that "our notions of honesty must be very widely different." He may guess why I am

If we may indulge in the not extravagant supposition, that twenty years hence the educated laity of England (with a few possible exceptions about Abergwili or Sarum) should have arrived at the conclusion that *Citharas*, *Symphonia*, *Psalterion*, are Greek words, and that the aggregate of evidence external and internal agrees to the later origin of the book, the question may recur under new auspices, Who counselled best for the authority of Revelation, those who, seeing the futility of building an eternal mansion on the shifting sands of literary error, narrowed the range of consequences of each discovery, and looked round at each step for some maxim of the New Covenant to remedy the "vanishing away" of the Old, or those who denied any other evidence of the Supernatural than certain accidents of literature, thus basing the eternal on the transient, the glory of God on the folly of grammarians. If no path out of the entanglement of these subjects is altogether free from difficulties, that may present fewest, which keeps farthest aloof from repression or indifference, each of them akin to a certain kind of unbelief.

I should have ended, if a subtle, possibly a devout, partisan had not invited readers of the book of Daniel to examine it in the light of the last Judgment of God. That issue pleases me better than the *poco-curante* tone. Truth is not changed, because we live in a mincing age. Whatever may be symbolical in picturings of the Last Account, or whatever questions may suggest themselves, how far the Judge of the whole earth scatters by mysterious steps the retributions which inspired unwilling to press the question, how far his erudition belongs to the *præ-philologic* age. His almost oppressive civilities to me are second-hand, and easily forgiven: especially since they have the advantage of serving as my apology for any breach of charity involved in my judgment of litigation, which in the name of the Bible would close the Bible, and which extended far enough to include the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the natural sense of Isaiah, the Anglican doctrine of Baptism as a moral engagement, all views of Divine grace which leave this life still a state of moral probation, and the omnipresence, or faithfulness of the living God. A mind gentle or chivalrous might rejoice, that harshness impelled by a stern sense of duty had been proved needless. But the *Odisse quem læseris* is as old as Tacitus.

imagination assembles into a day of doom, that is the light—(pointing to sober investigation of realities, instead of to conjectural estimates from name, or station, or numbers), in which questions should be examined, affecting fundamentally the faith of Christendom. We may understand strange propositions hereafter. Our present faculties can conceive no dispensation, in which it shall be our duty to believe one who modestly calls himself “only a Semitic Scholar,” when he tells of us that “seeing the face of God” (p. 499) must be understood of the Resurrection, although it is the common Hebrew phrase for attending Divine worship in this world, however much a tradition of the Masora devised a punctuation which should obliterate what to a literalist ear sounded anthropomorphic (comp. Psalm xlii. 2; Isaiah i. 12). So, if the Scripture applies *Gibbor* to Nimrod and Nebuchadnezzar, David and Doeg, drunken men and wild beasts, it suggests to us no presentiment of condemnation, for doubting whether it necessarily expresses “omnipotence.” If Hosea, having its fifth and sixth chapters restored to their proper unity, makes the Hebrews pray in common Hebrew idiom for a restoration in a little time, as on a morrow or on a third day, we may trust that He who is not a God of the dead but of the living, can give us a firmer hope of immortality than any grounded on such an idiom of earth, earthy, or on so conventional an expression of loyalty as that of Bathsheba to a dying king, “Let my lord live for ever” (comp. Pusey, 499, 505, 468). Nor need we fear that He whose name is Holy and Just, will condemn us for not seeing why the shepherd cut off in Zechariah, being “a man of God’s fellowship,” need therefore be more than man, when Abraham also is called the friend of God.

If all our criticisms in that light become as babblings of infancy, there is at least a whiteness of the soul, a temper of ingenuousness and charity, which will always be accepted. How far this has been exemplified by the servant of another, it is our duty to refrain, if possible, from judging. Still we

may question, whether any sentence in the structure of a book could be changed to larger license, if a great commandment were removed from the Decalogue; we may remember that speaking evil of the ruler of our people for not adjudging to us our strife (Exodus xxii. 28) is condemned in another book, with which it is safer to be of one mind than at variance; we may refrain from questioning the doctrine so far of one who affirms the meaning of "Pharisaism" to be "faith without love," yet feel that he exhibits these elements very unequally. Again, some of us may think it truer reverence never to employ goodly sentiments (still less, unfair imputation of feigned assumptions), in order to evade a grapple upon fact.

The practical import of an appeal made with such solemnity should be to convey assurance to men who believe there is anything serious in religion, that the book of Daniel involves questions which neither laity nor clergy can rightly disregard. If religious duty, prudence, liberal curiosity, should awaken a larger circle to study a subject, on which the Regius Professor's Lectures contain a mass of distorted information, from Bp. Newton and others, his book will have been laudable, as the solitary serious attempt on the traditional side to place the question in an argumentative phase; interesting, as a collection of materials which less prepossessed minds will employ differently; and also memorable, as the beginning of the end.

* * It having been an object of this Introduction to invite English readers to rely more on reasons than on names, and to escape out of a saddening accumulation of darkening commentaries into the freedom of judging Scripture by its own purer air, it cannot be disrespectful to eminent writers at home or abroad, that their names, when not required by special reason, have not been mentioned.

DANIEL.

CHAPTER I.

DATE AND AUTHORSHIP OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

IN the attempt to elucidate so obscure a theme as the Book of Daniel, which has been and continues to be a fruitful source of theological controversy, we are aware that we are entering upon a task of no common difficulty. The Apocalypse of the Old Testament, as it is not unfrequently called, shares the mysteriousness of that of the New. "Calvin was wise (says Scaliger) because he did not write on the Apocalypse;" and perhaps it is no proof of wisdom to venture upon a subject in the interpretation of which, as before the walls of an impregnable fortress, the energies of the best and bravest have been expended to little purpose. We are reminded then at the outset, by the nature of the work before us, to exercise caution and sobriety; to keep imagination, which is apt to run wild on prophetic subjects, within due bounds; and to abide by the rules of sound and careful criticism.

That such a person as Daniel existed,¹ and that the

¹ We incline to the opinion that the writer is not describing a pseudo-Daniel, on the ground that the particulars of his career are in keeping with the circumstances under which he is said to have been placed. The scenes depicted in the first six chapters agree with what is known from other sources of Babylonian and Persian modes of life. The Magi, with their astronomical calculations and interpretation of

writer of the book which bears his name designed to draw a real and not a fictitious character, are points which, though not removed from the possibility of doubt, we ourselves are disposed to admit. The individuality of the man appears to us no more disputable than that of any other great master in Israel whose name has descended to posterity. Daniel is spoken of as a real person by his "companion in tribulation," Ezekiel; and classed by him with other historical characters, Noah and Job. His consummate wisdom is alluded to as a matter of public notoriety by the same prophet in an ironical contrast which is drawn between the boastings of the prince of Tyre and the superlative wisdom of Daniel, "Behold thou art wiser than Daniel, and there is no secret that they can hide from thee" (Ezek. xxviii. 3). Our Lord himself expressly refers to the book of Daniel, with which he was undoubtedly conversant, and accommo-

dreams, correspond with what is elsewhere said of the "wise men of the East," and the "Babylonian numbers." The enforced worship of the golden image of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Darius himself, finds a parallel in contemporaneous acts of regal deification. The grotesque combinations of human and bestial figures (Dan. vii.), evince a conception familiar to the Assyrian period; and the modes of capital punishment by means of a burning fiery furnace and a den of lions, do not seem at variance with the cruel practices of the monarchs of Babylonia and Persia. Moreover, the historical form of the book makes it imperative that the principal personage should have had a real and not an imaginary existence; nor is it probable that the introduction of a hero-myth into the narrative would have answered the purpose it was intended to serve. It is difficult also to conceive, on the supposition that the events recorded are without foundation, how it could have gained its position amongst the Hagiographa with a people scrupulously careful with regard to their sacred writings. It may add weight to these considerations to find the names of Daniel and his three companions, Azariah, Hananiah, and Mishael, among those who returned with Ezra from the Babylonish captivity (Ezra viii. 2; Neh. x. 2, 6, 23; viii. 4). It is true there is a considerable interval between the Daniel of the captivity and the Daniel "of the sons of Ithamar," the contemporary of Ezra; yet the recurrence of the name, like that of Zechariah so frequently mentioned in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, may show that it was not unknown to the period of the exile.

dates the statement of the "abomination of desolation standing in the holy place" in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes, to analogous impieties shortly about to happen at Jerusalem. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews includes those who "through faith stopped the mouths of lions, and quenched the violence of fire" (alluding probably to scenes described in the book) amongst the martyrs "of whom the world was not worthy." The author¹ of the first book of the Maccabees declares that "Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, by believing were saved out of the flames, and that Daniel for his innocency was delivered out of the mouth of the lions" (1 Macc. ii. 59-60). Josephus makes no question respecting the individuality and personal history of Daniel. He recapitulates the principal events of Daniel's life, and declares that "he was favoured with many wonderful revelations, and those as to one of the greatest of the prophets." (Ant. x. 11.) No reasonable ground appears to us for doubt, in the face of such testimonies, that there was an original Daniel, whose remarkable life and superlative wisdom laid the foundation of the present narrative.

But an acceptance of the reality of Daniel's personal existence does not involve any conclusion as to the authorship and age of the book in which, for the most part, his history is recorded. Evidence of a power-

¹ The mention made by Mattathias, in his dying address to his sons, of the "innocency" of Daniel, and the "belief" of his three companions, may have been derived either from the Book of Daniel itself, or from legends of the captivity common to both. The former of these theories would seem most probable, as the Book of Daniel appears to have exercised a powerful influence, very perceptible in the Greek, upon the writer of 1 Macc. (comp. 1 Macc. ii. 49, with Dan. xi. 36, xii. 1; 1 Macc. i. 46-54, with Dan. xi. 31; 1 Macc. iv. 43, with Dan. viii. 14; 1 Macc. vi. 2, with Dan. viii. 21); the date of the composition of 1 Macc., B.C. 120-100, affording sufficient space for the precedence of the Book of Daniel.

ful, and as we think, unanswerable kind, points to a later period than that of the Babylonian Captivity as the time of authorship, and brings down the date of the book in its present state to an age subsequent to the events therein described. This, while it does not invalidate the general history, is likely to have some influence upon the way in which its particulars may be interpreted. It transforms the book from a declaration by anticipation of things yet future into an historical relation of past occurrences.¹ It excludes the predictive element altogether. It assigns limits for its interpretation beyond which criticism dares not pass, and demands that its meaning shall be sought in the past, and not in the future. As a preliminary, then, of the utmost importance towards a correct interpretation, it will be necessary to state the arguments on which we build the theory of a late authorship for the book of Daniel. If these shall be found trustworthy we may reject schemes of interpretation which have repeatedly been found fallacious, for those pointed out by criticism and the necessities of the case. And in so doing we shall be guilty neither of rashness nor of a want of due regard to the Sacred Record. "To suppose that we can serve God's cause by shutting our eyes to the light; much more to suppose that we can serve it by asserting that we see what we do not see, *because we wish to see it*, is simply intellectual atheism."

¹ "I have long thought that the greater part of the book of Daniel is most certainly a very late work of the time of Maccabees, and the pretended prophecy about the kings of Greece and Persia, and of the North and South, mere history. In fact, you can trace distinctly the date when it was written, because the events up to that date are given with historical minuteness totally unlike the character of real prophecy."—ARNOLD.

Signs of a later authorship than the period of Daniel's residence in Babylon are perceptible in the book itself. To these we shall presently advert. But before we adduce the internal evidence of a later date which the book affords, it will be necessary to call attention to the practice which prevailed, amongst apocryphical writers especially, of prefixing an assumed name, and assigning an assumed era, to their compositions. In ancient times authorship under false colours was adopted without any sense of moral or literary dishonesty. The end, in the opinion of pious men of old, justified the means, or, rather, the means themselves appeared unobjectionable, having the nature of a rhetorical imitation, rather than a deception. To condemn, therefore, with too great severity a practice which sinned against no received code, or to apply to writers of a past age the rules which govern modern¹ literature, would be idle and

¹ "In our day to put forth a writing under an honoured name, in order to recommend its contents, is scouted as a literary fraud. But it was far otherwise in the schools of the prophets. The prophet was no author. His words were not his own, but those of Him by whom he was commissioned. His authority was entirely derivative. His outpourings were often not written down by himself, but reported by some disciple. . . . When prophecy was recognized as extinct, the ideas of the prophets were reiterated by persons desirous of reforming their contemporaries, and who borrowed the name as well as the thoughts and style of some master in Israel. It was so imperative to do so, that for an unknown writer to appear under his own name was the exception, not the rule. The affixed names were not pseudonyms, but eponyms "

"You know nothing was anciently more common, or held more innocent, than such personations of authors. And if this in succeeding ages came to be the occasion of some mistakes, especially among the vulgar and less critical readers, it is not much to be wondered at; but it is not then to be imputed as a crime to them who had no thoughts of deceiving any by it, or (which is all one) of whom it doth not appear that they had. Some of the first pieces of antiquity have been written in this character; the ancient academy were particularly famous for it. We do not think the worse of Plato for his personating of Socrates, or of Cicero for his personating of Cato. And though the names of Plato and Cicero should have been swept away with the torrent of time, yet not only the Book of Wisdom, but that of

irrelevant. The question must be judged, not by existing habits and modes of thought, but by those of a time when such imitations were held as legitimate as our academic exercises. The Second Book of Esdras is a remarkable instance of the extent to which an edifying purpose was held to excuse the assumption of an unreal name and period of composition. This book, written probably shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem and abounding with quotations from the Gospels and the Apocalypse, is assigned by its author to the anachronous period of the Babylonish Captivity, and is introduced under the assumed name and genealogy of Ezra. The book of Enoch, quoted as it is by apostolical men, has an equally doubtful parentage, unless, indeed, any should be bold enough to refer its authorship to an antediluvian period. The same may be said of the books of Wisdom and Ecclesiastes, ascribed, indeed, by their authors to the son of David, who was king over Israel in Jerusalem, but bearing evident marks of a date subsequent to that of the Captivity. There are eminent living critics who would adduce what they term the later Isaiah, written, as they conceive, by a different author from the composer of the first thirty-nine chapters, and occupied solely with a "sustained tone of exultation for the glad tidings of the return;" or the

Job also, is supposed by some learned men to be of this kind without derogating from the authority of one, or the excellence of both. . . . The golden verses, which we read under the name of Pythagoras, will not cease to be esteemed by the ablest judges, though not written till many hundred years after the death of that philosopher whose name they bear."—*Apoloipomena*. DR. FRANCIS LEE.

"Les auteurs de livres apoeryphes (de Daniel, d'Enoch par exemple) hommes si exaltés, commettaient pour leur cause, et bien certainement sans ombre de scrupule, un acte que nous appellerions un faux."—RENAN.

book of Deuteronomy, possibly a compilation of the age which listened to the plaintive tones of Jeremiah, as instances of the custom prevalent in former times of conveying religious instruction under the covering and authority of assumed names.

Under the new dispensation the same practice may to some extent be also traced. Apostolical authority declares that "many had taken in hand to set forth a declaration of those things which were most surely believed." "The very titles given to our Gospels—the Gospel *according to* Saints Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, do not imply that the Gospels were written from one end to the other by the persons whose names they bear; but that they contain the traditions arising from each of these disciples, and cover themselves with their authority." Various degrees of acceptance with regard to authorship speedily attached themselves to the second Epistle of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the Apocalypse, whilst false Gospels ascribed to Peter, Paul, or false Apocalypses ascribed to Thomas, Stephen, or Elias, abounded. In a word, it seems to have been desired, at a time when oral tradition slowly made way for written records, to clothe such records with every possible circumstance of authority; and it appears to have been a common practice, and one tacitly allowed, to employ great names as an authoritative recommendation.

In distinguishing, then, between the prophet Daniel and the book which bears his name, and in placing its authorship at a considerable interval from the lifetime of the individual to whom it is usually assigned; no violence is offered to the good faith of the composer, or to

the literary habits of Jewish writers. Like that of Ezra, or of any other illustrious master in Israel, the name of the prophet may have been used with the view of giving colour and importance to the history.¹ And in employing for this purpose the name and authority of Daniel, the writer sanctioned a literary artifice rather than a breach of moral principle. He availed himself of a practice common at the time, with the desire of impressing his countrymen more deeply by the use of a name and an authority qualified to command respect. It need not, then, create surprise to find that the book of Daniel has been dealt with in a way similar to that attending the composition of other Hebrew writings; and it should rather be a matter of congratulation that a solution for so difficult a question as the date of this book, whose late authorship is required by the necessities of the case, can easily be found.

In endeavouring to establish for the book of Daniel a date later by more than four centuries than that usually assigned to it; and in attempting to show that, however it may incorporate fragments of more ancient history, in its present form it is not earlier than the age² of Antio-

¹ "Cur Danielis personam susceperit scriptor, ratio patet e consilio, quod in scribendo sibi propositum habuit. Neque enim que promisit in hoc libro de venturo post superata discrimina seculo aureo, ad erigendos et confirmandos oppressos popularium animos multum valuissent, si, quo tempore divina vaticinandi virtus dudum cesserat, suo illa nomine protulisset."—MAURER.

² "Le caractère des deux langues dans lesquelles le livre de Daniel est écrit; l'usage des mots grecs; l'annonce claire des événements qui vont jusqu'au temps d'Antiochus Epiphane; les fausses images de la vieille Babylonie; la couleur générale du livre qui ne rappelle en rien les écrits de la captivité, qui répond au contraire à l'époque des Seleucides; le tour apocalyptique des visions; la place du livre dans le canon hébreu hors de la série des prophètes, l'omission de Daniel dans les panégyriques de Ecelus. xlix.; ne permettent pas de douter que le livre de Daniel ne soit le fruit de la grande exaltation produite chez les Juifs par la persécution d'Antiochus."—RENAN.

chus Epiphanes; it will be necessary to enter into the consideration of the following points of inquiry:—

- I. *The diversity of language in which the book is written.*
- II. *The place occupied by the book in the Hebrew canon.*
- III. *The use of Greek words.*
- IV. *The style of the book differing from the writings of the Captivity.*
- V. *The historical character of the book extending to, but not far beyond, the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.*
- VI. *The seemingly marvellous narrations and historical inaccuracies which have aroused suspicion from the earliest times.*

I. *The diversity of language in which the book is written.*

The language employed from chapter i. 1 to ver. 4 of chap. ii. is Hebrew; that used from ver. 4 of chap. ii. to the end of chap. vii. is Chaldee;¹ the remaining five chapters reverting to the original tongue. As a pro-

¹ The transition from Hebrew to Chaldee, where the wise men reply to the king "in Syriack," is as natural as that the letters to and from the Persian monarchs (Ezra iv., v.) should be written in Chaldee; the introduction of Babylonian topics into the subject demanding the use of a different dialect. A similar case is found (Jer. x. 11) in which the captive Jews are bid to say in the Chaldee tongue to their Babylonian conquerors, "The gods that have not made the heavens and the earth, even they shall perish from the earth, and from under these heavens;" a proverbial expression repeated with slight variation in the Epistle of Jeremy, and forming the burden of that song against idolatry. The clothing, therefore, of these ancient recollections of Chaldea in their native tongue, would seem to be only in accordance with previous usage; and added to this it may be remembered that the Chaldee dialect, from the time of the Captivity, was even more familiar to the Jews than their own language. It is more difficult to account for the continuation of its employment in chap. vii., unless for the purpose of connecting the vision of the Great Image (chap. ii.) with the corresponding one of the four great beasts of chap. vii.; the imitation of Zechariah conspicuous in our author requiring the double vision of the "four horns" and the "four chariots" to be answered by the corresponding duplicate of the four metallic kingdoms and the four great beasts. It is probably with this intention that the vision of chap. vii. is dated back to the first year of Belshazzar, the Babylonian kingdom, whose affairs required to be described in the Chaldean tongue, not having then passed away.

bable reason for this diversity it has been conjectured that the writer incorporated into his book fragments of more ancient history, just as Ezra, who wrote in Hebrew, inserted into his narrative the letters of Rehum and his companions to Artaxerxes (Ezra iv.), and of Tatnai to Darius (Ezra v.), and the replies of these monarchs to their respective correspondents (Ezra iv. vi. vii.), all of which are written in Chaldee. A second, although less likely, reason for this diversity may be traced to the desire of the author to clothe the book which he put forth under the name and authority of Daniel with a style suitable to the peculiar situation of that ancient prophet, who might be expected sometimes to employ Hebrew as his native tongue, and sometimes Chaldee (especially in delineating subjects connected with the affairs of Babylonia), as the language which he had been taught at the court of Babylon. And this might the more easily have been the case inasmuch as the two languages continued in use long after the Captivity: the Hebrew being employed, especially by the learned; many of the post-exile books, as Chronicles, Ecclesiastes, being written in that tongue, whilst the language of intercourse was Chaldee. This admixture of languages, although perhaps insufficient to warrant the conclusion that the Book of Daniel is the production of various authors, a remarkable uniformity¹ of style

¹ "Unum eundemque libri auctorem arguit porro illud, quod singulæ libri partes ita inter se eohærent ut posteriores sæpe respiciant ad priores, atque ex iis lucem accipiant . . . præcipuas et semper easdem partes per totum librum sustinent angeli . . . prophetica libri pars, sive posteriora vi. capita, quatuor illius (Gabrielis) visiones continent, quibus res una eademque, sed diversis modis, indicatur. Idem angelus sæpius apparet et rem eandem iterum iterumque denuntiat. Idem pæne est visionum omnium subjectum, quæ mutua invicem lucem sibi afferunt. Quæ prius breviter, deinceps elarius et particularius explicantur,"—ROSENMÜLLER.

and design pervading the whole work, may permit us to infer that it is a compilation rather than an independent original treatise, in which older documents have been mixed up with newer additions. The song of the three children introduced in the LXX. at chap. iii. 23; the history of Susannah, and the destruction of Bel and the dragon, entitled in the LXX. "Part of the prophecy of Habbakuk" (not to be found in the Hebrew, and cut off from the end of Daniel), show that the book has been so far tampered with as to become a repository of pieces collected from divers quarters, and that liberties at variance with the profound respect with which the Jews regarded their other sacred books have been taken with it. In the version of the LXX. in which is found the story of Susannah and the elders, there is a play¹ upon the names of the trees under which Susannah is said to have been discovered. This *jeu de mots*, natural enough if the Greek be the original, cannot be rendered in another language without changing the trees or the sense. The Greek² of the LXX. moreover differs so

¹ "Ἀπὸ τοῦ σχίλου σχίσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρίνου πρίσαι."

² The LXX. Daniel has the character of a commentary rather than a translation, inserting into the text passages of great length which are not found in the Hebrew, and omitting others. It is exceedingly valuable as the earliest exposition of Daniel made probably at no great length of time from the date of our present book. "The ships of Chittim" (xi. 30) are paraphrased of the "Romans (under Popilius) who shall come and expel him (Antiochus), and shall rebuke him strongly." The seventy weeks (LXX., years) are expanded into seven, and seventy, and sixty-two—one hundred and thirty-nine weeks (years)—in order to bring down the prophecy to the one hundred and thirty-ninth year of the Seleucidæ, being the second of that of Antiochus Epiphanes. "Messiah cut off" is interpreted of the unction extinguished, probably by the murder of Onias; and the consummation ends *not with the destruction of the city and the sanctuary*, but with "the command that an answer shall be made to Daniel's prayer, and that Jerusalem shall be built a city to the Lord." The LXX. version appears to have been rejected by the church, and replaced by that of Theodotion; the cause of this rejection being possibly the liberty taken with the Hebrew text, combined with the omission of all reference to the Messiah. The

completely from the Hebrew and the Chaldee, not only in particular words and phrases but in the insertion or omission of whole narratives, as to render it impossible for that version to have been made from the one now in our possession; thereby leaving room for the supposition either that the translator had access to other annals than those incorporated into our book, or that those which we now have existed under a different form.

“The book of Daniel (says Sir Isaac Newton, perhaps not the most reliable authority on prophetic subjects) is a collection of papers written at several times: the six last chapters contain prophecies written by Daniel himself; the first six are a collection of historical papers written by others. The fourth chapter is a decree of Nebuchadnezzar. The first chapter was written after Daniel’s death, for the author saith that Daniel continued to the first year of Cyrus; that is, his first year over the Persians and Medes, and third year over Babylon. And for the same reason, the fifth and sixth chapters were also written after his death; for they end with the words, ‘So this Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian.’” A multiplicity of literary materials is here admitted, and to this cause we would assign the diversity of language as well as the legendary form of portions of the book of Daniel. Having probably a real basis in events which took place

exposition, however, is not the less valuable for its condemnation by some of the ancient fathers. On the contrary, it affords a proof that the earliest commentary on Daniel anticipated the results of modern criticism, and that its visions were interpreted of events connected with Antiochus at a period when the symbolic imagery in which they were clothed was more likely to be understood than in more recent times.

in Babylon during the lifetime of the original prophet, it presents an epitome of traditions which flowed down from that early period arranged in prophetic garb; and the probable position to be assigned to it is that of a "*rifacimento* or modernized edition, or remodelled expansion of old fragmentary remains," rather than an independent and original history. To this it may be added that from chap. i. to the end of chap. vi. the subject is carried on in the third person, giving the appearance of being the reproduction of more ancient writings, possibly extracts from the Chaldee annals. With the commencement of chap. vii. to the end of chap. xii., Daniel is himself the speaker, and the remarkable expression, "I Daniel," recurs with dramatic reiteration, as if the employment of the first person would shelter the prophetic as well as the biographical portion under the name and authority of Daniel. To the objection that the Hebrew, in which the prophetic part of the book is for the most part written, was unintelligible to the men of the Maccabean age, it may be answered that Hebrew was the language of prophecy generally, and that its use had not gone out at the time in question; the first part of the book of Baruch, possibly the book of Enoch, and, according to Jerome, the first of Maccabees, having been written in that tongue.

II. *The place occupied by the book in the Hebrew canon.*

It is remarkable that the book of Daniel does not occupy the same position in the Hebrew canon as in our own. There it appears as if withdrawn from the place which it occupies with us as the fourth of the greater prophets, and is classed with those writings called Ha-

giographa,¹ which were not considered of equal prophetic authority with the other Scriptures. The question to be decided by evidence is, did the Jews withdraw the book from a place which it once occupied in the prophetic roll, or did the Christians elevate it from its original position in the Hagiographa, and install it in a place to which it had no proper title? Ought Malachi or Daniel to stand as the latest book in the English Old Testament? Certainly the omission of the name of the prophet Daniel from the catalogue of Jesus, the son of Sirach, in which occur the names of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, together with the mention of the twelve minor prophets, shows that either the book was unknown² to

¹ "Illud admonco, non haberi Daniele apud Hebræos inter prophetas sed inter eos qui ἀγιόγραφα conscripserunt."—HIERON.

"Unanimi consensu retulit gens nostra librum Danielis inter libros hagiographos, non vero inter prophetas."—MAYMONIDES.

In the Jewish canon the prophetic books are thus given:—1. Joshua. 2. Judges. 3. The books of Samuel. 4. The books of Kings. 5. The three greater prophets (not Daniel or Lamentations). 6. The twelve minor prophets. Not admitted by the Jews themselves among their prophetic writings, it finds a place only among the Hagiographa, an indication at once of the lateness of its composition, and of the secondary estimation in which it was held in the Jewish church. There is no sufficient evidence to show that the Jews rejected the book of Daniel from a place among the other prophets, in order to invalidate its authority in their controversy with the Christians; we must rather consider them justified, both from the lateness of the date of the book and its other peculiarities, in not attributing to it the highest prophetic inspiration. "The title (says Dean Stanley) is not the book of Daniel the prophet, but the book of Daniel."

In the apocryphal book called the Ascension of Isaiah, probably the composition of a Christian Jew (A.D. 68), Daniel is classed with righteous Joseph, and placed after the twelve minor prophets: "In the writings of Amos, my father, of the prophet Hosea, of Micah, of Joel, of Nahum, of Jonah, of Obadiah, of Habbakuk, of Haggai, of Sephaniah, of Zechariah, and of Malachi; and in the writings of righteous Joseph, and of Daniel"—*Ascens. Isaie*, iv. 22.

The Talmud mentions that "Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, had this above him (Daniel); that they were prophets, and he was not a prophet;" explaining their meaning by the words "that he was not sent to Israel for the office of prophecy."

² It is objected that David, equally with Daniel, is not classed among the prophets by the son of Sirach, and that "what no one imagines to be a disparagement to the patriarch David, cannot have been meant as a discredit to Daniel." This insidious

the author of Ecclesiasticus, or was not recognized by him as of like prophetic authority with the rest. It is difficult to account for the neglect by this writer of so extraordinary a book as that of Daniel, whilst the later books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi are deemed worthy of notice, except on the supposition that the prophecy was of a suspected character. The same thing may be said of the exclusion of the book of Daniel from the Targum on the prophets ascribed to Jonathan-ben-Uzziel, viz., Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel (Daniel omitted), and the twelve minor prophets. The conjecture that the book of Daniel was held in the greatest credit amongst the Jews until the time of the Emperor Hadrian, but that then its position in the canon was changed by the later Jews, is one grave enough to require ample evidence, and for which no evidence seems forthcoming. Nor can much weight be assigned to the statement that the book was translated into Greek in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; the labours of the Jewish transcribers who were sent by Eleazar, the high priest, being confined to the translation of the law (Ant. xii. 2). The assertion¹ of Josephus that the book of Daniel was

objection would seem answered by the fact that the writer sets out by saying, "Let us now praise famous men . . . such as did bear rule in their kingdoms, men renowned for their power, giving counsel by their understandings, and declaring prophecies; leaders of the people by their counsels, and by their knowledge of learning meet for the people, wise and eloquent in their instructions" (xliv. 1-4). After having made special and repeated mention of David (xlvii. 2-11; xlix. 4), he passes on to those who "declare prophecies." But the strange fact remains that neither as a prophet, nor a protector of the people, *nor as one remarkable for learning and wisdom* (in which capacity we might expect to find him) is Daniel mentioned. The writer not only omits him from the prophetic roll, but he gives him no place among "the leaders of the people by their counsels," although the prophecy of Ezekiel must have made him acquainted with the name and wisdom of Daniel.

¹ "The courtier-historian, it is well known, is not always trustworthy, particularly in his Antiquities. He appears, in that work, too professedly the panegyrist

shown to Alexander upon the occasion of his visit to Jerusalem by Jaddua, the high priest, is by far the strongest argument in favour of its earlier date; but this assertion is not corroborated by the historians of Alexander, and seems to have had its pardonable origin in a desire to magnify the high priesthood in the eyes of the Gentiles for whom the "courtier-historian" composed his book.

III. *The Use of Greek Words.*

Among the musical instruments, thrice mentioned, Dan. iii. 5, 10, 15, are found the Greek¹ words *kaithros*, κίθαρῖς, harp, *sabb'ka*, σαμβύκη, sackbut, *pesanterin*, ψαλτήριον, psaltery, *symphonia*, συμφωνία, dulcimer, mentioned as the name of a musical instrument by Polybius (Frag. xxxi. 1, 4); to these may be added *ashaphim*, astrologers, a word resembling the *ἰσόφοι* of the Greeks, and which, it is said, has no derivation in Chaldee. Words of less certain origin,

of his nation to be altogether immaculate. It is not to be denied that he frequently incorporates popular traditions into his history, and indulges in indefensible deviations from the text of Canonical Scripture."—REV. J. M. FULLER, p. 341.

¹ It is only fair to apprise the reader that attempts have been made to explain these words by deriving them not from Greek but from the old *Zend*, a branch of the Aryan or Indo-European family of languages, therefore capable of resembling Greek in virtue of its original affinity. The two ablest defenders of this view are Dr. Jahn and the late Dr. W. H. Mill. The latter, in his "*Application of Pantheistic principles to the Gospel*," pp. 64-68, says:—"The many non-Semitic words occurring in the books of Daniel and of Esther, which appeared to Grotius and to other critics to be of Greek origin, and which, if so, might seem to point to the times of the Seleucidæ or of the Asmoneans, are now generally confessed (?) not to belong to the Greek, but to other languages of the Indo-European family;" and in an unquestionably learned note he specially rejects the supposed derivations from *κῆρυξ*, *φθέγμα*, *πρότιμοι*, and questions, after Jahn, even the musical names, with the exception of *συμφωνία*, which he concedes. But it must be remarked that all this defence proceeds upon the assumption of the Chaldæans having been a Japhetic or Indo-European, therefore non-Semitic race; an assumption at best precarious, and which the defenders of strict views ordinarily reject. See Rawlinson's "*Herodotus*." If in its most plausible parts the defence is doubtful, it certainly fails as regards *κίθαρῖς*, *συμφωνία*, *ψαλτήριον*. Various reasons, therefore, compel our adherence to the general purport of the argument in the text, while we put our reader on his guard by acknowledging some of its details to be disputable.

such as *κῆρυξ*, *φθέγμα*, have been also adduced to establish a later period for the date of the book than that usually assigned to it. To this it has been objected that the Greeks had at that time considerable intercourse with Asiatic nations, and that musical instruments invented by the Greeks may have been used by the Babylonians; but it must be rejoined, that the employment of words of such doubtful origin is confined to the book of Daniel; no prophet of the age previous or subsequent to the exile introducing Greek, and, as some say, Macedonian, words into his book; or differing so materially in style, composition, and language, from the writers of his accredited time. "Granted," says Bleek, "that it is difficult to determine whether such names came to Greeks and Babylonians from some common source, or even to the Greeks from the Babylonians; yet there can be no doubt that the writer of this book, whether directly or indirectly, learnt them from the Greeks. For in the first place it is very improbable that the musical instruments of the Greeks were used in the court of Nebuchadnezzar under their Greek names; and in the second, it is not likely that Daniel, or a Jew of Palestine of that age, would have been so familiar with these Greek names as to have set them down unexplained or unaccompanied by some cognate term." If the introduction of Latin words, such as "census," "centurio," "quadrans," "colonia," into the Greek of the New Testament, should be thought to furnish indisputable evidence of a date contemporaneous with the development of the Roman power in Judea, it may appear as difficult to overthrow or evade the argument

to be drawn from the admixture of Greek words with the Chaldee of Daniel.

IV. *The Style of the Book differing from the Writings of the Captivity.*

Among the peculiarities in which the book of Daniel differs from the writings of the exile we may notice especially its mysterious and apocalyptic character—the book being, as it were, the first Apocalypse, serving as a model for all the rest. Frequent and appalling manifestations of supernatural beings, half human, half divine, are substituted for the direct communications which came to the ancient prophets; and tutelary guardians, entrusted with the protection of nations, play a part somewhat similar to that of the heavenly champions who lead the Maccabean princes to victory (2 Macc. *passim*). To this may be added the enigmatical calculations which give a character of mystery to this composition, contrasting with the simple, though more vividly poetical, writing, of the other prophets. We recognize no problems of this mysterious nature in the works of Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, or the minor prophets. Periods like those of “a time, times, and an half,” or the “seventy weeks,” which form so conspicuous a feature in this book, give evidence of different literary conceptions from those which actuated Haggai and Ezekiel. We observe, moreover, the recurrence of words and phrases which, although common to the epoch of the Seleucidæ, are for the most part unknown to that of the captivity. We may instance the apocalyptic sense in which the words “beast” and “week” are employed; the use of the term

“arms” in a military sense; and the unique expression “Ancient of days”¹ (*Antiquus dierum*) peculiar to Daniel. The angelology of the book, expanded from that of the time of Zechariah and approaching that of the book of Enoch, would also seem to indicate a later origin than the period of the exile. “Watchers,” or “holy ones,” come down from heaven. “The man Gabriel,” an angelic messenger of comfort, nowhere else mentioned in the Old Testament, executes divine commissions; and Michael, “the great prince,” found only in St. Jude and the Apocalypse, stands up for the children of the (Jewish) people. A further difference is discoverable in the absence of those allusions to the return from Babylon, which were ever on the lips of the prophets of the captivity. Whilst they are continually telling of the time when “the redeemed of the Lord shall return and come with singing unto Zion;” whilst they invite even material nature to sympathize with the liberated people, and exclaim in rapturous ecstasy “Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem, for the Lord hath comforted his people,” the thoughts and feelings of the writer of this book are turned another way. He sees but the dawn of a cleansed sanctuary and a restored

¹ The expression “Ancient of days” is found repeatedly in the book of Enoch (xlvi. 1; xlvii. 3; xlvi. 2; liv. 1; lxx. 12, 15, 16, 18), and the appellation of “Son of man” also occurs continually. An apocalyptic sense is given to the word “week” (xcii.) and the symbolic term “horn” is used in the same sense as that employed by Daniel (lxxxix. 13, 18, 24). Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel xl. 8, 9) execute offices similar to those of the guardian angels of the prophet, and the “watchers,” or sleepless ones, are “angels who have deserted the lofty sky and their everlasting station (Jude 6), and who have been polluted with women” (Gen. vi. 2). These last are represented as sending Enoch to pray for them, to whom the answer is given, “Go, say to the watchers of heaven who have sent thee to pray for them: You ought to pray for men, and not men for you” (Enoch xii. 5; xv. 1).

temple; the idol altar set up by Antiochus broken down, and the worship of Jehovah taking the place of the impure sacrifices of the heathen. This is *his* return from a worse than Babylonian captivity; the all-engrossing theme which leaves no room for the introduction of any other. Besides this the conceptions of the writer of this book differ from those of the "former prophets," in that he appears to have individualized the general features of more ancient prophecy, and to have centered them upon a personal deliverer. To dwell once more in the land from which they had been banished, under the protection of the monarchs of the East for whose welfare they were willing to pray and to offer sacrifice, appears to have been the limit of the desires of those who returned from Babylon; whereas the theocratic dominion conceived by Daniel contemplates the destruction of all opposing powers, and the exaltation of the Jewish people to the highest pitch of grandeur and national advancement. It is also remarkable that no allusion is made to the book of Daniel (Ezek. xiv. xxviii. excepted) in the later writings of the Old Testament; and it has been well observed that "had the book been composed by Daniel, and so extant from the time of Cyrus and known among the Jews, one should expect to find use made of it in the prophets after the captivity" (Bleek). Jeremiah's prophecy exercised an influence upon Zechariah (i. 4), and also upon Daniel (ix. 2); but neither Daniel's visions nor his miraculous personal history appear to be alluded to in books written by his supposed contemporaries. It is obvious that the assertion that Zechariah's visions of the "four horns" and the "four chariots" are taken from

Daniel may be met by the more natural statement that Daniel's visions of the "four kingdoms" and the "four great beasts" are taken from Zechariah. That the last mentioned theory is the more probable may be inferred from the circumstance that the visions of Daniel occupy a wider historical area than those of Zechariah—the prophecies of the latter being concerned with the mention of heathen invaders "which *have* scattered Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem" previous to the return from the Babylonian captivity; those of the former embracing the interval from the captivity to the Syrian desolations, a period not contemplated¹ in the visions of Zechariah.

¹ The vision of the "four horns" (Zech. i. 18-21), analogous to that of the "four chariots" (Zech. vi. 1), significant (possibly) of the invasions of Shalmanezar, Sennacherib, Pharaoh-Necho, and Nebuchadnezzar; after the last of which "the earth sitteth still, and is at rest," because completely subdued (comp. vi. 8); terminates with the restoration effected by the "four carpenters" or smiths, (possibly) Zerubbabel, Joshua, Haggai, and Zechariah (comp. Ezra v. 2), and the anointing of Joshua, the son of Josedech, between whom and Zerubbabel there should be a "counsel of peace." On the other hand the visions of Daniel, starting from the point where those of Zechariah end, give an epitome of heathen rule from the period of the captivity to the time of Antiochus, terminating with the destruction of the tyrant, and the restoration of the city and sanctuary by Judas Maccabeus; the "four horns" and the "four chariots" of the former being reproduced in the "four (metallic) kingdoms," and the "four great beasts" of the latter, and the explanation of the respective visions (not given by the Lord himself but by the angel of the Lord) being repeated in the interpretations afforded to Daniel by the "man Gabriel." A further parallelism may be traced in the employment made by each of the word "horn," when used of heathen oppressors; and in the "pleasant land" and "holy land" of Zechariah, compared with the "goodly land" and "pleasant land" of Daniel. Similarly, the colloquy between the two angels (Zech. ii. 3) finds an echo in the angelic intercommunication of Dan. viii. 13; xii. 5; and the impatient interrogation "How long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem?" (Zech. i. 12) is answered by the Danielic parallel, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" The prayer and answer of Zech. i. 12-17, would also seem repeated (Dan. ix.), and the "stone laid before Joshua" (Zech. iii. 9; Hag. ii. 20-23) in the stone which smites the image (Dan. ii.) and becomes a great mountain filling the whole earth. It would seem probable that the picture drawn by the former prophet of Zerubbabel is to a great extent the model after which the Maccabean writer described his hero Judas Maccabeus; the rebuilding of the city and temple by the former, after the return from the Babylonian captivity, supplying

To invert this order, and to assume that the visions of Daniel suggested those of Zechariah, is only to transfer the charge of plagiarism, with no gain to the cause of Inspiration, but with confusion to the order of the Hebrew canon. On the other hand there can be little doubt that the book which passes under the assumed name of Baruch does contain *bonâ fide* imitations of the book of Daniel. The error which calls Balthasar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, is reiterated by the author of this apocryphal book, and the prayer of Daniel is quoted "in whole verses and that in order," but as there are no certain data whereby to fix the time of its composition, an epoch later than that of the book of Daniel may be as suitable as any other.¹ It is idle therefore, as some have done, to support the genuineness of one doubtful book by another edited under equally suspicious circumstances, and the attempt savours of desperation and betrays the absence of better kind of proof. On the contrary it may be conceived to be prejudicial to the traditional view that the book of Daniel, although not referred to in supposed contemporaneous writings, should be cited in apocryphal books of the Maccabean period, such as the book of Enoch, the third Jewish Sybil, and the extraordinary compilation formed on the model of Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, and Nehemiah, entitled the book of Baruch.

V. *The historical character of the book extending to, but not far beyond the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

the basis on which the writer delineated the second restoration of the city and temple by the latter.

¹ The date is placed by Mr. Westcott about the time of the war of liberation, n. c. 160, or somewhat earlier.

To a careful reader the book of Daniel will seem to resolve itself into a grand climax; one idea running like a thread through the later visions to which the preceding history is introductory and supplemental. Even the earlier, and what may be called the historical portions of this book, are but varied repetitions of one leading subject. The religious persecutions of Nebuchadnezzar prefigure those of Antiochus. The golden image set up by the former is conceived as a type of him who would coerce all men to worship the idols of his adoration. The insanity of the Babylonian monarch finds its anti-type in the madness of him who was styled *ἐπιμανής*, a madman, as well as *ἐπιφανής*, illustrious; and the carrying away of the holy vessels to Babylon is significant of the sacrilegious plunder of the sacred treasures by the Syrian tyrant. Even the repentant humility of Nebuchadnezzar for his recovered reason is not without its parallel in the history of him who offered, but too late, to restore the holy vessels, yea, and “to become a Jew himself, and to go through all the world that was inhabited, and declare the power of God” (2 Macc. ix.). And as we cross the boundary which separates the historical from the prophetic portion of this book, the ruling idea stands out with ever increasing clearness. The profanation of the sanctuary by Antiochus, and its cleansing by Maccabeus, coupled with the destruction of the tyrant and the subsequent glories of the favoured people, is the consummation to which every vision points, and beyond which the prophecy does not extend. With the announcement of these and contemporaneous events the book comes to an abrupt close. It is silent respecting the subsequent vic-

tories of the Maccabean princes, and the exploits of a splendid line of Asmonean kings. It is indifferent to the aspect of events which are posterior to the reign of the oppressor who compassed the desolation of Jacob, or to the patriotic efforts of those who succeeded "the valiant man that delivered Israel." "The time of the end," so frequently alluded to, is that when "the indignation shall be accomplished and the sanctuary cleansed" (xi. 36; viii. 14); and in reply to the inquiry in the closing chapter, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders?" the answer is given, "When he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished" (xii. 6, 7). The significance of this internal evidence appeared so striking to Porphyry, that he concluded the book to be written after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; and, indeed, a comparison of chap. xi. with other prophetic writings will leave little doubt on the mind of an unprejudiced person that he is dealing, not with a predictive declaration of future events, but with history in a prophetic garb. The distinct announcement of the three kings of Persia, who should precede Xerxes; of the "fourth richer than they all, who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia;" of the mighty king (Alexander), whose kingdom should be divided not to his posterity but to the four winds of heaven; of those kings of the north and south (Syria and Egypt) who preceded or were contemporary with Antiochus; of the rise of the "vile person," Antiochus himself; his treacherous occupation of Judea; his unprincipled invasions of Egypt; his sacrilegious desolations of the sanctuary, and his miserable and inglorious

death; of the well-defined period of a "time, times, and an half," at the expiration of which the "indignation should be accomplished," and the "scattering of the power of the holy people, finished;" all these are pointed out in this chapter with an attention to particulars which is not characteristic of prophecy generally.

It will also be noticed that events distant from the time usually assigned for the composition of this book, such as the profanations of Antiochus, are described at great length and with astonishing minuteness;¹ whilst those near the supposed times of the writer, as the Babylonian invasion of Judea, are treated with succinctness and brevity. We shall look in vain throughout the rest of the prophetic literature for a similar phenomenon; its usual characteristic is precision and clearness on subjects which approximate to the times of the writers, accompanied with generality and indistinctness with regard to distant events. The converse of this would seem to be the plan adopted by the writer of this book, upon the supposition of his having written in Babylon B.C. 590; for he is diffuse where we should have expected him to be concise, and concise where he ought to be diffuse. On that supposition the copiousness of the later visions is as fatal to a Babylonian, as the meagreness of the earlier is corroborative of a Maccabean authorship; whilst the abrupt termination of the narrative at a specific

¹ "Quæ vero posteriori libri parte continentur prophetiæ hoc potissimum sibi privum et summopere admirandum habent; quod quum in antiquiorum prophetarum vaticiniis futura generalius plerumque et obscurius significantur; in hisce Danielicis quæ pluribus post Danielem seculis eventura essent, tam clarè, apertè, et sigillatim describuntur, ut librum aliquem historicum te legere crederes."—ROSEN-MÜLLER.

period would seem to confine the subject within the limits we have assigned.

VI. *The seemingly marvellous narratives and historical inaccuracies, which have aroused suspicion from the earliest times.*

Amongst these we may mention the dream which faded from the remembrance of Nebuchadnezzar, and of which he demanded not only the interpretation but the purport—a requisition too exacting even for an Eastern despot, and contrary to the analogy of previous dreams recorded in Holy Scripture. The astounding prodigy recorded of the three children unscathed by the burning fiery furnace, “upon whose bodies the fire had no power, nor was an hair of their head singed, neither were their coats changed, nor the smell of fire had passed on them,” possibly an exaggerated account of a real deliverance. The monomania which induced Nebuchadnezzar to eat grass like oxen for seven! years; a condition so plainly repugnant to nature, that the early Christians were compelled to admit an allegorical interpretation. The mysterious handwriting upon the wall, interpreted apparently with regard to euphonious agreement with Medes and Persians. The instantaneous destruction of the accusers of Daniel, “their children and their wives,” by the lions who had refrained from devouring the prophet, an event not sufficiently prodigious in the opinion of Josephus. These and similar marvellous narratives, however calculated to command respect in a dark age, and to exalt the objects of them above heathen soothsayers and astrologers, acquire for the book in which they are found a legendary,

rather than a prophetic, character not materially differing from the record of other prodigies of antiquity. To these may be added the edicts of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius (iii. 29 ; vi. 26), making known to all the princes of their vast empire the veneration to be paid to the one Supreme God,—decrees not only inconsistent with Eastern polytheism, but productive of no result, and unsupported by history. An unlimited exertion, moreover, of supernatural power, as well as abundant angelic interposition, prevails throughout the book. The dreams (ii.-iv.) which the Magi cannot interpret are solved by Daniel. The handwriting upon the wall, which they cannot read, is read by the prophet. Daniel is overwhelmed by the greatness of the visions, and is continually restored by angels (vii. 15, 16 ; viii. 17, 18, 27 ; x. 8, 9, 16-19). The three children cast into the fiery furnace are saved by an angel. An angel is sent to Daniel in the lion's den. The visions of Daniel are explained to him by angels (vii. 16 ; viii. 13-27 ; ix. 21, 22 ; xi. 2 ; xii. 5-13). The employment of such continuous angelology joined to "prodigality of miraculous development" presenting features differing from the Scriptures generally, and affording room for the supposition that the book is the production of a period when the manifestations of the spirit of prophecy were either more tinged with human imagination, or cast in a different mould from that of an earlier age of the church.

Historical inaccuracies, such as would be likely to arise from imperfect knowledge consequent upon a lapse of many years from the original transactions, are also apparent. "In the *third* year (it is said) of the reign of

Jehoiakim, king of Judah, came Nebuchadnezzar, king¹ of Babylon, unto Jerusalem, and besieged it." It is elsewhere affirmed that "the fourth year of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, was the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon" (Jer. xxv. 1), a statement which invalidates the historical accuracy of the writer who calls Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon before he came to the throne, and places the siege of Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim. The death of Belshazzar, at the time of the capture of Babylon, presents an uncertain feature: at least one, not confirmed, apart from dubiously-deciphered inscriptions, by history; which relates that the reigning prince of Babylon experienced the mercy of the conqueror, and was subsequently entrusted with the principality of Caramania. It is said (chap. x. 1) that a vision was seen by Daniel "in the *third* (corrected by the LXX. translator to the '*first*') year of Cyrus, king of Persia;" a statement contradicted by chap. i. 21, which limits Daniel's continuance in Babylon to the "first year of king Cyrus." So again, Darius the Mede (a person of whom no trace can be found in history) is called "the son of Ahasuerus" (ix. 1); but on the supposition that he

¹ It does not help the case much to say that Nebuchadnezzar is here called king *proleptically*; and that he was king "de facto" though not "de jure" during his father's lifetime; neither can the words "came Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, unto Jerusalem and besieged it," be interpreted, without violence, merely of his "setting out" for Jerusalem. We do not, however, wish to magnify these historical inaccuracies, if they be such, or to rest our argument mainly upon them. It is sufficient for our purpose, if it should be thought that the book is in part a compilation of older documents retouched and shaped into its present form by a Jew who lived subsequently to the destruction of Antiochus Epiphanes. This view, while it would allow for the similarity supposed to exist between the Chaldee of Daniel and that of Ezra, would also account for the introduction of foreign words into the text, as well as for a degenerate and elliptical mode of composition at variance with the purer style of the prophets of the captivity.

is identical with Cyaxares II., he is the son of Astyages. These inaccuracies, and more might be added, are inconsistent with the assumption that the book in its present form was written by an eye-witness of these scenes, and agree better with the supposition that it is a resetting of ancient annals by a later hand. It may also be observed that the numerous dates recorded in the book afford no proof of correctness; similar positiveness with regard to dates being found in the apocryphal books of Esdras II. and Baruch.

To recapitulate—1, The diversity of languages in which the book is written; 2, The place it occupies in the Hebrew canon; 3, The use of Greek words; 4, The style of the book differing from the writings of the captivity; 5, The historical character of the book extending to but not beyond the age of Antiochus Epiphanes; 6. The seemingly marvellous narrations and historical inaccuracies which have aroused suspicion from the earliest times; are so many distinct and strong reasons for affixing a date later than that usually assigned to the book of Daniel. Not that a Maccabean date is felt by us to be necessary in order to secure an interpretation suited to the times of Antiochus; for whether the book be predictive or historical, of the age of the captivity or of a subsequent period, it can have but one solution. It may not perhaps be unreasonable to infer that it is partly a compilation and rearrangement of more ancient annals, and partly the original composition of some learned and pious Jew, who lived at a period subsequent to the scenes it describes—probably whilst his countrymen were still engaged in their pa-

triotic struggle against Demetrius, and following up the advantages they had won from Antiochus Epiphanes. At this juncture, when the issue of the contest between the Jews and their Syrian oppressors hung doubtful in the balance, the writer of this remarkable book throws the weight of prophetic influence into the scale, and by recounting the heroic endurance of the sainted martyrs of their race, oracularly animates the holy people to perseverance in the strife. With this view he avails himself of the prestige of a character celebrated in Jewish story, and enunciates his historico-prophetic visions under the name and authority of Daniel. It will not require much argument to show that such a book at such a time may have afforded material aid and encouragement to the Jewish patriots—may have supported them under trial by the remembrance of former interpositions in behalf of the chosen people—may have reminded them that the Lord knows how to deliver his servants, whether from a “burning fiery furnace,” or from excruciating tortures “wearing out the saints of the Most High”—may have roused them to deeds of more than mortal daring and evoked a spirit of devoted and almost super-human courage—the prophetic word luring them on to victory, and unfolding to their enthusiastic gaze the triumphant consummation which was to crown their efforts; and “the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, given to the people of the saints of the Most High.”

CHAPTER II.

DANIEL UNDER NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

THE historical portion of the Book of Daniel opens with the invasion of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in the third year¹ of the reign of Jehoiakim, king of Judah. The monarchs of Nineveh had previously carried Israel away captive, and "placed them in Halah and Habor, by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes;" the king of Babylon completes the downfall of Judah and carries them captive to Babylon as Israel had been taken to Assyria. Amongst the exiles transplanted,² according

¹ Much labour would seem to have been fruitlessly bestowed in the attempt to reconcile the conflicting statements of Dan. i. 1, and Jer. xxv. 1; the former asserting that Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylon in the *third* year of Jehoiakim in opposition to the latter, which makes "the *fourth* year of Jehoiakim. . . . the *first* year of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon;" or the equally adverse texts of Dan. i. 1, and Jer. xxxvi. 9; the first stating that he besieged Jerusalem in the *third* year of Jehoiakim, whereas, according to the latter, he had not come to Jerusalem by the ninth month of the *fifth* year of Jehoiakim. On the supposition that the book of Daniel is an inspired work of the time of the captivity, it must be confessed that these apparent contradictions are not of easy solution. The difficulty, however, is not greater than that presented (ch. x. 1), which represents Daniel as seeing a vision in the *third* year of Cyrus, king of Persia, although the limit of his continuance as the prophet and prime minister of the kings of Babylon, was "the *first* year of king Cyrus" (i. 21); or that of ch. ii. 1, which places the dream of Nebuchadnezzar which Daniel, *at that time one of the wise men of Babylon* (ch. ii. 13), is required to interpret, in the *second* year of the reign of that monarch; it having been previously stated (i. 5) that the young men did not stand before the king until after the expiration of *three* years' training in "the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans."

² An inscription has been found on the Bellino cylinder illustrative of the custom of removing conquered nations from their own land, and locating them in separate quarters. "In the name of Asshur, my lord, I destroyed seventy-nine fenced cities, and eight-hundred and twenty-five smaller towns. I carried off the women; their skilful workmen and their children who were old enough to do hard work I carried off from the city of Belus, and I distributed them as slaves." Assyrian Texts Translated.—H. F. TALBOT.

to Assyrian custom, into a new country, were four young men of great personal¹ beauty and royal parentage,² “of the king’s seed and of the princes, children in whom was no blemish, but well-favored, and skilful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability in them to stand in the king’s palace,³ and whom they might teach the learning and the tongue⁴ of the Chaldeans” (comp. Acts vii. 22). With this view Daniel and his companions are selected from the rest, and with the intention of completely detaching them from the peculiar habits of their own nation, they are nourished with a daily provision of food from the king’s table. To remind them that they are now the servants of a new master, their Jewish names, in each of which is found the name of the true God, are changed for those of Chaldean origin; as the name of Joseph was

¹ “Hominiibus barbaris in corporum majestate veneratio, magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quam quos eximiâ specie donare natura dignata est” (Curt. 17, 5, 29).

² This statement respecting the royal parentage of Daniel and his companions in captivity is confirmed by Josephus. “Now Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, took some of the most noble of the Jews that were children, and the kinsmen of Zedekiah their king, such as were remarkable for the beauty of their bodies and the comeliness of their countenances, and delivered into the hands of tutors, and to the improvement to be made by them. Now amongst these were four of the family of Zedekiah, the one of whom was called Daniel, another Ananias, another Misael, and the fourth Azarias.—ANT. x. 10.

³ A passage has been discovered on the Bellino cylinder descriptive of the custom of educating young men within the palace of the king, to be afterwards employed as provincial governors. “The man Belib, son of him that was governor over the young men educated within my palace, I placed over the land as ruler of Bursa” (comp. Neh. i. 11; 1 Esdras iii. 4).

⁴ The Chaldean language, although cognate with the Hebrew, is a different dialect, the two languages not being mutually intelligible to speakers of the two nations. This may be seen from the request of Eliakim and Shebna to Rabshakeh, the Assyrian general, to confer with them in the Syrian or Chaldean language, which they alone understood, and not in the vernacular tongue of those standing upon the wall (2 Kings xviii. 26).

changed to Zaphnath-paaneah, that of Zerubbabel to Shesbazzar, and of Esther to Hadassah (comp. 2 Kings xxiii. 34, xxiv. 17). Daniel is called Belteshazzar, "according to the name of my god," iv. 8; Azariah is changed to Abednego, the servant of Nego—perhaps the same as Nebo (Isaiah xlvi. 1); Hananiah and Mishael to Shadrach and Meshach, in which also the name of some Babylonian deity is probably incorporated. Of these young men, Daniel is conspicuous for his adherence to the religion of his fathers. He purposes in his heart that he will not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat which had been offered in sacrifice to idols, nor with the wine which had been poured out in libations; he will not "eat defiled bread among the Gentiles," (Ezek. iv. 13) nor "pollute his soul" with royal but unlawful dainties; but desires of *Ha-Melzar*, "the prince of the eunuchs," (the Kislar Aga of the Turks) "that he and his companions may be fed on pulse and water." Melzar, it would seem, "consented to them in this matter, and proved them ten days (some indefinite period, comp. i. 20); and at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh than all the children which did eat the portion of the king's meat" (i. 14, 15).

The design¹ of the writer in introducing this refusal

¹ It is worthy of notice that the narratives recorded in the biographical portion of the book describe for the most part successful resistance to religious coercion; those subjects being selected by the writer which fit in with the peculiar circumstances of his own times. Amongst these we may instance the rejection of the king's meat and wine for pulse and water; the refusal to worship the golden image; the non-compliance with the command to abstain from all worship, save regal deification—no sufficient reason being apparent for the introduction of these topics, to the exclusion of others, except their applicability to the coercion experienced by the Jews in the days of Antiochus.

on the part of Daniel and his companions to partake of meats offered in sacrifice unto idols is sufficiently transparent on the supposition that the book is the production of the Maccabean age. A somewhat similar decree had gone forth against the Jews by the command of the Syrian tyrant. "In the day of the king's birth, every month they were brought by bitter constraint to eat of the sacrifices; and when the feast of Bacchus was kept, the Jews were compelled to go in procession to Bacchus, carrying ivy; moreover there went out a decree to the neighbouring cities of the heathen, by the suggestion of Ptolemee, against the Jews, that they should observe the same fashions and be partakers of their sacrifices; and whoso would not conform themselves to the manners of the Gentiles should be put to death" (2 Macc. vi. 7-9). In resistance to this unrighteous command to "forsake the law and the ordinances," Judas Maccabeus "with nine others, or thereabouts (himself the tenth), withdrew himself into the wilderness, . . . and fed on herbs continually, lest they should be partakers of the pollution" (2 Macc. v. 27). The position of the respective parties would seem to be analogous. The pulse and water of Daniel and his companions are significant of the herbs on which the Maccabean patriots supported life, and the daily provision of the king's wine and meat, of which the former were compelled to partake, is repeated in the "bitter constraint" with which the holy people were forced to eat of things sacrificed to idols; the successful abstemiousness of Daniel and his companions being adduced as an example to those placed in somewhat similar circumstances.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S DREAM.

Among a people whose tastes and habits led them to cultivate an acquaintance with the occult sciences, it is not a matter of surprise to find that dreams¹ and their interpretation should occupy an important place; and it is probable that in detaching these young men from the society of their fellow captives, and in educating them at the king's cost, special regard was had to their instruction in the Chaldean philosophy. Of Daniel, in particular, it is said that he "had understanding in all visions and dreams." At the period of the original Daniel's captivity in Babylon, it is well known that astrology and kindred sciences extensively prevailed. The Chaldeans taught "that a secret virtue streamed incessantly from heaven to earth, and that a connection and sympathy existed between planets in the heavenly bodies and earth with its creatures; that human affairs entirely depend upon the stars, the planets especially being the rulers of their destinies." These star-gazers appear to have dwelt in a particular quarter of the city of Babylon;

¹ "The primitive belief was that dreams were sent men from the gods for their instruction, warning, and encouragement. The whole history of antiquity is full of dreams attaching to the weightiest and most decisive events. . . . With the Greeks the interpretation of dreams formed a complete literature of itself. Artemidorus, whose treatise on the subject is extant, assures us he compiled it at the express bidding of Apollo, and that the science of interpretation of dreams occupied him day and night. Mainly with the view of collecting dreams, he took long journeys into Asia, Greece, and Italy, and he furnishes precise instructions for the method of soliciting the grace of a prophetic dream from the gods. It was a dream which determined the emperor Augustus to appear one day every year in the streets of Rome as a beggar. Galba took the precaution to have expiation made for a dream that disturbed him. This, too, was deemed necessary to avert ill consequences that might result from menacing dreams to resort to certain deities called the Avernunci, and offer them incense and salted cakes of meal. When harassed by a dream people bathed in the sea, remained sitting a whole day on the ground, wallowed in filth, or besmeared themselves with it."—DÖLLINGER.

the temple of Belus, which rose in eight graduated stories of pyramidal form to a height of six hundred feet, serving them for an observatory, from which they watched the movements of the heavenly bodies ; thus shaping astrology into a science in the closest relations with religion.

The peculiarity of the dream in question appears to have been that the king had no remembrance of it after it had passed. Like some beautiful picture which, once seen, impresses the mind most deeply, but is now forgotten ; so this dream, once vividly presented to the imagination, vanished from the memory of the king. He requires of the wise men of Babylon, not only the interpretation, but the dream itself. The wise men answer that the king's request is unreasonable, and that "the gods whose dwelling is not with flesh," (*dii infirmitati humanæ non obnoxii*), could alone unravel such a mystery. But the dream has taken such a hold on the king's mind that he must know its purport and interpretation, however unreasonable the demand may be ; and accordingly he requires of the wise men of Babylon, who affected an intercourse with Deity, the fulfilment of their pretensions, promising them the highest honours in the event of success, and threatening them with death in case of failure.¹

¹ The dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation by Daniel present so close an agreement between that of Pharaoh and its interpretation by Joseph as to have suggested the conclusion that the former supplied the basis on which the latter was founded. Nor can it be denied that a remarkable similarity exists between the characters and the circumstances of the respective individuals. Of Joseph and of Daniel it may be affirmed with equal fitness that both were carried young into captivity ; both cast into the pit ; both compelled to assume heathen names ; that both found favour in their house of bondage and conciliated their respective masters Potiphar and Arioch, possibly the executioners of the kings of Egypt and Babylon ;

That Nebuchadnezzar may have seen in a dream a colossal image whose component parts were afterwards broken to pieces, and "became like the chaff of the summer threshing floors, and the wind carried them away that no place was found for them" (comp. Rev. xx. 11), is not more improbable than that a dream of a great tree hewn down (chap. iv.) should have been sent to the same monarch. The subsequent erection of the image of gold, in which however there is an absence of the metallic compounds of the first image, would seem to favour such a supposition, and profane story adds its testimony to the presentiment entertained by the Babylonian autocrat of the approaching dissolution of his kingdom. Neither does it appear contrary to the tenor of divine communications that dreams should be sent to a heathen prince. Dreams were sent to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and to Abimelech, king of Gerar. The wife of Pilate "suffered many things in a dream" because of Christ; and Cornelius saw "evidently" an angel about the ninth hour of the day. These revelations were, however, distinct from the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, the

that both were raised to the highest honours in consequence of the interpretation of dreams; and that both confessed this power was not their own; the former saying, "It is not in me: God shall give Pharaoh an answer of peace;" the latter, "This secret is not revealed to me for any wisdom that I have more than any living . . . there is a God in heaven that revealeth secrets." But, whilst admitting the analogy between them, we do not incline to the opinion that the author selected Joseph as a type from which he drew an imaginary Daniel; on the contrary we accept the latter as a real and not a fictitious character, and would explain the similarity between them of the similarity of the circumstances in which they were respectively placed. We may add to this that the advancement of Jewish captives at the court of heathen kings was by no means an event of unusual occurrence. Nehemiah was "the king's cup-bearer" (Neh. i. 11); "Mordecai the Jew was next unto king Ahasuerus" (Esth. x. 3); and Zerubbabel "spake wise sentences before Darius, the king of Persia" (1 Esdras v. 6).

object of which appears to have been to present an outline of successive historical events from his own times to those of Antiochus. The dream moreover is not so much a personal revelation to the king himself, as a vehicle of conveying ideas elsewhere enunciated—the vision of the great image corresponding with that of the four great beasts, as well as with other symbols scattered throughout the book. It is therefore thought that the dream of Nebuchadnezzar is only one phase of analogous visions, moulded into its present shape with a view of enabling the writer to append an historico-prophetic interpretation accommodated to the circumstances of the Maccabean period.

The purport of this dream, viz. the successive overthrow of heathen kingdoms, the Babylonian being succeeded by the Persian, that, in its turn by the Macedonian, followed again by the divided kingdom of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies, would seem to be previously announced (ver. 21), “He changeth the times and the seasons; he removeth kings and setteth up kings;” and a principal object of the writer may have been to contrast the temporary character of these kingdoms of gold, and silver, and brass, and iron, which gave place in turn to each other, with the enduring kingdom to be set up by the God of heaven: a kingdom which shall not experience the vicissitudes which have overtaken others, which “shall not be left to other people,” as the Babylonians were followed by the Persians, etc., but “which shall stand for ever.”

This idea of the successive replacement of the kingdoms of the heathen would seem, in common with many

others, to have been borrowed from the prophets of the period of the return. Influenced by the changes through which the Jewish people had lately passed, Haggai is commanded to "speak to Zerubbabel, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen." These again, as in the case of Daniel's vision, are to be followed by a Jewish kingdom set up under Zerubbabel, "In that day (comp. "in the days of these kings," ii. 44), saith the Lord of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the Lord, and will make thee as a signet; for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of hosts" (Hag. ii. 21-23). It will be noticed that the period of the setting up of the Jewish kingdom by Zerubbabel precedes that laid down for a similar event by Daniel, thereby affording no slight argument in favour of the late date of the book, the description of the latter being possibly a transcript of the earlier prophet.

A further object of the writer may have been to exalt the privileges of those who remained faithful to the covenant over those who had apostatized under Antiochus. The issue of the contest between Daniel and the wise men of Babylon is favourable to the former, and ends by showing that the dream which is unintelligible to the astrologers, magicians, and soothsayers, is easy of interpretation to the servant of Him who "giveth wisdom unto the wise, and knowledge to them that know understanding." Similar trials of hermeneutical skill between the prophet and the heathen magicians are of frequent occurrence, and end invariably with the same result. In

chap. iv. Nebuchadnezzar dreams a second dream, which is interpreted by Daniel after the Chaldean soothsayers have been appealed to in vain. In chap. v. the wise men fail to read the mysterious handwriting upon the wall, which is deciphered by Daniel. The biographical part of the book is little else than a series of contrasts between the hermeneutical qualifications of the prophet and those of the heathen *Casdim*; the wisdom of the former being manifested in a conspicuous manner, and rewarded with the most splendid gifts (ii. 48; v. 29; vi. 3). And it may not be unreasonable to suppose that narratives like these, asserting the superior knowledge¹ of the servants of Jehovah over that of the worshippers of false gods, were without influence at such a critical period, by deterring the wavering from apostacy, and by encouraging the faithful to a firmer trust in Him who is a "God of gods, and a Lord of kings."

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S IMAGE OF GOLD.

"Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whose height was threescore cubits, and the breadth thereof six cubits; he set it up in the plain of Dura, in the province of Babylon." This plain, it is said, still bears the name of Dura; and here, it is thought, the Babylonian monarch set up the image of gold, or, more

¹ The superior knowledge of the faithful over those who had lapsed to heathenism would seem to be abundantly recognised throughout the book. Thus it is said, "They that understand among the people shall instruct many" (xi. 33). "None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand" (xii. 10). "They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (xii. 3). "Many shall run to and fro (shall read through this book), and knowledge shall be increased" (xii. 4). Comp. ix. 22, 23.

probably, overlaid with gold. This image may have been a statue of himself;¹ the practice of these eastern despots to receive divine honours rendering such an act not improbable on the part of this the greatest of them all (comp. Judith vi. 2).

The stupendous height of the image, 60 × 6, out of proportion as it is with the breadth, does not appear so incredible to us as to some others. The image may have been on a pedestal, or it may have resembled that of the Amyclean Apollo, a column terminating in a head and feet; the want of proportion in its parts being not entirely dissimilar from ill-shaped remains of Egyptian or Assyrian art. The knowledge we have of those ancient empires allows us to believe that the Assyrians were sufficiently acquainted with mechanical science to erect gigantic statues, as well as possessed of skill in the use of the precious metals to overlay them. Indeed everything about that superb dynasty was colossal. Their ideas were as magnificent as their empire. What they could not accomplish by mechanical agency they effected by numerical strength. They appear also to have been expert in the working of gold and precious jewels; “the engraved gems and cylinders discovered in the ruins of Babylon bearing ample witness to the skill of the Babylonian lapidaries” (Layard).

The dedication of this image appears to have been attended by all the official ceremony which a rude age could suggest. “Nebuchadnezzar the king sent to gather

¹ The annals of Ashurakbal represent him as saying that he had made an image of himself, and had set it up as an object of worship. “I made an image of my majesty; the laws and emblems of my true religion upon it I wrote: and in the city of Tzuri I set it up.”—Assyrian Texts translated.

together the princes, the governors, and the captains, the judges, the treasurers, the counsellors, the sheriffs, and all the rulers of the provinces (Daniel excepted) to come to the dedication of the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up." We may imagine, then, an enormous multitude congregated in one of the vast level tracts common to Babylonia. Men are there of different countries, different races, different religions—the Chaldean, the haughty master of the soil; the Tyrian from his island home; the Egyptian from his pyramids and his Nile; the Jew from his temple and his "pleasant land;" all to do homage to the golden representation of the great Babylonian autocrat which his pride and self-sufficiency had set up.

The inauguration of this image was accompanied by the exciting din of drums, flutes, and other musical instruments,¹ similar to the worship of the Syrian goddess at Hierapolis; whilst an herald cried aloud, "To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the sound of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, and all kinds of music, ye fall down and worship the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up; and whoso falleth not down and

¹ These musical instruments are distinguished by the names of cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, psaltery, with perhaps as much accuracy of description as the titles of judges, treasurers, counsellors, and sheriffs, applied to the viziers of the province of Babylon. A bas-relief discovered at Nineveh will perhaps give the most correct idea of them. "First (says Mr. Layard) came four men. These carried harps of many strings which they struck with both hands, dancing at the same time to the measure. A fourth played on the double pipes blown at the ends. The fifth carried an instrument consisting of a number of strings passed over a hollow case, or sounding board; these strings, pressed with the fingers of the left hand to form the notes, were struck with a hammer held in the right. The men were followed by six female musicians—four playing on harps, one on the double-pipes, and the sixth on a kind of drum beaten with both hands."

worshippeth shall the same hour be cast into the midst of a burning fiery furnace.”

To this universal idolatry there is an exception. Amidst the obsequious multitudes assembled on that plain, three young Jewish captives are found bold enough to refuse this act of homage, and to decline compliance with the customs of this heathen land. And this is done in the face of a terrible alternative: “If ye worship not ye shall be cast the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands?”

The reply of these young men is calm and dignified. “O Nebuchadnezzar, we are not careful to answer thee in this matter: if it be so, our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace, and he will deliver us out of thy hand, O king.” It would be difficult to furnish adequate images of the fury of the Babylonian autocrat at this unexpected refusal. Like the “king of fierce countenance” (viii. 23), “the form of his visage was changed” against the audacious recusants; he commands that the furnace should be heated one-seven times (a Jewish number of perfection) more than it was wont to be heated; orders the most mighty men that were in his army to bind Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and to cast them into the midst of the burning fiery furnace.

We are disposed to think that this narrative, based on the cruel practice¹ of burning alive Jewish captives, may record a real deliverance: an interval, however, of

¹ This practice appears to have been so common with the kings of Babylon as to have fallen into proverbial use. Two false prophets, according to Jeremiah, suffered

more than four centuries from the date of the original transaction is sufficient to account for the prodigies with which it is encircled, which may owe their origin not to a desire on the part of the writer to exaggerate, but to the mere force of accretion which is apt to gather around tales of times gone by. The versions of Theodotion and the LXX. exhibit a still stronger predilection for the marvellous, by asserting that "the king's servants that put them in ceased not to make the oven hot with rosin, pitch, tow, and small wood: so that the flame streamed forth above the furnace forty and nine cubits, and it passed through and burned those Chaldeans it found about the furnace" (Song of the Three Holy Children, 23, 24, 25). In addition to this, a hymn of some sixty-seven verses is put into the mouths of the captives as they walked in the midst of the fire, to which Nebuchadnezzar and his satraps are supposed to listen. Nor is this to be wondered at. The age, which we have concluded to be that of the writer, was credulous in the extreme. The heathen were too much accustomed to the prodigious marvels of their own mythology to question the more sober narrations of Daniel. The Jews were fast following in their steps, and nothing was deemed incredible.

The coincidence between the scene we have depicted and the circumstances of the holy people is too obvious to need comment. A second Nebuchadnezzar had arisen in the person of Antiochus, whose religious intolerance declared

this punishment; and they of the captivity were to take up a curse against similar impostors, and to say, "The Lord make thee like Zedekiah, and like Ahab, whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire" (Jer. xxix. 22).

itself in the attempt to coerce all those with whom he came in contact to worship the gods of his own adoration. With this view he spared neither bribes nor torture. He conceived the insane idea of Hellenizing a nation proverbially inflexible in its religious sentiments, and received the superb answer: "Be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up." It would, indeed, be difficult to find parallels more closely fitting with each other than those which may be drawn between the Babylonian and the Syrian tyrants. The dedication of the golden image on the plain of Dura corresponds to the dedication of the temple to Jupiter Olympius; and the compulsory worship of the three children to similar religious coercion in the village of Modin. The destruction of the men who execute the king's commands reappears in the slaughter by Mattathias of the king's commissioner; and the escape of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego from the burning fiery furnace, in that of Mattathias and his sons into the mountains. The faithfulness of the martyrs of the age of Daniel is reproduced in the steadfastness of those of the days of Antiochus; and the reward of those who were "promoted in the province of Babylon" exceeded by the promise of a "better resurrection." In a word, it would appear simply impossible to account for the reiterated descriptions of patient endurance under trial and glorious deliverance out of trouble, which run like a thread throughout the book of Daniel, except on the hypothesis that circumstances had arisen demanding the exercise of similar endurance, and fostering the hope of similar deliverance.

The moral, worthy of all consideration, to be learnt from the history of these parallel persecutors, is that intolerance not unfrequently defeats its own ends, and weakens the cause it desires to uphold. Nay, the lesson reaches to our own times, bidding us "for the truth's sake" condemn the threats and learn the impotency of a blind ecclesiolatry on the one hand, or an ignorant bibliolatry on the other; asserting our sacred and indefeasible right to worship the God of our fathers in "perfect freedom," and conceding to others the privilege we claim for ourselves.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S MADNESS.

The encyclical¹ letter contained in chap. iv., expressive of contrition and deep humility, and addressed by Nebuchadnezzar to "all people, nations, and languages that dwell in all the earth," represents that monarch condemned, on account of his pride, to lose his reason, and to become a monomaniac for a period of seven years. At the expiration of this time, during which his vast empire is left without a ruler, a circumstance unnoticed by sacred or profane historians, his reason is said to be restored to him, and he resumes the government of his kingdom. The machinery made use of by the writer to describe this extraordinary event is similar to that before employed. The king, as in chap. ii., dreams a dream, which none of the wise men of Babylon can interpret.²

¹ The fourth chapter appears to have the form of a letter addressed by Nebuchadnezzar to all the subjects of his vast empire. It is prefixed in the LXX. with the words Ἀρχὴ Τῆς Ἐπιστολῆς. The three first verses are not found in the LXX., and are marked as doubtful by Theodotion.

² "Hic ut supra, ii. 13, non abs re quæritur, cur Daniel, quum tantam ex interpretatione somniorum celebritatem jam esset indeptus i 20-ii. 47, non primus

He sees a "tree¹ in the midst of the earth" (comp. Ezek. xxxi.) whose height was great, and reached unto heaven. In the "visions of his head upon his bed" he also sees "a watcher² and an holy one coming down from heaven, and saying, Hew the tree down, and destroy it; yet leave the stump of the roots thereof in the earth, even with a band of iron and brass, in the tender grass of the field; and let it be wet with the dew of heaven, and let his portion be with the beasts of the field, till seven times pass over him" (iv. 23). Daniel is then sent for to give the interpretation. He explains the tree of the king himself, whose greatness had grown and reached unto heaven. The hewing down of the tree, and the stump left in the earth till seven times should pass over it, is interpreted of the deposition of Nebuchadnezzar from his sovereignty and his loss of reason for a period of seven years; at the end of which time, when his pride should be sufficiently abased, his reason should return to him, and he should be again established in his kingdom. "All this (says the sacred narrative) came upon the king Nebuchadnezzar. At the end of twelve months he

omnium, vel saltem una cum Chaldæis interpretandi somnii causâ ad regem vocatus fuerit."—ROSENMÜLLER.

"Quod autem prius Chaldæos interrogasse rex dicitur, ratio est, quod sapientia Danielis ita magis explendescibat."

¹ "Ceterum of quod Xerxi expeditionem in Græciam suscepturo obtigisse dicitur somnium apud Herodot. 7-19, ubi tertiam regi per somnium oblatam visionem magos narrat interpretatos esse ad universam spectare terram, significareque, homines omnes servos ei futuros. Fuisse eam visionem hujusmodi. Visum esse sibi Xerxem coronari oleæ fronde, ramosque oleæ universam occupare terram, deinde vero evanescere coronam capiti impositam."—MAURER.

² "Et ecce, vigil, *isquis sanctus*, de cælo descendebat Scholion codicis Alexandrini apud Theodot: Τὸ δὲ εἶρ (*hir*) οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἀγγελιοφόρος καὶ ἀγρυπνός ἐρμηνεύεται—nomen angelorum, quippe qui rem ipsis creditam custodiunt."—MAURER.

walked in the palace of the kingdom of Babylon. The king spake, and said, Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty? While the word was in the king's mouth, there fell a voice from heaven, saying, O king Nebuchadnezzar, to thee it is spoken; The kingdom is departed from thee, and they shall drive thee from men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field: they shall make thee to eat grass as oxen, and seven times shall pass over thee, until thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will" (iv. 28-32).

With a view of illustrating the greatness of this greatest of Babylonian monarchs, we shall give a brief outline of the glory of his conquests, the glory of his kingdom, and the glory of the man.

1. "In Nebuchadnezzar (says Dr. Pusey) the Babylonian monarchy reached its meridian. It had risen in the twenty years of his father Nabopolassar; its greatness culminated in his own forty-three years." Jeremiah thus describes his unlimited empire: "I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by my great power and by my outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto me. And now have I given all these lands into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon, my servant; and the beasts of the field have I given him also to serve him. And all nations shall serve him, and his son, and his son's son, until the very time of his land come; and then many nations and great kings shall serve themselves of him" (xxvii. 5-7). He appears to have been

the "hammer" in the hands of the Almighty workman to break and bruise the rebellious families of the then known world—a fact sufficiently confirmed by the testimony of Philostratus, Berosus, Josephus, and Megasthenes. Not, however, to multiply quotations, we need not wander from the book itself for proof of the universality of his wide-spread dominion: "The most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour: and for the majesty that he gave him, all people, nations, and languages, trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive; and whom he would he set up; and whom he would he put down" (v. 18, 19).

2. If from the consideration of his conquests abroad we turn to his magnificence at home, we find additional tokens of his almost superhuman greatness. The city ruled by this splendid autocrat was one of the wonders of old time. It is called by Isaiah, "The glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency . . . the golden city . . . which said in her heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God" (xiii. 19; xiv. 4-13). Jeremiah describes it as "The hammer of the whole earth . . . the golden cup in the Lord's hand that made all the earth drunken . . . dwelling upon many waters, abundant in treasures" (l. 23; li. 7-13). Herodotus, who, however, had never seen Babylon, says that its walls were sixty miles in circumference, of sufficient breadth to allow six chariots to drive abreast, and that it had one hundred gates of brass. Among the objects of interest was the Royal Palace repaired by Nebuchadnezzar, on the roof of which

he walked when the arrogant expression (iv. 30) escaped his lips. Adjoining to the palace were the celebrated hanging gardens, built, it is said, on terraces one above another, till they attained the height of the walls. "Conquest (says Dr. Pusey) was the least part of the glory of Nebuchadnezzar. He must have had the command of well-nigh unlimited human strength to accomplish his works. . . . His capital was guarded by those stupendous walls, whose giant height, enclosing a space of above one hundred and thirty square miles, secured the provisioning as well as the defence of the city. Embankments on the Persian gulf against the irruption of the sea; a reservoir for irrigation, forty parasangs (about one hundred and thirty-eight miles) in circumference, and about twenty fathoms deep; navigable canals, one of which, the Nahr Malka (king's river) still retains its name; enormous embankments along the Euphrates, of which that at Bagdad exists to this day; besides the rebuilding of almost all the cities of upper Babylonia, "upon the bricks of which scarcely any other name is found," attest the practical concern of the great conqueror for the well-being of his realm."

3. If to the glory of his conquests and his kingdom we add that of the man himself, "surpassing (according to Megasthenes) Hercules in valour and in the greatness of his deeds:" half-human, half-divine; invested with irresponsible power, and intrusted with the lives and fortunes of the greater part of the human race; we may easily conceive that it was hardly possibly to bear with equanimity his almost unearthly elevation. Who could have looked round as he did upon his splendid capital,

every stone of which was inscribed with the name of the great king? Who could have reflected, as he must have done, upon his varied military and political achievements? Who could have compelled religious adoration which no subject throughout his vast empire dared refuse, without a consciousness that he was more than mortal, and that he had been raised to the level of the gods?

But the fiat went forth to abase his pride, and it is remarkable that his punishment contrasted signally with his offence. A short time ago his sceptre was the sceptre of the habitable world, his throne the throne of a god, and not of a man, and his power as illimitable as his inexhaustible empire. Now he is placed in the most pitiable of all conditions in which humanity can be placed; the most abject captive in his overgrown dominions is his superior. Instead of the form erect, the eye uplifted, the mind beaming through the countenance; a beast's heart is given to the human frame; he is degraded to the vacant and crouching maniac; herding with cattle, and eating grass like oxen; his body wet with the dews of heaven; his hairs like eagle's feathers, and his nails like bird's claws.

The foundation of this marvellous¹ account is probably

¹ It appears strange that so remarkable an event as the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar should have been passed over in silence by all post-exile writers, as well as by those numerous profane historians, who have recorded so many of the deeds of the great king; and that Berosus, who does mention his death, should have simply stated *in his usual* manner* that Nebuchadnezzar fell sick and died. Indeed, so improbable did the contents of this chapter appear to the Church of former times, that they resorted to an allegorical interpretation. The fall of the king from the height of regal dignity to the level of the brute creation, typified in their estimation

* 'Εμπεσων 'εις 'αρρωστιαν μετηλλαζάτο τὸν βίον.'—BEROSUS.

to be traced to a fragment of Abydenus, which the latter copied from Megasthenes, preserved by Eusebius.¹ After describing the conquests of Libya and Iberia by Nebuchadnezzar, the writer relates that whilst walking on the roof of his palace he was seized with a divine inspiration, and predicted the conquest of Babylon

“Satan, as lightning falling down from heaven” (Luke x. 18); or the dragon cast out into the earth, and drawing with him the third part of the stars of heaven (Rev. xii.). It was also deemed incredible that a man should be fed on grass for seven years, living for that period among beasts without injury, and that the throne should be kept vacant for a madman for so long a time. Jerome, however, finds fault with such incredulity, and argues that the circumstance of a man being changed into a beast is not so marvellous as that of men being changed into flowers, and trees, and stars, and stones, according to ancient mythology. It is possible indeed to conceive that the madness of Nebuchadnezzar may be resolved into a rare disease called lycanthropy, in which the sufferers imagined themselves changed into wolves, and imitated their cries; but it is more difficult to believe that the period over which the malady of the heathen prince extended should be “seven” years, “seven” being a Jewish number of perfection, and inapplicable to the circumstances of a heathen monarch. Compare the command to heat the furnace “one-seven times more than it was wont to be heated” put by the writer into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar.

¹ “Ego vero in eâ quam Abydenus de Assyriorum scripsit historiâ de Nabuchodonosore hæc, ait, reperi. Megasthenes, inquit, auctor est, Nabuchodrosorum Herculi ipsi fortitudine atque animo præstitisse, atque in Libyam et Iberiam impetu facto utriusque jam domitæ colonias in dextram Ponti plagam deportasse. Quibus peractis, Chaldæi ferunt, eum reversum in regiam sedem (*αβαβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα*, quod vulgo reddunt; conscenso palatio) divinitus repente afflatus quod sequitur oraculum effudisse. Ille ego Nabuchodrosorus, O Babylonii, imminentem vobis calamitatem prænuntio, quam Parceis ut averruncet nec Belus, generis nostri auctor, nec regina Beltis persuadere unquam poterunt. Persicus veniet mulus, qui dæmonum vestrorum usus auxilio, durum cervicibus vestris jugum imponet. Atque hujus cladis auctor etiam Medus quidam erit, quo ante Assyrii magnopere gloriabantur. O utinam ipse, prius quam cives ita meos proderet, aut Charybdi quâdam aut profundo pelago haustus atque absorptus periret, aut alias abreptus inviâ per solitudines erro vagaretur, ubi nullius neque urbis neque homines vestigium appareat, sed feræ duntaxat liberæ pascantur volucresque circumvolent, adeoque solus medios inter scopulos ac voragines jactaretur—Mihî quoque priusquam hæc ei tam nefaria mens injecta sit, feliciorum exitum sortiri liceat. Hæc effatus hominum ex oculis repente sublatus evanuit. . . . Ac rursus, non nullis interjectis, Nabuchodonosorus, inquit, regno potitus Babylonem intra quindecim dierum spatium triplici muro cinxit, atque Armacalem, Acracanamque fluvios ab Euphrate ortos alio derivavit. Tum Sipparenorum urbis in gratiam paludem fodit cujus ambitus parasangas quadraginta altitudo vero ulnas viginti obtineret. . . . palatiumque suum arboribus consitis, pensiles hortos vocabat, exornavit.”—Præp. Evang., ix. 41.

by a Persian mule, whose associate should be a Mede. When he had delivered this oracular saying he disappeared. Abydenus states that subsequently Nebuchadnezzar, *after he had again received his kingdom*, surrounded Babylon with a triple wall in fifteen days, turned the course of the rivers Armacale and Acracanus, dug a reservoir of forty parasangs in circumference, and twenty fathoms deep, above the city of the Sippareni, and adorned the grounds of his palace with magnificent hanging gardens. Eusebius supposes this to have been the occasion when, walking on the roof of his palace, and beholding the great works he had accomplished, he uttered the presumptuous exclamation, "Is not this great Babylon, that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"

It is difficult to say to what extent the history of the madness of Nebuchadnezzar may be traced to this somewhat parallel account. The enumeration of his magnificent embellishments by the heathen writer may be thought to agree, although with some variation, with the impious boast recorded by the prophet; whilst the sudden disappearance (*ηφάνιστο*) mentioned by the former, may correspond with the equally sudden deposition ("in the same hour") given by the latter. Some have even supposed a kind of insanity implied in the oracular prediction (*θεσπίσας*) which he is said to have uttered; such foresight being attributed formerly to a state of mind under demoniacal influence. Altogether as the traditions stand in Abydenus and Daniel, they "sound like reminiscences" of the same events delivered

from different points of view: the heathen historian relating the circumstances in a manner suited to his pagan conception; the Jewish writer referring them to those general laws of divine government which are never lost sight of in this book.

And in selecting this subject from the annals of the captivity, the writer may have wished to draw a parallel between the circumstances of the Babylonian and Syrian monarchs. The pride of the one at the sight of his splendid capital would seem reproduced in the presumption of the other who thought "he could reach to the stars of heaven:" the heaven-sent madness of the former finds a counterpart in the frantic conduct of the latter, who obtained the *sobriquet* of *Ἐπιμανῆς*, the madman: the humble confession of the first, "They that walk in pride he is able to abase," is repeated almost verbatim in the similar acknowledgment of the second, "It is meet to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself as if he were God;" whilst the encyclical letter of Nebuchadnezzar, expressive of repentance, and addressed to all people, and nations, and languages, is answered by the contrite letters written by Antiochus to the Jews, "containing the form of a supplication" (2 Macc. ix.). And a character more suited to the writer's purpose could not have been found in the range of sacred history; the circumstances of Nebuchadnezzar corresponding more closely with those of Antiochus than with those of any other persecutor of the holy people. The former invaded Judea, destroyed the temple, carried away the holy vessels, compelled the captive Jews to forsake their

own religion, and to worship the golden image which he had set up. These abominations are repeated by the latter in an aggravated form. Again is Judea invaded by the "armies of the aliens," the temple violated, the holy vessels plundered, and the Jews compelled to forsake the worship of Jehovah for that of Roman (or Grecian) deities. A parallelism so complete and harmonious was not to be lightly passed by. Our prophet, therefore, with an admirable discretion, preferred the times of Nebuchadnezzar to those of Sennacherib, or any other invader, as more fully illustrative of the calamities he wished to describe; made the legends which the prolonged period of the exile doubtless furnished in great abundance,¹ the foundation of his spirit-stirring

¹ The legends of the captivity not recorded in the canonical Scriptures are:—
 1. The history of Bel and the Dragon. 2. Susanna and the elders. 3. The song of the three holy children. 4. The epistle of Jeremy. 5. The prayer of Manasses. 6. The burning of Zedekiah and Ahab. 7. The story of the prophet Habbakuk bringing the dinner to Daniel in the lion's den. 8. The prediction and sudden disappearance of Nebuchadnezzar, recorded by Abydenus. 9. The tower built by Daniel at Ecbatana (Ant. x. 11). Nor is it to be wondered at that traditions should have arisen during the eventful sojourn in Babylon, it being only natural that so long a period should not have been passed over without memorial. The foundation of some of these would appear to be taken from some of the elder prophets. The history of Bel and the Dragon owes its unmistakable origin to the words of Jeremiah, "I will punish Bel in Babylon, and will bring forth out of his mouth that which he has swallowed up" (li. 44). The "burning fiery furnace" may perhaps be traced to a similar punishment inflicted on Zedekiah and Ahab, "whom the king of Babylon roasted in the fire" (Jer. xxix. 22). The great tree of which the leaves were fair, and under the shadow of which all the fowls of the heaven dwelt, which was hewn down (chap. iv.) may derive its source from the magnificent imagery of Ezekiel:—"Behold the Assyrian was a cedar in Lebanon, with fair branches, and with a shadowing shroud, and of an high stature . . . all the fowls of heaven made their nests in his boughs . . . and under his shadow dwelt all great nations . . . upon the mountains and in all the valleys his branches are fallen . . . and all the people of the earth have gone down from his shadow, and have left him . . . to the end that none of all the trees by the waters, exalt themselves for their height" (xxxii.). The same thing may be said of the story of Daniel in the lions' den, traceable to the somewhat similar circumstances of Joseph in the pit, or Jeremiah in the dungeon.

and patriotic episodes ; encouraged his countrymen, by the recollection of former deliverances, to resist to the death the attempts upon their civil and religious freedom ; and sent forth his true-hearted appeal under the name and authority of a revered prophet of his nation ; thus securing a consideration for his subject which he could not have otherwise obtained.

CHAPTER III.

DANIEL UNDER BELSHAZZAR AND DARIUS.

BELSHAZZAR'S FEAST.

“BELSHAZZAR¹, the king, made a great feast to a thousand (LXX. 2000) of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand,” or over against² the thousand. A similar feast, extending over a period of one hundred and eighty days, was made “unto all his princes and his

¹ The identity of Belshazzar has long been a matter of dispute. He is called in this chapter the “son” of Nebuchadnezzar, and the latter is continually spoken of as his father (v. 2, 11, 13, 18); but Evil-Merodach succeeded Nebuchadnezzar in the kingdom (Jer. lii. 31), and the time of Babylon’s capture is fixed by the same prophet in the third generation from Nebuchadnezzar—“All nations shall serve him and his son, and his son’s son, until the very time of his land come” (Jer. xxvii. 7). To this, however, it may be answered, that in Hebrew “father denotes ancestor,” and “son,” descendant; and that no word is found to express “grandson.” “When Evil-Merodach was dead,” says Josephus, “after a reign of eighteen years, Niglissar (or Neriglissar) his son took the government, and retained it forty years, and then ended his life. And after him the succession in the kingdom came to his son Laborsordacus, who continued in it in all but nine months; and when he was dead it came to Baltasar, who, by the Babylonians, was called Naboardelus; against him did Cyrus, king of Persia, and Darius, king of Media, make war” (Ant. x. 11). According to some, Belshazzar, or Naboardelus, is identical with the Nabonnedus of Berosus, or Labynetus, as he is mis-called, the Nabonadius of Ptolemy, and the Nabonedochus of Megasthenes. Others, again, have supposed that Belshazzar was the son of Nabonnedus, and associated with him in the kingly office at Babylon, where he was slain at the taking of the city by the Medes and Persians, whilst his father escaped to Borsippa. This hypothesis is thought to be supported by cuneiform inscriptions giving the name of Belshazzar, or Bil-shar-uzur, to the eldest son of Nabonnedus; and also by the circumstance that Belshazzar desired to confer upon Daniel the office of “the third ruler in the kingdom;” a position somewhat shaken by the mention in the following chapter, of the “three presidents, of whom Daniel was *first*,” as well as rendered needless by the dignity of the Queen-Mother.

² “Adsidentibus iis: quod non nisi diebus maxime solemniter celebratis fieri solebat: alias enim rex seorsus a proceribus epulabatur.”—MAURER.

servants, the power of Persia and Media, the nobles and princes of the provinces," by Ahasuerus (Esth. i. 3). This feast may have been made in honour of some of the gods¹ of Babylon, for it is said that "they drank wine, and praised the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." This banquet was distinguished from others of similar character by a deed of wanton impiety. "Belshazzar, whiles he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the gold and silver vessels which his father Nebuchadnezzar had taken out of the temple which was in Jerusalem, that the king and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, might drink therein." It is noticeable that "whiles he tasted the wine," (*ἔνυψόμενος ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴνου*, LXX. "jam temulentus," vulg.) immersed in one of those drunken orgies for which Babylon was famous, the sacrilegious thought occurred to him to send for the holy vessels, which his great ancestor had plundered from the temple at Jerusalem. Josephus informs us that "Nebuchadnezzar had taken them out of the temple at Jerusalem, but had not made use of them, but had put them into his own temple." Now, for the first time, they are brought from the spot where they had been kept with superstitious reverence, and are desecrated by libations poured in honour of the Babylonian deities. We may suppose the feast to have been of no ordinary kind, but one upon

¹ Such festivals were probably common in Babylonia. On the cylinder of Esarhaddon he is represented as making a similar feast at Sidon to Asshur, the great god of Assyria. Nor do they appear to have been altogether unknown to the Romans.

"Hic cum Romuleos proceres trabeataque Cæsar

Agmina mille simul jussit discumbere mensis,"

Statius Silvar, 4, 2, 32.—DE DOMITIANO.

which the splendour of the mightiest dynasty of the world was lavished. The purple of Tyre, the gold and silver of Jerusalem, the treasures of Nineveh, the hieroglyphs of Egypt, the panelled walls sparkling with blue and vermilion, each sculptured slab recording the deeds of "the great king, the king of Assyria," added lustre to the scene. Fair forms, moreover, gave grace and comeliness to the gorgeous festival, whose surpassing beauty yet lingers in the neighbouring regions of Syria, Circassia, and Georgia. Loud pæans were chanted in honour of the "gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone;" and yet louder swelled the bacchanal as the holy vessels were produced from the depository where piety had placed them, and lips maddened with wine shouted praise to the dumb idols "which can neither walk, nor hear, nor see, nor smell."

"In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand (the idea would seem borrowed from Ezek. ii. 9, viii. 3) and wrote over against the candlestick (the feast was made at night, v. 30) upon the plaster¹ of the wall, and the king saw the part (the extremity) of the hand that wrote." The words traced by these superhuman fingers are three in number; the first being repeated possibly by way of emphasis. "MENE; God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. TEKEL; thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. PERES; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians"—to the Mede and to the Persian. This last word,

¹ In the palace of Sennacherib, at Nineveh, chambers were discovered, whose walls were coated with plaster like those of the banqueting house at Babylon.—LAYARD.

especially in its plural form ΠΗΡΣΙΝ, bearing an evident affinity to "Persians." A short message,¹ it is true, but one of awful significance to that impious monarch: for "in that night;" that night of wanton insult and bold defiance of the Majesty of heaven; that night of gross licentiousness and revolting intemperance; the narrative says (although the contrary² is stated by Berosus) "was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain."

This description of the taking of Babylon during a time of frantic revelry may be considered as a dramatic representation of a real fact, given with such additions as would be likely to arise after a lapse of four hundred years from the original transaction. History abundantly testifies that while this banquet was going on within the walls, the armies of the Medes and Persians, united to those of various other nations, were encamped without. These had besieged the city in vain for more than two years. From their gigantic walls, more like the bul-

¹ Josephus thus explains the writing—" *Maneh* : this, if it be expounded in the Greek language, may signify αριθμός, a number; because God hath numbered so long a time for thy life and thy government, and there remains but a small portion. *Thekel* : this signifies σταθμός, a weight; and means that God hath weighed thy kingdom in a balance, and finds it going down already. *Phares* : this, also, in the Greek tongue denotes κλάσμα, a fragment; God will therefore break thy kingdom in pieces, and divide it among the Medes and Persians" (Ant. x. 11). "*Mane* : it is numbered; *Phares* : it is taken away; *Thekel* : it is weighed. This is the interpretation of the writing:—Is numbered, the time of thy kingdom; thy kingdom ceaseth, is cut short, is accomplished; thy kingdom is given to the Medes and Persians" (LXX.). "Et hoc est scriptum quod signatum est. *Numeratum*, *Numeratum*, *Pensum*, et *Partientis*. Hæc est interpretatio verbi illius. *Numeratum* : numeravit Deus imperium tuum idque consummavit: certum aunorum, quibus, durare deberet, numerum imperio tuo constituit, isque jam plenus est. *Pensum* : pensus es in trutinâ, et inventus deficiens, s. mancus, i.e., justo levior. *Partitum* : partitum est regnum tuum, et datum est Medo et Persæ."—MAURER.

² "Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον." Berosus, "Cui (Nabonedocho) Cyrus, Babylone captâ, Carmania principatum dedit." Megasthenes apud.—EUSEB., Præp. 9.41.

works of nature than the ramparts of men, the Babylonians derided their invaders. Such was the fertility of the soil, that to reduce the place by famine was impossible; and added to this, they had provisions stored up for twenty years. The most probable method of taking such a stronghold was by stratagem, and this was accordingly resorted to. The Euphrates, a quarter of a mile broad and twelve feet deep, ran through the centre of Babylon; a trench had been dug round the city for the purpose of blockade, and into this the waters of the Euphrates were turned, leaving the bed of the river dry. As soon as the waters had ceased to flow in their accustomed channel, Cyrus commanded his soldiers to descend into the dry bed of the river, and the troops passed by this novel route into the very heart of Babylon, thus fulfilling the words of Jeremiah, "A drought is upon her waters, and they shall be dried up" (Jer. l. 38), "I will dry up her sea, and make her springs dry" (li. 36). The Medo-Persian soldiers, slaying some and putting others to flight, hastened to the palace, and reached it before tidings had arrived that the city was taken. So sudden and unexpected was the assault, that we are told the extreme parts of the city were in the hands of the enemy before those in the middle of it knew their danger. Another account says that Babylon had been taken three days before some parts were aware of it. The gates of the palace, which were strongly fortified, were shut. The guards before them were drinking beside a blazing light when the Persians sprang in upon them. The noise reached the ears of the king inside the palace, and not aware of the presence of the enemy, he

ordered the guards to open the gates. The Persians rushed in. "The king of Babylon heard the report of them; and his hands waxed feeble: anguish took hold of him, and pangs as of a woman in travail" (comp. v. 6). He, and all about him, perished. "How is Sheshach taken: how is the praise of the whole earth surprised" (Jer. l. 43, li. 41).

As the deliverance of the captive Jews was the immediate result of the taking of Babylon, it is no wonder that an event so full of interest to the holy people should occupy a prominent place in their literature. The majestic procession of forty thousand Jews across the wilderness, aided by all the power of the Persian king; the rebuilding of the temple at the expense of "Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes" (Ezra vi. 14); the restoration of the sacred vessels plundered by Nebuchadnezzar; the coming of their Gentile deliverers to worship at Jerusalem when they "sent unto the house of God Sharezer and Regemmelech and their men to pray before the Lord" (Zech. vii. 2), are, as might be expected, favourite topics of ancient prophecy. Then, according to the gospel of the return preached by the Deutero-Isaiah, was there a voice heard, saying "Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans depart ye, depart ye, go ye out from thence, touch no unclean thing; go ye out of the midst of her; be ye clean that bear the vessels of the Lord; for ye shall not go out with haste, nor go by flight; for the Lord will go before you, and the God of Israel will be your reward" (Isa. xlviii. 20; lii. 11-12). "Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee . . .

and the Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising . . . And the sons of strangers shall build up thy walls (com. Zech. vi. 15), and their kings shall minister unto thee . . . the sons also of them that afflicted thee shall come bending unto thee . . . thou shalt also suck the milk of the Gentiles, and shalt suck the breast of kings . . . and they shall bring all your brethren for an offering unto the Lord out of all nations upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord" (Isa. lx.-lxvi. 20); and the city shall be "built upon her own heap," and their governor (Zerubbabel) "proceed out of the midst of them." Glorious things are spoken by that prophet, whoever he may have been, of that season of springing freshness when the redeemed of the Lord "went out of Babylon with joy, and were led forth with peace; the mountains and the hills breaking before them into singing, and all the trees of the field clapping their hands." Around that captivity and that return is entwined an immortal wreath of spiritual song, whose deep poetic fervour is not unfrequently deemed too intense to shadow forth a merely temporal deliverance, and is applied, but without reason, to the future glories of the heavenly kingdom.

It is conceived that the foundation of this dramatic representation is to be found in the description given by Jeremiah of the sudden capture of Babylon by the Medes and Persians, at a season of furious revelry, during which "her princes, *and her wise men*, her captains, and her rulers, and her mighty men," should be

made "drunken," and should sleep a perpetual sleep, and not wake" (Jer. li. 39-57). As the "cedar in Lebanon" (Ezek. xxxi.) possibly supplied the basis of the great tree, hewn down, of Dan. iv.; so the prophecy of Jeremiah may have furnished the materials out of which the writer drew his highly-wrought yet fundamentally truthful narrative. It is within the reach of probability that the original Daniel, then a captive in Babylon, "knowing by books the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet, that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem" (ix. 2) may have announced to the last reigning monarch that the period was fast drawing to a close; that God had numbered the years of his kingdom and finished it; that he stood upon the verge of the approaching crisis; that "the Persian mule, aided by his associate, the Mede," stood even then outside the walls of his city, and that the very "time of his land had come."

The costume and imagery under which this simple idea is conveyed—the banquet to the thousand lords; the profanation of the holy vessels; the mysterious handwriting upon the wall; the ghastly terror of Belshazzar when "the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against another;" his frantic appeal to the wise men of Babylon to decipher the characters when "the king cried aloud (fortiter) to bring in the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers;" their inability, as in chapters ii. and iv., to comply with the king's request; the advice of the

queen,¹ who, in defiance of etiquette,² (Esth. i. 12) appears at the banquet, and recommends that Daniel should be summoned, who seems to have been entirely forgotten although made master of the magicians by Nebuchadnezzar; the bribe held out to him that if he could interpret the writing he should be made third ruler³ in the kingdom; the tone of lofty reprobation taken by the prophet, reminding us of Elijah before Ahab, the Baptist before Herod, or Eleazar before Antiochus; his stern reproof of the overweening pride of Belshazzar; his indignation at the profane use of the sacred vessels; his fearless interpretation of the fated words, not knowing whether a meaning so adverse to the existing dynasty might not be turned against himself; these, it is thought, may either be regarded as accretions to the narrative of Jeremiah, natural enough when the lapse of years is taken into account, or helps to finish out a picture not altogether alien from the character of a symbolic book.

And in recasting the prophecy of Jeremiah into its present form the Maccabean editor, according to his usual custom, seems to have referred pointedly to the circumstances of his own age. The rare and peculiar

¹ The queen does not appear to have been the wife of Belshazzar, his wives being already mentioned (vv. 2, 3, 23), but the widow of Nebuchadnezzar. She calls to the king's recollection the interpretations given by Daniel "*in the days of his father*," and her words have a tone of command. Added to this, she is called the king's "grandmother" by Josephus.

² Vashti's refusal to appear at the banquet of Ahasuerus was founded (says Josephus) upon the Persian laws. "She, out of regard to the laws of the Persians, which forbid the wives to be seen by strangers, did not go to the king."—*Ant.* xi. 6.

³ Josephus mentions that Belshazzar "caused it to be proclaimed through all the country" (*Ant.* x. 11); a proceeding which of itself would seem to require more than one night for its accomplishment.

offence of Belshazzar was impiety. Out of mere wantonness of insult to the Majesty on High he commanded the holy vessels to be introduced at his licentious feast. There could have been no temptation to commit this sacrilege. It was a profound and meditated reproach to the God of heaven. A similar act of wanton impiety was perpetrated by Antiochus when he set up the abomination which maketh desolate above the altar. It was a gratuitous and inexcusable provocation of Deity. It appears to have been done solely on the ground of insult to the God of heaven as well as to the religious feelings of the Jewish people, swine's flesh being an unclean offering forbidden by their law. In his obstinacy, moreover, as well as in his impiety, Belshazzar was no inapt type of his Syrian imitator. Aware of the punishment which had overtaken his renowned ancestor on account of his pride, he carried his presumption to still greater lengths. The neglect of the warning given by the deposition of Nebuchadnezzar is prominent in the rebuke administered by the prophet: "Thou, his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, though thou knewest all this; but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of heaven; and they have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver, and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know: and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified" (ch. v. 22, 23). The obstinacy of the Babylonian finds a counterpart in that of the Syrian offender. He, too, neglected

the warning given by the fate of his father (comp. 2 Macc. ix. 23), the Great Antiochus, who perished ignominiously in the attempt to plunder the temple of Belus in Elymais. He, too, "lifted up himself against the Lord of heaven." He, too, laid impious hands upon the holy vessels of the temple, and "entered proudly into the sanctuary, and took away the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread, and the pouring vessels, and the vials, and the censers of gold, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden ornaments that were before the temple, all which he pulled off: he also took the silver, and the gold, and the precious vessels; also he took the hidden treasures which he found; and when he had taken all away he went into his own land" (1 Macc. i. 21-24). To these points of resemblance may be added that of the sudden fate which overtook Belshazzar, slain "in that night" of licentious revelry and wanton impiety, corresponding with the equally sudden end of Antiochus struck down by a divine judgment in the act of providing means for carrying on his iniquitous campaign against the Jews.

From the comparison instituted between these leaders of impiety it will be seen that their respective circumstances present a singular conformity with each other; the type fitting so closely to its antitype as to leave room for the impression that the writer drew an imaginary Belshazzar in Antiochus. But an imaginary Belshazzar would also include an imaginary Nebuchadnezzar; and whatever suspicion may attach to the former, the history of the latter is too deeply interwoven with that of the

holy people to admit of any question. The historical character, moreover, of the book would appear fatal to the introduction of a fictitious personage into the story, although it is possible that extraneous matter may have been added to the original traditions, an act which the lapse of years may have effected of itself. We are disposed to think that the Chaldee annals supplied our author with materials more suited to his purpose than the clumsy forgery of pseudo-Babylonian kings; and when to this it is added that one season of religious tyranny would naturally be like another, a reason may be found why the Babylonian should have been selected as the type of the Syrian persecution, and why the spirit-stirring tales of the captivity should have been chosen to stimulate the patience and to revive the hopes of the martyrs of later times.

DANIEL UNDER DARIUS.

“It pleased Darius¹ to set over the kingdom an hundred and twenty princes,” (LXX. “an hundred and

¹ The question of the identity of “Darius, the Median,” like that of Belshazzar, is one which has occupied the best attention of rival critics, but for which no solution seems likely to be found. According to Scripture (ix. 1) he is “the son of Ahasuerus of the seed of the Medes;” according to Josephus and Xenophon he is the son of Astyages. Eminent scholars of the past and present day have identified him with Cyaxares II., the uncle and father-in-law of Cyrus, with whom he was associated in the conquest of Babylon; a view confirmed by Josephus, who says that Babylon was taken by “Darius, the son of Astyages, who had another name among the Greeks.”—*Ant.* x. 11.

“Darius vero ille Medus qui infra xi. 1, vocatur Darius Achasveri filius de semine Medorum,” aliùs intelligi nequit quam Cyaxares II. (Xenophontis) Medorum rex, filius Astyagis, Cyri avunculus et mox socer, cujus auspiciis bellum gestum erat contra Assyrios qui dicuntur sive Babylonios. Cyaxares hic, hujus nominis secundus, successit Belschazari, qui est Labyuitus junior Herodoti, Nabonidus Berosi, et Abydeni.”—ROSENMULLER.

twenty and seven satraps ;” comp. Esth. i. 1), “ which should be over the whole kingdom ; and over these three presidents ; of whom Daniel was first : that the princes might give accounts unto them, and the king should have no damage. Then this Daniel was preferred above the presidents and princes, because an excellent spirit was in him ; and the king thought to set him over the whole realm” (vi. 1-3).

Hitherto Daniel has appeared on the scene of public affairs only in great emergencies. He is summoned to interpret the dream of Nebuchadnezzar (ch. ii.), and in consequence of his successful reading of the future is made “ chief of the governors over all the wise men of Babylon.” In his capacity of “ master of the magicians” he repeats his hermeneutical skill (ch. iv.), “ is astonished for an hour, and his thoughts trouble him,” but his distress is occasioned by the nature of the mystery he is called to unravel and not by any want of ability to disclose it. It seems somewhat strange that after attaining a position of such eminence he should have been forgotten in the reign of Belshazzar, for that king asks him evidently as a comparative stranger : “ Art thou that Daniel which art of the children of the captivity of Judah, whom the king my father brought out of Jewry.” With the overthrow of the Babylonian power and the accession of the new dynasty the scene is changed, and the prophet is now represented as having attained a higher position than he has yet reached. Preferred above the Median and Persian princes in consequence of his interpretation of the handwriting upon the wall in a manner favorable to the conquerors, he is promoted to the

office of third¹ ruler of the kingdom, and so excellent is his spirit that it is contemplated to entrust him with the sole administration of the hundred and twenty provinces of that vast empire. His exalted position seems strangely analogous to that of the captive boy who was anciently clothed in the golden robes of the majesty of Egypt. We may almost conceive his royal master saying of him as Pharaoh did of Joseph: "Can we find such a one as this is, a man in whom the spirit of God (an excellent spirit) is; and Pharaoh said unto Joseph, Forasmuch as God hath shewed thee all this, there is none so discreet and wise as thou art: thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou. And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt: and Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck (ch. v. 7), and he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, bow the knee; and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt" (Gen. xli. 38-43). This elevated position was not without its dangers. The presidents and princes of Babylon (LXX. "the two satraps," comp. 1 Esdras iii. 9) indignant at the preference shewn to a Jewish stranger, sought to find occasion against Daniel concerning his administration of public affairs, but his integrity was too conspicuous, to be impeached, "for-

¹ "And Daniel was one of the three men having power above all in the kingdom . . . then the king purposed to set over his whole kingdom Daniel, and the two men whom he set with him, and one hundred and twenty-seven satraps."—LXX.

asmuch as he was faithful neither was there any error¹ or fault found in him." Unable to succeed on the ground of public dishonesty they have recourse to artifice. The Jewish education and religious habits of Daniel were not unknown to them. It was a matter of notoriety that he was a worshipper of the God of heaven, and unable to convict him of political error they hope to obtain a verdict against him concerning the law of his God. The stratagem was well and deeply laid. The Eastern autocrat is persuaded, without any compunction at the thought of interfering with the spiritual liberties of his people, to issue an edict still more unqualified than that of Nebuchadnezzar; the latter compelled his subjects to worship the golden image which he had set up, but the former forbade all worship except his own for thirty days. Possibly, in common with the Persian kings, he regarded himself in the light of a Deity, and thought that prayer to him would be equivalent to prayer to the gods. To use the words of the narrative, "Then these presidents and princes assembled together to the king, and said thus unto him, King Darius, live for ever. All the presidents of the kingdom, the governors, and the princes, the counsellors, and the captains, have consulted together to establish a royal statute, and to make a firm decree, that whosoever shall

¹ The self-praise conspicuous throughout the book is a strong argument against its genuineness (comp. i. 19, 20; v. 11, 12; vi. 3, 4). This laudatory spirit, consistent enough in the mouth of others, is painful on the supposition that Daniel is the author of the book which bears his name. Contrast the humility of Moses, "Who am I that I should go unto Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel out of Egypt" (Ex. iii. 11; iv. 10); or that of Jeremiah, "Ah Lord God, behold, I cannot speak, for I am a child" (Jer. i. 6); or that of the Baptist, "I am (not the Christ; but only) the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Esaias" (John i. 20-23).

ask a petition of any God or man for thirty days, save of thee, O king, he shall be cast into the den of lions. Now, O king, establish the decree, and sign the writing, that it be not changed, according to the law¹ of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not" (ch. vi. 6-8).

"Now when Daniel knew that the writing was signed, he went into his house; and his windows being open in his chamber toward Jerusalem, he kneeled upon his knees three times a day, and prayed, and gave thanks before his God, as he did aforetime" (ch. vi. 10). Solomon's beautiful prayer at the dedication of the temple will explain the position of the prophet praying toward Jerusalem as the Mahometan prays toward Mecca. "If they pray unto thee (when in captivity because of their sin) toward their land, and toward the city which thou hast chosen, and toward the house which I have built for thy name; then hear thou from the heavens, even from thy dwelling place, their prayer and their supplications, and maintain their cause" (2 Chron. vi. 38, 39). It will be noticed that Daniel, like the Psalmist, prays three times

¹ It has been supposed that these expressions of the supreme will of the Median and Persian kings were stamped upon round bricks, afterwards solidly baked, as the best and surest means of preventing any change in the edicts which thus became the unalterable law of the Medes and Persians. Herodotus mentions that the Babylonians were accustomed to have these cylinders constantly with them; and Mr. Layard gives an engraving of one that he found at Nineveh. "The seal (he says) was evidently rolled on the moist clay at the same time as the letters were impressed: the tablet was then placed on the furnace and baked." It is evident that it would be impossible to alter a decree made in this manner, except by the annihilation of the cylinders on which these laws were impressed. Hence the proverbial saying, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not." A further reason for immutability is to be found in the divine attributes given to the Persian kings. "Man claiming to act (says Dr. Pusey) through a divine presence could not afford to appear mistaken or changeable." These decrees were moreover sealed with the king's ring; "for the writing which is written in the king's name, and sealed with the king's ring, may no man reverse" (Esth. viii. 8).

a day, not out of contempt of the royal edict, but because such had been his custom previously. It has been thought by some that this habit of frequent prayer, to which also that of fasting (ch. ix. 3; x. 2, 3) must be added, betokens a period when Pharisaic¹ notions began to be introduced among the Jews. The daily practice of the prophet, taken alone, would perhaps be of little value in establishing such a supposition; viewed, however, in connection with other arguments it becomes important by shewing the existence of an asceticism not developed in earlier books, and thus betraying a theological conception foreign to that of the period of the captivity.

The artifice of the enemies of Daniel succeeded. Watching his conduct during the well-known hours of morning, noonday, and evening devotion, they find "Daniel praying and making supplication before his God," and turning to the worst account the savage immutability of the laws of the Medes and Persians they cause him to be cast into the den of lions.

A den² of lions, preposterous as the idea may seem to

¹ "Exaggerated and excessive notions of the value of prayer betray a later Judaism; not later, however, than what may have been developed in Judaism under the influence of Parsism, a generation or two after the return from Babylon. Thus Daniel prays and makes supplication with windows open towards Jerusalem, though he knew that a royal decree was signed condemning any one that did so to be cast into the den of lions. He mourned and fasted three full weeks (x. 2, 3). A secret was revealed to him in answer to prayer (ii. 19). He also abstained from the king's meat and wine as profane, and lived on pulse (i. 12). . . . An ascetic tendency, which lays undue stress on the externals of religion, was fostered by the strict ritualism that set in after the second temple was built. In Daniel's character and conduct a spirit of this kind appears, not very prominently it is true, but distinctly enough on certain occasions."—DAVIDSON.

² "Fovea leonum constat cavernâ terræ amplâ, quatuor angulorum, intergerino divisa in duobus cubicula. Cui intergerino est janua, quæ superne claudi et patefieri possit. Custodes leonum (qui fere Judæi esse solent) projecto in unum cubiculum pabulo, leones eum in locum eliciunt; quo facto, clausâ cœsuper januâ, alterum

us, appears to have been a common, if not a necessary, appendage to the palace of an Eastern monarch; the noble animals being kept either as executioners for state criminals or for the purpose of hunting, which seems to have been a favorite diversion of the kings of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia. A collection of slabs now in the British Museum,¹ taken from what has been called the lion-chamber at Nineveh, illustrates the use to which a den of lions might be put. With whatever difficulties the miraculous part of this history is encompassed we are not disposed to consider the existence of

cubiculum expurgant. Totum sub divo est nec nisi muro cinctum, ultra quem possis in foveam despicere. In eam nonnunquam capite plectendi projiciuntur.”—**HOSTIUS.**

¹ “ In the Assyrian basement room at the British Museum are the results of the last excavations at Konyunjik The whole of one side of the room is occupied by a long line of slabs representing the hunting sports of the king, the scene of which is evidently the so-called paradise or chase park, maintained for the royal delectation, to which lions captured elsewhere were brought and set free for destruction. The lion hunting was enjoyed with chariots, wherein the king stood with two guards and two charioteers. In the first subject the lions dash after such a party, and attempt to drag the monarch from amongst it. He, with a royal smile of derision upon his face, stands calmly, and as brute after brute assails him passes through their throats a short sword. The lions are always wounded with great arrows, four being the number required to finish each creature, some of whom attempt, although bristling with shafts, to fly at their tormentors as though unwounded. On the first slab a terrible beast had hold on the pole of the chariot, and roaring tries to enter. The guards spear, and the king stabs him with a short sword. The chariot flies, urged by the driver, over the body of a dead lion, a lioness tearing after it. . . . The hunting field seems to have been guarded by lines of soldiers. . . . Within the cincture of the paradise thus defended and defined, we have a representation of the manner in which the noble game was introduced. A great cage made of strong wooden bars, fitted with a door, and made to drag on runners along the ground, is brought in like a sledge. In the cage the beast has been borne from his distant den in the hills that looked over the great plain of the rivers of Assyria. On its top a small cage is attached, in which is the man whose duty is to draw up the barred door for the beast’s release. The little cage is evidently intended for his protection, in case the lion should turn upon him. . . . On the opposite side of the slab the putting to of the horses of the royal chariot is seen one seems restive at the smell or roaring of the lions; the headstrap of the other gets a vigorous tug from a groom. The action of this group is very finely given in its air of preparation and gladness.”—“The last from Nineveh,” *Fraser, Aug.*, 1863.

a den of lions near the king's palace as one of them ; the presence of such a menagerie being as much in accordance with Eastern habits as that of astrologers at the court of the King of Babylon. Neither again are we inclined to endorse the objection that the den or pit into which Daniel was cast admitted neither light nor air to the lions confined in it ; the Hebrew word being the same as that employed in the Targums to denote the pit into which Joseph was cast and the dungeon into which Jeremiah was let down.

The distress of the king at the success of the artifice employed by the enemies of Daniel ; his fruitless attempt to evade the severity of the Medo-Persian laws ; his sleepless night (*pernoctavit incænatus, et concubinas, E. V. instruments of music, non admisit ad se*) ; his early visit to the lion-pit ; his joy at finding Daniel unhurt ; and his command to cast the accusers and their families¹ into the den of the accused, complete the picture as is usual with these highly wrought and finished tales, and give it a lively interest. Josephus, with additional zeal for the marvellous, relates that when Daniel's enemies saw that he had suffered no violence, they gave out that the lions had been filled with food and that therefore Daniel was saved ; and that the king, in abhorrence of their wickedness, gave order that they should throw in a great deal of flesh to the

¹ "Superbi, crudeles, vitæ necisque potestatem in servos et plebeios vindicantes obscuros. Cutes, vivis hominibus, detrahunt particulatim vel solidas. Leges apud eos abominandæ, per quas ob noxam unius omnis propinquitas (vi. 24) perit." Ammian Marcell. xxiii. 6. "Lege cautum erat (apud Macedones) ut propinqui eorum, qui regi insidiati erant, cum ipsis occiderentur" (Curt. vi. 11). [Cf. Josh. vii. 24 ; 2 Sam. xxi. 5.]

lions and that when they had filled themselves Daniel's enemies should be cast into the den" (Ant. x. 11). The experiment, if successful in the first instance, does not appear to have succeeded in the second, for "The king commanded, and they brought those men which had accused Daniel, and they cast them into the den of lions, them, their children, their wives; and the lions had the mastery of them, and brake all their bones in pieces or ever they came at the bottom of the den" (vi. 24). To use the words of Psalm lvii. expressive of deliverance from lion-like adversaries: "God shall send forth his mercy and truth, my soul is among lions They have laid a net for my feet, and pressed down my soul; they have digged a pit for me, and are fallen into the midst of it themselves."

The result of this remarkable deliverance corresponds with those which followed previous interpositions in behalf of the prophet and his companions. Darius makes a "decree to all people, nations, and languages, that in every dominion of his kingdom men tremble and fear before the God of Daniel;"¹ similar to that of Nebuchadnezzar, that "every people, nation, and language, which speak any thing amiss against the God of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, should be cut in pieces, and their houses made a dunghill." These kings, to whom Belshazzar may be added, are also represented at the close of each miraculous occurrence as promoting Daniel to the highest honours, exalting Jehovah above the gods of the heathen, and issuing edicts to their

¹ "I Darius will be a worshipper of him and serve him all my days; for the idols made with hands cannot save as the God of Daniel has redeemed Daniel."—LXX.

numerous subjects (of which no traces are to be found in history) commanding them to reverence the God of Israel.

We are disposed to regard the narrative of Daniel in the lion's den from the same point of view as those which have preceded it, and to suppose that it rests upon an original fact wrought into its present shape by the artistic touches of a later writer. A prophet of the Lord had been previously placed in a somewhat analogous position. The princes of Judah, like the satraps of Media, combine to accuse Jeremiah because of his faithfulness, before king Zedekiah. The weak and timorous king unable, as in the case of Darius, to defeat their object, delivers the prophet into their hands. Availing themselves of the permission afforded, they let down Jeremiah with cords into the dungeon or pit, "in which there was no water but mire . . . where he is like to die for hunger."¹ A servant of the king intercedes on his behalf with Zedekiah, and at the king's command takes *thirty* men (comp. vi. 7), and "passing clouts and rotten rags under his armholes" lifts Jeremiah unhurt out of the pit (Jer. xxxviii.).

The correspondence of this incident in its main features with the narrative related in Daniel is too plain to require comment. With the substitution of Jewish for Medo-Persian scenery, and the prospect of death by hunger instead of by wild beasts, the same tale is told of Jeremiah as of Daniel. It may not therefore be thought improbable

¹ Reference would seem to be made to the hunger experienced by Jeremiah in the pit in the apocryphal story of Habbacuc taking the dinner to Daniel in the lion's den.—See *Bel and the Dragon*.

that the circumstances of the elder prophet formed the basis of the present story, in the same manner as the destruction of Babylon during a time of drunken revelry supplied the foundation of Belshazzar's impious feast. It may be added to this that the writer of Daniel quotes by name the prophecy of Jeremiah, with which he was doubtless thoroughly conversant.

The object of the Maccabean editor in recasting into its present shape an event which the lapse of years may have transferred from Jeremiah or Joseph to Daniel, or which may rest on a basis of its own, is sufficiently apparent. A new Darius had arisen demanding regal deification, "exalting and magnifying himself above every god," and "establishing a royal statute and a firm decree," that whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man, excepting those of his own adoration, should suffer a martyr's death. "He forbade them (says Josephus) to offer those sacrifices which they used to offer to God according to the law he also compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods he also appointed overseers who should compel them to do what he commanded and if there were any sacred book or law found it was destroyed; and those with whom they were found miserably perished also" (Ant. xii. 5). In the face of this command men were found who, like Daniel, regarded not the decree which the king had signed, but who "were fully resolved and confirmed in themselves not to eat any unclean thing, wherefore they choose rather to die . . . that they might not profane the holy covenant; so then they died" (1 Macc. i. 62, 63). And

thrice-blessed and holy martyrs, ye have not died in vain. A sacred light streaming adown the truthful record of your glorious deeds kindles a flame of generous sympathy in every true heart ; and ye stand forth to succeeding ages the revered and undying memorials of principle preferred before expediency, and of piety cherished above life itself.

That portion of the book which may be called the biography of Daniel ends with this deliverance : the remaining part being chiefly occupied with an historico-prophetic narration of events extending to the times of Antiochus Epiphanes. And it is only when viewed in the light in which we have attempted to present the subject that the former part of the book can be regarded in unity with the latter. Apart from the consideration that the historical is illustrative of the prophetic portion, no sufficient reason can be given for the intermixture of personal biography and prophetic vision in a work purporting to be written by the same individual. But when it is perceived that the scenes on the plain of Dura and at Babylon prefigure those elsewhere enacted ; that the idolatrous deifications of the monarchs of Babylon and Media reflect impieties of a subsequent age ; that the deliverances of the servants of God who trusted in him in old time foreshadow the triumphs of those saints who should in later days possess the kingdom, the unity is restored, the plan of the writer is seen to be consistent, and the prophetic vision resolves itself into one grand whole of absorbing interest, having for its object the suffering and the rescue of the holy people.

CHAPTER IV.

BABYLONIAN KINGDOM OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

VISION OF CHAP. II.
Head of Gold.

"Thou O king, sawest, and behold a great image . . . This image's head was of fine gold . . . Thou art this head of gold."

VISION OF CHAP. VII.
Lion with eagle's wings.

"The first was like a lion, and had eagle's wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, (wherewith) it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart was given to it."
(Comp. iv. 16 ; v. 20, 21).

VISION OF CHAPS. VIII. IX.

VISION OF CHAPS. X. XI. XII.

MEDO-PERSIAN KINGDOM OF CYRUS, CAMBYSES, DARIUS HYSTASPIS, AND XERXES.

Breast and arms of silver.
"His breast and his arms of silver."

"After thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee."

Bear with three ribs, or tusks.
"A second like unto a bear."

"It raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it between the teeth of it, and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh."

Ram with two horns.

"A ram which had two horns . . . and one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last."

"I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward, so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand . . . The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia."

Princes of Media and Persia.

"I remained there with the kings of Persia . . . also in the first year of Darius the Mede even I stood to confirm and to strengthen him."

"Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia ; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all : and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."

MACEDONIAN KINGDOM OF ALEXANDER AND HIS FOUR POTENT SUCCESSORS.

Belly and thighs of brass.

"His belly and his thighs of brass."

Leopard with four heads.

"A leopard which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl."

"Another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth."

"Dominion was given unto it."

"The beast had also four heads."

He-goat with notable horn.

"Behold an he-goat came from the west . . . and touched not the ground . . . The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes is the first king."

"On the face of the whole earth."

"For it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven."

"Four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power."

First king of Grecia.

"A mighty king shall stand up."

"That shall rule with great dominion."

"And when he shall stand up his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven."

SYRO-EGYPTIAN KINGDOM OF THE TEN HORNS.

"A fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth."

"It had ten horns . . . the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise."

"His kingdom shall be plucked up even for others besides those."

"The king of the south." xi. 5.—Ptolemy Philadelphus.

"The king of the north." xi. 6.—Antiochus Deus.

"A branch of her (Berenice's) roots." xi. 7.—Ptolemy Euergetes.

"The king of the north." xi. 8.—Seleucus Callinicus.

"The king of the south." xi. 9.—Ptolemy Philopator.

"The king of the north." xi. 11, 13, 15.—Antiochus Magnus.

"The king of the south." xi. 11.—Ptolemy Phiphances.

"The raiser of taxes." xi. 20.—Seleucus Philopator.

"The prince of the covenant." xi. 22.—Demetrius.

"The king of the south." xi. 25, 40.—Ptolemy Philometor.

"The vile person." xi. 21.—ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

"The fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron . . . and as iron that breaketh all these shall it break in pieces and bruise."

"The kingdom shall be divided; and as the (ten) toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken."

SYRIAN KINGDOM OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

VISION OF CHAP. II.

VISION OF CHAP. VII.

"Behold there came up among them (the ten horns) another little horn."
 "Another shall rise . . . after them."

"A horn that had eyes . . . whose look was more stout than his fellows . . . and he shall be diverse from the first."

"In this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things."

"And he shall speak great words against the Most High."

"Before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots."

"Before whom three fell . . . and he shall subdue three kings."

"I beheld the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them."

"He shall wear out the saints of the Most High, and think to change times and laws."

"They shall be given unto his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time."

VISION OF CHAPS. VIII. IX.

"Out of one of them (the four notable ones) came forth a little horn."

"In the latter time of their kingdom, when the transgressors are come to the full."

"A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences."

"He magnified himself even to (against) the Prince of the host."

"He shall also stand up against the Prince of princes."

"He waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land."

"He shall destroy wonderfully . . . and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people."

"By him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down."

"In the midst (half) of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease."

VISION OF CHAPS. X. XI. XII.

"In his estate (Seleucus Philopator) shall stand up a vile person."

"At the time of the end, when they . . . do wickedly against the holy covenant."

"He shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers."

"He shall exalt and magnify himself above every god."

"He shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods."

"He shall obtain the (Syrian) kingdom by flatteries . . . with the arms of a flood . . . they shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant . . . and the king of the south . . . shall not stand."

"His heart shall be against the holy covenant . . . and he shall have indignation against the holy covenant."

"They shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice."

"It shall be for a time, times, and an half."

"He shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished, for that that is determined shall be done."

"He shall come to his end, and none shall help him."

"He shall be broken without hand."

"The end thereof (his end) shall be in the flood . . . and that determined shall be poured upon the desolator."

"I beheld till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame."

"But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end."

JEWISH KINGDOM OF THE SAINTS TO BE SET UP BY THE GOD OF HEAVEN.

"Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image . . . and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth."

"In the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed . . . and it shall stand for ever."

"I saw in the night visions; and, behold, one like the (a) Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days; and they brought him near before him, and there was given him dominion and glory, and a kingdom that all people, nations, and languages should serve him."

"And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High . . . his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed."

"Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy."

"Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, and threescore and two weeks: the street shall be built again, and the wall, even in troublous times."

"At that time shall thy people be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book: and many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt; and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament . . . and as the stars for ever and ever."

"Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days."

THE FOUR GREAT BEASTS.

Before an interpretation of these symbols is attempted to be given, a principle must be laid down which, it is thought, may serve as a key to unlock their meaning. The principle supposes the visions seen in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar, in the first and third years of Belshazzar, and in the third (LXX. *first*) year of Cyrus, to be different representations of the same events: in other words, that the symbols of the Great Image (chap. ii.); the Four Great Beasts (chap. vii.); the Ram and the He-goat (chap. viii.), together with the explanatory¹ vision contained in chaps. x. xi. xii.; are not unconnected with each other, but component parts of one grand historico-prophetic scheme, in which, as is not

¹ The announcement which prefaces chap. xi. 2: (v. 1 belonging to the subject of the former chapter), "Now will I shew thee the truth," would appear to signify that an explanation of preceding symbols is about to be offered. Accordingly the angelic exegete omitting the mention (as in chap. viii.) of the Babylonian kingdom of Nebuchadnezzar which had then passed away, proceeds to give the expected interpretation. The Medo-Persian kingdom symbolised by the Bear, "raising up itself on one side and having three ribs in the mouth of it" (vii. 5), is explained of "Three kings in Persia yet standing up, and a fourth richer than they all who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia." The Macedonian kingdom set forth by the four-winged Leopard is interpreted of a "mighty king (Alexander) that shall rule with great dominion." The "four heads," of the fourfold division of Alexander's kingdom to the four winds of heaven and not to his posterity." The "ten horns," of ten kings of Syria and Egypt, who should precede or be contemporary with Antiochus. The "little horn"—of the "vile person" (Antiochus) who "stands up in the estate of the raiser of taxes" (Seleucus Philopator). The "three which fell"—of three kings (Seleucus, Demetrius, and Ptolemy Philometor) "destroyed," "broken," and unable to "stand" before Antiochus. "The Beast slain"—of the king of the north (Antiochus, called (v. 21) "the vile person"), who should "come to his end and none shall help him." "Solet enim in describendis quæ objecta sunt visis eorumque explicationibus ita versari vates, ut scœpius, quo loco primum memoranda erat res aliqua, eam pratermittat aut leviter tangat; tum vero inferiore aliquo loco, oblatâ iterum illius memorandi occasione, eam suppleat aut accuratius describat."—MAURER.

unusual in similar apocalyptic writings, unity of design and subject is preserved under variety of language and figurative description. Our principle, moreover, confines the interpretation within a limited chronological period; the events recorded by the writer being conjectured to have taken place during the sway of certain Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Syro-Egyptian kings, beyond which time it is thought the prophecy does not far extend. With the arrival of a clearly defined epoch in the history of the last of these a new character is introduced whose extraordinary career it would seem the intention of the writer of this book to describe. He is distinguished as one who should bear a tyrannous hate against the Jewish people; should speak great and blasphemous words against the Most High; should think to change times and laws; should pollute the sanctuary of strength, take away the daily sacrifice, and set up the abomination that maketh desolate; but at the "time appointed" should be cut off by a miserable and remediless excision, and should be "broken without"—*in want of*—(helping) "hand." With the destruction of this oppressor, a climax is reached and the principal object of the prophecy attained. We shall endeavour to recognise this principle in the interpretation we are about to offer of the Four Great Beasts. Proceeding upon the hypothesis that the symbols, although varied, are reiterated representations of the same events, we shall interpret them in connection with and as mutually explanatory of each other; whilst the horizon by which they are circumscribed will confine our exegesis within the limits of the past, and prevent excursion of our inquiries into

subjects with which the prophecy does not appear to be concerned.

The view not unfrequently taken of the Four Great Beasts which arise out of the agitated sea of the heathen¹ world is that they represent the four world-empires of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Greece, and Rome, which have successively held dominion over the habitable earth. To this it may be said that these symbols do not seem so much to encourage the idea of empires extending over the whole world as to designate particular kings or kingdoms whose affairs were mixed up with those of the Jewish people previous to the times of Antiochus. It is therefore evident that the last of these, the Roman power, does not come within the chronological term of these visions; and to this it may be added that no persecutor of the holy people arises out of that power whose actions correspond to those predicted of the "little horn." This has been so strongly felt by the champions of the traditional view that they have been compelled to invent an imaginary Antichrist to be revealed hereafter, whose atrocities will, it is conjectured, square with those attributed to the "little horn:" a theory which only eludes refutation

¹ The sea is a figure commonly used in Scripture to represent the heathen world. "The sea (*i.e.* the nations) is come up upon Babylon," Jer. li. 42, 27. "The burden of the desert of the sea," (*i.e.* Babylon), Isaiah xxi. 1-9. "Woe to the multitude of many people which make a noise like the noise of the seas," Isaiah xvii. 12. "The abundance of the sea," explained by the parallelism "the forces of the Gentiles," "shall be converted unto thee," Isaiah lx. 5. The four great beasts of Daniel "which come up from the sea," like the Roman beast "rising up out of the sea," Rev. xiii. 1. are heathen powers. To interpret therefore the fourth beast of the Roman empire with a view of making the prophecy extend to modern times, is not only to maintain that "the empire founded by Romulus and ruled over by Augustus and Constantine which has passed through its regular decline and fall to absolute extinction" still exists; but that it exists under the form contemplated by the prophet as a heathen kingdom.

because it offers no proof. This chimerical introduction of Antichrist into the visions of Daniel proceeds either from an "invincible ignorance" respecting the time of the second advent of Christ, which it is supposed will be preceded by the appearing of some great adversary of the Church; or from the necessity, arising from the absence of a suitable meaning in the past, of postponing the interpretation to futurity, that *dernier ressort* of hard-pressed expositors: "Ἐἰς ἀφανὲς τὸν μῦθον ἀνενερχὸν οὐκ ἔχει ἐλεγχον." Without however pausing to inquire how, or in what degree, the martyrs under the Syrian persecution could be cheered by the somewhat irrelevant announcement of the coming of Antichrist at some crisis of the Church's future history, we offer a few reasons which may show that the Roman empire does not seem to be intended by the last of these symbols.

1. That by the Fourth Great Beast the Roman empire is not signified, would seem plain from the circumstance that the above-named kingdom cannot with accuracy be said to succeed the three first kingdoms: the sway exercised by these being chiefly, if not entirely, Asiatic and extending beyond the River Euphrates; whereas that river was the eastern limit of the Roman empire. Added to this, the Romans were not the immediate successors of the empire of Alexander, neither can their kingdom be said to have followed the Macedonian as the Babylonian was followed by the Medo-Persian; the kingdom immediately succeeding the Asiatic rule of the successors of Alexander being that of the Parthians, and these were never brought under the Roman yoke. The world-empire of the Romans was moreover an after-

thought¹ with which the writer of this book was not acquainted; the description given of the Roman fleet, “ships of Chittim” (Cyprus) betokening that he did not then consider them on a par with the great Asiatic kingdoms. Nor indeed can it be asserted that at that time Rome merited the distinction of a world-empire of the first class. Newly delivered from the desperate Punic struggles which at one time threatened the loss of national existence she had but small and recently acquired possessions in Europe, and none whatever in the East,—“No one (says Dr. Pusey) anticipating in the days of Antiochus that Rome would become the empress of the world.”

2. A second theory, that of Bunsen, regards “the interpretation of the four empires’ symbols with reference to the original Daniel’s abode in Nineveh; so that the winged lion traditionally meant the Assyrian empire; the bear was the Babylonian symbol; the leopard that of the Medes and Persians; while the fourth beast represented, as is not uncommonly held, the sway of

¹ In the third book of the Jewish Sybil, a composition whose date is certainly later than the time of Antiochus Epiphanes as the writer mentions the ten horns of Alexander’s kingdom and the horn which springing out of them should rule; the author* of this singular *Apocalyphtik* not only maintains the superiority of the great Asiatic kingdoms over that of Rome but threatens that Asia should repay to the Romans all the evils done to them by the latter.

‘Οππότε δασμοφόρους Ἀσίης ὑπεδέξατο Ῥώμη,
 Χρηματά κεν τρις τύσσα δεδέξεται ἔμπαλιν Ἀσσις
 Ἐκ Ῥώμης, ὄλοῦν δ’ ἀποτίσεται ὕβριν ἐς αὐτήν. . . .
 Ἔσται καὶ Σάμος ἄμμος ἐσείται Δῆλος ἄδηλος,
 Καὶ Ῥώμη ρύμη.—Orac. Sibyll. Lib. iii. 350-364.

* “C’était parait-il un Juif d’Alexandrie vivant un peu après l’époque ou un Juif palestinien avait composé le livre de Daniel. Son po me avec quelques interpolations et additions remplit le livre iii. des oracles Sibyllins”—Colani, p. 24. The date is placed by Hilgenfeld, B.C. 137. Reuss, B.C. 132; Ewald, B.C. 124.

Alexander. A like reference is traced in the mention of Hiddekel on the Tigris in chap. x., for if the scene had been Babylon under Darius, the river must have been the Euphrates" (Essays and Reviews, p. 76). To this it may be objected that no tradition exists respecting the original Daniel's abode in Nineveh, and that the supposition that "Daniel was a noble and pious man, a saint, and a seer from the middle of the eighth century B.C., revered by his fellow captives, the Jews in Nineveh," rests upon no sufficient evidence. It is true that Ezekiel gives him an intermediate place between Noah and Job, and refers to his superlative wisdom as to an historical fact, Ezek. xxviii. 3; yet these admissions do not prove that he was carried away captive into Nineveh, or that "the great river Hiddekel," only forty Roman miles from the Euphrates, may not have afforded as suitable a spot for the prophetic vision as "the river ($\pi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\eta$ LXX) of Ulai in the province of Elam:" (viii. 2). A stronger argument against Bunsen's ingenious theory, may be gathered from the book itself, in which the head of gold, corresponding with the first great beast of chap. vii., is declared to represent the Babylonian empire of Nebuchadnezzar, leaving no place for the supposition that it could have been preceded by the Assyrian.

3. The indistinctness of the imagery under which the second and third great beasts are symbolised, may leave room for hesitation whether the second should be interpreted of the separate¹ kingdom of the Medes or of

¹ The claim for a second Median kingdom would seem to rest on the hypothesis of independent sway having been exercised by Darius over Chaldea for the space of two years previous to the annexation of the Median to the Persian empire; antecedence in dominion as well as priority in chronological order being given to the

the united Medo-Persian empire under Cyrus; and whether the third should be explained of the dominion of Cyrus or of that of Alexander. With regard, however, to the fourth, there is an uniformity of opinion which makes it more than probable (*certo certius*; Maurer), that the symbol must be referred either to the united kingdom of Alexander and his successors, or to that of his successors, or a portion of them, alone; as it is from the "ten horns" of this fourth beast that the persecutor arises around whom these visions revolve. Rejecting then, for reasons already assigned, and for others which will be given, the above-mentioned theories, we shall endeavour to explain these symbols of the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Syro-Egyptian dynasties; being led to this conclusion more by their agreement with particular actions attributed in the prophecy itself to particular kings which rise up among these kingdoms, than by abstract ideas of world-empires which have succeeded each other upon the earth.

former. This is thought to be inferred from the symbol of the Ram with two horns, one of which was "higher than the other and the higher came up last" implying, according to some, precedence as well as distinctness of rule. The "three ribs, or tusks, in the mouth of it between the teeth of it" (*πλευρα*; sides, LXX), are supposed to signify the three presidencies into which Darius is said to have divided the kingdom (vi. 2); an idea favoured by the discovery of the Persian daric, a rare coin, probably more ancient than the time of Darius Hystaspis, having on it a crown with three points, suggestive, as it is thought, of the three presidents of whom Daniel was first; others, again, have interpreted them of foreign conquests, and have referred them to the three cities of Nineveh, Calah, and Resen, subdued by the Medes (Gen. x 11, 12). This theory, which allows the third beast to be interpreted of the Persian empire, explains the four-winged Leopard symbol of the swiftness and impetuosity of the victories of Cyrus; and the "four heads" of the four kings of Persia (xi. 1, 2): Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius Hystaspis, and Xerxes; the ten months' interregnum of Smerdis the Magian being omitted as unworthy of record.

I. BABYLONIAN KINGDOM OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR.

VISION OF CHAPTER II.

The head of gold.

“Thou, O king, sawest, and behold a great image. This great image, whose brightness was excellent, stood before thee; and the form thereof was terrible. This image’s head was of fine gold” (ii. 31, 32).

“Thou, O king, art a king of kings: for the God of heaven hath given thee a kingdom, power, and strength, and glory. . . . Thou art this head of gold.

VISION OF CHAPTER VII.

The lion with eagle’s wings.

“Four great beasts came up from the sea, diverse one from another. The first was like a lion, and had eagle’s wings. I beheld till the wings thereof were plucked, and it was lifted up from the earth, and made stand upon the feet as a man, and a man’s heart was given to it” (vii. 3, 4).

The first of these symbols is explained in the book itself, and therefore little more need be said. Suffice it to observe that the glory of the Babylonian kingdom was at its height during the splendid reign of Nebuchadnezzar the “king of kings from the north” (Ezek. xxvi. 7), and may also be supposed to have expired with him. Nineveh, Egypt, Tyre, Judea, in addition to other conquests, yielded their treasures to embellish his superb city. The very bricks of his palace inscribed, as it is said, with his name repeated the panegyric of Scripture: “Babylon the glory of kingdoms; the beauty of the Chaldees’ excellency.” “The golden city.” “The praise of the whole earth.” “*Thou art this head of gold.*”

“The lion with eagle’s wings”¹ (iv. 33), inconsistent

¹ “Quibus significatur pernicitas, quâ Chaldæi in rebus gerendis usi sunt.”—*Cf.* Jes. xli. 11; Thren. iv. 19.—MAUREB.

as the notion may appear, would nevertheless be an appropriate symbol either of the Assyrian or Babylonian empires: colossal specimens of winged lions, dug out of the ruins of Nineveh, being among the discoveries of this wonder-working age. The Babylonians are described under both of these symbols. "The *lion* (says Jeremiah) is come up from his thicket . . . his horses are swifter than *eagles*." iv. 7, 13. (Comp. Deut. xxviii. 49; Ezek. xvii. 3, 12; Hab. i. 8). "The wings thereof plucked,¹ *wherewith* (Grotius) it was lifted up from the earth," and its being made to "stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart given to it," refer most probably to the humbled attitude of the Babylonian autocrat after he had learnt from his debasing punishment that "the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men;" allusion to which seems to be made in iv. 16, v. 20, 21: or if interpreted generally of the Chaldean kingdom, may signify, though with less likelihood, that after their overthrow by the Medes and Persians, the Babylonians changed their fierce and animal nature for more subdued and human feelings; and instead of being lifted up on eagle wings of pride, or wearing a lion's heart in their savage aggressions upon the rest of the world, were taught by their sufferings to stand upon their feet as other men, and to bear a human heart in their intercourse with neighbouring nations.

¹ "Deplumatio significat privationem tum ornamenti, tum facultatis, viriumque pristinarum emergendi, et extollendi se in altum."—Similiter Cicero, Epist ad Atticum, iv. 2.—"Qui mihi pennas inciderant nolunt easdem renasci."—ROSENMÜLLER.

II. MEDO-PERSIAN KINGDOM OF CYRUS, CAMBYSES, DARIUS HYSTASPIS, AND XERXES.

VISION OF CHAPTER II.

The silver kingdom.

“His breast and his arms of silver” (ii. 32).

“After thee shall arise another kingdom inferior to thee” (ii. 39).

VISION OF CHAPTER VII.

Bear with three ribs, or tusks.

“Behold another beast, a second, like to a bear: and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth of it, between the teeth of it; and they said thus unto it, Arise, devour much flesh” (vii. 5).

VISION OF CHAPTER VIII.

Ram with two horns.

“Behold, there stood before the river a ram which had two horns: and the two horns were high; but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up last. I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according unto his will, and became great” (viii. 3, 4).

“The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia” (viii. 20).

The dominion indicated by the second of these symbolic representations would seem to be the Medo-Persian kingdom as distinct¹ from that of Media alone. In the Image of chap. ii., this kingdom, symbolised by the

¹ It is observable that the same night “which witnessed the close of the Babylonian dynasty saw it transferred without any interval to the “*Medes and Persians*.” To this it has been objected that “Darius the Median took the kingdom, being about threescore and two years old;” (although, on the supposition that world-empires are denoted by these symbols, the shortlived reign of Darius is sufficiently unimportant), and that “Daniel prospered in the reign of Darius and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian;” but it may be said, on the other side, that the ram with two horns, the acknowledged symbol of the Medo-Persian empire, is interpreted of the “*kings of Media and Persia*” (viii. 20); and that the law of the time of Darius is not that of the Medes only, but of the “*Medes and Persians*” (vi. 8, 12, 15).

“breast and arms of silver”—a figure significant perhaps of united dominion in the person of Cyrus—is said to be “inferior” to the former, the rude and barbarous dynasty of the kings of Media and Persia falling short of the civilized greatness attained by the Babylonians; the conquest of Babylon being achieved, not by their own unassisted efforts, but by the military combination of various nations leagued against the common tyrant (Isaiah xiii. 4; Jer. xxv. 9; 1. 9; li. 27, 28). This “silver” kingdom is likened (ch. vii.) to a bear, an implacable and savage animal, an encounter with which is sometimes more dangerous than with the monarch of the forest. The character given to the Medes in Scripture answers to this description: “They shall hold the bow and the lance; they are cruel and will not shew mercy” (Jer. l. 42; Isaiah xiii. 17, 18): similar ferocity being also abundantly ascribed to the “cruel Persians.” A peculiar feature of this symbol is, that it raises up itself on one side (*ἐὺς ἓν μέρος*: Theodotion), or one dominion (*et dominatum unum erexit*: Maurer), one of the kings of Persia being elevated “by his strength through his riches” above the rest: no reason being apparent for the separate exaltation of the “fourth” above the “three” kings of Persia beyond the opinion entertained by the writer that the reign of Xerxes was more remarkable¹ than that of Cyrus, Cambyses, and Darius Hystaspis; a reign which is invariably followed in this book by the dominion of Alexander (vii. 6; viii. 5; xi. 3). The “three ribs (or tusks)

¹ Quod autem . . . ultimum Persarum regem facit Xerxem, quum post illum secuti sint Artaxerxes Longim., Darius Nothus, Artax. Mnemon, Ochus, Darius Codom., causa est quod, ut inquit Hieronymus, “non curæ fuit prophetali spiritui historiæ ordinem sequi, sed præclara quæque perstringere.”—MAURER.

in the mouth of it between the teeth of it," would seem to indicate the three kings yet standing up in Persia (xi. 2); the "three ribs," the "four heads," and the "ten horns," alike denoting kings. The command¹ given to it, "Arise, devour much flesh;" or, as the same idea is expressed (viii. 4), "I saw the ram pushing westward, and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according unto his will, and became great," may be suggestive of the warlike and aggressive character² of the Persian kings. The

¹ This command expressed in the formula, "They said thus unto it," would almost seem to have the force of a prophetic direction. Inapplicable as it is to the short-lived and delegated rule of the Median coadjutor in the capture of Babylon, it meets an adequate realization in the victorious career of the Persian conqueror, which appears to have been the subject of especial prophecy—"Who raised up righteousness—*tsedek*—from the east, called him to his foot, gave the nations before him, and made him rule over kings? he gave them as the dust to his sword, and as driven stubble to his bow." (Isaiah xli. 2). Ezra describes Cyrus as saying in his famous proclamation, "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth." (Ezra i. 2). Herodotus says of Cyrus, that "wherever he marched it was impossible for the nations to escape him." Xenophon adds, that "he subdued east, west, north, and south." History abundantly confirms the picture, too exact for prophecy, of one of these Persian autocrats, who "by his strength through his riches stirred up all against the realm of Grecia." "Herodotus counts and describes fifty-six nations which served by land, horse and foot, or part in the fleet. There were Indians in their cotton dress, and Æthiopians from beyond Egypt clad in skins of lions: the black Walruchs from Gedrosia, and the Nomad tribes from the steppes of Mongolia and the great Buchary, wild hunting tribes like the Sagartians, who, without weapon of bronze or steel, caught their enemies, like the animals they hunted, in leathern lassoes; and Medes and Bactrians in rich array: Libyans with four-horse chariots; and Arabs upon camels: Phœnician mariners with numerous squadrons, and Asiatic Greeks compelled to fight against their countrymen. Never did despotism exhibit a spectacle which began so splendidly to end so pitifully."—PUSEY, *from Heeren*.

"Xerxes jam septuaginta millia de regno armaverat, et trecenta millia de auxiliis, ut non immerito proditum sit, flumina ab ejus exercitu siccata, Greciamque omnem vix capere ejus exercitum potuisse. Naves quoque decies centum millia numero habuisse dicitur. Huic tanto agmini dux defuit. Ceterum si regem spectes, divitias, non ducem, laudes; quarum tanta copia in regno ejus fuit, ut cum flumina multitudine consumerentur, opes tamen regiæ superessent."—*Justin Hist.* l. ii. cap. 10.

² Ad occidentem Persarum regibus paruerunt, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria.

corresponding symbol of a ram with two horns, under which the Medo-Persian kingdom is set forth (ch. viii.) needs no other explanation than that given in the book itself: "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia;" the united Medo-Persian dominion being represented by the *single* emblem of a ram.

III. MACEDONIAN KINGDOM OF ALEXANDER AND HIS FOUR POTENT SUCCESSORS.

VISION OF CHAPTER II.

The Kingdom of Brass.

"His belly and his thighs of brass."

"Another third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth" (ii. 39).

VISION OF CHAPTER VII.

Leopard with four wings and four heads.

"After this I beheld and lo another like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl; the beast had also four heads; and dominion was given to it" (vii. 6).

VISION OF CHAPTER VIII.

He-goat with notable horn.

"Behold an he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes, and he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. . . . and smote the ram and brake his two horns. . . . and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand: therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong the great horn was broken, and for it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven" (viii. 5-8).

"The rough goat is the king of Grecia, and the great horn that is between his eyes, is the first king. Now that being broken, whereas four stood up for it, four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power" (viii. 21, 22).

Asia Minor: ad aquilonem Colchis, Armenia, Iberia, et Caspii maris accolæ: ad meridiem Judæa, Ægyptus, Æthiopia, Libya: non dicit: *orientem versus*, ab oriente enim Persæ venerunt ipsi." (Jes. xli. 2; xlii. 11).—MAURER.

VISION OF CHAPTERS X. XI. XII.

“Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all; and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia. And a mighty king shall stand up that shall rule with great dominion and do according to his will; and when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven” (xi. 2, 3, 4)

The characteristics of the third kingdom are rapidity of conquest, universality of dominion, and fourfold division.

The first-named of these qualities finds suitable representation in the “thighs” of the great image, indicative of speed, as well as in the four-winged leopard, or panther, which is employed to shadow forth the terrific spring by which the Græco-Asiatic kingdom leapt into existence, and not least of all, in the poetical¹ image of the “he-goat touching not the ground” in the velocity of his career from west to east. In six years, it is said, Alexander subdued the whole of Asia and a great part of Europe; led his tired veterans as far as the Punjaub; marched them the almost incredible distance of 19,000 miles; and when, satiated with conquest, they refused to follow him further, sat down and wept because there were no more worlds to conquer.

The universality of dominion which distinguished this third kingdom is not only a matter of common knowledge, but is insisted upon with frequency and minuteness of detail in the prophecy itself. Under the symbol of the great image it is described as “a third kingdom of brass which shall bear rule over all the earth;” in that of the

¹ “. . . Cursuque pedum prævertere ventos;
Illa vel intactæ segetis per summa volaret
Gramina.”

—VIRG., *Æn.* vii. 806.

Four Great Beasts it is repeated that "dominion was given to it." In the vision of chapter viii. the he-goat comes from the west "on the face of the whole earth;" and in that of chapter xi., a mighty king rules "with great dominion:" to use the truthful words of Maccabean history, "He (Alexander) made many wars and won many strongholds, and slew the kings of the earth; and went through to the ends of the earth, and took spoils of many nations, insomuch that the earth¹ was quiet (subdued) before him" (1 Macc. i. 2, 3.) To one of these splendid conquests particular attention is directed. The overthrow of the Medo-Persian Ram by the Grecian He-goat, when he "ran unto him in the fury of his power . . . and brake his two horns, and cast him down to the ground and stamped upon him," exact as the description is for prophecy, has, as far as we know, never been disputed from the days of Josephus to the present time. Indeed so vivid is the symbolic imagery that we may almost in imagination "stand before the river" as the Macedonian horse, led by their youthful and fiery monarch, dash over the Granicus to encounter the feeble myriads of Darius; or, marching with his hardy veterans across the burning plains of Asia, mark the prostration of the submissive Oriental before his brass-clad (ii. 32) warriors. As we peruse the prophetic-historic record, "The He-goat waxed very great, and when he was strong the great horn was broken," we seem perfectly to realize his romantic and

¹ "Φευγε κεραίνιον ἄνδρα, κακὸν δ' Ἀσίῃ ζυγὸν ἤξει,
καὶ, πᾶσι πᾶσα χθὼν πίεται φόνον ομβρήεντα."

—Orac. Sibyll. Lib. ix. 216, 217.

almost superhuman career; at one time worshipped as the Son of Amun Ra, and the next moment hurled by the "marsh-fever of Babylon aggravated by intemperance" from a greatness which he shared with the immortal gods. "In the midst of designs (says Dr. Pusey) the vastest and most multiform probably which intelligent ambition ever conceived, when not yet thirty-three, Alexander perished." The picture is drawn with such vivid exactness and with so firm a hand that we feel we are not dealing with prophecy but history;¹ and that we are not examining an obscure presentiment of doubtful events of which the shadows fall dimly before, but a succinct yet faithful relation of past and most certain occurrences.

The four-fold division of this kingdom symbolised by the "four heads" of the leopard is thought to be suggestive of the partition of the Macedonian autoeracy among the four potent successors² of Alexander after the

¹ Daniel appears as confident on the subject of unmixed prophecy as on that of pure history. This may be inferred from a passage in Hippolytus, in which that ancient Father represents the prophet announcing events posterior to his own times in terms of equal positiveness with those of which he is supposed to be a witness. "Thou didst prophecy of the lion in Babylon for that was the home of thy captivity: thou didst reveal the future history of the bear for still thou wast in the world and didst see it fulfilled. Now thou tellest me of the pard; but how knowest thou of this, having already fallen asleep? Who taught thee to say these things unless it were He that formed thee from the birth? God, thou sayest, for thou didst speak the truth. The pard arose; the he-goat came (the ancient father evidently looking upon these as equivalent symbols): he smote the ram: he brake his horns: he trampled him under foot: he was exalted in his fall: the four horns arose after him. Rejoice then, blessed Daniel: thou wast not deceived: for all these things have come to pass."—Hippoliti opera. Ed. Fabricius, p. 16.

² "Quæ loco fracti cornu majoris excreverunt quartuor cornua, totidem regna, significant (v. 22) orta e regno Alexandri, regna, puta, quæ tenuerunt Seleucus Nicator, Cassander, Ptolemæus Lagi, Lysimachus; *i.e.* Syriam cum Babyloniâ, Mediâ al: Macedoniam cum Thessaliâ, cet: Ægyptum cum Phoenice, Judæâ rel: Thraciam cum Asiâ minori rel."—MAURER.

great horn was broken ; or as the same division is elsewhere expressed, "For it came up four notable ones toward the four winds of heaven,"—"No one (says Dr. Pusey) having been found to doubt that by these are intended Alexander's four successors the Diadochi, who collectively held whatever survived of his Asiatic conquests and his own dominions subject to the rule of Greece." This four-fold Macedonian division is distinct¹ from the ten-fold Syro-Egyptian division which succeeds

¹ The separation of the rule of Alexander and his four potent successors from that of the ten Syro-Egyptian kings which arise subsequently is open to no greater objection than the separation of the Median from the Persian kingdom ; an expedient not unfrequently resorted to for the sake of interpreting the fourth beast of the empire of Alexander or that of his successors which the necessity of the case demands. It need not, therefore, be thought anomalous to explain the symbol of the leopard with four heads, of a portion of the Græco-Asiatic rule distinct from that symbolised by the fourth beast with ten horns. To this it may be added that an agreement may be discerned between the Leopard and the Macedonian He-goat, the latter of which symbols is interpreted (viii. 21) of the Grecian dominion : the "four wings" indicative of swiftness, corresponding with the rapidity with which the "he-goat from the west touched not the ground ;" the "dominion given to it," with its rule "on the face of the whole earth ;" and the "four heads," with the "four notable ones" which came up instead of it after the great horn was broken ; these parallels, not extending beyond the fourfold division of the Macedonian empire, allowing sufficient interval for the introduction of ten Syro-Egyptian kings between the dominion of the four potent successors of Alexander, and the rise of the "little horn." Besides this, the term over which these symbols extend, does not appear to be *the whole duration* of each empire. Possibly the first does not go beyond that of the humiliation of Nebuchadnezzar. "After *thee* shall arise a kingdom inferior to *thee* . . . *thou* art this head of gold ;" and the wings thereof plucked (wherewith) it was lifted up from the earth, and its (being) made to stand upon the feet as a man, and a man's heart given to it," seems to favour the same idea. (Comp. v. 18-21 ; iv. 16). The second may represent the Medo-Persian kingdom from the time of Cyrus, to that of Xerxes, leaving 150 years of its subsequent existence altogether unnoticed. The same limitation is observable xi. 3, where with the mention of the fourth Persian king "who should stir up all against the realm of Grecia," the prophecy proceeds to announce "the mighty king (Alexander) who should rule with great dominion." The third may, therefore, be reasonably supposed to set forth the rule of Alexander and the Diadochi, as distinct from that of their Syro-Egyptian successors. In like manner the fourth symbol represents only ten Syro-Egyptian kings, who introduce Antiochus Epiphanes, to the exclusion of Antiochus Eupator, Antiochus Deus, Antiochus Sidetes, and others who succeeded him on the throne of Syria. An emblem similar to those previously employed is also used to denote the separate rule of Antiochus. "I beheld even till the *beast* was slain" (vii. 11).

it. That a connection, however, exists between both is evident from the fact that the "four heads" of the leopard-symbol are omitted¹ in that of the consecutive-ten-horned beast; whereas, in chapter viii., the ten horns are left out, and their place supplied by the "four notable ones;" the respective symbols being followed in either case by the rise of the "little horn." According to the interpretation given in the book itself, the "ten horns," among which arises the "little horn" are "ten kings which shall arise" *subsequently*; just as the kingdoms of the "four notable ones" are followed *after some interval*,² described as "the latter time of their kingdom" (viii. 23), by that of the "little horn:" this interval, comprising a period of about 150 years; allowing sufficient space for the subsequent tenfold division and presenting the idea not so much of separate empires as of the same empire under different phases of its existence.

IV. SYRO-EGYPTIAN KINGDOM OF THE "TEN HORNS."

VISION OF CHAPTER II.

"His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay" (ii. 33).

"The fourth kingdom shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things: and as iron that breaketh, all these shall it break in pieces and bruise. And whereas thou sawest the feet and (ten) toes, part of potter's clay and part of iron, the kingdom shall be divided; but there shall be in it of the strength of the iron, forasmuch as thou sawest the iron mixed with miry clay. And as the (ten) toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so the

¹ Similar omissions are of frequent occurrence; "it being in harmony with the other prophecies of Daniel, that what is filled up in one place (should be) bridged over in another."

² "The kings then, or kingdoms, that should arise out of this kingdom, must, from the force of the term as well as from the context, be kings or kingdoms which should arise at some later stage of its existence, and not those first kings, without which it could not be a kingdom at all." — PUSEY, p. 77.

kingdom shall be partly strong and partly broken. And whereas thou sawest iron mixed with miry clay, they shall mingle themselves with the seed of men: but they shall not cleave one to another, even as iron is not mixed with clay" (ii. 40-43).

VISION OF CHAPTER VII.

"I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly: and it had great iron teeth ('whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass'): it devoured and break in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns" (vii. 7).

"The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces. And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise" (vii. 23, 24).

VISION OF CHAPTERS X. XI. XII.

"His kingdom shall be plucked up even for others beside those; and the king of the south," etc. etc. (xi. 4-45).

The principal characteristics of the fourth kingdom,¹ not inaptly symbolised by its metallic and earthen compounds, are terrific destructiveness and gigantic strength,

¹ It has been contended that the successors of Alexander are only "fragments of an empire, and can in no sense be of themselves one empire:" an objection founded on the assumption that four world-empires are represented by the four great beasts. But the fourth Syro-Egyptian ten-horned beast which succeeded to many of the conquests of Alexander, and retained them for one hundred and fifty years, would seem to deserve the character of an empire equally with the preceding beasts; its duration being implied in the "ten kings which shall arise and the other which shall rise after them." That the stamping, bruising, breaking, and devouring qualities attributed to the fourth beast should be dwelt upon at greater length than even the victories of Alexander himself, seems only natural when it is considered that Palestine suffered little from the ravages of the Macedonian conqueror, whilst it became subsequently the arena on which the Syrian and Egyptian princes contended for supremacy: the Jewish writer of the book naturally giving prominence to events in which his nation was principally concerned. It may also be inferred from the circumstance of no new symbol being employed to designate the fourth beast, as in the case of the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, and Macedonian dynasties, that a connection exists between the fourth kingdom and that which preceded it: this connection being still further apparent in the interchange of the metallic characteristics of the third and fourth kingdoms, "whose teeth were of *iron* and his nails of *brass*" (vii. 19). We may add to this, that the Roman beast (Rev. xiii. 1, 2) combines *only three symbols*, the leopard, the bear, and the lion; this threefold union, "framed after the description of Daniel," confining the number to that given in the elder Apocalypse.

coupled with instability of purpose and want of united action. Unlike that of Alexander, which, sweeping like a whirlwind in the rapidity of its winged progress over the face of the whole earth, scarcely touched the ground as it proceeded from conquest to conquest, and from dominion to dominion, the fourth Syro-Egyptian beast was to stamp, and bruise, and devour, and tread down, and break in pieces; adding permanent subdual and incessant laceration to indomitable ferocity and wasteful prodigality of human life. Together with these brute-like qualities, felicitously expressed by the "teeth of iron and the nails of brass," it combined inherent weakness and suicidal disunion. The kingdom should be "divided;" "partly strong and partly broken;" "the strength of the iron mixed with miry clay;" its princes, although connected with each other by mutual alliances,¹ and "mingling with the seed of men," not "cleaving one to another, even

¹ "Nor did the followers of Alexander imitate him only in colonizing. The blending of races was continued; and very remarkably in part, through the position given to the Jews on the ground of their faithfulness to their sovereigns. . . . It is stated on the authority of extant documents, that this union of races, too (as well as that between the Persian and the Macedonian), was begun by Alexander, and carried on by his successors. This, moreover, took place to such an extent that one-third of the population of Egypt consisted of Jews. . . . Nor was this intermingling only in large places. Josephus mentions decrees in favour of Jews not only at Ephesus, Laodicea, Miletus, Pergamus, Philadelphia, but in Delos also. . . . These colonisations were the great and lasting influence of the Greek empire. They involved, of necessity, a mixture of races." . . . "It was no new idea in Alexander to complete the military occupation of the subject countries through colonies; but the character of his foundations shews that military objects were by no means his sole motives. *His immediate and more distant successors carried on his work more or less in his spirit*; the result, in most countries, was the lasting foundation of Hellenism." —PUSEY, pp. 142. 147.

"Antiochus, Deus a suis dictus, Laodicem, et Berenicem uxores duxit, Ptolemæi Philadelphii filias, teste Livio (Quod conjugium per biennium tantum duravit). Et Magas, Philadelphii pater, Apamen duxit, filiam Antiochi, qui Seleuci fuerat filius, quod nos docet Pausanias in Atticis. Et Antiochus Magnus Cleopatram filiam suam collocavit in matrimonium Ptolemæo Epiphani" (et ipsum brevi solvendum). —GROTIUS.

as iron is not mixed with clay." Contemporaneous history affords abundant confirmation of the destructive yet unstable qualities, the iron strength and the clayey weakness of the Syro-Egyptian successors of Alexander. Their uninteresting career is a perpetual struggle for supremacy and an endless succession of international aggressions, till at last worn out by suicidal strife the "divided" ¹ kingdom of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies fell a prey to the Romans. Its ruin, however, was not effected until the accomplishment of the events with which the visions of Daniel are concerned. As far as, and beyond the times of Epiphanes, the fourth beast answered fully to its devouring and trampling character; but "partly strong and partly broken," blending the unyielding iron with the ductile and malleable clay, combining metallic durability with earthen plasticity, the symbol adapts itself religiously to the history of the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, and finds its adequate realization in their varied career of aggression and defeat.

Another feature peculiar to the fourth beast is its diversity "from all the beasts that were before it;" or, as the same idea is elsewhere expressed, "The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom upon earth, which shall be diverse (*in evils*, LXX.) from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces:" a diversity which led to a difficulty of description; for whilst preceding kingdoms are represented by corresponding symbols, none can be found to represent the "monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens,"

¹ The Septuagint translator paraphrases the clause, "the kingdom shall be divided" (ii. 41), by, "there shall be another kingdom of two parts in it" (*διμερής*), adapting the prophecy to the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies.—PUSEY, p. 608.

the unnatural ten-horned beast incapable of delineation. A reason for this diversity may be gathered from the "divided" and ever-shifting dominion exercised by the Syrian and Egyptian kings, these Princes not being "of one mind, nor well-minded to one another" (LXX.);¹ adding to the lust of foreign conquest the miseries of internecine wars, and "multiplying evils upon earth" (1 Macc. i. 9), as much by their international struggles for supremacy as by their ungovernable ambition. During the continuance of these exhausting conflicts, more fatal to the holy people than the spoiliations of Alexander, or even the ruin effected by the Babylonian invader, princes, trained in the pitiless school of the Macedonian conqueror, trampled down without compunction all who opposed their insatiable desires, and turned "the habitable earth" into shambles in their path to universal empire. The miseries of that period, especially as far as the holy² people were concerned, were never exceeded by any former troubles in their eventful history. Situated midway between Syria and Egypt, Judea, like the Low Countries in days of European warfare, became the battle-field of the contending parties, and to whichever side victory might incline, its wretched inhabitants were alike the sufferers. Whether the kings of Egypt (the south) prevailed over the kings of Syria (the north), or the kings of Syria over the kings of Egypt, this, to them, was only

¹ "It had ten horns, and many counsels in its horns" (LXX.)

² "Καὶ τότε Ἰουδαίους κακὸν ἔσσειται, οὐδὲ φυγούνται
 Διμὸν καὶ λοιμὸν δυσανασχέτω ἡματι κείνῳ . . .
 Ἄλλ' ὀκτώ βασιλεῖς ὑλώδεος Αἰγύπτου
 . . . αὐτοὶ κακότητα, καὶ αὐτῶν ἔργα πονηρὰ
 Ρεξουσι μετέπειτα, καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον ὀλέσσει."

Orac. Sibyll. Lib. ix. 239-249.

a change of masters. It is not then to be wondered at, that a period like this, deeply stained with blood, and presenting no respite from continuous and exterminating wars,¹ should be characterised by emblems descriptive of unusual and intolerable calamity, or that it should be affirmed of the fourth beast that it was "exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron and his nails of brass." A more faithful picture of the asperities of the time could hardly have been drawn. Its very minuteness would alone throw doubt on its prophetic character. Too circumstantial for the broader features of prediction generally, it carries with it the semblance of an historical relation of past events, clothed in that "rough garment" in which pious men of old time were wont to cover themselves as a mark of their prophetic office, but with no intention to "deceive."

If our premises are correctly laid, it may be inferred that by the fourth beast is symbolised the iron rule of ten Syro-Egyptian kings which arise subsequently to

¹ "As Empedocles observed that there was a continual hostility among the four elements which compose the universe, every one of them still combating with his neighbour, and all of them continually striving to enlarge the boundaries of their empires; so did it happen among the potent successors of the great Alexander, betwixt whom, especially those whose dominions lay contiguous, there was an eternal jealousy and almost perpetual wars."—PLUTARCH. *Vit. Demet.*

"While these princes ambitiously strove one against another, every one for his own principality, it came to pass that there were continually wars; and the cities were sufferers, and lost a great many of the inhabitants in these times of distress."—*Ant.* xii. 1.

"It happened in the reign of Antiochus the Great, who ruled over all Asia, that the Jews as well as the inhabitants of Cœle-Syria suffered greatly, and their land was sorely harassed; for while he was at war with Ptolemy Eupator, and with his son called Epiphanes, it fell out that these nations were equally sufferers, both when he was beaten and when he had defeated the others; so that they were like a ship in a storm which is tossed by the waves on both sides."—*Ant.* xii. 5.

"Tum maximum in terris Macedonum regnum nomenque: inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus."—*Liv.* xlv. 9.

the primary fourfold division of the kingdom of the Great Alexander among his four potent successors. This fourfold and ten-fold division¹ would seem to be recognized

¹ The two-fold aspect under which the Grecian beast is presented with four heads and ten horns is answered by the Roman beast with "seven heads and ten horns" (Rev. xiii. 1); the "ten kings which shall (*subsequently*) arise" corresponding with the "ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet, but receive power as kings one hour (contemporaneously) with the beast" (Rev. xvii. 12). It may help the view we have adopted to find this four-fold and ten-fold division more or less apparent in each of the four great visions of Daniel: the former being symbolised by the (four) legs and feet of the great image (ch. ii.), the "four heads" (vii. 6), the "four notable ones" (viii. 8), and the "four winds of heaven" (xi. 4); the latter by the (ten) toes of the great image, the "ten horns," the "latter time of the kingdom," during which the little horn arises from among the ten horns, and the "others," (subsequently enumerated xi. 4-45), "besides those" (four notable ones), for whom the kingdom of Alexander should be plucked up. This subsequent division of the kingdom of the Macedonian conqueror into ten horns, not omitting the mention of "the horn which springing up close by should rule," is also found in a remarkable passage of the third Jewish Sybil, descriptive of the conquest of Asia by Alexander; showing not only the acquaintance of the writer with the Book of Daniel, but connecting the ten horns with the ten-fold division of Alexander's kingdom. We subjoin a paraphrase:—

"Deep woe shall Macedon to Asia bring;
 And direst grief of Europe shall shoot forth
 From Jove's pretended * offspring, slavish race.
 And Babel, mighty city, of all lands
 On which the sun looks down, mistress renowned,
 Shall it subdue, o'erthrown by evil fates,
 Regardless of the tender infant's moan.
 For suddenly to Asia's prosperous soil,
 Decked with the purple robe of kings, a man
 Fierce, partial, fiery, lightning-born, shall come.
 All Asia shall endure a grievous yoke,
 And the drenched earth drink in abundant gore.
 Yet Hades waits for him who all o'erswept.
 His race by their's is utterly destroyed
 Whose race he seeks to root out and destroy.
 He leaves one only shoot, which from ten horns
 The waster severs, and another plant
 Shall plant close by. Him too the warrior sire,
 Of purple race, the waster smites, in turn
 Smitten by sons of fierce accord in war.
 And then the horn planted close by shall rule."

Orac. Sibyll. Lib. iii. 381-400.

* "Ὁυ Διὸς οὐκ Ἀμμωνος ἀληθεία τοῦτον ἐροῦσιν
 Πάντες, ὅμως Κρονίδαο νόθον δ' ὡς ἀνταπλάσσονται."

in chap. xi. 4, where, in addition to the partition "toward the four winds of heaven," the kingdom of Alexander is said to be "plucked up even for others beside those;" this statement being immediately followed by the enumeration of ten Syro-Egyptian kings who convulse the Jewish earth previously to, or contemporaneously with, the appearing of Antiochus.

It need scarcely be mentioned that considerable difference of opinion continues to exist with regard to these ten kings. By some they have been interpreted of ten kings exclusively Syrian who preceded Antiochus: these, however, appear to have been only seven¹ in number, Antiochus himself being the eighth, although a contrary opinion is maintained by eminent critics. It has been further conjectured, from the fact of the number "ten" being a round number, without specific numerical value in the Scriptures generally, and employed in an indefinite sense in the book itself (i. 14, 15, 20), that the "ten horns" are significant of the many kingdoms (*multa regna*) into which the empire was divided subsequently to the death of Alexander, when "his servants bare rule, every one in his place, and their sons after them many years." We are disposed to interpret the symbol of ten kings, not exclusively Syrian, who were more or less mixed up with Jewish affairs before and contemporaneously with the appearing of Antiochus; and we think it worthy of notice that from the four-fold partition of the Macedonian kingdom (xi. 4) to the destruction of Antio-

¹ 1. Seleucus Nicator. 2. Antiochus Soter. 3. Antiochus Theus. 4. Seleucus Callinicus. 5. Seleucus Ceraunus. 6. Antiochus Magnus. 7. Seleucus Philopator. 8. Antiochus Epiphanes.

chus (xi. 45) the history is occupied with the successes and reverses of ten kings¹ of the north and south who make Palestine their scene of conflict.

But whichever of these theories we may adopt it would appear morally certain that the "little horn" of chapter vii. cannot with any reason² be dissociated from the "little horn" of chapter viii.; and that to interpret the former of Antichrist and the latter of Antiochus, not only exhibits obliquity of exegetical treatment, but an utter disregard of that continuous reiteration of the same events which must be admitted to be a chief characteristic of these prophecies. Similar qualities attributed to the subject of either vision render it imperative that they should be similarly interpreted; and when to this it is added that the preceding symbols are allowed to shadow forth respectively the same historical events; exegetical consistency would

¹ Ptolemy Philadelphus (xi. 5). 2. Antiochus Deus (xi. 6). 3. Ptolemy Euergetes (xi. 7). 4. Seleucus Callinicus (xi. 8). 5. Ptolemy Philopator (xi. 9). 6. Antiochus Magnus (xi. 11, 13, 15). 7. Ptolemy Epiphanes (xi. 14). 8. Seleucus Philopator (xi. 20). 9. Demetrius (xi. 22). 10. Ptolemy Philometor (xi. 25, 40).

² Strenuous efforts have been made at any sacrifice, whether of exegetical consistency or common sense, to interpret the fourth beast of the Roman empire, and thus, by drawing out the prophecy to modern times, to leave room for the coming of the Son of Man to destroy an imaginary Antichrist. With this view, a correspondence has been pointed out between the bear and the leopard of chapter vii. and the Medo-Persian ram and the Macedonian he-goat of chapter viii. It has, however, been overlooked that these symbols are respectively followed by the fourth ten-horned beast, succeeded by the "little horn," who wears out the saints of the Most High, and is destroyed after a solemn process of judgment, in which the Ancient of days executes sentence upon Antiochus; and in the corresponding vision by the "four notable ones," succeeded, *after some interval*, by the "little horn," who also destroys the holy people, but is "broken without hand." If, then, the symbols of the bear and the leopard, upon the admission of opponents, coincide with those of the ram and the he-goat, upon what principle is the ten-horned beast separated by an incongruous remoteness from the four-headed beast; and the "little horn" succeeding the former explained of Antichrist, while that succeeding the latter is referred to Antiochus?

seem to require that those immediately succeeding should not be explained of things so widely distant from each other as the impieties of the Syrian tyrant and the expected opposition of some future enemy of the Church. To the objection that they who consider the prophecy to have been written after the event ought to have no difficulty in finding a meaning for these symbols,—“it being as inconsistent with the orthodox (?) school to attempt to explain them as it would be in the school of Porphyry (?) not to explain them,”—it may be answered that the same may be urged against the books of Enoch and 2 Esdras, which, professedly containing historico-prophetic representations of events long passed, are still a weary trouble to the learned. Independently of the mysterious character of apocalyptic writings generally, the difficulty of interpretation is increased by the defective history of the period as well as by the sameness of nomenclature which characterises the descendants both of Ptolemy and Seleucus. It may, therefore, be no easy task to determine with accuracy the “ten kings which shall arise” in the latter time of the kingdom of the four notable ones, or even to specify with precision¹ the four potent successors of the Macedonian conqueror: symbolic prophecy, especially in cases where the same events are repeated under a variety of emblems, not admitting of a definite interpretation of particulars, although the general meaning may be sufficiently apparent.

¹ Josephus mentions *five* principal successors of Alexander. “As his government fell among many, Antigonus obtained Asia; Seleucus, Babylon; and of the other nations which were there, Lysimachus governed the Hellespont; Cassander possessed Macedonia: and Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, seized upon Egypt.—*Ant.* xii. 1.

Similar vagueness¹ is perceptible in the use of the terms employed to describe the rise of the "little horn:" now *contemporaneously* "among" the ten horns; now *subsequently* "after" the ten horns; now proceeding "out" of one of the four notable ones; now, posterior to them in point of date, "*in the latter time of their kingdom*;" the indefinite character of these expressions, while it meets with singular propriety the case of Antiochus, who appears both "after" and "among" the ten Syro-Egyptian kings, "out" of the four notable ones, and yet "*in the latter time of their kingdom*," making loopholes for meaningless objections as well as frustrating the attempt to interpret with mathematical precision. One great fact, however, is sufficiently apparent, that the writer intended to denote a conspicuous persecutor of the Jewish people, who should arise in the latter part of the divided kingdom of Alexander's successors, and we can conceive of no other to whom the prophetic description can apply but the Antichrist of the præ-Christian period.

¹ Josephus and the writer of 1 Maccabees use terms of similar indistinctness in describing the rise of Antiochus. The former after saying that they "who should reign over the habitable earth *for many years* should not be of his (Alexander's) kindred," adds that "from *among* them should arise a certain king" (Antiochus).—Ant. x. 11. The latter, that "after his death his servants all put crowns upon themselves, and so did their sons after them *many years* . . . and there came out of them a wicked root, Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes."—1 Macc. i. 9, 10. The ambiguity of the terms in which the rise of the tyrant is expressed by these writers, whilst it leaves no doubt as to the person meant, throws an air of uncertainty around the time of his appearance upon the scene of the divided Grecian empire.

CHAPTER V.

THE LITTLE HORN.

THE symbol of the little horn has been explained of almost every remarkable personage, or of every startling phenomenon, which has agitated the world from the days of Daniel to the present time. Intense hatred of a cognate church has driven the majority of Protestant interpreters to apply the symbol to the church of Rome, that ecclesiastical bug-bear which is immediately suggested to some minds as often as the word "beast" is met with in the Scriptures. A statement of the so-called arguments on which this, and similar theories, are supposed to be founded, would require a volume of greater dimensions than the present; but perhaps the enumeration of them is less to be regretted when it is remembered that the interpretations are mutually destructive one of another. Others, again, have applied the symbol to Antichrist, and have explained the figures descriptive of the struggle between the Jewish patriots and their Syrian oppressors of some future contest between the Church and the powers of evil. This interpretation would seem to be purely arbitrary, and to have its origin in an attempt to divest the book of Daniel of its historical character. With equal disregard of exegetical consistency, it has been attempted to separate verses 35-45 of chapter xi.

from the preceding subject and to refer them to an Anti-christ yet to be revealed ; in forgetfulness of the context which is occupied with the history of Antiochus until his miserable death at the end of the chapter. The late date which we have adopted precludes this system of capricious interpretation and confines the field of inquiry within the chronological horizon of the writer. If such limitation increases the difficulty of finding a suitable meaning, it also adds, if it can be found, to its conclusiveness ; for to obtain within a given cycle a more satisfactory interpretation than that for which long periods have been vainly exhausted is a strong presumption in favour of truth.

In our own opinion the symbol of the "little horn"¹ can only represent the great oppressor of the Jewish nation, Antiochus Epiphanes. It would, we think, be simply difficult to find another who could answer to the character and fulfil the description given of him by Daniel. And in order to maintain this view there is no necessity, as is sometimes thought, to press the question of a Maccabean date ; for even on the supposition that the book of Daniel is a genuine work of the time of the captivity, no other interpretation could be seriously entertained. This opinion is firmly held by Moses Stuart.

¹ "The critics of both schools are almost unanimous in referring the 'little horn' of chapter viii. to Antiochus Epiphanes. He was a Syrian, and naturally took his rise from the Græco-Macedonian dynasty. On no supposition could he be said to have sprung from the Roman empire. And if his portrait be accurately drawn in chapter viii. it is equally so in chapter vii. To apply one description to one prince, and another to a second, is met by the *primâ facie* objection that it destroys the unity of the book and is contradicted by an evident similarity of details. A comparison of the passages vii. 8, 11, 20, 21, 24-26, and viii. 9-12, 22-25, will leave no other impression on the mind of an unprejudiced person than this: that they portray but one character under differences due to a gradual and successive revelation, and permissible through probable intervals of composition."--REV. J. M. FULLER, p. 240.

“From this dynasty (the divided Grecian dominion) springs Antiochus (vii. 8, 20), who is most graphically described (v. 25) as one who shall ‘speak great words against the Most High and shall wear out the saints of the Most High.’” He is supported in this view by nearly every writer of consideration who has given his thoughts on this subject to the world. In endeavouring to maintain this position we shall first cite the passages in which the persecutor, and the qualities ascribed to him, are set forth; and then show from contemporaneous and subsequent history their fulfilment in the person and circumstances of Antiochus Epiphanes.

I. THE RISE OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

“I considered the horns and behold there came up among them another little horn” (vii. 8).

“Another (horn) shall rise after them and he shall be diverse from the first” (vii. 24).

“And out of one of them (the four notable ones) came forth a little horn” (viii. 9).

“In the latter time of their kingdom (the four notable ones) when the transgressors are come to the full (ubi compleverint peccatores peccata sua), a king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences, shall stand up” (viii. 23).

“And in his estate (Seleucus Philopator) shall stand up a vile person (Antiochus Epiphanes) to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom” (xi. 21).

Antiochus Epiphanes, the second son of Antiochus the Great, sprang from the stock of the Syrian inheritors of the Macedonian conquests. “Out of them (the four potent successors of Alexander) arose another lesser horn, Antiochus Epiphanes” (Ant. x. 11). This direct testimony of Josephus is confirmed by the writer of the first book of Maccabees. “There came out of them (the ser-

vants of Alexander who all put crowns upon themselves) a wicked root (*ρίζα ἀμαρτωλός*), Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the king" (1 Macc. i. 10). He is described as a "little horn" (*parvis initiis*); less than the four notable ones who succeeded the Macedonian conqueror, or the ten Syro-Egyptian horns, whilst the surname "Epiphanes," although common to other kings, was given to him on account of the unenviable notoriety which he acquired as the persecutor of the holy people.

The time of his appearance on the scene of Jewish affairs is distinguished as one of great national apostacy. The conquests of Alexander had introduced Greek customs and modes of thought among the inhabitants of Palestine, and it required but slight external pressure to draw away a people half ashamed of their eccentric habits and the peculiarities of their burdensome ceremonial from the faith of their forefathers. Grecian games were already in vogue at Jerusalem, and the foreign appellations of Jason and Menelaus were assumed by the high-priests, Jesus, and Onias themselves (*Ant. xii. 5*). Citizens of Jerusalem were not ashamed to call themselves Antiochians, or to send special messengers "to the sacrifice of Hercules" at Tyre (2 Macc. iv. 9-19). In the language of Daniel, "transgressors were come to the full," and the time had arrived when the wicked should "do wickedly against the covenant" (*viii. 23; xi. 32*); or, as it is elsewhere described, when "wicked men persuaded many . . . and made themselves uncircumcised and forsook the holy covenant" (1 Macc. i. 11-15). The accession of Antiochus to the Syrian throne at this critical period, while it greatly favoured the designs

of the Hellenizing party, prepared the way, as in former periods of Jewish history, for the punishment of the national wickedness; and, to use the language of the prophet, "an host (the Jewish people) was given (to be destroyed) against—*together with*—the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression" (viii. 12). The same idea is insisted upon by the Maccabean writer—"Not setting by the honours of their fathers, but liking the glory of the Grecians best of all, by reason whereof sore calamity came upon them; for they had them to be their enemies and avengers whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things" (2 Macc. iv. 15-16). Thus their sin became their punishment, and their desertion of the sanctuary was avenged in the pollution of the sanctuary itself. It has already been observed that the epoch which introduces Antiochus is defined to be "the latter time of the kingdom" of the four notable successors of Alexander, an epoch at the same time subsequent to and contemporaneous with the "ten horns." This description corresponds harmoniously with the circumstances of the rise of the Syrian persecutor; and possibly of no other could it be affirmed with equal fitness, that he should arise "*among*" and "*after*" *i.e.* contemporaneously, yet subsequently to the ten kings, as well as "*out of*" and "*in the latter time of the kingdom*" of the four potent successors of Alexander.

II. THE CONQUESTS OF ANTIOCHUS.

“Another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots” (vii. 8). (“And three of the first horns were dried up by it,” LXX.)

“Before whom three fell” (vii. 20).

“He shall subdue three kings” (vii. 24).

“He waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land” (viii. 9).

“Within few days he (Seleucus Philopator) shall be destroyed, neither in anger nor in battle; and in his estate shall stand up a vile person” (xi. 20, 21).

“With the arms of a flood shall they be overflowed from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant” (Demetrius). (xi. 22).

“He (Ptolemy Philometer) shall not stand, for they shall forecast devices against him” (xi. 25).

The three horns “plucked up by the roots” by Antiochus are defined to be “three of the first horns”—the ten horns before mentioned—“among” which Antiochus himself arises. These we have thought to be Seleucus Philopator, his brother, assassinated by Heliodorus, probably at the instigation of Antiochus; Demetrius, the son of Philopator, his nephew, called “a prince of a covenant” (xi. 22), detained by him unjustly as a hostage at Rome in order that he might possess himself of the throne of Syria; and Ptolemy Philometer, the youthful son of his sister Cleopatra, against whom he waged many and successful wars.

Of the first of these it is said in the prophecy itself that he should be “destroyed neither in anger nor in battle” (*non in fervore pugnae, sine gloriae bellicae, sed morte infausta, insidiis oppressus Heliodori*); words which, although not directly attributing his murder to

Antiochus, leave room for the supposition that his immediate successor was not altogether guiltless: of the second, that he should be "broken" before him; and of the third, that he should not "stand." It will also be observed that these three kings are contemporaneous with Antiochus, being in fact the three last-mentioned of ten Syro-Egyptian kings, who introduce and are connected with the history of the "vile person" (xi. 21-45); a circumstance which serves to illustrate the apparent contradiction that the "little horn" arises both "among" and "after" the ten horns.¹

The area over which the conquests of Antiochus extend is also marked out with characteristic precision: their direction pointing "toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land." These particulars find a realization in the history of those times. Twice (some say four times) he invaded Egypt, the

¹ The terms in which the rise of Antiochus is expressed are too vaguely conceived to warrant the positive conclusion that by the "ten horns" kings of Syria are alone intended, and that he must therefore be the eleventh Syrian king. Of this no intimation is given in the book itself; and history abundantly testifies that he is the eighth Syrian king, and that his reign is contemporary with that of the sixth Ptolemy. "There would be a fixed principle (supposes an objector) in selecting either house, the Ptolemies or the Seleucidæ; but either house furnishes less than ten, both together more than ten." No such selection, however, is demanded by the terms in which the prophecy is couched. The objection, that since the narrative is posterior to the event, no difficulty ought to be experienced in the interpretation of the ten horns, or the three uprooted by the little horn, falls to the ground when the symbolic character in which these events are set forth is taken into account. The characteristic of prophecy, when couched in ordinary language, is vagueness with reference to particulars; but when, as in the present case, the visions are purposely clothed in symbolic dress, the meaning might be difficult of apprehension even to contemporaries themselves. Similar obscurity is apparent in the description of the "great horn" spoken of in the book of Enoch, whom the ravens and ravenous birds try to destroy, As in Daniel, the mention of this "great horn" occurs in a purely historical passage in which the writer gives an outline of sacred history from Adam to the time of the Maccabees. Interpreters, however, are much divided in their opinions whether the symbol refers to Judas Maccabeus or to John Hyrcanus.

south (xi. 25-29, 40-43). He recovered the upper provinces of Syria, the east, from Ptolemy Philometor, who succeeded to them as the dower of his mother, Cleopatra (Bell, Jud. i. 1); and his devastations of the "pleasant land," Judea, are too well known to require comment. Josephus says with regard to his invasions of Egypt (the south) that "Antiochus resolved to make an expedition into Egypt . . . so he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery ('they shall forecast devices against him,' xi. 25), and seized upon Egypt" (Ant. xii. 5). Driven from thence by the menace of the Roman legate, who charged him to let that country alone, he made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem: in the words of our prophet, "The ships of Chittim (LXX. the Romans) shall come against him, therefore he shall be grieved and return and have indignation against the holy covenant" (xi. 30). His dominion over Syria and the Eastern provinces extended "from the river Euphrates unto the borders of Egypt" (1 Macc. iii. 32); and when, in want of means to pay his troops preparatory to an intended invasion of Judea, he went into Persia to collect the taxes of that conquered country, "he left one Lysias governor of the kingdom as far as the bounds of Egypt, and of the lower Asia, and reaching from the river Euphrates" (Ant. xii. 7). Described as a "little horn" in the commencement of his reign, he afterwards increased to formidable dimensions; "waxing exceeding great," and, with the exception, perhaps, of the great Antiochus, his father, becoming the most magnificent of the Syro-Macedonian kings.

III. THE CRAFTY POLICY OF ANTIOCHUS.

“His power shall be mighty, but not by his own power: and he shall destroy wonderfully, and shall prosper and practise . . . and through his policy also he shall cause craft to prosper in his hand, and he shall magnify himself in his heart, and by peace shall destroy many” (viii. 24, 25).

“He shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries . . . and after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully . . . he shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province . . . and he shall forecast his devices against the strongholds even for a time” (xi. 21, 23, 24.)

“Antiochus Epiphanes (says Mr. Westcott) was given as a hostage to the Romans after his father’s defeat at Magnesia. In B.C. 175 he was released by the intervention of his brother Seleucus, who substituted his own son Demetrius in his place. Antiochus was at Athens when Seleucus was assassinated by Heliodorus. He took advantage of his position, and by the assistance of Eumenes and Attalus easily expelled Heliodorus, who had usurped the crown, and himself ‘obtained the kingdom by flatteries.’” The treacherous qualities by which Antiochus obtained possession of the Syrian kingdom to the exclusion of his nephew Demetrius, the lawful heir to the throne, receive ample confirmation from Josephus and the writers of the Maccabean history. “King Antiochus (says the former) returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem; and when he was there, in the one hundred and forty third year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him . . . and pretending peace, he got

possession of the city by treachery; at which time he spared not so much as those that admitted him into it, on account of the riches that lay in the temple" (Ant. xii. 5). Antiochus could the more easily play the part assigned to him, inasmuch as the Hellenistic party had secret friends within Jerusalem, headed by the impious Menelaus, who encouraged his insidious and oppressive acts (comp. 2 Macc. v.) The crafty policy of Antiochus seems to have been adopted by his lieutenant Apollonius. "The king (it is said) sent his chief collector of tribute unto the cities of Juda, who came unto Jerusalem with a great multitude, and spake peaceable words unto them, but all was deceit; for when they had given him credence, he fell suddenly upon the city, and smote it very sore" (1 Macc. i. 29, 30). "Antiochus (complains Josephus, Con. Apion. ii. 7) had no just cause for that ravage of our temple that he made: he only came to it when he wanted money without declaring himself an enemy, and attacked us while we were his associates and friends." We can scarcely fail to recognize in these actions a confirmation of the treacherous qualities ascribed by the prophet to Antiochus, "working deceitfully after the league made with him;" confirming a covenant with many and then breaking it; making use of the traitorous conduct of the apostate Jews to further his own purposes; "circumventing Ptolemy Philometor by treachery, and unjustly retaining his nephew as a Roman hostage; these, and similar acts of perfidy, exhibit the character of a man who, whatever may have been his ability, appears to have been reckless and unscrupulous in carrying out his designs; and who on that account, as well as on others

more particularly obnoxious to the Jews themselves, has handed down an infamous name to posterity.

IV. THE BLASPHEMIES OF ANTIOCHUS.

“In this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things” (vii. 8).

“I beheld then because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake” (vii. 11).

“That horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows” (vii. 20).

“And he shall speak great words (βλασφήμους λόγους, Theodoret) against the Most High” (vii. 25).

“And it waxed great even to the host of heaven: and it cast down some of the host and of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon them. Yea, he magnified himself even to (against) the Prince of the Host” (viii. 10, 11).

“He shall also stand up against the Prince of princes” (viii. 25).

“He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods . . . neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god (this last clause is omitted by the LXX.); for he shall magnify himself above all” (xi. 36, 37).

The peculiar feature in the character of Antiochus was not so much impiety as a determination to coerce those who differed from him to his own religious standard. He had his “ism” like enthusiasts of more recent times; and, having kingly authority, sought to force it upon the world. Regardless of the (Syrian) god of his fathers, and possibly magnifying himself above every god, he was not, as has been sometimes thought, altogether destitute of religious veneration.¹ It is distinctly asserted of him that in the place, or on the base of the

¹ “In two great and right things his was a truly royal mind, in gifts to cities and worship of the gods.”—*Liv.* xli. 20.

“In the sacrifices to the cities and in the honour to the gods he surpassed all who had reigned before him. This one may judge from the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens and the statues around the altar at Delos.”—POLYBIUS.

statue of the god whom his fathers worshipped, he should "honour the God of forces;¹ and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things: thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory" (xi. 38, 39). It would seem that Antiochus compelled his heathen subjects as well as the Jews to acknowledge this strange deity. The officers at Modin urge Mattathias to sacrifice on the ground, that not only the men of Judah and Jerusalem, but all the heathen (comp. 1 Macc. i. 42) have fulfilled the king's commandment; to which the noble answer is given, "Though all the nations that are under the king's dominion obey him, and fall away every one from the religion of their fathers, and give consent to his commandments, yet will I and my sons and my brethren walk in the covenant of our fathers" (1 Macc. ii. 19, 20). The only plea for this intolerance—a plea that must be put in for the persecutor in every age—is excess of zeal declaring itself in the attempt to overthrow the worship of every other object but that of its own choice.

It is not difficult to imagine what the effect of such proselytism would be upon a people like the Jews, conservative almost to bigotry on the question of religious worship. In their estimation the propagator of the new faith was a blasphemer of the worst kind, and no terms of reproach were too base or too bitter to be applied to him. That Antiochus fully merited such invectives there

¹ "Apparet agi de deo aliquo *bellico*. Qui cum Syris antea *ignotus* fuisse dicatur (cf. xi. 38, 39): probabiliter intelligendus est Jupiter Capitolinus cui templum Antiochiæ condere cœpit Antiochus."—(*Liv.* xli. 20).—MAURER. (Comp. 2 Macc. vi. 1, 2).

can be little doubt. It is probable that he regarded the true God in the same light as those gods of his country whom he despised, and above whom he magnified himself. Josephus has preserved a letter addressed by the Samaritans to "King Antiochus Epiphanes the god;"¹ and his blasphemies against the God of heaven are confirmed (1 Macc. i. 21, 24), where he is said to have "entered proudly into the sanctuary," and to have spoken very proudly." In 2 Macc. ix. 10, he is described as "one who thought he could reach to the stars of heaven;" no inapt commentary on the words, "He waxed great unto the host of heaven, and he cast down some of the host and of the stars (the people of Israel) to the ground." Above all, his profanation of holy things; his shameless plunder of the temple, which other heathen kings had been accustomed to respect; his wanton provocation of the national prejudices in setting up the idol altar above that of Jehovah; not only justify the description given of him by Daniel, but defy the annals of any period to produce a character in whom they can be realized with equal clearness. To the objection, scarce worthy of notice, that the "little horn" of chapter viii., which is admitted to represent Antiochus, does not correspond in all its features with the "little horn" of chapter vii., we would reply that the difference between these several descriptions is not greater than that between the great image of chapter ii. and the four great beasts of chapter

¹ "The reigning king (says Dr. Döllinger of the Lagidæ) as well as all his ancestors shared the temples and altars with the gods of the land. There were priests of the god Soter, of the gods Euergetæ, of the gods Philopator; and as soon as one Lagides succeeded his father on the throne, were he of age or but a minor, he was created a god forthwith, and the high priest at Alexandria was charged with his worship."

vii., in which the same ideas are allowed to be repeated under a variety of symbol and language; and it might, with equal propriety, be contended that the kingdoms symbolized by the four metals of the first are not analogous to those set forth by the four beasts of the second, because in the former all mention is omitted of the "little horn." Let it be added to this, that in both chapters the characteristic features of the tyrant's history are never lost sight of. His persecution of the holy people, his blasphemies against the God of heaven, and his heaven-inflicted and miserable death, find a place in each: the variety of costume under which these ideas are set forth being used to avoid a wearisome tautology as well as for the purpose of delineating more graphically the person who is the subject of them.

V. THE PERSECUTIONS OF ANTIOCHUS.

"I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them" (vii. 21).

"He shall wear out the saints of the Most High . . . and they shall be given into his hand" (vii. 25).

"A king of fierce countenance and understanding dark sentences shall stand up . . . and he shall destroy wonderfully . . . and shall destroy the mighty and the holy people" (viii. 23, 24).

"They shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days" (xi. 33).

"And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end" (xi. 35).

"There shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation to that same time" (xii. 1).

"Many shall be purified and made white and tried" (xii. 10).

It is well known that the unenviable office here ascribed to Antiochus of "making war," (*i.e.* persecuting, comp. Rev. xi. 7), with the saints, and wearing out

(by tortures) the saints of the Most High," obtained its complete realization. "This king of fierce countenance" — *ἀναιδῆς προσωπω*, LXX.—and of "furious mind," "whose look was more stout than his fellows," not only gave orders for the punishment of those who refused, at his suggestion, to forsake the law of their fathers, but, according to the writer of Maccabees ii., himself presided over their abominable tortures. The tender mercies of this royal executioner may be seen in an account of a mother and her seven sons put to death by him for refusing to eat swine's flesh. The eldest six suffered the extremity of barbarous cruelty before the mother's eyes. The last and youngest the tyrant agreed to spare if he would turn from the laws of his fathers; and when he had vainly endeavoured to persuade him to apostatize, he at last sent for his mother, and "exhorted her that she should counsel the young man to save his life." But with more than Spartan firmness, she exclaimed "O my son, have pity upon me that bare thee, and brought thee up unto this age: fear not this tormentor, but take thy death that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren." The death, also, of Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, "who was constrained to open his mouth and to eat swine's flesh, but who, choosing to die gloriously rather than live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth, and came of his own accord to the torment," affords another "example to such as be young to die willingly and courageously for the honourable and holy laws" (2 Macc. iv). To this may be added the untold sufferings of those heroic men who fled with the Maccabees into the mountains and supported life there

“after the manner of beasts.” A season of distress and anguish followed, “such as never was since there was a nation to that same time.” Under the pressure of this unheard of trouble, the holy city “became strange to those that were born in her, and her own children left her” (1 Macc. i. 38). “The Jews (says Josephus) every day underwent great miseries and bitter torments; for they were whipped with rods, and their bodies were torn to pieces, and were crucified while they were yet alive.” They also strangled those women and their sons whom they had circumcised (1 Macc. i. 60, 61), as the king had appointed, hanging their sons about their necks as they were upon the crosses” (Ant. xii. 5). Indeed, “under the whole heaven had not been done as had been done upon Jerusalem;”¹ no wonder that the mourn-

¹ In the recent work of Dr. Pusey, professing to be an unanswerable contribution against the scepticism which would relegate the composition of the book of Daniel to the Maccabean period, are found the subjoined passages which we place in parallel columns, with the opposite statement of the venerable Dean of St. Paul's, leaving the reader to form his own judgment respecting the credit to be attached to each.

“It is remarkable that, *contrary to the facts* in the time of Antiochus, and conformably to the facts under Titus, the destruction is attributed to the people of this prince, not to himself.” p. 187.

“The people of a prince that shall come shall destroy city and temple, i.e. shall fire some houses in the city, yet leaving it, as a whole, unharmed and inhabited as before, and displacing not one stone or ornament of the temple, nay, not touching it, for the idol altar was built on the brazen altar outside.” p. 226.

Daniel the Prophet, Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

“Antiochus . . . determined to exterminate the Hebrew race from the face of the earth. *The execution of the sanguinary edict was entrusted to Apollonius, and executed with as cruel despatch as the most sanguinary tyrant could desire.* Apollonius waited till the Sabbath, when all the people were occupied in their peaceful religious duties. He then let loose his soldiers against the unresisting multitude, slew all the men, till the streets ran with blood, and seized all the women as captives. *He proceeded to pillage and then to dismantle the city, which he set on fire in many places: he threw down the walls, and built a strong fortress on the highest part of Mount Sion, which commanded the temple and all the rest of the city.*”—*History of the Jews*, vol. i. p. 462.—MILMAN.

ful plaint arose, "Now therefore O our God hear the prayer of thy servant and his supplications . . . open thine eyes and behold our desolations and the city which is called by thy name" (ix. 17, 18).

VI. THE ATTEMPT OF ANTIOCHUS TO ABOLISH THE JEWISH RELIGION.

"He shall think to change times and laws" (vii. 25).

"His heart shall be against the holy covenant" (xi. 28).

"He shall have indignation against the holy covenant" (xi. 30).

"He shall have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant" (xi. 30).

"Such as do wickedly against the covenant shall be corrupt by flatteries" (xi. 32).

In his attempt to exterminate the Jewish religion, to call the temple that of Jupiter Olympius, and to compel the Jews to adopt the religious worship of the heathen, Antiochus differs ("he shall be diverse from the first") from other Gentile princes whose history has been interwoven with that of the holy people. So far from being desirous of abolishing the worship of Jehovah, they appear to have been anxious to retain the religious offices of the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar respected the prophetic character of Jeremiah (Jer. xxxix. 11): Cyrus is distinguished as the "anointed" (Isaiah xlv. 1) restorer of the temple: Darius "sent unto the house of God Sherezer and Regem-melech, and their men, to pray before the Lord" (Zech. vii. 2); and commanded the Jews to "offer sacrifices of sweet savours unto the God of heaven, and to pray for the life of the king and his sons" (Ezra vi. 10). "Seleucus (Philopator) king of Asia, of his own revenues, bare all the costs belonging to the service of the sacrifices" (2 Macc. iii. 3). But Antiochus, the

staunch enemy of Judaism, like his antitype Nero, aimed at the complete extinction of the existing worship. "King Antiochus wrote to his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and every one should leave his laws and should follow the laws and rites of the strangers in the land (margin); and forbid burnt-offerings, and sacrifice, and drink-offerings in the temple, and that they should profane the sabbaths and festival days: and pollute the sanctuary and holy people: set up altars, and groves, and chapels of idols, and sacrifice swine's flesh, and unclean beasts: that they should also leave their children uncircumcised, and make their souls abominable with all manner of uncleanness and profanation: to the end they might forget the law, and change all the ordinances: and whosoever would not do according to the commandment of the king he should die" (1 Macc. i. 41-50). Similarly Josephus says: "He compelled them to forsake the worship which they paid to their own God, and to adore those whom he took to be gods, and made them build temples, and raise idol-altars in every city and village" (Ant. xii. v.).

VII. THE ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION SET UP BY ANTIOCHUS.

"By him the daily sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanctuary was cast down; and an host was given him against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression" (viii. 11-12).

"The people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and in the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (ix. 26-27).

"And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate" (xi. 31).

"From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and

the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days" (xii. 11).

Of all historical facts, that recorded in the passages above cited, is one of the most indubitable; the time of its perpetration, as well as that of its duration, being noted with minute precision. "Now, the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, in the hundred forty and fifth year, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol-altars throughout the cities of Juda on every side. . . . Now the five and twentieth day of the month they did sacrifice upon the idol-altar which was upon the altar of God" (1 Macc. i. 54-59). Josephus adds: "And when the king had built an idol-altar upon God's altar, he slew swine upon it, and so offered a sacrifice neither according to the law nor the Jewish religious worship in that city" (Ant. xii. v.). The wanton character of this insult was inexcusable. It left its mark deeply impressed upon the national mind. Bishop Newton, in his anxiety to interpret the "little horn" of Antichrist, has spoken slightly of the calamities suffered under Antiochus, and has thought them in no way to be compared to those endured under Nebuchadnezzar. But the Babylonian captivity, terrible as it was, did not wound the national spirit so acutely as the shorter yet more malignant persecution of Antiochus. The Jew, always enthusiastic and impulsive, displayed on the subject of religion a fanaticism akin to frenzy, and the degradation heaped upon the altar of Jehovah sank deeply into the heart of all the race. Hence the historical prominence given to the treasured wrong. Hence the inexpressible indignation at the gratuitous insult as

well as the triumphant pæan at the excision of the oppressor. It ceases, therefore, to be an object of wonder that the deliverance of the holy people from such intolerable indignities should have supplied a theme congenial to the exalted state of the national mind, which found suitable expression in the noble plainness of Maccabean history, and in the mysterious, yet not less significant symbolism of Daniel.

VIII. THE MISERABLE END OF ANTIOCHUS.

“I beheld till the thrones were cast down (*placed—donec sellæ collocatæ sunt*), and the Ancient of days did sit, . . . the judgment was set, and the books were opened. I beheld then, because of the voice of the great words which the horn spake; I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame” (vii. 9–11).

“The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion to consume, and to destroy it unto the end” (vii. 26).

“He shall be broken without hand.”—*B'eyphes yad ishavër*,—in want (comp. Prov. xiv. 28) of hand to help him, he shall be broken (viii. 25).

“That determined shall be poured upon the desolate”—desolator (margin) (ix. 27).

“He shall come to his end, and none shall help him,”—*ve ayn hozer lo*,—and there is not a helper to him (xi. 45).

It is noticeable that the destruction of Antiochus is attributed in the book of Daniel to the Divine judgment.¹

¹ “Quant au jugement . . . ce n'est pas ce que le dogme chrétien appelle le jugement dernier, mais *le jugement de Dieu contre Antiochus Epiphane*; l'intervention de Jehova en faveur de son peuple.”—COLANI. Comp. 1 Kings xxii. where Ahab is sentenced to be slain after a solemn process of judgment: “I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left,” etc. So also the judgment scene is described in the book of Enoch in terms similar to those employed by Daniel—“At that time I beheld the Ancient of Days while he sat upon the throne of his glory, while the book of the living was opened in his presence, and while all the powers which were above the heavens stood around and before him: then were the hearts of the saints full of joy because the consummation of righteousness was arrived, the supplication of the saints heard, and the blood of the righteous appreciated by the Lord of spirits. . . . In those days shall the kings of the earth and the mighty men who have gained the world by their achievements become humble in countenance . . . I will cast them like hay into the fire and like lead into the water: thus shall they burn in the presence of the righteous.”—Book of Enoch, xlvi. 3, 4: xlvi. 7, 9.

In the sublime picture of chapter vii. 9, 10, the Ancient of Days seated on his wheeled¹ throne, and surrounded by myriads of angels, executes just retribution upon the sacrilegious tyrant. In the symbolic language of the prophet, "the beast² is slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame." This "just punishment for his pride" (2 Macc. vii. 36) is largely noticed by contemporaneous and subsequent writers. "The Lord Almighty, the God of Israel, smote him with an incurable and invisible plague (comp. Acts xii. 23) . . . and thus he that a little afore thought he might command the waves of the sea (so proud was he beyond the condition of man), and weigh the high mountains in a balance, was now cast on the ground and carried in an horse-litter, shewing forth unto all the manifest power of God: so that the worms rose up out of the body of this wicked man, and whiles he lived in sorrow and pain his flesh fell away, and the filthiness of his smell was noisome to all his army" (2 Macc. ix. 4-9).

Stricken down by an irresistible hand, the oppressor acknowledges his guilt, and repents of his enormities. "It is meet (he says) to be subject unto God, and that a man that is mortal should not proudly think of himself as if he were God. This wicked person vowed also unto the Lord, who now no more would have mercy upon him, saying thus, that the holy city (to the which he was going in haste, to lay it even with the ground, and to make it a common burying place,) he would set

¹ "Erat igitur thronus curruī impositus eoque vectus, ad instar illius quem Ezeziel, cap. i. et 10, describit."—ROSENMÜLLER.

² 'Ου γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ἀντίοχος ἀπώλετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ μακεδονικὴ ἀρχὴ πᾶσα κατελύθη.—POLYCHRON, cf. vs. 26.

at liberty; and as touching the Jews, whom he had judged not worthy so much as to be buried, but to be cast out with their children to be devoured of the fowls, and wild beasts, he would make them all equals to the citizens of Athens; and the holy temple which before he had spoiled he would garnish with goodly gifts, and restore all the holy vessels with many more, and out of his own revenue defray the charges belonging to the sacrifices; yea, and that also he would become a Jew himself and go through all the world that was inhabited and declare the power of God" (2 Macc. ix. 12-17). "He fell into a distemper (says Josephus) which, as it lasted a great while and as his pains increased upon him, so he at length perceived he should die in a little time. So he called his friends to him and told them that his distemper was severe upon him, and confessed withal that this calamity was sent upon him for the miseries he had brought upon the Jewish nation while he plundered¹ their temple and contemned their God" (Ant. xii. 9). "His pains (however) do not cease." "He is broken without (helping) hand." "His end (not "the end thereof," as in our version) shall be with a flood." "He shall come to his end and none shall help him." "Thus the murderer and blasphemer having suffered most grievously as he intreated other men, so died he a miserable death in a strange² country in the mountains" (2 Macc. ix. 28).

¹ Polybius says that Antiochus came to his miserable end because he had a purpose to plunder the temple of Diana in Persia: with the feeling natural to a Jew Josephus ascribes the same event to his "sacrilegious plundering of the temple at Jerusalem."

² "Ἐν τάβαις τῆς Πέρσιδος ἐζέλιπε τὸν βίον."—POLYBIUS.

It would perhaps be difficult to find a fulfilment which answers with greater exactness to the symbol of "the little horn" than the one now given. Speaking of the fitness with which it squares with the history of Antiochus, a modern commentator observes, "There can be no doubt that Antiochus Epiphanes is denoted here. All the circumstances of the prediction find a fulfilment in him. And if it were supposed that this was written *after* he had lived, and that it was the design of the writer to describe him by this symbol, he could not have found a symbol that would have been more striking or more appropriate than this" (Barnes on Daniel viii.). To this it may be added, that Josephus appears to have been aware of no other interpretation. He distinctly asserts that "the lesser horn" (Antiochus) arose out of the four horns of Alexander's divided empire; that it "waxed great," and that "God shewed to him (Daniel) that it should fight against his nation and take their city by force, and bring the temple worship to confusion, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety-six days (comp. 1290 days, xii. 11) that from among them (the four horns) there should arise a certain king that should overcome our nation and laws, and should take away the political government, and should spoil the temple, and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years. Accordingly it happened that our nation suffered these things under Antiochus Epiphanes" (Ant. x. 11). Interpreted by the aid of contemporaneous and subsequent history, the symbol of the little horn would seem to be capable of a natural and intelligible solution; explained as it some-

times is of an imaginary Antichrist of present or yet future times, it becomes obscure, contradictory, and misleading, involving palpable absurdities and encouraging fanaticism and error.

CHAPTER VI.

JUDAS MACCABEUS.

It was not to be expected that an impatient people like the Jews would long submit to insults of such a nature as those heaped upon them by Antiochus. The flame of insubordination soon burst forth, and Mattathias, a priest of the order of Joarib, indignant at the abominations committed in Judah and Jerusalem, having first slain the king's officer who compelled the Israelites to sacrifice in his own village of Modin, betook himself, like David of old, to the wilderness at the head of a small band of patriots. "If any one (he said) be zealous for the laws of his country and for the worship of God, let him follow me" (Ant. xii. 6). "So he and his sons fled into the mountains (or the wilderness as it is presently called) to dwell there" (1 Macc. ii. 28, 29), for the sake of the protection afforded by the desert fastnesses. What these heroic men suffered for conscience' sake in the secret places of their desolate sojourn, as they "wandered in deserts and in mountains and in dens and caves of the earth," and to what extent they carried their zeal for the law, when, being attacked by the forces of Antiochus on the Sabbath, they, to the number of a thousand, preferred to perish in the caves where they lay hid, rather than break the commandment by offering resistance on that holy day, may be learnt from 1 Macc. ii.

History no where supplies a record of more disinterested zeal or more dignified endurance than that evinced by the small yet "noble army of martyrs," who were "purified and made white and tried" in that time of unparalleled trouble.

After braving the authority of the tyrant for a year, and "living in the mountains after the manner of beasts," Mattathias, who seems to have been already advanced in years when the insurrection was made, fell a victim to the hardships consequent upon such a manner of life, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers at Modin, charging his sons with his latest breath to "give their lives for the covenant of their fathers," and reminding them by the examples of Joseph, Daniel, and the three holy children, that "throughout all ages none that put their trust in him shall be overcome." The sagacity of this prudent and zealous leader is not inaptly shown in the choice made by him of those amongst his sons whom he desired should fill his place. "I know (he said) that your brother Simon is a man of counsel, give ear unto him alway; he shall be a father unto you: as for Judas Maccabeus he hath been mighty and strong even from his youth up, let him be your captain and fight the battle of the people" (1 Macc. ii. 65-66). "Judas then (says Josephus) took upon him the administration of public affairs in the 146th year (of the Seleucidæ); and by the ready assistance of his brethren and of others cast their enemies out of the country, put those of their own country to death who had transgressed its laws, and purified the land of all the pollutions that were in it" (Ant. xii. 6).

The Maccabean leader began the work of national deliverance by collecting around him such of his countrymen as remained faithful to the law amidst the circumstances of trial in which they were placed. He soon found himself at the head of a small band of desperate men, "and all his brethren helped him, and so did all they that held with his father, and they fought with cheerfulness the battle of Israel" (1 Macc. iii. 2). His first success was obtained over Apollonius the governor of Samaria, the "chief collector of tribute" (1 Macc. i. 29), and a bitter enemy of the Jews: the Samaritans claiming to be Sidonians and not Jews (Ant. xii. 5) and freely adopting the Greek customs imposed by Antiochus. In this engagement Apollonius was defeated and slain, and his sword retained by the conqueror as a trophy of victory. Seron, general of the army of Coele Syria, was the next opponent. He experienced a still more disgraceful defeat than the former: his great multitude being utterly routed in the going down of Bethhoron" (1 Macc. iii. 24., Josh. x. 11) by the small yet determined band of patriots: Judas, like another Asa (2 Chron. xiv. 11), encouraging his soldiers with the words, "It is no hard matter for many to be shut up in the hands of a few; and with the God of heaven it is all one to deliver with a great multitude or a small company" (1 Macc. iii. 18). Encouraged by success, the troops of Judas encounter subsequently the whole power of Syria under Gorgias "that cursed man" (2 Macc. xii. 35) and Nicanor, their heathen adversaries amounting to the number of 40,000 foot, and 7,000 horse; and so confident are the latter of annihilating the insignificant

band opposed to them that they are accompanied by “merchants to buy those that should be carried captives; having bonds with them to bind those that should be made prisoners, and silver and gold with which they were to pay for their price” (Ant. xii. 7). The patriots, putting their trust in God, resolve to conquer or perish, “for it is better for us (they said) to die in battle than to behold the calamities of our people and our sanctuary; nevertheless as the will of God is in heaven, so let him do” (1 Macc. iii. 59-60). Opposing stratagem by counter-stratagem, Judas seizes and burns the camp of the enemy, plunders it of its treasures, and returns laden with spoil and singing hymns¹ of praise. “This victory (says Josephus) greatly contributed to the recovery of their liberty.” The next year Lysias, the viceroy of Syria, confounded at the

¹ It has been supposed that several of the later Psalms are of Maccabean date. Amongst these we would single out Psalm cxviii., sung possibly by Judas and his companions after the defeat of Gorgias or Lysias, when they “went home and sung a song of thanksgiving and praised the Lord in heaven because it is good, because his mercy endureth for ever” (1 Macc. iv. 24; Ps. cxviii. 1). The leading ideas of this Psalm find an answer in Maccabean history. It is “the house of Aaron” (Mattathias being “a priest of the order of Joarib” Ant. xii. 6), which is bid to utter a song of praise because the Lord, and not man, hath given them the victory. The gathering of the heathen nations, like bees, against the Jews (vv. 10, 11, 12), is repeated in the “nations assembled together against us to destroy us and our sanctuary” (1 Macc. iii. 58). The help of God by which the former are delivered from their enemies (v. 13) is answered in the words “How shall we be able to stand against them, except thou, O God, be our help?” (1 Macc. iii. 53). The chastisement yet not the destruction of the holy people (v. 18) in the similar sentiment, “Though he punish with adversity, yet doth he never forsake his people” (2 Macc. vi. 16). The opening of the gates of righteousness (v. 19) in the cleansing of the sanctuary (1 Macc. iv.). The binding of the sacrifice with cords even unto the horns of the altar (v. 27) in the “offering of sacrifice according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offerings which they had made” (1 Macc. iv. 53). The stone which the builders refused becoming the head of the corner (v. 22) in the stone, not in hands, becoming a great mountain and filling the whole earth (Dan. ii. 34, 35): whilst the Hosanna (vv. 25, 26) re-echoed in the Benedictus of the Gospel, finds its answer in the joyous services of the feast of dedication when “all the people fell upon their faces worshipping and praising the God of heaven who had given them good success.”

defeat at Emmaus of the troops which he had sent under Gorgias and Nicanor, and determined to subdue the rebellious Jews, assembled, at Bethsura, a still larger army of 60,000 chosen foot and 5,000 horse which he commanded in person. The Maccabee, as he is often called, meets this overwhelming force with only 10,000 men, unhesitatingly attacks them, and the rest perceiving the desperate character of their adversaries retreat to Antioch. "Lysias (says our historian) observing the great spirit of the Jews, how they were prepared to die rather than lose their liberty, and being afraid of their desperate way of fighting as if it were real strength, took the rest of the army back with him, and returned to Antioch; where he enlisted foreigners into the service and prepared to fall upon Judea with a greater army" (Ant. xii. 1).

Having, by these splendid victories over the lieutenants of Antiochus, delivered Judea from the presence of hostile invaders, the pious Maccabee resolves to "go up to Jerusalem to purify the temple and offer the appointed sacrifices." The deserted state of the temple, with its gates burnt down and plants growing in it of their own accord, forced tears from his rugged soldiers. The work of restoration speedily commenced. The idol altar was thrown down, the sanctuary cleansed, the holy vessels replaced, and "sacrifice offered according to the law upon the new altar of burnt offering which they had made." "Now it happened that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off;" or as it is elsewhere stated, "Look at what time and what day the heathen had profaned it, even in that

was it dedicated with songs, and citherns, and harps, and cymbals; then all the people fell upon their faces worshipping and praising the God of heaven who had given them good success" (1 Macc. iv. 54, 55).

The subsequent acts of Judas; his victories over the neighbouring nations of Edom, Moab, and Ammon (comp. xi. 41, with 1 Macc. v. 3-8), who, as was frequently the case, were envious of the good fortune of the Jews and took the part of their enemies; the gradual subdual of Judea, city after city, before Judas and Jonathan; his intrepid attempt to raise the siege of Bethsura by attacking the army of Lysias amounting to 80,000 foot, 20,000 horse, and 32 elephants, in which engagement his heroic brother Eleazar perished; his superb conquests over the armies of Nicanor; first at Capharsalama, where Nicanor was defeated with a loss of 5,000 men, and again at Adasa, where the forces of the Syrian general were completely routed and he himself slain; the head and the right hand of "that blasphemer" being cut off, and hung, the one upon the tower, the other upon a gate of the temple, called afterwards Nicanor's gate,—a final and crushing overthrow of the Syrian power in Judea of which the remembrance was kept yearly, on the thirteenth day of the month Adar; his celebrated league offensive and defensive with the Romans; his unequal conflict with the troops of Bacchides, 800 Jews against 22,000 heathen; his chivalrous determination, worthy of the days of Leonidas or Bayard, not to flee, "If our time be come let us die manfully for our brethren, and let us not stain our honour" (1 Macc. ix. 10); his heroic death upon the field of battle;

the great lamentation (comp. 2 Sam. 1) made for him, "How is the valiant man fallen that delivered Israel,"—these, although interesting as well as important features in the life of Judas, must be merely glanced at, as points with which the prophecy of Daniel is not principally concerned. Enough perhaps has been said to show the conspicuous part played by this greatest of Israel's champions in the defence of national and religious independence. Around no other head does the wreath of liberty entwine with more grace and honour. Around no other name does the veneration attaching to disinterested and patriotic deeds cling more firmly or more deservedly. "He had been (says Josephus) a man of valour and a great warrior, and mindful of the commands of his father Mattathias; and had undergone all difficulties both in doing and suffering for the liberty of his countrymen. And when his character was so excellent while he was alive he left behind him a glorious reputation and memorial by gaining freedom for his nation and delivering them from slavery under the Macedonians" (Ant. xii. 2).

THE CLEANSING OF THE SANCTUARY.

I. A principal achievement of the Maccabean patriots which receives notice in the book of Daniel is the Cleansing of the Sanctuary. The impiety which led to this religious act, as well as the act itself, is distinctly asserted, and it may be interesting, as before, to compare the prophetic account with historical facts.

"I heard one saint speaking, and another saint said unto that certain *saint* which spake, How long *shall be* the vision *concerning* the daily *sacrifice*, and the transgression of desolation, to give both the sanctuary

and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" (viii. 13, 14).

"In the midst of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease, and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make *it* desolate" (ix. 27).

"Arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily *sacrifice*, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate" (xi. 31).

"From the time *that* the daily *sacrifice* shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, *there shall* be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (xii. 11-12).

It will perhaps be admitted that these passages refer to a horrible desecration of the temple accompanied by the taking away of the daily sacrifice and the setting up of the "transgression of desolation," or, as it is elsewhere called, the "abomination that maketh desolate." This pollution is followed at the end of a prescribed period which is accurately defined, by the cleansing of the holy place, and the restoration of divine worship. It was the privilege of the noble Maccabee to execute this great work. Amidst the indignities heaped upon his nation, the wanton insult offered to the temple of the living God lay heaviest at his heart. Fresh from the battle field where the viceroy of Syria had been defeated, his sword yet reeking with the blood of slaughtered enemies, he resolves to purify the altar which the heathen had defiled. "Then said Judas and his brethren, behold our enemies are discomfited, let us go up to cleanse and repair the sanctuary. Upon this all the host assembled themselves together, and went up to mount Zion. And when they saw the sanctuary desolate, and the altar profaned, and the gates burned up, and shrubs growing in the

courts as in a forest, or in one of the mountains, yea, and the priests' chambers pulled down, they rent their clothes and made great lamentation, and cast ashes upon their heads, and fell down flat to the ground upon their faces, and blew an alarm with the trumpets and cried toward heaven. Then Judas appointed certain men to fight against those that were in the fortress [built by Antiochus] until he had cleansed the sanctuary; so he chose priests of blameless conversation, such as had pleasure in the law, who cleansed the sanctuary" (1 Macc. iv. 36-43.) Josephus, who appears to have kept close to the statement of the Maccabean writer, gives an almost parallel account (Ant. xii. 7;) merely adding that "when he had carefully purged it and had brought in new vessels, the candlestick, the table of shew bread, and the altar of incense which were made of gold, he hung up the veils at the gates and added doors to them; he also took down the altar of burnt offering and built a new one of stones that he gathered together, and not of such as are hewn with iron tools."

It would be difficult to add to the positiveness and the circumstantiality with which these writers ascribe the cleansing of the sanctuary to Judas Maccabeus; this event appearing to be not only one of the most certain, but most unique facts recorded in Jewish history. Josiah, it is true, purified the temple of idolatrous worship, which had been intermixed with that of the true God, but no desolation corresponding to that effected by Antiochus had previously taken place. The Jews who returned from Babylon did not so much restore as rebuild their temple from its foundations. Pompey

went into the temple and saw what was unlawful for him to see, but no cleansing followed this desecration. Titus entered into the holy house as it was wrapped in flames previous to its final and irremediable desolation, but no re-consecration succeeded the impiety of the Roman general. The profanation and subsequent purification of the temple, within the limits of the period assigned by Daniel, find their accomplishment only in the desolation of Antiochus, and the cleansing of the sanctuary by Judas. No other event harmonizes with the features or meets the necessities of the case. To this must be added the corroborating circumstance, that this pious restoration was commemorated by a feast which lasted eight days, the observance of which was handed down to the time of Christ. This was in all probability "the feast of Dedication," at which our Lord was present; the time of its celebration, in the middle of December, agreeing with the statement of the evangelist "and it was winter" (John x. 22). "Thus was there very great gladness among the people for that the reproach of the heathen was put away; moreover Judas and his brethren, with the whole congregation of Israel, ordained that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept in their season from year to year by the space of eight days, from the five and twentieth day of the month Casleu, with mirth and gladness" (1 Macc. iv. 58, 59).

THE RESTORATION OF THE KINGDOM TO ISRAEL.

II. The cleansing of the sanctuary appears to have been followed by the death of Antiochus, the two events being nearly contemporaneous; a fact asserted in the

prophecy itself (ix. 27), as well as abundantly confirmed by the Maccabean historians who connect his sudden and inglorious end with the disastrous intelligence brought to him into Persia, of the successful revolt of the Jews. At the period immediately subsequent¹ to the destruction of the tyrant, a new and glorious future is anticipated for Israel. A kingdom is seen to arise from the wreck of the divided Macedonian empire, which is to be superior to the preceding heathen kingdoms, and to stand for ever; or, as the same idea is elsewhere expressed, a son of man comes with clouds to the Ancient of days, and receives from him a kingdom which shall not be taken away, like those of the "rest of the [heathen] beasts" (vii. 12.) We subjoin the passages which describe the rise and universal dominion of this Jewish kingdom.

"Thou sawest till that a stone was cut out without hands, which smote the image upon his feet, that were of iron and clay, and brake them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver, and the gold, broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff

¹ It is distinctly announced in the book itself that the establishment of the kingdom of the saints (the Jewish people) is immediately consequent upon the destruction of the "little horn" (Antiochus). The analogy of the prophecy uniformly points to this period. The stone (not in hands) smites the image, not upon its Babylonian head of gold, nor its Medo Persian breast and arms of silver, nor its Grecian belly and thighs of brass, *but upon its Syro-Egyptian feet of iron and clay*, and becomes a great (Jewish) mountain, filling the whole earth: or, as explained (v. 44), "In the days of these kings (the ten toes of the great image) shall the God of heaven set up a (Jewish) kingdom, which shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and shall stand for ever." With an equal regard to immediate consecutiveness "the judgment sits," [upon Antiochus] "and the kingdom, and dominion, and greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven [is] given to the people of the saints of the most High" (vii. 26, 27). Similarly the miserable end of the tyrant is the consummating event which is to introduce the time of the restoration: "when he (Antiochus) shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people (*i. e.* when the strength of the Jewish nation shall be completely broken and prostrated by the overwhelming evils brought upon them by the tyrant), all these things (including his destruction, xi. 45) shall be finished (xii. 7).

of the summer threshing-floors; and the wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the stone that smote the image became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth" (ii. 34, 35).

"And in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed; and the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever. Forasmuch as thou sawest that the stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the iron, the brass, the clay, the silver, and the gold; the great God hath made known to the king what shall come to pass hereafter" (ii. 44, 45).

"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (vii. 13, 14).

"And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High" (vii. 27).

These exalted figures, apparently too highly conceived to be explained only of the political change in the circumstances of the Jewish people, are nevertheless restricted by the express terms of the prophecy to the period with which our history is concerned. It becomes therefore imperative to interpret them, either of an actual deliverance then experienced, or of an expected Messianic deliverance, not, however, realized at the time appointed. In support of the first of these theories, it may be urged that the change from an ignominious serfdom, to comparative liberty, was real and complete, and the Jewish ascendancy established by the Maccabean family maintained throughout a long and splendid line of Asmonean kings. Within a few years of the death of Judas, the Jews ceased to pay tribute to the kings of

Syria, and erected themselves into an independent nation. After five hundred years of Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Macedonian, and Syro-Egyptian vassalage, their rulers once more proceeded from themselves and their governors from the midst of them; whilst their territorial acquisitions equalled, if not exceeded, those of the most exalted period of Jewish dominion.

Simon and Jonathan, the brothers of Judas, nobly seconding the efforts for independence which he had begun, succeeded in completely rescuing Judea from the Syrian yoke. The former of these, "the benefactor and ethnarch of the Jews," withheld from the Syrians their accustomed tribute, and "on the first year of his high priesthood, set his people free from their slavery under the Macedonians, and permitted them to pay tribute to them no longer" (Ant. xiii. 6.) Simon was followed by his son Hyrcanus, who "revolted from the Macedonians, nor did he any longer pay them the least regard either as their subject or their friend" (Ant. xiii. 10). Aristobulus the son of Hyrcanus "intending to change the government into a kingdom, first of all put a diadem² upon his head" (Ant. xiii. 11). To Aristobulus succeeded Alexander Jannæus, whose queen Alexandra

¹ "The Jews (in the reign of Alexander Jannæus) were in possession of the following cities that had belonged to the Syrians, Idumeans, and Phenicians. At the sea side—Strato's tower, Appollonia, Joppa, Jamnia, Ashdod, Gaza, Anthedon, Raphia, and Rhino-colura. In the middle of the country, near to Idumea—Adera, and Marissa: near the country of Samaria—Mount Carmel, and Mount Tabor, Scythopolis, and Gadara: of the country of Gaulonitis—Selencia, and Gabala: in the country of Moab—Hesbon, and Medaba, Lemba, and Nonas, Gelithon, Zara, the valley of the Cilices, and Pella. . . . The Jews also possessed cities of Syria which had been destroyed" (Ant. xiii. 15).

² "Tum Judæi, Macedonibus invalidis, Parthis nondum adultis (et Romani procul erant), sibi ipsi reges imposuere."—Tac. *Hist.* v. 8.

held the government after his death till her decease at the age of seventy-three. She left two sons, Hyrcanus II. and Aristobulus II. These, disputing for mastery at Jerusalem, appealed to the all-powerful Romans. Pompey at that time, at Damascus, favoured by the party of Hyrcanus, easily took the city of Jerusalem, and Judea became a Roman province. It may be also worthy of notice that the restored kingdom of Israel did not end with the extinction of the Asmonean line, who are again succeeded by the Idumean family who, although aliens by race, were Jews in religion. A princely line of Herodian kings, appointed, it is true, by the Romans, yet exercising independent sovereignty, directed Jewish affairs from the accession of Antipater to the days of Agrippa II. the last of the Herods, who took the part of the Romans at the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

It is around the splendid deliverance originated, if not accomplished, by this priestly¹ warrior and his brave companions that the visions of Daniel love to revolve, and it would seem doubtful how much of this highly-wrought and symbolical imagery is applicable to the independence effected by their efforts, or to some expected deliverance of which the former may have been the type. Groaning under a tyranny which, if exceeded in duration had never been surpassed in intensity, the Jewish people impatiently awaited a rescue; and the extraordinary success of the Maccabean patriots

¹ The priests went into battle with the rest and received their share of the spoil; the priesthood being compatible with military appointments. Thus Benaias the priest was commander of the body guard of king Solomon and general of his army. Sadoc and Joiada, both descendants of Aaron, belonged to the staff of David's army. It is well known that the Maccabees were of the priestly race.—DÖLLINGER.

against the forces of Antiochus may have raised the national mind to a high pitch of enthusiasm. Ever ready to rush into extremes, and inflated with ideas of superiority over other nations (comp. 2 Edras vi. 55, 56), they may have passed, in imagination, from throwing off the Syrian yoke to dream of universal empire, and from the position of hereditary bondsmen, into that of masters of the habitable earth. The Syrian rule over the holy people had been stern. The oppressor had gone forth mercilessly to plunder and destroy. The holy and beautiful house in which their fathers worshipped God was filled with Gentile revelling (2 Macc. vi. 4), and all their pleasant things were laid waste. The abomination of desolation stood upon the altar of Jehovah, and unclean sacrifices smoked upon it, instead of the pure offerings of the law. At this time of national depression light breaks in upon the darkness. A deliverer appears who "turns to flight the armies of the aliens;" rescues the nation from a twofold slavery; restores their religious and political rights; and founds a splendid line of Asmonean kings. Is it too much to suppose that the brilliant successes of the Maccabees may have found expression in the symbol of a stone,¹ not in (human) hands, smiting the feet of the image and becoming a great mountain (Zech. viii. 3); and filling the whole

¹ The figure of a stone, not in hands (comp. the stone of tin or dross in the hand of Zerubbabel, Zech. iii. 9, iv. 10, which afterwards became the head stone, iv. 7) may symbolize the Jewish people, rejected of the builders and unworthy to be compared with the heathen kingdoms of gold and silver and brass and iron, becoming a great mountain and filling the whole earth; whilst the notion of Jewish supremacy over the heathen, implied by the stone smiting the image may owe its origin to Hagg. ii. 21-23, where the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen is said to be overthrown before Zerubbabel.

earth: or does it appear an unnatural application of prophetic symbolism to conceive that the same illustrious exploits may have been shadowed forth under the figure of a son of man¹ (personified Israel) coming with clouds to the Ancient of Days, and receiving from the most High a kingdom which should not "pass away" like that of Antiochus, nor be "left to other people."? Certain it is that the universal dominion given to a son of man is the same as that which is presently "given to the people of the saints of the most High," and that nothing is more common in prophetic writings than to represent collective Israel under an individual type (Isa. xlix. 3-5; lvi. 2). It appears to us no more contrary to the analogy of the symbolism used in this book that the Jewish kingdom which followed that of Antiochus should be shadowed forth by emblems corresponding to its permanence and dignity,

¹ The symbol of a son of man (*bar-enosh*), a frail, or mortal man, the root *anush* signifying to be infirm, may be employed to personify the Jewish people—"the saints" (vii. 18-22-27). A similar use of this figure is perceptible (Psalm cxliv. 3, 4), where in thankfulness for deliverance shown to Israel, the Psalmist exclaims, "Lord what is man that thou takest knowledge of him or the son of man (*ben enosh*), that thou makest account of him?" And that by this term collective Israel is represented, would seem evident from the context, where the mercies acknowledged are those shown to a people: "Happy is that *people* that is in such a case, yea happy is that *people* whose God is the Lord." The idea intended to be conveyed by coming with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days may be simply that of exaltation to great national dignity. Comp. the arrogant boasting of the king of Babylon. "I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the most High" (Isa. xiv. 13, 14).

D'après la plupart des exigètes ce personnage semblable a un fils d'homme doit être le Messie. Pourquoi donc? La symétrie de la vision exige nécessairement que ce soit un empire celui des Juifs, qui doit remplacer les quatre autres, s'étendre sur tous les peuples, et n'avoir pas de fin. Le prophète lui donne pour symbole avec un tact exquis, non plus un animal, mais la noble figure humaine, qu'ailleurs il attribue à Gabriel, et à un autre ange, comme seut digne de ces êtres surnaturels. Cet homme symbole, d'ailleurs, ne descend point du ciel: *il y monte au contraire sur les nuées* pour être présenté a l'ancien des jours, comme le dit formellement le prophète. — COLANI.

than that the kingdoms of Babylon, Medo-Persia, Macedon, Syria and Egypt, should be represented by metallic and animal symbols descriptive of their respective qualities. Besides this, the historical character and successive order which mark preceding heathen kingdoms preclude the supposition that they could be followed in the same vision by a kingdom, distinct in kind, as well as separated by a considerable interval, from the mundane kingdoms which precede it.

But whilst we would interpret these emblems of the Jewish kingdom set up by the God of heaven at the period of the Maccabean struggle, it is by no means improbable that their magnificent colouring may have been tinged by Messianic¹ expectation. It is well known

¹ The Messianic expectation of the Jewish people appears to have been especially prominent in times of national distress; the sustaining hope shining forth with a brightness proportioned to the darkness of the affliction. The intensity of the Syrian oppression may therefore suggest a reason why the writer should have attributed to this epoch anticipations of a fervid character in the hope that the magnificent destinies of the favoured people might find an adequate fulfilment in the deliverance which then began to declare itself. It would also appear that Messianic qualities are attached in Scripture generally not so much to future as to present deliverers, whose career of success was giving promise of greater things. Isaiah saw the realization of Israel's hope in the child of a young marriageable woman, the time of whose birth is determined by the destruction within three years (Isaiah vii. 16) of the kings of Israel and Damascus. Micah saw a ruler in Israel "whose goings forth had been from old from everlasting" in the man (Hezekiah), who should be "the peace when the Assyrian should come into the land" (Micah v. 2-5). Jeremiah discerned Messianic qualities in the "righteous branch" (Zerubbabel) which the Lord should raise to David, who should bring back Israel to their own land (Jer. xxiii. 5-8; xxxiii 15-16). Haggai and Zechariah assigned similar attributes to the same distinguished person (Hagg. ii. 21-23; Zech. xii. 8). The Jews of our Lord's time thought they saw a Messiah in John the Baptist, and "mused in their hearts of John whether he were the Christ or not;" and in the time of Hadrian they discovered similar qualifications in Bar-Cochebas. It would, therefore, be in accordance with Jewish notions to connect the rescue effected by the Maccabees with the hope of Messianic deliverance. Similarly the Jewish Sybil, after describing (v. 611) the troubles consequent upon the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, introduces (v. 562) the king from the east who should inaugurate the Messianic reign:—

“Καὶ τότε ἅπ’ ἡελίοιο θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα,
Ὅς πᾶσαν γαίαν παύσει πολέμοιο κακοῖο.”

that the hopes of the nation were then raised to the highest pitch, and this may have assisted to create the highly-wrought symbolism under which the independence commenced by Judas and his brethren is described. An exaltation of ideas, natural under the circumstances of the case, may have led to the conclusion that the time had come, foretold in ancient prophecy, when "the mountain of the Lord's house (comp. ii. 35) should be established on the top of the mountains, and should be exalted above the hills, and all nations should flow unto it" (Isaiah ii. 2; Micah iv. 1). What then if they saw in the triumphs of the patriots, the prelude of Jewish supremacy, and the earnest of the coming glory? Under the influence of such impressions it need not be thought strange that the rescue from Syrian tyranny should have been associated with the prospect of universal empire, or that the then existing deliverance should have fostered the hope of the long-expected restoration of the kingdom to Israel.

III. Leaving without comment the rebuilding of the street and wall by Maccabeus at the expiration of "threescore and two weeks," of which an explanation will be attempted in the succeeding chapter, we notice briefly the assistance rendered by the hero to his countrymen, as described in the book of Daniel.

"The people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed" (xi. 32-35).

If ever there was a time in the annals of Jewish story in which “the people that do know their God should do exploits,” it is that with which we are now concerned. The chronicles of that period abound with deeds of such romantic valour, that but for the well-known veracity of the author of Maccabees, they would appear to be well nigh fabulous. It is recorded that all the five sons of Matathias perished in behalf of the cause they had espoused. First, Judas, fell at a “Jewish Thermopylæ.” Within a few days his brother John was “slain by the party of Antiochus” (Bell, Jud. i. 1). Eleazar had previously thrown away his life in the same contest. Jonathan was put to death by the treachery of Tryphon, the guardian of Antiochus Eupator; and last of all, Simon fell a victim to domestic treason. Of the self-devotion of one of these worthy sons of a worthy sire, Jewish history, with pardonable pride, has left a memorable record. Before the battle joined in one of those mountain passes where the patriots, inferior in number to their overwhelming foes, were wont to assail their enemies to advantage, “Eleazar, the brother of Judas, seeing the highest of the elephants adorned with a large tower and with military trappings of gold, and supposing that Antiochus himself was upon him, ran a great way before his own army, and cutting his way through the enemy’s troops, got up to the elephant. Yet he could not reach him who seemed to be the king by reason of his being so high; but ran his weapon into the belly of the beast, and brought him down upon himself, and was crushed to death, having done no more than attempted great things, and showed that he preferred glory above life”

(Bell, Jud. i. 1). The indomitable courage which prompted this onslaught is enhanced by the circumstances related in 1 Macc. vi., where it is said that in order to provoke the elephants to fight, they showed them the blood of grapes and mulberries; that every beast was attended by a thousand footmen and five hundred horsemen clad in armour; that upon the elephants were strong wooden towers holding thirty-two men that fought upon them, besides the Indian that ruled them. Heroism like this, rash as it may seem, could not fail of its effect, and the war-cry of the Maccabee became only another word for victory.

IV. The valiant Maccabee is also represented as assisted by supernatural help, similar to that afforded to Joshua, the high priest.

“Now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia: and when I am gone forth, lo, the prince of Grecia shall come. But I will shew thee that which is noted in the scripture of truth: and there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but Michael your prince” (x. 20, 21).

“At that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people: and there shall be a time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time: and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book” (xii. 1).

To realize the picture here set forth, it will be necessary to refer to an angelic interposition on behalf of the captive people, recorded in Zech. iii. The elder prophet beholds Joshua, the high priest, “standing (in judgment) before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand (comp. Psalm cix. 6) to resist him;” margin—to be his adversary. This adversary is twice rebuked, for Jerusalem is to be

“chosen,” and received once more into the Divine favour. The filthy garments of the captivity are then taken from Joshua; he is clothed in the splendid attire of the high priest (comp. *Eccles.* 1), “and the angel of the Lord stood by (to strengthen and encourage him); and the angel of the Lord protested unto Joshua, saying, Thus saith the Lord of hosts: If thou wilt walk in my ways, and if thou wilt keep my charge, then thou shalt also judge my house, and shalt also keep my courts, and I will give thee places to walk (ambulacra) among these (angels¹) that stand by.” This vision of Zechariah would seem to be repeated in *Dan.* x. In the third year of Cyrus, in which year the Samaritan and other adversaries of the Jews frustrated the rebuilding of the temple by their accusations at the court of Persia, Daniel was “mourning three full weeks” of days. In the twenty-fourth day of the month Nisan, he beholds a “certain man clothed in linen” (Joshua, the high priest, raised to the level of the angels, *Zech.* iii. 7, and robed in the shining garments with which the angel had invested him) “by the side of the great river Hiddekel.” The magnificently attired messenger recounts to Daniel the opposition he had received from Satan the adversary, (“the prince (*στρατήγος* LXX.) of the kingdom of Persia,” who withstood the rebuilding of the temple for twenty-one days, perhaps representing years) during the reigns of Cyrus, Cambyses, or Ahasuerus, and Darius Hystaspis; “but lo, (he adds) Michael, one of the chief princes (Michael *the angel*, LXX.) came to help me; and I re-

¹ Non jam inter sacerdotes tui similes, sed inter ipsos angelos obambulabis in sacrario, angelos habebis socios comites-que.—MAURER.

mained there (*retardatus sum*) with the kings of Persia." The same priestly messenger tells Daniel, "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days (the times of Antiochus Epiphanes) for yet the vision is for days" (comp. viii. 26, x. 1): meaning, perhaps, that the circumstances of the Babylonian were analogous to those of the Syrian period; the opposition experienced by Joshua from the kings of Persia being repeated in that experienced by Judas Maccabeus from the prince of Grecia. This idea would seem conveyed in the symbolic language of the prophecy itself: "Now will I return to fight with the prince of Persia, (*i. e.* to overcome his opposition) and when I am gone forth (and when I shall have performed this task) lo; the prince of Grecia (Antiochus) shall come (to offer similar hindrance), . . . and there is none that holdeth with me in these things (there is none that strengtheneth himself—*fortem se prestat*—with me against these—*al eyleh*—viz., the prince of Persia and the prince of Grecia) but Michael your prince: also in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I, stood to confirm and to strengthen him" (comp. ver. 13.)

In accordance with the parallelism between the respective restorations effected at the close of the Babylonian and Syrian captivities, Michael is represented as standing up to assist Maccabeus as the angel of the Lord assisted Joshua (Zech. iii.). The period of this interposition is defined by contemporaneous events, whose historical fulfilment would hardly seem to admit of question,—the season of unparalleled trouble in which the champion arises—the accompanying resur-

rection,¹ an expectation, as we have seen, familiar to the Maccabean age—the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the setting up of the abomination that maketh desolate for the space of a “time, times, and an half,” a term still more accurately expressed by 1,290 days—the blessing promised to him who, surviving that era of persecution, should live to see the death of the oppressor at the expiration of forty-five additional days—restricting the appearing of Michael “the great prince” to that particular era in Jewish history which witnessed the patriotic efforts of the Maccabees, assisted, according to the belief of those times, by the tutelary guardian² of the Jewish people. The angelic interpositions of the respective periods would thus seem double one of another; the circumstances of the high priest of the Babylonian captivity being repeated in those of the high priest of the days of Syrian persecution, and the interposition of the

¹ “Si Daniel est le premier qui attende une resurrection des morts (au sens propre) lors de l'avènement des temps nouveaux, il est aussi le premier qui assigne à cet avènement une date précise et très-prochaine.” A partir de l'abolition du sacrifice (par Antiochus) il y aura 1290 jours. Heureux celui qui persévère et atteint 1335 jours.' En d'autres termes, les temps d'angoisse et d'oppression qui sont déjà commencé lorsque le Voyant écrit son livre dureront trois ans et demi (presque l'équivalent au premier de ces nombres) puis une lutte de 45 jours amènera le triomphe de Jéhova.”—COLANI.

² That the personal interference of guardian angels in human affairs was the settled belief of the Maccabean age is obvious from 2 Macc. xv., in which chapter the vision of Judas is recorded, “And this was his vision,—That Onias, who had been high priest, a virtuous and a good man, . . . holding up his hands, prayed for the whole body of the Jews. This done, in like manner there appeared a man with grey hairs and exceeding glorious . . . a lover of the brethren, who prayeth much for the people and for the holy city, to wit, Jeremias the prophet of God . . . Whereupon Jeremias gave to Judas a sword of gold, (comp. Josh. v. 13, 14) . . . with which (he) should wound his adversaries.” After this follows the victory of Judas over Nicanor, a “good angel” being sent before them, “for through the appearance of God (*Mi-ca-el*, who as God) they were greatly cheered . . . and from that time forth the Hebrews had the city in their own power.”

first Michael of the age of Joshua in that of the second Michael of the time of Maccabeus.

The war of liberation, as it is called, resulting in the complete independence of the holy people, is a proud epoch in Jewish annals, and worthy to be compared with the most disinterested efforts witnessed by any age or country in behalf of civil and religious freedom. It is questionable whether the whole range of Sacred history presents a more perfect character than that of Judas. "Among those lofty spirits who have asserted the liberty of their native land against wanton and cruel oppression, none have surpassed the most able of the Maccabees in accomplishing a great end with inadequate means; none ever united more glorious valour with a better cause." Reared in the sharp school of adversity, with a mind disciplined by trials of no ordinary kind, he proved himself equal to the emergencies of his situation, and fulfilled the task of bringing back his nation to the worship of Jehovah. The implicit faith which he appears to have had in his mission communicated itself to his followers, and carried him successfully through difficulties which would have effectually deterred others. It became impossible to withstand men who were inspired by prophetic hopes of victory and resolved to do or die.¹

¹ An additional incentive to desperate valour appears to have been supplied, as in the case of the troops of Mahomet, by the newly-conceived hope of an immediate resurrection. This appears to have been the special privilege of those slain in battle. Judas, we are told, "in that he was mindful of the resurrection," offers a sin offering of two thousand drachms of silver for some idolatrous soldiers upon whose bodies were found things consecrated to the idols of the Jamnites: "for if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead; and also in that he perceived that there was *great favour for those that died godly*; it was an holy and good thought. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead, that they might be delivered from sin."—2 Macc. xii. 44, 45.

Opposed by the overwhelming numbers of Seron, he reminds his fainting soldiers that it is one with *the God of heaven* to deliver with a great multitude or a small company. Encompassed by the host of Gorgias, like another Moses, he cries unto heaven, if peradventure the Lord will “destroy this host before our face this day.” Placed in situations of unparalleled distress, and forced to accept unequal conflict, still with the prowess with which his name¹ is associated, he confronts the foe, and with holy confidence shouts his battle cry, “The Lord is our help.” Faithful in public and private life, dignified in adversity, subdued in prosperity, with a zeal for religion unequalled, and a patriotism untarnished by a single stain, he has handed down to posterity a name conspicuous among the great and good; the remembrance of which still surrounds Israel with a halo of the past, and illumines degenerate days with a glory caught from the deeds of old. His conduct, however, needs no human praise. It is indelibly inscribed in truthful words of sacred story for which no inconsiderable portion of the Church Catholic claims inspiration equal to that accorded to the canonical Scriptures. “So he gat his people great honour and put on a breast-plate as a giant, and girt his warlike harness about him, and he made battles protecting the host with his sword. In his acts he was like a lion, and like a lion’s whelp roaring for his prey.

¹ The word *Maccabi* has an uncertain derivation—some have supposed it to be formed of the initial letters of the Hebrew sentence, *Mi camoka Baelim Yehovah*, Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Jehovah (Ex. xv. 11). According to others it is formed from *Maccab*, a hammer, a personal appellation of Judas, derived, perhaps, from the use of his favorite weapon, like that of Charles Martel the hero of the Franks.

For he pursued the wicked and sought them out, and burnt up those that vexed his people. Wherefore the wicked shrunk for fear of him, and all the workers of iniquity were troubled because salvation prospered in his hand. He grieved also many kings, and made Jacob glad with his acts, and his memorial is blessed for ever so that he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth." (1 Macc. iii. 3-9).

CHAPTER VII.

ESCHATOLOGICAL PERIODS OF DANIEL.

A MARKED peculiarity of this book, running like a thread throughout its historico-prophetic visions and distinguishing it not only from the writings of the captivity but from prophetic compositions generally, is what may be called its eschatology: the subject continually pointing to a climax which is to conclude and to wind-up everything. The time of this consummation is defined with a minuteness unknown to the rest of Hebrew prophecy, and is preceded by the destruction of an oppressor whose invasions of the civil and religious liberties of the holy people, it is a principal object of the writer to describe. In accordance with this eschatological tendency Daniel beholds "till the beast is slain and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame until the Ancient of Days came and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom" (vii. 11-22). As the prophecy draws to a close the same features are more clearly developed, and the time of the consummation, previously darkly intimated, becomes accurately, and even chronologically, defined. "How long shall be the vision (asks one saint of another saint) concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?"

and he said unto me, unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed" (viii. 13, 14). So again to the enquiry, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? the man clothed in linen sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half, and a thousand two hundred and ninety days" (xii. 6, 7-11). Angelic beings are further introduced communicating to Daniel "skill and understanding" respecting the arrival of this consummation. Now, the angel Gabriel touches him about the time of the evening oblation; "Understand, O son of man, for at the time of the end shall be the vision behold I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation, for at the time appointed the end shall be" (viii. 17-19). Again, "The man Gabriel whom (Daniel) had seen in the vision at the beginning (showing that chap. ix. cannot be separated from chap. viii.), informed me and talked with me, and said, O Daniel, I am now come forth to give thee skill and understanding therefore understand the matter and consider the vision. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and thy holy city" etc. (ix. 21-24). Further knowledge respecting this eschatological period is conveyed by means of a second angelic colloquy to which Daniel is permitted to listen (xii. 5-9). Blessings moreover of a marked character are attached to the comprehension of the times and the seasons which introduce the end. "None of wicked (it is said) shall understand but the wise shall understand" (xii. 10); "shall instruct many" (xi. 33); and "knowledge shall be increased" (xii. 4). "Blessed is he that waiteth and

cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days, but go thy way till the end (xii. 4-9) be, for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days" (xii. 12, 13).

From the passages already cited there can be little doubt that the prophecy uniformly points to a culminating point beyond which, or far beyond which, no vision seems to extend. This consummation would appear to be of speedy accomplishment (xii. 13) and not, according to an absurd theory,¹ indefinitely prolonged. A further peculiarity in the periods announced by Daniel is that they differ from each other in duration, these differences not being marked by long spaces of time, but only by the excess or diminution of a few days. Similar dis-

¹ The theory alluded to is known by the name of the Year-day system. Its object would seem to be the prolongation of prophetic epochs beyond their ordinary limits with a view of extending their application to modern times. This is attempted to be done by substituting years for days in the case of those sacred numbers which can be made to square with the required chronology; other prophetic periods, not equally elastic, being interpreted of natural divisions of time. This arbitrary hypothesis has no foundation in Scripture generally or in the book of Daniel. It is true that symbolic periods such as "seventy weeks," "threescore and two weeks," "seven weeks," or "the midst, half of the week," are exceptional, but in ordinary cases, years, months, weeks, days, and hours, are employed of natural divisions of time. "By the Year-day theory (says Maitland) the expositor whenever it suits his purpose, understands years instead of days. The result is a multiplication of the prophetic period by 360: in excuse for which they are in the habit of asserting roundly that the prophets said days when they meant years. History by continually falsifying the calculations of this school, signally avenges the cause of Divine prophecy." The only argument adduced in support of this theory is founded on Ezek. iv. 4-6, and Numbers xiv. 33. The prophet is commanded to lie on his left side 390 days and on his right side 40 days; "each day for a year." But it will be noticed that the days are not changed into years. They are only the representatives of years; for how could Ezekiel lie on his left side 390 years and on his right side 40 years? Similarly the spies who go to explore the land of Canaan, return after 40 days' absence with an evil report; and accordingly the Israelites are condemned to wander 40 years in the wilderness; each year corresponding to one of the 40 days. Here, as in the former case, there is no change of the day into the year. They merely represent years; the actions done on those days being expressive of the time during which the punishment was to last.

crepancy¹ exists between those given by Josephus ; the duration of the desolations not being accurately determined either by the prophet or the historian. The utmost that can be alleged against these unimportant variations is that the terms do not exactly correspond with each other, an objection which tells with equal force against both writers : yet no one calls in question the veracity of the latter because of these trifling discrepancies, or supposes the unequal periods which he describes to relate to any other events than the desolations of Antiochus. And

Periods of Daniel.

¹ "They shall be given into his hand until a time, and times, and the dividing of time" (vii. 25).

"In the midst (half) of the week he shall cause the sacrifice and the oblation to cease" (ix. 27).

"How long shall it be to the end of these wonders . . . it shall be for a time, times, and an half" (xii. 6, 7).

"From the time . . . there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days" (xii. 11). "Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (xii. 12).

Periods of Josephus.

"I shall relate that Antiochus . . . took Jerusalem by force and held it three years and three months." (Bell. Jud. Proemium.)

"He put a stop to the constant practice of offering a daily sacrifice of expiation for three years and six months" (Bell. Jud. i. 1).

"Another lesser horn . . . which should forbid the sacrifices to be offered for one thousand two hundred and ninety six days" (Ant. x. 11).

"Should spoil the temple and forbid the sacrifices to be offered for three years" (Ant. x. 11).

"The temple was made desolate by Antiochus, and so continued for three years" (Ant. xii. 7).

"Now it happened that these things were done on the very same day on which their divine worship had fallen off, and was reduced to a profane and common use after three years' time" (Ant. xii. 7).

On the supposition that the three corresponding symbolical periods of Daniel, "A time, times, and the dividing of a time," "A time, times, and an half," "The midst (half) of the week," are significant not so much of an exact term of $3\frac{1}{2}$ years, as of a time of trouble during which the abomination of desolation was set up, they are met in Josephus by three similar periods of three years, during which the same profanity is said to have been committed; the 1290 days, to which must be added the 1335 days, of the former, also approximating closely to the 1296 days of the latter.

when to this it is added that the city was captured and the holy rites forbidden more than six months before the abomination of desolation was set up, and that there are several *points de depart* from which the abominations of Antiochus might be reckoned, it need not be a matter of surprise that there should be an uncertain element in the chronology. But whatever may be the starting points from which these periods commence or the exact duration which they comprise, they evidently point to one culminating crisis, terminating in the restoration of the sanctuary and the contemporaneous destruction of the oppressor.

A chronological period distinct from those already named requires to be noticed. Daniel hears one saint speaking to another saint (comp. Zech. ii. 3) "How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice and the transgression of desolation to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot?" How long shall impure sacrifices usurp the place of the clean offerings of the law? How long the profanation of the temple and the oppression of the saints? It is observable that the desolation spoken of is not that of the temple alone, but also includes the trampling under foot of the "host,"—the holy people—described (viii. 10) as the "host of heaven," part of whose stars¹ the little horn (Antiochus) casts to the ground and stamps upon them. In answer to this impatient "How long" (comp. Zech. i. 12, Rev. vi. 10) *the* certain one *Ha Palmoni* of whom the question had been asked, "said unto me (Daniel),

¹ "Ἀστέρας δὲ αὐτοῦς ἠνόμασε διὰ τὸ περιφανὲς καὶ λαμπρὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας." Theodoret (comp. 2 Macc. ix. 10).

Unto two thousand and three hundred days:¹ then shall the sanctuary be cleansed." This period of entire days (evening, morning) would seem to comprise that portion of the reign of Antiochus from the 143rd year of the Seleucidæ in which he made his first assault upon Jerusalem, to the 149th, the time of his death—a term of six years 4-5 months, more accurately defined by two thousand three hundred days than by the corresponding heptad, or "one week" of ix. 27. It may be urged in support of this interpretation that in consequence of the exceeding profaneness of Jason the high priest, and the general adoption of Greek manners, the sacrifices had been interrupted for some time previous to the setting up of the abomination of desolation by Antiochus. "The priests (it is said) had no courage to serve any more at the altar, but despising the temple and neglecting the sacrifices, hastened to be partakers of the unlawful allowance in the place of exercise" (2 Macc. iv. 14). It is therefore with the strictest regard to historical accuracy that the writer represents this season of oppression as extending over a period of two thousand three hundred days: the former part of the reign of Antiochus being marked rather by conciliation than hatred towards the Jews; but the latter, from the first invasion of Egypt to his death, being characterised by intolerable persecution of the holy people, resulting either from his own spoliations of their sacred treasures or the still more formidable exactions of his lieutenants.

The remaining periods of 1290 and 1335 days (xii.

¹ "Ad vespero-matutina bis mille et trecenta, *i. e.* ad totidem dies integros (cf. Gen. i. 5, 8, 13, rel. coll. *νυχθήμερον* 2 Cor. xi. 25, necnon Jes. xxxviii. 12)."

11, 12), the latter of which exceeds the former by the additional space of 45 days, may be employed to describe more accurately than by the symbolie term of a "time, times, and an half," the duration of the setting up of the abomination of desolation by Antiochus: the blessing promised at the expiration of "the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" referring to the exultation of those who should live to see the death of the tyrant which, according to Jerome, took place forty-five days¹ after the cleansing of the sanctuary. With this brief examination we dismiss the subject of the shorter eschatological periods of Daniel, deeming their slight and unimportant variations as offering no impediment to a uniform and contemporaneous interpretation; the excess or diminution perceptible between them being easily accounted for by the several termini from which they may be dated, and presenting the aspect, not of distinct historical periods, but of varied phases of the same events regarded from different points of view.

THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

Hitherto the eschatological periods of Daniel, although slightly varying from each other in duration, have been of comparatively easy solution: the approach to unity in the respective epochs, too near to admit of their application to events distant from each other, supplying a strong, and as we should suppose, an incontrovertible argument for their similar interpretation. The same consummating period, although regarded from a different

¹ "Beatus ille qui illis 1290 diebus adhuc 45 supervixerit, videritque cum morte Antiochi calamitatis finem mense Schebat anni. 148."—MAURER.

point of view, would seem to be denoted by the "Seventy Weeks;" an arithmetical enigma which has baffled the calculations of interpreters from the days of Jerome² to

¹ It has been usual to interpret this celebrated passage of the death of Christ, and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The prophecy, however, refuses to be coerced into the desired shape. It neither sanctions the anachronous introduction of the catastrophe inflicted by the Romans into visions which are descriptive of the Syrian desolations, nor does it permit the clause *Ve-ayn-lo—and there is not to him*—to be twisted into an idea of vicarious substitution foreign to its meaning. The absence, moreover, of any allusion in the New Testament to so remarkable a passage as "Messiah cut off but not for himself," is inexplicable on the supposition that the words had reference to our Lord's vicarious sacrifice; and this silence is more unaccountable because the clause is found in a context put by St. Matthew into the mouth of Christ (Math. xxiv. 15). Added to this, insurmountable exegetical difficulties impede, if they do not entirely subvert, the traditional theory. On the supposition that our Lord is "Messiah cut off" (Isaiah liii. 8, uses a different word), who, it may be asked, rebuilds the street and wall at the close of *the* threescore and two weeks (the *Mashiach* who is cut off being identical with the *Mashiach* who rebuilds); or did the sacrifice and oblation taken away by Titus cease only for three and a-half years? What divine punishment came upon him who was called "Deliciæ humani generis," for the destruction of the city and the sanctuary; and how could it be said of him that *his* end (*ἡ συντέλεια αὐτοῦ* [LXX.]) should be in the flood, and that decreed destruction should be poured out on the desolator, (margin.) Even on the supposition that the united term of the sixty-nine weeks, dated from the insignificant commission of Ezra, B.C. 457, could be accommodated to the epoch of the cutting off of Messiah, a longer space than the seventieth week is required for the interval between the sacrifice of Christ and the subsequent destruction of Jerusalem. The application therefore of Messianic exegesis to this passage appears at once isolated and anachronous. The preceding and subsequent visions are concerned with events anterior to the reign, and ending with the destruction of Antiochus; the elimination therefore of the intermediate vision from the chronological horizon occupied by the rest, disturbs the unity of the piece, and carries the prophecy beyond the limits whereby the preceding and following visions are circumscribed. "We object (says Davidson) to the Messianic interpretation that it does not harmonize well with the connection in which the passage stands. The tenth and eleventh chapters may be regarded as a further development of the contents of the eighth: for they give a brief history of the Persian and Macedonian dynasties, till the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. . . . In consequence of this parallelism between the eighth chapter on the one hand, and the tenth with the eleventh on the other, it is probable that the ninth should bear the same relation to the eighth as the twelfth does to the tenth and eleventh. . . . But if ix. 25-27 be explained of the time and death of Jesus Christ, the piece stands in an isolated position; it differs in that case both from what precedes and follows.

² "Scio de hac questione ab eruditissimis viris variè disputatum et unumquemque pro captu ingenii sui dixisse quod senserat. Quia igitur periculosum est de magistrorum Ecclesiæ judicare sententiis, et alterum præferre alteri, dicam quid unusquisque senserit, lectoris arbitrio derelinquens, cujus expositionem sequi debeat."—**HIERON.**

the present time, and of which the solution has been as unsatisfactory as the attempt to square the circle. It has been observed of this celebrated prophecy that "it would require a volume of considerable magnitude even to give a history of the ever varying and contradictory opinions of critics respecting this 'locus vexatissimus,' and perhaps a still longer one to establish an exegesis which would stand" (Moses Stuart). It is also admitted on all sides that our authorised version does not present a rendering of the text sufficiently exact to satisfy the requirements of careful criticism; such exactness being the more needful because of the acknowledged difficulty of this abstruse problem.¹ We subjoin the translation of Davidson, to which we have presumed to add our own.

"Seventy sevens are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city to accomplish the apostacy, and to fill up the sins, and to expiate iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy place. Know therefore and understand, from the going forth of the word to build Jerusalem again till an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks; and for threescore and two weeks will it be rebuilt with streets and ditches, yet in distressful times. And after the threescore and two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and have no successor; and the people of a prince that shall come shall destroy the city and sanctuary, and his end will be in the flood; and yet till the end continues war, desolations decreed. And

¹ "Verissime monuit De Rossi in Var. Lect. ad h. l., scripturam illam perquam suspectam reddi conditione codicis illius a christiano homine procul dubio descripti a sinistra ad dextram additamque Vulgatam versionem habentis, ad quam proclive est cogitare vel suspicari fuisse hebræum textum emendatum."—Ros.

he shall confirm the covenant with many for one week ; and the half of the week will put a stop to the sacrifice and oblation ; and upon the wing of abominations (comes) the desolator, even to the completion ; then shall the decreed destruction be poured out on the waster."

Seventy weeks (*Ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες* LXX.) are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to accomplish the transgression, and to finish sins, and to cover iniquity, and to bring in perpetual righteousness, and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a holy of holies.¹ Know thou therefore and understand from the going forth of the word, to build again Jerusalem unto a *Mashiach* a Prince (shall be) seven weeks : and threescore and two weeks and street and wall shall be built again, and in strait of times. And after the threescore and two weeks a *Mashiach* shall be cut off, and there is not (sub. a helper) to him. And the people of the coming prince shall destroy the city and the sanctuary, and his end shall be in the flood, and unto the end, war, desolations decreed. And he shall make firm a covenant with the many, one week : and half of the week shall cause sacrifice and oblation to cease ; and over the wing of abominations—the wing of the cherubim covering the altar polluted by the idol altar built above them—(shall be) that which maketh desolate, even to the consummation,

¹ "The expression *kodesh kadoshim* is used not of persons but things (Ex. xl. 10). To explain the words of the anointing of the Messiah is contrary to the philological analogy of the Hebrew Scriptures. The altar, when anointed, becomes a holy of holies."—REV. J. M. FULLER.

and the destruction determined poured out on the desolator.

1. Before addressing ourselves to the task of elucidating this abstruse problem, we would premise that the "Seventy Weeks" would seem to be weeks of years¹, in contradistinction to weeks of days (x. 2, 3), such a conception being familiar to the sacred writers: "Thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee, seven times seven years, and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years" (Lev. xxv. 8). This theory receives additional support from the consideration that the period symbolised by the half of the week (ix. 27) corresponds with its equivalents, "a time and times and the dividing of time" (vii. 25), "a time, times, and an half" (xii. 7), or three and a half years. These "seventy weeks," formed on the basis of the "seventy years" of the first Babylonian captivity were to complete the term of the second Syrian captivity; the restoration effected by Zerubbabel at the close of the former period being typical of that effected by Judas Maccabeus at the close of the latter. And in calculating these prophetic epochs regard must be had, not to the consecutive order in which they succeed one another, but to epochs, whether successive or not, whose united number makes up the required aggregate. Had it been the intention of the writer to announce only one event which should happen at the expiration of the whole period there would have been no break in the

¹ "Reperiuntur hujusmodi annorum hebdomades apud Romanos quoque: dicit enim Marcus Varro ap. Gell. N.A. 3-10, se jam undecimam annorum hebdomadem ingressum esse, et ad eum diem septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse."

seventy heptads, and no necessity would have existed for the division¹ into the separate portions of 7-62-1; such division evidently contemplating distinct portions of time, not necessarily consecutive, but together making up a total of seventy weeks, or four hundred and ninety years. It will therefore be necessary to find two events which shall answer to two distinct periods; of which the one shall happen at the close of "seven weeks," and the other at the close of "threescore and two weeks," to which last term the "one week" may be added; these united periods making up the aggregate demanded by the arithmetical enigma, and giving a total of "seventy weeks," or four hundred and ninety years.

2. It may also be useful to premise that the indefinite value of symbolic arithmetic, especially when based on the perfect number "seven," invests prophetic epochs with partial obscurity, and does not permit them to be interpreted with mathematical precision. It would seem difficult, if not impossible, to express the duration of historical events by heptads² with numerical exactness; an approach to complete accuracy being all that can be expected from such a mode of computation. Considerable latitude should therefore be conceded to the exegesis of the arithmetical puzzle of the "seventy weeks," due

¹ This arrangement would appear to be justified by the punctuation, as well as by the position of *Vau* copulative before *Shavuhim*; had a connected period been intended, it would have been before *Tashuv*, and the number would have been sixty-nine, and not seven and sixty-two.—REICHEL.

² When accurate computation is demanded, these prophetic periods appear to be resolved into days: thus the "one week" is more definitely rendered by two thousand three hundred days (viii. 4), and a "time, times, and an half," by one thousand two hundred and ninety days (xii. 11): it being, however, at the same time imperative that the historical term should be more correctly expressed by the heptads employed, than by others of greater or less numerical value.

regard being had to the harmony sustained in the original between the seven times and the seventy-seven times. Similar allowance should also be made in the interpretation of the half of this sacred number, symbolically represented as "a time, times, and the dividing of time" (vii. 25): "a time, times, and an half," (xii. 7); "the midst (the half) of the week" (ix. 27); significant perhaps of a season of distress and disaster (Luke iv. 25, James v. 17). Neither should it be forgotten that the number "seven" is employed in this wide sense by other apocalyptic writers, and also in the book itself (iii. 19, iv. 16). It is thus used by the writer of the book of Enoch (a composition whose emblems are chiefly borrowed from Daniel) of the seventy shepherds or heathen kings who devour the Jewish flock from the time of the exile to that of John Hyrcanus: the indefinite value attached to the term "week," being further developed in the "ten weeks" $10 \times 7 = 70$, in which is comprised the history of the whole human race. The idea of perfection belonging to the sacred number "seven" is also seen in the seven heavens described in the Ascension of Isaiah; the seventh and highest being the dwelling place of Jehovah himself. Similar treatment of this number expressive of completeness and perfection is observable in the Apocalypse; where the churches, seals, trumpets, vials, angels, spirits, mountains, heads, horns, and eyes of the Lamb, are denoted by sevens. To this may be added the "seven days" of 2 Esdras, vii. 30, 31, during which "the world shall be turned into the old silence," and at the expiration of which period "the world, that yet awaketh not, shall be raised up."

3. It is observable that this celebrated prophecy is given in the shape of a sacred enigma, whose solution demands both "skill and understanding." Its point would seem to be that the seventy years of Babylonian captivity should be answered by an analogous season of seven times seventy years. Daniel, supposed to be a captive in Babylon previous to the first restoration of the city after its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar, and "understanding by books (*the books*)¹ the number of the years whereof the word of the Lord came to Jeremiah the prophet that he would accomplish seventy years in the desolations of Jerusalem," is represented as making his supplication that the captivity which the holy people were then suffering might be brought to a close. In answer to his prayer (ix. 3-19) the man Gabriel whom he had seen in the vision at the beginning is sent to inform him that not only seventy years, but seventy weeks of years should be determined upon the Jewish people and the holy city. Know thou therefore and understand (says the angelic interpreter) from the going forth of the word² to build again Jerusalem, the first time,

¹ The employment of the article *Ha-Sepharim* would seem to designate *the books* used and known by all, the sacred scriptures. On this supposition, the collection would have included the Pentateuch which does not appear to have been united to the other scriptures until after the exile (Neh. viii., 2 Macc. ii. 13).

² The clause "know therefore and understand from the going forth of the commandment" (*min mötsa davar*—from the going forth of the word—comp. at the beginning of thy supplications a word went forth—*yatsa davar*—v. 23, *i. e.* a word went forth to Gabriel to make Daniel know the time of the end of the Babylonish captivity), would seem to be introduced, as in v. 23, for the purpose of calling Daniel's attention to the communication about to be revealed to him, in the interpretation of which the angelic messenger was now come to give him "skill and understanding." This view, which interprets "the going forth of the commandment"—word—not of a commandment to restore and build Jerusalem, but of the going forth of a word to Gabriel to make Daniel know the time of the end of the captivity, cuts at the root of the traditional theory which dates the

unto a *Mashiach* a Prince shall be “seven weeks:” and to build again Jerusalem, the second time, unto a *Mashiach*, shall be “threescore and two weeks:” street and wall shall be built again, and in strait of times. It will be noticed that the “seventy weeks” are divided into two principal portions at the close of each of which a rebuilding of Jerusalem takes place. At the end of the first and shortest period, the “seven weeks,” an anointed prince restores the city after its Babylonian devastation. At the end of the second, the “threescore and two weeks,” an anointed one (subsequently cut off) restores Jerusalem after its Syrian devastation—the two desolations as well as the two restorations corresponding with each other; the destructions of Nebuchadnezzar being repeated in those of Antiochus, and the restoration effected by Zerubbabel answered in that of Judas Maccabeus.

The “seventy weeks” are subdivided into the following portions of “seven weeks,” “threescore and two weeks,” “one week,” and “the midst (half) of the week.” We proceed to examine in order these several divisions:—

THE SEVEN WEEKS.

The first term of “seven weeks,” separated from the following “threescore and two weeks” by numerical

seventy weeks from the decree of Cyrus, or the commissions of Ezra and Nehemiah. It will be further noticed that the clause “to restore and build Jerusalem,” beginning with the preposition used to mark the infinitive, agrees with the preceding clauses (ver. 24) in Hebrew parallelism and grammatical form. The whole passage may be rendered thus:—

- To accomplish the transgression and to finish sins;
- To cover iniquity, and to bring in perpetual righteousness;
- To seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a holy of holies;
- To build again Jerusalem unto a *Mashiach* a Prince seven weeks;
- (To build again Jerusalem) threescore and two weeks;
- And street and wall shall be built again, and in strait of times.

arrangement as well as by the Hebrew accent, is thought to extend from the investment of Jerusalem by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 590, a critical¹ period in Jewish history, to B.C. 536, when Zerubbabel headed the return from Babylon; a period of 54 years, expressed in heptads² by "seven weeks." It would seem that Zerubbabel,³ here called *Mashiach Nagid*, an anointed one, a Prince, the absence of the article showing that the Messiah is not intended, was the recognized leader

¹ The investment of Jerusalem by the Babylonians B. C. 590 seems to have been considered an epoch deserving particular commemoration; the chronology of this event being more minutely described, especially by Ezekiel, than that of the final capture of the city B.C. 588. "Again in the ninth year (of Zedekiah), in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, the word of the Lord came unto me saying, Son of man, write thee the name of the day, even of this same day: the king of Babylon set himself against Jerusalem this same day" (Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2, Jer. xxxix. 1, lii. 4; 2 Kings xxv. 1, Ant. x. 7). In the absence of given starting points for the two rebuildings at the end of the seven and the sixty two weeks respectively, it would seem more natural to date them from the commencement of the Babylonian desolations than from any other epoch.

² The harmony of the arithmetical enigma may possibly require the perfect number of "seven weeks" or forty nine years (a period significant of release and jubilee (Lev. xxv. 8), as an antithesis to the equally perfect number of "seventy weeks" or four hundred and ninety years. This is seen with greater distinctness in the original where the *Shavuhim Shiveah* correspond in sound as well as in the original analogy with the *Shavuhim Shivehim* (comp. Gen. iv. 24). Similar regard to sevenfold repetition is observable in ἑπτὰκῆς and ἑβδομηκοντάκῆς ἑπτὰ (Matt. xviii. 21). "Nomen *Shavuah* quod in aliis V. T. libris terminationem Pluralis fœmininam recipit, hic et infra (x. 2, 3) terminationem masculinam habet. Et hoc quidem loco eam ideo eligisse videtur, ut concentus quidam cum *Shivehim* efficiatur; quam formam deinde retinuit."—Ros.

³ The majority of modern critics have explained *Mashiach Nagid* of Cyrus, the "anointed" of the Lord (Isa. xlv. 1-13): who issues the edict for the return of the Jews from Babylon. But independently of the fact that Cyrus does not personally "restore and build" Jerusalem, the kings of Persia, when not mentioned by name in this prophecy, are symbolically represented by heathen emblems (ii. 32, vii. 5, viii. 3); making it unlikely that Cyrus would be described under the Jewish appellation of *Mashiach*, or anointed. On the supposition that the restoration effected by Zerubbabel at the end of "threescore and ten years" (Zech. i. 12) supplied the foundation from which our prophet drew the corresponding event accomplished by Judas Maccabeus at the end of the "seventy weeks"—an idea favoured by the analogy observable between the respective prophecies—a further reason may be inferred for the preference to be given to Zerubbabel over Cyrus.

of the Jews in the captivity, what in later times was called "the Prince of the captivity," or "the Prince of Judah" (Ezra i. 8), the "governor" (Ezra v. 14). According to Zechariah, he is "the man whose name is the Branch (*scil.* of the house of David, Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15); and he shall grow up out of his place; and he shall build the temple of the Lord; even he shall build the temple of the Lord; and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest¹ upon his throne (comp. *Mashiach Nagid*); and the counsel of peace shall be between them both"—Zerubbabel and Joshua (Zech. vi. 12, 13). As described in another place, he is one of the "two olive trees," or the "two olive branches," (comp. Rev. xi. 4) which by the hand of two golden pipes, empty out of themselves (oil into) the gold; explained of "the two *anointed* ones (Joshua and Zerubbabel) that stand by the Lord of the whole earth" (Zech. iv. 11-14). To this distinguished leader

¹ It would seem that Zerubbabel, although of the tribe of Judah "of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood" (Heb. vii. 14); did not only build the altar but, conjointly with Joshua, executed the office of a priest. "Then stood up Joshua the son of Josadak and his brethren, the priests, and Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel and his brethren, and builded the altar of the God of Israel . . . and they offered burnt offerings thereon unto the Lord, even burnt offerings morning and evening" (Ezra iii. 2, 3; comp. 1 Esdras v. 48). Among the priests who went up to Jerusalem from the captivity are mentioned, "The sons of Phinees, the son of Aaron; Jesus, the son of Josedec, the son of Saraias, and Joacim the son of Zerubbabel, the son of Salathiel of the house of David, out of the kindred of Phares, of the tribe of Judah" (1 Esdras v. 4). Josephus also says that after the captivity they "made use of a form of government that was aristocratic mixed with an oligarchy, for the high priests were at the head of affairs until the posterity of the Asmoneans set up regal government" (Ant. xi. 4). Comp. Zech. vi. 11-13, where the prophet is commanded to make (two) crowns, and to set them upon the head of Joshua the son of Josedech the high priest, and upon Zerubbabel the "priest upon his throne," between whom and Joshua, in the joint execution of the priestly office, there should be a "counsel of peace." Other instances of the execution of the priestly office by princes of the line of David are to be found in the scriptures (comp. 2 Sam. vi. 13, 1 Kings viii. 5; 2 Chron. xxx. 24, xxxv. 7.)

of those of his countrymen "whose spirit God had raised to go up to build the house of the Lord which is in Jerusalem," belongs the praise of being the first who should bring back the holy people from their house of Babylonian bondage, and of introducing the time when, according to the words of Jeremiah, "the city shall be builded upon her own heap, and the palace shall remain after the manner thereof . . . and their nobles shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them" (xxx. 18-22). It would seem probable that the rebuilding of the city and temple by Zerubbabel at the close of the prophetic period of "seven weeks," may have been regarded as typical of the rebuilding by the pious Maccabee, at the close of the "threescore and two weeks," when similar events repeated themselves under a manifest correspondence of outward circumstance and historical agreement—the writer of this book accommodating the deliverance which he records to that described in Zechariah, as, in after years, the visions of the Apocalypse were accommodated to those of Daniel.

THE THREESCORE AND TWO WEEKS.

The second period of "threescore and two weeks," commencing from the same starting¹ point as that of the "seven weeks," and extending from B.C. 590 to the

¹ No imperative necessity would appear to exist for the sixty two weeks to begin from the point where the seven weeks end; the division of the seventy weeks into separate periods showing that their consecutive computation is not required. The epoch therefore from which the second rebuilding of the city at the end of the sixty two weeks commences, may be dated from the same starting point as that of the first rebuilding, at the end of seven weeks.

death of Judas Maccabeus, B. C. 161,¹ comprises a space of 429 years, to which the "one week," or seven years, may be added; making a total of 436 years, expressed in heptads by "threescore and two weeks." Shortly before the expiration of this term the street and wall of Jerusalem are built the second time (*iterum œdificabitur* Ges.), an act without precedent since the restoration of the city by Zerubbabel, no assault having been made upon Jerusalem from the days of Nebuchadnezzar to those of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is said of this partial² restoration effected by the Maccabee and his compatriots, "They builded up the Mount Zion with high walls and strong towers round about, lest the Gentiles should come and tread it down as they had before" (1 Macc. iv. 60); the times in which the work is done being further described as "troublous," or, as the same idea is elsewhere expressed, "a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time" (xii. 1, comp. 1 Macc. iv. 41).

¹ The view now taken which makes the seventy weeks end in the restoration of the city and sanctuary is in agreement with that of the LXX. translator, or commentator, as he may be called; the idea insisted upon in his version of the passage being not the destruction, but the rebuilding of the city. "And thou shalt be gladdened, and shalt find commands that answer be made, and shalt build Jerusalem a city to the Lord." "In the prophecy of the seventy weeks (says a writer whose argument we convert to our own purpose) the LXX. translator repeatedly falsifies the time in order to make it fit in with that of Epiphanes. For the dates of the original he twice substitutes seven, and seventy and sixty two, 139. This according to the era of the Seleucidæ which the Jews used, comprised the second year of the reign of Epiphanes . . . Thus he makes the latter part of the prophecy, a prophecy of the chequered but successful resistance to Antiochus, ending not in the destruction of the city and the sanctuary, but in a second rebuilding of the city."—PUSEY, p. 379. The LXX. translator had therefore no thought of extending the prophecy to the times of the Messiah, but even falsified the text in order to confine the interpretation to those of Antiochus, a convincing proof of the only solution of the enigmatical problem considered probable by a contemporaneous age.

² "Reœdificabitur urbs quod ad plateam et fossam."—ROSENMULLER.

“After (the) threescore and two weeks (not a different period from that already laid down in v. 25), shall Messiah be cut off” (*excindetur, exterminabitur, ἐξολοθρευθήσεται* LXX.) *i.e.* shall meet with a violent¹ death. The analogy of the preceding interpretation leads us to explain this much disputed clause of the death of that anointed high priest and captain of his people, slain in the midst of a glorious career which has rendered his name illustrious. Independently of the impossibility of finding another Jewish deliverer whose extermination is contemporaneous with the events recorded in these prophecies, there would appear other sufficient reasons for applying the excision spoken of to the death of Judas Maccabeus. The *Mashiach* who is cut off is the *Mashiach*² who returns and builds Jerusalem, a circumstance which fits in with the history of no other. The time of the cutting off of *Mashiach* which follows the rebuilding of the city at no long interval—“after the threescore and two weeks”—also corresponds with the fate of the Jewish champion cut off within four years of the restoration of the sanctuary. Moreover, the appellation *Mashiach* would also appear to be a more suitable designation for Maccabeus than for a heathen prince; and it seems doubtful how far the original readers of these prophecies would have been interested in the announcement of the assassination of Seleucus Philopator at Athens, or even the “unjust

¹ The Hebrew word *icareth*—shall be cut off—says Dr. Pusey, “never means anything but excision; death directly inflicted by God, or violent death at the hands of man.”

² It is conceived that the appellation *Mashiach*, an anointed, may be employed equally of Maccabeus and Zerubbabel, the people having “bestowed the high priesthood upon Judas, which he retained for three years” (Ant. xii. 10, 11).

murder" of Onias at Antioch; events to which this excision has been commonly referred. On the other hand, the commemoration in the sacred books of the heroic death of "the valiant man that delivered Israel," of whom it was said that "when he was dead those that were with him had no one whom they could regard as their commander" (Ant. xii. 11), was a memorial calculated to inspire his followers with confidence and a desire to imitate his glorious deeds. The fate of Maccabeus would appear, moreover, to be set forth in the prophecy in terms corresponding with the circumstances of the case. In language similar to that which describes the extermination of the Syrian oppressor who should "come to his end, and none shall help him"—*ve ayn hozer lo*—and "there is not a helper to him" (xi. 45), it is affirmed of the Jewish champion, "Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself"—*ve ayn lo*—and there is not (sub. a helper) to him: his chosen troops whom he had so often led to victory, deserting him in the hour of his greatest need, and leaving him to perish in the chivalrous yet unequal conflict with the overwhelming numbers of Bacchides (1 Macc. ix).

THE ONE WEEK.

The last and seventieth week, separated from the former division by the Hebrew accent and merely added to make up the prophetic number, the events which it comprises being already included in the historical area terminating with the restoration of the city and sanctuary by Judas Maccabeus, has been interpreted by almost universal consent of the duration of the persecutions of a prince

that shall come,¹—ὁ ἔρχομενος—the features of whose impious reign are given with the minuteness which characterizes preceding and following visions. (Comp. viii. 11-14; xi. 31; xii. 7-11). It is affirmed of the heathen people of this godless invader (“a kingdom of Gentiles (who) shall corrupt the city and the holy place with the anointed,” LXX.) that they should destroy the city and the sanctuary; the personal invasion of Judea by Antiochus for the purpose of plundering the temple being followed by the more lasting occupations of his lieutenants (1 Macc. i. 20-31), who were even more savagely incensed against the holy people than Antiochus himself. *His* end, however (not that of the city and sanctuary, which speedily recovered from their temporary desolation), is in the flood (*et finis ejus principis erit cum inundatione, i. e. peribit tanquam subitâ eluvione abruptus*, comp. Psalm xc. 5); and till the end continues war, desolations decreed. The prophetic space occupied by these events is “one week,” or seven years; a term which, although not equal to the whole extent of his reign, corresponds, with more or less accuracy, with the duration² of the persecutions of Antiochus, which may

¹ It has been supposed that the coming prince *Nagid ha ba*, distinguished from the Jewish princes before mentioned by the absence of the title *Mashiach*, ought to follow the anointed one who precedes, in the way of hereditary succession; and with this view “Messiah cut off” has been explained of Seleucus Philopator, in whose “estate (or place) the vile person (Antiochus) stands up” (xi. 21). It has, however, been overlooked that the phrase *ha ba* is used, not of order of succession, but of invasion of a hostile country; as in xi. 16, where it refers to the invasion of Egypt by Antiochus the Great. (Comp. xi. 9, 13, 21, 40-41).

² On the supposition that one year is occupied with his personal invasion of Judea and plunder of the sacred treasures, after which sacrilegious exploit Antiochus returns to his own land (1 Macc. i. 24); that “two full years,” during which it may be presumed the Jews paid tribute, intervene between that event and the commission given to Apollonius, his chief collector of taxes, who destroys the city,

be dated "from the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ" (Ant. xii. 5), in which year he first took possession of Jerusalem, to the 149th year in which he died. During this term of "one week" Antiochus makes firm a (not the) covenant¹ with many, or the many; referring, most probably, to the alliance made by the king with the apostate Jews. This defection of the majority of the Jewish people is abundantly confirmed, "many of the Israelites consented to his religion" (1 Macc. i. 43-52), and Mattathias is required to sacrifice "as all the heathen have done, yea, and the men of Juda also and such as remain at Jerusalem" (1 Macc. ii. 18); the greater number forsaking the religion of their fathers and availing themselves of the regal "license to do after the ordinances of the heathen" (1 Macc. i. 13).

and sets it on fire (1 Macc. i. 30-31); and that subsequently to this, that memorable profanation was commenced, lasting for three, or three and a half years, which has handed down his name with infamy to posterity; it may be thought that the required space of "one week," or seven years, is sufficiently exhausted, especially when heptads are taken into account. (Comp. the 2,300 days, or six years and 4-5 months of viii. 14).

¹ It has been asserted that the word *Berith*—covenant—found seven times in the Book of Daniel, is only used of the covenant between God and his people. But to this it may be answered, that in this passage, as in xi. 22, the article is omitted; the remaining five either having the article, as ix. 4.; the qualifying adjective, "holy," (xi. 28-30) twice repeated; or being found in construction, which leaves no doubt of the meaning, as *Marshiäi Verith*, "such as do wickedly against the covenant." In a passage found, 1 Macc. i. 11-15, according to Jerome,* originally written in Hebrew, and also expressive of the agreement entered into with the heathen by the Jews, the word *διαθήκη* is used twice in the same context, and each time in a different sense. "In those days went there out of Israel wicked men who persuaded many, saying, Let us go and make a *covenant* with the heathen that are round about us . . . ; so they made themselves uncircumcised, and forsook *the holy covenant*:" the covenant made with the heathen being contrasted with the holy covenant.

* "Maccabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi; secundus Græcus est."—HIERON. "But, without these, is the Maccabean history (*τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ*), which is entitled *Sarbeth Sabanael*." —ORIGEN.

THE HALF OF THE WEEK.

This extraordinary subdivision, separated from the "one week" by the Hebrew accent, whose historical fulfilment is necessarily included within the preceding term, is thought to denote that memorable epoch in the annals of the holy people which witnessed a cessation of the daily sacrifice for three, or for three and a half years; an event without parallel in Jewish history, and which can only be explained with fairness of the profanation of the temple by Antiochus. The identity of this period with other correlative periods (vii. 25; xii. 7, 11, 12) is too obvious to require comment. We shall therefore dismiss as unworthy of notice the objections which have been urged against this interpretation, in the assured conviction that if the passage is not explained of the cessation of the daily sacrifice caused by the Syrian oppressor it can never be explained at all. It will be noticed that, as in preceding and following visions, these impieties tread on the heels of the consummation and introduce the destruction of the perpetrator. As the king of fierce countenance who destroys the holy people is "broken without hand" (viii. 24), as the "vile person," called subsequently "the king of the north" (xi. 40), who goes forth with fury to destroy and utterly to make away many, "comes to his end and none shall help him" (xi. 44, 45); so this last crowning act of desecration, intercepting for three, or three and a half years, the religious worship of the most devoted ritualists of whom history makes mention,

ushers in the consummation and brings down the heaven-decreed punishment upon the desolator.

The enquiry has yet to be made how far the historical periods correspond with the heptads under which they are expressed. On the supposition that the "seven weeks" represent 54 years, from the assault upon Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar B. C. 590, to the restoration by Zerubbabel in the first year of Cyrus B. C. 536: that the "three-score and two weeks," starting from the same terminus *a quo*, represent 429 years, to the death of Judas Maccabeus B. C. 161, to which may be added the "one week," significant of a period of 7 years, during which Antiochus makes a covenant with the apostate Jews; we have arrived at a total of $54 + 429 + 7 = 490$ years. Owing to the uncertain character of biblical chronology, it is possible that an approximation to complete numerical exactness is alone attainable; sufficient agreement, however, may be discernible between the prophetic heptads and their historical fulfilments to satisfy the general requirements of the arithmetical problem.

Such the result at which we arrive from a consideration of the eschatological periods of Daniel: the "seventy weeks," equally with the shorter periods, terminating in one culminating crisis to which the prophecy uniformly points, and beyond which it does not seem to extend. Repudiating therefore the conjecture, that portions of the book can be arbitrarily selected from the rest and applied now to Antiochus, and now to some future enemy of the Church, we dismiss unreservedly idle surmises respecting the appearing of Antichrist, and pseudo-religious *tableaux* of approaching doom. Nay more, by

confining these visions within the limits of the past, we desire to exhaust the source from whence the predictive material is chiefly derived; to take away the occupation of would-be prophets; to deprive spiritual charlatans and their abettors in high places of the means of perpetuating ignorance and uncharitableness; and to place (if God shall will) the exegesis of this mysterious volume upon a basis that shall stand.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER AND HISTORICAL MINUTENESS
OF DANIEL XI.

THE Book of Daniel naturally divides itself into what may be called its biographical and prophetical portions: the former commencing from the first to the end of the sixth chapter; the latter, from the vision of the four great beasts of the seventh chapter to the end of the book. The second of these is chiefly occupied with a historico-prophetic narrative of events which succeed each other in chronological order; the eleventh chapter especially being little else than an epitome of the reign of those Syro-Egyptian kings which introduce "the vile person," Antiochus, and forming "a history of the struggles of the Jewish Church with the Greek powers up to the death of its great adversary" (xi. 45). The attention to particulars perceptible in this chapter has perhaps more than anything else tended to invalidate its predictive character; the plots and counterplots, the successes and reverses, the alliances and ruptures of these kings of the North and of the South being detailed in it with unusual minuteness; and as the time draws on for the oppressor himself to appear upon the scene, the narrative appears to lose the semblance of a

prophetical composition altogether, and to wear the aspect of unmixed history.¹ In order to exhibit the historical complexion of this chapter, a position recognised by the Jews themselves, who exclude the Book of Daniel from their prophetical scriptures, it will be necessary to enter into particulars, and to examine it verse by verse.

The historical area comprised in this explanatory chapter, which stands out in marked contrast from the symbolism employed in those which precede it, would seem to extend from the third year of Cyrus (x. 1) to the death of Antiochus (xi. 45). The first verse, "Also in the first year of Darius the Mede, even I stood to confirm and strengthen him," connected by the copula with the angelic interposition previously mentioned, may be considered to belong to the former chapter, leaving the new subject to commence with the invitation to

¹ "It may be proper to stop here, and reflect a little how particular and circumstantial this prophecy is concerning the kingdoms of Egypt and Syria, from the death of Alexander to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is not so complete and regular a series of their kings, there is not so concise and comprehensive an account of their affairs, to be found in any author of those times. The prophecy is really more perfect than any history. No one historian hath related so many circumstances, and in such exact order of time, as the prophet hath foretold them: so that it was necessary to have recourse to several authors, Greek and Roman, Jewish and Christian; and to collect here something from one, and to collect there something from another, for the better explaining and illustrating the great variety of particulars contained in this prophecy. If authors whose works have since entirely perished, and those who are extant were still complete, the great exactness of the prophecy might in all probability have been proved in more particulars than it hath been. This exactness was so convincing that Porphyry could not pretend to deny it: he rather laboured to confirm it, and drew this inference from it, that the prophecy was so very exact, that it could not possibly have been written before, but must have been written in, or soon after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, all being true and exact to that time, and no farther."—NEWTON *on the Prophecies*.

In the preceding note, Bishop Newton appears to have been struck by the historical character of this chapter, although his prepossessions were too strong to admit the force of the arguments advanced by Porphyry, Grotius, and Collins.

attention, "And now will I shew thee the truth."¹ Accordingly the historico-prophetic narrative, omitting, as in chapter viii., all mention of the Babylonian kingdom which had then passed away, proceeds to enumerate three kings yet standing up (*adhuc stantes*) in Persia, and a fourth conspicuous above the rest for his strength and riches. The three kings of Persia, and the fourth "far richer than they all," are conceived to be,

CYRUS, CAMBYSES, DARIUS HYSTASPIS, AND XERXES.

"Behold, there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia; and the fourth shall be far richer than they all: and by his strength, through his riches, he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia" (xi. 2).

We have already considered this verse explanatory of the symbol of chapter vii. 5, in which the Medo-Persian Bear, having three ribs, or tusks, in its mouth, is described as elevating one dominion above the rest; the whole of the eleventh chapter appearing to us to be an historical paraphrase of previous symbols from the time of Cyrus to the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. It is observable that the writer reckons only three kings of Persia, including Cyrus, the short reign of Smerdis the Magian being omitted as unworthy of notice. With the introduction of the fourth, Xerxes, the prophecy, as in other places, passes on to the mention of Alexander; it being the object of the writer, according to Jerome, rather to single out remarkable eras than to follow exact historical order. The fourth, "far richer than they all," who should "stir up all (Asia) against the realm of Grecia," needs no comment; the reference to Xerxes

¹ "Jam igitur ut officio meo satisfaciam, veritatem, ea quæ populo tuo certissime eventura sunt, indicabo tibi."—MAURER.

being as patent as the historical character of the so-called prophecy. It would be simply impossible, without actual mention by name of the person concerned, to depict in plainer terms the ambitious design of the insatiable Persian, which resulted in the extermination of the aggressor, and laid the foundation of subsequent Greek rule in Asia.

ALEXANDER AND HIS FOUR POTENT SUCCESSORS.

SELEUCUS NICATOR, PTOLEMY LAGI, LYSIMACHUS,
AND CASSANDER.

“And a mighty king shall stand up, that shall rule with great dominion, and do according to his will. And when he shall stand up, his kingdom shall be broken, and shall be divided toward the four winds of heaven; and not to his posterity, nor according to his dominion which he ruled: for his kingdom shall be plucked up, even for others beside those” (xi. 3, 4).

As in the preceding case, these verses are conceived to be an historical explanation of the symbol of the Leopard with four heads of chapter vii. 6, and to shadow forth the Macedonian kingdom of Alexander and his four potent successors. The “mighty king,” beyond all reasonable doubt, is Alexander, surnamed “The Great,” from his almost superhuman exploits; whose œcumenical dominion extended from the Mediterranean to the Indus, and from Egypt to Babylon. At the very summit of his greatness his kingdom is “broken” by his sudden, and possibly treacherous¹ death, and “divided toward the four winds of heaven” (comp. viii. 8); none of “his posterity” succeeding to this world-wide empire,

¹ “Προδοθεις δολίωv ύφ' έταίρων.

Ἰνδοὺς γὰρ προλιπόντα καὶ εἰς Βαβυλῶνα μολῶντα
Βάρβαρον εξολέσει τοῦτον φόνον ἀμφὶ τραπεζῆς.”

—*Orac. Sibyll.* lib. ix. 222, 223.

although he left two sons, Hercules and Alexander. This fourfold division is expressly stated to be not "according to his strength" (LXX.), nor "according to his dominion which he ruled" as sole autocrat; or, as it is elsewhere expressed, "four kingdoms shall stand up out of the nation, but not in his power" (viii. 22). The kingdom of the "four notable ones" is again subdivided into "ten horns," *i. e.* ten kings¹ of Syria and Egypt which are enumerated in order; "for his (Alexander's) kingdom shall be plucked up even for others beside those" (four).

PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS AND ANTIOCHUS THEOS.

"And the king of the south shall be strong, and one of his princes; and he shall be strong above him, and have dominion; his dominion shall be a great dominion. And in the end of years they shall join themselves together; for the king's daughter of the south shall come to the king of the north to make an agreement: but she shall not retain the power of the arm; neither shall he stand nor his arm: but she shall be given up, and they that brought her, and he that begat her, and he that strengthened her in these times" (xi. 5, 6).

The first of these ten kings, called "the King of the South" (the kingdom of Egypt, LXX.) who should be strong² above, or out of his princes, would seem to be

¹ "Idcirco autem cetera regna dimitteus, Macedonia videlicet et Asiae, tantum de Aegypti et Syriae narrat regibus: quia in medio Judaea posita, nunc ab illis, nunc ab istis regibus tenebatur: et scripturae sanctae propositum est, non externam absque Judaeis, historiam texere, sed eam que Israeli populo copulata est."--HIERON.

² The elliptical clause, *ou-min-sarav*, and (sub. he shall be strong) above, or out of his princes—the princes of Alexander before spoken of (ver. 4), or other princes of the Egyptian dynasty—cannot without violence be interpreted of the prince "strong above him," called (ver. 5), the "king of the north." The necessity, therefore, of referring the passage to Seleucus Nicator, the lieutenant of Ptolemy Lagi, on the ground that the former was one of the princes of the latter, would appear to be precluded. Moreover the alliance entered into by the kings of the north and south does not apply to the history of Ptolemy Lagi and Seleucus Nicator, to whom the kings spoken of (ver. 5) have been sometimes referred; and to this it may be added that a prominence among the ten horns would naturally be given to Ptolemy Philadelphus, the reign of that prince being a critical epoch in Jewish history.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, the youngest son of Ptolemy Lagi, whose empire, according to Jerome,¹ surpassed that of his father. The prince who should show himself strong *against* him (the king of the south) and whose "dominion shall be a great dominion," is thought to be Antiochus II., surnamed the "God," who for many years was engaged in destructive and successful warfare with Philadelphus.² Anxious to bring the contest to a close, which had lasted for a considerable time, "in the end of years, they (*the before-named princes*) shall join themselves together" by mutual alliance,³ and enter into a treaty. By this treaty Ptolemy Philadelphus gives⁴ his daughter Berenice in marriage to Antiochus Theos, king of Syria: "The king's daughter of the South shall come to the king of the North to make an agreement" (margin—rights—*facere recta quæ curva sunt et tortuosa, hinc efficere conciliationem*). Laodice, however, the for-

¹ "Narrant enim historiæ, habuisse cum peditum ducenta millia, equitum viginti millia, curruum vero duo millia, elephantos, quos primus eduxit ex Æthiopiâ, quadrigentas, naves longas, quas nunc Liburnas vocant, mille quingentas, alias, ad cibaria militum deportanda, mille; auri quoque et argenti grande pondus."—HIERON.

² "Totis Babylonis atque Orientis viribus dimicavit."—HIERON.

³ Primum Syriæ regnavit Seleucus cognomento Nicator: secundus Antiochus qui appellatus est Soter; tertius et ipse Antiochus qui vocabatur Θεός. Iste adversus Ptolemæum Philadelphum, qui secundus imperabat Ægyptiis, gessit bella quam plurima. . . . Volens itaque Ptolemæus Philadelphus post multos annos molestum finire certamen, filiam suam, nomine Berenicen Antiocho uxorem dedit, qui de priore uxore, nomine Laodice, habebat duos filios, Seleucum qui cognominatus est Callinicus, et alterum Antiochum. . . . Antiochus autem (Theos) Berenicen consortem regni habere se dicens, et Laodicen in concubinæ locum, post multum temporis (mortuo Ptolemæo Philadelpho) amore superatus, Laodicen cum liberis suis reduxit in regiam. Quæ metuens ambiguum viri animum, ne Berenicem reduceret, virum per ministros veneno interfecit. Berenicem autem cum filio qui ex Antiocho natus erat, Icadioni et Genneo, Antiochiæ principibus, occidendam tradidit, filiumque suum Seleucum Callinicum, in patris loco regem constituit."—HIERON.

⁴ "Deduxitque eam usque Pelusium; et infinita auri et argenti millia, dotis nomine dedit: unde φερνοφόρος, i. e. *dotalis* appellatus est."—HIERON.

mer wife of Antiochus, who had been divorced to make room for Berenice, being recalled by Antiochus upon the death of Ptolemy, causes Berenice and her son, "whom she brought forth," to be put to death, and places her own son Seleucus Callinicus on the throne. Thus "she (Berenice) does not retain the power of the arm,"¹ but is "given up" to death (comp. viii. 12). The object for which the alliance was contracted failed; and the countries of Syria and Egypt continued to engage in war as before.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS AND PTOLEMY EUERGETES.

"But out of a branch of her roots shall one stand up in his estate, which shall come with an army, and shall enter into the fortress of the king of the north, and shall deal against them, and shall prevail: and shall also carry captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold; and he shall continue more years than the king of the north. So the king of the south shall come into his kingdom, and shall return into his own land" (vv. 7, 8, 9).

In revenge² for the murder of his sister Berenice, her brother Ptolemy Euergetes, "a branch of her roots," enters into "the fortress of the king of the north," Seleucus Callinicus; and so far prevails that he takes (according to Jerome) Syria, Cilicia, the upper parts beyond the Euphrates, and almost the whole of Syria. Following the ancient practice of carrying away the gods of the vanquished nations, Ptolemy "carries captives into Egypt their gods, with their princes, and with their precious vessels of silver and of gold," amounting to 2,500 vases and images; for which exploit

¹ "And his arm shall be paralysed, and those who go with him, and shall not prevail; for his arm shall not establish strength, and shall abide for a time."—LXX.

² "Ταῦτα (caedem intellige sororis et filii illius) τινύμενος Λαοδικην ἐκτεινε, καὶ ἐς Συρίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἤλασε."—APPIAN, *De Reb. Syr.* lxxv.

the Egyptians (*δεισιδαιμονεστέροι*) gave him the title of Euergetes, or Benefactor.¹ After this he abstains for some time from war with Seleucus Callinicus; the clause "he shall continue more years than the king of the north," being more correctly rendered, he shall stand away from (conflict with) the king of the north for some years. The text immediately following is somewhat obscure; but if, with Rosenmüller, ver. 9 be rendered "The king of the north (ver. 8) shall come into the kingdom of the king of the south (*i. e.* to invade it), and shall return into his own land," the passage may signify that subsequently Seleucus Callinicus made an unsuccessful expedition against Egypt which ended disastrously to himself. "He first" (says Mr. Westcott) "collected a fleet which was almost totally destroyed by a storm; and then, as if by some judicial infatuation, he came against the realm of the king of the south, and (being defeated) returned to his own land" (to Antioch).²

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT AND PTOLEMY PHILOPATOR.

"But his sons shall be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of great forces: and one shall certainly come, and overflow, and pass through: then shall he return, and be stirred up, even to his fortress. And the king of the south shall be moved with choler, and shall come forth and fight with him, even with the king of the north: and he shall set forth a great multitude; but the multitude shall be given into his hand. And when he hath taken away the multitude, his

¹ "Quum audisset (Ptolemæus Euergetes) in Ægypto seditionem moveri, diripiens regnum Seleuci quadraginta millia talentorum argenti tulit, et vasa pretiosa simulacraque deorum, duo millia quingenta, in quibus erant et illa quæ Cambyses captâ Ægypto in Persas portaverat. Denique gens Ægyptiorum idolatriæ dedita, quia post multos annos deos eorum retulerat, *Eurytem* eum appellavit."—HIERON.

² "Rex Syriæ, Seleucus Callinicus, qui, quum post Ptolemæi ex Syriâ discessum civitates, quæ ab ipso defecerant, imperio suo restituisset, veluti par viribus bellum Ptolemæo intulit, sed naufragium passus, victusque prælio, trepidus Antiochiam refugit."—JUSTIN. xxvii. 2.

heart shall be lifted up; and he shall cast down many ten thousands: but he shall not be strengthened by it" (vv. 10, 11, 12).

The sons of Seleucus Callinicus with the intention of avenging the disgrace of their father, take up arms against Ptolemy Philopator, the son of Euergetes, a prince "to the last degree sensual, effeminate, and debased,"—"His sons (LXX. his *son*) shall be stirred up and shall assemble a multitude of great forces." One¹ of these, Antiochus, the most celebrated, "shall certainly come and overflow and pass through," like a torrent which has burst its banks, as far as Raphia, the "fortress" of the king of the south. Ptolemy Philopator, however, defeats the forces of Antiochus at Raphia, near Gaza, amounting to 72,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and 102 elephants, whilst those of Ptolemy were of nearly equal² number. In this memorable battle 10,000 of the troops of Antiochus were slain, and 4,000 taken prisoners,— "the multitude³ shall be given into his hand." Ptolemy however "was not strengthened by the casting down of ten thousands," but contenting himself with the recovery of the provinces of Coele-Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, which had been taken from him by Antiochus, returned once more to his luxurious⁴ mode of life.

¹ "Inchoatum est bellum a Seleuco Cerauno, continuatum post mortem illius ab Antiocho."—POLYB. v. 40. The verb "he shall certainly come" (*ou-va-vo*) is in the singular number, showing that only one of the sons of Seleucus is intended.

² "Habuit Ptolemæus ad Raphiam peditum lxx. millia, equitum v. millia, elephantos lxxiii."—POLYB. 86.

³ "Quum acriter pugnatum esset, et cornu quidem, cui Antiochus præfuerat, vicisset, alterum tamen cum mediâ acie succubuit, cæsis *ad decem millia* et amplius, vivisque captis circiter quatuor millibus, necnon compluribus elephantis."—POLYB. i. 1.

⁴ "Spoliasset (Ptolemæus Philopator) regno Antiochum, si fortunam virtute juvisset. Contentus tamen recuperatione urbium quas amiserat, factâque pæe, avide materiam quietis arripuit; revolutusque in luxuriam, occisâ Eurydice uxore

ANTIOCHUS THE GREAT AND PTOLEMY EPIPHANES.

“For the king of the north shall return, and shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, and shall certainly come after certain years with a great army and with much riches. And in those times there shall many stand up against the king of the south: also the robbers of thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the vision; but they shall fall. So the king of the north shall come, and cast up a mount, and take the most fenced cities: and the arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people, neither shall there be any strength to withstand” (vv. 13, 14, 15).

“After certain (13) years” Ptolemy Philopator dies, and is succeeded by his son Ptolemy Epiphanes, a child of the age of five years. Taking advantage of his youth, Antiochus the Great again invades Egypt. He is joined in this fresh campaign by Philip III., king of Macedon, on the condition that each should annex to their own empire those cities of Egypt which were nearest to their own country,—“Many stand up against the king of the south.” During the contests between Antiochus and Ptolemy Epiphanes, the Jews, equally sufferers both when he was beaten and when he was victorious, and as Josephus says, “like a ship in a storm which is tossed by the waves on both sides,” divided themselves into two parties espousing different interests. The Syrian party, called in ver. 17 “the upright ones,” “went over to Antiochus of their own accord and received him into Jerusalem, and gave plentiful provision to all his army, and to his elephants, and readily assisted him when he besieged the garrison which was in the citadel”

eâdemque sorore suâ, Agathocleæ meretricis capitur illecebris, et regii nominis ac majestatis oblitus, noctes in stupris, dies in conviviis consumsit.—POLYB. 87; JUSTIN. xxx. 1.

(Ant. xii. 3). The Egyptian party, here called "the robbers of thy people," hoping perhaps to "establish the vision" of Isaiah xix. 19, went down in great numbers into Egypt under Onias the high priest, and "built a temple and an altar to God at Leontopolis, like indeed to that in Jerusalem, but smaller and poorer" (Ant. xiii. 3). ("Thoughts shall arise against the king of Egypt, *and he shall rebuild what is fallen of thy nation, and he shall arise to raise up the prophecy*" LXX.). "But they shall fall:" the attempt shall be unsuccessful; the city of Onias being afterwards destroyed by the Jews themselves.

In the meanwhile complete success attends the arms of Antiochus. "The king of the north comes and casts up a mount, and takes the most fenced cities" of Syria from Scopas, the general of Ptolemy; defeats him with great loss at Paneas, near the sources of the Jordan, and finally reduces him to capitulate with 10,000 of his men at Sidon,¹—"The arms of the south shall not withstand, neither his chosen people (the troops sent by Ptolemy to assist Scopas), neither shall there be any strength to withstand; but he that cometh against him shall do according to his own will, and none shall stand before him."

"And he shall stand in the glorious land, which by his hand shall be consumed (or, perfected). He shall also set his face to enter with the

¹ "Antiochus volens Judæam recuperare et Syriæ urbes plurimas (quas dum ab eo bellum gereretur cum Attalo, Pergami rege, iterum occupaverat Scopas, dux Ptolemæi), Scopam juxta fontes Jordanis, ubi nunc Paneas condita est, inuito certamine fugavit, et cum decem millibus armatorum obsedit clausum in Sidone. Ob quem liberandum misit Ptolemæus duces inclytos Eropum et Menoclem et Damoxenum (cum delectâ manu). Sed obsidionem solvere non potuit, donec fame superatus Scopas manus dedit, et nudus cum sociis dimissus est."—HIERON.

strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones with him; thus shall he do: and he shall give him the daughter of women, corrupting her: but she shall not stand on his side, neither be for him" (vv. 16, 17).

Assisted by those "upright" Jews who were favourable to his designs (so called in contradistinction to the "robbers" who took the part of Ptolemy), Antiochus adds Judea to his dominions. He stands in the glorious land (*terra Israelitica*; cf. Jer. iii. 19; Ezek. xx. 6, 15; Zech. vii. 14), and assists the Jews in the work of repairing their city and finishing their temple. "After this," says Josephus, "Antiochus made a friendship and a league with Ptolemy, and gave him his daughter ('the daughter of women,' *puella*) Cleopatra to wife, and yielded up to him Cœle-Syria, Samaria, Judea, and Phœnicia, by way of dowry" (Ant. xii. 4). This marriage was contracted probably with a view of retaining these provinces under his own power, thus "corrupting" the mind of his daughter to favour his designs upon Egypt. She, however, does not "stand on his own side, neither is for him;" for she takes the part of her husband Ptolemy instead of her father Antiochus.

"After this shall he turn his face unto the isles, and shall take many: but a prince for his own behalf shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him. Then he shall turn his face toward the fort of his own land: but he shall stumble and fall, and not be found" (vv. 18, 19).

After his successes in Egypt, Antiochus captures Rhodes, Samos, Colophon, and other islands and mari-

¹ "Volens Antiochus non solum Syriam, et Ciliciam, et Lyciam, et alias provincias, quæ Ptolemæi fuerant partium, possidere, sed in Ægyptum quoque regnum suum extendere, filiam suam Cleopatram . . . respondit Ptolemæo et tradidit, promissâ ei dotis nomine Cœle-Syriâ, et Judæâ . . . Neque vero obtinere potuit Ægyptum, quia Ptolemæus Epiphanes et duces ejus, sentientes dolum, cautius egerent, et Cleopatra magis viri partes quam parentis fovit."—HERON.

time places on the coast of Asia Minor; and, crossing the Hellespont, enters, by the advice of Hannibal, upon war with the Romans. But “a prince for his own behalf (Lucius Scipio), shall cause the reproach offered by him to cease; without his own reproach he shall cause it to turn upon him:” (*sed cessare faciet imperator quidam opprobrium ejus illi; præterquam quod opprobrium ejus convertet in ipsum*). Vanquished by the Roman consul with terrible slaughter at Magnesia,¹ he with difficulty obtained peace from the Romans on the severe conditions that he should evacuate Europe, cede all his possessions on the Roman side of Mount Taurus, and pay the enormous sum of 15,000 Euboic talents to cover the expenses of the war. Returning to the “fort of his own land” (Syria), he was slain in an unsuccessful attempt² to plunder the temple of Belus, or Jupiter, in Elymais, with a view, it is supposed, of collecting means to pay the tribute imposed by the Romans,—“He shall stumble and fall, and not be found.”

SELEUCUS PHILOPATOR.

“Then shall stand up in his estate a raiser of taxes in the glory of the kingdom: but within few days he shall be destroyed, neither in anger, nor in battle” (ver. 20).

Seleucus Philopator, the “raiser of taxes in the glory

¹ “Quo in prælio infelici amisit, innumeratis captivis, circiter l. millia; vix enim cæсорum numerus iniri potuit præ multitudine; elephantis etiam interfectis, præter quindecim qui vivi fuerunt capti. Pacem Antiochus impetravit a Romanis hâc demum conditione ut Europâ cederet, et Asiâ omni eis Taurum.”—LIV. “Tantam enim apud Magnesium cladem accepit Antiochus, ut ἦν βασιλεὺς, Αντιοχος ὁ Μέγας dicerent homines.”—APPIAN. *De Reb. Syr.* c. 37.

² “Antiochus quum gravi tributo pacis, a Romanis victus, oneratus esset: sive inopiâ pecuniæ compulsus, sive avaritiâ, sollicitatus, quâ sperabat se sub specie tributariæ necessitatis excusatus sacrilegia commissurum; adhibito exercitu, noctu templum Elymæi Jovis (Τὸν Βήλου—STRABO) aggreditur. Quâ re proditâ, concursu incolarum cum omni militiâ interficitur.”—JUSTIN, xxxii. 2.

of the kingdom," (*qui transire faciet exactorem decus regni, i. e. Judæam*) succeeds to the throne of Syria. His reign is chiefly remarkable for an attempt to plunder the temple of its sacred treasures, possibly with a view of paying the taxes imposed by the Romans on his father Antiochus the Great. For this purpose he sends his treasurer Heliodorus to Jerusalem, who is deterred from his sacrilegious purpose by the appearance of an armed and terrible rider.¹ After an inglorious reign of twelve years he is assassinated² by Heliodorus, probably at the instigation of his brother Epiphanes; and is destroyed "within few days," *i. e.* not long after—"neither in anger nor in battle;" without the martial renown and splendid achievements which distinguished his warlike father.

ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES.

"And in his estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries" (ver. 21).

An introductory sketch has been given up to this

¹ "Heliodorus, the royal treasurer, was immediately despatched to take possession of this unexpected fund (the riches of Hyrcanus deposited in the treasury of the temple) so opportunely discovered; for the finances of Seleucus were exhausted by the exactions of the Romans. The whole city was in an agony of apprehension; the high priest seemed in the deepest distress while the royal officer advanced to profane and pillage the temple of God. Suddenly a horse, with a terrible rider clad in golden armour, rushed into the courts, and made at Heliodorus with his fore feet. Two young men of great strength and beauty, and splendidly attired, stood by the rider, and scourged the intruder with great violence. At this awful apparition the treasurer fell half dead upon the pavement; was carried senseless out of the precincts of the sanctuary, and only revived after the promise of the high priest to intercede with his offended Deity." (2 Macc. iii.)—MILMAN'S *History of the Jews*.

² "Seleucus quem Philopatora Græci vocavere, quum paternis eladibus fractas admodum Syriæ opes accepisset, post otiosum, nullis admodum rebus gestis nobilitatum annorum duodecim regnum, minorem natu fratrem (Antiochum Epiphanem) misso Romam in ejus locum filio suo Demetrio, revocavit ex fœderis legibus quo mutari identidem obsides oportebat. Vix ille Athenas pervenerat, quum Seleucus insidiis Heliodori, unius ex purpuratis, oppressus interiit."—LIV. xli. 19.

point of those Syrian and Egyptian kings who preceded Antiochus Epiphanes; regard being had to those events in their respective histories; with which the Jews were more immediately concerned. Hitherto their Syrian and Egyptian masters seem to have inflicted no greater injuries upon them than those to which they were locally and politically subject, but with the death of Seleucus Philopator a season is reached of more than usual trouble to the holy people. Accordingly, the brevity which characterizes preceding descriptions is exchanged for comprehensive detail and historical minuteness; and from ver. 21 to the end of the chapter, the narrative is solely occupied with the character and fortunes of the great oppressor of the Jewish people.

An almost unanimous criticism has interpreted the "vile person" of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had been sent to Rome by his father as a hostage (1 Macc. i. 10), without any prospect of the crown, when upon the assassination of his brother Philopator by Heliodorus, this "wicked root" seized upon the throne of Syria to the exclusion of his nephew Demetrius. He is called a "vile person" (*despectus*) both on account of his previous condition as a hostage, as well as of his actions, many of which were unworthy¹ of the dignity of a king.

¹ "Antiochus united the quick and versatile character of the Greek with the splendid voluptuousness of an Asiatic. At one time he debased his royal dignity by mingling with the revels of the meanest of his subjects, scouring the streets in his riotous frolics, or visiting the lowest places of public entertainment and the common baths; or, like Peter of Russia, conversing with the artisans in their shops on their various trades. With still less regard to the dignity of his own character, he was fond of mimicking in public the forms of election to the Roman magistracies; he would put on a white robe, and canvass the passengers in the streets for their votes. Then, supposing himself to have been elected œdile, or tribune, he would cause his curule chair to be set in the open market-place, and administer justice (*Romano*

Polybius relates of him, that he was in the habit of drinking to excess in the company of the meanest strangers, and that he would suddenly load those whom he had never seen before with unexpected gifts. Diodorus asserts, that, notwithstanding some kingly qualities, he was utterly despised¹ by all. The prophecy would seem to describe the insidious manner in which he gained possession of the crown: cajoling the Romans, although inwardly he was most hostilely disposed towards them, to release him from his condition as a hostage; and when the time for action had arrived, availing himself of the aid of the kings Eumenes and Attalus, the faithful allies of the Romans, to expel Heliodorus who had usurped the throne; thus possessing himself of the crown of Syria “peaceably,” and “obtaining the kingdom by flatteries.”

DEMETRIUS.

“And with the arms of a flood shall they be overflown from before him, and shall be broken; yea, also the prince of the covenant. And after the league made with him he shall work deceitfully: for he shall come up, and shall become strong with a small people. He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest places of the province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers’ fathers; he shall scatter among them the prey, and spoil, and riches: yea, and he shall forecast his devices against the strong holds, even for a time” (vv. 22, 23, 24).

more, sellà eburnèà posità jus dicebat, disceptabatque controversias minimarum rerum (Liv. xl. 1)—a poor revenge against a people before whose power he trembled. On the other hand, the pleasures of Antiochus were those of a Sardanapalus; and his munificence, more particularly towards the religious ceremonies and edifices, both of his own dominions and of Greece, was on a scale of truly Oriental grandeur; for among the discrepancies of this singular character must be reckoned a great degree of bigotry and religious intolerance.”—MILMAN’S *History of the Jews*.

¹ “Fuisse Antiochi consilia quædam et facta prorsus regia atque admiratione digna, quædam contra abjecta ideo et vilia ut ab omnibus sperneretur. Hinc *Epiphanes* quia vocatus, sed ob res gestas *Epimanes* (insanus) nominandus.”—Diod. Sic. lib. 31.

The arms of the overflow (*βράχιονες τοῦ κατακλυζόντος*, LXX.) having been overflowed before his face, as the passage might be more correctly rendered, referring probably to the frustration of the prospects of Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus, by the unexpected appearance of Antiochus, the narrative proceeds to say of the latter that he should deal deceitfully above, or beyond the covenanted league, and that a prince of a covenant¹ should also be “broken before him.” Reference may be made in this passage to the agreement between Antiochus the Great and the Romans, when “they (the Romans) took (Antiochus) alive, and covenanted (comp. *ex fœderis legibus*—Liv.) that he and such as reigned after him should pay a great tribute, and give hostages, and that which was agreed upon” (1 Macc. viii. 7). It would seem probable that by “a prince of a covenant,” Demetrius, the son of Seleucus Philopator, and grandson of the Great Antiochus, who had been sent to Rome by his father as a hostage in the place of his uncle Epiphanes, may be intended;² the “league” broken by the latter, referring to the treach-

¹ The absence of the article, as well as of the qualifying adjective “holy,” would seem to show that here, as in ix. 27, the word *Berith* does not signify the covenant made between God and his people, but simply an agreement between the Romans and Antiochus the Great.

² Others have explained the “prince of the covenant” of Ptolemy Philometor, the son of Cleopatra, and nephew of Antiochus: the infringement of the “league” being supposed to refer to the quarrel between Antiochus and Ptolemy respecting Cœle-Syria; the latter claiming that country as part of the dowry of his mother Cleopatra, and the former denying that it ever had been given. Against this view it may be urged that vv. 21-24 would seem to refer to the treacherous occupation of Syria by Antiochus previous to the invasion of Egypt; Ptolemy Philometor not being introduced until ver. 25, when he appears under the title common to the sovereigns of Egypt, “the king of the south.” (Comp. ver. 40). Should it, however, be thought more natural to explain the “prince of the covenant” of Seleucus Philopator; the overflow, overflowed before Antiochus (xi. 22), might in that case be interpreted of Heliodorus.

erous plots of Antiochus that Demetrius the lawful heir might be detained at Rome, in order that he himself might succeed to the throne of Syria, and “become strong with a small people.” The spoliation and plunder exceeding all that his fathers or his fathers’ fathers had done, may allude to the devastation of neighbouring countries by Antiochus (*abundantes et uberes urbes ingrediatur*), especially that of Armenia, whose king Artaxias¹ is said by Arrian to have been taken captive by him. “Wherever he came” (says Bishop Newton) “he scattered among them the prey, and spoil, and riches; the prey of his enemies, the spoil of temples, and the riches of his friends, as well as his own revenues, being expended in public shows, and bestowed in largesses among the people” (1 Macc. iii. 30).

PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR.

“And he shall stir up his power and his courage against the king of the south with a great army; and the king of the south shall be stirred up to battle with a very great and mighty army; but he shall not stand: for they shall forecast devices against him. Yea, they that feed of the portion of his meat shall destroy him, and his army shall overflow: and many shall fall down slain. And both these kings’ hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table; but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at the time appointed. Then shall he return into his land with great riches; and his heart shall be against the holy covenant; and he shall do exploits, and return to his own land” (vv. 25–28).

After an easy conquest of the border provinces Antiochus extends his ambitious designs towards Egypt. “When the (Syrian) kingdom was established before Antiochus, he thought to reign over Egypt that he might

¹ “He governed Syria and the neighbouring nations with vigour, having Timarchus as satrap in Babylon; he warred against Artaxias, king of Armenia, and, having taken him, died, leaving a nine years’ old boy, Antiochus, to whom the Syrians gave the name of Eupator, on account of his father’s valour.”—APP. *Syr.* 45-6.

have the dominion of two realms. Wherefore he entered into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy (comp. xi. 40), and made war against Ptolemy (Philometor) king of Egypt; but Ptolemy was afraid of him and fled, and many were wounded to death (comp. "many shall fall down slain.") Thus they got the strong cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils thereof" (1 Macc. i. 16-19). It is likely that Antiochus with his accustomed treachery corrupted the servants and friends of Ptolemy, and prevailed as much by deceit as by force of arms. Josephus relates that "he came with great forces to Pelusium, and circumvented Ptolemy Philometor by treachery and seized upon Egypt" (Ant. xii. 5); agreeing with the prophetic statement, "They that feed upon the portion of his meat (*i. e.* his servants) shall destroy him and forecast devices against him." "And both these kings' hearts shall be to do mischief, and they shall speak lies at one table;" Antiochus professing¹ to take the side of Ptolemy Philometor against his brother Ptolemy Euergetes II., who had assumed the supreme power at Alexandria (*parens puero et amicitiam simulans . . . puerique rebus se providere dicens.*)^{HIERON.} "But it shall not prosper." The crafty policy which would set one brother against another with the view of reigning over Egypt through his nephew (Philometor) fails of success; the Alexandrians at once make his

¹ "Antiochus frustra tentatis mœnibus Alexandriae (quo cum Cleopatrà confugerat Ptolemus VII. Euergetes, rex creatus ab Ægyptiis loco patris Ptolemæi Philometoris qui Antiochi in manu erat) abcesserat; ceterâque Ægypto potitus, relicto Memphi majore Ptolemæo (Philometore), cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut victorem mox aggrediretur, in Syriam exercitum abduxit."—LIV. xlv. 11.

brother king, and expel Antiochus. Baffled in his attempt to subdue lower Egypt, he raises the siege of Alexandria and returns into Syria laden with treasures, "his court and even his own dinner table shining with a blaze of silver and gold unknown before in Syria."

"At the time appointed he shall return, and come toward the south; but it shall not be as the former, or as the latter. For the ships of Chittim shall come against him; therefore he shall be grieved, and return, and have indignation against the holy covenant: so shall he do; he shall even return, and have intelligence with them that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanctuary of strength, and shall take away the daily sacrifice, and they shall place the abomination that maketh desolate" (vv. 29-31).

Antiochus, says the writer of 2 Maccabees, "prepared his second voyage into Egypt" (v. 1); but this latter expedition was not equally prosperous with the former. A new and unexpected opponent¹ appears on the scene, and puts a check to the lust of Syrian aggrandisement. "Ships of Chittim" (*legati Romani navibus vecti Maccdonicis*) are drawn up in order of battle in the bay of Alexandria, and the legate, Popilius Lænas, holding in his hand the fiat of Imperial Rome, commands Antiochus to depart from Egypt, and be content with his own territory. Upon the hesitation of the latter, the Roman, with the stick which he held in his hand, draws a circle around him in the sand as he stood upon the sea-shore, and bids

¹ "Ad Eleusinem transgresso flumen, qui locus quatuor millia ab Alexandria abest, legati Romani occurrerunt. Quos quum advenientes salutasset, dextramque Popilio, porrigeret, tabellas ei Popilius Senatûs consultum habentes, tradit, atque omnium primum id legere jubet. Quibus perlectis, quum se consideraturum, adhibitis amicis, quid faciendum sibi esset, dixisset. Popilius, pro cetera asperitate animi, virgâ, quam in manu gerebat, circumscripsit regem, ac priusquam hoc circulo exeas, inquit, redde responsum senatui quod referam. Tum demum Popilius dextram regi, tanquam socio atque amico, porrexit."—LIV. XLV. 11 12.

him give an answer to the decree of the senate before he steps out of that circle. Compelled to depart from Egypt, and hoping to recruit his exhausted treasury by the plunder of the temple at Jerusalem, he vents on the Jews his displeasure against the Romans, and thinking, from the struggles for supremacy¹ of the rival high priests, Jason and Menelaus, that "Judæa had revolted, he removed out of Egypt in a furious mind, and took the city (Jerusalem) by force of arms" (2 Macc. v. 11). He has intelligence with those Hellenizing Jews "who forsake the holy covenant;" for when "returning out of Egypt for fear of the Romans he made an expedition against the city of Jerusalem in the 143rd year of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, he took the city without fighting, those of his own party opening the gates to him" (Ant. xii. 5). He "pollutes the sanctuary of strength (*sanctuarium, arcem, i. e. templum*) and places the

¹ "A false rumour of his death having reached Palestine, Jason, the dispossessed high priest, seized the opportunity of revolt against his brother, took the city, shut up Menelaus in the castle of Acra, and began to exercise the most horrible revenge against the opposite party. The intelligence of the insurrection, magnified into a deliberate revolt of the whole nation, reached Antiochus. The doom of the city had not been without its portent. Early in the year (B. C. 167), the heavens had been ablaze with what appeared horsemen in cloth of gold, tilting at each other, with the flash of swords and bucklers (possibly an *aurora borealis*). The wild tumult in the sky lasted for forty nights (2 Macc. v. 1). The ill-fated city, according to the omen, fell without much resistance. The conqueror marched without delay against Jerusalem, put to death in three days' time 40,000 of the inhabitants, and seized as many more to be sold as slaves. Bad as this was, it was the common fate of rebellious cities; but Antiochus proceeded to more cruel and wanton outrages against the religion of the people. He entered every court of the temple, pillaged the treasury, seized all the sacred utensils, the golden candlestick, the table of shewbread, the altar of incense; and thus collected a booty to the amount of 1,800 talents. He then commanded a great sow to be sacrificed on the altar of burnt offerings, part of the flesh to be boiled, and the liquor from the unclean animal to be sprinkled over every part of the temple; and thus desecrated with the most odious defilement the sacred place which the Jews had considered for centuries the one holy spot in all the universe."—MILMAN'S *History of the Jews*.

abomination that maketh desolate;" for "the king had sent letters by messengers unto Jerusalem . . . that they should pollute the sanctuary and holy people Now the fifteenth day of the month Casleu, they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar and did sacrifice upon the idol-altar which was upon the altar of God" (1 Macc. i. 44-46; 54-59).

"And such as do wickedly against the covenant shall he corrupt by flatteries: but the people that do know their God shall be strong, and do exploits. And they that understand among the people shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, many days. Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help: but many shall cleave to them with flatteries. And some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end: because it is yet for a time appointed" (vv. 32-35).

The Jews at this time were divided into the Judaistic and Hellenistic parties,¹ described in this book as "they that do know their God," and "such as do wickedly against the covenant." The latter of these are corrupted by the "flatteries" of Antiochus, and are induced by the promise of splendid rewards (1 Macc. ii. 18) to conform to the practices of the heathen; whilst the former oppose manfully the iniquitous commands of the king, and choose rather to die that they may not be defiled

¹ "By the year 170 B. C., Hellenism," says Döllinger, "had made such progress among the Jews that Antiochus Epiphanes was able to plan the extirpation of the Jewish religion, and the conversion of the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Jupiter Olympius. The richer and nobler among them had made acquaintance with Greek manners and Greek luxuries of art and life in the courts of Antioch and Alexandria. The law, with its developments and restraints, was, any how, a heavy yoke in their eyes, and the proud rule of the Scribes a hateful tyranny. In face of the refinement of the Greeks and their ridicule, they grew ashamed of their 'barbarous laws,' which denied them all participation in the pleasures of the Grecian symposia: they would gladly have had gymnasia, theatres, and the contests of the arena in Jerusalem itself."

with meats, and that they might not profane the holy covenant." The "little help wherewith they should be holpen," like the stone which afterwards became a great mountain, may be significant of the efforts of the patriots, small indeed at first, but afterwards increasing in organization and formidableness: for it was not till after the victory over Seron, that "the fear of Judas and his brethren, and an exceeding great dread began to fall upon the nations round about them, insomuch that his fame came unto the king, and all nations talked of the battles of Judas" (1 Macc. iii. 25, 26): whilst the "fall of them of understanding to try them, and to purge and to make them white" (comp. Rev. iii. 4, 5), presents a faithful picture of the untold sufferings of those martyrs who were "zealous for the law, and gave their lives for the covenant of their fathers."

"And the king shall do according to his will: and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for he shall magnify himself above all. But in his estate shall he honour the God of forces: and a god whom his fathers knew not shall he honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things. Thus shall he do in the most strong holds with a strange god, whom he shall acknowledge and increase with glory: and he shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain" (vv. 36-39).

A prominent feature in the character of Antiochus appears to be an excessive veneration for some deity distinct from those of his country's worship: this preference leading him to despise others in the same proportion. He appears to have compelled the heathen

(1 Macc. ii. 19) as well as the Jews "to fall away, every one from the religion of their fathers," in order to acknowledge a "god whom his fathers knew not," but whom "he shall honour with gold, and silver, and with precious stones, and pleasant things;" erecting his statue on the base of that of the god whom his fathers worshipped. Not only is he a "blasphemer" (2 Macc. ix. 28) against the "God of gods," but neither to the "god of his fathers," nor to "the desire¹ of women," nor indeed to any (Syrian) god does he pay divine honours, for he eschews their religious worship altogether, and considers himself superior to them all. The only deity he is willing to allow is the "god of forces;" whether, as some have thought, Mars, the Roman war god, or Jupiter Olympius, to whom he dedicated the temple at Jerusalem. This strange god "he shall acknowledge and increase with glory;" shall set up his statue in "the most strong holds," *i. e.* in the most strongly fortified towns; shall appoint guards in every city to compel worship "according to the king's commandment," and shall promote those who recognise this deity to the highest positions as a reward of their obedience. "He

¹ That by "the desire of women" (comp. Isai. xlv. 9) some Syrian goddess, especially worshipped by women, is intended, would seem evident, from the connection in which the passage stands, in which are enumerated the deities whose adoration was refused by Antiochus. It is probable that this deity was Nanea or Diana (Venus, Maurer), whose temple Antiochus attempted to plunder (2 Macc. i. 13-16; 1 Macc. vi. 1-4). In a passage in Granius Licinianus, where an account is given of this transaction, Nanea is called Diana: this singular identification suggesting the supposition that the latter name may be a modification of Anais, Anaitis, Tanais, Tanith, under which, and possibly other names, the worship of this goddess extensively prevailed in the East. It has been thought that these various appellations all convey the idea of maternity; the goddess, like the Lucina of the Latins, being the presiding divinity of increase and child-birth.

shall cause them to rule over many, and shall divide the land for gain."

"And at the time of the end¹ shall the king of the south push at him: and the king of the north shall come against him like a whirlwind, with chariots, and with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass over. He shall enter also into the glorious land, and many countries shall be overthrown; but these shall escape out of his hand, even Edom, and Moab, and the chief of the children of Ammon. He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the countries: and the land of Egypt shall not escape. But he shall have power over the treasures of gold and of silver, and over all the precious things of Egypt: and the Lybians and the Ethiopians shall be at his steps" (vv. 40-43).

It is uncertain whether these verses refer to previous invasions of Egypt, or to some subsequent invasion of which history has left no trace. The continuous reiteration of the same events throughout the book renders it probable that the former of these theories is correct; and to this it may be added, that there is no mention of any Syrian invasion of Egypt in the eleventh year of Antiochus, the war against Egypt having been put an end to in the ninth year of his reign, through the interference of Rome. During this campaign, in which, after his return from Egypt, he devastates Palestine and the neighbouring countries; "Edom, Moab, and the chief (1 Macc. v. 6) of the children of Ammon," the hereditary enemies of the Jews, not only "escape out of his hand" but possibly assist him in his aggressions upon Judea; the Libyans and Ethiopians, the ancient

¹ "The time of the end" (*tempus ultimum*, i. e. *tempus Antiochi Epiphanis*), when "the king of the south" (Philometor) pushes at "the king of the north" (Antiochus), may refer not only to the period immediately preceding the death of the latter, but to the whole epoch itself.

allies of the Egyptians (Ezek. xxx. 5) also follow "at his steps," and serve under the banner of the conqueror. The former of these, as in the case of the first restoration of the city and temple by Zerubbabel, are displeased "that the altar was built and the sanctuary renewed as before . . . wherefore they thought to destroy the generation of Jacob that was among them . . . Then Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumea at Arabattine . . . and he gave them a great overthrow . . . also he remembered the injury of the children of Bean (probably the same as Baal-meon or Bethmeon, *i. e.* Moab) . . . and destroyed them utterly . . . afterward he passed over to the children of Ammon where he found a mighty power, and much people, with Timotheus their captain; so he fought many battles with them till at length they were discomfited before him" (1 Macc. v. 1-8).

"But tidings out of the east and out of the north shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make away many. And he shall plant the tabernacles of his palaces between the seas in the glorious holy mountain; yet he shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (v. 44, 45).

After his return from Egypt disastrous intelligence¹ from the east and from the north awaits him. He had heard that Alexander had stored up riches in a city of Elymais in the country of Persia; "wherefore he came and sought to take the city and to spoil it:" but being defeated in his sacrilegious attempt he returned "with great heaviness" to Babylon. As he came "with dis-

¹ "Videtur res utrinque (et in Perside et in Judæâ) infeliciter gesta Antiocho vehementem indignationem, indignatio autem intestinorum dolores mortiferos, concitasse."—MAURER.

honour out of Persia," tidings arrived that the "armies which went against the land of Judea were put to flight, and that Lysias who went forth first with a great power was driven away of the Jews . . . also that they had pulled down the abomination which he had set up upon the altar at Jerusalem, and that they had compassed about the sanctuary with high walls as before, and his city Bethsura" (1 Macc. vi. 5, 7). Exasperated at his double loss, he "goes forth with great fury to destroy and utterly to make away many, and to plant the tabernacles of his palaces (his splendid tents) between the seas (the Mediterranean) and the glorious holy mountain (Moriah): or, as it is expressed by the Maccabean writer, "Then swelling with anger, he thought 'to avenge upon the Jews the disgrace done unto him by those that made him flee: therefore commanded he his chariot-man to drive without ceasing, and to dispatch the journey—the judgment of God now following him: for he had spoken proudly in this sort, that he would come to Jerusalem, and make it a common burying-place of the Jews" (2 Macc. ix. 4). Vain and empty boast! The tyrant is stricken down by an "invisible and incurable plague," and "his grief was ever more and more, and he made account that he should die: wherefore he called for all his friends, and said unto them; The sleep is gone from mine eyes, and my heart faileth for very care: and I thought with myself into what tribulation am I come, and how great a flood (comp. ix. 26) of misery is it wherein now I am: for I was bountiful, and beloved in my power. But now I remember the evils that I did at Jerusalem, and that

I took all the vessels of gold and silver that were therein, and sent to destroy the inhabitants of Judea without a cause. I perceive, therefore, that for this cause these troubles are come upon me; and behold, I perish through great grief in a strange land" (1 Macc. vi. 9-13).

From the ease with which an interpretation has been given, it appears that chapter xi. expresses a different order of conceptions from the rest of the prophetic writings. In addition to its chronological order and historical minuteness, it possesses another feature which yet more strongly distinguishes it from other prophecies; the writer dilating events supposed to be future, and reducing within narrow limits those which happen near his own times—a mode of treatment, as we have elsewhere observed, foreign to the usual practice of prophetic writers. On the supposition that the author of this book lived at the time of the Captivity, it is difficult to understand why so large a portion should have been devoted to the more remote persecutions of Antiochus to the neglect of other topics of nearer, and more general interest. From the period of his rise out of the stock of Syrian kings to that of his most wretched fall, he is the pivot around which these visions revolve; and the welcome announcement of his death furnishes the key-note of exultation with which they close. Indeed the biographical, as well as the prophetic portions of this book, would seem illustrative but of one subject; the earlier chapters being occupied with tales of suffering for conscience sake, introduced, as it would appear, into the history for no other reason than because they are analogous to similar scenes experienced at a

later period. And as the theme advances from personal biography to historico-prophetic narrative, the one idea which pervades the whole becomes more and more apparent. The internecine and perpetual wars between his predecessors, the kings of Syria and Egypt, the inauspicious alliance of Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus Theos, the impotency of Callinicus, the piety of Euergetes, the voluptuousness of Philopator, the magnanimity of the great Antiochus, the helplessness of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the avarice of Seleucus, the detention of Demetrius, the duplicity of Philometor, owe to him their place in this prophetic history. True to its specific object, the narrative details even the minute particulars of his personal career: his contemptible character, unworthy of a son of the great Antiochus, his political insincerity and breach of public faith, his treacherous conduct, perfidious above that of the Syrian kings before him, his fierce countenance and unsparing vindictiveness, his unprovoked aggressions upon Egypt and neighbouring countries, his abject servility in the presence of the Roman legate, his contemptuous neglect of the gods of his country, his superstitious adoration of a strange deity, his impious blasphemies against the God of heaven, his superhuman and intolerable pride, his wanton and abominable desecration of the holy place, his unparalleled and exterminating persecutions of the chosen people, his unscrupulous and sacrilegious covetousness, his heaven-inflicted and remediless plague, and his sudden and inglorious death. And to keep alive in the memory of the nation the indignities which they suffered at the hands of this monster of humanity, and to rescue

from oblivion the heroic resistance of "the people that do know their God," was a theme worthy of the re-awakening fervour of the Jewish intellect, and which found adequate expression in the historico-prophetic visions of Daniel.

CHAPTER IX.

ANALOGY BETWEEN THE APOCALYPSE OF THE OLD
TESTAMENT AND THAT OF THE NEW.

THE scenes we have attempted to describe in previous chapters correspond in a remarkable manner with those which took place about two hundred and thirty years later in the Christian Church; and indeed so close is the resemblance between them, that it has not been unusual for interpreters to explain the symbols under which they are respectively delineated of the same events. Instead, however, of regarding the visions of Daniel as predictive of scenes which occurred at a later period, it may with greater reason be supposed that they are merely typical of analogous calamities; the former supplying the ideas reflected in the latter, as well as the symbolic dress in which they are, for the most part, clothed. It is observable, that whilst the author of the second Apocalypse occasionally presses into his service figures employed by Ezekiel and Zechariah, he is profuse in his adaptation of those of Daniel. "Borrowing freely," says an able writer on this subject, "from the elder prophets their imagery, their supernatural machinery, and their historical conceptions, the seer of the Revelation converts them with the privilege allowed to great creative genius to his own special purposes... From Daniel he takes his historical conception of Pagan

empire, arising brute-like out of the sea; his vision of the Son of Man; . . . his king of the fierce countenance; his Michael, the great prince, the guardian angel of the sacred Hebrew nation; his resurrection, judgment, and kingdom of God."

It will be the endeavour of this chapter to show, that with regard to the above-mentioned prophet, the obligations of the seer of Patmos are most certain, and his "borrowings most systematic;" and that whilst images are occasionally taken from other prophets, he lapses into imitation in his habitual reproduction of the words and ideas of Daniel.

1. In tracing out this analogy we may notice first the somewhat doubtful position occupied by both writings; the former being placed by the Jews in the rank of Hagiographa, and the latter classed by ancient authority among the Deutero-canonical, or books of the second order. The genuineness of the latter we know to have been questioned at an early period, so that it cannot with precision be said to take rank among those books "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." Speaking of canonical books, Eusebius says, "To these may be added, *if it seem good*, the Apocalypse of John . . . which some reject, but others reckon among the acknowledged books" (*Eccles. Hist.* iii. 25). The analogy between the two starts from the questionableness of age and authorship; this questionableness, more than anything else, suggesting a "liberty of prophesying" in their respective interpretation, greater than might be exercised in the case of other canonical books.

2. A second feature of resemblance is traceable in

what may be called, for want of a better name, the apocalyptic character of both writings. After the period of the exile, a new style of teaching took the place of earlier prophecy. Angelic communications were introduced to supply the "Word of the Lord" which came to the ancient prophet, and vision and symbol superseded the sublime sayings which fell from the lips of the seers of old. Conceptions of a celestial hierarchy (possibly the result of contact with their eastern conquerors) began to be developed, and a continuous exertion of superhuman interposition was employed for the purpose of unfolding the divine decrees to men. These apocalyptic features distinguish the writings of Daniel and John from the other Scriptures: the book of Daniel, with its abundant angelology, differing as completely from the writings of the Captivity, as the Apocalypse from the gospels and epistles of the New Testament.

3. The circumstances of persecution for conscience sake under which both appear to have been written, present also a remarkable conformity. The period with which the former is concerned is designated a "time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time:" that of the latter, as "the hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth." During the earlier season of trial, "many are purified and made white and tried;" under the latter, the souls of white-robed martyrs are heard crying under the altar, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth." The duration over

which these persecutions extend would seem also to include a nearly equal period. According to Daniel, the period is "a time, times, and an half;" or, "a thousand two hundred and ninety days." According to the seer of the Revelation, it is also "a time, times, and an half;" or "a thousand two hundred and threescore days."

4. A further agreement may be traced in the scope and design of the respective prophecies: the object of the earlier Apocalypse being to sustain the martyrs of the Maccabean period under a season of religious persecution arising from the blasphemous attempt of a heathen tyrant to subvert the religion of Jehovah: that of the latter, to support the martyrs of the first century under the pressure of analogous calamities arising from the attempt of Nero to abolish the Christian faith. In either case the heathen appear to have concentrated their efforts against the faithful; and the question at issue was the supremacy of idolatry, or the worship of the True God.

5. Other minor points of resemblance might be adduced, such as the compulsory worship of the golden image set up on the plain of Dura, contrasted with the compulsory worship of the image of the beast; the resurrection of the faithful martyrs when "many that slept in the dust of the earth should awake," corresponding with the first resurrection of those who had not worshipped the beast nor his image; the "book," containing the names of those who should be delivered, agreeing with the "Lamb's book of life;" the consummation of the Syrian tyranny, when "all these things should be finished," reproduced in the consummation announced by the seventh angel, when "the mystery of

God should be finished, as he had declared to his servants the prophets." But perhaps enough has been said to show that a marked analogy exists between the first and the second Apocalypse, extending not only to the form and structure, but to the ideas and language employed by the respective writers. A reason for this may be found in the corresponding circumstances of the respective periods; similar seasons of persecution and suffering for conscience sake naturally demanding similarity of descriptive treatment; the author of the Apocalypse, as is not unusual with prophetic writers, regarding his predecessors' teaching as common property, and adapting it to the events of his own times.

I. A principal feature conspicuous in both writers, and especially in the latter, is the frequent employment of angelic visions. The analogy between them in this particular is of the most striking kind. By way of illustration, we shall subjoin in parallel columns the passages which describe the superhuman revealer of Daniel's visions, and those which delineate the appearance of the Son of Man.

ANGELIC MESSENGER OF DANIEL.

"Then I lifted up mine eyes, and looked, and behold a certain man clothed in linen, whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz: his body was like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning, and his eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass, and the voice of his words like the voice of a multitude... And when I heard the voice of

APPEARANCE OF THE SON OF MAN.

"One like unto the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle. His head and his hairs were white like wool, as white as snow; and his eyes were as a flame of fire; and his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace; and his voice as the sound of many waters...and his countenance was as the sun shineth in his strength; and when

his words, then was I in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground" (Dan. x. 5, 6, 9).

"I heard the man clothed in linen, which was upon the waters of the river, when he held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever that it shall be for a time, times, and an half; and when he shall have accomplished to scatter the power of the holy people, all these things shall be finished" (Dan. xii. 7).

I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead" (Rev. i. 13-17).

"And the angel which I saw stand upon the sea and upon the earth lifted up his hand to heaven, and sware by him that liveth for ever and ever...that there should be time no longer: but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished" (Rev. x. 5-7).

These passages, mutually compared, exhibit not merely general resemblance, but identity of thought and language. The man clothed in the priestly linen garment, "whose loins were girded with fine gold of Uphaz," corresponds with "the Son of Man, clothed with a garment down to the foot, and girt about the paps with a golden girdle." His "body like the beryl, and his face as the appearance of lightning," agrees with "his countenance as the sun shining in his strength." His "eyes as lamps of fire, and his arms and his feet like in colour to polished brass," are expressions analogous to "his eyes as a flame of fire, and his feet like unto fine brass, as if they burned in a furnace." "The voice of his words like the voice of a multitude," is reproduced in the "voice as the sound of many waters" or, "of a great multitude" (Rev. xix. 6); whilst the terror of the prophet at the greatness of the vision depicted in the words, "there remained no strength in me . . . I was in a deep sleep on my face, and my face toward the ground," is repeated in the parallelism, "and when I saw him, I

fell at his feet as dead." Similarly in the analogous visions of Dan. xii. and Rev. x., the man standing upon the waters of the river corresponds with the angel standing upon the sea and upon the earth; his invocation, when he "held up his right hand and his left hand unto heaven," is repeated in his "lifting up his hand to heaven;" his oath, when he "sware by him that liveth for ever," is reproduced in the oath of the Apocalyptic angel; the purport of the oath, that when the power of the holy people had been scattered for three and a half years the indignation should be accomplished, finds a parallel in the declaration that "there should be time no longer (no more delay); but in the days of the voice of the seventh angel, when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished, as he hath declared to his servants the prophets."

II. Having secured attention by the introduction of angelic communications into their respective subjects, the Maccabean writer and his ingenious imitator bring upon the scene of their historico-prophetic dramas the great persecutors of the Jewish and Christian Churches, whose deeds of atrocity bear so close a resemblance, that the description of the one serves as a pattern for that of the other. A comparison of the passages in which these are described, will show the judgment of the seer in selecting for his model a character which answered so completely to that which he desired to delineate.

RISE OF ANTIOCHUS.

"I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast (came up from the sea, vii. 3)...and it had ten horns" (Dan. vii. 7).

RISE OF NERO.

"I stood upon the sand of the sea, and saw a beast rise up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns" (Rev. xiii. 1).

RISE OF ANTIOCHUS.

“I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn...and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things” (Dan. vii. 8).

BLASPHEMIES OF ANTIOCHUS.

“He shall speak great words against the most High” (Dan. vii. 25).

“He shall exalt himself and magnify himself above every god, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of gods, and shall prosper till the indignation be accomplished” (Dan. xi. 36).

PERSECUTIONS OF ANTIOCHUS.

“The same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them” (Dan. vii. 21).

“He shall wear out the saints of the most High, and think to change times and laws” (Dan. vii. 25).

COMPULSORY WORSHIP OF ANTIOCHUS.

“Do ye not serve my gods, nor worship the golden image which I have set up...If ye worship not, ye shall be east the same hour into the midst of a burning fiery furnace, and who is that God that shall deliver you out of my hands” (Dan. iii. 14, 15).

“Whosoever shall ask a petition of any God or man for

RISE OF NERO.

“And I beheld another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns like a lamb, and he spake as a dragon” (Rev. xiii. 11).

BLASPHEMIES OF NERO.

“And there was given unto him a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies...and he opened his mouth in blasphemy against God, to blaspheme his name, and his tabernacle, and them that dwell in heaven” (Rev. xiii. 5, 6).

PERSECUTIONS OF NERO.

“And it was given to him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them” (Rev. xiii. 7).

“The beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit shall make war against them, and shall overcome them and kill them” (Rev. xi. 7).

COMPULSORY WORSHIP OF NERO.

“He had power to give life unto the image of the beast...and cause that as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed” (Rev. xiii. 15).

“He causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship

thirty days, save of thee, O king, shall be cast into the den of lions" (Dan. vi. 7).

DURATION OF THE PERSECUTION OF ANTIUCHUS.

"They shall be given into his hand until a time, times, and the dividing of time" (Dan. vii. 25).

"It shall be for a time, times, and an half" (Dan. xii. 7).

"From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days" (Dan. xii. 11).

DESTRUCTION OF ANTIUCHUS.

"I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body given to the burning flame" (Dan. vii. 11).

"He shall be broken without hand" (Dan. viii. 25).

"He shall come to his end, and none shall help him" (Dan. xi. 45).

the first beast, whose deadly wound was healed" (Rev. xiii. 12).

DURATION OF THE PERSECUTION OF NERO.

"Power was given unto him to continue forty and two months" (Rev. xiii. 5).

"My two witnesses...shall prophesy a thousand two hundred and threescore days clothed in sackcloth" (Rev. xi. 3).

"And to the woman were given two wings of a great eagle that she might fly into the wilderness into her place, where she is nourished for a time, and times, and half a time from the face of the serpent" (Rev. xii. 14).

DESTRUCTION OF NERO.

"These both (the beast and the false prophet) were cast alive into a lake of fire, burning with brimstone" (Rev. xix. 20; xx. 10).

"The beast...shall go into perdition" (Rev. xvii. 8, 11).

It would seem from an attentive consideration of the preceding parallelisms, that the writer of the Apocalypse, availing himself of that facility of adaptation for which he is remarkable, was led to consider the sacrilegious Syrian as the prototype of the impious Roman, and to recognize in the madman Antiochus the precursor of the monster Nero. Perhaps it is not too much to say, that the identity between the persecutors could not have been introduced accidentally into their respective themes

by the writers of Daniel and the Apocalypse. It appears to us indisputable that the former must have been the copy of which the latter was the voice and echo. The area of the former book is occupied with the description of a heathen king, who rises out of the ten horns of the fourth Syro-Egyptian empire; is guilty of wanton blasphemy against the God of heaven; wears out the saints of the Most High by abominable tortures; compels the Jewish people to forsake their own religion, and to worship the god of his adoration: whose persecutions continue for the space of three and a half years, but who is finally broken without hand, and overthrown. The area of the latter is taken up with the description of his counterpart and antitype. As Antiochus rises from the fourth ten-horned Syro-Egyptian beast of Daniel, so does Nero rise from the corresponding ten-horned Roman beast of John. He too is guilty of wanton blasphemy¹ against the God of heaven;² wears out the Christian saints; compels them to worship his image (the usual test to which the Christians were submitted);³ continues

¹ "Nero took up arms against that very religion which acknowledges the one true God. He was the first of the emperors which displayed himself an enemy of piety towards the Deity. He publicly announced himself as the chief enemy of God" (Eus. *Hist.* ii. 25). The following is a specimen of the religious adoration paid to him. Returning to Rome after having been a conqueror in the Grecian games, he is received with these words,—“Victor Olympian! Victor Pythian! Thou august, august—to Nero the Hercules—to Nero the Apollo. The only conqueror in the games of the circus—the eternal one—sacred voice. Happy those who hear thee” (DIO. CASS. lxiii. p. 1041):

² “Consult your edicts; there you will find that Nero was the first who savagely persecuted this sect, springing up chiefly at Rome, with the imperial sword. But we even glory in such a leader of our punishment; for whoever knows what he was, is able to understand that only some great and good thing could be condemned by Nero” (TERTULLIAN, *Apolog.* v.)

³ “I have taken this course about those who have been brought before me as Christians; if they persevered in their confessions, I ordered them to be executed.”

his persecutions for three and a half years; and at last perishes miserably, or, in Apocalyptic terms, "goeth into perdition." Surely this parallelism is not the result of chance. Letters thrown heedlessly upon the floor do not form themselves by accident into a beautiful poem, neither do emblems drawn at random from the mystical books of the Old and New Testaments, present analogies without design and purpose. The historical points of agreement already adduced seem to show one of two things: either the latter writer must have imitated the former, or, as is not uncommonly held, the respective authors must have treated of the same events. Mature consideration assures us of the fallacy of this last theory. It now appears to us that no satisfactory interpretation can be given which does not recognize the fact that these prophecies are double one of another. But as we compare the identity of symbol and vision, thought and language, structure and style, we cease to wonder that interpreters should have fallen into the pardonable mistake of applying the characteristics by which Antiochus is distinguished to the circumstances of Nero.

III. In addition to the above-mentioned points of personal resemblance between the Syrian and Roman persecutors, other features of correspondence present themselves arising from the peculiar circumstances of the respective times. The period with which the narratives are concerned is one of suffering for conscience sake,

Of others who recanted the writer says, "These denied that they were Christians now, or ever had been; they called upon the gods and supplicated your image, which I caused to be brought to me for that purpose with frankincense and wine; they also cursed Christ, none of which things it is said can any of those that are really Christians be compelled to do" (PLIN., *ad Traj.*, epist.)

when the blood of the saints was shed like water round about Jerusalem, and there was none to bury them. This time of trouble is described by both writers in somewhat similar terms; the endurance of the martyrs, under the Syrian tyranny, being reflected in that of those who suffered under the Neronic persecution. We subjoin some of the most striking parallelisms:

THE TIME OF TROUBLE.

“There shall be a time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time” (Dan. xii. 1).

THE TIME OF TROUBLE.

“The hour of temptation which shall come upon all the world to try them that dwell upon the earth” (Rev. iii. 10).

THE MARTYRS.

“They shall fall by the sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil many days...and some of them of understanding shall fall, to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, even to the time of the end” (Dan. xi. 33-35).

THE MARTYRS.

“I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and avenge our blood on them that dwell on the earth?” (Rev. vi. 9, 10).

“Many shall be purified and made white and tried” (Dan. xii. 10).

“These are they which came out of great tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb” (Rev. vii. 14).

THE BOOK OF DELIVERANCE.

“The judgment was set, and the books were opened...at that time thy people shall be delivered every one that shall be found written in the Book” (Dan. vii. 10; xii. 1).

THE BOOK OF DELIVERANCE.

“I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the Book of life...and whosoever was not found written in the Book of life was cast into the lake of fire” (Rev. xx. 12, 15).

THE RESURRECTION.

“Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake ; some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt” (Dan. xii. 2).

THE BLESSING.

“Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days : but go thou thy way till the end be ; for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot at the end of the days” (Dan. xii. 12, 13).

“They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever” (Dan. xii. 3).

THE RESURRECTION.

“I saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the Word of God... and they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years... This is the first resurrection” (Rev. xx. 4, 5).

THE BLESSING.

“Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection ; on such the second death hath no power ; but they shall be priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years” (Rev. xx. 6).

“And there shall be no night there ; and they need no candle, neither light of the sun ; for the Lord God giveth them light ; and they shall reign for ever and ever” (Rev. xxii. 5).

The reader will not fail to have noticed in these parallel texts a marked correspondence of emblematical figure and verbal agreement. Strange and unusual ideas such as those of the “book” and the “resurrection,” are employed by either prophet. The “time of trouble” of the former, re-appears in the “great tribulation” of the latter ; and the “purified [ones] made white, and tried” of Daniel, in the “palms” and “white robes” of John. The distinct idea of a resurrection, when “many that slept in the dust of the earth should awake” (explained by some of the political¹ restoration of the

¹ “Redditâ autem victoriâ, et cæsis Antiochi ducibus, ipsoque Antiocho in Perside mortuo, salvatus est populus Israel, omnes qui scripti erant in libro Dei, hoc est, qui Legem fortissime defenderunt ; et contrarie qui deleti sunt de libro, hoc

holy people) is peculiar to Daniel, and seems to have been elicited by the extraordinary sufferings of those days. Like the first resurrection of the Apocalypse, it is partial, and reserved only for the faithful. This idea, of later growth than the period of the captivity, was familiar to the Maccabean age. "The king of the world (says the second of the seven brethren martyred by Antiochus), shall raise us up who have died for his laws unto everlasting life." "It is good (said the fourth) being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him; as for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." "Our brethren (said the seventh and last) who now have suffered a short pain, are dead under God's covenant of everlasting life; but thou through the judgment of God shalt receive just punishment for thy pride" (2 Macc. vii. 9, 14, 36). That this expectation was prevalent at the period for which we contend, is corroborated by the testimony of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. It is of the martyrs of the Maccabean age that the words are spoken, "Women received their dead raised to life again; and others were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection" (Heb. xi. 35). It is also worthy of notice that as the resurrection is the reward held out to the martyrs of the Syrian persecution by Daniel, so is the same recompence confined to the martyrs of the Neronic persecution by John. They who ex-

est, qui prævaricatores extiterunt Legis, et Antiochi fuerunt partium. Tunc, ait (Porphyrius) hi qui quasi in terræ pulvere, dormiebant, et operti erant malorum pondere, et quasi in sepulchris miseriarum reconditi, ad insperatam victoriam de terræ pulvere surrexerunt, et de humo elevarunt caput; custodes legis resurgentes in vitam æternam, et prævaricatores in opprobrium sempiternum"—HIERON.

perience the "time of trouble" such as never was since there was a nation to that same time, are reproduced in those that were "beheaded" (*πεπελεκισμένοι*) "for the witness of Jesus and for the Word of God;" and they who "shine as the brightness of the firmament and as the stars for ever and ever," in those who "live and reign with Christ a thousand years."

IV. From scenes of agonizing persecution at the hands of heathen tyrants, the former of whom appears to have been as desirous of subverting the Jewish religion as the latter of exterminating the Christian faith, these prophecies pass on to describe a rescue of the Jewish people from their humiliating condition, and a judgment upon the oppressor followed by an universal and everlasting reign of the saints. According to Daniel, this deliverance is symbolized under the figure of a son of man coming with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days, and receiving from him a kingdom which destroys and breaks in pieces all other kingdoms and which lasts for ever. Similar ideas are reiterated in the Apocalypse, and it may be interesting to compare the passages in which these parallel events are described.

THE SON OF MAN.

"I saw in the night visions, and, behold, one like the (a) Son of Man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days, and they brought him near before him" (Dan. vii. 13).

THE SON OF MAN.

"And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle" (Rev. xiv. 14).

THE JUDGMENT.

"I beheld till the thrones were cast down (placed), and the Ancient

THE JUDGMENT.

"I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was

of days did sit...the judgment was set and the books opened ... and judgment was given to the saints of the Most High...The judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end" (Dan. vii. 9, 10, 22, 26).

"I beheld even till the beast was slain, and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame" (Dan. vii. 11).

THE KINGDOM.

"And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed" (Dan. vii. 14).

"The saints of the Most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever; ...and the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii. 18, 27).

The analogy between the Apocalypse of the Old Testament and that of the New is further maintained in these unique and extraordinary symbols. The Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days of Daniel, is reproduced in the "Son of Man coming with clouds," or "sitting on a cloud" (Rev. i. 7; xiv. 14),

given unto them,...and I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it...and I saw the dead, small and great, stand before God, and the books were opened" (Rev. xx. 4, 11, 12).

"And the beast was taken and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him ... These were both cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone" (Rev. xix. 20).

THE KINGDOM.

"And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xi. 15).

"And I heard a loud voice, saying in heaven, Now is come salvation and strength, and the kingdom of our God, and the power of his Christ" (Rev. xii. 10).

"And the nations of them which are saved shall walk in the light of it; and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it,...and they shall reign for ever and ever" (Rev. xxi. 24; xxii. 5).

of John; the judgment upon the Danielic beast (Antiochus) is answered in the judgment upon the Apocalyptic beast (Nero); and the everlasting kingdom given to the people of the saints of the Most High, in the everlasting reign of the "servants of God and the Lamb" (Rev. xxii. 3-5).

V. The analogy between the Apocalypse of the Old Testament and that of the New is continued in the calamities brought by either persecutor upon Jerusalem; the temporary desolation of the city and sanctuary by Antiochus being repeated in the more fatal and permanent destruction which originated with Nero. This latter calamity, although executed by his successors Vespasian and Titus, may be said to have commenced under Nero, as the former under Antiochus. These analogous desolations are described in parallel terms.

SYRIAN DESOLATION OF JERUSALEM.

"How long shall be the vision concerning the daily sacrifice,...to give both the sanctuary and the host to be trodden under foot? And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days" (Dan. viii. 13, 14).

"The people of the prince that shall come shall destroy the city and the sanctuary...unto the end of the war desolations are determined...and for the overspreading of abominations he shall make it desolate, even until the consummation" (Dan. ix. 26, 27).

ROMAN DESOLATION OF JERUSALEM.

"Measure the temple of God and the altar and them that worship therein, but the court which is without the temple leave out, and measure it not, for it is given unto the Gentiles; and the holy city shall they tread under foot forty and two months" (Rev. xi. 1, 2).

"The great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified; ...and the same hour there was a great earthquake, and the tenth part of the city fell" (Rev. xi. 8-13).

Let this then be added to the rest, that an analogy is found to exist between the desolations brought upon the

holy city by either tyrant: the temporary calamity inflicted by the Syrian affording a type of the permanent destruction accomplished by the Roman. "The people of the prince that should come," of Daniel, are reproduced in "the Gentiles" of the Apocalypse; the "treading under foot of the sanctuary and the host," in the "treading under foot of the holy city;" whilst the duration of the overthrow, for "a time, and times, and the dividing of time," finds an equivalent in the corresponding period of "forty and two months." The historical importance of this latter catastrophe sufficiently accounts for the desire to discover its prophetic announcement in the book of Daniel. It was the great crisis for which the world was waiting. In unequivocal language, which hardly even the science of hermeneutics can explain away, the Son of Man had announced his speedy advent to destroy Jerusalem and to establish the kingdom of heaven, before the generation which had heard his words had passed away. His apostles had reiterated his solemn threatenings. The Apocalypse had taken up the theme of an immediate catastrophe, and had rung out the knell of the old Jewish world. It ceases, therefore, to be a wonder that calamities described under such similarity of thought and diction, and reproduced under such agreement of circumstance and action, should have caused exegetical confusion; and that the Dromio-like resemblance between the chief actors in the respective scenes should have led interpreters to explain the Syrian abominations of those perpetrated by the Romans, and the desolation of the city and sanctuary by Antiochus, of the destruction of the city and temple by Titus.

VI. In addition to the historical resemblance already traced in the scenes described by Daniel and John, minor points of verbal imitation give weight to the position that the second Apocalypse is, to a great extent, a transcript of the first. Among the ideas and expressions common, if not peculiar, to both, we may compare the remarkable "I Daniel" (Dan. viii. 15, 27), with "I John" (Rev. xxi. 2; xxii. 8). The confident appeal to veracity, "The vision which was told is true" (Dan. viii. 26; x. 21; xi. 2), with "These words are true and faithful" (Rev. xxi. 5; xix. 9). The unique idea, known only to the writers of Daniel and the Apocalypse, of "The Ancient of Days, the hair of whose head was like the pure wool" (Dan. vii. 9, 22), with "The head and hairs white like wool, and white as snow" (Rev. i. 14); "The judgment set when the Ancient of Days did sit" (Dan. vii. 9, 10), with "The great white throne and Him that sat on it" (Rev. xx. 11). The "thousand thousands ministering unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand standing before him" (Dan. vii. 10), with the "Ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands" (Rev. v. 11). "The Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven" (Dan. vii. 13), with "The Son of Man sitting upon a white cloud" (Rev. xiv. 14). "The dominion and glory and a kingdom, that all people, nations, and languages should serve him" (Dan. vii. 14), with "The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ" (Rev. xi. 15). "Michael the great prince which standeth up for the children of thy people" (Dan. xii. 1), with "Michael and his angels fighting against the devil and his angels"

(Rev. xii. 7). "The time of trouble, such as never was since there was a nation even to that same time" (Dan. xii. 1), with "The great earthquake such as was not since men were upon the earth" (Rev. xvi. 18). The "casting of the host and stars to the ground and stamping upon them" (Dan. viii. 10), with "The dragon drawing the third part of the stars of heaven and casting them to the earth" (Rev. xii. 4). "God of gods and Lord of kings" (Dan. ii. 47), with "King of kings, and Lord of lords" (Rev. xix. 16). "The living God" (Dan. vi. 20), with "The living God" (Rev. vii. 2). "All whose works are truth and his ways judgment" (Dan. iv. 37), with "True and righteous are thy judgments" (Rev. xvi. 7). "Saints of the Most High" (Dan. vii.), with "King of saints" (Rev. xv. 3). "The four winds" (Dan. vii. 2), with "The four winds" (Rev. vii. 1). "The four beasts coming up from the sea" (Dan. vii. 3), with "The beast rising up out of the sea" (Rev. xiii. 1). The "ten horns" (Dan. vii. 7), with the "ten horns" (Rev. xvii. 3). The little horn which "came up among them . . . and shall rise after them" (Dan. vii. 8, 24), with "The beast that was, and is not, even he is the eighth, and is of the seven" (Rev. xvii. 11). "The beast slain, and his body destroyed, and given to the burning flame" (Dan. vii. 11), with "The beast taken and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone" (Rev. xix. 20). "The lion, the bear, and the leopard" (Dan. vii. 4-6), with "The beast like unto a leopard, his feet as a bear, and his mouth as a lion" (Rev. xiii. 2). "The beast with four heads and ten horns" (Dan. vii. 6, 7), with the beast "having seven heads and ten horns"

(Rev. xiii. 1). "The ten horns are ten kings that shall arise" (Dan. vii. 24), with "The ten horns are ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet" (Rev. xvii. 12). "The army of heaven" (Dan. iv. 35), with "The armies of heaven" (Rev. xix. 14). "Great Babylon" (Dan. iv. 30), with "Great Babylon" (Rev. xvi. 19). "The gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know" (Dan. v. 23), with "Idols of gold, and silver, and brass, and stone, and of wood, which neither can see, nor hear, nor walk" (Rev. ix. 20). The worship of "the golden image" (Dan. iii.), with "The worship of the image of the beast" (Rev. xiii. 15). "The four men loose walking in the midst of the fire . . . and the form of the fourth is like the (a) Son of God (Dan. iii. 25), with "The Son of Man walking in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks" (Rev. i. 13). The command to "shut up the vision and seal the book" (Dan. viii. 26; xii. 4), with the converse direction, "Seal not the sayings of the prophecy of this book" (Rev. xxii. 10). The enigma proposed to the wise, "How long shall it be to the end of these wonders? . . . none of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand" (Dan. xii. 6, 10), with the equivalent, "Here is wisdom; let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast" (Rev. xiii. 18; xvii. 9): and, lastly, the blessing of the resurrection, "Blessed is he that waiteth, and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days" (Dan. xii. 12), with, "Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power; but they shall be priests of God and

of Christ, and shall reign with him a thousand years" (Rev. xx. 6).

These parallelisms of thought and diction, to which may be added those of structure and arrangement, exhibit together so complete an analogy between the Apocalypse of the Old and that of the New Testament as almost to compel the conclusion, that either the writer of the latter must have drawn largely from the former, or that the respective authors intended to describe the same events. We give our adherence to the former of these theories, not only because it appears to have been the practice of the latter to avail himself of ideas borrowed from the ancient prophets, but because likeness of subject demanded likeness of symbolic representation. The earlier Apocalypse thus became the model of the latter, and the Syrian distress the type under which that of Nero found adequate expression. We are content to leave this parallelism¹ without further comment, simply observing that similarity of symbolic representation would seem to demand similarity of exegetical treatment; and that as the visions of either prophecy have their

¹ It is worthy of notice, that in the parallelism between Daniel and the Apocalypse, the emblems of the latter are rather the result of imitation of style and figure than a correct delineation of the subjects which they are intended to portray. Thus the horns of the Roman beast are "ten," not because Nero is the tenth emperor, but because the Syro-Egyptian beast of Daniel is furnished with "ten horns." The same beast is said to be "like unto a leopard, and his feet as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion," more for the sake of resemblance to the beasts of Daniel than exact conformity to the Roman empire. The second "beast coming up out of the earth with two horns like a lamb, and speaking as a dragon" (Rev. xiii. 11), is so described because "the little horn" (Antiochus) comes up among the ten horns of the fourth beast, and in this horn were (two) "eyes like the eyes of a man, and a mouth speaking great things" (Dan. vii. 8). The duration of the persecution of Nero "continues forty and two months, or a time, times, and half a time;" not because it extended over that precise period, but because it was that of the desolation spoken of by Daniel.

consummation in the death of the tyrant,¹ so the interpretation of the latter would be circumscribed by that of the former; in other words, as the exegesis applied to the book of Daniel cannot be extended beyond the times of Antiochus Epiphanes, so that of the Apocalypse must be confined to the times of Nero. Both prophecies would seem bounded by their own historical limits; the introduction, therefore, of an element of futurity into the interpretation of the latter, and the prolongation of its visions beyond the actual present or the immediate future of the seer, creates an eschatology for the second which is not discoverable in the first, and deranges the harmony subsisting between them.

¹ According to Daniel, a son of man comes with the clouds of heaven at the juncture when "the beast (Antiochus) is slain, and his body given to the burning flame." According to John, "the Son of Man appears when the beast (Nero) is taken and cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone." The reign of the saints with either prophet commences from the same period. According to Daniel, "the little horn makes war with the saints *until* the Ancient of Days comes and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom." According to John, the millennial reign commences at the period when the beast is taken and destroyed (Rev. xix. 20; xx. 4).

CHAPTER X.

MESSIANIC IDEAS.

It will readily be imagined from the tenor of preceding observations, that we are not among those who conceive the author of the Book of Daniel to have given utterance to predictions which find a primary and immediate accomplishment in the person of Jesus Christ; and we have arrived at this conclusion, not because we are maintaining prophecy, in the sense of foretelling future events, to be impossible, but because the express terms of the book appear to confine the subject within chronological limits which negative such a conception. But whilst unable to endorse the traditional opinion that the writer saw the glories of our own Messiah, and spake directly of him, we would admit that the symbols of Daniel may have contributed to give shape to the Messianic conceptions of the Christian period, and that our prophet may have delineated with greater appropriateness than those who preceded him, the features under which the Saviour manifested himself to the world. Regarded from this point of view, the Book of Daniel may be said to be more thoroughly Messianic than any other book of the Old Testament. The appellation "Son of Man," a title in which our Lord most delighted, would seem taken from this source. The glorious apocalypse of the Son of Man

coming in the clouds of heaven, appears to owe its origin to the Danielic prototype of a "Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days." The destruction of the Christian Antichrist may be traced to the overthrow of the Antichrist of the Syrian period. The setting up of the abomination of desolation of the days of Christ is compared to a somewhat similar event of the days of Antiochus. The announcement of the approaching end of the world, so unhesitatingly advanced by the writers of the Apostolic age, resembles the consummation, or "time of the end," continually reiterated by Daniel. The judgment, when "The Son of Man should sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him should be gathered all nations" (Matt. xxv. 31), may owe its shape to the "judgment set, and the books opened" of the former period. The resurrection accompanying that judgment, answers to the corresponding phenomenon when "many that sleep in the dust of the earth should awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt;" whilst the heavenly kingdom which our Lord declared to be "at hand," whose approaching reign of purity and glory he charged his apostles to announce, which he illustrated by so many exquisite parables and whose moral qualifications he insisted on with so much zeal and tenderness, takes its unmistakable rise from "the kingdom, and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven, given to the people of the saints of the Most High."

To some a certain hermeneutical verdict may seem pronounced by our Lord upon the book whose ideas he appears to have accommodated to the circumstances

of his Messianic career. But in their application of passages from the Old Testament, the writers of the New are for the most part inexact and arbitrary, "considering more the words than the meaning, and regarding neither the historical sense nor the context," and we have no reason to assume that, in this particular, our Lord exercised a critical discernment in advance of that of his own age. It would be well for those to whom this statement may give pain to remember that the writers of the New Testament do not always claim for their Master that infallible knowledge¹ which theological inference has ascribed to him. It was said of him without hesitation by those whose devotion to his cause and person cannot be called in question that he "increased in wisdom," *i. e.* advanced gradually in intellectual development, as well as "in stature" (Luke ii. 52). He was not ashamed

¹ Our Lord alludes to this limitation of knowledge where he says to his disciples after the resurrection, "It is not for you to know the times or the seasons which the Father hath put *in his own power.*" Τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, Acts i. 7. (Comp. *καρποῖς ἰδιοῖς*, his own times, *i. e.* times known to him only. 1 Tim. vi. 15). "This (says Dean Alford) is one of the things which the Father hath put in his own power, and with which the Son in his mediatorial office is not acquainted. We must not deal unfaithfully with a plain and solemn assertion of our Lord by such evasions as 'He does not know it so as to reveal it to us.' Of such a sense there is not a hint in the context; nay, it is altogether alien from it." Similarly the writer of the Apocalypse declares that "God *gave* unto (Jesus) the revelation of things which must surely come to pass" (Rev. i. 1), and pronounces the Lamb worthy, by virtue of his redeeming sacrifice, to open the Book which "no man—*ὄυδείς*—in heaven, nor in earth, nor under the earth, was able to open" (Rev. v. 3-9). Comp. "No man—*ὄυδείς* *διδεν*—*none knoweth*—no, not the angels which are in heaven, *neither the Son*, but the Father," (Mark xiii. 32); or, as expressed by St. Matthew, "*But my Father only*" (Matt. xxiv. 36). "This doctrine," says Mr. Houghton (*Pentateuch Examined*. Part III. Colenso), is expressly taught by our Lord himself; has the sanction of very many eminent Biblical writers, both ancient and modern; and is implied in the language of the formularies of our church." "If one does not wish to deny," says Calvin, "that Christ has been made a true man, one must not be ashamed to confess that he has voluntarily subjected himself to all the things which cannot be separated from the human nature."—*Com. on Luke* ii. 40.

to allow that his knowledge was limited with regard to the most momentous of all his prophecies, the coming of his own kingdom. He foresaw the fact; declared that it should happen before the generation which had heard his words should pass away; but acknowledged that the exact day and hour were unknown to him (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32). It is moreover, seldom remembered that imperfection of knowledge would be a necessary condition of that state to which he humbled himself. If the perfect manhood of Christ (which it would be the worst of heresies¹ to deny) consisted according to the so-called Athanasian symbol of a "reasonable soul and human flesh;" the soul would necessarily be as subject to the infirmities of the human mind in its limitations of knowledge, as the body to the infirmities of grief and pain. It need not then surprise

¹ "Mais la divinité de Jésus Christ! Que deviendra t'elle si la critique peut porter une main temeraire sur la personne de notre Maître, et le montrer ignorant bien des choses . . . N'avez vous donc jamais lu, repondrai je, le mot de l'evangeliste: 'il croissait en sagesse et en grâce.' Ou bien pensez vous que c'ait été précisément le privilège de Jésus de cesser de crôître en sagesse à partir d'un certain age? Il me semble plus respectueux de supposer que le progrès a eu lieu jusqu'à la fin, jusqu'à Gethsemane: 'Je me sanctifie,' lui fait dire Jean quelques heures avant sa mort. N'avez vous jamais medité non plus cette grande parole, 'Le Fils ignore.' Marc. xiii. 32. . . . L'Eglise enseigne la divinité de Jésus, mais elle enseigne aussi son humanité, et voila ce qu'on oublie etrangement. Elle affirme qu'il y a en Jésus une humanité complète, et qui ne consiste pas seulement dans un corps humain, mais aussi dans une volonté humaine, et une intelligence humaine. Sans doute cette nature humaine complète, est unie à la nature divine, mais l'union n'est pas la confusion, dit L'Eglise, et la divinité de Jesus ne peut porter aucune atteinte à sa parfaite humanité. Quiconque n'admet pas l'absolue distinction des deux natures en Jésus Christ est hérétique au premier chef: *Hæc est fides Catholica quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.* . . . Les Pères de L'Eglise en parlent fort serieusement. Puisque Jésus est homme, et que par consequent il a une intelligence humaine, il n'a pu savoir tout disent ils Voici saint Athanase, le vehement adversaire d'Arius, qui declare que Jésus, ayant pris notre chair, ne devait pas avoir honte d'avouer son ignorance en sa qualité d'homme."—ATHAN. *contra Arianos, Orat.* iii. 43; *Croyances Messianiques*, Colani, p. 244.

us to discover that Jesus shared the Messianic conceptions of his contemporaries, and that his apprehension of the book of Daniel corresponded with that of the age in which he lived. It would seem that the exegesis of that time allowed texts from the Old Testament to be accommodated to the Messiah with an extreme facility¹; a principal object of the searchers of scripture being to discover passages, which might be strained to admit a Messianic application. This desire appears to have been encouraged by the circumstances of the Jewish nation in the days of our Lord, and it would seem probable that a hope was widely entertained of a deliverance from the Roman rule similar to that experienced by their forefathers at the Syrian period. Hence the impatience of

¹ "We find (says Mr. Wilson, in the Introduction to Brief Examination of prevalent opinions on Inspiration) in our Lord's own quotations of the Old Testament and in those of His Apostles, not a *rhetorical* manner as distinguished from a logical one, but rather an oriental wideness as contrasted with the precision of the Greeks and of the modern West." (Comp. Matt. ii. 15, 17, 18, 23).

This wide use of passages from the Old Testament is observable in the writings of St. Paul, where we find Psalm xiv. 1-7, descriptive of the wickedness of the oppressors of Israel, employed, among other texts, to prove the universal depravity of mankind (Rom. iii. 9-19), and the history of Hagar and Sarah (Gen. xxi. 1-12) allegorized to the circumstances of the Jewish and Christian Churches, an application not strictly deducible from the sense of the original quotations. To a still greater extent this practice may be recognized in the fanciful expositions of some of the apostolical Fathers, such as the "scarlet thread" let down from the windows of Rahab's house significant, according to Clement, of the blood of the Lord; and the "three hundred and eighteen" servants of Abraham emblematical, according to S. Barnabas, of the cross and name of Jesus. In the Mishna, passages are quoted from the Old Testament without any regard to the context or to their true meaning. "Whence is it (it is asked) that a red string is to be tied to the head of the scapegoat? From the verse, Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow"—*Mishna Sabbath* ix. 3. An equally arbitrary application of Scripture is also found in Maimonides, where the text "Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil, neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many to wrest judgment" (Ex. xxiii. 2) is thus paraphrased: "To turn after many, if there shall be a division amid the Sanhedrim in matters of judgment; as it is said, to turn after many"—*Sepher Hammitz-voth*.

the Jews under the Roman yoke and their continual outbreaks against the existing government: hence the eagerness with which they ascribed Messianic qualities both to the Baptist and to our Lord, and hence also the numerous aspirants¹ to the office and the dignity of Messiah. With the appearing of the Great Teacher, who spake as never man spake, and did works such as never man did, the time, as they thought, had come, and

¹ The attempts of Judas of Galilee, Theudas, the Egyptian, each of whom assumed the title and sought to inaugurate the kingdom of the Messiah; and even subsequently to the destruction of Jerusalem, those of Jonathan and Bar-Cochebas, show how deeply the Messianic idea had penetrated the national mind. It scarcely needs to be said that the part taken by our holy Redeemer had nothing in common with these interested assumptions of the Messianic office. His soul-elevating and righteous theory of a kingdom of the skies which none but the meek and pure, the lowly and merciful, the just and good, the pardoned and penitent should inherit, where wrongs should be redressed and righteousness vindicated, was of an essentially different character from the political insurrections of religious fanatics* who did not scruple to pervert popular expectation to the furtherance of their ambitious designs. Indeed had the kingdom whose claims he advocated been similar to that sought to be established by these impostors, he might, as he said, have resorted to other means for its success. "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews, but now is my kingdom not from hence" (John xviii. 36). But although "not of this world," like that of imperial Rome, it was nevertheless a real reign of righteousness and peace; in which, in some mysterious and momentary way, the dead should be raised and the living changed, the elect gathered from the four winds, and the kingdom of this world merged into that of our Lord (God) and of his Christ. No wonder that the beatific vision caught pure and holy souls; and that its righteous qualifications won the affections of God-fearing men. Contrasted with the hard formality and dim futurity of Judaism, it shines forth as 'a thing of beauty,' and a 'joy for ever.' We cease to be surprised that when desirous of administering the deepest consolation, an apostle should be heard saying, "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the Archangel and with the trump of God, and the dead in Christ shall rise first (*i. e.* before those who shall be alive at his coming shall receive their summons to meet him); then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds to meet the Lord in the air, and so shall we ever be with the Lord; wherefore comfort one another with these words" (1 Thess. iv. 16-18)

² Faux Messies. Ce premier acte est positivement indiqué par Josèphe dans ses récits sur Theudas et sur l'Egyptien. Le premier s'insurgea sous Claude en 44 (Ant. xx. 5-1). L'Egyptien parait sous Néron en 58 un peu avant que Paul soit arrêté à Jérusalem (comp. Acts xxi. 38). Josèphe parle encore d'autres imposteurs ou enthousiastes qu'il ne nomme pas, contemporains de l'Egyptien, faisant appel comme lui aux croyances populaires, attirant le peuple au désert, et lui promettant les *σημεία ἐλευθερίας* et la *σωτηρία*.—REVILLE.

the vision of the prophet was about to receive its accomplishment. This hope, checked for a while by the death of Jesus, re-appeared in the announcement of his speedy return with power and great glory even before the generation which had listened to his words had passed away. To what extent these expectations pervaded the teaching and influenced the career of the Redeemer himself, may be seen by a comparison between what may be called the eschatology of the Maccabean age and that of the times of Christ. We proceed therefore to examine some particulars in which the Messianic ideas of Daniel appear to be reproduced in the history of our Lord, as related in the Gospels, and the subsequent writings of the New Testament.

I. A topic prominently insisted upon by the prophet of the Old Testament, is the establishment of a kingdom of the saints, or the holy people, which should succeed the breaking up of the dominion of the little horn. The gradual increase of this kingdom is shadowed forth under the emblem of a "stone cut without hands which became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth;" its superiority, in the assertion that it should "break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms;" its superhuman origin, in the statement that it should be set up by "the God of heaven;" while its durability finds expression in the words, "it shall never be destroyed, but shall stand for ever."

This extraordinary conception of a kingdom of the saints, unfulfilled at the period to which the original prophecy points except so far as the successes of the holy people are concerned, presents features of remarkable

coincidence with the evangelical kingdom announced by our Lord. As the former is set up by "the God of heaven," so is the latter a "kingdom of heaven," and a "kingdom of God;" as the one is "given" by the Ancient of Days to a Son of Man, so it is said of the other, "I appoint unto you a kingdom as my Father hath appointed unto me" (Luke xxii. 29); as "the saints of the Most High take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever," so does the king say to them on his right hand, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world." To make known the good news of this approaching kingdom was the great work of our blessed Lord on earth, and the key-note of his own teaching¹

¹ The Sermon on the Mount, which may be supposed to comprise the substance of our Saviour's teaching, would appear to be an epitome of the duties expected from, and the rewards promised to, the children of the kingdom whose approaching advent had been previously announced (Matt. iii. 2; iv. 17, 23). The beatitudes which preface this inimitable discourse exhibit under a variety of equivalent expressions, the blessedness of those who should share the Messianic reign. "The meek," it is said, "shall inherit the earth" (Enoch l.); "the pure in heart shall see God" (Rev. xxii. 4); the peacemakers "shall be called (shall be) the children of God," (Gal. iv. 7); whilst the poor in spirit, and the persecuted for righteousness' sake are bid to "rejoice in that day and leap for joy," for "theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (v. 3-12). The time of its establishment is that of the fulfilment of the law and the prophets in the coming of the Messiah; the phrase "till heaven and earth pass" (v. 18), or as the same idea is elsewhere expressed, "Heaven and earth shall pass away," (xxiv. 35) corresponding with the passing away of the "first heaven and the first earth" (Rev. xxi. 1) and the development of the "new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness" (2 Pet. iii. 13). The characteristic qualities of those who should be called (should be) great as well as of those who should be least in the kingdom of heaven (ver. 19) are noted with distinctness; and the disciples are cautioned that unless their righteousness should exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees they should not enter into it (ver. 20). In anticipation, perhaps, of Messianic sovereignty Jerusalem is called "the city of the great king" (ver. 35), elsewhere named "the city of my God new Jerusalem, which cometh down out of heaven from my God" (Rev. iii. 12); the disciples are bid to pray for its speedy advent (vi. 10), and leaving the consideration of earthly things, to "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness" (vi. 33), "for (adds St. Luke) it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

as well as that of his disciples. The Gospel of Jesus, according to the Synoptics, is the "Gospel of the kingdom" (Matt. iv. 23; ix. 35; xxiv. 14), elsewhere called the "Gospel of the kingdom of God."¹ It is the announcement of "the Son of Man coming in his kingdom"² (Matt. xvi. 28), *i.e.* the complete establishment of the kingdom at the coming of the king himself. "After that John was put in prison, Jesus (the successor of the Baptist in proclaiming the near approach of the Messianic reign) came into Galilee preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying, the time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand—*ἤγγικεν*—repent ye, and believe the Gospel" (Mark i. 14, 15). "From that time Jesus began to preach and to say (as the Baptist had done before him) repent, for the king-

And to make it plain that the kingdom spoken of was a future and celestial one, our Lord assigns the time of the judgment as that of entrance into it. "Not every one (he says) that saith unto me Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven;" or, as he further explains his meaning, "Many (who shall seek to enter in, but shall not be able) shall say unto him *in that day* (—that well-known day—"the day of the Lord"—"the day of Christ"—"the day of God"—"the day of judgment"—"the great day"—"the last day"—and, eventually "that day," without further comment, (Comp. Luke vi. 23; xvii. 31; xxi. 34; 1 Thess. v. 4; 2 Tim. i. 18; iv. 8), "have we not prophesied in thy name," etc., to whom he will profess "I never knew you, depart from me, ye that work iniquity," (vii. 21-23).

¹ The phrase "the kingdom of heaven," used more than thirty times by St. Matthew, is generally expressed by SS. Mark and Luke under its equivalent designation, "the kingdom of God." This difference may, perhaps, be traced to the circumstance that the first Gospel, according to Jerome, Chrysostom, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Origen, Irenæus, and Papias, was originally written in Hebrew or Aramaic, in which the term "heaven" is occasionally employed to represent the Deity (Dan. iv. 26). "Cœlum, Dei sedes et domicilium, Chaldæis et serioribus Hebræis dicitur pro Deo ipso, quem loquendi modum N. T. Scriptores secuti sunt" (Matt. xxi. 25; Luke xv. 18).—RCS.

² Comp. "when thou comest *in thy kingdom*" ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ σου (Luke xxiii. 42). Also: "Ye shall not see me henceforth—*ἀπ᾽ ἄρτι*—*from just now*—till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord" (Matt. xxiii. 39; Luke vi. 38; Mark xi. 10).

dom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iv. 17). "As ye go (he said to the disciples) preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. x. 7). "The law and the prophets (he declared) were until John; since that time the kingdom of God is preached and every man presseth into it." *εἰς αὐτὴν Βιάζεται* (Luke xvi. 16; Matt. xi. 12), makes its attainment the paramount concern. "Let the dead bury their dead (he said to a hesitating follower), but go thou and preach the kingdom of God." To one who would first bid farewell to friends at home, he said, "No man having put his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God" (Luke ix. 60-62). Into whatever city the seventy disciples whom he sent two and two before his face should enter, they were bid first to say, "The kingdom of God is come nigh—*ἤγγικεν*—unto you;" and in the case where the good tidings of salvation should be rejected, the heralds of the kingdom were instructed to wipe off the dust of that city from their feet, as of a place doomed to destruction, with the parting denunciation, "Notwithstanding be ye sure of this, that the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you" (Luke x. 8-11). The proclamation of this kingdom formed the basis of our Lord's habitual discourses, "as he taught the people in the temple and preached the Gospel"—*ἐναγγελιζόμενον*—(Luke xx. 1), not only in Jerusalem but "to other cities also, for therefore (he said) am I sent" (Luke iv. 43, 44). This was the kingdom for whose approach the disciples were bid to pray, "Thy kingdom come," and until whose final inauguration they were to hold trust, "Occupy till I come" (Luke xix. 13). The parables of the kingdom, especially those of the

leaven and the grain of mustard seed (Matt. xiii.), describe its gradual increase and exhibit the stone, not in hands, "becoming a great mountain and filling all the earth." Those again of the tares and the wheat and the net cast into the sea, connect the final establishment of the kingdom with the end of the world (age), *then supposed to be touching its appointed term*, and represent the Son of Man sending forth his angels (comp. Matt. xxv. 31), and gathering "out of his kingdom all things that offend and them which do iniquity;" whilst those of the treasure hid in the field, and the pearl of great price, declare its superlative and inestimable value, and the imperative necessity of first seeking righteousness and the kingdom of God (Matt. vi. 32). "To make known these evangelical tidings (for the Gospel as preached by our Lord and his disciples is the good news of the coming kingdom,¹ and not a Calvinistic scheme of redemption), the chosen twelve are sent first to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel." They proclaim the approach of a magnificent celestial theocracy under which the Jewish people, all their sin and transgression taken away (comp. Dan. ix. 24), should be exalted to the highest pitch of national grandeur. The "good tidings of great joy"

¹ This approaching kingdom is necessarily announced as an object of *belief*. Men are invited to "repent and believe the Gospel." Hence Christianity itself is called "the Faith;" and Christians are styled "believers" (Acts ii. 44; iv. 4, 32; v. 14). Mention is made of the "word of faith" (Rom. x. 8), of the preaching of Jesus Christ "made known to all nations for the obedience of faith" (Rom. xvi. 26; i. 5); of those who have stood in the faith (2 Cor. i. 24), and of those who "shall depart from the faith" (1 Tim. iv. 1). The "trial" of this faith lasting only till the "appearing of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 7), when believers should receive "the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls." Our Lord uses the word in a similar sense: "Nevertheless when the Son of Man cometh shall he find faith (*the faith*) on the earth" (Luke xviii. 8).

made known, not to all people, but to all the people of Israel (*πάντι τῷ λαῶ*, Luke ii. 10; Acts xiii. 24), announce a deliverer “set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel,” who should “save them from their enemies and from the hand of all that hate them.” Impressed with this idea of Jewish salvation,¹ holy men, like Simeon, “waited for the consolation of Israel,” and holy women, like Anna, “spoke of him to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem.” Blameless priests, like Zacharias, praised the “Lord God of Israel for he hath visited and redeemed his people,” whilst angelic messengers declared of Jesus “He shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Highest, and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end” (Luke i. 32, 33–68; ii. 25–38). Nor can it be denied that, an opinion prevailed that our Lord’s coming was to be attended with special benefits to the Jewish nation, “as God had promised to their forefathers, Abraham and his seed for ever.” He was a king and he had a kingdom.² “Not (*now*) from hence (*ἐντὺθεν*, *thence*) nor of this world,” like the ephemeral thrones of

¹ “We have now learned to give all such passages a spiritual meaning; to understand by “Abraham’s seed” the children of the faith of Abraham, and by “God’s people, Israel,” the body of true believers. But certainly this is not the way in which the first Jewish believers would have interpreted such words.”—*Epistle to the Romans*, Colenso, p. 10.

² The hatred against Christ, both from Jew and Gentile, seems to have proceeded from misconception of the nature of this heavenly kingdom. To the former, a kingdom which was to be “not of this world,” and to include the meek, the poor, the harlot, and the publican, was essentially opposed to the conception which associated the Messianic reign with temporal dominion, and a splendid line of “kings sitting upon the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, he and his servants and his people” (Jer. xxii. 4). To the latter the bare assumption of regal titles implied antagonism to the Roman government (John xix. 12; Acts xvii. 7).

Herôd or Cæsar Tiberius, but an "everlasting kingdom" (2 Peter i. 11), to be heralded ere-long by "a great sound of a trumpet" (Matt. xxiv. 31; 1 Cor. xv. 52; 1 Thess. iv. 16), and ushered in by "more than twelve legions of angels;" not merely a spiritual reign over the mind and heart of men, but a real, yet "heavenly" (2 Tim. iv. 18) dominion, a "new Jerusalem," as it were, "coming down from God out of heaven."¹ Fully persuaded of the celestial character of the approaching kingdom, our Lord at his temptation, rejected "the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them" (Matt. iv. 8), and "when he perceived that the Jews would come by force and make him a king" (John vi. 15), retired into solitude.

¹ The difference between the kingdom of heaven preached by our Lord and the Messianic reign foretold by the ancient prophets, would seem to consist in the semi-celestial nature of the former as contrasted with the purely mundane character of the latter. According to the prophetic theory, the Messiah was supposed to be a temporal king, pious as David, rich as Solomon; his throne was to be established at Jerusalem, his dominion to extend from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates, whilst the grandeur of his kingdom was to be shown in the subjugation of the heathen, and the exaltation of the Jewish people to the highest pitch of national prosperity. According to the view conceived by our Lord, the Messianic reign was to be partly of a mundane and partly of a celestial character—a kingdom of heaven upon earth; its king, a superhuman being descending from heaven armed with powers to judge the quick and dead; its inhabitants, no longer "subject to vanity"—corruption—but "partakers of the divine nature;" and its qualifications of such a perfect moral type, as to create the misconception that the accessories of the kingdom might be substituted for the kingdom itself; its seat of empire, not "Jerusalem that now is," but "new Jerusalem coming down from God out of heaven;" its dominion, universal, everlasting, and embracing heaven and earth. In other words, it was to be a "regeneration," a "restitution of all things," a "new heavens and a new earth," "a world (soon) to come," immediately consequent upon the then imminent dissolution of the material universe.

"Avant la ruine de Jérusalem, le Messie est un roi qui, descendant de David, doit ramener les beaux jours du règne de ce prince, élever le peuple élu au plus haut point de la gloire et de la prospérité, faire fleurir sur la terre entière la connaissance de Jehovah. Plus tard sous les Seleucides, ces espérances passent de la forme prophétique à ce qu'on peut appeler la forme apocalyptique. Le Messie devient un être surhumain, qui doit descendre du ciel, présider à la resurrection, juger les vivants et les morts, puis regner éternellement sur une Jérusalem renouveaué,"—*MELANGES d'Histoire Religieuse*, Scherer.

He seems to have retained this conviction unshaken amidst the most distressing circumstances. True, at the judgment hall of Pilate, when asked if he was a king, he simply appealed to the obvious fact calculated to quell suspicion on the part of the Roman government, that had his kingdom been of this world his servants would not have suffered him to have been delivered to the Jews (John xviii. 36, 37); but to the solemn adjuration of the high priest, "Art thou the Christ the Son of the Blessed?" he replied in the very words of Daniel, "I am; and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Mark xiv. 61, 62; Matt. xxvi. 63, 64; Luke xxii. 69, 70).

It is also worthy of attention that the disciples appear to have entertained views of their Master's kingdom similar to those which he had himself expressed. Whatever may have been the belief of later times, it would appear certain that the expectation of the Church of the age of the apostles and of that which immediately succeeded them¹ was that of a celestial kingdom upon earth,

¹ The doctrine of a celestial kingdom of heaven upon earth, inconsistent as the notion may appear to us, had its staunch supporters amongst the most celebrated of the ancient Fathers. Papias, according to Eusebius—*ἀνὴρ τὰ πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα λογιώτατος, καὶ τῆς γραφῆς εἰδήμων*—says of the productiveness of the earth in the millennial period, "A grain of wheat will produce 10,000 heads, and each head will have 10,000 grains, and each grain will yield ten pounds of clear fine flour, and other fruits will yield seeds and herbage in the same proportion." Irenæus, his disciple, asserts that Christ said to his disciples, when speaking of the days of his Messianic reign on earth, "The days will come in which vines will grow, each having 10,000 branches, and on each branch there will be 10,000 twigs, and on each twig 10,000 clusters of grapes, and each grape, when pressed, will yield twenty-five measures of wine; and when any one of the saints shall take hold of a cluster of grapes, another cluster will cry out, "I am a better cluster; take me, and on my account give thanks unto the Lord" (IREN. *Con. Her.* v. 33). "At this period (says Lactantius, lib. 7) brutes shall not live by blood, nor birds by prey, but all things shall be peaceful and tranquil: lions and calves will stand together in the stall: the wolf will not seize the sheep: the dog will not hunt: hawks and eagles will do no hurt: the

to be set up at the time of Christ's re-appearing, who, as in the case of the certain nobleman (Archelaus) "had gone into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom, and to return" (Luke xix). The terms of proximity in which its speedy approach is indicated, such as "quickly," "at hand," "nearer," "drawing nigh," "approaching," as well as those descriptive of the briefness of the interval, as "short," "far spent," "a little while," *μικρὸν ὅσον ὅσον*—*brevissimum adhuc temporis spatium*—"while—*ἄχρις οὖ*—it is called to day," whilst they assert its impending, and all but present character, in language which cannot be mistaken, preclude at the same time the supposition that the influence of moral qualities, such as goodness, meekness, purity, etc., could be described under the figure of a kingdom; these being simply the requisite preparations for participating in its glories when it should come suddenly upon them while they were yet alive upon earth—the heavenly birth (*ἄνωθεν*, John iii. 3)—the conversion (Matt. xviii. 3),

infant shall play with serpents. . . . Men will lead a life of perfect tranquillity and abundance, and will reign together with God; and the kings of the Gentiles will come from the ends of the earth with gifts and presents to adore and honour the Great King whose name will be famous and honourable among all nations under heaven, and all kings who rule upon earth. This is what the prophets declare shall come to pass." S. Barnabas and S. Augustine held the notion of a Sabbatical millenium upon earth at the expiration of six thousand years. The Apocalypse, beyond all question, maintains the theory of a mundane-celestial kingdom. The New Jerusalem comes down from heaven to earth, and the tabernacle of God is set up among men. On the gates are written the names of the twelve tribes, and on the foundations are the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb. The tree of life yields twelve fruits every month for those chosen Jews who are written in the Lamb's book of life, while the leaves of the tree only are for the healing of the nations. As time advanced, however, the millennial expectations of the early Church underwent a change. Within a few years the belief of a terrestrial reign of Christ on earth became an unpalatable doctrine. The Chiliasts were pronounced visionary, and succeeding ages negatived the devout conclusions of men who had held converse with the disciples of the Apostles themselves.

without which they should not “enter into the kingdom of heaven.” So far from being the kingdom itself, these moral qualifications were to be the harbingers of its approach, by the exercise of which the Church of that age was to be “looking for and hastening¹ unto the coming (*προσδοκῶντας καὶ σπεύδοντας τὴν παρουσίαν, hastening the coming*) of the day of God” (2 Peter iii. 12), and blotting out their sins by repentance and conversion *in order that the times of refreshing may come*—*ὄπωσ ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως*—from the presence of the Lord (Acts iii. 19), “diligent that they might be found of him in peace without spot and blameless” (2 Peter iii. 14), and “coming behind in no gift, waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ” (1 Cor. i. 7, 8). Surely that could not have been a spiritual kingdom in which the disciples were to “eat and drink, and to sit on thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel” (Matt. xix. 28; Luke xxii 29, 30); in which “many should come from the east and west and should sit down (*ad cœnam*) with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob” (Matt. viii. 11) to “eat bread in the kingdom of God” (Luke xiv. 15); until whose arrival our Lord declared that he would not “drink of the fruit of the vine until that day when he should drink it new with them in his Father’s kingdom” (Matt. xxvi. 29); “in the kingdom of God” (Mark xiv.

¹ These expressions could not be used of some distant period long after their own death (Comp. *ἀναμένειν*, 1 Thess. i. 10); the quotation from Psalm xc. 4, employed to refute the scepticism consequent upon the non-fulfilment of the promise of the coming within the time appointed, by no means implying an indefinite postponement of the advent, but pleading for a longer interval than that which had already elapsed. Comp. ver. 10, where, as in Matt. xxiv. 43, the day of the Lord is said to come as a thief in the night; also ver. 9, where the delay is described as in mercy to those then living

25); "until the kingdom of God shall come" (Luke xxii. 18); and unto the manifestation of which they were by a sacramental act to announce the Lord's death "till he come" (1 Cor. xi. 26). Surely that kingdom was not conceived as purely spiritual which included various degrees of official responsibility (parable of the talents and of the ten pieces of money), and of celestial glory (1 Cor. xv. 41); about which the question of precedence was fiercely contested (Matt. xviii. 1), and respecting which the sons of Zebedee urged the ambitious request "Grant unto us that we may sit one on thy right hand and the other on thy left hand in thy glory,"—a request which our Lord said it was not in his power to grant, but which should be "given (necessarily at some future time) to those for whom it was prepared" (Mark x. 35-40; Matt. xx. 23). Surely that could not be "a kingdom of the mind" alone into which they that have riches should hardly enter, a saying which elicited the exclamation "who then can be saved" (Mark x. 23-26); in which publicans and harlots were to take precedence of Scribes and Pharisees (Matt. xxi. 31), and which was especially to be the recompense, not only of those who were "poor in spirit" (Matt. v. 3), but of those who were *poor in this world*, yet "rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom" (James ii. 5; Luke vi. 20; xvi. 25). That could not well have been a present reign of "righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost," distinct from more literal Messianic expectations, for which Joseph of Arimathea "*waited*" (Luke xxiii. 51): unto which Paul prayed that he might be "*preserved*" (2 Tim. iv. 18): *until* (μέχρι) whose appearing, Timothy

was to “keep the commandment without spot and unrebukable” (1 Tim. vi. 14): from which the discreet Scribe was “*not far*” (Mark xii. 34): the adjuncts of which Hymenæus and Philetus supposed *already past* (2 Tim. ii. 17),—a presumption of its nearness as apostolically expected: whose *sudden*¹ coming during the life-time of his contemporaries, was the plain and unequivocal doctrine of St. Paul; and in fulfilling their task of proclaiming whose approach the disciples should not have exhausted (*epuise*) “the cities of Israel, *till the Son of Man be come*” (Matt. x. 23). An ascendancy of Christian principles over Jewish formalism was not all that was included in the “inheritance, incorruptible, and undefiled,” not fading away like the earthly Canaan, but “reserved in heaven” for the Christians of those days, and “*ready to be revealed in the last time*” (1 Pet. i. 4, 5); the kingdom which “flesh and blood (corruption) should not inherit” (1 Cor. xv. 50); and which, as all things had been delivered to the Son by the Father (Matt. xi. 27), the Son should, at his coming, deliver to God, even the Father, who did put all things under him, that, “all should belong to God” (Enoch i.), and that “God might be all in all” (1 Cor. xv. 24–28). Surely the moral qualifications of the kingdom must not be confounded with the kingdom itself; the sealing of the Holy Spirit of promise whereby the Ephesian converts were sealed “unto the day of redemption” (comp. Luke xxi. 28), not denoting the inheritance

¹ “The day of the Lord could not thus come *suddenly* upon them after they were dead: the instantaneous arrival, or the gradual approach of that momentous event, would make no difference in its results on their destinies after they had disappeared from this earthly scene.”—*Brief Examination by a Layman*, p. 111.

itself, but being only “the earnest—ἀρραβὼν—of their inheritance *until the redemption of the purchased possession*” (Ephes. i. 14; iv. 30). Neither is it consistent with the principles of reasonable exegesis to explain the glory *shortly* to be revealed—τὴν μέλλουσαν δόξαν ἀποκαλυφθῆναι—at the manifestation of the sons of God, to which the earnest expectation of the creature waiting to be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God (Luke xx. 36) was directed, of a present reign of righteousness and peace; an apocalypse for which all the creature—πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις—to whom the gospel had been preached (Mark xvi. 15; Col. i. 23) was groaning and travailing in pain together with the apostle *until that time*; and not only they, but himself also—ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ—who had the first fruits of the spirit; anxiously expecting the sonship, to wit, the redemption of his body¹ (Rom. viii. 18–23; 2 Cor. v. 1–5; Philip. iii. 21). Above all, that revelation in majesty tremendous which should inaugurate the kingdom—that unimaginable advent of love and salvation, of wrath and fear—that glorious apocalypse “at his ap-

¹ That the Apostle is here speaking of the redemption of his own body, not, however, to the exclusion of others, would seem probable not only from the use of the singular noun σώματος, but from other parallel passages in which the same idea is conveyed. In Philip. iii. 21, where, as he is wont, he is speaking of himself in the plural number (ver. 17), he expresses the conviction that the Lord Jesus Christ would change the body of his humiliation (comp. 2 Cor. x. 1, 10; xii. 5–7; Gal. iv. 13, 14) to the same form with the body of his glory. So 2 Cor. v. 1–9, he seems to desire that he might be clothed upon with the resurrection body while he was yet in the flesh, that the life of Jesus might be made manifest in his body, and that “mortality might be swallowed up of life;” those who should be “quick” upon earth at the Lord’s appearing being, as he thought, “changed” or “clothed upon” with the resurrection body; whilst those who should have fallen asleep would be first “unclothed,” before receiving the resurrection body in which they should “reign on the (new) earth.” (Rev. v. 10).

pearing and his kingdom,"—accompanied with appalling natural phenomena,—the darkened sun, the bloodshot moon, the falling stars, the roaring sea; attended with still more astounding celestial portents,—the myriad hosts of heaven, the voice of the archangel and the trump of God, the judgment of the quick and dead, the wailing of the lost, the gathering of the elect, the vivification of them that sleep, the rapture of those that are "alive and remain"—that inexpressibly awful "coming of the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory;" for which all the disciples were bid to watch (Mark xiii. 37), and which some of their number should be alive upon earth to see (Matt. xvi. 28; Mark ix. 1; Luke ix. 27): cannot be reconciled with the theory that the kingdom advocated by our Lord was of a spiritual nature, and that the glowing images under which it is delineated merely exhibit an inversion of the more literal Messianic conceptions of the ancient prophets.

This glorious advent of the Son of Man in his kingdom was moreover to be heralded by premonitory signs, such as "Jerusalem compassed with armies," the "great tribulation" shortened for the elect's sake, etc., of which it was said "When ye see these things come to pass know ye that the kingdom of God is nigh at hand" (Luke xxi. 31); and it is difficult to conceive if the signs were of a visible and tangible nature, that the kingdom which they were to introduce could be an ideal and spiritual one. Nay, so far from entertaining the notion of a spiritual kingdom, the disciples, in their enthusiasm, seem to have expected its proximate literal approach. As the Saviour made his triumphant descent from the mount of Olives "the whole

multitude of the disciples began to rejoice and praise God for all the mighty works that they had seen, saying, Blessed be the king that cometh in the name of the Lord, Blessed be the kingdom of our father David that cometh in the name of the Lord, Hosanna in the highest" (Luke xix. 37, 38; Mark xi. 10). Like the Pharisees, they became loud in their demands "when the kingdom of God should come," and it became necessary to check their expectations "because they thought that the kingdom of God should immediately appear" (Luke xix. 11). The desponding tone in which they expressed the disappointment caused by the crucifixion, "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel" (Luke xxiv. 21), shows how deeply the expectation of Jewish supremacy had sunk into their minds; and even at the ascension, all hope had not deserted them, "Lord wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel" (Acts i. 6),—a hope still further encouraged by the scenes which took place during the interval between the resurrection and the ascension, when he was "seen of them forty days and spake of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" (Acts i. 3).

Neither is it to be thought that the expectation of an approaching kingdom of heaven upon earth was done away by the illumination of the day of Pentecost. If we except the additional obligation of making known the Gospel to the Gentiles, the preaching of the apostolic age is identical with that which preceded it. The announcement of a good time coming, of a "restitution of all things which God had spoken by the mouth of his holy prophets since the world began" (Acts iii. 21),

immediately consequent upon the advent of Christ; of a "time of reformation" (Heb. ix. 10), and of the "setting up of the tabernacle (palatium) of David which is fallen down, that the residue of men might seek after the Lord, and all the Gentiles upon whom God's name is called" (Acts xv. 16, 17), corresponds with what had been previously declared of the evangelical kingdom of heaven. The continuous and undeviating proclamation of an impending Messianic reign which should embrace heaven and earth (Col. i. 20); which should "gather all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth even in him" (Ephes. i. 10); to which all things should belong, whether "the world, or life, or death, or things present or things to come" (1 Cor. iii. 22; Rom. viii. 38, 39); and of a "world (*soon*) to come" (Heb. ii. 5, vi. 5), of which the favoured people, if not the sole inheritors should be the lords and princes, is conspicuous throughout the writings of that extraordinary period. The "hope of the Gospel," "that blessed hope," "the lively hope," "the hope laid up in heaven," "the hope of glory," the hope to be realized at the "End," through "the grace to be brought *at the revelation of Jesus Christ*," is the continuous topic of encouragement addressed to the early church. The apostolic missionaries "dispute and persuade the things concerning the kingdom of God" (Acts xix. 8), and "expound and testify the kingdom of God . . . both out of the law of Moses and out of the prophets from morning till evening" (Acts xxviii. 23-31). They entitle their message "the gospel of the grace (favour) of God" (Acts xx. 24); "the gospel of Christ" (2 Cor. ix. 13); "the glorious gospel of Christ" (2 Cor. iv. 4); "the

gospel of salvation" (Ephes. i. 13), and "the gospel of peace" (Ephes. vi. 15). They stand and speak in the temple "the words of this life" (Acts v. 20), "the word of the Lord" (viii. 25), "the word of God," a phrase used commonly by St. Luke to express the preaching of the gospel (Luke v. 1, viii. 11, 21, xi. 28; Acts iv. 31, vi. 2, 7, viii. 14, x. 36, xi. 1, xii. 24, xiii. 7, 44, 46, xvii. 13, xviii. 11, xix. 20). They declare that "through much tribulation (men) must enter into the kingdom of God" (Acts. xiv. 22), and desire that their converts may be "counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which they also suffer" (2 Thess. i. 5). They describe this kingdom as an inheritance "undefiled" (1 Peter i. 4; Rev. xxi. 27), and particularize the vices which shall exclude from its possession (1 Cor. vi. 9; Gal. v. 19-21; Ephes. v. 5). Equally with our Lord who speaks of "the Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (Matt. xvi. 28), they connect "his appearing and his kingdom" (2 Tim. iv. 1), and reproduce his glorious advent with "all the holy angels with him" (Matt. xxv. 31), in the "coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with all his saints" (1 Thess. iii. 13). They exhort that men would "walk worthy of God who hath called them unto his kingdom and glory," and pray that "the Lord may direct their hearts into the love of God and the patient waiting for Christ" (2 Thess. iii. 5). And above all, in accordance with the express teaching of their heavenly Master, they represent this kingdom as imminent, and as likely to be manifested before the term of their own natural life had expired. Indeed their unshaken conviction of an approaching end of all things is too well known to need

further exemplification. The coming of their Lord was all in all to them; the object of faith and expectation, the stay under trial and suffering, the mainspring of action and duty, the climax of joy and reward. It is remarkable that they did not so much look for death as for the advent of Christ, uncertain, as it were, which of the two would precede the other. In a word, their hope had ceased to be a doubtful expectation of a future event, but had become almost a "hope that is seen," a deep conviction of an impending reality interfering with the duties (2 Thess. iii. 11), the necessary provision (Philip. iv. 6), and even with the social relations (1 Cor. vii. 29) of life. In the face of such testimony no room would seem to be left for doubt. From a dispassionate and non-controversial reading of the New Testament¹ it would appear morally certain that neither our Lord nor his immediate followers taught the doctrine of a purely spiritual kingdom.² The promulgation of a theory so foreign to

¹ The belief in the near approach of the coming of Christ is spoken of, or implied, in almost every book of the New Testament, in the discourses of our Lord himself as well as in the Acts of the Apostles, in the Epistles of St. Paul no less than in the book of the Revelation.—JOWETT.

² It deserves in fairness to be noticed that Luke xvii. 20, 21, interpolated from the eschatology of Luke xxi., has been adduced in support of the theory that our Lord taught the doctrine of a spiritual kingdom. A comparison, however, of the context with the parallel passages, Matt. xxiv. 23, 24, Mark xiii. 21, 22, will show that the idea conveyed is not that of a spiritual as opposed to a temporal reign, but that the coming of Christ in his kingdom is not to be confounded with the appearance of false Christs and false prophets which should precede his advent, and should "show great signs and wonders, insomuch that if it were possible they shall deceive the very elect." "The kingdom of God (said our Lord to the Pharisees who demanded the time of its manifestation) cometh not with observation (*μετα παρατηρήσεως*, with watching, scil., for these deceivers): neither shall they say, Lo, here (is Christ) or lo there, for behold (lo) the kingdom of God is within (or among) you"—*ἐντος ὑμῶν*—"when, therefore, they shall say to you, Lo, he is here, or lo, he is there; go ye not out into the desert to seek for him, nor pursue him in the cloisters of the temple, for the Son of Man in his day shall be

Jewish notions' would scarcely have evangelised the world within the period appointed, and would have failed to create that expectation of an approaching end of all things which appears to have been the universal

among you as the lightning which setteth the heavens ablaze from east to west." Indeed so far from giving any support to the theory of a spiritual kingdom, Luke, who here reiterates, with some variation,* the words of Matthew, describes the advent of the Son of Man in his kingdom as an apocalypse, sudden as the lightning, and overwhelming as the days of Noë and Lot: "Even thus (he says) shall it be in the day when the Son of Man is revealed." The idea, therefore, that by the expression, "The kingdom of God is within you," only a spiritual kingdom is intended, is refuted by the context, as well as by statements elsewhere made by the same writer. (Comp xxi. 31. 32; Acts i. 6, 7). In the passage "the kingdom of God is come (*ἔφθασεν*) unto you" (Matt. xii. 28), in which Jesus, as in his reply to the messengers of the Baptist (Matt. xi 4-6), adduces his miracles as a proof that he was the Messiah, the Greek verb (comp. 1 Thess. ii. 16) has an anticipatory signification, meaning, probably, that the kingdom of God, like the grain of mustard seed or the leaven, had begun to come in principle. The conviction is therefore forced upon us by the consentient testimony of the Scriptures of the New Testament, that the expectation of the Church of the apostolic age was essentially Messianic, and that it was not until that magnificent hope had been frustrated by the course of events, that the theory of a kingdom coming without observable pomp and show was substituted by the Church of a later age for the "faith (in an approaching reign of unimaginable splendour) which was once delivered unto the saints;" the immediate prospect of celestial glory being deferred to a future hope of eternal life, and the instant apocalypse of the Son of Man exchanged for an advent which was conjectured to be ever hanging over the Church,—the horizon beyond which lie the glories of that kingdom, though ever receding, never seeming distant; and the Church, following the setting splendour of that primitive apocalyptic vision, being always apt to fancy that it beheld the rising signs of the re-appearing of the Son of Man.

¹ "La distinction du temporel et du spirituel est complètement étrangère au génie des Hébreux. Ce sont des catégories créées par l'esprit moderne et occidental, et que nous ne saurions transporter dans l'antiquité, sans un anachronisme. La cosmologie religieuse du juif diffère complètement de celle du chrétien. Elle a

* "Le célèbre discours sur la ruine de Jérusalem et sur le jugement dernier, dont la rédaction chez Matthieu et chez Marc est antérieure à la prise de la ville par Titus, se trouve chez Luc dans une rédaction postérieure à cet événement, et nous voyons par la comparaison des deux versions quelle liberté le troisième évangéliste a prise à l'égard du texte sacré. . . . Luc supprime la prédiction touchant l'abomination établie dans le lieu saint; car il sait qu'aucune idole païenne ne fut installée dans le temple. Mais il ajoute que Jérusalem sera investie, entourée d'un cercle par les armées; car il se souvient de la muraille de blocs élevée par les Romains autour de la ville. Mais il intercale ce trait que beaucoup des Juifs périront par l'épée (1,000,000 dit Josephé), que beaucoup d'autres seront emmenés captifs (il y en eut 97,000) et que Jérusalem sera foulée aux pieds par les gentils; car toute cette désolation il vient d'en être témoin. Mais il raille le mot (*εὐθέως*) par lequel Jésus annonce sa venue immédiatement après la ruine de Jérusalem; car l'expérience lui a démontré qu'entre les deux faits il y aura un espace de temps plus ou moins long."—COLANI.

belief of the apostolic age. No, the good news of the gospel, as first preached, proclaimed—not the degeneracy of human nature and its remedy in Christ—but the approach of a real, superhuman, kingdom of the skies; the scene of its development the “new heavens and the new earth;” its glories partly of a celestial and partly of a mundane character; and the qualifications for admission into it of such a lofty and almost superhuman morality as to leave nothing more to be desired to make men holy, happy, spiritual, pure, and good.

II. A further correspondence between the Messianic ideas of Daniel, and the career adopted by or attributed to our Lord, is presented in the unique and sublime vision of Dan. vii. 13, 14.

In thoughts from the visions of the night when deep sleep falleth upon men, Daniel beholds a son of man coming with clouds to the Ancient of Days, and invested with dominion and glory, and a kingdom. The peculiar imagery of this human symbol (those immediately preceding had been bestial) appears to have been appropriated by our Lord with this variation, that whilst the son of man, of Daniel, ascends with clouds from earth to heaven, the Son of Man, of the gospel, descends with clouds from heaven to earth. The appellation which Jesus preferred

ceci de particulier, qu'elle place Dieu et les anges au ciel, le séjour des morts dans les profondeurs de la terre, et les destinées entières de notre race sur la surface du globe. Le judaïsme ignore ces vagues régions supérieures que le christianisme ouvre aux âmes des morts et au bonheur des rachetés. Les morts ressusciteront, mais pour vivre de nouveau ici-bas. Les justes jouiront d'une félicité éternelle, mais cette félicité consistera dans la prospérité et la grandeur nationales. . . . Le Juif ne partage pas l'espace en deux parties, le ciel et la terre; il partage le temps en deux périodes, celle qui précède la venue du Messie et celle qui suivra cet événement."—SCHERER. (Comp. Ephes. i. 21; Matt. xii. 32; Mark x. 30; Luke xviii. 30; xx. 34, 35, descriptive of the *αἰὼν ὁ νῦν* and the *αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων*).

above all others, the singularity of which offended and surprised his countrymen (John xii. 34), would seem taken from this source; it being his wont to call himself not so much the Son of Mary, or the Son of Joseph, or even the Son of God, as The Son of Man. In addition to this superhuman, yet scarcely divine title, he, too, has a glorious advent with the clouds of heaven, an advent of wrath and destruction to his enemies, but of salvation¹

¹ It is remarkable that the salvation of the gospel is set forth not so much as a deliverance from sin and death, as from an approaching "judgment and fiery indignation which should (*soon*, μέλλοντος) devour the adversaries" (Heb. x. 27). The Baptist warns his countrymen to "flee from the wrath (*soon*) to come," τῆς μελλούσης ὀργῆς—a wrath to be accomplished at the then approaching end of the world, when the Messianic king would "sever the wicked from among the just," would gather the wheat into his barn, and burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire (Matt. iii. 7-12); or to use the words of St. Paul "when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thess. i. 7, 8). Similarly Peter, on the day of Pentecost, warns those dwelling at Jerusalem of the approach of that terrible day foretold by the prophets, when "the sun should be turned into darkness and the moon into blood," and exhorts them to "save themselves from this untoward generation" (Acts ii. 20, 21, 40). So again the author of the second Petrine Epistle represents that day accompanied with the dissolution of the material world "wherein the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat," and bids the Christians of those times account the long suffering of the Messianic king, in delaying his advent, salvation (2 Pet. iii. 12-15). Hence the gospel ministered to those who should *soon* inherit salvation, τοὺς μέλλοντας κληρονομεῖν σωτηρίαν (Heb. i. 14) is called the "word of this salvation" (Acts xiii. 26); "the way of salvation" (xvi. 17); "the salvation of God" (xxviii. 28); "the power of God unto salvation" (Rom. i. 16); "the gospel of your salvation" (Ephes. i. 13); "the hope of salvation" (1 Thess. v. 8); "salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ" (v. 9); "salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory" (2 Tim. ii. 10); of which it is emphatically said, "Neither is there salvation in any other" (Acts iv. 12). Hence Christ is the "captain of our salvation" (Heb. ii. 10); "the author of eternal salvation" (Heb. v. 9); a salvation "nearer" when St. Paul wrote his letter to the Romans then when he first became a Christian (Rom. xiii. 11); a "salvation ready to be revealed in the last time," *i. e.* "at the appearing of Jesus Christ" (1 Pet. i. 5, 7), when "he should appear the second time without sin unto salvation" (Heb. ix. 28); and the Christians of those days should "receive the end of their faith even the salvation of souls" (lives) (1 Pet. i. 9). It is of this deliverance at Messiah's advent that St. Paul writes, "we shall be saved from (the) wrath through him" (Rom. v. 9); and of which St. Peter says, "If the righteous scarcely be saved where shall the ungodly and the sinner appear?" (1 Pet. iv. 18). Hence the

and deliverance to his friends. It is described in Danielic phrase, as "The Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory" (Matt. xxiv. 30); "The Son of man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven" (xxvi. 64); "The Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (xvi. 28); all the tribes of the earth mourning and wailing because of him (Rev. i. 7), and sending his "angels with a great sound of a trumpet, to gather together his elect from the four winds, from the one end of heaven to the other." The "thousand thousands ministering unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand standing before him," of the earlier prophet, are reproduced in the Son of Man coming with "all the holy angels with him" (Matt. xxv. 31), "with all his saints" (1 Thess. iii. 13); the "judgement set and the books opened," in the Son of Man sitting on the throne of his glory and rewarding every man according to his works; whilst the "kingdom given to the saints of the most High" is answered by the gospel benediction "Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world" (Matt. xxv. 31-34).

This correspondence of thought and language, too close to admit of merely fortuitous resemblance, forces upon us the conviction that the symbols and phraseology of Daniel contributed to furnish the model after which the coming of the Son of Man is described in the gospels: the

acceptance of Christ as the Messiah is accompanied with the promise of salvation (Acts ii. 47; xvi. 31), and hence also the title of Saviour given to Christ (Luke ii. 11; John iv. 42; 1 John iv. 14; Acts v. 31; xiii. 23); the forgiveness of sins with which this salvation is attended (Acts ii. 38; v. 31; xiii. 38), being the necessary preparation for the establishment of the righteous and heavenly kingdom.

peculiar ideas as well as the striking imagery being due to no other prophet. And this accommodation¹ of these symbols to his own Messianic career ought not to be thought unworthy of the Divine insight of Jesus. In his true humanity he must have shared in many respects the received opinions of his contemporaries, for he was born not only as a man, but as a Jew, ("he took on him the seed of Abraham," Heb. ii. 16); and as a Jew of Palestine in a certain age. He may be supposed therefore to have regarded Daniel (a prophet at that time in the highest estimation, and procuring "the opinion of a sort of divinity for himself among the multitude," Ant. x. 11) as presenting the features under which Messiah was expected to appear with greater distinctness than other prophetic writers. It is well known that our Lord availed himself in his teaching of the sayings of the Jewish doctors who had preceded him, just as the prophets of the Old Testament regarded the utterances of their predecessors as common property, and unhesitatingly made use of them when occasion required. In like manner, the symbols of Daniel presenting the most suitable shape under which he might delineate his own Messianic character, no greater objection can be laid against his appropriation of them to his own case than against St. Jude and the author of the second Petrine epistle for their use of the book of Enoch. It does not detract from the perfection of our Lord's sayings that

¹ Similar accommodation of the book of Daniel to the events of Christian times is perceptible in the Epistle of S. Barnabas. "Consummata enim tentatio, sicut Daniel dicit, adpropinquavit; propter hoc enim Dominus intercedit tempora et dies, ut acceleret dilectus illius ad hæreditatem suam."—BARN. *Epist.* iv. (Comp. Matt. xxiv. 22).

some of them had been previously spoken by Hillel, neither does it take away from the value of the prayer which he has taught us that its petitions were not altogether unknown¹ to the Jewish synagogue: and it need not invalidate the moral precepts of the gospel that they were accompanied by Messianic expectations which had already found expression in the books of Enoch² and Daniel.

¹ The adoption by our Lord of some of his aphoristic sayings from older Jewish schools, affords a presumption that a similar course might be followed in the only form of prayer which he seems to have taught his disciples. It is found accordingly that its petitions are for the most part assimilated to more ancient devotional formulas.

1st. Petition: "Hallowed be thy name." "Deus. S. B. vult ut nomen suum glorificetur in terrâ quemadmodum gloriosum est in cælo."—SOHAR. *Exod.* fol. 28. col. 110, III. SCHOETTGEN.

2nd Petition: "Thy kingdom come." "R. Jehuda et R. Seira ambo dixerunt, Quæcunque preces nihil habent de regno, nomen precum non merentur."—*Sanhedrin*, fol. 23. SCHOETTGEN.

3rd Petition: "Thy will," etc. "What is the short prayer? R. Eliezer saith "Do thy will in heaven, and give quietness of spirit to them that fear thee beneath," or in earth.—LIGHTFOOT.

4th Petition: "Give us," etc. "Quicunque creavit diem, creavit etiam cibum ejus. Propterea dixit R. Eliezer: Quicunque habet quod hodie comedat, et dicit quidnam crastino die comedam? ille est *ὀλιγοπιστος*."—SCHOETTGEN.

5th Petition: "And forgive us," etc. "Eodem modo res procedit circa peccata quæ homo committit contra Deum, et circa ea quæ committit contra proximum suum."—SCHOETTGEN.

6th Petition: "And lead us not," etc. "Phrasis occurrit in *Jalkut Rubeni*, fol. 139, 2. Venit tempus ad inducendum illum in manus tentationis."—SCHOETTGEN.

"But deliver us," etc. "Rabbi (Judah) was wont thus to pray: Let it be thy good pleasure to deliver us from impudent men and impudence; from an evil man and from an evil chance, from an evil affection, from an evil companion, from an evil neighbour, from Satan, the destroyer, from a hard judgment, and from a hard adversary."—LIGHTFOOT.

"Tota hæc oratio ex formulis Hebræorum concinnata est."—WETSTEIN.

² It is probable that the book of Enoch, quoted by St. Jude, may also have suggested ideas which found expression in the eschatological teaching of Jesus. Comp. "The meek shall inherit the earth" (Matt. v. 5), with "The earth shall rejoice, the righteous shall inhabit it, and the elect possess it" (Enoch l.) "Ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom (Luke xxii. 30), with "and with this Son of Man shall they dwell, eat, lie down, and rise up for ever and ever" (lxi. 17). "And hath given him authority to execute judgment also because he is the Son of Man" (John v. 27), with "He sat upon the throne of his glory, and the principal part of the

III. Those passages of the elder prophet which describe the setting up of the abomination of desolation in the time of Antiochus (viii. 13 ; ix. 27 ; xi. 31 ; xii. 11), deserve especial attention, inasmuch as they are thought

judgment was assigned to him, the Son of Man" (lxix. 39). "In the regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*) when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of his glory" (Matt. xix. 28) with, "on that day the Elect one will sit on the throne of his glory...and I shall renew the heavens and make them for an eternal blessing and light ; and I shall renew the earth and make her a blessing, and let mine elect dwell upon her ; but those who commit sin and iniquity shall not stand upon her" (xlv.) Comp. 2 Pet. iii. 13 ; Rev. xxi. 1, 27. "The Son of Man shall come in his glory with all the holy angels with him," etc. (Matt. xxv. 31), with "I saw that the heaven of heavens shook ; that it shook violently ; and that the powers of the Most High, and the angels, thousands of thousands, and myriads of myriads, were agitated with great agitation. And when I looked the Ancient of Days was sitting on the throne of his glory while the angels and saints were standing around him . . . the Ancient of Days came with Michael, and Gabriel, Raphael, and Phanuel, with thousands of thousands and myriads of myriads which could not be numbered" (lix. 1 ; lxx. 16). "The Son of Man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity" (Matt. xiii. 41), with "The angels shall take them to punishment" (lxi. 14). Moreover, as in the Gospels, the coming of Messiah is attended by a resurrection, "In those days shall the earth deliver up from her womb, and hell deliver up from hers, that which it has received, and destruction shall restore that which it owes. He shall select the righteous and holy from among them ; for the day of their salvation has approached . . . And it shall be that those who have been destroyed in the desert, and who have been devoured by the fish of the sea and by wild beasts, shall return and trust in the day of the Elect One ; for none shall perish in the presence of the Lord of Spirits, nor shall any be capable of perishing" (l. 1, 2 ; lx. 7.) Comp. Rev. xx. 13. The following passages would also seem taken from the same source. Compare "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that *are coming*—*ἐπερχομένας*—upon you . . . ye have heaped treasure together *in*—*ἐν*—the last days . . . ye have nourished your hearts as in the day of slaughter" (James v. 1-5), with "Woe to you who are rich, for in your riches have you trusted, but from your riches you shall be removed . . . you have committed blasphemy and iniquity, and are destined to the day of the effusion of blood, to the day of darkness, and to the day of the great judgment" (xciii.) "And Enoch also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied of these, saying, Behold the Lord cometh with ten thousand of his saints to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him" (Jude 14, 15), with "Behold he cometh with myriads of his saints to execute judgment upon them, and will destroy the godless, and judge all flesh for all that the sinners and the ungodly have done and committed against him" (Enoch i. 9). "The heavens and the earth which are now, by the same word are kept in store, reserved unto fire against the day of judgment . . . nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness"

to have been accommodated by our Lord to a somewhat similar profanation connected with his own times. Quoting the words and resting on the authority of Daniel, the Saviour is said to have declared, "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel¹ the prophet stand in the holy place ("where it ought not" Mark xiii. 14): whoso readeth let him understand: then let them which be in Judea flee to the mountains" (Matt. xxiv. 15, 16).

The analogy of previous interpretation forbids the supposition that the prediction of Daniel could have been uttered primarily of the Roman invasion of Judea: it may however be reasonably supposed that the profanation of the Syrian may have been accommodated to an analogous event in the subsequent history. The two cases, moreover, were as nearly parallel as difference of age and circumstances would admit. Antiochus "polluted the sanctuary of strength and set up the abomination that maketh desolate:" Titus encompassed Jerusalem with armies, and polluted the sacred soil of Judea by the presence of heathen invaders. A further analogy is observable in the flight to the mountains which in either case is the consequence of this desecrating act. Under the former, "Mattathias and his sons fled into the

(2 Pet. iii. 7-13), with "The earth shall be immersed, and all things which are in it perish" (Enoch i.) "The former heaven shall depart, and pass away, a new heaven shall appear, and all the celestial powers shine with sevenfold splendour for ever" (xciii. 17). Comp. Rev. xxi. 1.

¹ The clause "spoken of by Daniel the prophet" is expressly omitted by St. Augustine, and not found in the Vat. and most ancient MSS., nor in the Sinaitic. No mention of the name of Daniel is made by St. Luke; the phrase, "Jerusalem compassed with armies" being substituted for "the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place."

mountains and left all that ever they had in the city" (1 Macc. ii. 28): under the latter it is commanded, "Then let them which are in Judea flee to the mountains, and let them which are in the midst of it (Jerusalem) depart out, and let not them that are in the countries enter thereinto" (Luke xxi. 21). To this may be added the agreement between "The time of trouble such as never was since there was a nation to that same time," and "The great tribulation such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, no, nor ever shall be" (Matt. xxiv. 21). This reproduction of phrases and forms of thought shows a connection between the gospels and the book of Daniel perhaps hitherto insufficiently noticed. Whether the inferences to be drawn from the correspondence between them will harmonize with traditional opinions it may not now be worth while to enquire; but we may be certain of this, that a blind adherence to stereotyped interpretation does little to advance the cause of truth.¹

IV. Another point of agreement between the prophecies of Daniel and the teaching of our Lord is to be traced to the eschatological element, or the introduction of topics pointing to a time of an end, or last days, perceptible in both.

The visions of the seer of the Old Testament, as has been already observed, point to a consummation, or time

¹ "It makes all the difference in the world whether we put the duty of truth in the first place or in the second place . . . The spirit of the world asks first, 'Is it safe?' Secondly, 'Is it true?' The spirit of the prophets asks first, 'Is it true?' Secondly, 'Is it safe?' . . . It is not that they and we hold different doctrines on these matters, but we hold them in different proportions. What they put first, we put second. What we put second, they put first."—*The Bible, its Form and Substance*. A. P. STANLEY, D.D.

of the end. The kingdom of Antiochus is to be "consumed and destroyed unto the end" (vii. 26). In the vision of chapter viii. the angel Gabriel informs Daniel "Behold I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation, for at the time appointed the end shall be" (viii. 19). The martyrs of the Antiochian persecution are "purged and made white even to the time of the end" (xi. 35). Daniel is commanded to "shut up the words and seal the book even to the time of the end" (xii. 4). And the prophetic vision closes with a repetition of the same idea: "Go thou thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest and stand in thy lot, (LXX. rise to thy glory) at the end of the days" (xii. 13).

A similar eschatological element is found in the teaching of our Lord. Standing, as it were, at "the parting asunder of the times . . . at the end of one world and the beginning of that which followed . . . betwixt the heel and the hand" (2 Esdras vii. 10); he taught that "his appearing and his kingdom" would introduce the consummation of all things. He compared the brief interval which should precede his advent to a state of agriculture, in which wheat and tares should grow together "until the harvest," and the harvest, he said, is "the end of the world," or age. Again he compared his kingdom to a net, from which "at the end of the world," or age, the angels would sever the good from the bad. He encouraged his disciples to perseverance by the assurance of an impending consummation of all things; "He that endureth unto the end shall be saved;" and exhorted them to preach the gospel as a witness unto all nations

(an event accomplished¹ within the limit of the apostolic age, Col. i. 6-23; Rom. x. 18; 2 Tim. iv. 17; Acts xvii. 6) by the confirming promise, "Lo I am with you (my apostles) always (all the days—the remaining days) even unto the end of the world," or age (Matt. xxviii. 20). The announcement of this approaching *bouleversement* of the material world naturally excited the intense curiosity of the disciples, and anxious to know the time of the *Parousia*, four of their number, under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, put to their Master the important question which was to solve all their doubts: "Tell us when shall these things be, and what shall be the sign of thy coming, and of the end of the world" (Matt. xxiv. 3; Mark xiii. 4; Luke xxi. 7). Our Lord gave for answer that the end was not so immediately proximate as they appear to have imagined, "not yet" (Mark xiii. 7): "not by and by" (Luke xxi. 9): but that certain specified and intelligible signs should precede that event, whereby they might be aware of its approach. Amongst these he enumerated false Christs and false prophets, rumours of wars, famines, earthquakes, apostolic persecutions, universal preaching of the gospel, flight of the disciples from Judea, Jerusalem compassed with armies, the abomination of desolation set up, unparalleled, yet abridged, tribulation—"THEN THE END"—for "In those days after that tribulation," or as it is elsewhere expressed, "Immediately—*εὐθέως*—after the tribulation of those days," they—the men of that generation and the disciples

² "En même temps l'Évangile est prêché dans toutes les nations sans que cette prédication universelle doive nécessairement amener une conversion également générale. Elle aura lieu *ἐν μαρτύριον* de sorte que leur incredulité sera sans excuse."—REVILLE.

of those times—"should see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory." We have long ago confessed ourselves unable to evade the meaning or to qualify the force of these words. After a mature recasting of the subject, we again submit the dilemma they involve to the honest and, if possible, the unprejudiced consideration of all who "love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity." For ourselves, a yearning after truth constrains us now, as in times past, to accept them in their natural and legitimate sense.¹ However we may venture to suppose that our Lord shared the Messianic conceptions of his age, we have not dared to lay at his door the charge of sophistry or equivocation. We believe that he who came to "bear witness to the truth," and who was "the truth," was never more fully persuaded that he spoke the truth, than when he is recorded to have said, "When ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors: verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all these things be fulfilled" (Matt. xxiv. 1-34).

The eschatological sayings of their Master were

¹ "Si la première génération Chrétienne a une croyance profonde et constante c'est que le monde est sur le point de finir, et que la grande révélation du Christ va bientôt avoir lieu. Cette vive proclamation 'Le temps est proche' qui ouvre et ferme l'Apocalypse: cet appel sans cesse répété 'Que celui qui a des oreilles entende,' sont les cris d'espérance et de raillement de tout l'âge apostolique. Une expression Syriacque 'Maran Atha' 'Notre Seigneur arrive,' devint une sorte de mot de passe que les croyants se disaient entre eux pour se fortifier dans leur foi, et leurs espérances. L'Apocalypse, écrite l'an 68 de notre ère, fixe le terme à trois ans et demi L'Ascension d'Isaïe adopte un calcul fort approchant de celui-ci . . . Jésus n'allait jamais à une telle précision; il disait que la date de ce grand jour n'est connue que du Père qui ne l'a révélée ni aux anges, ni au Fils, que ce serait une surprise comme du temps de Noé et de Lot . . . Mais ses déclarations sur la proximité de la catastrophe ne laissent lieu à aucune équivoque. 'La génération présente ne passera pas sans que tout cela s'accomplisse.' "—RENAN.

reiterated with the closest imitation and the fullest confidence, by those who undertook to make known his gospel to the world. The apostles believed in an approaching consummation, and declared that "the end of all things was at hand"¹ (1 Pet. iv. 7). They represented the time contracted as to what remained—ὁ καιρὸς συνεσταλμένος τὸ λοιπὸν ἐστίν—and the fashion (σχημα—external form) of this world as passing away (1 Cor. vii. 29-31; 1 John ii. 17). They conceived themselves to be living in "the end of the world" (Heb. ix. 26; 1 Cor. x. 11): and spoke of their own, as the "last times," or, "these last times" (2 Tim. iii. 1; Heb. i. 1; 1 Pet. i. 20; James v. 3; 1 John ii. 18). They asserted, not in a spirit of political recklessness, "After us, the deluge;" but in one of terrible earnestness, "In our time the deluge." They had arrived, as they supposed, at the confines of the "world (*soon*) to come," of which they already "tasted the powers" (Heb. ii. 5; vi. 5). This deep rooted conviction was the secret of their unearthly piety, their contempt of a world whose fashion was passing away, their burning zeal, and their heroic self-devotion. To be "preserved," nay more to have an abundant "entrance" into the everlasting kingdom; to be denizens of a "new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness;" to be made glad with exceeding joy when their Master's "glory should be revealed;" to participate in the "approaching" salvation, "nearer" now

¹ In this passage (comp. James v. 8) a tense of the verb is used which signifies close proximity. It is the same tense which is employed to indicate the near approach, the all but actual presence of the traitor. "Behold he is at hand (ἤγγικεν) that doth betray me; while he yet spake, lo, Judas one of the twelve came" (Matt. xxvi. 46, 47).

than when they first believed, and "ready to be revealed in the last time;" these were the magnificent hopes which animated them in the task of preaching the "gospel of the kingdom" to a thankless world. And when the stern course of events negatived these enthusiastic expectations, and it became necessary to substitute the gospel of the Church for the gospel of the kingdom, it demanded all the intrinsic excellency of the new religion to reconcile its converts to the change. Had a fixed date¹ been

¹ No fixed date being assigned in the Gospels for the reappearing of the Son of Man, the Christians were enabled to slide gradually into a different acceptation of our Lord's words, which could not have been the case had the time been positively determined. The reaction, therefore, experienced by the non-fulfilment of Messianic expectations was less violent than might have been expected. That grave doubts, however, existed in the Christian Church as the time of our Lord's return seemed passing its appointed limit, is plain from the exhortations to patience perceptible in the later writers of the New Testament. St. Paul found it necessary to check the impression that the day of Christ was actually present (*ἐνέστηκεν*), a belief which had led the Thessalonian converts to neglect their usual avocations (2 Thess. ii. 2; iii. 10, 11). St. James, under an appropriate agricultural simile, exhorts, "Be ye also patient, stablish your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh"—*ἤγγικε* (v. 8)—a tense of the verb never used except of an event immediately proximate. It would appear, moreover, that these doubts had assumed the shape of absolute denial. "In the last of the days (says the writer of the second Petrine epistle) shall come scoffers walking after their own lusts, and saying, where is the promise of his coming, for since the fathers fell asleep, all things continue as they were from the beginning of creation" (2 Pet. iii. 3, 4); the taunts of these scoffers implying that the apostles had not only taught the doctrine of a speedy advent, but that the period allotted for that event had expired. Similar suspicion is observable in the exhortation of Jude to "remember the words spoken before (*προειρημένων*) of the apostles . . . and to contend earnestly for the faith (in the common salvation) which was once (*before*, ver. 5) delivered to the saints" (Jude 3-17), which the "mockers of the last time" were denying. An apocalyptic writer of that period (A. D. 68) repeats the same idea: "Afterwards upon the subject of his second advent his disciples shall forsake the doctrine of the twelve apostles, their beloved and pure faith; while much contention shall take place respecting his coming and the proximity of his approach" (Ascen. Isa. iii. 21, 22).

The absence moreover in the fourth gospel of the Eschatology of the Synoptics, would seem to show that the expectations respecting the coming of the Son of Man had undergone a change. According to the three first Evangelists, our Lord, when interrogated by the high priest, announced an almost immediate fulfilment of Messianic hopes "Hereafter *ἀπάρτι*, from just now (*ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν*, from the now *—

* Equivalent to *ἀπάρτι*: found only five times in the New Testament (Luke i. 48; v. 10; xii. 52; Acts xviii. 6; 2 Cor. v. 16) and always used of events soon about to take place.

appointed for the time of the advent, as in 2 Esdras vii. 28, it is probable that Christianity would have been held amenable for the extinction of the prospects it aroused. Whilst it is easy (says M. Renan) to account for the faith of the generation which heard the words of Christ and his apostles, the faith of the second generation, when those words had not been answered by the event, is an inexplicable mystery. At the death of that disciple who, as they thought, should "tarry till he came" (John xxi. 22, 23), the despair of the Church must have been at its height, for the christians of the first century had indistinct, if any, ideas of a spiritual kingdom, and do not appear to have seen in the destruction of Jerusalem, the coming of the Lord. Will it be sufficient to account for the ultimate establishment of Christianity to suppose that the perfect character of our holy Redeemer and the superlative excellence of his divine sayings, may have weaned believers in his name from the expectation of the

Luke xxii. 6-9) shall ye see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven" (Matt. xxvi. 64); but when examined before Caiaphas respecting his disciples and his doctrine, he made no such announcement, but referred to what he had publicly taught in the synagogue and in the temple (John xviii. 20). "The kingdom of heaven, the announcement of which in the Synoptics is the distinctive office of Jesus and his forerunner, and which is the perpetual theme of his discourses and the object of anxious enquiry and expectation, is not even mentioned in St. John (in chap. iii. the expression, "kingdom of God" occurs, but in a different sense). The theocratic vision has faded before the dream of a universal restoration, and the prophet of Nazareth is no longer pre-eminently the Messianic king . . . His advent in the clouds of heaven is no longer anticipated. He no longer talks of the "kingdom" to the common people who hear him gladly, employing proverb and parable as in Matthew, where "without a parable he spake not unto them" (xiii. 34). With the exception of chap. xxi., of a legendary character and supplemented possibly by a later hand, sparse and indistinct mention is made of the re-appearing of the Son of Man; the tremendous adjuncts as well as the premonitory signs accompanying his advent which occupy so prominent a place in the other gospels being altogether omitted; this omission agreeing with the gnostic tendency of the fourth gospel, as well as with its late date at the commencement of the second century.

latter-day glories of the Messianic kingdom to the acceptance of the practical qualifications with which that hope was accompanied; the pearl of great price being found worthy to retain its unspeakable value after the gorgeous casket in which it was enshrined had been broken to pieces?

V. Another feature in the eschatology of Daniel which seems to have found expression in later¹ times, is the destruction of a great adversary by the coming of a son of man to the Ancient of Days.

We need not repeat here those numerous texts which describe the overthrow of the Antichrist of the Syrian period. Those who have followed us thus far will have recognized in Antiochus "the beast slain and his body destroyed and given to the burning flame;" the judgment sitting upon the persecutor, and "taking away his dominion to consume and to destroy it unto the end."

This delineation of a great enemy² of the Jewish people destroyed by the coming of a son of man with the clouds of heaven, may have originated the belief, common to the apostolic age, that the second advent of

¹ "As our blessed Saviour hath cited and appealed to the book of Daniel, so likewise have his apostles drawn from the same fountain. St. Paul's and St. John's predictions are in a manner the copies of Daniel's originals with some improvements and additions. The same times, the same persons, and the same events, are described by St. Paul and St. John as well as by Daniel (?); and it might, therefore, with reason be expected that there should be some similitude and resemblance in the principal features and characters."—NEWTON *On the Prophecies*.

² The idea of an adversary, or adversaries, to be destroyed by Messiah at his advent, is found not only in the book of Daniel, but in subsequent apocalyptic literature; the same features being repeated, although with some variation, in the overthrow by Messiah of the pagan kings of the third book of the Jewish Sybil, that of the seventy shepherds of the book of Enoch, of the impious Armillus slain by Messiah-ben-David of the Targum of Jonathan-ben-Uzziel, and of the heathen consumed by flames issuing out of the mouth of Messiah (2 Esdras xiii. 10), as well as in the destruction of the beast of the Apocalypse.

Christ was to be immediately preceded by the appearance and subsequent destruction of Antichrist; an opinion, which, if not directly advanced by the Saviour himself, seems to have been entertained by his disciples and immediate followers. It is worthy of notice that the Antichrist of the Old Testament is not a future, but a then opposing enemy; the time of his appearing as well as that of his overthrow being chronologically determined by the accompanying events of the taking away of the daily sacrifice, and the setting up the abomination which maketh desolate. Similarly the Antichrist of the New Testament is an adversary whose opposition is confined to the apostolic age, and whose destruction is contemporaneous with the coming of the Son of Man. "Little children, it is the last time (hour): and as ye have heard that (the) Antichrist shall come, even *now* are there many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time" (hour) (1 John ii. 18): and that these Antichrists were then existing, and then troubling the peace of the Church, is made certain from the circumstance that they arose among the Christians of those early times (1 John ii. 19). The theory of anti-christian influences then at work, although conceived in a form nearer to the Danielic original, holds a conspicuous place in the eschatology of St. Paul. "Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come except there come a (*the*) falling away first, and that man of sin (comp. *ὁς ὑπεροίσει κακοῖς πάντας τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν* Dan. vii. 24, LXX.) be revealed, the son of perdition (Dan. vii. 11), who (now) opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God or worshipped (Dan. xi. 36), so that he as God (now) sitteth in the

temple of God, shewing himself that he is God (Dan. xi. 36) whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy with the brightness of his coming (2 Thess. ii. 3-8). In this, as in every other phase of the eschatology of the New Testament, the time assigned for the destruction of this adversary is fixed with a precision which cannot be called in question; and the analogy of the case would seem to demand that as the Syrian Antichrist was a then opposing enemy, so the Antichrist of the Christian Church should not be separated from the period laid down for his opposition in the Scriptures themselves.

VI. Nor may the mention of a Resurrection be omitted when we are tracing those ideas in the book of Daniel which appear as anticipations of the revelations of the Gospel. Great thoughts, as well as great men, are called forth by stirring times, and it seems to have been reserved for the unparalleled sufferings of the Maccabean age, to elicit the first distinct¹ conception of a resurrection from the dead. This doctrine is proclaimed by Daniel without equivocation or disguise: "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to

¹ It is probable that the book of Daniel contains the only clear anticipation of a resurrection to be found in the Old Testament: the texts usually adduced, such as "Thy dead shall live; my dead body shall they arise" (Isaiah xxvi. 19), typifying the political restoration of Israel; the "dry bones" (Ezek. xxxvii.) prefiguring the return from the captivity; the living "Redeemer" (Job xix.) whose interposition in his behalf the patriarch should see for himself, and who, although he had "escaped with the skin of his teeth" he should behold in his flesh, being adumbrations and illustrations rather than direct proofs of the doctrine in question. To this it may be added, that the rise of the rival sects of Pharisees and Sadducees whose turning-point of religious difference was the subject of the resurrection, is traceable to the Maccabean period: a fact which may account for the want of clearness with which so important a doctrine is treated in other books of the Old Testament, as well as for its distinct announcement in the book of Daniel.

everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt: and they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament, and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever" (xii. 2, 3): the proximity of this event being implied in the announcement made to Daniel, "Go thy way till the end be: for thou shalt rest; and stand in thy lot at the end of the days" (xii. 13).

This expectation, peculiar to the Maccabean period, "when they were mindful of the resurrection" (2 Macc. xii. 43, 44; vii. 9, 11, 14, 23, 29, 36), is repeated in the "life and immortality brought to light in the gospel;" the law of a future state founded upon the resurrection of Christ from the dead being the main doctrine of its first preachers. Wherever they went, they taught "Jesus and the resurrection;" this fact being in their estimation the earnest of the coming kingdom, the "assurance" (*πίστις*) of an approaching judgment (Acts xvii. 31), and the pledge of the resurrection of the saints (1 Cor. xv. 23; 1 Thess. iv. 14; Rom. xiv. 9; 1 Pet. i. 3). As in the Danielic vision the promise of a resurrection is held out to the "wise," and to them that "turn many to righteousness;" so, in the gospel, the "gift of life" is adduced as the reward of faithfulness and patient suffering: "If we suffer we shall also reign with him" (2 Tim. ii. 12); "If so be that we suffer with him that we may be also glorified together" (Rom. viii. 17). A resurrection "of the just and unjust" is further described by both in parallel terms, the "everlasting life and the everlasting shame and contempt of the former being repeated in the "everlasting punishment and the ever-

lasting life” of the latter (Matt. xxv. 46; John v. 29). Similar agreement is also observable in the picture drawn by each of the reward of the blest: the “righteous who shine as the brightness of the firmament and the stars for ever and ever,” being reproduced in the “righteous shining forth as the sun in the kingdom of their father” (Matt. xiii. 43), and in “one star differing from another star in glory” (1 Cor. xv. 41). As moreover in the days of Syrian trouble a resurrection was supposed to be immediately consequent upon the death of the martyrs, so in those of the gospel, there is a resurrection of souls beheaded for the witness of Jesus and for the word of God (Rev. xx. 4, 5): and so proximate is the period appointed for this event that it is within the compass of the natural life-term of the then existing generation. It is of those then living that St. Paul affirms. “We shall not all sleep but we shall all be changed” (1 Cor xv. 51). “We which are alive and remain¹ unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep” (1 Thess. iv. 15). It is with reference to the probable continuance upon earth of himself, or of some of those whom he addressed, unto the day of the Lord, that St. Paul wrote, “Whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him” (1 Thess. v. 10),—“Whether present or absent, we may be accepted of him” (2 Cor. v. 9),—“Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord; whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord’s” (Rom. xiv. 8; Phil. i. 23, 24).

¹ “Omnino putavit Paulus fieri posse ut ipse viveret iudicii generalis tempore: idque non ex his tantum verbis satis aperte liquet, sed et ex 1 Cor. xv. 51-53, et 2 Cor. v. 1-3.”—GROTIUS.

VII. The conception of an accompanying Judgment would also appear to have a conspicuous place among those eschatological ideas of Daniel which we have thought to be re-produced in the gospels.

Daniel beholds till the thrones were (placed), and the Ancient of Days did sit; thousand thousands ministering unto him and ten thousand times ten thousand standing before him; the judgment set, the books opened, and judgment given to the saints of the Most High.

These ideas would seem repeated in the writings of the New Testament with an almost exact fidelity. As, according to Daniel, judgment is executed contemporaneously with the coming of a son of man with the clouds of heaven to the Ancient of Days; so according to the gospels, "When the Son of Man shall come in his glory and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory, and before him shall be gathered all nations"—for the purpose of judgment (Matt. xxiv. 30; xxv. 31, 32; xvi. 27; Luke xxi. 36). As, according to Daniel, judgment is "given to the saints of the Most High" (vii. 22); so "in the regeneration" (the times of the Messiah) the disciples "shall sit upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel" (Matt. xix. 23; Luke xxii. 29, 30). "Do ye not know (asks St. Paul) that the saints shall judge the world . . . shall judge angels" (1 Cor. vi. 2, 3); "for unto the angels hath he not put in subjection the world (*soon*) to come, whereof we speak" (Heb. ii. 5). "The time is come (says St. Peter) that judgment must begin at (*from*) the house of God" (1 Pet. iv. 17). And to these passages we may add the vision of the Apocalypse, conceived not

only in the spirit, but in the very words of Daniel: "I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them . . . and the books were opened, and another book was opened which is the book of life (Dan. xii. 1) and whosoever was not found written in the book of life was cast into the lake of fire" (Rev. xx).

This judgment is everywhere represented throughout the New Testament as contemporaneous with our Lord's appearing; the adverb of time, "WHEN—the Son of Man shall come in his glory" being answered by the antithetical particle, "THEN—shall he sit upon the throne of his glory" (Matt. xxv. 31; Luke xxi. 36; 1 Peter iv. 5; James ii. 12; v. 9; Jude 14). And these events are not only described as immediately¹ about to take place, but as mutually dependent upon each other. "God (says St. Paul) hath (*now*) appointed a day in the which he is *soon* about to judge—μέλλει κρίνειν—the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained" (Acts xvii. 31). "Behold (says St. James) the judge standeth—ἔστηκεν—before the door" (v. 9). Similarly the judgment *soon* to be passed—μέλλοντος—upon the quick and the dead at the appearing and kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ (2 Tim. iv. 1), includes a sentence upon them which are alive and re-

¹ The verb μέλλω, especially when found in construction with another verb, is employed in the New Testament to denote proximity. In Acts xx. it is used five times in this sense. Even the expression τί μέλλεις—"why tarriest thou"—is indicative of haste; as if it had been said "Why do you not make haste." Comp. τί μέλλεις ποιῆν (Acts xxii. 16, 26). We desire here to express our concern that no attempt has been made to revise our Authorized Version in spite of most certain emendations pointed out by careful criticism. The retention of the translation now given to the numerous passages in which the above-mentioned word is found, has almost the appearance of a pious fraud.

main (*then living*) as well as upon them which are asleep, the time of the execution of this sentence being that of the appearing and the kingdom. The advent described in terms of equal proximity by St. Matthew, "The Son of Man shall (*soon*) come, or, '*is coming*'—*μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι*—in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then shall he reward every man according to his works, verily I say unto you there be some standing here which shall not taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom" (xvi. 27, 28), is connected with a righteous retribution upon those who should not have tasted of death as well as upon those who should have tasted of death; the time of this resurrection and judgment being also that of the coming of the Son of Man *in his kingdom*. So in the parable of the ten pieces of money, spoken with the view of correcting false impressions respecting the immediate establishment (*παραχρῆμα*) of the kingdom, he likens himself to a certain nobleman who goes into a far country to receive for himself a kingdom and to return; who, calling his ten servants, delivered unto them ten pounds with the charge, "Occupy till I come." At his return, *having received the kingdom*, he commands those servants to be summoned for the purpose of judgment, and proceeds to reward them "according to their works" (Luke xix. 11-27). Everywhere throughout the writings of the New Testament, the resurrection, the judgment, the kingdom, and the advent, are synchronical,¹ and it appears

¹ We adduce the following passages from the Apostolical Fathers and Eusebius in support of the belief of that early period in an immediate and contemporaneous resurrection, judgment, advent, and kingdom.

"Absentia vero illius patris-familias tempus est quod in adventum ejus restat;"

to us as impossible to dissociate them from each other as to defer the period laid down for their accomplishment. We are not ashamed to confess our inability to reconcile the proximity under which these phenomena are announced with the actual course of events. We seem to be painfully conscious of the existence of a serious discrepancy between the latter-day anticipations of the New Testament and what might be considered their due and legitimate fulfilment: a conviction arising not from a superficial or deceitful handling of the sacred text, but

elsewhere described, "*Post aliquantum vero temporis; post dies deinde non multos.*"
HERNLE, *Pastor Similitudo*, 5.

"The apostles went forth to preach the good tidings that *the kingdom of God was soon about to come*"—μέλλειν ἔρχεσθαι.—CLEM. *ad Cor.* i. 42.

"Let us be looking *hourly*—καθ' ἕραν—for the kingdom of God in love and righteousness," (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 12), since we do not know the day of *the manifestation*—ἐπιφανείας—of God."—CLM. *ad Cor.* 12, Epist. ii.

"All the generations from Adam unto this very day, have passed away: but they who have been made perfect in love by the grace of God, occupy the place of the righteous, who shall be made manifest *in the visitation*—ἐπισκοπή—(comp. 1 Pet. ii. 12) of the kingdom of Christ: for it is written, 'Enter into thy chambers for a little space, till my anger and indignation pass away, and I will remember the good day and will raise you up out of your graves.'"—S. CLEMENT *ad Cor.* i. 50.

"Of a truth quickly and suddenly shall his will be accomplished: *for he shall come quickly, and shall not delay*: and suddenly the Lord shall come to his temple, and, the holy one whom ye expect. Let us consider, beloved, how the Lord shews explicitly to us *the resurrection which is soon to take place*—τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀνάστασιν ἔσεσθαι—of which he made the Lord Jesus the first fruits, raising him from the dead."—*Epist. ad Cor.* xxiv.

Eusebius, speaking of the martyrdom of James the Just, the brother, or cousin of our Lord, which took place immediately before the destruction of Jerusalem, observes that in the days of James there were certain "sects (heretical persons) which did not believe either in a resurrection or that he was coming to give to every one according to his works: as many, however, as did believe, did so on account of James. As there were many, therefore, of the rulers that believed, there arose a tumult among the Jews, Scribes, and Pharisees, saying that there was danger that *the people would now expect Jesus as the Messiah*. They came together, therefore, and said to James, 'We entreat thee restrain the people who are led astray after Jesus as if he were the Christ' . . . And he answered with a loud voice, 'Why do ye ask me respecting Jesus the Son of Man? He is now sitting in the heavens, on the right hand of great power, and *is soon about to come*—μέλλει ἔρχεσθαι—in the clouds of heaven.'"—*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 23.

from a reverent and careful examination, extended over many years, of this particular question ; and we think it the part of exegetical consistency to endeavour to grapple with it, before we stereotype with too great confidence traditional opinions which appear unable to stand the test of searching and out-spoken criticism.

VIII. Such we conceive are the principal points of agreement between the Messianic ideas of Daniel and the qualities attributed to, or, as it would seem, appropriated by, our Lord. Under whatever aspect we contemplate what may be called the eschatology of the New Testament,—whether we consider the setting up of an abomination of desolation in the holy place, the announcement of an approaching end of all things, or the destruction of some great adversary ; whether we turn our thoughts to the impending advent, resurrection, judgment, and kingdom of God,—we are met by phenomena of a similar kind to those which have already received expression in the book of Daniel. Is it too much to say that the analogy is too close to be fortuitous, and that it seems probable that our Lord accommodated events with which the Maccabean deliverance was thought to be accompanied to his Messianic career, as he accommodated the historical fact of the setting up of the abomination of desolation in the days of Antiochus to his own times. It has been already observed of the symbolism employed by Daniel, that its bold and exalted character seems to leave room for doubt whether it should be applied to the political restoration of the Maccabean period, or to some greater event of which that may have been the type ; and it is

perhaps owing to the apparently inadequate fulfilment of these visions at the time appointed, that a further Messianic element was supposed to be concealed in them. It was a belief prevalent among the Jews of our Lord's time that the day¹ of the Messiah was revealed in Daniel, and it is probable that this credence may have given rise to the preference shown to the Messianic developments of this book over those of other prophetic writings.

The inquiry has yet to be made in what way the Messianic ideas adopted from Daniel may be said to have received their accomplishment. To this question a double answer may be given. To some they appear to have had an immediate fulfilment in the advent of the Son of man to destroy Jerusalem before the generation which listened to his solemn threatenings had passed away, and in the establishment of the spiritual kingdom of Christianity upon the wreck of Judaism. Others, again, conceiving that no historical events of the required period correspond to the magnificent terms in which the advent is described, and anxious with a par-

¹ In the Talmud the day of the Messiah is said to be concealed in the Hagiographa, and known to Jonathan-Ben-Uzziel, probably a disciple of Hillel, and the supposed author of the Targum on the prophets. "And a voice was heard, saying, 'Who is this who has revealed my secrets unto the sons of man?' Up rose Jonathan-Ben-Uzziel, and said: 'It is I who have revealed thy secrets to the sons of man . . . But it is known and revealed before Thee, that not for my honour have I done it, nor for the honour of my father's house, but for thine honour, that the disputes may cease in Israel' . . . And he further desired to reveal the Targum to the Hagiographa, when a voice was heard: 'Enough?' And why? Because the day of the Messiah is revealed therein."—*Meg.* 3 *a*. Similarly the day of the Messiah was supposed to be hidden in the Targum to Daniel. Josephus also seems to intimate that a Messianic signification was attached to the stone of Dan. ii. "Daniel also declared the meaning of the stone unto the king; but I do not think it proper to relate it, since I have only undertaken to describe things past or things which have been (lately) done—τὰ παρελθόντα καὶ τὰ γεγενημένα—but not the things that are soon about to happen—τα μελλόντα" (Ant. x. 10.)

donable solicitude that the words of Christ should not fail of their accomplishment, have postponed their fulfilment, in spite of plain and positive statements to the contrary, to an indefinite and distant future.

To the first of these theories it has been objected that the second advent of Christ was not so much the destruction of Jerusalem, as an event *connected*¹ with that destruction; and that the sublime description of his coming with all the holy angels with him in power and great glory scarcely finds an adequate fulfilment in the scenes, terrible as they were, which accompanied the overthrow of the Jewish state and polity. It must be conceded that the objection is not without weight; and that after making due allowance for Oriental phraseology and rhetorical figure, something more² was intended by the coming itself and the unearthly scenes with which it is said to be accompanied, than the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent establishment of Christianity. However momentous the ruin of their city might have been to the Jews, it could not have materially affected the Gentile converts to whom the warnings relating to

¹ An argument for the accomplishment of the eschatological prophecies recorded in the gospels at the period of the destruction of Jerusalem, may be seen in the author's "Apocalypse fulfilled in the Consummation of the Mosaic Economy and the Coming of the Son of Man." On the supposition that our Lord's predictions, as delivered to us, can be adequately explained of the phenomena with which that event was accompanied, a harmony may be maintained between them and the facts themselves. On the contrary hypothesis, that the historical events of that time do not answer to the scope and magnificence of the terms employed, the expectations of our Lord and his disciples must be considered to have been tinged by the Messianic ideas of their contemporaries.

² "The foundation of all the mistakes of these learned men (Wetstein, Grotius, Hammond, Le Clerc, and Whitby) is their interpreting *the coming of Christ* of the destruction of Jerusalem: whereas the context, as it hath been shown, plainly evinces, and they themselves at other times acknowledge, that it is to be understood of his coming to judge the world"—NEWTON, *on the Prophecies*.

the advent were principally addressed ; and it is evident that S. Barnabas, in the epistle ascribed to him, and such of the apostolical fathers as wrote after that event, did not see in the destruction of Jerusalem the coming of Christ in his kingdom.

The second of these, which defers the accomplishment of these predictions to a distant future, is met by the fatal¹ answer,—that not merely once or twice, nor doubtfully and with hesitation, but continually, solemnly, and distinctly, our Lord uttered the positive and apparently incontrovertible statement that his kingdom was so near of approach, and so immediately imminent, that some of those who heard his words “should not taste of death till they had seen the Son of man coming in his kingdom” (Matt. xvi. 28 ; Mark ix. 1 ; Luke ix. 27) ; a doctrine accepted without reserve by his disciples, and reiterated by them and others with equal confidence during the apostolic age. Like the kingdom of the saints announced by Daniel, to be set up “in the days of those kings ;” the kingdom of Christ was to be manifested, “In those days after that tribulation” (Mark xiii. 24), or more definitely expressed by Matthew, “Immediately after the tribulation of those days”

¹ “N'est il pas temps d'imposer silence aux sophismes de l'exégèse et d'avouer ce qui saute aux yeux ? Jésus, dans les discours qui lui sont attribués, n'annonce pas seulement en general qu'il reviendra sur les nuées du ciel un jour, dans deux mille ans peut-être ou dans cent mille ; il annonce qu'il reviendra avant la mort des personnes présentes, qu'il reviendra *aussitôt* après que Jérusalem aura été profanée. Si les mots qu'on place dans sa bouche ont un sens, ils ont ce sens là ; et s'ils ne l'ont pas, c'est que pour les théologiens blanc signifie noir et que noir signifie blanc. Mais pour quiconque n'est pas un sophiste ce dilemme se pose catégoriquement : ou Jésus s'est trompé, ou ces discours ne sont pas de lui.”
—COLANI, p. 252.

(xxiv. 29). Whatever difficulty exists with regard to the terms of the prophecy, none can with fairness be said to exist with regard to the time appointed for the fulfilment; and it would seem to be neither the part of wisdom nor piety to be looking in the distant future for a kingdom which Christ declared to be "near, even at the doors."

The only remaining alternative would seem to be that the Messianic expectations of our Lord, equally with those of his disciples, were corrected by the event. On the supposition that the actual discourses¹ (*λογια*) of Christ are handed down to us in the Gospel of St. Matthew and, with some variation, in the synoptics generally—a position which we ourselves do not venture to call in question—it is found impossible to exclude from them the continuous announcement of an immediately proximate celestial kingdom; on the other hand, to hold that these eschatological sayings are not attributable to our Lord himself, but are the result of a great exaltation common to the writers of the period, is not only to surrender a considerable part of the histories themselves, but to negative the uniform belief of the apostolic age. The choice has to be made between these opposite theories; although the adoption of any one of them is attended with its own difficulties, which should be fairly met, and not timorously evaded, or dishonestly concealed. What then, if the enthusiastic expectations of the age should have led the evangelists to expand our Lord's prophetic utterances against the Jewish state

¹ "Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια [τὰ παρὰ Θεοῦ λεγόμενα], συνετάξατο, (νεῖ, συνεγράψατο), ἡρμηνεύσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος."—ΡΑΡΙΑΣ.

and polity into the wider channel of a dissolving universe and an end of the world; the late date of the evangelical history (a history at first delivered orally, for an approaching end of all things demanded no literature) allowing sufficient interval for some accretion to the original predictions; or what again if the eschatological sayings of Christ should have been accurately recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (that according to St. John betraying marks of a later period of composition as well as of a different theological conception from the three preceding histories), and if, on the whole, they should present a true picture of the latter-day glories anticipated by our Lord. If to this it be added that the Son of Man *admitted* his perception to be circumscribed on this particular subject, we have arrived at a point which not only suggests a probable reason for the discrepancy observable between the predictions and the facts themselves, but which at the same time justifies the inquiries of those who endeavour to ascertain the truth by comparing the words themselves with the course of events. The adoption of either of the preceding theories might be attended with less detriment to the cause of religion than the retention of traditional opinions which seem to rest on a distorted interpretation of the Sacred Text. On the one hand, to suppose that the primal and undying words of Christ which shall not pass away have been obscured by enthusiastic expectations, would only serve to illustrate the principle that imperfection is inseparable from humanly recorded truth; on the other hand, to infer that the eschatological sayings attributed to our Lord are the result of a qualified appre-

hension of a Providential mystery, would only imply that he shared with others that limitation of knowledge which was a necessary condition of the human nature under which he was manifested to us.

The non-fulfilment, however, of these Messianic expectations within the time appointed for their accomplishment need not detract from the perfection of that inimitable teaching whose "remedial, and reconciling, and sanctifying, and self-sacrificing, and sorrow-assuaging, and heaven-aspiring words were addressed to the universal human heart;" neither should it be suffered to weaken the obligation, or impair the authority, of a single moral precept which commends itself by its intrinsic worth as the perfect law of love and liberty to mankind. Unwisely, therefore, do they imperil Christianity who would make it answerable with its life for every adventitious circumstance, whether of miraculous event or Messianic¹ hope, with which it stands connected. Above and beyond all these, its adaptation to the religious instincts and the spiritual wants of man affords at once a proof of its divine origin, and a pledge of its continuance. "For the perpetuity of religion, the true religion, that of Christ (says a master² in Israel whose sentiments we repeat

¹ "Deux choses sont certaines : la première, c'est que Jésus a fondé sa Mission et son Œuvre sur l'idée du Messie, avec tout l'accompagnement des notions apocalyptiques que cette idée emportait ; la seconde, c'est que en définitive, et à prendre les choses d'un peu haut, cette croyance Messianique n'est pas l'essence de la doctrine de Jésus, elle n'en est que la manifestation historique, la forme accidentelle. Le fond de son enseignement, c'est ce qui est éternel, c'est la parole de pardon, la pitié pour le pecheur, l'amour du petit et du pauvre, la foi au Dieu qui est le père des hommes ; le secret de sa puissance, c'est le spectacle d'une vie innocente et dévouée, le sacrifice volontaire de sa propre personne à la cause du bien et du vrai."—SCHERER.

² Preface to MILMAN'S *History of the Jews*.

under a deep conviction that they bequeath to the Church a rich legacy of needful caution . . . as well as of pious trust), I have no misgivings As it was the moral and religious superiority of Christianity which mainly subdued and won the world ; so that same power will retain it in willing and perpetual subjection. The strength of Christianity will rest, not in the excited imagination, but in the heart, the conscience, the understanding of man.”

THE END.

E R R A T A.

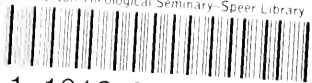
P. 93, after vision of chapter viii., should follow vision of chapter xi.

“ Behold there shall stand up yet three kings in Persia, and the fourth shall be far richer than they all ; and by his strength through his riches he shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia” (xi. 2).

P. 99, *for* quartuor, *read* quatuor.

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Daniel, or, The Apocalypse of the Old

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