

# THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

## INTRODUCTION

### § 1. TITLE.

THE Greek title *Μακκαβαίων*<sup>1</sup> α' takes its origin from the surname applied, in the first instance, to Judas (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 4. 66; 2 Macc. viii. 5. 16; x. 1. 16, &c.), but later on to all the members of the family and their followers. The title is transliterated by Origen (Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* vi. 25. 2) *Σαββήθ Σαβαταίελ* (= ספר בית חשמונאי 'the book of the house of the Hasmonæans', see further, Dalman, *Aramäische Grammatik*, p. 7 [2nd ed.]); but this title is Aramaic, and is not likely to have stood at the head of a book written in Hebrew (see § 6); it was, therefore, probably, the title of an Aramaic translation of the original Hebrew. What the actual title of the book in its original form was, is not known.

### § 2. CONTENTS.

The book is a sober and, on the whole, trustworthy account of the Jewish struggle for religious liberty and political independence during the years 175-135 B. C., i. e. from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes to the death of Simon the Maccabee. The narrative is, with few exceptions, written in chronological order, and is concerned almost wholly with military events. The main part of the book deals with the exploits of Judas Maccabæus, who is regarded as the central figure in the whole struggle. The divisions of the book are clearly marked, and are as follows:

- i. 1-9. A brief introduction in which reference is made to the conquests of Alexander the Great, and the division of his kingdom.
- 10-64. The original cause of the Maccabæan struggle.
- ii. 1-70. The beginning of the struggle, under the leadership of Mattathias.
- iii. 1-ix. 22. The account of the events during the leadership of Judas. The purification of the Temple and re-dedication of the altar. The acquisition of religious liberty.
- ix. 23-xii. 53. The leadership of Jonathan; the establishment of the Hasmonæan high-priesthood.
- xiii. 1-xvi. 24. The leadership of Simon; political independence secured. A brief reference to the rule of John Hyrcanus.

### § 3. THE AUTHOR.

There are no direct indications in the book as to who the author was, nor is anything to be gathered elsewhere regarding him; but some points concerning him may be inferred from certain *data* in his book. It is clear that he was a rigid adherent of orthodox Judaism, and his patriotism is everywhere evident. That he was a native of Palestine is equally clear, for he manifests an intimate, and even minute knowledge, both of the geography and topography of the land. There are grounds for believing that he belonged to the circle of the Sadducees; although a loyal upholder of the Law, his zeal is not characterized by any approach to Pharisaic fanaticism; his sympathy for the Jewish high-priesthood is frequently manifested; his tolerant attitude towards the profaning of the Sabbath (ii. 41; ix. 43 ff.) is very different from that which would have been adopted by a Pharisee; there is not the slightest hint of a belief in the life after death, see ii. 52 ff. where a reference to this would have been eminently appropriate, had it been believed in. These reasons go far in justifying the opinion that the author was a Sadducee.

<sup>1</sup> The name is derived, most probably, from the Hebrew *מַטְּכָה* 'hammer' (cp. Judges iv. 21); another derivation is suggested by S. J. Curtiss (*The name Machabee*, Leipzig, 1876), namely *מַכְבֵּה* 'quencher' (cp. Isa. xliii. 17), i. e. he who exterminated the enemies of his people. Earlier commentators explained the name as consisting of the initial letters of the words *יְהוָה בְּאֵלֵם יְהוָה כִּי כְמוֹתָהּ בְּאֵלֵם יְהוָה* ('who is like unto thee among the gods, Yahweh', Exod. xv. 11); but there is no reason to suppose that a cryptic title of this kind would have been adopted by those whose special boast was loyalty to their God and His Law.

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### § 4. DATE OF THE BOOK.

The passages which throw light on the date of the composition of the book are :

(a) In reference to the sepulchre which Simon the Maccabee built for his parents and his four brothers at Modin, the writer says in xiii. 30: 'This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it is there unto this day.' The sepulchre in question was an elaborate one, as is clear from the description given (xiii. 27-29); it consisted of seven pyramids with 'great pillars' around them; when, therefore, it is spoken of as being in existence 'unto this day', it must have been standing for some considerable time when the author wrote this book. The building of this sepulchre is described as having taken place immediately after the death of Jonathan (xiii. 25), i. e. in 143 B. C., and Simon was murdered in 135 B. C. When the writer, therefore, speaks of the sepulchre standing 'unto this day', we must allow at the least the lapse of about thirty years, probably more, from the time the year 143 B. C. to the time when the writer made this statement. That would make the earliest possible date of the book about 110 B. C.

(b) But in xvi. 23, 24 we have the following: 'And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars... behold, they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood, from the time that he was made high-priest after his father'; the formula here used is very frequent in the O.T., but it is invariably employed in reference to a ruler whose reign has been concluded. These chronicles, that is to say, took up the narrative at which our author ceased his account; therefore he was writing at a period subsequent to the time at which the chronicles of John's high-priesthood had been compiled. Now John (Hyrcanus) died in 105 B. C., so that even if the records of his doings were being kept from year to year during his rule, they were not finished until the year 105 B. C., and therefore the writer of 1 Macc. did not begin his work until, at the earliest, after this year. On the other hand, the book cannot have been written after the year 63 B. C., for it was in the autumn of this year that Pompey took Jerusalem, and desecrated the Temple by entering into the Holy of Holies (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. iv. 2-4; *Jell. Jud.* I. vii. 3-6); it is inconceivable that the book would have contained no reference to this, had it been written after this calamity had taken place. Cf. the references to the faithfulness of the Romans as allies (viii. 1, 12, xii. 1, xiv. 40). Roughly speaking, therefore, the book must have been finished some time between the years 100-70 B. C., nearer the former than the latter date. But this does not mean to say that the writer did not *begin* his work at an earlier period; for, although the author made use of certain documents (see below), which implies, of course, that he was writing some time subsequent to the events recorded, there are passages which certainly give the impression that he wrote as a contemporary of those who took the leading part in those events; such a passage, e.g. as xiv. 4-15, in which the details of Simon's reign are described, reads like the account of an eye-witness; it was a period of peace ('And the land had rest all the days of Simon'), and therefore conducive to literary work. There seems to be nothing that can be urged against the belief that the writer began his work during the reign of Simon; the looking-up of records, and the compiling of a book which is, upon the face of it, a very careful piece of work, must have taken some time to complete. The conclusion, therefore, is that the gathering of materials began as early as the time of Simon (142-135 B. C.), but that the completed work must be dated some time later. We cannot be far wrong in assigning the work in its final form to somewhere during the last quarter of the second century B. C.

### § 5. LITERARY AND RELIGIOUS CHARACTERISTICS.

Although a translation (see § 6) the literary style of the book is admirable; the narrative is written in a simple, straightforward manner, with an entire absence of anything artificial; the reader's interest is engaged throughout, both on account of the easy flow in the style of writing, as well as on account of the graphic way in which the details are presented. The author writes as a historian, whose duty it is to record the facts without colouring them with personal observations; he is impartial, but this does not prevent him from sometimes bursting out into a poetical strain. While, as might be expected, there are frequent reminiscences of the language of the Old Testament, the author in no wise imitates this, his writing being marked throughout by his own individual style. On the other hand, there are not infrequent exaggerations, especially in point of numbers; and considerable freedom is observable in the way in which discourses are put into the mouths of important persons; but in these things the author only shows himself to be the child of his age; his substantial accuracy and trustworthiness are not affected thereby.

From the religious standpoint the book is likewise marked by special characteristics; these are to be explained partly by the writer's sober and matter-of-fact way of looking at things, and partly by the somewhat altered religious outlook of the age as compared with earlier times. The most striking



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characteristics here are (i) that the direct divine intervention in the nation's affairs is not nearly so prominently expressed as in the books of the Old Testament; and (ii) that God is not mentioned by name in the whole book. The writer is very far from being wanting in religious belief and feeling; his conviction of the existence of an all-seeing Providence who helps those who are worthy comes out strongly in such passages as ii. 61, iii. 18 ff., iv. 10 ff., ix. 46, xii. 15; but he evidently has an almost equally strong belief in the truth expressed in the modern proverb, that 'God helps those who help themselves'. This very sensible religious attitude, which is as far removed from scepticism as it is from fatalism, fully corresponds to the writer's sober impartiality as a historian. But his attitude was, doubtless, also due to the influence of certain tendencies which were beginning to assert themselves. These centred round the Jewish doctrine of God. Just as there was a disinclination, on account of its transcendent holiness, to utter the name of God, and instead, to substitute paraphrases for it, so there arose also a disinclination to ascribe action among men directly to God, because of His inexpressible majesty. One result of this was the further tendency to emphasize and extend the scope of human free-will. These tendencies were only beginning to exert their influence, but they largely explain the religious characteristics of the book.

### § 6. ORIGINAL LANGUAGE.

In his *Prologus Galeatus* Jerome distinctly states that Hebrew was the language in which the book was written: 'Machabaeorum primum librum hebraicum repperi' (cp. also the title given by Origen, see § 1 above). The question arises, nevertheless, as to whether Hebrew proper or Palestinian Aramaic is meant; two considerations, however, make it almost certain that it was Hebrew. In the first place, the writer clearly takes as his pattern the ancient inspired Scriptures (cp. Grimm, p. xvii), so that the obvious presumption is that he would have written in the holy tongue. And, secondly, there are many indications in the book itself that it was translated from Hebrew rather than from Aramaic, many of these will be found in the commentary; in some cases, mistakes in translation are most easily and naturally accounted for on the supposition that they were translated from Hebrew, e.g. i. 28 *καὶ ἐπέσθη ἡ γῆ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας αὐτήν*: this presupposes an original *בְּ* which was translated 'against' instead of 'because of'; it can mean either of these, according to the context; other examples are found in ix. 24, xiv. 28, see notes in commentary. There are, furthermore, many examples of Hebrew idiomatic phrases translated literally into Greek. There can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that the book was originally written in Hebrew. But it seems clear that this original Hebrew text was little used, and disappeared altogether at a very early period; the reasons which lead to this supposition are firstly that not even does Josephus show any signs of having used it, and secondly, as Torrey (*E. B.* 2866) points out: 'There is no evidence of correction from the Hebrew, either in the Greek, or in any other of the versions . . . on the contrary, our Greek version is plainly seen to be the result of a single translation from a Hebrew manuscript which was not free from faults.'

### § 7. THE SOURCES OF THE BOOK.

One of the chief sources of information utilized by the writer of 1 Macc. seems to have been the accounts given to him by eye-witnesses of many of the events recorded; one is led to this conviction by considering the wonderfully graphic descriptions of certain episodes (cp. e.g., iv. 1-24, vi. 28-54, vii. 26-50, ix. 1-22, 32-53, x. 59-66, &c.), the sober presentation of the facts, and the frequent mention of details obviously given for no other reason than that they actually occurred. That the writer had also written sources to draw from is to be presumed from such passages as ix. 22: 'And the rest of the acts of Judas, and his wars, and the valiant deeds which he did, and his greatness, they are not written,' the implication being that in part these acts had been written (cp. xi. 37, xiv. 18, 27, 48, 49), and xvi. 23, 24: 'And the rest of the acts of John . . . behold, they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood. . . .'

Besides these sources, there are a certain number of documents which have been incorporated in the book; the genuineness, or otherwise, of these requires some more detailed consideration. They fall into three groups; but for reasons which will become apparent the documents belonging to each group respectively cannot in every case be kept separate.

#### i. *Letters of Jewish origin.*

(a) The letter from the Jews in Gilead asking Judas to send them help because they were being attacked by the Gentiles (v. 10-13). This purports to contain the very words which were written; but it is probably merely a summary of what the author of the book had derived from some well-informed source; that it represents, however, in brief, the contents of some written document, and

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was not simply a verbal message, may be assumed, as it stands in contrast to what is said to have been a verbal message in v. 15.

(b) The letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (xii. 6-18). Concerning this it must be said that the artificial way in which it has been pressed into the text is sufficient to arouse suspicion. In xii. 1 we are told of an embassy being sent to Rome; the narrative is broken by v. 2 which refers to a letter which was sent to the Spartans, and 'to other places'; in v. 3, which comes naturally after v. 1, the thread of the narrative is taken up again. Then in v. 5, where one might reasonably have expected further details about the embassy to Rome, it goes on to say: 'And this is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans.' The copy of this letter then follows; but the main subject with which the chapter began, obviously a more important one, is left without further mention. On considering the letter itself, it must strike one that it is not easy to understand what the purpose of it was. In v. 10 the purpose is stated to be the renewing of brotherhood and friendship; but in the same breath, as it were, it is said that the Jews needed none of these things, 'having for our encouragement the holy books which are in our hands.' Then, again, in v. 13, after reference has been made to the afflictions which the Jews had endured, the letter continues (vv. 14, 15): 'We were not mindful, therefore, to be troublesome unto you . . . for we have the help which is from heaven to help us. . . .' Thus, in the same letter, brotherhood and friendship are desired, on the one hand, while on the other it is said that this is not required. The object of the letter is, therefore, not apparent; nor can it be said that it reads like a genuine document. That a relationship of some kind existed between the Jews and the Spartans need not be doubted; the letter probably reflects the fact of this relationship, which the writer of this book, or more probably a later editor, desired to place on record, while not wishing to make it appear that his people had any need to depend upon foreign help in struggling with their enemies (see further the notes on this passage in the commentary). In connexion with this letter the following one must be considered.

(c) The letter from Areios, king of the Spartans, to Onias the high-priest (xii. 20-23). This owes its presence here to the fact that in the letter just dealt with Jonathan cites the existence of former friendship between the Jews and the Spartans as a reason for renewing the same (xii. 7-9); it is added as an appendix to Jonathan's letter. The original of this document must have been written about 150 to 200 years earlier than that in which it is incorporated (see the notes on the passage in the commentary). It is only of indirect importance in the present connexion as it does not bear on the history of the Maccabean struggle. But the fact of a letter written so long before this period being quoted here shows with what care such documents were preserved, and thus tends to inspire confidence in the general historicity of our book, since it is clear that the writer (or, as in this case, probably a later editor) had recourse to the national archives for information; for even if, as some commentators rightly believe, this letter was added by a later editor, it is equally true that he depended on ancient documents for his additions.

(d) In xiv. 27-47 we have a source of an entirely different character. This passage contains a panegyric on Simon, together with a *résumé* of his prosperous reign. It is stated to have been engraved on tables of brass, and to have been set up in a conspicuous place within the precincts of the sanctuary; copies of it are also said to have been deposited in the treasury (cp. vv. 27, 48, 49). On comparing the details of Simon's reign given in this section with those in chaps. xi-xiii, however, it will be found that there are several chronological discrepancies. The course of the history, as given in the book itself, is acknowledged on all hands to be, on the whole, of a thoroughly trustworthy character; but if the passage in question be really the copy of an official document, as it purports to be, the accuracy of other portions of the book is, to some extent, impugned. It is difficult to suppose that one and the same author would write the historical account of Simon's reign in chaps. xi-xiii, and then in the very next chapter give a *résumé* of what had preceded differing from it in a number of particulars. The suggested explanation of the difficulty is as follows: The original writer of the book gave in chaps. xi-xiii a substantially correct account of the period of history in question, but was inaccurate in the sequence of events; a later editor added a copy of the document under consideration, to which the original author of the book, for some reason or other, did not have access; or perhaps he gathered his materials from different eye-witnesses of the events recorded, and therefore saw no purpose in utilizing this document. The later editor was not concerned with the discrepancies between the written history and the copy of the document which he added, because he saw that, in the main, they were in agreement. If this solution be the correct one it will follow that for the historical period in question we have two independent accounts as far as the main history is concerned.



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### ii. *Letters from the suzerain power (Syrian kings) to Jewish leaders.*

(a) The letter from Alexander Balas<sup>1</sup> to Jonathan (x. 18-20). There can scarcely be two opinions regarding this document; it is not a copy of the letter, but merely its purport which our author has woven into his narrative, much after the same manner in which he incorporates the general sense of the various speeches he records. It is far too short and abrupt to be the actual letter of one who was seeking the help and alliance of the Jewish leader, and for whose friendship this aspirant to the Syrian throne was bidding. The author of our book, moreover, adds some words of his own in the middle of the letter, a thing he is scarcely likely to have done had he been quoting the actual words of the letter itself. On the other hand, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that a genuine document has been made use of here.

(b) The letter from Demetrius I to the nation of the Jews (x. 25-45). This was written for the purpose of out-bidding Alexander Balas in promises of favour, remitting of taxes, and conferring of privileges, &c., on the Jews in return for their support in his struggle to retain his throne. While it must be admitted that the letter is based upon an original document—all the probabilities go to support this—there are two reasons for questioning the accuracy of the details. The promises and concessions made to the Jews are of such an exaggerated character that, had they really been made, they would have defeated their object by arousing suspicions among the Jews regarding the writer's sincerity; this, indeed, was actually the case (see v. 46), but the reason of Jonathan's incredulity is not the character of the promises, but the fact that Demetrius had before done 'great evil in Israel', and 'had afflicted them very sore'; that does not tally with the contents of the letter as given. If one compares the sober contents of another letter from Demetrius on the same subject, not actually quoted, but incorporated in the narrative (x. 3-6), the document under consideration must strike one as untrustworthy as regards details. Then, in the second place, a number of the things actually promised in the letter correspond so exactly with the highest aspirations of the Jews at this time, that they suggest rather the expression of Jewish ideals than actual promises; such are the promise that Jerusalem is to be 'holy and free' (v. 31), a thing which would have been impossible for the Syrian king to grant if he was to have any real hold upon this part of his kingdom, a Syrian garrison in Jerusalem being essential to his overlordship; the promise to permit the full observance of all the ancient feasts and holy-days, together with 'immunity and release'<sup>2</sup> for all Jews during these periods, as well as during three days before and after each (vv. 34, 35); this would have meant an end to the hellenization of Jewry which the Syrian kings had always regarded as indispensable if the Jews were to be their genuine subjects; the promise that the Jews were to have their own laws (v. 37), a thing which would have meant an *imperium in imperio*, a dangerous state of affairs from the Syrian point of view; and finally, the promise to remit a large amount of taxation, and to give princely gifts to the sanctuary (vv. 39 ff.); this would have meant considerable loss to the royal coffers at a time when there was the highest need of increasing monetary supplies. For these reasons, the letter we are considering must be regarded as ungenue so far as most of its details are concerned.

(c) The letter from Demetrius II to Jonathan, enclosing one to Lasthenes (xi. 30-37). Most of what has been said regarding (b) applies to this document as well. It represents an original letter, the contents of which were utilized by the author of 1 Macc., and elaborated in accordance with his ideas of things.

(d) The letter from Antiochus VI to Jonathan (xi. 57). This is clearly a succinct summing-up of the contents of the original letter; its extreme shortness and the absence of salutation show that, although written in the first person, it does not profess to do more than to give the general sense of the original.

(e) The letter from Demetrius II to Simon (xiii. 36-40). This letter, in which the Syrian king acknowledges receipt of certain presents from the Jewish high-priest, and confirms earlier privileges, is stamped with the mark of genuineness; it reads like an original, and is doubtless a copy of this.

(f) The letter from Antiochus VII to Simon (xv. 2-9). To some extent what was said in reference to (b) and (c) applies also to this letter; it is probably not a verbatim copy of the original, but represents in part the contents of this; on the other hand, there are elements in it which are the expression of ardent desires rather than the actual facts of the case.

### iii. *Letters from the rulers of foreign kingdoms.*

(a) The document containing the treaty of alliance between the Romans and the Jews (viii. 23-32). In vv. 24 ff. it is stated, as one of the articles of the treaty, that if the Romans are attacked, the Jews

<sup>1</sup> He was, of course, not yet king when he wrote this letter.

<sup>2</sup> See, on this, the notes in the commentary.

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must not render the enemy any help, whether of 'food, arms, money, or ships' (v. 26); this mention of ships is held by several commentators to be a proof that this document belongs to a later date than the time of Judas, when the Jews were not in possession of any ships, and that therefore the whole section is a later interpolation. But it is quite possible that the foresight of the Romans sufficiently explains this mention of ships; they might, indeed, very naturally have assumed the possession of ships by the Jews, as they must have been aware of the long stretch of coast-land which belonged to Palestine. It was, as a matter of fact, not long after the time of Judas that the Jews acquired a harbour: 'And amid all his glory he (i. e. Simon) took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea' (xiv. 5), cp. also xiii. 29. There seems no sufficient reason to doubt that the author of 1 Macc. made use here of the actual document in question, though it may be that he gives only its general contents, and not a verbatim copy.

(b) *The letter from the Spartans to Simon* (xiv. 20-22). We are confronted here with the same difficulty which occurs in the letter from Jonathan to the Spartans (xii. 6-18, see i. (b) above). The section opens (v. 16) with the words: 'And it was heard at Rome that Jonathan was dead, and even unto Sparta, and they were exceedingly sorry;' it then goes on to say that the Romans wrote to Simon (who had succeeded his brother) on tables of brass to renew 'the friendship and the confederacy' (v. 18); but then, instead of giving a copy of this letter, as might reasonably have been expected, it goes on to say: 'And this is a copy of the letter which the Spartans sent.' In this letter it is stated that the two Jewish ambassadors who were the bearers of it were Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason. But then the narrative (in v. 24) goes on: 'After this Simon sent Numenius to Rome with a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight, in order to confirm the confederacy with them.' On the previous occasion on which mention is made of a *rapprochement* between the Jews and the Romans on the one hand, and the Spartans on the other, the same two ambassadors were sent, first to the Romans and then to the Spartans, on the same journey (see xii. 16, 17); on the present occasion it is to be presumed, for the text implies it, that this was also done; but if so, how is one to account for the fact that in the letter to the Spartans these ambassadors are said to be the bearers of it, while immediately after (v. 24) it is said that Numenius started on his journey? Then there is this further difficulty; is it likely, as stated in the text, that on the death of Jonathan the Romans would have taken the initiative in renewing the treaty with the Jews? This seems to be directly contradicted by v. 24. It seems probable that vv. 17-23 are an interpolation added later; this would also explain the otherwise unaccountable words 'and even unto Sparta' in v. 16, which was presumably put in because of the interpolation; the text of this verse, as it stands, cannot fail to strike one as suspicious: *καὶ ἠκούσθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ὅτι ἀπέθανεν Ἰουθαβάν, καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης, καὶ ἐλυπήθησαν σφόδρα*. The contents of the letter read like an official document; the probability seems to be that use has been made of some genuine record which, as already remarked, was interpolated at a later period.

(c) *The letter from Lucius, the Roman consul, to Ptolemy Euergetes II, king of Egypt* (xv. 16-21). This is the copy of a circular letter written in the name of 'Lucius the consul', and brought back by Numenius. In it the friendship between the Romans and the Jews is proclaimed; copies of it are sent not only to the kings of Egypt and Syria, but also to a number of small separate States which enjoyed complete independence. Now Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5) mentions a letter from the Roman Senate, written in the name of the praetor Lucius Valerius in reply to a message brought by a Jewish embassy; as in the case just referred to, Numenius, the son of Antiochus, is one of the ambassadors,<sup>1</sup> and he brings a gift of a golden shield: the contents of the letter are similar, and it is, likewise, sent to a number of independent petty States. But, according to Josephus, this happened in the ninth year of Hyrcanus II, who reigned 63-40 B.C. Now if, as is maintained by some (especially by Willrich, in his *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, pp. 70 ff.), Josephus is right here, the passage in question is an interpolation, and must have been added shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. Mommsen (*Hermes* ix. 284 ff., cp. Kautzsch, *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments*, i. p. 30) has proved that Josephus is recording genuine history in saying that the praetor Lucius Valerius sent a letter to the Jews, with the contents as given, during the reign of Hyrcanus II. But this does not constitute an insuperable difficulty, for one of the consuls in 139 B.C. was named Lucius Calpurnius Piso, and the 'Consul Lucius' spoken of in the text (xv. 16) could quite well refer to him. What is more difficult is the fact of the great similarity in the contents between the letter as given in 1 Macc., and that given in Josephus; Mommsen maintains that they are not identical, which would mitigate the difficulty; but the mention of Numenius, the son of Antiochus, in both documents is more serious; the explanation

<sup>1</sup> Two other ambassadors, Alexander the son of Jason, and Alexander the son of Dositheus, accompany him, according to this account.



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given by Torrey (*E.B.* 2865) that Josephus omitted the portion of 1 Macc. containing the mention of Numenius and the golden shield, but took occasion to introduce this important name, and the most interesting details, at the next opportunity<sup>1</sup>, is not very illuminating. Probably Willrich is right in regarding the passage as a later interpolation, added because it seemed appropriate in a place where Simon's treaty with Rome was mentioned (*op. cit.* p. 72); this conclusion was arrived at independently by the present writer, on the following grounds:—Numenius is mentioned in 1 Macc. in connexion with an embassy to Rome in xii. 16, in the letter of *Jonathan* to the Spartans, which, as we have already seen reasons to believe, is a later interpolation; he is also referred to incidentally in a similar connexion in the time of *Simon* xiv. 24, cp. xv. 15. But a Numenius, in all respects identical, so far as description and name are concerned, is mentioned by Josephus as taking part in an embassy to the Romans, and having presented a shield of gold of a thousand pounds' weight, in the reign of *Hyrcanus II*; it seems, on the face of it, highly improbable that both references can be correct; either the episode of the shield in connexion with Numenius took place in the reign of *Simon*, or in that of *Hyrcanus II*. The account given by Josephus, and the letter as quoted by him (*Antiq.* XIV. viii. 5), appear to be undoubtedly genuine; it follows that 1 Macc. xv. 15-24 is due to an interpolator; there are also independent reasons for regarding this passage as an interpolation, since it breaks the narrative in a very obvious and awkward manner. The interpolator, knowing that negotiations had actually taken place between Simon and the Romans, has transferred an incident describing a Jewish embassy to Rome, which belongs to a later period, to the time of Simon. Josephus, in his edition of 1 Macc., did not read the section xv. 15-24 as we have it (see *Antiq.* XIII. vii. 3); he does, however, follow 1 Macc. xii. 16 ff. (see *Antiq.* XIII. v. 8) in associating Numenius, the son of Antiochus, and Antipater, the son of Jason, with an embassy sent to Rome in the reign of *Jonathan*; but we have already seen that the whole of this letter in 1 Macc. is a later interpolation; it follows, therefore, that Josephus had this interpolation in his copy of 1 Macc., though the Lucius letter (xv. 16-24) seems to have been absent from the text he used.

### § 8. THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS.

The most important of these are the three uncials *Cod. Sinaiticus* (S), *Cod. Alexandrinus* (A), *Cod. Venetus* (V), the latter belonging to the eighth or ninth century. *Cod. Vaticanus* (B) does not contain the books of the Maccabees. The text represented in S V is, on the whole, better than that represented in A; but all three are undoubtedly the offspring of a single Greek MS. Whether, however, it can be said that all our texts, as well as the Versions, come from one Greek MS. (Torrey, in *E.B.* 2867) is not so certain; for there are isolated readings (small in number, it is true) in some of the cursives which presuppose a better text in the passages in question than that represented in the three uncials; in some cases these readings are supported by one or other of the Versions. Of the cursives which have been used, 52, 106, 107 follow, now S A against V, now S V against A; in a somewhat less degree this is also true of 56, 62, as well as of 55; but this latter has retained some readings, peculiar to itself, which are superior to those in any other MS., uncial or cursive (see e.g. iii. 47, 48, 49, iv. 61, v. 22, 67, vii. 7, 38), and it is possible that these represent echoes of a MS. or MSS. other than the single Greek MS. which is the parent of the three uncials; at the same time the fact is not lost sight of that in other cases the variations in 55 are merely explanatory additions, and in this, as well as in its agreement at times with S<sup>inc</sup> (see below), betrays a Lucianic colouring. Another group is formed by 19, 64, 93;<sup>1</sup> these are Lucianic in character, but 64 less so than the other two; with these three S<sup>ca</sup> sometimes agrees against all other Greek MSS.; very frequently 19, 93 and S<sup>inc</sup> (see below) go together against all other authorities; this occurs in about fifty cases. The cursive 71 offers a curious phenomenon on account of its large number of omissions; these are usually skilfully manipulated; they have been recorded in the *apparatus criticus* because it quite looks as if in some instances a better reading were afforded by the omission. That in spite of these omissions 71 here and there shows signs of Lucianic colouring is an interesting fact. So far as the cursives are concerned, with the exception of 19, 64, 93, and 71, only those readings are recorded in the *apparatus criticus* which seemed to be of importance.

The collations used for the above are, for the uncials, Swete's *The Old Testament in Greek*, vol. iii., and for the cursives the *apparatus criticus* of Holmes and Parsons.

### § 9. THE SYRIAC AND LATIN VERSIONS.

(a) The Syriac text exists in two forms: one is represented in *Cod. Ambrosianus* (sixth century);<sup>2</sup> this follows in the main the text of the Greek uncials (S<sup>2</sup> in the *app. crit.*), and is preserved up to

<sup>1</sup> = Luc in the *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Ceriani (Milan, 1876).

## I MACCABEES

xiv. 25<sup>a</sup>, from there onwards it =  $\mathfrak{S}^{100}$ ; the other is the text found in the Peshitta,<sup>1</sup> which is, however, Lucianic in character, and has, as we have seen, great affinity with the Lucianic group of cursives 19, 64, 93.<sup>2</sup> See the very useful notes on the two Syriac recensions by G. Schmidt, 'Die beiden syrischen Übersetzungen des 1. Makkabäerbuchs,' in *ZATW*, 1897, pp. 1 ff., 233 ff.

(b) The Latin Version is also preserved in two recensions; both are pre-hieronymian; one is that found in the Vulgate ( $\mathfrak{L}^1$ ), the other is that contained in *Cod. Sangermanensis*; <sup>3</sup> ( $\mathfrak{L}^2$ ) the latter is only preserved up to the beginning of chap. xiv.

Both the Syriac and Latin Versions are translations from the Greek.

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For the older literature see Grimm, and Schürer *HJP.* II. iii. pp. 9 ff. (E. T. 1890).  
Other works which have been of use are referred to in the body of the work.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by P. de Lagarde, *Libri vet. test. apocryphi Syriace* . . . (Leipzig, 1861).

<sup>2</sup> It is represented by  $\mathfrak{S}^{100}$  in the *app. crit.*; the sign  $\mathfrak{S}$  denotes the consensus of these two recensions.

<sup>3</sup> Edited by Sabatier, *Bibl. Sacr. Latinae versiones antiquae*, ii. pp. 1017 ff.



# THE FIRST BOOK OF MACCABEES

## INTRODUCTION. I. 1-9.

### I. 1-4. *The Victory of Alexander the Great over the Persians, and the founding of his empire.*

1<sup>1</sup> And it came to pass after Alexander, the son of Philip the Macedonian<sup>a</sup>, who came from the land of Chittim, had smitten Darius, king of the Persians and Medes<sup>b</sup>, that he reigned in his stead<sup>c</sup>.  
 2, 3 And he waged many wars, and won strongholds<sup>d</sup>, and slew kings<sup>e</sup>, and pressed forward to the ends of the earth, and took spoils from many peoples<sup>f</sup>. But when the land was silenced<sup>g</sup> before him, <sup>h</sup>he became exalted<sup>h</sup>, and his heart was lifted up<sup>i</sup>. Then he gathered together <sup>k</sup>a very mighty army<sup>k</sup>, and ruled over lands and principalities<sup>l</sup>; and they became tributary unto him.

### I. 5-9. *The sickness and death of Alexander; the division of his empire.*

5, 6 And after these things he took to his<sup>m</sup> bed, and perceived that he was about to die. Then he called his chief ministers, men who had been brought up with him from his youth, and divided his kingdom among them while he was yet alive. And Alexander had reigned twelve years when he  
 8, 9 died. And his ministers ruled, each in his particular domain. And after he was dead they all

1. <sup>a</sup> + who first reigned in Greece  $\aleph^1$  <sup>b</sup> the repetition of the verb (*καὶ ἐπαρῆεν*) is not required; >  $\aleph^1$  <sup>c</sup> *επισημῶν* (*επισημῶν*  $\aleph^{loc}$  Luc) *ἐπι τὴν Ἑλλάδα* is probably a gloss; >  $\aleph^1$  <sup>d</sup> + many  $\aleph^2$  + all  $\aleph^1$  <sup>e-e</sup> >  $\aleph^{loc}$  <sup>f</sup> + of the earth N V  $\aleph^1$  <sup>g</sup> was silent and quiet  $\aleph^{loc}$  <sup>h-h</sup> >  $\aleph^{loc}$  <sup>i-i</sup> >  $\aleph$  <sup>k-k</sup> a strong and numerous host  $\aleph^{loc}$  <sup>l</sup> princes N <sup>m</sup> *αὐτοῦ* N A  $\aleph^2$

1. 1. **And it came to pass.** The Hebrew original of the book is indicated at the outset, *καὶ ἐγένετο* being the usual Septuagint rendering of *וַיְהִי*.

**Alexander the 'Great'**, 356-323 B.C., the third Macedonian king of this name.

**Chittim.** i.e. the people of the islands and coastlands of Greece, cp. Jer. ii. 10 *אֲרִי כִּי־יָם*. In Gen. x. 4 the *Chittim* are called 'sons of Javan' (Greece). They took their name originally, according to Phoenician inscriptions, from *Kiti* (the Greek *Kition*), the chief city on the island of Cyprus, now called Larnaca. The original colonists were Phoenicians, later on many Greeks settled down there, hence the term 'sons of Javan' applied to these *Chittim*.

**Darius.** The third of the name, known as Codomannus.

**he reigned in his stead.** Cp. Dan. viii. 21, where Alexander is spoken of as *יְהוֹרֵךְ יוֹן*, and xi. 2, where his kingdom is spoken of as *מַלְכוּת יוֹן*.

2. **kings.** Not to be taken in a literal sense, generals, governors, and the like, are meant.

3. **the ends of the earth.** A constant O.T. expression: *עַד אֶפְסֹס הָאָרֶץ*.

**his heart was lifted up.** Cp. Dan. xi. 12. *וַיִּרְם לִבּוֹ*.

4. **principalities.** The reading of  $\aleph$  (*κυρῆναι* for *κυραναίω*) is perhaps preferable; *satrapies* (or *satrap*), the Persian province is presumably meant, though in Esther ix. 3 a difference is made between the ruler of a province and a 'tyrannos' (*οἱ ἀρχαῖοι τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι*).

**they became tributary unto him.** In Judges i. 28 (= Sept. i. 30) this phrase occurs, but the Heb. *וַיְהִי לָטַם* = 'they were subject to task-work', cp. Gen. xlix. 15.

6. **chief ministers.** *παῖς* is used in 1 Sam. xix. 1 of the chief officers of Saul (*עֲבָדָיו*).

**brought up with him.** *τοὺς ἀνακρέβοντες αὐτοῦ*, cp. Acts xiii. 1 *Μανῆν τε Ἡρῶδου τοῦ τετραρχοῦ σύντροφος*.

**divided his kingdom.** . . . Grimm, *in loc.*, gives numerous references to ancient authors in which this is referred to, but shows that the statement is unhistorical; he says that the story was probably circulated by the partisans of the various Hellenic kings in order to make their assumption of kingship appear legitimate in the eyes of the people.

**while he was yet alive.** When one remembers how young Alexander was at his death, the improbability of the whole tradition is obvious. \* Greater likelihood attaches to the statement of Justin (xii. 15), Diodorus Siculus (xviii. 2), and Curtius (s. 5. 7), that when no longer able to speak, the dying Macedonian took off his signet-ring and handed it to Perdicas, the captain of his body-guard, in token of his desire that he should reign after him' (Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*; this is also referred to by Grimm); but as an hereditary monarchy existed in Macedonia (cp. τ. 9), this statement must also be regarded as unhistorical.

7. **he died.** He was taken ill with fever in the night of May 31, 323 B.C., and died eleven days after.

8. **And his ministers.** . . . This is a continuation of the unhistorical statement just referred to.

9. **they all assumed.** . . . This is inexact, as only five of Alexander's generals assumed the title of king, and that not till 306 B.C., seventeen years after his death.

## I MACCABEES I. 9-17

assumed the diadem, and their sons after them [did likewise; and this continued for] many years. And these wrought much evil on the earth.

### THE CAUSE OF THE MACCABAEAN REVOLT. I. 10-64.

#### I. 10-15. *Antiochus Epiphanes and the Hellenistic party in Judaea.*

10 And a sinful shoot came forth from them, Antiochus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the king, who had been a hostage in Rome, and had become king in the one hundred and thirty-seventh year of the Greek kingdom. In those days there came forth out of Israel lawless men, and persuaded many, saying: 'Let us go and make a covenant with the nations that are round about us; for since we separated ourselves from them many evils have come upon us.' And the saying appeared good in their eyes; and as certain of the people were eager (to carry this out), they went to the king, and he gave them authority to introduce the customs of the Gentiles. And they built a gymnasium in Jerusalem according to the manner of the Gentiles. They also submitted themselves to uncircumcision, and repudiated the holy covenant; yea, they joined themselves to the Gentiles, and sold themselves to do evil.

#### I. 16-19. *Antiochus subdues Egypt.*

16 And when, in the opinion of Antiochus, the kingdom was (sufficiently) established, he determined to exercise dominion also over the land of Egypt, in order that he might rule over two kingdoms. So he pushed forward into Egypt with an immense force; with chariots, and elephants

<sup>10-11</sup> N L<sup>1</sup> the prepuce S<sup>10c</sup>    <sup>11</sup> + the day Luc L<sup>2</sup>    <sup>12</sup> the king Luc S L<sup>2</sup>    <sup>13</sup> stadium S    <sup>14</sup> lit. they drew forward

**the diadem.** Cp. viii. 14, xi. 54; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. x. 1; a blue and white band which was worn around the Persian royal hat as a badge of royalty; to be distinguished from the crown worn on state occasions. The Heb. equivalent is צניף and צניפת. It was also worn by the Parthian kings, and by the Byzantine emperors.

**wrought much evil.** Heb. הרבוי לעשות הרע; cp. *Ecclus.* xlviii. 16 (Sept.; the Heb. is different).

**10. a sinful shoot.** Cp. *Ecclus.* xi. 15; in *Dan.* xi. 21 he is called a 'contemptible person'.

**Antiochus Epiphanes.** The fourth of the name; he seized the Syrian throne in 175 B. C., on the murder of his elder brother Seleucus IV; he died in 164 B. C. (cp. 1 *Macc.* vi. 1-16, 2 *Macc.* i. 10-17). The title 'Epiphanes' (the 'Illustrious') which he assumed on coming to the throne, was in mockery changed to 'Epimanes' (the 'Madman') on account of the outrageous acts of which he was guilty. On his coins are found the epithets Θεός and Νικηφόρος; the former title is applied to him by the Samaritans in their letter to him asking him to permit their temple to be called 'The Temple of Hellenus' (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. v. 5).

**the son of Antiochus.** i.e. the 'Great'; the third of the name, who reigned 223-187 B. C.

**who had been a hostage in Rome.** The reference is to Antiochus Epiphanes, who was sent as a hostage to Rome after the defeat of his father at the battle of Magnesia (190 B. C.); he remained in Rome for twelve years.

**in the . . . of the Greek kingdom.** The reference is to the Seleucid era, which began on October 1, 312 B. C., on the accession of Seleucus I (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7); the author of this book reckons according to the months of the Jewish calendar, according to which the year begins on the first of Nisan (April), so that his dates are all six months earlier than those of the Seleucid era.

**11. In those days.** An indefinite reference to date occurring very often in the O.T. as well as the N.T.; Heb. בימים ההם.

**there came forth . . .** Cp. *Deut.* xiii. 13 (14 in Sept.); the reference is to Jason, cp. vi. 13 and 2 *Macc.* iv. 7-10.

**make a covenant.** The regular Heb. phrase, ברית ברית. The object of this was, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1, *Roll. Ind.* I. v. 1), solely the acquisition of temporal advantage.

**since we separated ourselves . . .** The reference here cannot be to any particular time, for the observance of the Mosaic Law was the cause of this separation; it had always been intended to be the means of keeping Israelites free from the contamination of the Gentiles.

**many evils have come upon us.** Lit. 'have found us', thoroughly Hebraic, cp. e.g. *Deut.* xxxi. 21; תמצאן . . . רעות רבות.

**12. appeared good.** Cp. the Hebr. phrase, 'to do what is pleasing in the eyes of'; עשה הטוב בעיני which is of frequent occurrence in the O.T.

**13. and he gave them authority.** Cp. 2 *Macc.* iv. 9.

**14. And they built a gymnasium.** Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1), 2 *Macc.* iv. 9, 12.

**15. They also submitted . . .** See the rendering of the Syriac in the critical note; cp. 1 *Cor.* vii. 18. Those who submitted to this operation were called *Meshukim* (from a root meaning 'to draw back'), according to the Roman name, *Recutiti* (Grimm, *in loc.*).

**repudiated the holy covenant.** Since circumcision was the covenant-mark (*Gen.* xvii. 11), its obliteration was *ipso facto* the repudiation of the covenant.

**sold themselves to do evil.** Hebraism, cp. 1 *Kings* xxi. 20: התסגרד לעשות הרע.

**16. the kingdom . . . established.** Hebraism, cp. 1 *Kings* ii. 12: נתכן מלכותו.

**two kingdoms.** i.e. Syria and Egypt.

**17. with an immense force.** Lit. 'a heavy force'; Hebrew usage, cp. *Deut.* xi. 22-24: כבד קבד.



I MACCABEES 1. 18-36

18 and horsemen<sup>1</sup>, together with a great fleet<sup>2</sup>. And he waged war against Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. And Ptolemy turned back<sup>3</sup> from before him, and fled; <sup>4</sup>and there fell many wounded<sup>5</sup>.  
19 And they<sup>6</sup> captured the fortified cities in Egypt<sup>7</sup>; and he took the spoils from the land<sup>8</sup> of Egypt.

I. 20-28. *The Desecration of the Temple; slaughter of the Jews.*

20 And Antiochus, after he had smitten Egypt, returned in the one hundred and fifty-third year, forty  
21 and went up against Israel and<sup>9</sup> Jerusalem with a great army. And in (his) arrogance he entered into the sanctuary, and took the golden altar, <sup>10</sup>and the candlestick for the light<sup>11</sup>, and all its accessories, and the table of the shewbread, and the cups, and the bowls, and the golden censers<sup>12</sup>, and the veil, and the crowns, and the golden adornment on the façade of the Temple, and he scaled it all off.  
22 Moreover, he took the silver, and the gold, and the choice vessels; he also took the hidden treasures  
23 which he found. And having taken everything, he returned<sup>13</sup> to his own land<sup>14</sup>.  
24 'And there was great mourning in Israel<sup>15</sup> in every place;  
25 And<sup>16</sup> the rulers and elders groaned;  
26 Virgins and young men languished,  
27 And the beauty of the women faded away;  
28 Every bridegroom took up (his) lament,  
29 She that sat in the bridal-chamber mourned<sup>17</sup>.  
30 And the land was moved for her inhabitants,  
31 And all<sup>18</sup> the house of<sup>19</sup> Jacob was clothed with shame.'

I. 29-40. *Jerusalem occupied by Apollonius; massacre of the people; desecration of the Sanctuary.*

29 After the lapse of two years the king<sup>20</sup> sent a chief collector of tribute to the cities of Judah; and  
30 he came to Jerusalem with a great host. And he spoke unto them peaceful words in subtilty, so that they had confidence in him; but he fell upon the city suddenly, and smote it with a grievous  
31 stroke, and destroyed much people in Israel. And he took "the spoils of the city", and burned it  
32 with fire, and pulled down the houses thereof and the walls thereof<sup>21</sup> round about. And they led  
33 captive the women and the children, and "took possession of<sup>22</sup> the cattle. And they fortified the city of David with a great and strong wall with strong towers, so that it was made into a citadel for  
34 them. And they placed there a sinful nation, lawless men; and they strengthened themselves  
35 therein. And they stored up (there) arms and provisions, and collecting together the spoils of  
36 Jerusalem, they laid them up there. And it became a sore menace, for it was a place to lie in wait in against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel continually.

<sup>1</sup> > 64 <sup>2</sup> with great pomp S <sup>3</sup> N; ενετραπη A N<sup>c</sup>:<sup>a</sup> V (= E<sup>1</sup>) <sup>4</sup> > S<sup>2</sup> <sup>5</sup> fled N were slain S<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>6</sup> he S<sup>2</sup> E<sup>1</sup> <sup>7</sup> the land of Egypt A V 93 <sup>8</sup> > land N V <sup>9</sup> + went up against S<sup>100</sup> E<sup>1</sup> E<sup>1</sup> <sup>10</sup> > V <sup>11</sup> the instruments of the sacrifices and offerings S<sup>100</sup> <sup>12</sup> carried (them) V <sup>13</sup> + And he (A they) made a great slaughter and he (A they) spake with great arrogance; all authorities (ex: S<sup>2</sup>); + and he made a great slaughter S<sup>2</sup>, omitting the rest. The words have probably got out of place, and should come after v. 21. <sup>14</sup> Jerusalem 64 <sup>15</sup> Therefore S<sup>1</sup> N; εγενετο εν πειθει A V επειθησε Luc <sup>16</sup> > 93 <sup>17</sup> Antiochus the king Luc <sup>18</sup> > much spoil S<sup>2</sup> of Jerusalem S<sup>2</sup> <sup>19</sup> > N; + for themselves N<sup>c</sup>:<sup>a</sup> Luc S<sup>100</sup>

18. Ptolemy. The sixth of the name, Philometor, 181-146 B. C.; he was only sixteen years old at this time.  
there fell many wounded. The Hebrew equivalent יָצְאוּ מִן הַמָּלְאָכִים would imply that they were wounded to death (cp. R.V.), but in Greek the word has not this intensive force.  
20. went up against . . . Jerusalem. Cp. 2 Macc. v. 11 ff.  
21. the golden altar. Cp. Exod. xxx. 1-6.  
22. the candlestick. Cp. Exod. xxv. 31-9.  
23. the table of the shewbread. Cp. Exod. xxv. 23-30; cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* III. vi. 6.  
24. the hidden treasures. Cp. 2 Macc. iii. 10-12; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II. ix. 4.  
25-8. This lament was probably originally in poetical form, and is largely made up from the language of the O.T. poetical books. Cp. for some verses cast in a somewhat similar mode 2 (4) Esdras x. 22.  
25. great mourning. Cp. Job xxx. 31.  
26. the elders. Cp. Lam. i. 19, ii. 10.  
27. faded away. Cp. Sept. of Ps. cviii. 24, ἠλλοιώθη (cix. 24 in Hebr.).  
28. virgins and young men . . . Cp. Lam. i. 4, 18, ii. 10, 20.  
29. took up (his) lament. Cp. Sept. of Lam. v. 13 κλαυθμόν ἀνελθόν (the Heb. reads differently).  
30. clothed with shame. Cp. Job. viii. 22; Ps. xxxv. 26, cxxxii. 18.  
31. a chief collector of tribute. i. e. Apollonius, according to 2 Macc. v. 24.  
After the lapse of two years. Lit. 'After two years of days'; Heb. שְׁנַיִם שָׁנִים, cp. Gen. xli. 1.  
30. he spoke peaceful words. A Hebrew idiom: וְיִשְׁמְרוּךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ. Cp. Deut. ii. 26.  
he fell upon . . . suddenly. Cp. 2 Macc. v. 24 ff.  
33. into a citadel. εἰς ἄκραν, i. e. Acra.

I MACCABEES I. 37-54

- 37 And they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary,  
 And they defiled the sanctuary<sup>1</sup>;  
 38 And because of them the inhabitants of Jerusalem fled,  
 And she became a dwelling for strangers,  
 Being herself estranged to her offspring,  
 And her children forsook her.  
 39 Her sanctuary became desolate as a wilderness,  
 \*Her feasts were turned into mourning<sup>2</sup>,  
 Her sabbaths <sup>1</sup>into shame<sup>3</sup>,  
 Her honour<sup>4</sup> into contempt.  
 40 According as her glory<sup>5</sup> (had been) <sup>6</sup>so was (now) her dishonour increased<sup>7</sup>,  
 And her high estate was turned to mourning<sup>8</sup>.

I. 41-53. *Edict of Antiochus, forbidding Jewish Worship.*

41. 42 And the king<sup>9</sup> wrote unto his whole kingdom, that all should be one people, and that every one  
 should give up his [religious] usages. And all <sup>10</sup>the nations<sup>11</sup> acquiesced<sup>12</sup> in accordance with the com-  
 43 mand of the king. And many in Israel took delight in <sup>13</sup>his (form of) worship<sup>14</sup>, and they began  
 44 sacrificing to idols; and profaned the sabbath<sup>15</sup>. Furthermore, the king sent letters<sup>16</sup> by the hand of  
 45 <sup>17</sup>foreign<sup>18</sup> to (the traditions of) the land<sup>19</sup>, and that they should cease the (sacrificing of) whole burnt  
 offerings<sup>20</sup>, and sacrifices, and drink offerings in the sanctuary, and that they should profane the sabbaths  
 46. 47 and feasts, and pollute the sanctuary and <sup>21</sup>those who had been sanctified<sup>22</sup>; that they should (more-  
 over) build high places, and sacred groves, and <sup>23</sup>shrines for idols<sup>24</sup>, and that they should sacrifice  
 48 swine and (other) unclean<sup>25</sup> animals; and that they should leave their sons uncircumcized, and make  
 49 themselves abominable by means of (practising) everything that was unclean and profane, so that  
 50 they might forget the Law, and change all the (traditional) ordinances. And whosoever should not  
 51 act according to the word of the king, should die. In this manner did he write unto the whole<sup>26</sup> of  
 his kingdom: and he appointed overseers<sup>27</sup> over all the people; and he commanded the cities of Judah  
 52 to sacrifice, every one of them. And many of the people joined themselves unto them, all<sup>28</sup> those  
 53 [namely] who had forsaken the Law; these did evil<sup>29</sup> in the land, and caused Israel to hide in all  
 manner of hiding-places.

I. 54-64. *Idolatry forced upon the people of Judah; destruction of copies of the Scriptures; massacre of Israelites.*

- 54 And on the fifteenth<sup>30</sup> day<sup>31</sup> of Chisleu in the one hundred and forty-fifth<sup>32</sup> year they set up upon the  
 altar an <sup>33</sup>abomination of desolation<sup>34</sup>, and in the cities of Judah on every side they established high-

<sup>1</sup> + of the Lord V. <sup>2</sup> -> S<sup>2</sup>. <sup>3</sup> -> N but added by N<sup>2</sup>. <sup>4</sup> humiliation 19. <sup>5</sup> plur. in S<sup>2</sup> L<sup>1</sup>. <sup>6</sup> her children N<sup>2</sup>. <sup>7</sup> -> the land was filled with shame N. <sup>8</sup> humiliation 64 S<sup>10c</sup>. <sup>9</sup> + Antiochus L. <sup>10</sup> -> S<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup>. <sup>11</sup> = the worship of the king S<sup>2</sup>. <sup>12</sup> sanctuary A<sup>2</sup> sabbath A<sup>2</sup>. <sup>13</sup> > 64 93. <sup>14</sup> -> of the Gentiles in the land L. <sup>15</sup> > 93. <sup>16</sup> -> the holy things S<sup>2</sup> L<sup>2</sup>. <sup>17</sup> -> idols A V<sup>2</sup> S<sup>2</sup> L. <sup>18</sup> all N<sup>2</sup> (unclean N<sup>2</sup>-<sup>2</sup>). <sup>19</sup> > A V S<sup>2</sup> L. <sup>20</sup> + over all his kingdom and S<sup>2</sup>. <sup>21</sup> all S<sup>2</sup> L<sup>1</sup>. <sup>22</sup> much evil 64 93. <sup>23</sup> twenty-fifth S<sup>2</sup>. <sup>24</sup> + in the month Luc forty-fifth A.

37-40. Another lament in poetical form originally, the language of which is again largely borrowed from that of the O.T. poetical books.

37. they shed innocent blood. Cp. Ps. lxxix. 3.

they defiled the sanctuary. Cp. Ps. lxxix. 1.

38. a dwelling for strangers. Cp. Ps. liv. 3; Lam. v. 2.

Being herself estranged. Cp. Lam. i. 1.

her children forsook her. Cp. Lam. i. 5.

39. Her feasts . . . Cp. Amos viii. 10.

Her sabbaths into shame. Cp. Lam. ii. 6.

40. And her high estate . . . Cp. Lam. ii. 9, 10.

41. one people. i.e. as regards religious practice.

44. letters. Βασιλῆα, Heb. שְׁפָרָה.

47. swine and unclean animals. i.e. animals holy to heathen gods and goddesses; the pig and the hare were holy to Astarte, and as holy animals occupied an important place in the religions of Greece and Asia Minor.

51. appointed overseers. Cp. 2 Macc. v. 22.

54. the fifteenth day of Chisleu. We should read here with S<sup>2</sup> 'the twenty-fifth day', see v. 59. Chisleu is the ninth month of the Hebrew calendar (= December approximately).

the one hundred and forty-fifth year. i.e. 168 B.C.

an abomination of desolation. Cp. Dan. vi. 31, xii. 11; i.e. the abomination which brought about profanation (= desolation); it was a small heathen altar which was set up on the altar of burnt-offering, see v. 59.



I MACCABEES I. 55—2. 14

55. 56 places; and \*they offered sacrifice\* at the doors of the houses and in the streets. And the books of  
 57 the Law which they found they \*rent in pieces, and\* burned them in the fire. And with whomsoever  
 was found a book of the covenant, and if he was (found) consenting unto the Law, such an one was,  
 58 according to the king's sentence<sup>f</sup>, condemned to death. Thus did they in their might to the Israelites  
 59 who were found\* mouth by mouth in their\* cities. And on the twenty-fifth day of the month they  
 60 sacrificed upon the altar which was upon the altar of burnt-offering. And, according to the decree<sup>h</sup>,  
 61 they put to death the women who had circumcised their children, hanging their babes round their  
 (mothers') necks, and they put to death their (entire) families<sup>g</sup>, together with those who had circum-  
 62 cised them. Nevertheless many in Israel stood firm<sup>d</sup> and determined in their hearts<sup>e</sup> that they would  
 63 not eat unclean things, and chose rather to die so that they might not be defiled with meats, thereby  
 64 profaning the holy covenant<sup>f</sup>; and they did die. And exceeding great wrath came upon Israel.

MATTATHIAS. II. 1-70.

II. 1-5. *The Genealogy of the Maccabees.*

2<sup>1</sup> In those days rose up Mattathias, the son of John, the son of Simeon, a priest of the sons of  
 2 Joarib, from Jerusalem; and he dwelt at Modin. And he had five sons: John, who was surnamed  
 3, 4, 5 Gaddis; Simon, who was called Thassis; Judas, who was called Maccabaeus; Eleazar, who was  
 called Auaran; and Jonathan, who was called Aphphus.

II. 6-14. *A Dirge over the desecration of the Holy City.*

6, 7 And he saw the blasphemous things that were done in Judah and in Jerusalem, and said, 'Woe is  
 me, why was I born to behold the ruin of my people and the ruin<sup>a</sup> of the holy city, and to sit still  
 there while it was being given into the hand of enemies, and the sanctuary<sup>b</sup> into the hand of  
 strangers?'  
 8 <sup>c</sup>Her house<sup>d</sup> is become like (that of) a man dishonoured<sup>ee</sup>;  
 9 <sup>f</sup>Her glorious vessels are carried away captive;  
 Her infants have been slain in her streets,  
 Her young men with the sword of the enemy.  
 10 What nation hath the kingdom not taken possession of,  
 (Of what nation) hath it not seized the spoils?  
 11 Her adornment hath all been taken away,  
<sup>g</sup>Instead of a free woman she is become a slave<sup>g</sup>.  
 12 And, behold, our holy things, and our beauty, and our glory have been laid waste,  
 13 And the heathen have profaned them! To what purpose should we continue to live?  
 14 And Mattathias and his sons rent their garments, and covered themselves with sackcloth, and  
 mourned greatly.

<sup>a</sup> = they burned incense and offered sacrifice <sup>b</sup> they burned incense <sup>c</sup> <sup>x</sup> > <sup>s</sup> <sup>f</sup> edict <sup>h</sup> <sup>+</sup> and they led them away by force <sup>g</sup> <sup>+</sup> V; the <sup>h</sup> A & c. <sup>b</sup> the command of the king <sup>s</sup> the command of king Antiochus <sup>g</sup> <sup>c</sup> houses <sup>N</sup> V their entire houses <sup>L</sup> (<sup>s</sup> = A) + and plundered <sup>N</sup> <sup>c</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>d</sup> were hanged A 19 <sup>+</sup> > 19 <sup>s</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>c</sup> the holy Law of God <sup>L</sup> <sup>2</sup>

II. <sup>a</sup> > 19 93 <sup>s</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>L</sup> <sup>b</sup> her sanctified ones <sup>s</sup> <sup>+</sup> were delivered <sup>s</sup> <sup>c</sup> = T.R. <sup>L</sup> <sup>2</sup>; Her temple was like an illustrious man <sup>N</sup> A V <sup>s</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>L</sup>. They did clothe her temple with glory as a man (*is clothed*) <sup>s</sup> <sup>d</sup> people 93 <sup>+</sup> 19 <sup>L</sup> <sup>f</sup> + And now Luc <sup>g</sup> = Her freedom is become bondage <sup>s</sup> <sup>10</sup>

55. at the doors of the houses. The reference is to sacrifices offered to the 'deities of the street', i. e. images of Greek gods which stood in the porches of houses.

56. the books of the Law. i. e. rolls of the Pentateuch.

58. to the Israelites who were found. A literal translation of the Hebrew לְיִשְׂרָאֵל הַנִּמְצְאִים.

63. and chose rather to die. Cp. 2 Macc. vi, vii.

II. 1. In those days . . . Cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vi. 1.

the son of Simeon. Josephus adds τοῦ Ἀσμοναίου, from whom the adjectival form of the family name, Asmonaeus or Hasmonaeus, was derived; the name does not occur in the books of the Maccabees, though Josephus often uses it, and it is found in the Mishnah (*Middoth* i. 6), and frequently in the Gemara (e.g. *Sabbath* 21 b, *Baba Kama* 82 b), where the name Hasmonaeans is always used for Maccabaeans.

the sons of Joarib. Cp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 ff.

Modin. Cp. v. 70, xiii. 25. The present El-Medije, east of Lydda.

4. Maccabaeus. See Introduction.

7. The holy city. שֶׁרָקַדְתָּ יְיָ *Isa.* xlviii. 3; cp. 2 Macc. i. 12, iii. 1, ix. 14.

8-12. Another dirge in poetical form.

14. rent their garments . . . The usual signs of mourning in the East, see further Nowack, *Hebräische Archäologie* 1. 192 ff.

## I MACCABEES 2. 15-32

### II. 15-28. *The commencement of the Maccabean Revolt.*

15 And the king's officers who were enforcing the apostasy came to the city of Modin <sup>b</sup>to make them  
 16 sacrifice<sup>a</sup>. And many from Israel went unto them; but Mattathias and his sons<sup>1</sup> gathered themselves  
 17 together. Then the king's officers answered and spake unto Mattathias, saying: 'A ruler art thou,  
 18 and illustrious and great in this city, and upheld by sons and brothers. Do thou, therefore, come  
 first, and carry out the king's command, as all the nations have done, and all the people<sup>2</sup> of Judah,  
 and they that have remained in Jerusalem; then shalt thou<sup>1</sup> and <sup>m</sup>thy house<sup>m</sup> be (numbered among)  
 the friends of the king, and thou and thy sons shall be honoured with silver and gold, and with many  
 19 gifts.' Thereupon Mattathias answered and said with a loud voice: 'If all the nations that are  
 within the king's dominions obey him by forsaking, <sup>n</sup>every one of them<sup>n</sup>, the worship of their fathers,  
 20 and have chosen for themselves to follow his commands, yet will I and my sons and my brethren  
 21 walk in the covenant of our fathers. Heaven forbid that we should forsake the Law and the ordi-  
 22 nances; (but) the law<sup>o</sup> of the king we will not obey by departing from our worship either to the  
 23 right hand or to the left.' And as he<sup>p</sup> ceased speaking <sup>q</sup>these words<sup>q</sup>, a Jew came forward in the  
 24 sight of all to sacrifice<sup>r</sup> upon the altar in Modin in accordance with the king's command. And  
 when Mattathias saw it, 'his zeal was kindled<sup>s</sup>, and his heart quivered (with wrath); and his indig-  
 25 nation burst forth for judgement, so that he ran and slew him on the altar; and 'at the same time'<sup>t</sup>  
 26 he [also] killed the king's officer who had come to enforce the sacrificing, pulled down the altar, and  
 [thus] showed forth his zeal for the Law, just as Phinehas had done in the case of Zimri the son of  
 27 Salom. And Mattathias cried out with a loud voice in the city, saying, 'Let everyone that is  
 28 zealous for the Law and that would maintain the covenant come forth after me!' And he and his  
 sons fled unto the mountains, and left all that they possessed in the city.

### II. 29-38. *A strict observance of the Sabbath results in the massacre of a thousand Jewish people.*

29 At that time many who were seeking righteousness and judgement went down to the wilderness to  
 30 abide there, they and their sons, and their wives, and their cattle; for misfortunes <sup>u</sup>fell hardly<sup>u</sup> upon  
 31 them. And it was reported to the king's officers and to the troops that were in Jerusalem, the city  
 of David, that men who had set at nought the king's command<sup>v</sup> had gone down into hiding-places  
 32 in the wilderness. And many ran after them, and having overtaken them, <sup>w</sup>they encamped against

<sup>b-h</sup>to sacrifice 64  $\mathbb{L}^2$ ; + and burn incense and forsake the Law of God  $\mathbb{L}^1$  <sup>1</sup>they that were with him 64 93  
<sup>k</sup>rulers N V <sup>1</sup>+ and thy sons V 64 <sup>m-m</sup>and thy sons N<sup>o-a</sup>  $\mathbb{S} \mathbb{L}$  <sup>n-n</sup>>  $\mathbb{S} \text{Luc}$  <sup>o</sup>the word N V Luc  
<sup>p</sup>Mattathias 64 93 <sup>q-q</sup>> N (*hab* N<sup>o-b</sup>) <sup>r</sup>to burn incense  $\Delta \mathbb{S} \mathbb{R}$  <sup>s-s</sup>>  $\mathbb{S} \mathbb{R}$  places this after quivered <sup>t-t</sup>>  $\mathbb{L}$   
<sup>u-u</sup>+ and were multiplied N<sup>o-a</sup> were multiplied V <sup>v-v</sup>counsel N <sup>w-w</sup>>  $\mathbb{S} \text{Luc} \mathbb{L}^1$

18. **the friends of the king.** There were, according to Polybius (xxx. 3. 7), two orders of royal favourites under the Graeco-Syrian kings, viz. those of the 'Companions' and the 'Friends'; these occupied the position of a military aristocracy. Cp. x. 65, xi. 27; 2 Macc. viii. 9.

19. **the king's dominions.** *ἐν αἰσῶν τῆς βασιλείας τοῦ βασιλέως*, cp. Amos vii. 13 *αἶσος βασιλείας*, *בית מטרלה*, in reference to Bethel.

**have chosen for themselves.** Cp. 2 Chron. xxix. 11 (Sept.).

21. **Heaven forbid.** *ἄρατος = הלא י*, cp. 2 Sam. xx. 20.

22. **either to the right hand or to the left.** Cp. 2 Sam. xiv. 19.

24. **his heart.** Lit. 'his kidneys', the seat of the emotions and affections, cp. Ps. lxxiii. 21 *ובליותי אשהונו*, 'for my kidneys were in a ferment.'

**for judgement.** Heb. *כגזר*; what, according to the statute, he was bound to do.

**and slew him.** Cp. Deut. xiii. 9; 2 Chron. xxx. 16.

26. **as Phineas had done . . .** Cp. Num. xxv. 7, 8.

27. **Let everyone . . . come forth after me.** Grimm quotes (from Livy xxii. 53) the cry of the Roman patriots in time of danger: *Qui rempublicam salvam volunt me sequantur*.

28. **fled unto the mountains.** This would enable him, with a comparatively small number of followers, to defy almost any force that might be brought against him, an attacking party being always at a great disadvantage in mountain warfare.

29. **righteousness and judgement.** Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 14, xvii. 2; righteousness (*צדקה*) = ethical right-doing; judgement (*משפט*) = sense of justice; the technical terms are 'to do (*עשה*) righteousness', and 'to keep (*שמר*) judgement', cp. Isa. lvi. 1; the terms are generally used in the reverse order, and rightly so as the more logical; the inward sense of justice has as its result outward acts of righteousness; this is also borne out by the verbs used, 'to keep,' 'to do.'

**the wilderness.** i. e. the wilderness of Judaea, west of the Dead Sea; it was called Jeshimon, cp. 1 Sam. xxiii. 19, 24, xxvi. 13, meaning 'desolation'.

30. **their cattle.** In the wilderness of Tekoa, which lay to the north of the district just mentioned, there was sufficient vegetation to support cattle, cp. Amos i. 1, vii. 14.

31. **hiding-places in the wilderness.** Cp. 1 Sam. xxiv. 3; Isa. xlii. 22.



I MACCABEES 2. 33-42

- 33 them, and<sup>7</sup> set the battle in array against them on the Sabbath day. And they said unto them:  
 "Let it suffice now"; come forth, and do according to the command of the king, and ye shall live.  
 34 And they answered, "We will not come forth, nor will we do according to the command of the king,  
 35 and thereby profane the Sabbath day. Thereupon they immediately attacked them. But they  
 36 answered them not, nor did they cast a stone at them, nor even block up their hiding-places, saying:  
 "Let us all die in our innocency; Heaven and earth bear us witness that ye destroy us wrongfully"<sup>a</sup>.  
 37 And they attacked them on the Sabbath; and they died, they and their wives, and their children,  
 and their cattle, about a thousand souls.

II. 39-48. *Mattathias, supported by the Chasidim, continues the war with success.*

- 39, 40 And when Mattathias and his friends knew<sup>b</sup> it they mourned greatly for them. And one said to  
 another, "If we all do as our brethren have done, and do not fight against the Gentiles for our lives  
 41 and our ordinances, they will soon destroy us from off the earth." And they took counsel on that  
 day, saying, "Whosoever attacketh us on the Sabbath day, let us fight against him, that we may not in  
 42 any case all die, as our brethren died in their hiding-places." Then were there gathered unto them  
 "a company of the Chasidim"<sup>c</sup>, mighty men of Israel who willingly offered themselves for the Law.

<sup>a</sup> Do ye resist still even now? **L**    <sup>b</sup> uncharitably **S**    <sup>c</sup> heard **S**<sup>100</sup>    <sup>e</sup> the whole company of Jews **N V**

32. on the Sabbath day. From the words in v. 33 it is evident that the enemy had no desire of taking a mean advantage by fighting on a day on which they knew the Jews would make no resistance.

34. and thereby profane the Sabbath day. The profanation of the Sabbath would, according to the preceding words, consist in coming forth and doing according to the command of the king; i.e. the command of the king was that they should come forth and submit themselves. This the Jews would not have done at any time, but to do so on the Sabbath would have been an aggravation of the offence, since, apart from the act of renegades which submission would, under the circumstances, have implied, the coming forth with their belongings would, in itself, have constituted a breaking of the Sabbath.

35. nor did they cast a stone. i.e. there was not even the semblance of resistance.

37. in our innocency. ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι ἡμῶν, i.e. 'in our integrity' (ἰσ); cp. Ps. xxvi. 1, 11, xxv. 21, xli. 13.

wrongfully. Cp. xv. 33 where R.V. renders ἀκρίτως 'wrongfully'; this is a better rendering than 'without trial' as R.V. translates here, for the revolt having been entered upon by the events recorded in vv. 15-28, the idea of a trial is out of the question. Cp. Ps. lxxix. 4, 'They that would cut me off, being mine enemies wrongfully, are mighty.'

38. they attacked them. This hardly bears out the statement of Josephus: 'they burned them as they were in the caves without resistance, and without so much as stopping up the entrances of the caves' (*Antiq.* XII. vi. 2).

and they died . . . about a thousand souls. Josephus adds: 'But many of those that escaped joined themselves to Mattathias, and appointed him to be their ruler, who taught them to fight, even on the Sabbath day' (*ibid.*), cp. xv. 40, 41.

39. they mourned greatly for them. ἔως σφόδρα = ערררר; ἐπ' αὐτούς, the verb אכזב ('to mourn') is usually followed by על ('upon' or 'over').

40. and one said to another. καὶ εἶπεν ἀνὴρ πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ is another Hebraism: אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵו.

41. and they took counsel . . . Cp. ix. 44 ff., xi. 34, 43 ff.; the counsel ('Whosoever attacks . . .') taken was a modification of the Law; but, as a matter of fact, the Written Law did not forbid necessary labour on the Sabbath. What we have here is an ordinance of the Oral Law, framed by the rigid legalists as the interpretation of the Written Law. The mention of the *Chasidim* in the next verse is significant, as they were responsible, in large measure, for the strict interpretation of the Written Law. The passage shows that the party of the *Chasidim* was already in existence, and was not created by the persecution under Antiochus; see next note.

42. a company of the Chasidim. The *Ἀσιδαῖοι* (= חסידים) are here referred to as though well known, a fact which further substantiates what was said in the preceding note. The *Chasidim* ('pious') were those, frequently referred to in some of the later Psalms (e.g. xli. 2, xxx. 4, xxxi. 23, xxxvii. 28, cxlix. 1-9), who remained true to the traditions and customs of their fathers when, in the third century B.C. and onwards, the Jews of the Dispersion, and also of Palestine, were becoming lax in their observance of orthodox Judaism owing to the rise of the Hellenistic spirit. They were animated by a hatred of everything and everyone that savoured of Hellenism, for, according to them, this implied unfaithfulness to the God of Israel. Although in existence beforehand, it was only during the Maccabean struggle that they commenced to play an important rôle in the political life of the nation. In 1, 2 Macc. they are referred to three times; the data regarding their characteristics seem, at first sight, to be conflicting. In 1 Macc. ii. 43, 44 they are described as warlike; in vii. 12-14 they appear as the peaceful party, while in 2 Macc. xiv. 6 they are said to 'keep up war, and are seditious, not suffering the kingdom to find tranquillity'. It is probable that these descriptions both witness to the true facts of the case; the natural inclination of these strict observers of the Law would obviously be in the direction of peace; but as soon as they realized that the cherished object of their existence was imperilled, it behoved them to be up and doing. This is borne out by what we read in the Psalms concerning them, for at one time they are spoken of as peaceful worshippers (xxx. 4), and as the lovers of the Lord (xxxi. 23, xxxvii. 28); while at another time they are represented as warriors zealous for the honour of God, and fighting His enemies (cxlix. 6-9). It is not without significance that after the Maccabean struggle, when the victory for orthodox Judaism had been won, nothing further is heard of the *Chasidim*. They seem to have gradually developed into the Pharisaic party, which was characterized by the same zeal for the Law (cp. Moritz Friedländer, *Geschichte der Jüdischen Apologik*, pp. 316 ff., 464 ff.).

mighty men of Israel. Cp. 1 Chron. vii. 2, 7 (Sept.).

I MACCABEES 2. 43-66

43 every one of them. And all they that fled from the evils were added unto them, and reinforced  
 44 them. And they mustered a host, and smote sinners in their anger, and lawless men in their wrath;  
 45 and the rest fled to the Gentiles to save themselves. And Mattathias and his friends<sup>a</sup> went round  
 46 about<sup>b</sup>, and pulled down altars<sup>c</sup>, and they circumcised by force the children that were uncircumcised,  
 47 as many as they<sup>d</sup> found<sup>e</sup> within the borders<sup>f</sup> of Israel. And they pursued after the sons of pride,  
 48 and the<sup>g</sup> work prospered in their hand. And they rescued<sup>h</sup> the Law out of the hand of the  
 Gentiles, and<sup>i</sup> out of the hand<sup>j</sup> of the<sup>k</sup> kings, neither suffered they the sinner to triumph.

II. 49-70. *The last words of Mattathias; his death.*

49 And the days drew near that Mattathias should die, and he said unto his sons: 'Now have pride  
 50 and rebuke<sup>a</sup> gotten strength and a season of destruction and wrath of indignation. And now (my)  
 51 children, be zealous for the Law, and give your lives for the covenant of your<sup>b</sup> fathers<sup>c</sup>. <sup>d</sup>And call  
 to mind the deeds of the<sup>e</sup> fathers<sup>f</sup> which they did in<sup>g</sup> their generations<sup>h</sup>; <sup>i</sup>that ye may receive<sup>j</sup>  
 52 great glory and an everlasting name. Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was  
 53 reckoned unto him for<sup>k</sup> righteousness? Joseph, in the time of his distress, kept the commandment,  
 54 and became lord of Egypt. Phinchas our father for that he was zealous exceedingly, obtained the  
 55 covenant<sup>l</sup> of an everlasting<sup>m</sup> priesthood. Joshua, for fulfilling the word<sup>n</sup>, became a judge in Israel.  
 56 Caleb, for bearing witness in<sup>o</sup> the congregation, obtained<sup>p</sup> land (as) an heritage<sup>q</sup>. David, for being  
 57 merciful, inherited<sup>r</sup> the throne of<sup>s</sup> a kingdom for ever and ever<sup>t</sup>. Elijah, for that he was exceeding  
 58 zealous for the Law, was taken up into heaven<sup>u</sup>. Hananiah, Azariah (and) Mishaël, believing (in  
 59 God)<sup>v</sup>, were saved from the flame. Daniel, for his innocency, was delivered from the mouth of the  
 60 lions<sup>w</sup>. And thus consider ye<sup>x</sup> from generation to generation<sup>y</sup>;—all who hope in Him shall want for  
 61 nothing. And<sup>z</sup> be not afraid of the words of a sinful man, for his glory [shall be]<sup>aa</sup> dung and worms<sup>ab</sup>.  
 62 To-day he shall be lifted up, and to-morrow<sup>ac</sup> he shall in no wise be found, because he is returned  
 63 unto his dust, and his thought is perished. <sup>ad</sup>And ye<sup>ae</sup>, (my) children, be strong and show yourselves  
 64 men<sup>af</sup> on behalf of the<sup>ag</sup> Law<sup>ah</sup>; for therein shall ye obtain glory. And behold Simeon your<sup>ai</sup> brother,  
 65 I know that he is a man of counsel<sup>aj</sup>; give ear unto him alway<sup>ak</sup>; he shall be a father unto you. And

<sup>a</sup>sons A: they that were with him <sup>b</sup>commanded N <sup>c</sup>their altars AV <sup>d</sup>he AV <sup>e</sup>among the  
 sons N <sup>f</sup>their 19 <sup>g</sup>took S# <sup>h</sup>> 64 <sup>i</sup>their N<sup>c</sup> 64 93 <sup>j</sup>famine S# <sup>k</sup>our A <sup>l</sup>> S<sup>ac</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>> 71 <sup>n</sup>our A <sup>o</sup>first ones S# <sup>p</sup>> A <sup>q</sup>and ye shall receive S<sup>2</sup> <sup>r</sup>> A <sup>s</sup>the lot of  
 a covenant N <sup>t</sup>holy A > 71 <sup>u</sup>words Luc. <sup>v</sup>of the Lord S<sup>1</sup> <sup>w</sup>> A <sup>x</sup>the heritage N S<sup>1</sup> a heritage of  
 land V a land of heritage S<sup>ac</sup> <sup>y</sup>> 71 <sup>z</sup>an everlasting kingdom A 71 <sup>aa</sup>verses 59-63 are omitted by 71  
<sup>ab</sup>S<sup>1</sup> <sup>ac</sup>John N 64 <sup>ad</sup>according to generation A <sup>ae</sup>> S<sup>ac</sup> <sup>af</sup>Luc <sup>ag</sup>a worm 19 S<sup>ac</sup> S<sup>1</sup> <sup>ah</sup>> A <sup>ai</sup>>  
 N (his) N<sup>c</sup> <sup>aj</sup>> 71 <sup>ak</sup>your A <sup>al</sup>our 93 <sup>am</sup>good counsel S<sup>1</sup> counsel and intelligence S <sup>an</sup>> S<sup>1</sup>

44. sinners . . . lawless men. i. e. the renegade Israelites.  
 46. the children . . . Israel. An eloquent witness to the way in which the Hellenistic spirit had influenced the  
 Jews. The same applies to the mention of altars (i. e. idol-altars), for these verses evidently refer to Jews, cp. the  
 words of Josephus: ' . . . and overthrew their idol-altars, and slew those that broke the laws, even all that he could  
 bring under his power, for many of them were dispersed among the nations round about them for fear of him (i. e.  
 Mattathias).'  
 47. sons of pride. Hebraism, cp. 'sons of tumult' (פְּנֵי חַיִּים) Jer. xlviii. 45; the reference is to the Syrians;  
 cp. 1. 21.  
 48. neither suffered they the sinner to triumph. οὐκ ἔδωκαν κέρως τῷ ἀμαρτωλῷ, Hebraism; cp. Ps. lxxv. 5.  
 49. And the days drew near . . . A frequent O.T. figure for strength.  
 50 ff. With this enumeration of the deeds of the fathers, cp. Eccles. xlv-xlix.  
 51. an everlasting name. On the ideas connected with this cp. the writer's *Life, Death, and Immortality*;  
*Studies in the Psalms*, Lecture III.  
 52. . . in temptation. Cp. Gen. xxii. 1.  
 53. reckoned unto . . . Cp. Gen. xv. 6.  
 54. kept the commandment. Cp. Gen. xxxix. 9.  
 55. was zealous exceedingly. Cp. Num. xxv. 7, 13.  
 56. a judge. שֹׁפֵט in the sense of 'ruler', cp. Mic. iv. 14.  
 57. for bearing witness . . . Cp. Num. xiii. 31, xiv. 24; Joshua xiv. 14.  
 58. the throne of a kingdom. Cp. 2 Sam. vii. 16.  
 59. exceeding zealous . . . Cp. 1 Kings xviii. 40, xix. 10.  
 was taken up . . . Cp. 2 Kings ii. 11.  
 60. Hananiah . . . Cp. Dan. i. 6 ff.  
 believing. Cp. Dan. iii. 17.  
 61. . . of the lions. Cp. Dan. vi. 22.  
 62. shall want for nothing. Cp. Ps. xxxiv. 10.  
 63. To-day . . . Cp. Ps. cxlvi. 3, 4; Eccles. x. 10.  
 64. Be strong . . . Cp. Joshua x. 25; 1 Sam. iv; 1 Kings ii. 2.



I MACCABEES 2. 67—3. 11

Judas Maccabaeus, he<sup>a</sup> hath been strong and mighty<sup>b</sup> "from his youth"<sup>c</sup>; he shall be your captain and  
67 shall fight<sup>d</sup> the battle<sup>e</sup> of the people<sup>f</sup>. And ye, take you unto you all those who observe the Law,  
68 and avenge the wrong of your people. "Render a recompense to the Gentiles, and take heed to the  
commandments of the Law."

69, 70 And he blessed them, and was gathered unto his<sup>g</sup> fathers. "And he<sup>h</sup> died in the one hundred and  
forty-sixth<sup>i</sup> year<sup>j</sup>; "and his sons buried him<sup>k</sup> "in the sepulchres<sup>l</sup> of his fathers<sup>m</sup> at Modin; "and  
all Israel made great lamentation for him<sup>n</sup>.

JUDAS MACCABAEUS. III. 1—IX. 22.

III. 1—9. *A Song of praise in honour of Judas Maccabaeus.*

- 3 1, 2 And his son Judas, <sup>1</sup>who was called<sup>1</sup> Maccabaeus, rose up in his stead.  
And all his brethren helped him,  
And all they that clave unto<sup>m</sup> his father,  
And they fought with gladness the battle of Israel.  
3 And he<sup>n</sup> extended the glory<sup>o</sup> of his people<sup>o</sup>,  
And put on a breastplate as a giant,  
And girt on his weapons of war.  
<sup>2</sup>He set battles in array,  
He protected<sup>q</sup> the army with the sword<sup>rp</sup>.  
4 And he was like a lion in his<sup>r</sup> deeds:  
And as a lion's whelp roaring for prey,  
5 He pursued the lawless, seeking them out,  
And burnt up those that troubled<sup>s</sup> his people<sup>s</sup>.  
6 And the lawless lost heart for fear of him,  
And all the workers of lawlessness were sore troubled;  
'And deliverance prospered in his hand.'  
7 And he angered many<sup>t</sup> kings,  
And made Jacob<sup>u</sup> glad with his acts.  
And his memorial is blessed for ever.  
8 And he went about among the cities of Judah,  
And destroyed the ungodly<sup>v</sup> thereout<sup>v</sup>,  
And turned away wrath from Israel.  
9 And he was renowned unto the utmost part of the earth,  
And gathered together<sup>w</sup> those who were perishing<sup>w</sup>.

III. 10—26. *Victories of Judas Maccabaeus over Apollonius and Seron.*

10 "And Apollonius gathered<sup>b</sup> the Gentiles<sup>c</sup> together, and<sup>d</sup> a great host from Samaria, to fight  
11 against Israel. And Judas perceived it, and went forth to meet him, and smote him, and slew him;

<sup>a</sup> > N Luc <sup>v</sup> in might A <sup>w-w</sup> > 71 <sup>2</sup>ye shall fight A <sup>2</sup> battles Luc <sup>3</sup> for the people 7: E<sup>1</sup> S <sup>4</sup> > this v. 71  
<sup>b</sup> their N<sup>1</sup> (his N<sup>2</sup>) <sup>c-c</sup> > 71 <sup>d</sup> Mattathias Luc <sup>e</sup> forty-eight N S<sup>1</sup> or <sup>f</sup> + of the kingdom Luc <sup>g</sup> he was  
buried N 71 E<sup>1</sup> <sup>h-h</sup> > 71 <sup>i</sup> sepulchre Luc <sup>k-k</sup> > 71

111. 1-1 > S<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup> followed 64 <sup>n</sup> Judas Luc E<sup>1</sup> <sup>o-o</sup> by his word V <sup>p-p</sup> So that they fell in the battle;  
and he raised up shields against the fortresses S<sup>1</sup> <sup>q-q</sup> with his sword in battle V <sup>r</sup> > N <sup>s-s</sup> > A <sup>t-t</sup> > 9;  
<sup>u</sup> > 93 S<sup>1</sup> <sup>x</sup> Israel Luc <sup>y</sup> kings 64 <sup>z</sup> thereon A <sup>aa</sup> Apollonius (as subject) V<sup>a</sup> <sup>bb</sup> > V<sup>a</sup> <sup>c</sup> > 19 <sup>d</sup> > S<sup>1</sup>

68. Render a recompense. Cp. Ps. cxxxvi. 11 (Sept.).

69. and was gathered . . . A regular O.T. phrase, cp. e.g. Gen. xxv. 8; Deut. xxxii. 50, cp. also Acts xiii. 36.

70. in the one hundred and forty-sixth year. i.e. 167-166 B.C.

III. 1. Judas. Hebr. יהודא.

who was called Maccabaeus. Cp. ii. 4, 66, v. 24; 2 Macc. ii. 19, viii. 1.

3-9. In his panegyric on Judas Maccabaeus the author adopts a poetical form.

3. giant. γίγας is not a good rendering of גיבור, which means 'hero'; for the Sept. usage see, e.g., Gen. x. 9, Isa. iii. 2.

weapons of war. τὰ σκευὴ τὰ πολεμικά = חַסְרֵי מִלְחָמָה, cp. 1 Sam. viii. 12.

4. like a lion. Cp. 2 Macc. xi. 11.

5. burnt up. Better 'exterminated', according to the sense of שָׂרַף in 2 Sam. iv. 11; unless it is meant literally cp. 97. 5, 44, 2 Macc. viii. 33; this was regarded as the most degrading death, cp. Lev. xx. 14, xxi. 9; Deut. xxi. 23; Joshua vii. 25; Amos ii. 1.

7. his memorial . . . Cp. Prov. x. 7.

10. Apollonius. Cp. i. 29 and 2 Macc. v. 24; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. v. 5, vii. 1.

12 and many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled. And they<sup>a</sup> took their spoils<sup>f</sup>; and Judas took the sword of Apollonius, and therewith fought he all (his) days.  
 13 And Seron, the commander of the host of Syria, heard that Judas had gathered <sup>a</sup>a gathering and<sup>g</sup>  
 14 a congregation of faithful men with him, <sup>b</sup>and <sup>i</sup>of such as went out to war<sup>h</sup>; and he said: 'I will make a name for myself, and get me glory in the kingdom; and I will fight against Judas<sup>k</sup> and them that  
 15 are with him, that<sup>l</sup> set at nought the word of the king.' <sup>m</sup>And he went up again<sup>m</sup>; and there went up  
 16 with him a mighty army of the ungodly to help him, to take vengeance on the children of Israel.  
 17 And he<sup>n</sup> came near to the ascent of Bethhoron; and Judas<sup>o</sup> went forth to meet him<sup>p</sup> with a small  
 18 company. But <sup>q</sup>when they<sup>r</sup> saw the army coming to meet them<sup>o</sup>, they said unto Judas: 'What<sup>s</sup>? shall  
 19 we be able, being a small company, to fight against so great <sup>t</sup>and strong<sup>t</sup> a multitude? And we, for  
 20 our part, are faint, having tasted no food this day.' And Judas said: 'It is an easy thing for many  
 21 to be shut up in the hands of a few, and there is no difference <sup>u</sup>in the sight of<sup>v</sup> Heaven<sup>w</sup> to save by  
 22 many or by few; for victory in battle standeth not in the multitude of an host, but strength is from  
 23 Heaven<sup>x</sup>. They come unto us in<sup>y</sup> fulness of insolence and lawlessness, <sup>z</sup>to destroy us and our wives  
 24 and our children, for<sup>aa</sup> to spoil us<sup>z</sup>; but we fight for our lives and our laws. And He Himself<sup>b</sup> will  
 25 discomfit them before our face; but as for you, be ye not afraid of them.' Now when he<sup>c</sup> had left  
 26 off speaking, he<sup>d</sup> leapt suddenly upon them, and Seron and his army were discomfited <sup>e</sup>before him<sup>e</sup>.  
 27 And they pursued them<sup>f</sup> at the descent of Bethhoron unto the plain; and there fell of them about  
 28 eight hundred men; and the rest fled into <sup>g</sup>the land of<sup>g</sup> the Philistines.  
 29 Then began the fear of Judas <sup>h</sup>and of his brethren<sup>h</sup>, and the dread (of them) fell upon the nations<sup>i</sup>  
 30 round about them. And his name came near even unto the king; and <sup>j</sup>every nation<sup>j</sup> told of the battles<sup>k</sup> of Judas.

III. 27-37. *Lysias is commissioned to continue the war against the Jews during the absence of Antiochus in Persia.*

27 But when Antiochus the king<sup>m</sup> heard these words he was full of indignation; and he sent and  
 28 gathered together all the forces <sup>n</sup>of his kingdom<sup>n</sup>, <sup>o</sup>an exceeding strong army<sup>o</sup>. And he opened his  
 29 treasury and gave his forces pay for a<sup>p</sup> year, and commanded them to be ready<sup>q</sup> for every need<sup>r</sup>.  
 30 And he saw that the money failed from his treasures, and that the tributes of the country were  
 31 small, because of the dissension and harm which he had brought upon the land (in seeking) to take  
 32 away the laws which had been (in vogue) from the earliest times; and he feared (therefore) that he  
 33 would not have (enough), as (he had had) at other times, for the charges and the gifts which he gave

<sup>a</sup>he 19 <sup>c</sup>arms (lit. vessels) A <sup>e</sup>g> §100 <sup>h-h</sup>> § <sup>l</sup>> Luc <sup>k</sup>+ the son N <sup>l</sup>and those that A  
<sup>m-m</sup> Reading: καὶ προσέθετο τοὺς ἀσπίδας (τοῦ γέν. ἠδ᾽ ἀσπίδος); and he prepared himself §1 > §2 <sup>n</sup>they V Luc <sup>o</sup>he §8  
<sup>r</sup>them V 64 <sup>q</sup>q> 71 <sup>r</sup>+ that were with him Luc <sup>s</sup>him A V<sup>s</sup> (them V) <sup>t</sup>How 71 <sup>u-a</sup>> A <sup>v-v</sup>§1;  
<sup>g</sup>lit. before <sup>w</sup>the God of Heaven N V <sup>x</sup>him that dwelleth in Heaven §8 <sup>y</sup>the Heavenly One 19 64 <sup>z</sup>§ > A  
<sup>aa</sup>§ > §8 <sup>aa</sup>and 71 §100 § <sup>bb</sup>the Lord Luc §100 <sup>cc</sup>Judas Luc <sup>dd</sup>they §8 <sup>ee</sup>0'0> 93 <sup>ff</sup>him N <sup>gg</sup>§ > V  
<sup>hh</sup>h> 19 <sup>ii</sup>all the nations §1 <sup>kk</sup>the nations N 64 93 <sup>ll</sup>acts 93 § <sup>mm</sup>m> §100 <sup>nn</sup>n-n> 71 <sup>oo</sup>0'0> N<sup>o</sup> (hab  
 N<sup>o</sup>+) <sup>pp</sup>the A <sup>qq</sup>q + for a year A <sup>rr</sup>r all things §1

15. and he went up again. See critical note.  
 16. the ascent of Bethhoron. About five hours' journey north-west of Jerusalem. 'From a military point of view Bethhoron was an important outpost, and to an invading force from the maritime plain the key to Jerusalem; cp. Joshua x. 16-26' (Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*).  
 18. to save by many or by few. Cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 6.  
 22. He Himself. Thus avoiding the mention of the name of God; this is characteristic of later usage; cp. ii. 61.  
 23. were discomfited. ἀσπίζειν has a stronger meaning, 'were utterly crushed'.  
 28. pay for a year. This suggests that his forces could not always be relied upon. The extravagance of Antiochus Epiphanes (cp. v. 30) and the way in which he squandered money on public displays, games, and the like, must have often made it difficult to find the wherewithal to pay his soldiers, in consequence of which discontent would have manifested itself. The Jews had a great advantage here, since, in fighting, they were actuated solely by patriotic motives. According to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* I. ii. 5) the Jews never employed mercenary troops until the time of Hyrcanus I (135-107 B. C.).  
 to be ready for every need. The meaning is, presumably, that they were not necessarily to be employed against the Jews only, but that they were to be prepared to go anywhere; this provision was necessary, for with his Egyptian campaigns Antiochus was always in need of soldiers. In 2 Macc. v. 5-11, e. g., we are told that he was hurriedly called back from an Egyptian campaign in order to quell an outbreak in Judaea under Jason.  
 30. the gifts which . . . with a liberal hand. Cp. the words of Polybius (xxvi. 1): 'Rational people were at a loss what to think about him. Some regarded him as a simple and homely man, others looked upon him as crazed. . . . To some he gave bone dice, to others dates, to others gold. But if perchance he should meet anyone whom he had never seen before, he would give him unexpected presents' (quoted by Fairweather and Black, *in loc.*). Grimm mentions that in one of his Egyptian campaigns Antiochus gave a piece of gold to every Greek in Naukratis (Polybius, xxviii. 17. 11); cp. also Dan. xi. 24. 'In time of security shall he come even upon the fattest places of the



I MACCABEES 3. 31-37

31 foretime with a liberal hand,—and he was more lavish than the kings that were before him\*. He was (therefore) exceedingly perplexed in his mind; so he<sup>1</sup> determined to go to Persia, and to take 32 tributes of the countries<sup>2</sup>, and (thus) to gather much money. And he left<sup>3</sup> Lysias, an honourable man, and <sup>4</sup>one of the seed royal<sup>5</sup>, (to be) over the affairs of the king from the river Euphrates unto 33. 34 the borders of Egypt, and to bring up his son Antiochus until he should return. And he delivered unto him the half of the forces, and the elephants, and gave him charge over all the things that he would 35 have done and concerning them<sup>6</sup> that dwell in Judaea and Jerusalem, (namely) that he should send a host <sup>7</sup>against them<sup>8</sup> to root out<sup>9</sup> and destroy the strength<sup>10</sup> of Israel and<sup>11</sup> the remnant of Jerusalem, 36 and <sup>12</sup>to take away<sup>13</sup> their<sup>14</sup> memorial from the place; and that he should make strangers to dwell in 37 all their borders, and that he should <sup>15</sup>divide their land by lot<sup>16</sup>. And the king took the half that remained of the forces, and removed from Antioch, <sup>17</sup>from his<sup>18</sup> royal city<sup>19</sup>, <sup>20</sup>(in) the one hundred and forty-seventh year<sup>21</sup>; and he passed over the river Euphrates, and went through the upper countries.

\*-> A <sup>1</sup>they A Antiochus Luc <sup>2</sup>country  $\Sigma^{10c}$  <sup>3</sup>sent N<sup>1</sup> (left N<sup>2-3</sup>) <sup>4</sup>by race (belonging) to the king  $\Sigma^{10a}$  . . . the kingdom  $\Sigma^{10}$  . . . the country  $\Sigma$  <sup>5</sup>all them A  $\Sigma^{10}$  > 93 <sup>6</sup>to drive out AV 64 93 <sup>7</sup>name  $\Sigma^{10}$  <sup>8</sup>+ to take away Luc <sup>9</sup> > Luc <sup>10</sup>its A <sup>11</sup>take possession of their land A take possession of their land and divide it by lot  $\Sigma$  <sup>12</sup> >  $\Sigma^{10}$  <sup>13</sup>the  $\Sigma^{10}$  <sup>14</sup> > 71

province; and he shall do that which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' fathers; he shall scatter among them prey, and spoil, and substance.'

31. **Persia, and to take . . . countries.** i. e. the countries east of the Euphrates under the rule of the Seleucidae; cp. vi. 56, where the reference is to Media and Persia.

**to gather much money.** 'The temples of the Asiatics had hitherto been for the most part respected by their European conquerors, and large stores of the precious metals were accumulated in them. Epiphanes saw in these hoards the means of relieving his own necessities, and determined to seize and confiscate them. Besides plundering the temple of Jehovah at Jerusalem (see i. 21-23), he made a journey into the south-eastern portion of his empire, about 165 B. C., for the express purpose of conducting in person the collection of the sacred treasures. It was while he was engaged in this unpopular work that a spirit of disaffection showed itself; the East took arms no less than the West; and in Persia, or upon its borders, the avaricious monarch was forced to retire before the opposition which his ill-judged measures had provoked, and to allow one of the doomed temples to escape him' (cp. vi. 1-4), Rawlinson, *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, p. 5.

32. **Lysias.** For the part played by this general during the Maccabean struggle, see, besides this passage, iv. 1 ff., 28 ff., vi. 5 ff., 28 ff., 51 ff.; he was put to death at the accession of Demetrius I, in 162 B. C. (vii. 1-4); see also 2 Macc. x. 11 ff., xi-xiii. 1, xiii. 1-xiv. 2; the two accounts are not always in agreement.

**one of the seed royal.**  $\text{בן זרע המלכה}$  as in 1 Kings i. 46; Jer. xii. 1; Dan. i. 3, or  $\text{זרע המלכה}$  as in 2 Kings xi. 1; 2 Chron. xxii. 10.

**the affairs of the king.** For the phrase cp. 2 Macc. viii. 8, x. 11, xi. 1.

33. **his son Antiochus.** The future Antiochus V, surnamed Eupator (cp. vi. 17), 'on account of the virtues of his father,' according to Appian (quoted by G. A. Smith in *EB* 187); he was murdered, after two years' reign, together with Lysias (see vii. 1-4; 2 Macc. xiv. 2).

34. **elephants.** The Persians were the first to use elephants in warfare, as far as is known; they are first mentioned in this connexion as having been used in the army of Darius at the battle of Arbela, in 331 B. C. They are referred to several times in this book; vi. 34 ff., where they are described as being furnished with towers of wood, and as being driven by an Indian (cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 12); see also viii. 6, xi. 56; 2 Macc. xi. 4, xiii. 15.

35. **to root out.**  $\text{τοὺ ἐκρῖψαι}$ ; Cod. A has the milder word  $\text{τοὺ ἐκρῖψαι}$ , 'to drive out.'

**the strength.** The Syriac Version reads 'the name', which in the Old Testament is not infrequently used as equivalent to 'seed', Num. xxvii. 4; Deut. xxv. 6; Ruth iv. 5, 10; 1 Sam. xxiv. 22; Isa. xiv. 22, &c.

36. **strangers.**  $\text{βίαις ἀλλοτρίων}$  is a Hebraism,  $\text{בְּיָדֵי אֲחֵרִים}$ .

**divide their land by lot.** i. e. apportion it to others, cp. Ps. lxxviii. 55; this is the reading of  $\Sigma$   $\text{καταληροδοτήσαι}$ .

37. **Antioch.** Not, of course, the Pisidian Antioch, though this, too, was founded by the Seleucid kings about 300 B. C.; but the Syrian Antioch, built (300 B. C.) by Seleucus Nicator on the left bank of the Orontes. It was situated just where the Libanus range joins the Taurus range. 'Holm has summed up in a striking sentence the historical position of Antioch under the Seleucid kings. Although close to the sea ( $\text{ἀπὸ πλοῦ ἀθήμερῶν}$ , Strabo, p. 751), it was yet no seaport; on the borders of the desert, it was yet something more than a centre for the caravan trade between the East and the West. The city reflected the character of the kingdom of which it was the capital, a kingdom which itself also was neither a genuine naval nor a genuine land power. Antioch was a Greek city, just as the Seleucid kingdom was an attempt to impose upon the Orient the political ideas and forms of Hellas. Yet, in the capital, as in the kingdom at large, there was no true Hellenism; the commingling of Oriental and Western elements resulted in the perpetuation of the worst features of both races, and the moral worthlessness of the Syrian found in the brilliance and artistic temperament of the Greek merely the means of concealing the crudities of his own life. The characteristic failing of the Greek also was exhibited on a great scale. A third element, and that the one most important for biblical history, was provided by the Jews. The colony was in fact coeval with the city, for it dated from the time of Seleucus Nicator, who gave the Jews the same privileges as he gave the Greeks (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 1). For this connexion with the Syrian kings see 1 Macc. xi. 42 ff.' (*EB* 185.)

**the one hundred and forty-seventh year.** 166-165 B. C.

**the upper countries.** Cp. vi. 1; 2 Macc. ix. 25. Grimm quotes Polybius (v. 40. 5) and Arrian (iii. 6. 12) as referring in similar terms to Persia and Media.

I MACCABEES 3. 38-47

III. 38-60. *Lysias dispatches an army into the land of Judah under Ptolemy, Nicanor, and Gorgias. Judas Maccabaeus prepares for the coming struggle.*

38 And Lysias chose <sup>k</sup>Ptolemy the son of <sup>k</sup>Dorymenes, and Nicanor, and Gorgias, mighty men of the  
 39 king's friends; and with them he sent forty <sup>l</sup>thousand footmen, and seven thousand horse, to go into  
 40 the land of Judah, and to destroy it, according to the king's command. And they<sup>m</sup> removed with  
 41 all their host, and came and pitched near Emmaus in the plain country. And the merchants of the  
 country heard tell of them, and took silver and gold exceeding much, together with fetters<sup>n</sup>, and  
 came into the camp, to take the children of Israel as slaves. And there were added unto them  
 troops from Syria and from the land of the Philistines<sup>o</sup>.  
 42 And Judas and his brethren saw that evils were multiplied, and that the forces (of the enemy)  
 were encamping<sup>p</sup> in their borders; and they<sup>q</sup> took knowledge of the king's<sup>r</sup> commands which he had  
 43 put forth (with a view) to bring about the destruction and annihilation of the people. So they said,  
 each man to his neighbour: 'Let us raise up the ruin<sup>s</sup> of our people, and let us fight for our people<sup>t</sup>  
 44 and the Holy Place.' And the<sup>u</sup> congregation was gathered together, so as to be ready for battle, and  
 to pray and to ask for mercy and compassion.  
 45 And Jerusalem was uninhabited like a wilderness,  
 There was none of her offspring that went in<sup>v</sup> or went out<sup>w</sup>.  
 And the Sanctuary was trodden down,  
 And the sons of strangers (dwelt) in the citadel,  
 A lodging-place for Gentiles (it became);  
 And joy<sup>x</sup> was taken away<sup>y</sup> from Jacob,  
 And the pipe and the harp ceased.  
 46 And they gathered themselves together, and came to Mizpeh<sup>z</sup>, over against Jerusalem; for in  
 47 Mizpeh there had been aforetime a place of prayer for Israel. And they fasted that day, and put on

k-k > V    <sup>l</sup>fifty V    ten S    <sup>m</sup>+ who were round about Ptolemy Luc    <sup>n</sup>bands and fetters S; servants  
 (μακροί for μεδαι) G (= L); <sup>o</sup>fetters Josephus    <sup>o</sup>S; lit. strangers G L    <sup>p</sup>had surrounded S\*    <sup>q</sup>he S\*  
<sup>r</sup>royal A    <sup>s</sup>kingdom L<sup>2</sup>    <sup>t</sup>> AV    <sup>u</sup>all the V    <sup>v</sup>> N\* (hab N<sup>o</sup>:A) V 71 L<sup>1</sup>    <sup>w</sup>was brought to an  
 end 64    <sup>x</sup>Massepha G

38 ff. With this section cp. 2 Macc. viii. 8-22; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 3.

**Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes.** Cp. 2 Macc. iv. 45, viii. 3, x. 12, in this last passage he has the surname Macron, and is described as being friendly disposed to the Jews; he committed suicide by taking poison because he was regarded as a traitor for abandoning Cyprus. This is the only mention of him in 1 Macc.

**Nicanor.** Cp. vii. 25-50; 2 Macc. viii. 9, xiv. xv.

**Gorgias.** Cp. v. 56 ff.; 2 Macc. x. 14, xii. 32-7.

**forty thousand.** See critical note. In 2 Macc. viii. 9 the number is 20,000, no mention being made of horsemen.

**to destroy it.** Better 'to lay it waste'.

**40. Emmaus.** Not the Emmaus of Luke xxiv. 13, but a city in the plain into which the mountains of Judaea slope down; it is twenty-two Roman miles from Jerusalem on the road to Joppa; the modern *Amwas*. It was fortified by Bacchides, cp. ix. 50.

**41. the merchants of the country.** In earlier days the Edomites are mentioned as slave-dealers (cp. Amos i. 6, 9); in Ezek. xxvii. 13 Javan (Greeks), Tubal, and Meshech (probably peoples of Asia Minor) are said to have traded with 'the persons of men'; from the fifth century B.C. onwards Syrian slaves, among whom Jews were reckoned, were in great demand in Greece (cp. Robertson Smith, in the *Encycl. Brit.* xiii. 705). The Phoenicians played a leading rôle in the slave-market; Rawlinson (*Hist. of Phoenicia*, p. 296) says: 'The traffic in slaves was one in which the Phoenicians engaged from very early times. They were not above kidnapping men, women, and children in one country and selling them in another; besides which they seem to have frequented regularly the principal slave-marts of the time. They bought such Jews as were taken captive and sold into slavery by the neighbouring nations.' See further 2 Macc. viii. 11, 34.

**fetters.** See critical note.

**troops from Syria . . .** According to Josephus these were 'auxiliaries (*σύνμαχοι*) out of Syria and the country round about, as also some of the renegade Jews' (*Antiq.* XII. vii. 3), i. e. presumably volunteers who joined either from the love of fighting, or from the hope of plunder, or possibly out of sheer hatred of the Jews.

**Philistines.** See critical note.

**45. each man to his neighbour.** See note on ii. 40.

**45.** This verse was probably in poetical form in the original; it is full of O.T. thoughts and expressions.

**uninhabited.** Cp. Isa. v. 9, vi. 11; Jer. ix. 11, xlvii. 19.

**there was none of her offspring.** Cp. Jer. xxxiii. 10.

**that went in or went out.** Cp. Jer. xxxvii. 4; Zech. viii. 10.

**the Sanctuary . . .** Cp. Ps. lxxxix. 1.

**the sons of strangers.** See note on v. 36.

**A lodging-place . . .** Cp. Isa. i. 8.

**joy was taken away.** Cp. Lam. v. 15; Isa. xxiv. 11; Hos. ix. 1.

**the pipe . . . ceased.** Cp. Isa. xiv. 11, xxiv. 8.

**46. aforetime a place of prayer.** Cp. 1 Sam. vii. 6-9.



I MACCABEES 3. 48—4. 10

48 sackcloth, and put<sup>r</sup> ashes upon their heads<sup>a</sup>, and rent their clothes. And they spread out the roll of the Law, (one of those) concerning which the Gentiles were wont to make search<sup>a,b</sup> in order to depict upon them<sup>a</sup> likenesses of their idols<sup>b</sup>. And they brought the priestly garments, and the firstfruits, and 49 the tithes: and they shaved<sup>c</sup> the Nazirites who had accomplished their days. And they cried aloud<sup>d</sup> toward heaven, saying: 'What shall we do with these men, and whither shall we carry them away?' 51 For<sup>e</sup> thy Holy Place is trodden down and defiled, and thy priests are in heaviness and brought low. 52 And, behold, the Gentiles are gathered together against us to destroy us; thou knowest what things 53, 54 they imagine against us. How shall we be able to stand before them unless thou help us?' And they sounded with the trumpets<sup>f</sup>, and cried with a loud voice<sup>g</sup>. 55 And after this Judas appointed leaders of the people, captains of thousands, and captains of 56 hundreds, and captains of fifties<sup>h</sup>, and captains of tens. And he said to them that were building houses, and were betrothing wives, and were planting vineyards, and were fearful, that they should 57 return, each man to his own house, according to the Law<sup>i</sup>. And the army removed, and encamped<sup>k</sup> 58 on the south of Emmaus. And Judas said: 'Gird yourselves, and be<sup>j</sup> valiant men; and be ready on the morrow to fight against these Gentiles that are assembled together against us to destroy us, 59 and our Holy Place; for it is better for us to die<sup>m</sup> in battle<sup>m</sup> than to look upon the evils (that have 60 come upon our nation and the Holy Place. Nevertheless, as may be the will in heaven, so shall he do<sup>n</sup>.'

IV. 1-25. *Victory of Judas over Gorgias.*

4 1 And Gorgias took five thousand (foot-) men, and a thousand chosen horse; and the<sup>a</sup> army moved 2 by night so that it might fall upon the army of the Jews<sup>b</sup> and smite them suddenly; and (certain)<sup>c</sup> 3 men from the citadel were his<sup>d</sup> guides. And Judas heard thereof, and he removed, he and the valiant 4 men, that he might smite the king's host, which was at Emmaus, while as yet the forces were 5 dispersed from the camp. And Gorgias came into the camp of Judas by night<sup>e</sup>, and found no man; 6 and he sought them in the mountains, for he said: 'These men flee from us.' And as soon as it was 7 day, Judas appeared in the plain with<sup>f</sup> three thousand men; howbeit, they had not armour nor 8 swords as they would have wished (to have had). And they saw the camp of the Gentiles strong 9 (and) fortified, and horsemen compassing it round about; and these were experienced in war. And 10 Judas<sup>g</sup> said to the men that were with him: 'Fear ye not their multitude, neither<sup>h</sup> be ye afraid of<sup>h</sup> their onset. Remember how our fathers<sup>i</sup> were saved in the Red Sea, when Pharaoh pursued them 10 with a host<sup>k</sup>. And now, let us cry<sup>l</sup> unto heaven<sup>m</sup>, if he will have mercy upon us<sup>n</sup>, and<sup>p</sup> will

r > G (exc 55); S<sup>loc</sup> L<sup>1</sup> supply the verb \*head N V Luc a a > G (exc 55 71) b b and mourned before the Holy One concerning the Gentiles, because they forced them to imitate their ways S<sup>loc</sup> c raised up G (exc 55) d fit with a voice; with a great voice 93 e And G > S<sup>g</sup> f + fortiter L<sup>1</sup> g g > L<sup>1</sup> h b > N\* (hab N<sup>ca</sup>) S<sup>g</sup> i + of Moses L<sup>1</sup> k assembled L<sup>1</sup> l l > 93 m-m > 93 n-o so be it done L S<sup>g</sup>

IV. \* his 19 93 S<sup>loc</sup> b Judah S<sup>loc</sup> + by night 19 93 S<sup>loc</sup> e the A d to them S<sup>loc</sup> L \* > S<sup>loc</sup> f + only L<sup>1</sup> g he S<sup>loc</sup> h-b > 71 i brethren L<sup>1</sup> k a great host S<sup>loc</sup> L l we will cry N m the Lord 71 our Lord L<sup>1</sup> n-o Several cursives S<sup>g</sup> L<sup>1</sup>; if he will have us N A V o-o > 71 p + the Lord S<sup>loc</sup>

48. they spread out . . . In order that the roll of the Law might bear witness before God against the blasphemous proceeding of the Gentiles.

49. and they brought . . . All these acts were intended to witness against the evils which the Gentiles had wrought, and thus call down upon them the divine wrath.

54. they sounded with the trumpets. Cp. Num. x. 1 ff.

58. be valiant men. Cp. 2 Sam. ii. 7, xiii. 28 (Sept.).

be ready on the morrow. Cp. Exod. xxxiv. 2, xix. 15.

60. so shall he do. Another instance of the way in which the mention of the name of God is avoided in this book.

IV. With vv. 1-25 cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 4.

1. Gorgias . . . The non-mention of Nicanor, the commander-in-chief (cp. 2 Macc. viii. 23, 24), does not necessarily imply that he was not the guiding spirit; the writer is giving the details of one episode in the campaign, in which Gorgias is the leading figure; he is, therefore, not concerned with the question as to under whose orders Gorgias was acting. That there was not one in chief command responsible for the general conduct of the operations, is difficult to believe. Cp. Josephus: 'But when the enemy sent Gorgias . . .'

2. men from the citadel. οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἀκροῦ, Hebraism. Josephus speaks of them as 'renegade Jews'.

3. Emmaus. See note on iii. 40.

5. and he sought them in the mountains. i.e. in the mountainous district south and east of Emmaus; Judas was thus drawing this detachment of the enemy further and further away from the main body with which he intended to deal (see v. 13); cp. Josephus: 'And he resolved to fall upon those enemies that were in their camp, now that their forces were divided.'

6. three thousand men. So, too, according to Josephus; in 2 Macc. viii. 16 the number is given as 6,000.

7. experienced in war. διδακτοὶ πολέμου, Hebraism, cp. Song of Songs iii. 8 מלמדי מלחמה.

I MACCABEES 4. 11-29

- 11 remember <sup>9</sup>the covenant of the <sup>7</sup>fathers<sup>8</sup>, and destroy this army before our<sup>6</sup> face to-day<sup>5</sup>; and (then)  
 12 all the Gentiles will know that there is one who redeemeth <sup>1</sup>and saveth<sup>2</sup> Israel. And the strangers<sup>3</sup>  
 13 lifted up their eyes and saw them coming against them, and they went out of the camp to battle.  
 14 And they that were with Judas sounded the trumpets, <sup>4</sup>and joined battle<sup>5</sup>, <sup>6</sup>and the Gentiles  
 15 were discomfited, and fled unto the plain. And all<sup>7</sup> the hindmost fell by the sword; and they  
 pursued them unto Gazera, and unto the plains of Idumaea<sup>8</sup> and<sup>9</sup> Azotus and Jamnia; and there  
 fell of them about three thousand men.  
 16. 17 And Judas and (his)<sup>10</sup> host returned <sup>11</sup>from pursuing after them<sup>12</sup>; and he<sup>13</sup> said unto the people:  
 18 'Be not greedy of the spoils, for (another)<sup>14</sup> battle is before us, and Gorgias and (his)<sup>15</sup> host are nigh  
 unto us <sup>16</sup>in the mountain'. <sup>17</sup>But stand ye now against our enemies<sup>18</sup>, and fight (against) them, and  
 19 afterwards take the spoils with boldness.<sup>19</sup> While Judas was yet saying<sup>20</sup> these things, there appeared a  
 20 part of them peering out from the mountain; and they saw that (their host) had been put to flight,  
 and that (the Jews<sup>21</sup>) were burning the<sup>22</sup> camp,—for the smoke (that was seen) made manifest what had  
 21 been done. And when they perceived these things they were sore afraid; and perceiving also the  
 22. 23 army of Judas <sup>24</sup>in the plain<sup>25</sup> ready for battle, they<sup>26</sup> all fled into the land of the Philistines<sup>27</sup>. And  
 Judas returned to the spoil of the camp, and took much gold and silver, and blue<sup>28</sup>, and <sup>29</sup>sea-purple<sup>30</sup>,  
 24 and great riches. And as they returned they sang a song of thanksgiving, and blessed <sup>31</sup>(God,<sup>32</sup>  
 looking up) to heaven<sup>33</sup>, (and saying):  
 'Good (is the Lord), for his mercy endureth for ever.'<sup>34</sup>  
 25 And Israel had a great<sup>35</sup> deliverance that day.

IV. 26-35. *Victory of Judas over Lysias.*

- 26 But as many of the Gentiles<sup>36</sup> as had been saved came and reported to Lysias all that had happened.  
 27 And when he had heard all<sup>37</sup> he was confounded <sup>38</sup>and discouraged<sup>39</sup>, both because it had not  
 happened unto Israel as he had wished, and because the things which the king had commanded him<sup>40</sup>  
 had not come about.  
 28 And in the next year he<sup>41</sup> gathered together sixty thousand chosen [foot-]men, and five thousand  
 29 horse, to make war upon them<sup>42</sup>. And they came into Judaea<sup>43</sup>, and encamped at Bethsura, and Judas

<sup>9</sup> the first covenant  $\aleph$  <sup>7</sup>our, several cursives <sup>8</sup>your 64 <sup>1-1</sup>>  $\aleph^a$  (*hab*  $\aleph^{c-a}$ ) <sup>3</sup>the Greeks  $\aleph^g$  <sup>1-1</sup>>  $\aleph^g$   
<sup>10</sup>with them Luc <sup>2</sup>>  $\aleph^g$  <sup>7</sup>Judaea AV 19 <sup>11</sup>+unto Luc <sup>12</sup>19 93  $\aleph^{100}$  <sup>11-b</sup>>  $\aleph^1$  <sup>15</sup>Judas Luc <sup>16</sup>Luc  $\aleph^{100}$  <sup>16</sup>64 93  
<sup>17</sup>f-f >  $\aleph^g$  <sup>17-18</sup>> 93 <sup>18</sup>T.R.  $\aleph^1$ ; *lit.* filling up  $\aleph$  AV &c., reading  $\aleph$  for  $\aleph$  <sup>19</sup>they that were with Judas  
 Luc <sup>20</sup>their Luc <sup>21-1</sup>> 93 <sup>22-23</sup>>  $\aleph^g$  <sup>24</sup>and they  $\aleph^{100}$  <sup>25</sup> $\aleph^1$ ; *lit.* strangers  $\aleph^g$  <sup>26</sup>precious hyacinth  
 stones  $\aleph^{100}$  <sup>27-28</sup>> 71. Possibly  $\eta\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\nu\ \alpha\iota\ \sigma\theta\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \eta\epsilon\pi\epsilon\tau\epsilon$  here and in  $\nu$ , 55 =  $\alpha\beta\gamma\delta\epsilon\zeta\eta\theta\iota$   
 (cf. 1 Chron. xxix. 20 for construction) where, therefore,  $\sigma\theta\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\ =\ \theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ . Hence 'they blessed Heaven; for He is good,  
 &c.' [Gen. Editor] <sup>31-32</sup>the Lord that is in the heavens  $\aleph$  <sup>33</sup>T.R. <sup>34</sup>> Luc <sup>35</sup>*lit.* strangers  $\aleph^g$ ; the Greeks  $\aleph^g$   
<sup>36</sup>>  $\aleph^v$  <sup>37-38</sup>> V <sup>39</sup>> 19 93  $\aleph^{100}$   $\aleph^1$  <sup>40</sup>Lysias T.R. <sup>41</sup>Israel Luc <sup>42</sup> $\aleph^1$ ; B reads  $\text{I}\delta\upsilon\mu\alpha\iota\alpha\varsigma$

12. and the strangers lifted up their . . . From  $\nu$ , 3, 4. Judas evidently intended a surprise attack, but this verse shows that his intention was frustrated. On the other hand, Josephus definitely states that the enemy's defeat was due to Judas's unexpected attack; <sup>5</sup>so he commanded the trumpeters to sound for the battle; and by thus falling upon the enemies when they did not expect it, and thereby astonishing and disturbing their minds, he slew many of those that resisted him.

15. **Gazera.** The ancient Gezer, cp. Joshua x. 33, xii. 12, xvi. 3, &c.; see further the note on xiii. 43.  
**Azotus.** Ashdod, cp. Joshua xi. 22; 1 Sam. v. 5; 2 Chron. xxvi. 6, &c., the modern *Asdud*.  
**Jamnia.** Jabneel, cp. Joshua xv. 11, called Jabneh in 2 Chron. xxvi. 6.

**the plains of Idumaea.** This reading cannot be right, for the border of Idumaea lay at least two days' journey to the south-east of the scene of the battle, and the next day was the Sabbath, cp. 2 Macc. viii. 26, 27; in the next verses Judas and his army are described as being near the mountainous region again; had four days intervened some mention would assuredly have been made of it. Moreover, the three places 'Gazera, Azotus, and Jamnia' lie close together, and the mention of Idumaea in such a connexion is quite out of place. The reading 'plains of Judaea' is equally strange, for Judaea lay behind the pursuers where the country was mountainous. It is possible that 'Emmaus' stood here originally (cp. iii. 40 'Emmaus in the plain country'), the reference being to the plain in which Emmaus stood.

23. **blue and sea-purple.**  $\aleph$  'violet stuff', cp. Ezek. xxiii. 6, xxvii. 7; used in reference to the Temple hangings 2 Chron. ii. 6, 13, 14;  $\aleph$  purple-red cloth', generally mentioned with the former; 'sea-purple' refers to the fact that the colour was not a manufactured dye, but that it was the slimy substance from a sea-shell (*Murex trunculus*) found in great quantities on the Phoenician coast; the slime from these shells is white, but becomes gradually darker when exposed to the rays of the sun, until it assumes a deep red, or a deep blue-red colour which never fades. Immense numbers of these shells have been found on the site of an ancient dye-factory near Tyre. According to Judges viii. 26 it would appear that the Midian kings wore a purple garment when going into battle.

24. **for his mercy . . .** Cp. Ps. cxviii. 1-4, and the oft-repeated refrain in Ps. cxxxvi.  
 29. **Judaea.** This is what Josephus reads, as well as 2 Macc. xi. 5 (the parallel passage), see note  $\nu$ . 15.  
**Bethsura.** 'The house of rock' (cp. Joshua xv. 58), in southern Judaea; 'Bethsuron' in 2 Macc. xi. 5.



30 met them with ten thousand men. And he saw that the army<sup>e</sup> was strong, and he prayed, and said:

<sup>a</sup> Blessed art thou<sup>d</sup>, O Saviour<sup>e</sup> of Israel<sup>e</sup>, who didst bring to nought the onslaught of the giant<sup>f</sup> by the hand of thy servant<sup>g</sup> David, and didst deliver the army of the Philistines into the hands of Jonathan<sup>h</sup> the son of Saul and of his armour-bearer<sup>i</sup>. Shut up<sup>j</sup> this army in the hands of thy people Israel, that with their host and their horsemen they may be put to shame. <sup>k</sup> Give them fearfulness of heart, and cause the boldness of their strength to melt away, and let them quake at<sup>l</sup> their destruction<sup>m</sup>.  
33 Cast them down with the sword of them that love thee, <sup>n</sup> and let all that know<sup>o</sup> thy name praise thee with songs of thanksgiving<sup>p</sup>.

34 And they joined battle; and there fell of the army of Lysias about five thousand men, and<sup>q</sup> they fell down over against them. But when Lysias<sup>r</sup> saw that his array had been put to flight, and the boldness<sup>s</sup> that had come upon them that were with Judas, <sup>t</sup> and how ready they were either to live or die nobly<sup>u</sup>, he removed to Antioch, <sup>v</sup> and gathered together mercenary troops, that he might come again into Judaea with an even greater (army)<sup>w</sup>.

IV. 36-61. *The Purification and Re-dedication of the Temple; the fortification of the Temple-Mount and Bethsura.*

36 But Judas and his brethren said: 'Behold, our enemies are discomfited; let us go up to cleanse<sup>x</sup> the Holy Place, and re-dedicate<sup>y</sup> it. And all the army was gathered together, and they<sup>z</sup> went unto<sup>aa</sup> mount Sion. And they saw our<sup>ab</sup> sanctuary laid desolate, and the altar profaned<sup>ac</sup>, and the gates<sup>ad</sup> burned up, <sup>ae</sup> and shrubs growing in the courts as in a forest or upon one of the mountains, and the chambers<sup>af</sup> (of the priests) pulled down<sup>ag</sup>; <sup>ah</sup> and they rent their garments<sup>ai</sup>, and made great lamentation, and put ashes<sup>aj</sup> on their heads<sup>ak</sup>; and they fell on their faces to the ground, <sup>al</sup> and they<sup>am</sup> blew<sup>an</sup> the solemn blasts<sup>ao</sup> upon the trumpets<sup>ap</sup>, and cried unto heaven<sup>aq</sup>. Then<sup>ar</sup> Judas appointed (a certain number of) men<sup>as</sup> to fight against those (that were) in the citadel, until he should have cleansed<sup>at</sup> the Holy Place. And he chose blameless priests, such as had delight in the Law; and they<sup>au</sup> cleansed the Holy Place, and<sup>av</sup> bare out the stones of defilement<sup>aw</sup> into an unclean place. And they

<sup>e</sup> + of them that were opposed Luc <sup>d</sup> + Lord N <sup>o-o</sup> > 71 <sup>f</sup> lit. mighty man, + Goliath 71 <sup>e-g</sup> > 71  
h-h > 71 <sup>i</sup> + Lord L <sup>k-k</sup> > 71 <sup>j</sup> in 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>m-m</sup> > 71 <sup>n</sup> that have seen A <sup>o</sup> > S<sup>g</sup> <sup>p</sup> he 71  
<sup>q</sup> + and steadfastness L <sup>r-r</sup> > 71 <sup>s-s</sup> the MSS. and Versions vary here considerably; but the general sense is clear, and in accordance with the text above <sup>t</sup> that we may cleanse N<sup>o-a</sup> Luc <sup>u</sup> that we may re-dedicate N<sup>o-a</sup> Luc  
that we may renew it S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>v</sup> he 93 <sup>w</sup> the N V <sup>x</sup> waste 93 S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>y</sup> doors N <sup>z-z</sup> > 71 <sup>aa</sup> adornments S<sup>g</sup>  
<sup>b</sup> disruta et detracta L<sup>2</sup> <sup>cc</sup> S<sup>g</sup> places these words after heads <sup>d-d</sup> > N 19 93 <sup>e</sup> et clamaverunt ad caelum  
in tubis signorum L<sup>1</sup> <sup>f-f</sup> > S<sup>g</sup> <sup>g-g</sup> blew with glorious horns S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>h</sup> the Lord 71 <sup>i</sup> and S<sup>g</sup> <sup>k</sup> he Luc S<sup>g</sup>  
<sup>l</sup> + they Luc S<sup>g</sup> <sup>m</sup> + and placed them S<sup>g</sup> <sup>n</sup> + and cast them S<sup>luc</sup>

30-32. In 2 Macc. xi. 6-8 this prayer is only referred to, not quoted; but instead, mention is made of 'one on horseback in white apparel, brandishing weapons of gold', who appeared at the head of the Jewish army, and led them on to victory. This fantastic elaboration is perhaps based on the two stories of David (1 Sam. xvii. 40-54) and Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv. 1-16); in each case a champion came forth and delivered Israel.

34. they fell down over against them. i.e. they were struck down and fell at the feet of each individual Jewish warrior, so fierce was the onslaught of the Jews.

36. cleanse. קָדַשׁ is used of cleansing the Temple from unclean things in 2 Chron. xxix. 15, 16, 18, and from the pollution of idolatrous images in 2 Chron. xxxiv. 3, 5, 8.

re-dedicate. The ritual of cleansing and re-dedicating is detailed in the verses which follow. The Hebrew word for 'dedicate' (קָדַשׁ) means lit. 'to train up a child' (Prov. xxii. 6); it is used in the sense of dedicating a house in Deut. xx. 5, of the Temple in 1 Kings viii. 63 (= 2 Chron. vii. 5).

38. the gates burned up. We have but scanty details of Zerubbabel's temple: mention is made of the Miphkad Gate (Neh. iii. 31) and of the Prison Gate (Neh. xii. 39); in Josephus (*Contra Ap.* i. 22, quoting Hecataeus) there is a reference to 'double gates' in the Temple, but this seems only to refer to one of the ordinary gates. These are the only gates of which mention is made in the O.T., but there must certainly have been others, as there were in the first temple.

the chambers (of the priests). τὰ παροψώδια, cp. Ezra viii. 28, x. 6; Neh. iii. 30, x. 37 ff., xii. 44, xiii. 5 ff.; Josephus *Antiq.* XI. iv. 7, XIV. xvi. 2.

40. solemn blasts upon the trumpets. The reference is to the long drawn-out blasts on the ram's-horns. Cp. Num. x. 10.

41. in the citadel. Cp. i. 33 ff.

42. blameless. ἀμώβους, lit. 'without blemish', i.e. Levitical purity; used originally in reference to physical blemish, but later the idea of innocence and integrity is included, cp. Prov. i. 12, where the word (אָמֵן) is used for soundness in health: see Deut. xviii. 13, where it occurs in the figurative sense, cp. Ps. cxxvii. 9, 16. That a physical blemish was, also in later times, an obstacle to the performing of the priestly office may be gathered from Josephus, *Antiq.* III. xii. 2: 'He ordered that the priest who had any blemish should have his portion indeed among the priests, but he forbade him to ascend the altar, or to enter into the holy house.' In the Talmud no less than 147 physical blemishes are enumerated which make a man unfit to perform ministerial duties, cp. Krauss *Talmudische Archäologie*, i, p. 250.

43. the stones of defilement. Cp. i. 54.

an unclean place. What is meant can be seen by a reference to Deut. xxiii. 12-14.

took counsel concerning the altar of burnt offerings, which had been profaned, what they should do with  
 45 it. And a good idea occurred to them<sup>a</sup> (namely) to pull it down, lest it should be a reproach unto  
 46 them, because the Gentiles had defiled it; so they pulled down the altar, and laid down the stones  
 in the mountain of the House, in a convenient place, until a prophet should come and decide<sup>b</sup> (as to  
 47 what should be done) concerning them. And they<sup>c</sup> took whole stones according to the Law, and  
 48 built a new<sup>d</sup> altar after the fashion of the former (one); <sup>e</sup>and they built the Holy Place, and the  
 49 inner parts of the house, and hallowed<sup>f</sup> the courts. And they made the holy<sup>g</sup> vessels new<sup>h</sup>, and they  
 brought the candlestick, and the altar of burnt offerings and of incense, and the table, into the  
 50 temple. And they burned incense upon the altar, and they lighted the lamps that were upon the  
 51 candlestick <sup>i</sup>in order to give light<sup>j</sup> in the temple<sup>k</sup>. And they set loaves upon the table, and hung up  
 52 the veils, and finished all <sup>l</sup>the works<sup>m</sup> which they had undertaken. And they rose up early in the morn-  
 53 ing <sup>n</sup>on the twenty-fifth (day) of the ninth<sup>o</sup> month, which is the month Chislev, in the <sup>p</sup>one hundred  
 54 and <sup>q</sup>forty-eighth<sup>r</sup> year<sup>s</sup>, and <sup>t</sup>offered sacrifice, according to the Law, <sup>u</sup>upon the new altar of burnt  
 offerings which they had made<sup>v</sup>. At<sup>w</sup> the corresponding time (of the month) and on the (corres-  
 55 ponding) day on which the Gentiles had profaned it, on that day<sup>x</sup> was it dedicated afresh, with songs  
 56 and harps<sup>y</sup> and lutes, and with cymbals. And all <sup>z</sup>the people<sup>aa</sup> fell upon their faces, and worshipped<sup>ab</sup>,  
 and gave praise, (looking up) unto heaven, to him who had prospered them. And they celebrated  
 57 the dedication of the altar for eight days, and offered burnt offerings <sup>ac</sup>with gladness<sup>ad</sup>, <sup>ae</sup>and sacrificed  
 a sacrifice of deliverance <sup>af</sup>and praise<sup>ag</sup>. And they decked the forefront of the temple with crowns  
 58 of gold<sup>ah</sup> and small shields, and dedicated<sup>ai</sup> afresh the gates and the chambers (of the priests), <sup>aj</sup>and  
 furnished them with doors<sup>ak</sup>. <sup>al</sup>And there was exceeding great gladness among the people, and the  
 59 reproach of the Gentiles was turned away<sup>am</sup>. And Judas and his brethren and the whole congregation  
 of Israel ordained, that the days of the dedication of the altar should be kept <sup>an</sup>in their seasons year  
 by year for eight days, from the twenty-fifth (day) of the month Chislev, with gladness and joy<sup>ao</sup>.  
 60 And <sup>ap</sup>at that season<sup>aq</sup> they built high walls<sup>ar</sup> and strong<sup>as</sup> towers around mount Sion, lest haply the  
 61 Gentiles should come and tread them<sup>at</sup> down, <sup>au</sup>as they had done aforetime<sup>av</sup>. And he set there<sup>aw</sup>  
 a force to keep it<sup>ax</sup>, and they fortified Bethsura <sup>ay</sup>to keep it<sup>az</sup>, that the people might have a strong-  
 hold over against Idumaea.

V. 1-8. *Victories of Judas over the Edomites, Baeanites, and Ammonites.*

5<sup>1</sup> And it came to pass, when the Gentiles round about heard that the altar<sup>b</sup> had been built<sup>c</sup> and the  
 2 sanctuary dedicated<sup>d</sup>, "as aforetime", that they were exceeding wroth. And they determined<sup>f</sup> to

<sup>o</sup>him <sup>u</sup>to <sup>o</sup>say <sup>s</sup>answer <sup>u</sup>he <sup>v</sup>AV <sup>q</sup>> <sup>u</sup>to <sup>r-1</sup>> 71 <sup>h</sup>he <sup>v</sup>hallowed <sup>v</sup>AV <sup>l</sup>> 93  
<sup>u-u</sup>> 71 <sup>v</sup>to be visible <sup>Luc</sup> <sup>w-w</sup>> <sup>u</sup>to <sup>x-x</sup>> 71 <sup>y</sup>> N <sup>z-z</sup>> 64 <sup>aa</sup>ninth <sup>ab</sup>to <sup>ac</sup>of the  
 kingdom <sup>Luc</sup> <sup>c-c</sup>> <sup>d-d</sup>> 71 <sup>e</sup>And at <sup>v</sup>NV <sup>f</sup>> A <sup>g-g</sup>> <sup>h-h</sup>Luc <sup>i-i</sup>> 71 <sup>j</sup>+ God <sup>k-k</sup>> 71  
<sup>l-l</sup>and a sacrifice of deliverance <sup>m-m</sup>> 71 <sup>n-n</sup>> N\* (<sup>o-o</sup>hat <sup>p-p</sup>N\*<sup>a</sup>) <sup>q</sup>he dedicated <sup>v</sup>A <sup>r-r</sup>> <sup>s</sup>to <sup>t-t</sup>> 71  
<sup>u-u</sup>> 71 <sup>v</sup>great joy <sup>w</sup>> 71 <sup>x</sup>a high wall <sup>Luc</sup> <sup>y</sup>high <sup>z</sup>N\* (<sup>aa</sup>strong <sup>ab</sup>N\*<sup>a</sup>) <sup>ac</sup>it <sup>ad</sup>N\*<sup>a</sup> 93 <sup>ae</sup>x <sup>af</sup>> 71  
<sup>ag</sup>> 71 <sup>ah</sup>them <sup>ai</sup>N\* (<sup>aj</sup>it <sup>ak</sup>N\*<sup>a</sup>) <sup>al</sup>to <sup>am</sup>> 55 <sup>an</sup>s  
 V. <sup>b</sup>house <sup>c</sup>to <sup>d</sup>> <sup>e</sup>to <sup>f</sup>to <sup>g</sup>to <sup>h</sup>were wroth <sup>i</sup>N\* (<sup>j</sup>determined <sup>k</sup>N\*<sup>a</sup>)

46. the mountain of the House. Cp. Mich. iii. 12; Jer. xxvi. 18 (הר הבית).

a prophet should come . . . The reference is probably to Deut. xviii. 18, which is not a 'Messianic' passage, however it may have been interpreted subsequently.

47. according to the Law. Cp. Exod. xx. 25; Deut. xxvii. 6.

49. the candlestick . . . the altar . . . and the table. These had been taken away by Antiochus Epiphanes, see i. 21, 22; the three are again specifically mentioned in the two next verses.

52 ff. The inauguration of the feast of *Chanukkah*, which has been observed ever since by the Jews. The month Chislev corresponds to December. Ewald (*Geschichte des Volkes Israel* iv. 407 [3rd ed.]), followed by Wellhausen (*Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 210), believes that on the 25th Chislev a winter solstice feast had been celebrated long before this time, and that this was adapted and turned into the historical feast of *Chanukkah*. This feast was early known as the Feast of Lights (*Shveta* in Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. vii. 7); two methods were in vogue regarding the lighting of the lamps; the followers of Shammai lit eight lamps on the first day of the festival, and one less on each succeeding day until the end of the feast; the Hillelites lit one lamp on the first day of the feast, and added one on each succeeding day, so that on the last day eight lamps were lit. The Talmudic sources . . . ascribe the origin of the eight days' festival, with its custom of illuminating the houses, to the miracle said to have occurred at the dedication of the purified Temple. This was that the one small cruse of consecrated oil found unpolluted by the Hasmonean priests when they entered the Temple, it having been sealed and hidden away, lasted for eight days, until new oil could be prepared for the lamps of the holy candlestick (*Jewish Encycl.* vi. 224 a). For a legend of somewhat similar character see 2 Macc. i. 18-ii. 15.

57. crowns of gold and small shields. Perhaps wreaths of gold, which with the small shields, were temporary ornaments, cf. 1 Kings x. 17.

60. strong towers. Cp. i. 31.

V. 1-8. Cf. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 1.



I MACCABEES 5. 2-15

destroy (those of) the race<sup>2</sup> of Jacob<sup>1</sup> that were in the midst of them<sup>3</sup>, and they began<sup>4</sup> to slay and to destroy among the people<sup>5</sup>. And Judas fought against the children of Esau in Idumaea<sup>6</sup> at Akrabattine, because they annoyed Israel<sup>7</sup> by their attacks; and he smote them with a great slaughter, and humbled<sup>8</sup> them<sup>9</sup>, and took spoils from them. And he remembered the malice of the children of Baean, who were unto the people<sup>10</sup> a snare and a stumbling-block, lying in wait for them<sup>11</sup> in the ways<sup>12</sup>. And they were shut up by him in the towers; and he encamped against<sup>13</sup> them, and utterly destroyed them<sup>14</sup>, and burned<sup>15</sup> with fire<sup>16</sup> the towers of the place<sup>17</sup>, with all that were<sup>18</sup> therein. Then he<sup>19</sup> passed over to the children of Ammon, and found (there) a mighty band, and much people<sup>20</sup>, and Timotheus (who was) their leader. And he fought many battles with them, and they were discomfited before him, and he smote them<sup>21</sup>; and he gat possession of Jazer and the villages<sup>22</sup> thereof, and returned<sup>23</sup> again into Judaea<sup>24</sup>.

V. 9-68. Victories of Simon in Galilee, and of Judas in Gilead.

9 And the Gentiles that were in Gilead gathered themselves together against the Israelites that were on their borders, to destroy them; and they fled unto the stronghold of Dathema<sup>13</sup>. And they sent letters unto Judas and his brethren, saying: 'The Gentiles that are round about us are gathered together against us<sup>14</sup> to destroy us; and they are preparing to come and get possession of the stronghold<sup>15</sup> whereunto we<sup>16</sup> have fled for refuge; and Timotheus is leading their host. Now, therefore, come and deliver us from their hand, for a number of us are fallen, and all our brethren<sup>17</sup> that were in the (parts) of Tubias have been put to death, and they have carried into captivity their wives<sup>18</sup> and their children and their<sup>19</sup> belongings, and have destroyed there about a thousand men.' While the<sup>20</sup> letters were yet being read, behold, there came other messengers from Galilee with their garments rent, bringing a report to the following effect, saying<sup>21</sup>: 'There be gathered together against them (men) from Ptolemais, and Tyre<sup>22</sup> and Sidon<sup>23</sup>, and all Galilee of the Gentiles, to

<sup>1</sup> seed Luc <sup>2</sup> b h > 71 <sup>3</sup> i to persecute and to kill them E<sup>1</sup> <sup>4</sup> judaea A <sup>5</sup> Amalek N\* (Israel N<sup>1-2</sup>)  
<sup>6</sup> scattered S<sup>1</sup> <sup>7</sup> + of Israel S<sup>1</sup> <sup>8</sup> p p > S<sup>1</sup> <sup>9</sup> cast aside A <sup>10</sup> r r > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>11</sup> they burned S<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>12</sup> v > V <sup>13</sup> u-o their towers E<sup>1</sup> <sup>14</sup> lit. thereof > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>15</sup> dwelt N<sup>100</sup> 55 <sup>16</sup> Judas 64 93 E<sup>1</sup> <sup>17</sup> + and a  
<sup>18</sup> mighty band N V Luc <sup>19</sup> s-z > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>20</sup> s-a > 19 <sup>21</sup> lit. daughters <sup>22</sup> they returned N Judas ret. 64 93  
<sup>23</sup> Idumaea V S<sup>100</sup> <sup>24</sup> Ramoth S<sup>1</sup> <sup>25</sup> r-f > N <sup>26</sup> and have carried us off and are occupying the stronghold E<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>27</sup> they N\* (we N<sup>100</sup>) <sup>28</sup> i-1 > 71 <sup>29</sup> k > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>30</sup> these 55 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>31</sup> The words which follow are in direct narration  
in S<sup>1</sup>, but in oblique narration in E<sup>1</sup> <sup>32</sup> n-o > S<sup>100</sup>

2. (those of) the race of Jacob. The reading 'seed of J.', though not well attested, is more likely to be correct, being more in accordance with O.T. usage, cp. Ps. xxii. 23, Isa. xlv. 19, Jer. xxxiii. 26, &c.

3. the children of Esau. Cp. Gen. xxxvi. 10, 19.

Akrabattine. Cp. מְעַלְתָּה עֲקָרְבַיִם (Joshua xv. 3, Judges i. 36); a spot in the hill-country in the south-west of Palestine, which formed the boundary of Judaea, cp. Num. xxxiv. 4.

and he smote them with a great slaughter. A characteristic Hebrew phrase: וַיִּךְ אֹתָם כְּסֹבֵה מְרוֹלָה.

humbled them and . . . For the phraseology cp. Deut. xxviii. 29.

4. the children of Baean. This name does not occur elsewhere; Blau (quoted by Bissell, *in loc.*) says: 'The region in which the event described in 1 Macc. v. 1-6 took place is the same as that which the table by Karnack calls Bajaa, near Kapharbaruk, east from Hebron, where in the time of the Maccabees Idumaeans settled. In my opinion, בָּאֵי יָדִים signifies simply the inhabitants of the place Bajaa.' Grimm holds that Baean can only refer to the ancestor of a tribe, on the analogy of 'the children of Esau'.

a snare and a stumbling-block. Cp. Ps. lxxviii. 23 (Sept.), = lxix. 22 (E.V.).

5. utterly destroyed. ἀσθεμαρῖσθαι = הִחַרְרִים; cp. 1 Sam. xv. 8.

burned . . . the towers. Cp. Judges ix. 49.

6. the children of Ammon. Like the Edomites, traditional enemies of Israel, cp. Judges xi. 4, 12; 2 Sam. x. 6-14.  
a mighty band. Lit. 'a mighty hand'; a Hebraism, חֵזק הַיָּד, used in Num. xx. 20 of the fighting power of the Edomites.

Timotheus . . . their leader. Probably an Ammonite who had assumed a Greek name, in accordance with a frequent custom in those times.

7. and he smote them. Cp. note on v. 3.

8. he gat possession. παραλαμβάνωσθαι implies a sudden taking possession.

Jazer. A place on the east of Jordan occupied by the Amorites originally (Num. xvi. 32), later by the tribe of Gad (Num. xxxii. 25; Joshua xiii. 25; 1 Chron. vi. 81).

the villages thereof. Lit. the 'daughters thereof', a Hebraism; the 'land of Jazer' was a fertile region with villages dependent upon the city; see Num. xxxii. 1; Isa. xvi. 8; Jer. xlvi. 32.

9. Gilead. The reference here is to the 'land of Gilead', i.e. the mountainous district on the east of Jordan between the Yarmuk in the north, and the Arnon in the south; the river Jabbok cuts this region into two parts (cf. Num. xxxii. 29; Joshua xxii. 9; Judges x. 8, xx. 1).

Dathema. This place has not been identified. On the letter contained in vs. 10-13 see *Intr.* § 7. 1 (a).

13. Tubias. Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 17; 'the land of Tob' (Judges xi. 3, 5; 2 Sam. x. 6, 8), twelve miles south-east of the Sea of Galilee.

15. Ptolemais. The Accho or Akka of the O.T., cp. Judges i. 31; Joshua xix. 24-31. It is uncertain when this name was changed to Ptolemais; the city had already received it for some time by the end of the third century B.C.

I MACCABEES 5. 16-34

16 consume us.' Now when Judas and<sup>a</sup> the people<sup>b</sup> heard these words, there assembled together  
 a great gathering to consult what they should do<sup>c</sup> for their brethren who were in tribulation and  
 17 being attacked by the enemy<sup>d</sup>. And Judas said unto Simon his brother: 'Choose out men for  
 thyself, and go and deliver thy<sup>e</sup> brethren in Galilee, while I and Jonathan my brother will go into  
 18 Gilead.' And he left Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, as leaders of the people, with the  
 19 rest of the army, in Judaea, to guard it. And<sup>f</sup> he commanded them, saying<sup>g</sup>: 'Take ye the charge of  
 20 this people, and engage not in battle with the Gentiles until we return.' And three thousand men were  
 allotted unto Simon to go into Galilee, and eight thousand men<sup>h</sup> unto Judas (to go)<sup>i</sup> into Gilead.  
 21 And Simon went into Galilee, and engaged in many<sup>j</sup> battles with the Gentiles, and the Gentiles  
 22 were discomfited before him. And he pursued them unto the gate<sup>k</sup> of Ptolemais; and there fell of  
 23 the Gentiles<sup>l</sup> about three thousand men, and he took their spoils. And he<sup>m</sup> took<sup>n</sup> those (that were)<sup>o</sup>  
 in<sup>p</sup> Galilee and Arbatta with (their) wives and children, and brought<sup>q</sup> them<sup>r</sup> into Judaea<sup>s</sup> with great  
 gladness<sup>t</sup>.  
 24 And Judas Maccabaeus<sup>u</sup> and<sup>v</sup> his brother<sup>w</sup> Jonathan passed over Jordan, and went three days'  
 25 journey in the wilderness; and they fell in with the Nabataeans, and these met them in a peaceable  
 26 manner, and recounted to them all things that had befallen their brethren in Gilead; and how that  
 many of them were shut up in Bosora, and Bosor, and Alema, Casphor, Maked, and Carnaim,—all<sup>x</sup>  
 27 these cities (being) strong and great; and how that they were shut up in the rest<sup>y</sup> of the cities of  
 Gilead, and that on the morrow (the enemies) had planned<sup>z</sup> to encamp<sup>aa</sup> against<sup>ab</sup> the stronghold<sup>ac</sup>,  
 28 and to take (it)<sup>ad</sup>, and to destroy all those<sup>ae</sup> (who were in it) in one day. And Judas and his army  
 turned suddenly<sup>af</sup> by the way of<sup>ag</sup> the wilderness unto Bosora<sup>ah</sup>; and he took<sup>ai</sup> the city, and slew all the  
 males<sup>aj</sup> with the edge of the sword<sup>ak</sup>, and took all their spoils, and burned<sup>al</sup> it (i.e. the city)<sup>am</sup> with fire.  
 29 And he<sup>an</sup> removed thence<sup>ao</sup> by night, and went on<sup>ap</sup> until (he reached) the stronghold. And when it  
 30 was morning they lifted up their eyes<sup>aq</sup>, and behold (there was) a great multitude<sup>ar</sup> which could not  
 be numbered<sup>as</sup>, bearing ladders and engines (of war), to take the stronghold<sup>at</sup>; and they were fighting  
 31 against them (that were in the stronghold). And when Judas saw that the battle had begun, and  
 32 that the cry of the city<sup>au</sup> went up to<sup>av</sup> heaven, with trumpets and<sup>aw</sup> a great sound<sup>ax</sup>, he<sup>ay</sup> said unto the  
 33 men of his host: 'Fight this day for your<sup>az</sup> brethren.' And he<sup>ba</sup> went forth behind them in three  
 34 companies, and they<sup>bb</sup> sounded with trumpets, and cried out in prayer. And the army of Timotheus  
 perceived that it was Maccabaeus, and they fled from before him; and he<sup>bc</sup> smote them with a great<sup>bd</sup>

<sup>a</sup> + all 55 64 S<sup>e</sup> P his brethren S<sup>e</sup> q q > 71 r by them N V &c. by him A s > N 93; our 55 64 t t and he said unto them 71 u > 71 v this is expressed in S<sup>10</sup> w > V x cities A gates 55 > 19 71 93 S<sup>10</sup> y + in that day 55 z Simon Luc aa them A b lit. from c they brought AV d all as many as were with them S<sup>e</sup> e > 71 f > 71 g > 71 h > N\* (hab N<sup>o</sup>a) 71 i t > 71 k other N > S<sup>e</sup> l intended to attack (lit. to trouble) 64 m w > 93 n plur. G S L; but see next note and note<sup>o</sup> below o them 19 64 + and the rest of the cities of Gilead 71 p > S<sup>10</sup> q q to 55 r + a journey (lit. a way) of three days 55 s fell upon S<sup>10</sup> t + thereof 55 u u > 71 v they burned N w it G S L x Judas 64 93 y > 71 z they went on N 64 93 aa + and saw S<sup>10</sup> ab h > N\* (hab N<sup>o</sup>a) ac plur. 19 ad battle L<sup>1</sup> ae unto (was for ecc) A 55 (= S<sup>10</sup>) af > 71 + from the city L<sup>1</sup> ag Judas 55 64 93 ah our N<sup>o</sup>b AV ai Judas 64 93 aj he A ak they L<sup>1</sup> m > 71

Ptolemy Lagi destroyed it in B.C. 312 when it was still called Akka; very possibly the renovated city which subsequently arose took its name from him; but as he only had possession of it for a very short time, it seems more likely that it was named after Ptolemy II, who conquered the whole of Phoenicia, and retained possession of it. For the history of the city during the Maccabean struggle see 1 Macc. x. 1, 39, 48-66, xii. 45 ff.; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 1, ii. 6, XIII. ii. 3, iv. 1, 6, 9, vi. 2.

- all Galilee of the Gentiles. i.e. Upper Galilee with its mixed Gentile population; cp. Isa. viii. 23, ix. 1.
- 18. Joseph . . . and Azarias. See *vv.* 56-62; they are not mentioned otherwise.
- 23. Arbatta. Probably = *Arabah*, i.e. the valley of the Dead Sea (cp. Deut. i. 7; Joshua xi. 16, xii. 8, xviii. 18).
- 25. the Nabataeans. The Ishmaelite tribe of Nebaioth of the O.T. (Gen. xxv. 13), according to Josephus (*Antiq.* i. xii. 4); Petra, their capital, became a great commercial centre in later days. G. A. Smith (*Historical Geography of Palestine*, p. 547) says: 'Their inscriptions are scattered all over eastern Palestine, where they had many settlements, and in Arabia, but have even been discovered in Italy, proving the extent of their trade.'
- in a peaceable manner. Cp. ix. 35.
- 26. Bosora. i.e. Borrah in Moab (cp. Jer. xlviii. 24), not the Bozrah in Edom (Isa. lxxiii. 1).
- Bosor. i.e. most likely = Bezer<sup>1</sup> in the wilderness<sup>1</sup>, in the inheritance of the Reubenites (Deut. iv. 43, Joshua xx. 8, xxi. 36); mentioned also on the Moabite Stone.
- Alema, Casphor, Maked. These places are not otherwise mentioned; they cannot be identified further than that they were cities of Gilead, see v. 36.
- Carnaim. Cp. Gen. xiv. 5; Deut. i. 4; Am. vi. 13; 2 Macc. xii. 21, 26.
- 29. the stronghold. i.e. Dathema.
- 33. And he went forth . . . Cp. Judges vii. 16.
- cried out in prayer. i.e. a battle-cry which was also a prayer, cp. Judges vii. 18, where the cry is: 'For the Lord and for Gideon,' which was also preceded by the blowing of trumpets. Cp. the battle-cry, 'Allah, Allah!' of the Turks (Grimm), and 'For God and St. George!' of the English.



I MACCABEES 5. 35-50

35 slaughter; and there fell of them on that day about eight thousand men. And he turned aside<sup>o</sup> to Mizpeh and fought against it, and took it<sup>o</sup>, and slew<sup>t</sup> all the males thereof, and took<sup>o</sup> the spoils thereof<sup>o</sup>, and burned it with fire. From thence he<sup>o</sup> removed, and took Casphor, Maked, Bosor, and the other cities<sup>o</sup> of Gilead.<sup>o</sup>

37 Now after these things Timotheus gathered another army, and encamped over against Raphon, beyond<sup>o</sup> the brook. And Judas sent (men) to espy the army<sup>o</sup>; and they reported to him, saying<sup>t</sup>: 'All the Gentiles<sup>o</sup> that are round about us<sup>o</sup> are gathered together unto them<sup>o</sup>, an exceeding<sup>o</sup> great host; and they have hired Arabians to help them, and are encamping beyond the brook<sup>o</sup>, ready to come against thee<sup>o</sup> to battle.' And Judas went to meet them. And Timotheus said unto the captains of his host, when Judas and his army<sup>o</sup> drew nigh unto the brook of water: 'If he pass over unto us first, we shall not be able to withstand him<sup>o</sup>, for<sup>o</sup> he will mightily prevail against us<sup>o</sup>'; but if he be afraid, and encamp beyond the river, we will cross over<sup>o</sup> unto him<sup>o</sup>, and prevail against him<sup>o</sup>.' Now when Judas came nigh unto the brook<sup>o</sup> of water, he placed the officers<sup>o</sup> of the people by the brook<sup>o</sup>, and commanded them, saying<sup>t</sup>: 'Suffer no man to encamp<sup>o</sup>, but let all<sup>o</sup> come to the battle.' And he crossed over first against them, and all<sup>o</sup> his people after<sup>o</sup> him; and all<sup>o</sup> the Gentiles were discomfited before his<sup>o</sup> face, and cast away their arms, and fled unto<sup>o</sup> the temple of Carnaim. And they<sup>o</sup> took the city<sup>o</sup>, and burned the temple<sup>o</sup> with fire, together with all<sup>o</sup> that were therein. And Carnaim was subdued<sup>t</sup>; neither could they<sup>o</sup> stand any longer before the face of Judas.

45 And Judas gathered together all Israel, them that were in Gilead, from the least unto the greatest<sup>o</sup>, and their wives, and their children, and their belongings, an exceeding great army, that they might come into the land of Judah. And they came as far as Ephron; and this was a large city at<sup>o</sup> (the entrance of) the pass, exceeding strong; it was not (possible) to turn aside<sup>o</sup> from it<sup>o</sup> either to the right or the left, but (one had) to go through the midst of it. And they of the city shut them out, and stopped up the gates with stones. And Judas sent<sup>o</sup> unto them<sup>o</sup> with words of peace, saying: 'We would pass through<sup>o</sup> thy<sup>o</sup> land to go into our own land; and none shall harm you, we will only pass by on our feet.' But they would not open unto him<sup>o</sup>. And Judas commanded proclamation to be made<sup>t</sup> in the army, that each man should encamp in the place where he was. And the men of the host<sup>o</sup> encamped<sup>t</sup>; and they<sup>o</sup> fought against the city all that day and all that

<sup>o-n</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> Judas Luc <sup>o</sup> enclosed <sup>o</sup> <sup>o-n</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> they slew <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> they took <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> Judas Luc <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> in front of <sup>o</sup> at <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> the land <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> you A <sup>o</sup> him <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> us <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> before the face of him <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> unto them <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> them <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> lit. scribes <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> said <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> leave no man behind <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> before A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> before A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> all their A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> that were round about Judas Luc <sup>o</sup> he <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> of Carnaim <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> the place <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> into A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> into A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> them <sup>o</sup> (him <sup>o</sup>) <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> proclaimed <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>o</sup> city A <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> > 71

35. Mizpeh in Gilead; cp. Judges xi. 29.  
 36. Casphor . . . See notes on v. 26.  
 37. Raphon. According to Pliny (quoted by Grimm) this was one of the cities of 'Decapolis'; Josephus (*Antiq* XII. viii. 4) speaks of it as a 'city'.  
 the brook. *χευμαίσιος* = לַמַּיִם, 'a torrent' of water in a narrow channel; cp. Judges v. 21, &c.  
 39. Arabians. Cp. 2 Macc. xii. 10.  
 40. For he will mightily prevail against us. Grimm aptly refers to 2 Chron. xxxii. 13 (Sept.) = יָבֵל יָבֵל יָבֵל.  
 42. officers. *πολε γραμματεῖς* = שֹׁטְרֵי־מֵסֵבִים. Cp. Deut. xx. 5 ff. (Kautsch).  
 43. and he crossed over first. That no attempt was made by Timotheus to oppose the Jews during this crossing shows extraordinary ineptitude; bad leadership on the part of the enemy must evidently have had much to do with many of their defeats during the Maccabean struggle.  
 the temple. *τεμενος* is the entire piece of consecrated ground in which a temple stands; regarding this temple of Carnaim cp. 2 Macc. xii. 26.  
 45. from the least unto the greatest. A characteristic O.T. expression, סָקָטִים וְעַד־גִּבּוֹרִים.  
 46. Ephron. According to Kautsch, identical with the *Ἐφρών* or *Ἐφρών*, mentioned by Polybius V. lxx. 12, as having been conquered by Antiochus the Great. From *vv.* 43, 52 (cp. 2 Macc. xii. 27 f.) it must have lain in the stretch of land between Ashtaroth and the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis or Beth-Shan (Grimm). The situation of the city explains why it was not possible 'to turn aside from it either to the right or the left', i.e. the land was precipitous on either side.  
 48. we would pass through . . . Cp. the similar request preferred by Moses to the king of Edom (Num. xx. 17) and to the king of the Amorites (Num. xxi. 22).  
 we will only pass by on our feet. Cp. the Hebrew phrase בְּרַגְלֵי אֲנִי עֹבֵר 'let me pass through with my feet' (Num. xx. 19), the idea being that of rapidly passing through; cp. Ps. ciii. 16.  
 49. each man should encamp . . . In view of what is said in the next v., that they fought 'all that day', it can only be a temporary halt that is here referred to, not an encampment proper.

I MACCABEES 5. 51-68

51 night; and the city was delivered into his hands; and he destroyed all the males with the edge of the sword, and rased the city, and took the spoils thereof, and passed through the city over them that were slain. And they went over Jordan into the great plain over against Bethshan. 52 And Judas gathered together those that lagged behind, and encouraged the people all the way 53 through until he came into the land of Judah. And they went up to mount Sion with gladness and joy, and offered whole burnt offerings, because not so much as one of them was slain until they returned in peace.

54 And in the days when Judas and Jonathan were in the land of Gilead, and Simon his brother 55 in Galilee before Ptolemais, Joseph the son of Zacharias, and Azarias, leaders of the armies (in 56 Judaea), heard of their exploits and of the war.—what things they had done; and they said: Let us also make a name for ourselves, and let us go fight against the Gentiles that are round about 57 us. And they gave charge unto the (men) of the host that was with them, and went toward 58 Jamnia. And Gorgias and his men came out of the city to meet them in battle. And Joseph and 59 Azarias were put to flight, and were pursued unto the borders of Judaea; and there fell on that 60 day of the people of Israel about two thousand men. And there was a great overthrow among 61 the people, because they hearkened not unto Judas and his brethren, thinking to do some exploit. 62 But they were not of the seed of those men, by whose hand deliverance was given unto Israel. But 63 the man Judas and his brethren were glorified exceedingly in the sight of all Israel, and of all the 64 Gentiles, wheresoever their name was heard of; and (men) gathered unto them, acclaiming (them).

65 And Judas and his brethren went forth, and fought against the children of Esau in the land toward the south; and he smote Hebron and the villages thereof, and pulled down the strongholds thereof, 66 and burned the towers thereof round about. And he removed to go into the land of the Philis- 67 times; and he went through Marisa. In that day (certain) priests fell in battle, desiring themselves 68 to do exploits, in that they went out to the war unadvisedly. And Judas turned aside to Azotus, to the land of the Philistines, and pulled down their altars, and burned the carved images of their gods, and took the spoil of their cities, and returned into the land of Judah.

v-v it 71 w their V 55 x they 55 93 J + thereof Luc 55 they rased 19 S<sup>luc</sup> they took 19 S<sup>luc</sup>  
 b of the city A they passed 19 S<sup>luc</sup> d he S<sup>luc</sup> e-e > 71 f f > 71 g + his brother 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup>  
 h > A i i > 71 k-k > 71 l Josephus Luc m lit. rulers n army N V o-o which Judas had  
 waged (lit. done) Luc > S<sup>luc</sup> p + we 55 q q > 71 r > V let us fight 71 s s > 71 t > U<sup>1</sup> u-u and  
 they stood before him V v-v > U<sup>1</sup> w Idumaea 19 (but wrongly spelt) S<sup>luc</sup> x-x > V y y > 71 in Israel  
 N 64 among them 93 z-z > 71 a + him (sic) A + they also Luc b-b > 71 c-c > S<sup>luc</sup> d > S<sup>luc</sup>  
 e and wheresoever S<sup>luc</sup> f f > 71 g > S<sup>luc</sup> making one sentence with the foregoing h 64 him 93 i lit.  
 daughters k > 71 l sing. A m > 71 n And Judas removed from thence Luc o they S<sup>luc</sup> p lit.  
 strangers q U<sup>2</sup> Samaria U<sup>2</sup> S<sup>luc</sup> (see note below) r reading βοδωνομοισι with N s reading αυτοι with 55  
 t reading νεκροι with T.R. u this and the following verbs in the plur. S<sup>luc</sup> v + in fire N T.R. w w > A

50. the city was delivered. For the expression cp. Gen. xiv. 20; Deut. iii. 3; Judges xi. 21; the idea was that the Lord of hosts (i.e. of the Israelite hosts) brought this about; cp. 2 Macc. xii. 36.

52. the great plain. i.e. the plain of Esdraclon, between the Jordan and mount Gilboa; Kautsch suggests that it was called the 'great' plain because it was here much broader than the continuation of it east of Jordan.

Bethshan. Beth-Shean; called Scythopolis in Judges i. 27 (Sept.); 2 Macc. xii. 29; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 5, XIII. vi. 1; *Bibl. Ind.* III. ix. 7; one of the cities of the Decapolis, the only one of the ten lying on the west of Jordan; the modern *Beisan*.

56. Joseph . . . and Azarias. Cp. v. 18.

58. Jamnia. See note on iv. 15.

59. Gorgias. Cp. iii. 38; 2 Macc. viii. 9, 'a captain and one that had experience in matters of war.'

61. because they hearkened not . . . i.e. to the command given to them by Judas in v. 19. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. viii. 6) says concerning this: 'For besides the rest of Judas' sagacious counsels, one may well wonder at this concerning the misfortune that befel the forces commanded by Joseph and Azarias, which he understood would happen, if they broke any of the injunctions he had given them.'

62. But they were not of the seed . . . i.e. not Hasmonaeans; the writer apparently resents the idea that any not belonging to the Hasmonaeans should take part in the national deliverance; cp. note on iii. 28.

63. the man Judas. Cp. Exod. xi. 3, xxxii. 1; Num. xii. 3.

65. Hebron. The ancient Kirjath-Arba (Judges i. 10).

the villages thereof. Cp. note on v. 8.

the strongholds. Cod. A reads 'stronghold', i.e. the citadel.

66. Marisa. i.e. Mareshah in the plain of Judaea. The reading of all authorities, excepting U<sup>2</sup> and Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. viii. 6, viz. 'Samaria' cannot be right, for to go from Hebron to Philistia via Samaria without very special reasons is unthinkable; no reasons are given, but they certainly would have been given by the intelligent and careful author of this book if this enormous *détour* had been undertaken.

67. In that day . . . This episode is not mentioned by Josephus; but in 2 Macc. xii. 38-40, where, however, no mention of priests is made, these men are said to have fallen because under their garments were found 'consecrated tokens of the idols of Jamnia'.

68. Azotus. See note on iv. 15.

pulled down their altars . . . Cp. x. 84.



I MACCABEES 6. 1-15

VI. 1-17. *Death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and accession of his son, Antiochus Eupator.*

6<sup>1</sup> And king Antiochus was journeying through the upper countries; and he heard that Elymais<sup>a</sup>, in  
 2 Persia, was<sup>b</sup> a city renowned for riches, for silver and gold<sup>c</sup>; and that the temple which was in it  
 (was) rich exceedingly, and that therein (were) golden shields, and breastplates, and arms, which  
 3 Alexander, son of Philip<sup>d</sup>, the Macedonian<sup>e</sup> king, who reigned first among<sup>f</sup> the Greeks<sup>g</sup>, had left  
 behind there. So he came and sought to take the city, and to pillage it<sup>h</sup>; but he was not able (to  
 4 do so) because the thing had become known to them of the city. And they rose up<sup>i</sup> against him to  
 battle<sup>j</sup>; and he fled, and removed<sup>k</sup> thence with great heaviness, to return to Babylon.  
 5 And there came one bringing him tidings<sup>l</sup> into Persia<sup>m</sup> that "the armies, which went against  
 6 the land of<sup>n</sup> Judah<sup>o</sup>, had been put to flight; and that Lysias had gone forth at the head of a strong  
 army, and had been put to shame before them; and that they had waxed strong by reason of  
 7 arms and power, and with store of spoils<sup>p</sup>, which they took from the armies that they had cut off<sup>q</sup>;  
 and that they had pulled down the abomination which he had built<sup>r</sup> upon the altar that was in  
 8 Jerusalem<sup>s</sup>; and that they had compassed about the sanctuary<sup>t</sup> with high walls, as (had been the  
 case) formerly<sup>u</sup>, and Bethsura, his city<sup>v</sup>. And it came to pass, when the king heard these words,  
 he was struck with amazement and greatly moved; and he laid him down upon (his) bed, and fell  
 9 sick for grief, because it had not befallen him as he had looked for. And he was there many days,  
 10 because great<sup>w</sup> grief was renewed upon him; and he<sup>x</sup> reckoned that he was about to die. And he  
 called for all his Friends, and said unto them: 'Sleep departeth from mine eyes, and (my)<sup>y</sup> heart  
 11 faileth<sup>z</sup> for care<sup>aa</sup>. And I said in (my) heart<sup>ab</sup>. Unto what tribulation am I come, and how great  
 12 a flood is it wherein I now am! For I was gracious and beloved in my power. But now I remem-  
 ber the evils which I did at Jerusalem, and that I took all<sup>ac</sup> the vessels<sup>ad</sup> of silver and gold that were  
 13 therein, and sent forth (armies) to destroy the<sup>ae</sup> inhabitants<sup>af</sup> of Judah without a cause. I perceive  
 that on this account these evils are come upon me, and, behold, I perish<sup>ag</sup> through great grief<sup>ah</sup> in  
 14 a strange land.' And he<sup>ai</sup> called for Philip, one of his Friends<sup>aj</sup>, and set him over all his kingdom,  
 15 and gave him (his) diadem, and his robe, and (his) signet-ring, to the end that he should educate<sup>ak</sup>

VI. 1. <sup>a</sup> *Ελυμαίς* NV (cp *Δρυμαίς* 55) <sup>b</sup> *Ελυμαίς* A <sup>c</sup> had N <sup>d</sup> glorious, and full of riches, possessing gold and silver U<sup>21</sup> <sup>e</sup> > 71 <sup>f</sup> > 71 <sup>g</sup> them N <sup>h</sup> withstood U<sup>1</sup> <sup>i</sup> > 93 <sup>j</sup> > U<sup>1</sup> <sup>k</sup> > U<sup>1</sup> <sup>l</sup> there came (men) bringing tidings to him S<sup>100</sup> <sup>m</sup> + to Antiochus 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>n</sup> the encampments in the land of Judah U<sup>1</sup> <sup>o</sup> > N <sup>p</sup> > 71 <sup>q</sup> > A <sup>r</sup> the encampments U<sup>1</sup> <sup>s</sup> smitten Luc <sup>t</sup> the execrable thing, the monstrous thing which they had built in Jerusalem U<sup>1</sup> <sup>u</sup> had been built 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>v</sup> > 71 the altar and the sanctuary S<sup>8</sup> <sup>w</sup> > 71 <sup>x</sup> > N their city 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>y</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>z</sup> Antiochus 64 93 <sup>aa</sup> 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>ab</sup> > 71 <sup>ac</sup> > 71 <sup>ad</sup> > 55 71 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>ae</sup> > 71 <sup>af</sup> all the 55 <sup>ag</sup> > 71 <sup>ah</sup> Antiochus 64 93 <sup>ai</sup> his friend U<sup>1</sup> <sup>aj</sup> servants V <sup>ak</sup> to bring them to Luc S

VI. 1. **Elymais.** See critical note. Most commentators take Elymais as the name of a province (Elam of the O.T. lying between Media and the Persian Gulf), and retain the *ε*, because a city of this name is unknown; but the preposition does not belong to the original text, and the whole context necessitates our regarding Elymais as a city, and not as a province. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) speaks of 'a very rich city in Persia, called Elymais', and says that Antiochus 'went in haste to Elymais, and assaulted it, and besieged it'. Elymais is mentioned in Tobit ii. 10, where, however, it is thought of as a province; but it is possible, and even probable, that the text in this passage is based on a misunderstanding of an original Semitic form (see Dillon in the *Contemporary Review*, March, 1898, referred to in *EB* col. 1284). See next note.

2. **the temple which was in it.** Cp. 2 Macc. i. 12-17, where this episode is clearly referred to; here this temple is spoken of as that of Nanæa, one of the primeval Babylonian deities, = Innanæa, called in later times Nana, and identified with Ishtar; she is spoken of as the 'goddess of the world', and also as the 'goddess of war' (see further Jastrow. *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, i. 761.). The chief centre of the cult of this goddess was the city of Erech, and continued so to the very end of the Assyrian Empire. There is, therefore, the possibility that in the name Elymais there lurks a corruption of some form of the name of Erech in the original Hebrew text.

**had left behind there.** i.e. as votive offerings.

5. **the armies . . . had been put to flight.** i.e. those of Seron (iii. 23), Nicanor (iv. 14), and Gorgias (iv. 22).

7. **the abomination . . .** Cp. i. 54.

10. **Sleep . . .** Cp. Gen. xxxi. 40 (Sept.). With this and the following *vv.* cp. 2 Macc. ix. 12-17; in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) this speech is merely summarized.

13. **these evils are come upon me.** According to Polybius (xxxii. 11), who is, however, only repeating a tradition (*ὡς ἐνὶ φαντασίᾳ*), 'these evils' constituted a species of madness, for he died *δαιμονιώτης* . . . *διὰ τὰ γυναικῶν τοῦ ἐπισημοῦς τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ τὴν περὶ τὸ πρηνεργεῖν ἱερὸν παρανομίαν*. The author of 1 Macc. is evidently preserving some tradition based on fact, though he assigns the cause of Antiochus' disorder to his desecration of the temple at Jerusalem, while Polybius traces it to strange apparitions seen during his attempt to rob the temple in Elymais. Cp. the argument in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 1) who certainly does *not* take the will for the deed!

**in a strange land.** This is a natural addition by a Jew who wishes to represent things as bad as possible for the arch-enemy of his race, cp. for the conception Amos vii. 17. Antiochus the Great was killed while plundering the temple at Elymais.

14. **Philip.** Cp. 2 Macc. v. 22, vi. 11, viii. 8, ix. 29, see also 1 Macc. i. 6.

15. **signet-ring.** Cp. Gen. xli. 42; Esther iii. 10, viii. 2.

**that he should educate . . .** This duty had been assigned to Lysias (iii. 32-4); the reason for the change is

I MACCABEES 6. 16-35

16 Antiochus his son, and bring him up to be king<sup>m</sup>. And king<sup>n</sup> Antiochus died there <sup>o</sup>in the one  
17 hundred and forty-ninth year<sup>p</sup>. And when Lysias knew that the king was dead, he set up  
Antiochus his (i.e. the king's) son to reign<sup>q</sup>, whom he had nourished up while yet young, and he  
called his name Eupator.

VI. 18-54. *The struggle between Judas and the forces under Lysias and Eupator  
for the possession of Jerusalem and Bethsura.*

18 And they that were in the citadel kept enclosing Israel round about the sanctuary, and continually  
19 sought their hurt, and (acted as) a support to the Gentiles<sup>a</sup>. And Judas<sup>r</sup> purposed to destroy  
20 them, and called all<sup>s</sup> the people together to besiege them. <sup>t</sup>And they were gathered together, and  
besieged them<sup>u</sup> in <sup>v</sup>the one hundred and fiftieth year<sup>w</sup>; and he<sup>x</sup> constructed siege-towers<sup>y</sup> against  
21 them, and engines (of war). And there came forth some <sup>z</sup>of them<sup>aa</sup> that were shut up, and unto  
22 them were joined certain ungodly men of Israel<sup>ab</sup>. And they went unto the king and said: 'How  
23 long wilt thou not execute judgement, and (when wilt thou) avenge our brethren? We were willing  
24 to serve thy father, and to walk after his words, and to follow his commandments<sup>ac</sup>. <sup>ad</sup>For this cause<sup>e</sup>  
the children of our people <sup>ae</sup>besieged it (i.e. the citadel)<sup>af</sup>, and were alienated from us, and <sup>ag</sup>as  
25 many of us as they could light on<sup>ah</sup> they killed<sup>ai</sup>, and they spoiled<sup>aj</sup> our inheritances<sup>ak</sup>. And not  
26 against us only did they stretch out their hand, but also against all their<sup>al</sup> borderlands. And, behold,  
they are encamped this day against the citadel in Jerusalem with the object of capturing it, and  
27 they have fortified the sanctuary<sup>am</sup> and Bethsura. And if thou art not<sup>an</sup> beforehand with them quickly  
they will do greater things than these, and thou wilt not<sup>ao</sup> be able to control them<sup>ap</sup>.'

28 And the king was angry when he heard (this); and <sup>aq</sup>he gathered together all his Friends, (who  
29 were) the leaders of his host, and them that were over the horse<sup>ar</sup>. And there came unto him<sup>as</sup> from  
30 other kingdoms, and from <sup>at</sup>the isles of the sea<sup>au</sup>, bands of mercenaries. And the number of his forces  
was a hundred thousand footmen, and twenty thousand horsemen, and thirty-two elephants trained  
31 for war. And they went through Idumaea, and encamped against Bethsura, and fought against (it)  
many days, and made engines (of war): but <sup>av</sup>they (that were besieged)<sup>aw</sup> came out and burned them  
32 with fire, and fought manfully. And Judas removed from the citadel, and encamped at Beth-  
33 zacharias, over against the king's camp. And the king rose early in the morning, and removed the  
army in its eagerness <sup>ax</sup>along the road to Beth-zacharias<sup>ay</sup>; and his forces prepared themselves<sup>az</sup> for  
34 the battle, and sounded with trumpets. And they showed the elephants the blood of grapes and  
35 mulberries, that they might prepare them for the battle. And they divided the beasts among the  
phalanxes<sup>ba</sup>, and they set by each elephant a thousand men armed with coats of mail, and helmets

m<sup>m</sup> that he should reign Luc      u<sup>u</sup> > 58      o<sup>o</sup> > 71      p<sup>p</sup> + in his stead A V 19 64 58      q<sup>q</sup> > 71 58      r<sup>r</sup> > 58  
s<sup>s</sup> > 71      t<sup>t</sup> > N<sup>s</sup> (hab N<sup>e-a</sup>) A 71      u<sup>u</sup> > 71      v<sup>v</sup> they 58      w<sup>w</sup> turrets to fight (from) 58      x<sup>x</sup> thereof A      y<sup>y</sup> Jeru-  
salem N      z<sup>z</sup> + to the king 58      aa<sup>aa</sup> > 71      ab<sup>ab</sup> > 71      ac<sup>ac</sup> and N V      ad<sup>ad</sup> A 55      ae<sup>ae</sup> T.R. 58<sup>loc</sup>      af<sup>af</sup> but A V  
ag<sup>ag</sup> > N<sup>s</sup> (hab N<sup>e-a</sup>)      ah<sup>ah</sup> pass. in G 58<sup>loc</sup>      ai<sup>ai</sup> act. in 58<sup>loc</sup>      aj<sup>aj</sup> > 71      ak<sup>ak</sup> > N<sup>s</sup> (hab N<sup>e-a</sup>)      al<sup>al</sup> thy 58<sup>loc</sup>      am<sup>am</sup> > V  
an<sup>an</sup> the fortress 58<sup>loc</sup>      ao<sup>ao</sup> with high walls 55      ap<sup>ap</sup> ye be not N V 55 64 58<sup>loc</sup>      aq<sup>aq</sup> ye will not 58<sup>loc</sup>      ar<sup>ar</sup> + he sent and 55  
as<sup>as</sup> tribute 55      at<sup>at</sup> chariots 58<sup>loc</sup>      au<sup>au</sup> them 58<sup>loc</sup>      av<sup>av</sup> kings A V      aw<sup>aw</sup> > 71      ax<sup>ax</sup> many isles 58<sup>loc</sup>      ay<sup>ay</sup> the children of Israel 55  
az<sup>az</sup> > 71      ba<sup>ba</sup> + in order that they might be ready 55      bb<sup>bb</sup> defiles A 71

not given: cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 2), who adds: 'But it was Lysias that declared his death to the multitude, and appointed his son Antiochus to be king, of whom at present he had the care, and called him Eupator.' The appointment of Philip was fraught with evil consequences, see *rev.* 55-63.

16. one hundred and forty-ninth year. 163 B.C.  
17. while yet young. Appian (*Syr.* slvi) says he was: ἐπαυρὶς παιδῶν.  
and he called his name. A very frequent O.T. phrase יִשְׁמַח אֲבִיךָ לְךָ.  
Eupator. Appian (*ibid.*) says: ἐπαυρὶσθεὺς ἑσπέρωσ οἱ Σόφρα δὴ τῆσ τοῦ πατρὸσ ἀπερῆσ.  
18. kept enclosing . . . This is explained by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 3): 'For the soldiers that were in that garrison rushed out suddenly, and destroyed such as were going up to the temple in order to offer their sacrifices; for this citadel adjoined to, and overlooked the temple.'  
20. the one hundred and fiftieth year. 162 B.C.  
21. ungodly men of Israel. Cp. i. 11.  
25. they have fortified . . . Cp. iv. 60, 61.  
30. a hundred thousand footmen . . . These numbers, which are also given by Josephus, are probably exaggerated: in 2 Macc. xii. 2, the number of horsemen given is still larger, but the other forces are smaller, though there are added, 'three hundred chariots armed with scythes.'  
32. Beth-zacharias. A place between Jerusalem and Beth-zur, an hour's walk to the south of Bethlehem; the present Beth-zacharieh.  
34. they showed the elephants . . . Grimm refers to Aelian, *De Animal.* xiii. 8 in support of the fact that spirituous liquors were given to elephants in order to excite them. In the present case the liquor was only shown to them, for had they drunk of it they would have got out of control. Josephus omits all reference to this. In 3 Macc. v. 1, 2 there is an account of the intention to give unmixed wine to elephants, and, when thoroughly maddened, to drive them into an enclosure full of Jews, in order that the latter might be trampled upon.



36 of brass<sup>2</sup> on their heads<sup>2</sup>; and for each beast were appointed five hundred chosen horsemen. These had previously been (with the beasts) <sup>a</sup>wherever a beast was<sup>a</sup>; <sup>a</sup>and whithersoever it went, <sup>b</sup>they went together with (it)<sup>b</sup>; they did not leave it<sup>a</sup>. And towers of wood (were) upon them, strong <sup>38</sup>(and) covered, (one) upon each beast, girt fast <sup>38</sup>upon them with<sup>a</sup> (special) contrivances<sup>a</sup>; and upon each were <sup>38</sup>thirty-two<sup>a</sup> men<sup>a</sup>, fighting <sup>38</sup>from them<sup>a</sup>, <sup>a</sup>and (each beast had) its Indian<sup>a</sup>. <sup>b</sup>And the residue of the horsemen he placed on this side and that side, on either wing of the army, <sup>c</sup>(thus) striking terror (into the enemy, while) covering the phalanxes<sup>ch</sup>. Now when the sun shone upon the <sup>40</sup>shields of gold <sup>k</sup>and brass<sup>k</sup>, the mountains shone therewith, and blazed like torches <sup>l</sup>of fire. And a part<sup>l</sup> of the king's<sup>m</sup> army <sup>l</sup>was spread<sup>l</sup> upon the high<sup>m</sup> mountains, and some on the "low ground", <sup>41</sup>and they went on <sup>l</sup>safely<sup>l</sup> and in order<sup>l</sup>. And all that<sup>l</sup> heard the noise of their multitude, <sup>a</sup>and of the marching of the multitude, and the rattling of the arms<sup>a</sup>, did quake; for the army was exceeding<sup>a</sup> <sup>42</sup>"great and" strong. And Judas and his army drew near for battle, and there fell of the king's army six hundred men.

43 And Eleazar Avaran saw one of the beasts armed with royal breastplates, and he was higher than <sup>44</sup>all the (other) beasts, so that it appeared as though the king were upon it; and he gave himself to <sup>45</sup>deliver his people and to acquire an everlasting name; and he ran upon it courageously into the midst of the phalanx<sup>a</sup>, and slew on the right hand and on the left, and they parted asunder <sup>m</sup>from him<sup>m</sup> on this side and on that; and he crept under the elephant, <sup>a</sup>and<sup>2</sup> thrust him from beneath<sup>a</sup>, <sup>47</sup>and slew it; and it fell to the earth upon him, and he died there. And when they<sup>a</sup> saw the strength of the royal<sup>a</sup> (army), and the fierce onslaught<sup>b</sup> of the hosts, they<sup>c</sup> turned away from them.

48 <sup>a</sup>But they<sup>d</sup> of the king's army went up to Jerusalem to meet them, and the king encamped toward <sup>49</sup>Judaea, and toward mount Zion. And he made peace<sup>e</sup> with them of Bethsura: for<sup>f</sup> they<sup>g</sup> came out of the city, because they had no food there<sup>h</sup> to be shut up therein (any longer), <sup>i</sup>because it was <sup>50</sup>a sabbath to the land<sup>i</sup>. And the king took Bethsura, and appointed<sup>k</sup> a garrison there <sup>l</sup>to keep it. <sup>51</sup>And he encamped against the sanctuary many days, and set there siege-towers<sup>l</sup>, and engines (of war), <sup>52</sup>and instruments for casting fire <sup>m</sup>and stones<sup>m</sup>, and pieces to cast darts and slings. And they (who <sup>53</sup>were besieged) also made engines against their engines, and fought for many<sup>n</sup> days. But there were no victuals in the store-chambers<sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup>because it was the seventh year<sup>p</sup>, and they that had fled for <sup>54</sup>safety<sup>o</sup> to Judaea<sup>o</sup> from the Gentiles had eaten up the residue of the store; and there were (but) a few men left in the sanctuary, because the famine prevailed against them, and they were scattered, each man to his own place.

VI. 55-63. *An abortive treaty of peace.*

55 And Lysias heard that Philip, whom Antiochus the king<sup>f</sup>—while he was yet alive—appointed to <sup>56</sup>nourish up his son Antiochus<sup>g</sup> that he might be king, had returned from Persia 'and Media', and

<sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup>

37. thirty-two. This is, of course, an impossible number: Grimm, following Michaelis, suggests in the original the reading שנים עשר ('two (or) three') which, through a copyist's error, became שנים עשרים ('thirty-two'): Fairweather and Black offer the ingenious suggestion that 'possibly the original text may have read עשרים ושתיים ('picked warriors'), the term used in Exod. xiv. 7, xv. 4 of the picked men in Pharaoh's chariots, which the translator mistook for עשרים ('thirty'): some Greek MSS. read 'thirty', and  $\aleph V$  read 'thirty men of strength'. The usual number of warriors on an elephant was three or four.

its Indian. This name came to be applied to the driver whether an Indian or not.

39. the shields of gold . . . This is merely a rhetorical picture.

43. Eleazar Avaran. Cp. ii. 5.

45. they parted asunder from him. i.e. they could not withstand his onslaught.

47. they turned away from them. An instance of the general trustworthiness of the writer, who does not conceal the fact of defeat; that he does not enlarge upon it is very excusable: cp. Josephus, *Hell. Jud.* i. i. 5. In 2 Macc. xiii. 22, 23 the Jewish defeat is represented as a victory.

49. it was a sabbath to the land. i.e. a Sabbatical year, cp. Exod. xxiii. 10, 11; Lev. xxv. 2-7; cp. v. 53.

51. pieces. *Lit.* 'little scorpions', so called because part of the 'piece', or instrument, resembled the uplifted tail of a scorpion. The Hebrew word עקרבים occurs in 1 Kings xii. 11, 14; 2 Chron. x. 11, 14.

53. they that had fled for safety . . . i.e. those from Gilead and Galilee, see v. 23, 45.

55. Philip. Cp. v. 14.

with him the forces that went with<sup>a</sup> the king, and that he was seeking to take unto him the govern-  
 57 ment<sup>a</sup>. And he<sup>w</sup> made haste, and gave consent to depart; and he<sup>x</sup> said<sup>r</sup> to the king and<sup>r</sup> to the  
 leaders of the host and to the<sup>s</sup> men: 'We languish daily<sup>a</sup>, and our food is scant, and the place which  
 58 we are besieging is strong<sup>b</sup>, and the affairs of the kingdom lie upon us; now therefore let us give the  
 59 right hand to these men, and make peace<sup>c</sup> with them<sup>c</sup>, and with all their nation<sup>d</sup>; and let us settle  
 60 laws which we abolished were they angered, and did all these things.' And the saying pleased the  
 61 king and the leaders, and he sent unto them to make peace<sup>e</sup>; and they<sup>f</sup> accepted thereof. And the  
 62 king<sup>g</sup> and the leaders<sup>g</sup> swore unto them in accordance with these (conditions); (thereupon) they<sup>h</sup>  
 63 came forth from the stronghold, and the king entered into mount Sion. But (when) he saw the  
 strength of the place, he set at nought the oath<sup>i</sup> which he had sworn, and gave commandment<sup>j</sup> to  
 63 pull down<sup>k</sup> the wall round about. And he<sup>l</sup> removed in haste, and returned unto Antioch, and found  
 Philip master of the city; and he fought against him, and took the city<sup>m</sup> by force<sup>m</sup>.

VII. 1-20. *Demetrius becomes king of Syria; Bacchides and Alchimus sent against the Jews.*

7 1 In the one hundred and fifty-first<sup>a</sup> year Demetrius the son of Seleucus came forth from Rome, and  
 2 went up with a few men<sup>b</sup> unto a city<sup>c</sup> by the sea<sup>b</sup>, and reigned there. And<sup>d</sup> it came to pass<sup>d</sup>, when  
 he had formed the purpose of entering into the house of the kingdom of his fathers, that the soldiery<sup>e</sup>  
 3 laid hands on Antiochus and Lysias, to bring them unto him. And when the thing was made known  
 4 to him<sup>e</sup>, he<sup>f</sup> said: 'Show me not their faces.' And the soldiery slew them. And Demetrius sat  
 5 upon the throne of his kingdom. And there came unto him all the lawless and ungodly men of  
 6 Israel: and Alchimus<sup>g</sup> led them, desiring to be (high)<sup>h</sup> priest. And they accused the people unto the  
 king, saying: 'Judas and his brethren have destroyed all thy Friends, and have scattered us from  
 7 our<sup>h</sup> land<sup>i</sup>. Now therefore send a man whom thou trustest, and let him go and see<sup>m</sup> all the havock  
 which he hath made of us and of the king's country<sup>m</sup>, and let him punish<sup>n</sup> them and all that<sup>n</sup> helped

<sup>a</sup> > A 55 L<sup>1</sup> <sup>v</sup>regni negotia L<sup>2</sup> the affairs of the kingdom S<sup>100</sup> <sup>w</sup>they A <sup>x</sup>Lysias Luc <sup>r</sup>r > L<sup>3</sup>  
<sup>s</sup>+ great 64 93 <sup>a</sup>\* it is all up here S<sup>100</sup> <sup>b</sup>is firm and strongly fortified S<sup>100</sup> <sup>c-o</sup>> N <sup>d-d</sup>> 71 <sup>e</sup>+ with  
 them Luc <sup>f</sup>he A <sup>g</sup>> 71 <sup>h</sup>he A <sup>i</sup>1 > 71 <sup>k</sup>and they (he 64 71) pulled down A Luc <sup>l</sup>they A  
<sup>m-m</sup>> S<sup>8</sup> L

VII. 1. <sup>a</sup>fiftieth S<sup>8</sup> <sup>b-b</sup>to abide in a city L<sup>1</sup> <sup>c</sup>phur. S<sup>100</sup> <sup>d-d</sup>> 71 <sup>e</sup>the captains of the forces S<sup>8</sup> <sup>f-f</sup>and  
 when they had been brought, Demetrius L<sup>1</sup> <sup>g</sup>> V <sup>h</sup>+their leader N <sup>i</sup>S<sup>8</sup> <sup>k</sup>their S<sup>8</sup> <sup>l</sup>+and from  
 our people 55 <sup>m</sup> these things 71 <sup>n</sup> 55: N A V &c. he hath punished <sup>o</sup>those that 71

55. to walk after their laws. To achieve this was the one object, originally at any rate, of the Maccabean struggle.

63. returned unto Antioch. See the further details given by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. ix. 7); cp. also 2 Macc. xiii. 4-7.

VII. 1. the one hundred and fifty-first year. 162-161 B.C.

Demetrius the son of Seleucus. The first of the name, called also Soter, on account of his having delivered the Babylonians from the satrap Heraclides; he reigned 162-150 B.C. His father was Seleucus IV, surnamed Philopator.

came forth from Rome. i.e. he escaped from Rome, mainly through the help of Polybius the historian, where he was as a boy sent as a hostage in place of Antiochus Epiphanes, his uncle. He escaped to Tripolis, the 'city by the sea' (cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 1; Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. x. 1).

a few men. According to Polybius, five men and three boys; in 2 Macc. xiv. 1 he is said to have arrived in Tripolis 'with a mighty host and a fleet'.

and reigned there. Rather, proclaimed himself king there, cp. x. 1, xi. 54; Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 1) says: 'and set the diadem on his own head.' Polybius (xxi. 20. 4 f.) says that while Demetrius was yet in Rome his guardian Diodorus brought him the news from Syria that distrust had arisen between Lysias and the Syrians, in consequence of which there was much turmoil in the land of his fathers. It was owing to the advice of Diodorus, who assured him that he would be welcomed in Syria, that he determined to escape. The event proved that he was well advised.

2. the house of the kingdom. i.e. Antioch, the royal city, cp. Dan. iv. (27) 29.

3. the soldiery. The Syriac rendering is probably more strictly correct, 'the captains of the forces.'

4. And when the thing was made known to him. See critical note.

Show me not their faces. A hint that they should be put away; Josephus says they were 'immediately put to death by the command of Demetrius'.

4. the throne of his kingdom. He was the rightful heir.

5. the lawless and ungodly men. i.e. those who did not obey the Law (Torah), the Hellenizing element.

Alchimus. According to Josephus *ἱερατικός*, a graecized form of *עֲלִיכִים* abbreviated from *עֲלִיכִים* (= Eliakim), cp. 2 Kings xviii. 18. &c., another form of the name is Jehoiakim.

desiring to be (high-) priest. According to 2 Macc. xiv. 7 he had already been high-priest, but had 'laid aside' his 'ancestral glory,' meaning the high-priesthood. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 1) speaks of him as 'high-priest', and makes no mention of his now desiring to be so; and, again, in XX. x. 1 he says: 'Antiochus (Eupator) and Lysias, the general of his army, deprived Onias, who was also called Menelaus, of the high-priesthood, and slew him at Beraea, and put Jacimus into the place of the high-priest, one that was indeed of the stock of Aaron, but not of this house' (i.e. of Onias). The words before us are, therefore, not strictly correct, and must be understood in the sense of desiring to be confirmed in the office by the new king, cp. v. 9.



I MACCABEES 7. 8-25

8 them.' And the king chose Bacchides, (one) of the king's friends<sup>a</sup>, who was ruler in the country  
9 beyond the river,<sup>a</sup> and was a great man in the kingdom, and faithful to the king. And he sent him<sup>a</sup>,  
and the ungodly Alcimus, and made<sup>f</sup> sure to him the (high-) priesthood<sup>a</sup>; and he commanded him  
to take vengeance upon the children of Israel.

10 And they<sup>a</sup> removed, and came<sup>a</sup> with a great host into "the land of Judah"<sup>vy</sup>; and he<sup>a</sup> sent  
11 messengers to Judas and his brethren with words of peace, deceitfully. But they gave no<sup>a</sup> heed  
12 to their words; for they saw that they were come<sup>a</sup> with a great host. And there was gathered together  
13 unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to seek for justice. And the Chassidim were the  
14 first among "the children of" Israel that sought peace of them; for they said: 'One that is a priest  
15 of the seed of Aaron is come<sup>b</sup> with the forces, and he<sup>a</sup> will do us no wrong<sup>b</sup>. And he spake with  
them words of peace, and swore unto them, saying: 'We will seek the hurt neither of you nor of your  
16 friends.' And they believed him; and he laid hands on threescore men of them, and slew them in  
one day, according to the "words which (the psalmist)" wrote<sup>d</sup>:

17 The flesh of thy saints and their blood  
They poured out around Jerusalem;  
And there was no man to bury them.

18 And the fear 'and the dread<sup>f</sup> of them fell upon all the people, for they said: 'There is neither truth  
19 nor judgement in them; for they have broken<sup>g</sup> the covenant and the oath which they swear.' And  
Bacchides removed from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bezeth; and he sent<sup>b</sup> and took many<sup>f</sup> of the  
deserters that were with<sup>k</sup> him, and certain of the people, and slew them, (and cast them) into the  
20 great pit. And he delivered the land to Alcimus, and left with him a force to aid him; and  
Bacchides went away unto the king.

VII. 21-50. Judas takes vengeance on the deserters; his victories over Nicanor.

21. 22 And Alcimus strove for the high-priesthood<sup>l</sup>. And there were gathered unto him all they that  
troubled their people, and they got the mastery of the land of Judah, and did<sup>m</sup> great hurt in Israel.  
23 And Judas saw all the mischief that Alcimus and his company had wrought among the children of  
24 Israel, worse than (that of) the Gentiles; and he went out into all the coasts of Judaea<sup>n</sup> round about,  
and took vengeance on "the men<sup>p</sup> that had deserted from him<sup>q</sup>", and they were restrained from going  
25 forth into the<sup>a</sup> country. But when Alcimus saw<sup>r</sup> that Judas and his company waxed strong, and

<sup>p</sup> the king's friend V <sup>q</sup> > 71 <sup>r</sup> they made A V <sup>s</sup> high priesthood V <sup>t</sup> he A <sup>u</sup> > 71 <sup>v</sup> Judaea V  
Judah 64 93 <sup>w</sup> > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>x</sup> they S<sup>100</sup> <sup>y</sup> > Luc <sup>z</sup> + against them Luc S<sup>100</sup> <sup>a</sup> > S<sup>8</sup> <sup>b</sup> to us E<sup>1</sup> <sup>c</sup> they S<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>d</sup> word which the prophet spoke S word of Asaph the prophet 55 E<sup>1</sup> <sup>e</sup> the prophet N<sup>68</sup> Luc S Asaph the  
prophet 55 <sup>f</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> E<sup>1</sup> <sup>g</sup> + the judgement and 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>h</sup> > S<sup>8</sup> <sup>i</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>k</sup> from Luc <sup>l</sup> priest-  
hood N 55 > 93 <sup>m</sup> he did S<sup>100</sup> <sup>n</sup> + and A <sup>o</sup> the children of the deserters E<sup>1</sup> <sup>p</sup> + and (on those) A  
<sup>q</sup> their S<sup>8</sup> <sup>r</sup> heard E<sup>2</sup>

8. Bacchides. Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 2), who speaks of him as 'a friend of Antiochus Epiphanes, a good man (a reading which Grimm disputes), and one that had been entrusted with all Mesopotamia.'  
the river. i.e. the Euphrates, cp. Isa. viii. 7; Zech. ix. 10.  
13. the Chassidim. See note on ii. 42.  
14. one that is a priest. ἄθροπος ἱερεύς, a Hebraism מִן הַכֹּהֲנִים, cp. Lev. xxi. 9.  
16. which (the psalmist) wrote. In different MSS. the subject ('the psalmist') varies; 'the prophet', 'David', 'Asaph' occur.  
17. The flesh . . . A shortened form of Ps. lxxix. 2, 3.  
thy saints. חַסִּידִים, i.e. Chassidim, cp. v. 13; this word was most probably the reason for which the writer quoted the passage, for the circumstances of the Psalm are not analogous to the occurrence here described.  
18. the fear and the dread of them. Cp. Isa. viii. 13.  
neither truth nor judgement. Cp. Ps. cxi. 7.  
they have broken the covenant. παραβήσαν τὴν στίβαν, lit. 'they have transgressed the statute'; in the O.T. the usual phrase is אֶת־בְּרִית עָבַר (Joshua vii. 11, &c.), but בְּרִית, 'covenant', is not infrequently = τὸ חֻק (חֻקָּה), 'statute' (e.g. Isa. xxv. 5; Ps. l. 16).  
the oath which they swear. See v. 15.  
19. Bezeth. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 2, xi. 1), 'the village called Bethzetha' (= Βηθ(α)θῆ, 'the house of the olive'; cp. Judith v. 2), Hebr. בֵּית תֵּיב; in *Hell. Ind.* V. iv. 2 Josephus speaks of Bezetha as the new quarter of Jerusalem (καὶ νεώλις). Probably the place is to be identified with this.  
the deserters that were with him. i.e. that had been with him (Bacchides). Judas did likewise, see v. 24.  
the great pit. φρέαρ, lit. 'well' or 'cistern' (= בְּאֵר); the use of the definite article shows it was well known.  
21. strove for . . . Cp. note on v. 5; the meaning is that he strove to retain the office he already possessed, cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 3).  
24. into all the coasts. i.e. the whole border of, cp. Judges xxix. 19. בְּכָל נְבוֹל יִשְׂרָאֵל.  
they were restrained . . . i.e. they were besieged in their fenced cities.  
25. But when Alcimus . . . In 2 Macc. xiv. 26 the return of Alcimus is stated to be the understanding that had been arrived at between Judas and Nicanor; the account in Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 3, 4) does not agree with this.

knew that he was not<sup>g</sup> able to withstand them<sup>h</sup>, he returned to the king<sup>i</sup>, and brought evil accusations against them<sup>j</sup>.

26 And the king<sup>k</sup> sent Nicanor, <sup>l</sup>one of his honourable princes, a man that hated Israel and was their  
27 enemy<sup>m</sup>, and commanded him to destroy the people. And Nicanor came to Jerusalem with a great  
28 host: and he sent unto Judas and his brethren deceitfully<sup>n</sup> with words of peace, saying: 'Let there  
be no battle between me and you<sup>o</sup>; I<sup>p</sup> will come with a few men, that I may see <sup>q</sup>your faces<sup>r</sup> in  
29 peace.' And he<sup>s</sup> came to Judas<sup>t</sup>, and they saluted one another peaceably<sup>u</sup>. But the enemies were  
30 ready to take away Judas by violence. And the thing became known to Judas, (namely) that he  
31 came unto him with deceit; and he was sore afraid of him, and would see his face no more. And  
(when) Nicanor knew that his purpose was discovered, he went out to meet Judas<sup>v</sup> in battle<sup>w</sup> beside  
32 Capharsalama: and there fell of those (that were) with Nicanor about five hundred<sup>x</sup> men, and they  
fled into the city of David<sup>y</sup>.  
33 And <sup>z</sup>after these things<sup>aa</sup> Nicanor went up to mount Sion; and there came some of the priests out  
of the sanctuary, and some of the elders of the people, to salute him peaceably, and to show him the  
34 whole burnt sacrifice that was being offered for the king; but he mocked them, and laughed at them,  
35 and polluted them, and spake haughtily, and swore in a rage, saying: 'Unless Judas and his army  
be now delivered into my hands, it shall be that, if I come again in safety, I will burn up this house.'  
36 And he went forth with great<sup>ab</sup> wrath. And the priests entered in, and stood before the altar and  
37 the temple, and wept and said: 'Thou<sup>ac</sup> didst choose this house to be called by thy name, to be a  
38 house of prayer<sup>ad</sup> and supplication<sup>ae</sup> for thy people: take vengeance on this man and his army, and  
let them <sup>af</sup>fall by the sword<sup>ag</sup>; remember their blasphemies, and suffer them not to live any longer.'  
39 And Nicanor went forth from Jerusalem, and encamped in Bethhoron, and there met him the host  
40 of Syria. And Judas encamped in Adasa with three thousand men; and Judas prayed, and said:  
41 'When they that came from the king blasphemed, thine angel went out and smote among them one  
42 hundred and eighty-five thousand. Even so crush<sup>ah</sup> this army before us to-day; and let all the rest  
know that he hath spoken wickedly against thy sanctuary; and judge him<sup>ai</sup> according to his wicked-  
43 ness.' And the armies joined battle <sup>aj</sup>on the thirteenth (day) of the month Adar<sup>ak</sup>; and Nicanor's  
44 army was discomfited, and he himself was the first to fall in the battle<sup>al</sup>. Now when his army saw  
45 that Nicanor was fallen, they cast away their arms, and fled. And they<sup>am</sup> pursued after them a day's  
journey from Adasa until thou comest to Gazara, and they sounded an alarm after them <sup>an</sup>with the

<sup>a</sup> > A <sup>l</sup>him S<sup>s</sup> <sup>o</sup>to them L<sup>l</sup> <sup>v</sup>him 93 <sup>w</sup>+ Demetrius 64 93 <sup>x-x</sup>that was Israel's enemy 71  
<sup>r</sup>> S<sup>s</sup> <sup>q</sup>thee S<sup>s</sup> <sup>u</sup>and I 19 93 S<sup>inc</sup> <sup>b-b</sup>thy face S<sup>s</sup> <sup>o</sup>they S<sup>inc</sup> <sup>d-d</sup>Judas came to him S<sup>s</sup> <sup>o</sup>> 71  
<sup>r</sup>> A Luc <sup>h</sup>thousand A V <sup>h</sup>Judah 71 <sup>l-l</sup>> 71 <sup>k</sup>> A <sup>l</sup>the steps of the altar (καταρρομα, cp.  
Joel ii. 17) S<sup>inc</sup> <sup>+</sup>and called upon God 55 <sup>ae</sup>+ O Lord 55 71 L<sup>l</sup> <sup>n</sup>> 71 L<sup>l</sup> <sup>o</sup>all fall by the mouth of  
the sword 55 <sup>af</sup>he crushed A <sup>ai</sup>them Luc 55 <sup>r</sup>> 71 <sup>o</sup>> 71 <sup>l</sup>+ that were with Judas 64 93  
<sup>n</sup>> 71

26. Nicanor. Cp. iii. 38; Josephus (*l. c.*) speaks of Nicanor as 'the most kind and most faithful of all his (Demetrius') friends; for he it was who fled away with him from the city of Rome'; Polybius (xxx. 22. 4) also speaks of him as one of Demetrius' intimate friends in Rome.

28. that I may see your faces in peace. i. e. that I may have friendly intercourse with you; it is a Hebraism (ראות פנים); but it is also used of simply appearing before someone, e. g. Exod. x. 28, and cp. v. 30.

31. he went out to meet Judas in battle. A Hebrew phrase, cp. Num. xx. 18 לקראתך אצא, 'lest with the sword I go forth to meet thee.'

Capharsalama. Called 'a village' by Josephus; possibly to be identified with the modern Salame, a village distant from Jaffa about an hour's walk (Kautzsch).

32. and there fell . . . According to Josephus, Nicanor 'beat Judas, and forced him to fly to that citadel which was in Jerusalem'; an obvious error since the citadel ('Akra') was in the hands of the enemy!

33. there came . . . out of the sanctuary. i. e. the outer court; they came from the inner court into which Nicanor, as a Gentile, was not permitted to enter.

offered for the king. Cp. Jer. xxix; Ezra vi. 10; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* II. xvii. 2.

34. polluted them. Most probably by spitting on them; this was, according to the Rabbis, one way whereby Levitical purity was lost (cp. Krauss, *Talm. Arch.*, i, pp. 251, 704).

35. unless. *אין אפי' = אל* EN; the threat is conditional on his winning the victory.

37. to be called by thy name . . . Cp. with this verse 1 Kings viii. 38, 43.

39. Bethhoron. See note on iii. 16.

40. Adasa. An hour and a half north-east of Bethhoron; Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 5) speaks of it as 'a village which was thirty furlongs distant from Bethhoron.'

41. when they that came from the king . . . The reference is to Sennacherib, see 2 Kings xviii. 22 ff.

one hundred . . . Cp. 2 Kings xix. 35; reference to the same event is made in Eccles. xviii. 21.

43. Adar. The twelfth month of the Jewish ecclesiastical year, corresponding roughly to March; in leap-years there is what is called *Adar Shenit* (the 'Second Adar'), which is then the thirteenth month.

45. a day's journey. From Adasa to Gazara is about fifteen miles.

Gazara. See note on iv. 15.



I MACCABEES 7. 46—8. 5

46 solemn trumpets<sup>a</sup>. And they came forth out of all the villages of Judaea round about<sup>b</sup>, and closed them in<sup>c</sup>; and these turned back on those (behind), and they all fell by the sword, and there was 47 not one of them left. And they took the spoils and the booty, and they smote off Nicanor's head, and his right hand, which he stretched out so haughtily, and brought them<sup>d</sup>, and hanged them up<sup>e</sup> 48 near Jerusalem. And the people was exceeding glad, and they kept that day as a day of great 49 gladness<sup>f</sup>. And they ordained that this day should be observed year by year (on) the thirteenth 50 (day) of Adar. And <sup>aa</sup>the land of<sup>bb</sup> Judah had rest <sup>bb</sup>a little while<sup>bb</sup>.

VIII. 1-32. *Judas concludes a treaty with the Romans, after having heard of their power and rule.*

8<sup>1</sup> And Judas heard of the fame of the Romans, that they were valiant men, and that they were friendly disposed towards all who attached themselves to them, and that they offered friendship<sup>a</sup> to 2 as many as came unto them, and that they were valiant men<sup>b</sup>. And they told him about their wars and exploits which they had done among the Galatians, and how they had conquered them<sup>c</sup>, 3 and brought them under tribute: and (they told him also of) what things they had done in the land 4 of Spain<sup>d</sup>, how they had acquired the mines of silver and gold there<sup>e</sup>; and how that by their policy and persistence<sup>f</sup> they had conquered the whole<sup>g</sup> land (and the land was exceeding far from them<sup>h</sup>); also (they told) of the kings that had come against them from the uttermost part of the earth, until they had discomfited them<sup>i</sup>, and smitten them very sore; and how the rest had given 5 them tribute year by year. Furthermore, (they told) of how they had discomfited in battle<sup>k</sup> Philip,

† > §<sup>100</sup> w-w lit. outflanked them > 71 x-x > E<sup>1</sup> x lit. stretched them out x-x > 71 in that day E<sup>1</sup>  
aa-aa > V bb bb lit. a few days.

VIII. a-and to as many as held to them A h-b > §<sup>100</sup> c-c > 71 d-d won their land E<sup>1</sup> e-e The mountains from whence silver and gold are sought out §<sup>100</sup> f-f > 71 g-wisdom E<sup>1</sup> h > §<sup>100</sup> i-i > §<sup>100</sup> k-k > §<sup>100</sup>

the solemn trumpets. *Lit.* 'the trumpets of signals', i. e. to give a signal to their friends in the villages round about, see next verse.

46. closed them in. *ὑπερέβησαν αὐρούς*, 'outflanked them', thanks to the alarm given by the signal trumpets.

47. smote off . . . Cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 9; Judith xiii. 8-15.

stretched out . . . hanged them up. *ἔστρεψεν . . . ἐξέρεσεν*, a word-play quite after the Hebrew fashion.

49. . . . the thirteenth (day) of Adar. This festival was originally called 'Nicanor Day', but it was displaced (when, is not known) by the Fast of Esther, which was kept on this day in memory of Esther's fasting, mentioned in Esther ix. 31 (cp. Esther iv. 3, 16); this fast was a preparation for the feast of Purim, which occurs on the fourteenth of Adar. 'Nicanor Day' is mentioned in the Jerusalem Talmud (*Megillah*, ii. 66 a), where it is spoken of as a semi-festival.

50. the land . . . had rest. Cp. ix. 57, xiv. 4, and for the Hebrew *ישקטתה הררין* cp. Joshua xi. 23.

a little while. *Lit.* 'a few days', i. e. about a month, cp. ix. 3.

VIII. 1-32. 'The details of this narrative have been called in question by many critics, although the fact of a treaty having been concluded between the Jews and the Romans has been generally admitted. Wellhausen, e. g., while asserting that the journey to Rome, the negotiations with the Senate, and the return to Jerusalem, could not have been accomplished in a single month, goes on to say: "This would be decisive, only I am not convinced that the usual assumption is correct. For the festival of Nicanor's day is unintelligible, if the sensation of victory had been forthwith effaced through a reverse of the worst description. It is not maintained that the statement of 1 Macc. viii. 17 (2 Macc. iv. 11) is drawn purely from the imagination" (*Isr. und Jüd. Gesch.*, p. 250, note 3). That the narrative does contain inaccuracies (*rv.* 8, 15, 16) is not to be denied. These, however, may be accounted for by the defective means of international communication in those days, and still more by the fact that the interests of the Jews were practically confined to agriculture and their ancestral religion. The writer's graphic picture is, upon the whole, "not unfaithful" (Rawlinson), and has "quite the character of that *naïveté* and candour with which intelligence of that sort is propagated in the mouth of the common people" (Grimm). In spite of what is said in *v.* 13, he is apparently blind as to the dangers attending negotiations with Rome' (Fairweather and Black, p. 157).

1. all who attached themselves to them. Rawlinson points out that 'the Romans had received into alliance Attalus of Pergamus, Ariarathes of Cappadocia, Ptolemy Philometor, and the Rhodians.'

2. the Galatians. Kautsch thinks it improbable that the reference is to the Gauls in Asia Minor who were conquered by Manlius Vulso, 189 B. C.; he thinks, with Mommsen and others, that the Gauls of Upper Italy are meant; these were subjugated by the Romans in 190 B. C., and laid under tribute.

3. the land of Spain. This came under the Roman dominion in 201 B. C., though only that portion of it which had belonged to the Carthaginians; it was not until nearly two centuries later that the whole country became incorporated into the Roman Empire.

the mines of silver and gold there. Pliny (*Hist. Naturalis*, xxxiii. 4, §§ 21, 23) speaks of the gold and silver found in Spain, the former in the shape of gold-dust in the bed of the Tagus; Diodorus Siculus (*v.* 35, § 1) says: 'Spain has the best and most plentiful silver from mines of all the world' (cp. Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phoenicia*, pp. 313 ff.).

4. the whole land. *πάντα* is used here of the whole country as in 1 Sam. xii. 8 (Sept.); Jer. xvi. 2, 3 (Sept.); the Hebrew word (כָּל־הָאָרֶץ) is used in the same way in these passages. The statement here is an exaggeration, see note on *v.* 3.

5. Philip. i. e. Philip V, King of Macedonia, 220-179 B. C.; he was finally defeated at the battle of Cynoscephalae in Thessaly (197 B. C.) by T. Quinctius Flaminius.

I MACCABEES 8. 5-15

<sup>5</sup>and<sup>s</sup> Perseus<sup>1</sup>, king of Chittim, and them that lifted themselves up against them, and had conquered  
<sup>6</sup>them; Antiochus also, the great<sup>m</sup> king of Asia, who had come against them to battle, having  
a hundred and twenty elephants, with cavalry, and chariots, and an exceeding great host,—he had  
<sup>7</sup>also been discomfited by them<sup>n</sup>, and they had taken him alive, and had appointed that both he and  
such as reigned after him should give them a great tribute<sup>o</sup> and should give hostages, and a 'tract'  
(of land), (namely) the country of India, and Media, and Lydia, and of the goodliest of their  
<sup>9</sup>countries; and how they had taken them from him, and had given them to king Eumenes. Also  
<sup>10</sup>(they told of) how they of Greece had purposed to come and destroy them, and the thing had  
become known to them, and they had sent against them a captain, and had fought against them,  
and many of them had fallen, <sup>11</sup>wounded to death<sup>p</sup>; and (of how) they had made captive their wives  
and their children, <sup>12</sup>and had spoiled them and conquered their land, and had pulled down their  
strongholds<sup>q</sup>, and had brought them into bondage unto this day. And (they told of) how they had  
destroyed the residue of the kingdoms <sup>13</sup>and of the isles<sup>r</sup>, as many as had risen up against them<sup>1</sup>, and  
had made them their servants; but that with their friends and such as relied upon them they kept  
amity; and (of) how they had conquered the kingdoms<sup>s</sup> that were nigh and those that were far off,  
<sup>14</sup>and that all who heard of their fame were afraid of them. Moreover (they told) that whomsoever  
they will to succour and to make kings, become kings<sup>t</sup>; and that whomsoever they will, do they  
<sup>15</sup>depose; and they are exalted exceedingly; and that for all this none of them did ever put on  
a diadem. <sup>16</sup>neither did they clothe themselves with purple, to be magnified<sup>u</sup> thereby<sup>v</sup>.<sup>w</sup> (They told)  
also how they had made for themselves a senate house, and how day by day three hundred <sup>17</sup>and

<sup>1</sup> > 19 93    <sup>m</sup> > 71    <sup>n</sup> him Luc    <sup>o</sup> + year by year Luc    <sup>p</sup> > L<sup>1</sup>    <sup>q</sup> > 71    <sup>r</sup> + and spoiled them &c.    <sup>s</sup> > E<sup>1</sup> the rest of the isles &<sup>100</sup>    <sup>t</sup> + and had plundered them Luc + and had plundered them and taken them captive &<sup>100</sup>    <sup>u</sup> kings & V 19 93 &<sup>100</sup>    <sup>v</sup> will become kings A    <sup>w</sup> > 71    <sup>x</sup> > N<sup>1</sup> (hab N<sup>100</sup>)  
<sup>17</sup> to exalt themselves (in the sense of assuming too much power) &    <sup>y</sup> > &g

**Perseus.** The illegitimate son and successor of Philip; he was conquered by L. Aemilius Paullus at the battle of Pydna (168 B. C.), whereby the Macedonian kingdom was brought to an end.  
**Chittim.** See note on i. 1.

**and them that lifted . . .** Probably the reference is to those who sent reinforcements to Perseus, viz. the Epirots, Thessalians, and Thracians (Grimm).

**6. Antiochus also . . .** i. e. Antiochus III, the Great, King of Syria 223-187 B. C., son of Seleucus Callinicus.

**Asia.** See note on xi. 13.  
**discomfited.** At the battle of Magnesia, 190 B. C., by Scipio Africanus (Polybius, iii. 3-4).

**7. taken him alive.** Here the author has been misled by a false report. According to the unanimous testimony of the classical writers, Antiochus succeeded in making his escape (Fairweather and Black); Kautzsch suggests that possibly the author has mixed up Antiochus with Perseus here.

**such as reigned after him.** Seleucus IV, Philopator (187-176 B. C.), and Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (175-164 B. C.), with whom the tribute ceased.

**a great tribute.** According to Polybius, xxi. 14. 3-6, 15,000 Euboic talents, 500 of which had to be paid at the conclusion of the negotiations, 2,500 when peace was ratified, and 1,000 a year for the next twelve years (quoted by Knabenbauer, p. 152).

**hostages.** See note on i. 10.  
**a tract.** διαστολή, the word is apparently used in the same sense as in Rom. iii. 22, a 'distinction', i. e. the land in question was to be distinguished in the future from the rest of his possessions by being assigned to the Romans.

**8. India.** This never belonged to Antiochus, so he could not have ceded it to Rome.

**Media.** According to Livy xxxvii. 56, xxxviii. 38 it was only his possessions on this side of the Taurus (i. e. on the west) that Antiochus was forced to give up. We must probably see here, as elsewhere in this section, a rhetorical exaggeration. The ingenious attempts which have been made to emend the text, and read 'Ionia and Asia', or 'Mysia', may or may not be justified, but they have absolutely no support either from MSS. or Versions.

**. . . to king Eumenes.** Eumenes II, king of Pergamos (197-158 B. C.), and son of Attalus I; these territories were given to him by the Romans in recognition of the help rendered during the war with Syria, and especially at the battle of Magnesia (see further, Smith's *Dict. of Class. Biog.* s.v.).

**9. Also . . .** What this all refers to is not known. Kautzsch thinks that very probably the reference may be to the Roman victory over the forces of the Achaean Alliance (147-146 B. C., i. e. fifteen years after the death of Judas Maccabaeus); in this case the 'captain', mentioned in v. 10, would be L. Mummius. The war, which was short and decisive, resulted in the subjugation of the whole of Greece, which was reduced to the status of a Roman province, under the name of Achaia.

**11. the isles.** i. e. Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, together with the isles of the Grecian Archipelago.

**12.** In this and the next few verses the subjects of vv. 1 ff. are again reverted to.

**with their friends . . . they kept amity.** This is not in accordance with the facts; the statement is, no doubt, due to insufficient knowledge.

**15. and how day by day . . .** As Fairweather and Black point out, 'this is quite a mistake. The regular sittings of the Senate were confined to the Kalends, Nones, Ides, and Festivals. In case of emergency, however, it could be summoned in a moment, as its members were not allowed to leave Rome for more than a day, and only a few of them at a time. In the later days of the Republic the Senate sat on all lawful days in February to receive foreign ambassadors, but there is no evidence that the practice was as old as the time of the Maccabees. If it was, the writer's mistake is easily explained.' The reference to three hundred and twenty members of the Senate is also a mistake, it never reached more than three hundred.



I MACCABEES 8. 15-28

twenty<sup>a</sup> men sat in council, consulting alway for the people, to the end that they<sup>a</sup> might be well  
 16 ordered; and how they committed their government to one man year by year, that he should be over  
 them, and be lord over all<sup>b</sup> their country; and that all are obedient to this one, and that there is  
 neither envy nor emulation among them.  
 17 And Judas chose Eupolemus, the son of John, the son of Accos, and Jason, the son of Eleazar, and  
 18 sent them to Rome, to make a league of amity and confederacy<sup>c</sup> with them<sup>c</sup>, and that they should  
 take the yoke from<sup>d</sup> them, when they saw that the kingdom of the Greeks did keep Israel in  
 19 bondage. And they<sup>e</sup> went to Rome, and the way was exceeding long<sup>f</sup>; and they entered into the  
 20 Senate house, and answered<sup>g</sup> and said<sup>h</sup>: 'Judas, who is also (called) Maccabaeus, and his brethren,  
 and the whole people of the Jews, have sent us unto you, to make a confederacy and peace with you,  
 21 and that we might be registered (as) your confederates and friends.<sup>i</sup> And the thing was well-pleasing  
 22 in their sight. And this is the copy of the writing<sup>j</sup> which they wrote back again on tablets of brass,  
 and sent to Jerusalem, that it might be with them there<sup>k</sup> for a memorial of peace and confederacy:  
 23 'Good success be to the Romans, and to the nation of the Jews, by sea and by land for ever; the  
 24 sword also and the enemy be far from them. But if war arise for Rome<sup>l</sup> first, or for any of their  
 25 confederates in all their dominion<sup>m</sup>, the nation of the Jews shall help them as confederates as the occasion  
 26 shall prescribe<sup>n</sup> to them<sup>n</sup>, with all their heart; and unto them that make war<sup>o</sup> they (i.e. the Jews)  
 shall not give<sup>p</sup>, neither supply, food, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto Rome; and  
 they (i.e. the Jews) shall observe their obligations, receiving nothing (in the way of a bribe). In the  
 27 same manner<sup>q</sup>, moreover, if war come first<sup>r</sup> upon the nation of the Jews, the Romans shall help them  
 28 as confederates with all their soul, as the occasion shall prescribe to them; and to them that are  
 confederates<sup>s</sup> there shall not be given corn, arms, money, or ships, as it hath seemed good unto

<sup>a</sup> the reflex pron., A V suggesting that the Senate was looking after its own interests <sup>b</sup> > 71 <sup>c</sup> > N\*  
 (hab N<sup>e</sup>a) <sup>d</sup> > A <sup>e</sup> + that were with Eupolemus Luc <sup>f</sup> > U<sup>2</sup> <sup>g</sup> > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>h</sup> > A <sup>i</sup> letter N  
<sup>k</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>l</sup> the Romans S<sup>100</sup> E <sup>m</sup> > 71 <sup>n</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> E <sup>o</sup> > S in G the reference seems to be to  
 the Romans <sup>p</sup> > N\* (hab N<sup>e</sup>a) 93 <sup>q</sup> > S<sup>100</sup> <sup>r</sup> > S <sup>s</sup> that make war 55 U<sup>2</sup> <sup>t</sup> > A

16. one man. Another instance of inadequate knowledge; there were, of course, two consuls.  
 neither envy . . . This also is contrary to fact; on this, however, Grimm remarks that 'it is psychologically very comprehensible that, having regard to the assistance to be looked for by an alliance with Rome, the darker side of the conditions which obtained in the Roman State, of which the writer might have been cognisant, were naturally overlooked or left unnoticed.' At any rate, it is not to be expected that the writer should have had much intimate acquaintance with the internal affairs of Rome; and even if he had, his knowledge of the deplorable conditions in his own country would unconsciously tend to make him take a bright view of all that concerned the powerful people from whom so much was hoped.

17. Eupolemus. 'Perhaps identical with that Eupolemus who is known to us as a Hellenistic writer' (Schurer, *The Jewish People* . . . , Div. I, vol. I, p. 231, see also Div. II, vol. III, pp. 203 ff.); he was a Palestinian Jew who wrote about 158-157 B. C. or shortly afterwards.

the son of John. See 2 Macc. iv. 11.  
 Accos. More correctly Hakkos, cp. 1 Chron. xxiv. 10; Ezra ii. 61; Neh. iii. 4, 21, vii. 63, belonging to a priestly family.

Jason the son of Eleazar. Perhaps the same Jason who is mentioned as the father of Antipater in xv. 16, xiv. 22.

18. the yoke. i.e. the Syrian yoke; this implies either that the victory over Nicanor, recorded in ch. vii, had not yet taken place, or else that it was, after all, not of a wholly decisive character; Schurer thinks that 'from the general drift of the First Book of Maccabees, it may be assumed that Judas had first arranged the embassy after the victory over Nicanor' (op. cit. Div. I, vol. I, p. 232 note).

22. tablets of brass. The usual way of preserving documents of this kind; Grimm quotes Polybius, iii. 26. 1, who says, in reference to the treaties between Rome and Carthage, that they were preserved in this way, and that they were kept in the Capitol. Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. x. 6) says regarding this treaty that the Romans 'also made a decree concerning it, and sent a copy of it into Judaea; it was also laid up in the Capitol, and engraven in brass.'

23. Good success be to the Romans. The equivalent, as Grimm points out, of the usual Roman formula: *Quod bonum, faustum felixque sit populo Romano* . . .

26. unto them that make war . . . ships. Kautzsch sees in this mention of ships, which at this time (161 B. C.) the Jews could not have supplied, one of the reasons for regarding this whole section (vv. 22-32) as having been added later, whether in the Hebrew original or when the translation was made; but there is much in Grimm's contention that the mention of ships shows the far-seeing character of Roman policy, especially as not long after this the Jews got possession of a harbour (cp. xiv. 5). At the same time, it is worth while noting that in Josephus' account the ships are not spoken of in reference to the Jews; in *Antiq.* XII. x. 6 the decree runs: 'It shall not be lawful for any that are subject to the Romans to make war with the nation of the Jews, nor to assist those that do so, either by sending them corn, or ships, or money'; this is the only mention of ships. It is, therefore, just possible that the form of the decree in 1 Macc. is due to a misunderstanding of the original Roman form of it.

as it hath seemed good unto Rome. This, together with the phrase in vv. 25, 27, 'as the occasion shall prescribe to them', made the treaty far more advantageous to the Romans than to the Jews; see also the same words in v. 28. It is true that in v. 30 there is a *proviso* that modifications might be made by either party by mutual consent, but this does not appear to be part of the actual treaty, the words of which clearly stop at the end of v. 28.

I MACCABEES 8. 29—9. 5

29 Rome<sup>a</sup>; and they shall observe these obligations, and that without deceit.' <sup>a</sup>According to these  
 30 words have the Romans made (a treaty) with the people of the Jews. But if hereafter the one  
 party <sup>2</sup>or<sup>3</sup> the other<sup>2</sup> shall determine to add or to diminish anything, they shall do it at their  
 31 pleasure, and whatsoever they shall add or take away shall be established. And as touching the  
 evils which king<sup>aa</sup> Demetrius doeth <sup>bb</sup>unto you <sup>bb</sup>, we have written <sup>dd</sup>to him <sup>ee</sup>saying<sup>dd</sup>: 'Wherefore hast  
 32 thou made thy yoke heavy upon our friends (and)<sup>ff</sup> confederates the Jews? If, therefore, they plead  
 any more against thee, we will do them justice<sup>gg</sup>, and fight thee by sea and by land.'

IX. 1-22. *Death of Judas Maccabæus.*

9 1 And when Demetrius had heard that Nicanor <sup>a</sup>was fallen<sup>a</sup> with his forces <sup>a</sup>in battle<sup>a</sup>, he sent  
 Bacchides and Alcimus again into the land of Judah <sup>b</sup>a second time<sup>b</sup>, and the right wing (of his army)  
 2 with them. And they<sup>c</sup> went by way of Gilgal<sup>b</sup>, and encamped against Mesaloth, which is in Arbela,  
 3 <sup>a</sup>and gat possession of it<sup>a</sup>, and destroyed<sup>f</sup> much people. And <sup>a</sup>in the first month of the one  
 4 hundred and fifty <sup>aa</sup>second year<sup>aa</sup> they encamped against Jerusalem. And they removed and went  
 5 unto Berea, with twenty thousand footmen and two thousand horse. And Judas was encamped at

<sup>a</sup> the Romans N S<sup>100</sup> L      <sup>x</sup> + thus Luc      <sup>f</sup> <sup>y</sup> + S<sup>100</sup>      <sup>a</sup> and A V Luc S<sup>100</sup> L      <sup>aa</sup> > N<sup>a</sup> (*hab* N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup>)  
<sup>bb</sup> > L      <sup>cc</sup> them N (*u*/ N<sup>a</sup> S<sup>a</sup>) A Luc S      <sup>dd</sup> <sup>dd</sup> and sent unto him S<sup>100</sup>      <sup>ee</sup> thus S<sup>a</sup>      <sup>ff</sup> + our Luc  
<sup>gg</sup> vengeance S<sup>100</sup>      vengeance and justice S<sup>100</sup>

IX. <sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> had waged battle A      <sup>b</sup> <sup>b</sup> > S<sup>a</sup>      <sup>c</sup> + that were with Bacchides Luc      <sup>d</sup> Gilead Luc S<sup>100</sup>      <sup>e</sup> > S<sup>a</sup>  
 and occupied it L<sup>a</sup>      <sup>f</sup> he destroyed A V      <sup>g</sup> > 71

31. we have written to him . . . But, as Schürer truly points out, this came too late, for through the energetic action of Demetrius the overthrow of Judæa had already been completed before there was any possibility of interference on the part of the Romans (cp. ix. 1-21).

wherefore hast thou made thy yoke heavy. A Hebraism על הכביר (cp. 2 Chron. x. 10, 14).

32. we will do them justice. Another Hebrew phrase עשה משפט ('to do justice', lit. 'judgement'), Deut. x. 18, &c.

IX. 1. that Nicanor was fallen. Cp. vii. 43, 44.

he sent . . . a second time. προσεβαλεν . . . αποστειλαι, 'he added to send', a Hebrew phrase יוסיף לשלח.

the right wing. The Jews faced eastwards so that from their point of view the right would be the Syrian troops in the south, but the actual right wing of the Syrian army was that part of it stationed towards the north; see next note, Bacchides probably came from the north, Josephus directly states that he 'marched out of Antioch' (*Antiq.* XII. xi. 1).

2. Gilgal . . . Mesaloth . . . Arbela. The identification of the place which 'Gilgal' represents is extremely difficult, perhaps impossible. The best attested reading is Γίλγαλα = Gilgal; but there are at least three places of this name mentioned in the O.T.; Joshua's Gilgal, the Gilgal by Bethel, and the Gilgal by Mount Gerizim (on this see G. A. Smith in *EB* 1729 ff.). Some MSS., followed by the Lucianic Syriac, read Γιλαιθ = Gilead; and Josephus has Γαλιλαια = Galilee. Assuming, as is permissible, that the two last readings are to be rejected, and that 'Gilgal' is the right reading, it seems upon the whole best to identify this with the Gilgal by Mount Gerizim; 'if', says G. A. Smith (*EB* 291 f.), 'Bacchides wished to avoid the road which had proved so fatal to Nicanor, he may have taken the road from Esdraelon south through Samaria. . . . On this route Masaloth might be Meselieh or Meithalun, respectively 5 or 8 miles south of Jenin, each of them a natural point at which to resist an invader. A greater difficulty is presented by ἡ Ἀρβηλας. The plural form evidently signifies a considerable district. Now, Eusebius (*Ev.* 2: Ἀρβηλα) notes the name as extant in his day, on Esdraelon, 9 Roman miles from Lejjun, while the entrances from Esdraelon on Meselieh and Meithalun are 9½ Roman miles from Lejjun. It is therefore possible that the name Ἀρβηλα covered in earlier days the whole of this district. The suggestion is, however, far from being capable of proof. The chief points in its favour are the straight road from the north, which was regarded as a natural line of invasion, and the existence along the road of a Jiljūjeh [= Gilgal], a Meselieh, and a Meithalun.'

3. the first month. If, as there is every reason to suppose (cp. i. 54, vii. 43), it is the Jewish first month that is meant, it is the month Nisan, corresponding roughly to April. This would mean that only six or seven weeks had elapsed since the defeat of Nicanor on the 13th of Adar (= March); that does not allow much time for the news of Nicanor's defeat to have reached Demetrius in Antioch, and for the latter to dispatch the reinforcements under Bacchides, especially as some time must have been taken up in encamping against Mesaloth, and getting possession of it, and destroying much people (see v. 2), on the way to Jerusalem. This feat is not impossible, but rather improbable, unless we suppose (with Michaelis, quoted by Grimm) that it was leap-year, in which the month Adar Sieni with its twenty-nine days came between Adar and Nisan. Otherwise the most obvious explanation is that the writer has made a mistake of about a month.

they encamped against Jerusalem. Presumably Bacchides thought Judas was in Jerusalem; otherwise it is difficult to understand why he should have encamped here. It is surprising how badly Bacchides must have been informed about the movements of his opponents; bad generalship and an inefficient intelligence department on the part of the Syrians, both of which are several times unconsciously implied by the writer of this book, must evidently have had much to do with the success of the Maccabees against overwhelming odds. In this particular case the disparity was so great that even bad generalship could not save the Jews from disaster.

4. they removed . . . unto Berea. They had scarcely settled themselves down before Jerusalem before they had to break up the camp again. It is not known where Berea was.

5. Judas was encamped at Elasa. This place is also unknown; Josephus says that 'Judas pitched his camp at a certain village whose name was Bethzetha' (*Antiq.* XII. xi. 1).



I MACCABEES 9. 6-22

6 Elasa, and three thousand chosen men with him. And (when) they saw the multitude <sup>b</sup>of the forces<sup>a</sup>, <sup>k</sup>that they<sup>l</sup> were many<sup>h</sup>, they feared exceedingly; and many slipped away from the army; 7 there were not left <sup>l</sup>of them<sup>l</sup> more than eight hundred men. And (when) Judas saw that his army slipped away, <sup>m</sup>and that (nevertheless) the battle was imminent for him<sup>m</sup>, he was sore troubled in 8 heart, for that he had no time to gather them together. <sup>n</sup>And he became desperate<sup>n</sup>, and said to them that were left: 'Let us arise and go up against our adversaries, if peradventure we may be able 9 to fight against them.' And they turned from him, saying: 'We shall in no wise be able <sup>o</sup>(to withstand them)<sup>o</sup>'; but let us rather save our lives now<sup>h</sup>; let us return (later on) with our brethren, and 10 fight <sup>p</sup>against them<sup>p</sup>; we are (now too) few.' Then Judas said: 'Far be it <sup>q</sup>from me<sup>q</sup> to do this thing, to flee from them! <sup>r</sup>And if<sup>r</sup> our time is come<sup>r</sup>, let us die manfully<sup>r</sup> for our brethren's sake 11 <sup>s</sup>and not leave a cause (of reproach) against our glory<sup>s</sup>.' And the (Syrian) host removed from the camp, and (the Jews) stood to encounter them; and the horse was divided into two companies, and the slingers and the archers went before the host together with <sup>t</sup>all the mighty men that fought in 12 the front (of the line of battle)<sup>t</sup>. But Bacchides was on the right wing; and the phalanx drew near from both sides, and they blew with their trumpets, and the men of <sup>u</sup>Judas' side<sup>u</sup> also blew <sup>v</sup>with 13 their trumpets<sup>v</sup>; and the earth shook <sup>w</sup>with the shout<sup>w</sup> of the<sup>u</sup> armies. And the battle was joined, 14 (and continued) from morning until evening. And (when) Judas saw that Bacchides and the main strength of (his) army were on the right wing, <sup>x</sup>his followers concentrated their whole attention (upon 15 them)<sup>x</sup>, and the right wing<sup>o</sup> was discomfited by them, and they pursued after them unto the mount 16 Azotus<sup>d</sup>. And (when) they that were on the left wing<sup>o</sup> saw that the right wing<sup>o</sup> was discomfited, 17 they turned (and followed) upon the footsteps of Judas and those that were with him. And the 18 battle waxed sore, and many<sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup>on either side<sup>g</sup> fell <sup>h</sup>wounded to death<sup>h</sup>. And Judas fell, and the 19 rest fled. And Jonathan and Simon <sup>i</sup>took Judas their brother, and <sup>j</sup>buried him in the sepulchre of 20 his<sup>k</sup> fathers at Modin. And they bewailed him<sup>i</sup>, and all Israel <sup>m</sup>made great lamentation for him and <sup>n</sup>mourned<sup>n</sup> many days, <sup>o</sup>and said<sup>o</sup>: 21 'How is the mighty one fallen, the saviour of Israel!<sup>h</sup>' 22 And the rest of the acts of Judas, <sup>p</sup>and (his) wars<sup>p</sup>, and the valiant deeds <sup>q</sup>which he did<sup>q</sup>, <sup>r</sup>and his greatness<sup>r</sup>,—they are not written; for they were exceeding many.

h-h > 71    l + who were opposed (to them) Luc    k-k > 71 U<sup>l</sup>    l-l > 71<sup>o</sup>    m-m > 71    n > 71 U<sup>l</sup>  
<sup>o</sup> to fight against them N V 55    p > 71 U<sup>l</sup>    q q > 71    r r > N V    s-s > 71    t > A    u > U<sup>l</sup>  
v-v > 71    w w all the men who are skilled in war U    x = Judah N V    y y > 71    z z because of (lit. from) A  
<sup>a</sup> their A    b b S<sup>lao</sup> and there went with him all that were brave in heart G S<sup>lao</sup> U    c part N 19 93    d Gazara U  
<sup>e</sup> part S<sup>lao</sup>    f > 19 93 S<sup>lao</sup>    g g of those N    h h > S<sup>lao</sup>    i-l > 93    k their 64 93    l + there A    Judas 19  
93 S<sup>lao</sup>    m m > 71    n > U    o o > 71    p p > 71    q q > S<sup>lao</sup>

three thousand chosen men. It is strange that so many of these 'chosen men' should have 'slipped away' at the critical moment; Josephus gives their number as only one thousand, but this is obviously a mistake, as he says that 'they all fled away, excepting eight hundred'!

8. he became desperate. Cp. Deut. xx. 3 (Sept.).

10. far be it from me to do this thing. *Μη μοι γίνεσθαι ποιῆσαι τὸ πρῶγμα τοῦτο*, a very Hebrew phrase: *לֹא יִשְׁעֶשֶׂת לִי חַלְלָהּ* (cp. xiii. 5), see Gen. xlv. 7, 17; Joshua xxii. 29, xxiv. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 3.

13. the earth shook. Cp. 2 Sam. xxii. 8.

from morning until evening. Josephus says the battle continued 'till sun-set', but does not mention when it began; the statement in the text is probably a rhetorical exaggeration; eight hundred against twenty-two thousand, holding out all day, can scarcely be literally true, especially as no hint is given that the smaller number occupied any advantageous position; from the account in the text, as well as in Josephus, the two armies met on equal terms as far as position was concerned.

15. the mount Azotus. Josephus, 'a mountain called Eza' (or Aza); no such mountain is known; the text is clearly corrupt.

17. and the battle waxed sore. *καὶ ἐβραμίσθη ὁ πόλεμος*, a Hebrew phrase *הִלַּחַח הַמִּלְחָמָה*; cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 3; 1 Chron. x. 3; Isa. xxi. 15.

19. . . . took Judas their brother. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XII, vi. 2) they 'received his dead body by a treaty from the enemy'; this is more likely to be correct, for it is hardly to be expected that the Syrians would have treated the body of the Jewish rebel chief, as they regarded him, with more respect than that which the Jews accorded to the body of the Syrian general Nicanor (see vii. 47), unless there were special reasons for this. Josephus does not mention the terms of this 'treaty'.

Modin. Cp. ii. 1, xiii. 27.

20. great lamentation. Cp. xiii. 26.

21. How is the mighty one fallen. Cp. 2 Sam. i. 19, 25, 27.

the saviour of Israel. Cp. Judges iii. 9; 2 Kings xiii. 5.

22. And the rest of the acts . . . For the phraseology cp. xvi. 23; it occurs often in the Books of the Kings.

they are not written. This statement implies that for this part of the narrative (i. e. the 'rest of the acts') no documents were available; which, on the other hand, implies that what is recorded in our book was based on extant documents.

'With the overthrow of Judas', says Schürer (*op. cit.*, I. i, p. 233), 'it was finally and definitely proved that it

I MACCABEES 9. 23-33

JONATHAN MACCABAEUS. IX. 23—XII. 53.

IX. 23-31. *Jonathan succeeds Judas.*

23 And it came to pass after the death of Judas that the lawless put forth their heads in all the  
24 borders of Israel, and all they that wrought iniquity rose up; in those days there arose exceeding  
25 great murmuring that the land made peace with them. And Bacchides chose out the ungodly men,  
26 and made them lords of the country. And they sought out and searched for the friends of Judas,  
and brought them to Bacchides, and he took vengeance on them, and treated them with mockery.  
27 And there was great tribulation in Israel, such as was not since the time that a prophet appeared  
28 unto them. And all the friends of Judas were gathered together, and they said unto Jonathan:  
29 Since thy brother Judas hath died, we have no man like him to go forth against our enemies and  
30 Bacchides, and against them of our nation that are inimical (to us). Now therefore we have  
chosen thee this day to be our ruler and leader in his stead, that thou mayest fight our battles.  
31 And Jonathan took the leadership upon him at that time, and rose up in the stead of his brother  
Judas.

IX. 32-73. *Jonathan's struggle with Bacchides.*

32-33 And (when) Bacchides knew it, he sought to slay him. But (when) Jonathan, and Simon his  
brother, and all that were with him, knew it, they fled into the wilderness of Tekoah, and

<sup>1</sup> <sup>2</sup> See note below <sup>3</sup> > L <sup>4</sup> Israel & E<sup>2</sup> <sup>5</sup> + and to enter in N V S<sup>2</sup> <sup>6</sup> > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>7</sup> 19 64 <sup>8</sup> x-x > S<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>9</sup> 7 for battle E<sup>1</sup> <sup>10</sup> > E<sup>1</sup> <sup>11</sup> And they chose Jonathan as leader in place of his brother Judas E<sup>1</sup> <sup>12</sup> chose 19 S<sup>2</sup> <sup>13</sup> b-b > 71  
<sup>14</sup> > 71 <sup>15</sup> > 93

was a vain endeavour on the part of the Jewish nationalists to measure swords with the mighty forces of Syria. Brilliant as the earlier achievements of Judas had been, he was largely indebted to the recklessness and self-confidence of his opponents. Continuous military success was not to be thought of if only the Syrian authorities seriously roused themselves to the conflict. The following age cannot show even one conspicuous victory of the kind by which Judas had won renown. What the Maccabean party finally reached, it won through voluntary concessions of claimants to the Syrian throne contending with one another, and generally in consequence of internal dissensions in the Syrian Empire.

23. the lawless. Cp. vii. 24, 25.  
put forth . . . rose up. Cp. Ps. cxli. 7 (Sept. xci. 8).  
24. murmuring. Prof. Torrey (*EB* 2859) thinks the rendering *λυβός* is due to a misreading of the original Hebrew which had מור (‘murmuring’), not צע (‘famine’); this, if correct, would certainly make the next clause less difficult.  
that the land made peace with them. καὶ αὐτομάλασεν ἡ χώρα μετ’ αὐτῶν. The verb with μετ’ only occurs once in the Septuagint, 2 Sam. x. 19, where the Hebrew has וישלימו את־ישראל, (‘and they made peace with Israel’). If we are to be guided by this, the passage before us must mean (if we accept ‘famine’ as the right reading) that owing to the famine, the land, by which here can only be meant the followers of Judas, made peace with them, i. e. the ‘lawless’. This must, however, be rejected; firstly, because ‘the land’ cannot be restricted in this way, and, secondly, because the sequel shows that there was no peace between the followers of Judas and the ‘lawless’. Fairweather and Black take ‘the land’ to mean ‘the country in general, as distinguished from staunch patriots’; but the text gives no justification for this distinction; for the writer of 1 Macc. there are only two parties in the Jewish State, the Maccabean party and the ‘lawless’. Grimm holds that the real meaning of the passage is shown by the paraphrastic rendering of the Syriac Version: ‘And the land too has become corrupt with them’; i. e. the land, through the famine, had, as it were, joined hands with the apostates in antagonism against the faithful. This is in accordance with Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. i. 1). Kautzsch concurs in this: ‘The land, otherwise so fruitful, seemed to have allied itself with the lawless for the purpose of destroying the godly’; and he renders: ‘So that (in the same way) the land fell off (or “deserted”) with them, i. e. the lawless.’ Against this it is to be urged that the Septuagint nowhere uses the verb in question in this sense (1 Sam. xx. 30, where the participle is used in the sense of ‘rebellious’ is not *α* propos). If, now, we follow Torrey in regarding ‘famine’ as a mistake for ‘murmuring’ (in the sense of indignation), and interpret the verb in the sense in which it is used in 2 Sam. x. 19 (see above), its only other occurrence with μετ’, i. e. the enemy, as the next verse goes on to show; indeed, the verses that follow seem thoroughly to justify this rendering, as offering further grounds for the ‘murmuring’. By ‘the land’ is meant everyone excepting the faithful, who were now obviously in a minority; it must also be remembered that the author of 1 Macc. writes as one of the faithful.  
26. took vengeance on them. ἐξέδικα αὐτοῖς, for which T.R. reads ἐξέδικασεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, cp. Jer. v. 9, 29 (Sept.) = ונתקם ל Sam. xviii. 25; ונקם Judges xv. 7 (Grimm).  
treated them with mockery. The reference must be to their religious practices; Josephus, however, says: ‘tortured and tormented them.’  
27. since the time that a prophet appeared unto them. That the writer implies the prophet Malachi here (so Grimm, Bissell, Fairweather and Black, Knabenbauer) is not necessarily certain; we have in the O.T. fragments of the writings of prophets who lived later than the time of Malachi (some short time before 450 B. C.); if they are anonymous, ‘Malachi’ is pseudonymous; the former may have exercised as great an influence as the latter, although their names have not come down to us. Josephus makes no reference to a prophet, but says: ‘They had never experience of the like since their return out of Babylon.’ In either case it is a rhetorical exaggeration.

33. the wilderness of Tekoah. The wilderness got its name from the city six miles south of Bethlehem, on the borders of the wilderness; the name still exists, *Tekoa*; the site of the ancient city lies on the top of a hill with



34 encamped by the water \*of the pool Asphar\*. †And Bacchides got to know of this on the Sabbath day, and he came, he and all his army, over Jordan<sup>f</sup>.  
 35 And (Jonathan)\* sent his brother, a leader of the multitude, and besought his friends, the Nabath-  
 36 aeans, that they might leave with them their baggage, which was much. But the children of Ambri  
 37 came out of Medaba, and took John, and all that he had, and went their way<sup>h</sup> with it<sup>h</sup>. †But after  
 these things<sup>l</sup> they brought word to Jonathan †and Simon<sup>l</sup> his brother, that the children of Ambri  
 were making a great marriage, and were bringing the bride from Nadabath with a great train,  
 38 a daughter of one of the great nobles of Canaan. And they remembered<sup>k</sup> John their<sup>l</sup> brother, and  
 39 went up, and hid themselves under the covert of the mountain; †and they lifted up their eyes<sup>m</sup>, and  
 saw, and behold, a great ado and much baggage; and the bridegroom came forth, and his friends  
 and his brethren to meet them (i.e. those forming the bridal procession) with timbrels, and minstrels,  
 40 and †many<sup>o</sup> weapons<sup>n</sup>. And they rose up<sup>p</sup> from their ambush<sup>p</sup> against them, and slew them; and  
 many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled into the mountain; and they took all their spoils<sup>q</sup>.  
 41 And the marriage was turned into mourning, and the voice of their<sup>r</sup> minstrels into lamentation.  
 42 And (thus) they avenged fully the blood of their brother: and they turned back to the marsh-land<sup>r</sup>  
 of Jordan.  
 43 And (when) Bacchides<sup>t</sup> heard it<sup>u</sup>, he came on the Sabbath day unto the banks of the Jordan  
 44 with a great host. And Jonathan said unto his brethren<sup>v</sup>: †Let us arise now and fight<sup>w</sup> for our  
 45 lives; for it is not (with us) to-day, as yesterday and the day before. For, behold, the battle is  
 before us and behind us<sup>w</sup>; moreover, the water of the Jordan is on this side and on that side, and (this  
 46 is) marsh-<sup>x</sup> and wood-land, and there is no place to turn aside. Now, therefore, cry unto heaven,  
 47 that ye may be delivered out of the hand of your<sup>y</sup> enemies. And the battle was joined, and  
 48 Jonathan stretched forth his hand to smite Bacchides, and he turned away back from him. And  
 Jonathan, and they that were with him<sup>z</sup>, leapt into the<sup>a</sup> Jordan, and swam over to the other side:

e+ > 71 f-f B. and all his army crossed the Jordan on the Sabbath day 71 # T.R. h h > 71 i-i > 71  
 k + the blood of 8 8 71 And Jonathan remembered 8<sup>100</sup> † his 8\* (their 8\*<sup>100</sup>) 93 8<sup>100</sup> m m > 71 n n much  
 people 55 64 o > 71 p p > 19 q vessels A r the 19 \* mountainous-land A V 55 71 bank 71 ford 8<sup>100</sup>  
 l > 8<sup>100</sup> † that Jonathan had returned Luc 8<sup>100</sup> (with slight variations) † them that were with him 8 V  
 w \* > 71 x > 8<sup>100</sup> y our A z \* + behind Luc a \* > 8\*

sloping sides; the top is of considerable extent, and is covered with ruins spread over four or five acres of ground (cp. 1 Chron. ii. 24; 2 Chron. xi. 20; Amos i. 1; Jer. vi. 1).

**the pool Asphar.** †The Be'er Asphar is probably the modern *Bir-Sakhūb*, a considerable reservoir in the wilderness, six miles WSW. of Engedi, and near the junction of several ancient roads; the hills around still bear the name *Safra*, an equivalent of Asphar (G. A. Smith, *EB* 343).

34. This verse, which is a variant of v. 43, has got out of place; it should be deleted.

35. **his brother.** i.e. John; cp. vv. 36, 38.

**the Nabathaeans.** See note on v. 25.

36. **the children of Ambri.** The reading *Ἰαμβρι* is probably due to dittography, the *i* of the preceding *ἰσὺν* having been repeated by mistake (Kautzsch). Cheyne, however, thinks that the form *Jambri* (or *Jamri*) is correct, as the name *ܐܡܒܪܝ* has been found on an Aramaic inscription at *Umm er-Ressā*, about twelve miles SSE. of Medeba (*EB* 2317). The name is not otherwise met with; but, as the text shows, they belonged to an Arab clan of this name living at or near Medeba. Josephus has of *Ἀραβαῖοι παῖδες*, i.e. Amorites; cp. Num. xxi. 29-31, where Medeba is spoken of as a city of the Amorites.

**Medaba.** Mentioned on the Moabite Stone: '... Now Omri annexed the (land) of Medeba, and dwelt therein' (ll. 7, 8). It was situated on the high land of Moab to the south of Heshbon; cp. Joshua xii. 9, 16. The ruins still survive and are called Medaba (see the *Quarterly Statement* of the Pal. Expl. Fund, July 1895 and July 1901).

37. **they brought word.** Presumably some escaped.

**Nadabath.** Possibly = Nebo; Clermont-Ganneau (*Journal of the American Oriental Soc.*, 1891, pp. 541 ff.) thinks it is a mistake for Rabatha = Rabbath Ammon, twenty-two miles east of Jordan, on the river Jabbok (cp. 2 Sam. xii. 26-28); the modern *Amman*.

39. **his friends.** Cp. Judges xiv. 11.

42. **the marsh-land.** *τὸ ἄλας*; at the present day the ford nearest the Dead Sea is called *el Helu*; it is no doubt owing to this that the Syriac Version reads 'the ford' (cp. Grimm).

44. **for it is not . . .** i.e. the state of affairs is more desperate than hitherto on account of the hopeless position they are in, as described in the next verse.

45. **on this side and on that side.** i.e. they were caught in a bend of the river.

47. **and he turned . . .** The exact meaning here is not quite clear; in view of the words: 'The battle was joined,' it is probable that the reference is not to a personal conflict between Jonathan and Bacchides, but that their names here refer to their respective parties. In this case, the meaning of vv. 47, 48 would be that Jonathan and his followers made such a vigorous onslaught upon the enemy that the latter gave way temporarily; Jonathan, thereupon, seeing the indecision of the enemy, took advantage of the momentary respite, and plunged into the river, followed by his men. That he gained some advantage at the commencement of the battle seems evident from the fact that Bacchides is afraid to pursue; he is, presumably, deterred by the courage of despair which had been evinced by his opponents. The mention of the loss of a thousand Syrians also points to a conflict which at the start, at all events, was not one-sided.

I MACCABEES 9. 49-65

49 and they (i.e. Bacchides and his followers) did not pass over<sup>a</sup> Jordan against them. And there fell<sup>b</sup> of Bacchides' company<sup>c</sup> that day<sup>d</sup> about a thousand<sup>e</sup> men.  
 50 And they<sup>f</sup> returned<sup>g</sup> to Jerusalem; and they<sup>h</sup> built strong cities in Judaea, (namely), the stronghold that is in Jericho, and Emmaus, and Bethhoron, and Bethel, and Timnath<sup>i</sup>, Pharathon, and Tephon, with high walls, and gates and bars<sup>k</sup>. And they<sup>l</sup> set garrisons<sup>m</sup> in them to vex Israel.  
 52 And they<sup>n</sup> fortified the city Bethsura<sup>o</sup>, and Gazara, and the citadel; and they<sup>p</sup> put forces in them, and store of victuals<sup>q</sup>. And they<sup>r</sup> took the sons<sup>s</sup> of the chief men of the country for hostages, and put<sup>t</sup> them in ward in the citadel at Jerusalem.  
 54 Now in the one hundred and fifty-third year, in the second month<sup>u</sup>, Alcimus commanded to pull down the wall of the inner court<sup>v</sup> of the sanctuary<sup>w</sup>, (in so doing) he pulled down<sup>x</sup> also the works of the prophets. And (when) he began to pull down<sup>y</sup>, at that (very) time, Alcimus was stricken, and his works were hindered; and his mouth was stopped, and he became palsied, and he could no more speak anything, (nor) give order concerning his house<sup>z</sup>. And Alcimus<sup>aa</sup> died at that time with great torment. And (when) Bacchides saw that Alcimus was dead, he returned to the king. And the land of Judah had rest two years.  
 58 And all the lawless men took counsel, saying: Behold, Jonathan, and they of his part are dwelling at peace, (and) in security; let us therefore now bring<sup>ab</sup> Bacchides, and he will lay hands on them all<sup>ac</sup> in one night. And they went and consulted with him. And he<sup>ad</sup> removed, and came with a great host, and sent letters privily to all his confederates that were in Judaea, that they should lay hands on Jonathan, and (on) them that were with him; but they were<sup>ae</sup> not able (to do so), because their plan became known to them<sup>b</sup>. And they (that were of Jonathan's part) laid hands on about fifty men<sup>c</sup> of the country that were the ringleaders in the wickedness, and slew<sup>d</sup> them. And Jonathan, and Simon, and they that were with him, gat them away<sup>e</sup> to Bethbasi, which is in the wilderness, and he built up<sup>f</sup> that which had been pulled down thereof<sup>g</sup>, and made<sup>h</sup> it strong. And (when) Bacchides knew it<sup>h</sup>, he gathered together all<sup>i</sup> his multitude, and sent word to them that were in Judaea. And he<sup>k</sup> went and<sup>l</sup> encamped against Bethbasi, and fought against it<sup>k</sup> many days, and made<sup>k</sup> engines<sup>l</sup> (of war). And Jonathan left his brother Simon in the city, and went forth into the country;

<sup>b</sup> there went through A. <sup>c</sup> by the side of Bacchides A. <sup>d</sup> > 71. <sup>e</sup> three thousand NV 55 S<sup>g</sup>. <sup>f</sup> he NV Luc L. <sup>g</sup> + Bacchides 64 93. <sup>h</sup> he N<sup>ca</sup>. <sup>i</sup> + and N A V. <sup>k</sup> k > 71. <sup>l</sup> he N. <sup>m</sup> V only. <sup>n</sup> he NV. <sup>o</sup> o > S L; Bethsura N 64 93. the city and Bethsura A. the city near (i.e. in) Bethsura V. <sup>p</sup> p > 71. <sup>q</sup> he NV Luc L. <sup>r</sup> he NV L. Bacchides 64 93. <sup>s</sup> + of Israel 55. <sup>t</sup> he put NV L 64 93. <sup>u</sup> u > 71. <sup>v</sup> destroyed L. <sup>w</sup> > S<sup>g</sup>. <sup>x</sup> > V<sup>s</sup> only. we will bring N A V. let us lead Luc. <sup>y</sup> > 19 64 L. <sup>z</sup> Bacchides Luc. <sup>aa</sup> he was not A. <sup>ab</sup> > N. him S<sup>g</sup>. <sup>ac</sup> > N. <sup>ad</sup> he slew N A L. <sup>ae</sup> + from them N. <sup>f</sup> f > 71. <sup>g</sup> they made N L T.R. <sup>h</sup> h > L. <sup>i</sup> > S<sup>g</sup>. <sup>k</sup> k > 71. <sup>l</sup> with engines 71.

50. they. i.e. the Syrians; cp. critical note.  
 the stronghold that is in Jericho. Grimm refers to the two citadels by Jericho mentioned by Strabo as having been destroyed by Pompey, namely Taurus and Thrax; the reference here must be to one of these.  
 Emmaus. See note on iii. 40.  
 Bethhoron. See note on iii. 16.  
 Bethel. About ten miles north of Jerusalem, the modern *Beitin*, nearly 3,000 ft. above the sea-level.  
 Timnath. Several places of this name are mentioned in the O.T.; the one here must be either the Timnath-Serah in Mount Ephraim, where Joshua was buried (Joshua xix. 50, xxiv. 30; Judges ii. 9), or the Timna (called also Timnatha) in Danite territory about fifteen miles to the west of Jerusalem; the latter is, perhaps, the more likely.  
 Pharathon. The Syriac and O.L. versions, like Josephus, omit 'and'. This place is the Pirathon of the O.T. (Judges xii. 13, 15), in Ephraimite territory (but cp. xi. 34), the modern Ferata, about six or seven miles south-west of Nablous, the ancient Sichem.  
 Tephon. Probably a corruption of Tappuah, also in the inheritance of Ephraim (Joshua xvi. 8).  
 52. Bethsura, and Gazara. See notes on iv. 29. 15.  
 the citadel. Cp. i. 33, and the note on v. 53.  
 54. the one hundred and fifty-third year. i.e. 159 B.C.  
 the second month. Iyar in the Jewish calendar.  
 the wall of the inner court. The inner court was restricted to Israelites, so that the pulling down of its wall implied the obliteration of all religious difference between Israelites and Gentiles; this was to undo the work of the prophets whose aim was to keep the Israelites distinct from their idolatrous neighbours.  
 56. Alcimus died. Josephus places the death of Alcimus earlier, before the death of Judas, see *Antiq.* XII. x. 6; he says that Alcimus was smitten suddenly by God.  
 57. he returned to the king. Assuming, no doubt, that the country had now been subjugated; but, as the sequel shows, the period of rest which the land had enjoyed, was utilized by the national party to good purpose.  
 62. Bethbasi, which is in the wilderness. G. A. Smith says that 'in the wilderness of Judaea, east of Tekoa, there is a *Wady el-Jessab*, which name as it stands means 'marsh', an impossible term, and therefore probably an echo of an ancient name' (*EB* 550); possibly Bethbasi is to be identified with this.  
 65. and went forth into the country. For the purpose of creating diversions, and to come to the relief of his brother at the right moment.



I MACCABEES 9. 66—10. 7

66 and he went with a (small) number. And he smote Odomera and his brethren, and the children of  
 67 Phasiron in their tents. And he<sup>m</sup> began to smite (them) and to go up with (his) troops. Then Simon  
 68 and they that were with him went out of the city and set on fire the engines (of war): and they  
 fought against Bacchides, and he was discomfited by them, and they afflicted him sore, <sup>a</sup>for his plan  
 69 and his attack had been in vain<sup>a</sup>. And they<sup>n</sup> were very wroth with the lawless men that gave him  
 counsel to come into the country, and they slew many of them. And he determined to depart into  
 70 his own land. And (when) Jonathan had knowledge (thereof), he sent ambassadors <sup>b</sup>unto him<sup>p</sup>, to  
 the end that they should make peace with him, and that he should restore unto them<sup>n</sup> the captives.  
 71 And he<sup>r</sup> accepted (the thing), <sup>c</sup>and did according to his words<sup>q</sup>, and sware unto him that he would  
 72 not seek his hurt all the days of his life. And he restored unto him the captives which he had taken  
 captive aforetime out of <sup>d</sup>the land of<sup>t</sup> Judah; and he<sup>s</sup> returned and departed into his own land, and  
 73 came<sup>r</sup> not any more into their borders. And the sword ceased from Israel. And Jonathan dwelt  
 at Michmash. And Jonathan began to judge the people<sup>m</sup>; and he destroyed the ungodly out of  
 Israel<sup>z</sup>.

X. 1-66. Jonathan supports Alexander Balas in his struggle with Demetrius I.

10 1 In<sup>a</sup> the one hundred and sixtieth year Alexander <sup>b</sup>Epiphanes<sup>b</sup>, the son of Antiochus<sup>b</sup>, went up  
 2 and took possession of Ptolemais, and they<sup>n</sup> received him, and he reigned there<sup>d</sup>. And (when) king  
 Demetrius heard (thereof), he gathered together exceeding great forces, and went forth to meet him  
 3 in battle. And Demetrius sent letters unto Jonathan with words of peace, so as to magnify him.  
 4 For he said: 'Let us be beforehand to make peace with them, ere he make peace with Alexander  
 5 against us. For he will remember all the evils which we have done <sup>e</sup>unto him<sup>r</sup>; and unto his  
 6 brethren and unto his nation<sup>t</sup>.' And he gave him authority to gather together forces, and to provide  
 arms, and to be his confederate: and he commanded that they should deliver up to him the hostages  
 7 that were in the citadel. And Jonathan came to Jerusalem, and read the letters <sup>f</sup>in the ears of all<sup>h</sup>

<sup>a</sup> they N V 64 93    <sup>b</sup> n > 71    <sup>c</sup> he N<sup>o</sup> V Bacchides 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup>    <sup>d</sup> P P unto them N 93 > V    <sup>e</sup> him 55 L S<sup>o</sup>  
<sup>f</sup> Bacchides Luc    <sup>g</sup> r > 71    <sup>h</sup> t > N S<sup>g</sup>    <sup>i</sup> Bacchides 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup>    <sup>j</sup> looked Luc    <sup>k</sup> + of Israel 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup>  
<sup>l</sup> of it S<sup>luc</sup>

X. <sup>a</sup> And in G L S<sup>luc</sup>    <sup>b</sup> b the son of Antiochus Epiphanes S<sup>luc</sup> > Antiochus L<sup>g</sup>    <sup>c</sup> it A 93 N<sup>o</sup>    <sup>d</sup> (over) them L<sup>t</sup>    <sup>e</sup> r > L<sup>t</sup>    <sup>f</sup> race V    <sup>g</sup> r > 71    <sup>h</sup> > S<sup>g</sup>

with a (small) number. ἀριθμῶν, cp. Isa. x. 19 (Sept.).

66. Odomera. Another reading is Odoarres; presumably the name of the head of some Bedouin clan; this applies also to Phasiron.

and to go up with (his) troops. i.e. to lead his troops against the enemy; for the Hebrew phrase 'to go up' (לָךְ לָלֶךְ) for the purpose of fighting cp. 1 Sam. xiv. 10; Judg. vi. 3, xv. 10, xviii. 9, &c.

70. the captives. i.e. those who had been taken captive aforetime (see 7: 72).

73. And the sword ceased . . . With this laconic notice the First Book of Maccabees passes over the following five years. This can only mean that Jonathan, while the official Sanhedrim of Jerusalem was still filled by those friendly to the Greeks, established at Michmash a sort of rival government, which gradually won the position of main influence in the country, so that it was able even to drive out (ἀφαιρῆσαι) the ungodly, that is, the Hellenizing party. The Hellenistic or Greek-favouring party had no root among the people. The great mass of the Jews had still the distinct consciousness that Hellenism, even if it should tolerate the religion of Israel, was irreconcilable with the religion of the scribes. So soon, then, as pressure from above was removed, the great majority of the people gave themselves heart and soul to the national Jewish movement. The Maccabees, therefore, had the people soon again at their back. And this is the explanation of the fact that during the struggles for the Syrian throne now beginning, the claimants contended with one another in endeavouring to secure to themselves the goodwill of the Maccabees' (Schürer, *op. cit.* I. 1, p. 239).

Michmash. Nine miles north of Jerusalem, the modern *Mukhmas*.

and he destroyed . . . This shows how the power of the national party had been consolidated.

X. 1. In the one hundred and sixtieth year. 153 B.C.; the last date given was 159 B.C. (see ix. 54), and in 7: 57 we are told that the land had rest for two years; seven years have, therefore, elapsed since the time that Bacchides thought the land was subjugated (see note on ix. 57); and during this interval nothing is recorded save an abortive attempt on the part of Bacchides to subdue Jonathan (ix. 58-73).

Alexander Epiphanes. Alexander Balas was a low-born native of Smyrna who, owing to his resemblance to Antiochus Eupator, gave himself out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes. He was taken up by Attalus II, King of Pergamum, from whom he received the name of Alexander, and who supported his claims to the kingdom of Syria against Demetrius. Although, according to Polybius (xxxiii. 14. 6), it was well known that the claims of Alexander were without justification, he was, nevertheless, recognized by the Roman Senate, who promised to support him. His success was largely due to the fact that Demetrius was hated by his own people (see Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. ii. 1) on account of his 'insolence and difficulty of access', and because he was 'slothful and negligent about the public affairs'.

Ptolemais. See note on v. 15, and cp. Josephus, *l. c.*

2. went forth to meet . . . See note on vii. 31.

3. with words of peace. See note on i. 30.

7. in the ears of all the people. Cp. Isa. xxxvi. 2 דַּעַם יִשְׂרָאֵל.

8 the people, and of them that were in the citadel<sup>8</sup>; and they were sore afraid when they heard that  
 9 the king had given him<sup>1</sup> authority to gather together forces. And they<sup>k</sup> of the citadel<sup>k</sup> delivered up  
 10 the hostages unto Jonathan, and he<sup>1</sup> restored them to their parents. And Jonathan dwelt<sup>m</sup> in  
 11 Jerusalem, and began to build<sup>n</sup> and renew<sup>n</sup> the city. And he<sup>b</sup> commanded them that did the work  
 to build<sup>n</sup> the walls and the mount Sion round about with square<sup>9</sup> stones for defence; and they<sup>f</sup> did  
 12, 13 so. And the strangers, that were in the strongholds that Bacchides had built, fled away; and  
 14 each man left his place<sup>a</sup>, and departed into his own land. Only in Bethsura were there left certain  
 of those that had forsaken the Law, and the commandments; for it was a place of refuge unto  
 them<sup>8</sup>.

15 And king Alexander heard all the promises which Demetrius had sent unto Jonathan; and they  
 told him of the battles and the valiant deeds<sup>1</sup> which he and his brethren had done, and of the toils  
 16 which they had endured<sup>10</sup>; and he said: 'Shall we find another such man? And now let us make<sup>v</sup>  
 17 him our Friend<sup>16</sup> and confederate<sup>w</sup>.' And he wrote letters, and sent (them) unto him<sup>z</sup>, according to  
 18, 19 these words, saying<sup>2</sup>: 'King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting<sup>18</sup>! We have heard  
 20 concerning thee, that thou art a mighty<sup>19</sup> man of valour, and meet to be our Friend<sup>b</sup>. And now we  
 have appointed thee this day<sup>c</sup> (to be) high-priest of thy nation, and (it is our will) that thou shouldest  
 be called the king's Friend—and he<sup>d</sup> sent unto him a purple robe and a crown<sup>e</sup> of gold<sup>21</sup>—and that  
 21 thou shouldest take our part, and keep friendship<sup>20</sup> with us.' And Jonathan put on the holy garment<sup>21</sup>  
 in the seventh month of the one hundred and sixtieth year<sup>h</sup>, at the feast of Tabernacles; and he  
 gathered together forces, and provided arms in abundance.

22, 23 And (when) Demetrius heard these things<sup>1</sup>, he was grieved, and said: 'Why have we permitted  
 this to be done, that Alexander hath been beforehand<sup>k</sup> with us in establishing friendship with the  
 24 Jews<sup>1</sup>, to strengthen himself? I also will write unto them words of encouragement, and of honour,  
 25 and gifts, that they may be with me for (my) aid.' And he sent unto them according to these words<sup>1</sup>:  
 26 'King Demetrius unto the nation of the Jews, greeting! Forasmuch as ye have kept covenant with  
 us, and have continued in our friendship, and have not joined yourselves to our enemies, we, (who)  
 27 have heard (hercof), rejoice. And now continue ye still<sup>m</sup> to keep faith with us, and we will recom-  
 28 pense unto you good things<sup>n</sup> in return for what ye do in our behalf<sup>o</sup>; and we will grant you many  
 29 immunities, and will give you gifts. And now I (herewith) free you, and release all the Jews from  
 30 the tributes<sup>p</sup>, and from the custom on salt, and from (the presenting of)<sup>q</sup> the crowns; and instead of

<sup>1</sup>them A <sup>k</sup>k > 71 <sup>1</sup>they A <sup>m</sup>heard A <sup>n</sup>n > 71 <sup>o</sup>o > 71 <sup>p</sup>Jonathan 64 93 <sup>q</sup>four-foot N V 55  
<sup>r</sup>he N V 1 <sup>s</sup>s > 71 <sup>t</sup>t > 71 <sup>u</sup>u > 71 <sup>v</sup>v we will make N V 19 64 <sup>w</sup>w > 71 <sup>x</sup>x unto him 71  
<sup>y</sup>y > Luc <sup>z</sup>z > V <sup>a</sup>a good A <sup>b</sup>b > 71 <sup>c</sup>c > 71 <sup>d</sup>d they A <sup>e</sup>e a royal crown S <sup>f</sup>f + and saying N <sup>g</sup>g  
<sup>h</sup>h > Luc <sup>i</sup>i > 71 <sup>j</sup>j > 71 <sup>k</sup>k > V <sup>l</sup>l > 71 <sup>m</sup>m > 71 <sup>n</sup>n > 71 <sup>o</sup>o > 71 <sup>p</sup>p And  
 now I release all Jews from tribute 12 <sup>q</sup>the custom of 55

8. they were sore afraid. *ἰθαθήσαν φόβον μέγαν*, cp. Luke ii. 9.  
 11. square stones. Cp. 1 Kings vi. 36, vii. 9; Isa. ix. 9; called in Hebrew *בִּית הַבְּרִיטִים* ('hewn stones'), which were smaller, and not necessarily 'square'.  
 14. Bethsura. See note on iv. 29.  
 16. Friend. See note on ii. 18.  
 18. King . . . greeting! A Greek formula which often occurs in 1-2 Macc.; the Hebrew equivalent for 'greeting' would be *שְׁלוֹמֵךְ* 'Peace'.  
 19. a mighty man of valour. A very frequent O.T. expression, *גִּבּוֹר מַלְחָמָה*.  
 20. high-priest. This office had been vacant for seven years, i. e. since the death of Alcimus.  
 a purple robe and a crown of gold. Cp. xi. 58, xix. 43; Esther viii. 15; Dan. v. 7.  
 21. the holy garment. i. e. the specific high-priestly robe (*כִּתְרוֹת*); the 'robe of righteousness' (Isa. lxi. 10).  
 the seventh month. Tishri, corresponding roughly to October.  
 the feast of Tabernacles. Called *Sukkoth* ('Booths'); the feast began on the 15th of Tishri, and lasted seven days (1. ev. xiii. 34); nowadays it lasts nine days, and is called 'the season of Rejoicing'; cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* VIII. iv. 1.  
 he gathered together forces . . . Jonathan evidently thought it wisest, in the long run, to trust to himself only.  
 27 we will recompense . . . These promises were of such an extravagant character that Jonathan would in any case have regarded them with suspicion; but he evidently knew the real state of affairs, and foresaw that the doom of Demetrius was sealed.  
 29. the tributes. This was the principal burden laid upon the people, the poll-tax; 'it was, strictly speaking, a kind of trade-tax, a percentage that varied according to the nature of the work and the means of the individual, not a personal tax, uniform and unchanging' (*EB* 4909, after Aristotle, *Oeconom.* ii. 1. 4).  
 the custom on salt. A very large quantity of salt is deposited upon the marshy land around the Dead Sea when the annual spring floods, which cause the sea-level to rise several feet, subside. The tax on this was called *ἡ ἀλίς*; the very words here used, *ἀλίς* . . . *τῆς πλῆθους τοῦ ἀλός*, have been found on an Egyptian ostrakon. See further on the whole subject of salt-taxes in Palestine under the Seleucidae, Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka aus Aegypten* . . . , i. pp. 141 ff.  
 and from . . . crowns. These were originally voluntary gifts given to the sovereign, but afterwards exacted as of right. For another instance of the remission of taxes to the Jews see Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 3, where we are told of 'poll-money, and the crown tax, and other taxes' being remitted.



I MACCABEES 10. 30-41

the third part of the seed, and instead of <sup>r</sup> the half of <sup>r</sup> the fruit of the trees, which falleth to me to receive, I release (them) from this day and henceforth, so that I will not take (them) from the land of Judah, and from the three governments which are added thereunto from the country of  
 31 Samaria and Galilee, <sup>a</sup>from this day forth and for all time<sup>a</sup>. And <sup>b</sup>let Jerusalem be <sup>b</sup>holy and  
 32 free, <sup>a</sup>together with the outlying districts, (regarding) <sup>c</sup>the tithes and the tolls. <sup>d</sup>"I yield up"  
 also my authority over <sup>e</sup>the citadel which is at Jerusalem, and give (it) to the high-priest<sup>e</sup>, that  
 33 he may appoint in it (such) men as he shall choose, to keep it. And every soul of the Jews that  
 hath been carried away captive from the land of Judah into any part of my kingdom, I set at  
 34 liberty <sup>f</sup>without price<sup>f</sup>; and let all remit the tributes of their cattle also. And all the feasts, and  
 the Sabbaths, and new moons, and appointed days, and three days before a feast, <sup>g</sup>and three days  
 after a feast<sup>g</sup>, <sup>h</sup>let them all be days of immunity and release for all the Jews <sup>h</sup>that are in my king-  
 35 dom<sup>h</sup>; and no man shall have authority to exact (anything) from any of them, or to trouble them  
 36 concerning any matter. And let there be enrolled among the king's forces about thirty<sup>i</sup> thousand men  
 37 of the Jews, and pay shall be given unto them, as belongeth to all<sup>i</sup> the king's forces. <sup>j</sup>And of them  
 some shall be placed in the king's<sup>j</sup> great strongholds, and some of them shall be placed over the  
 affairs of the kingdom<sup>j</sup>, which are of trust; and let those that are over them, and their rulers, be  
 from among themselves, and let them walk after their own laws, even as the king hath commanded  
 38 in the land of Judah. And the three governments that have been added to Judaea from the country  
 of Samaria<sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup>let them be added to Judaea, <sup>k</sup>that they may be reckoned<sup>k</sup> to be under one (man),  
 39 that they obey <sup>l</sup>not any other authority than that of the high-priest<sup>l</sup>. As for Ptolemais, and the land  
 pertaining thereto, I have given (it <sup>m</sup>as) a gift<sup>m</sup> to <sup>n</sup>the sanctuary that is at <sup>n</sup>Jerusalem, for the  
 40 expenses <sup>n</sup>that befit<sup>n</sup> the sanctuary. And I (undertake to) give every year fifteen thousand shekels  
 41 of silver<sup>n</sup> from the king's revenues<sup>n</sup>, <sup>o</sup>from the places which are (most) convenient<sup>o</sup>. <sup>p</sup>And all the

r r > S<sup>100</sup> e e > 71 i i J. shall be V u-u > U<sup>1</sup> v and I remit A V 19 S w-w > A 19 71 S x to the  
 holy house S<sup>100</sup> r r > 71 r r > 71 U<sup>1</sup> a a paraphrased in S b b > 71 c three S<sup>100</sup> d > S<sup>100</sup>  
 e e > N U<sup>1</sup> f f > 71 g of the king S<sup>100</sup> h + and Galilee Luc i i let them be reckoned with Judaea S<sup>100</sup> U<sup>1</sup>  
 k k > 19 S<sup>100</sup> l l > S<sup>100</sup> m m > S<sup>100</sup> n n > S<sup>100</sup> o o > 71 from the king's treasury S<sup>100</sup> from the  
 treasury U<sup>1</sup> p p > S<sup>100</sup> q q All that is owing to me S<sup>100</sup> r r > 71

30. the seed. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'the fruits (of the field)', cp. τὰ σπυρίσματα, XIV. x. 6.  
 half of the fruit . . . A larger proportion of this was appropriated because the produce involved less labour.  
 the three governments. Cp. xi. 28, 34, called 'toparchies'.  
 and Galilee. This is an erroneous addition; the three toparchies mentioned belonged to Samaria, cp. xi. 34; in  
 v. 38 of this chapter a similar error is made in some MSS., see critical note there.  
 and for all time. Cp. xi. 36.  
 31. let J. be holy. What is meant is made very clear by referring to a rescript of Antiochus III, the Great,  
 quoted by Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. iii. 4): 'It shall be lawful for no foreigner to come within the limits of the Temple  
 round about; which thing is forbidden also to the Jews, unless to those who, according to their own custom, have  
 purified themselves. . . . Let them only be permitted to use the sacrifices derived from their forefathers, with which  
 they have been obliged to make acceptable atonements to God. And he that transgresseth any of these orders, let  
 him pay to the priests three thousand drachmae of silver.  
 free, . . . the tithes and the tolls. The reference is to the tithes, and the tax on the revenues of the Temple,  
 which had been exacted by the Syrian rulers; Josephus makes this clear (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'I also release to you  
 those ten thousand drachmae which the kings received from the Temple, because they appertain to the priests that  
 minister in that Temple' (cp. also 2 Macc. xi. 3). The Temple dues which were thus taxed were: (1) 'the third part  
 of a shekel for the service of the house of our God' (Neh. x. 32), which every Israelite of twenty years and upwards had  
 to pay annually; originally it was a half-shekel (about one shilling and twopenny halfpenny), for rich and poor alike  
 (Exod. xxx. 14, 15); but on this see Schürer, *op. cit.* ii. 1. 250; (2) the votive offerings (cp. Lev. xxvii; Deut. xxiii.  
 22-24; see also Josephus, *Antiq.* IV. iv. 4) = נָדָבִים; and (3) the free-will offerings (נְדָבָה). On the whole subject of  
 these offerings see the Mishnic tractate *Shekalim*.  
 33. and let all remit. The 'all' must refer to the king's officials, 'their cattle' to the property of Jews; what is  
 meant is explained by Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 3): 'I also give order that the beasts belonging to the Jews be not  
 pressed for our service.'  
 34. days of immunity . . . i.e., as the next verse shows, on these days the Jews were to be left unmolested,  
 whether as regards the payment of taxes or debts (cp. v. 43) or as regards service for the king.  
 36. And let there be enrolled . . . This would give a *status* to the Jews which they had not hitherto enjoyed;  
 but Demetrius' main object was to increase his forces in order to withstand Alexander.  
 pay. ξένα = the clothing, food, and pay given to mercenary troops.  
 37. and some of them shall be placed . . . Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. ii. 3) says: 'And some of them I will place in  
 my garrisons, and some as guards about mine own body, and as rulers over those that are in my court;' cp. *Antiq.*  
 XII. ii. 5.  
 38. the three governments. See note on v. 30.  
 39. As for Ptolemais . . . As Alexander had taken possession of this (see v. 1), the promise was merely a bribe  
 to induce Jonathan to attack the rival of Demetrius.  
 40. from the places . . . convenient. i.e. those which could best afford it; the clause is omitted by the Lucianic  
 Syriac, and Josephus makes no reference to it.  
 41. all the overplus. Fairweather and Black are probably right in understanding this to refer to the additional

I MACCABEES 10. 41-60

overplus<sup>a</sup> which the officials paid not in—as (has been done) in former years<sup>a</sup>—they shall from  
 42 henceforth give towards the works of the<sup>1</sup> house<sup>1</sup>. And <sup>a</sup>beside this<sup>a</sup>, the five thousand shekels of  
 silver, which they used to take from the **dues** of the sanctuary<sup>a</sup> out of the income<sup>a</sup> year by  
 43 year, <sup>a</sup>this also is released, because it appertaineth<sup>a</sup> to the priests that minister<sup>a</sup>. And whosoever  
 shall flee unto the temple that is in Jerusalem, and in all the precincts thereof, (because) he oweth  
 money to the king, or for any other reason, let (such) go free, together with all, whatsoever they possess,  
 44 in my kingdom. And for the building and renewing of the works of the sanctuary the expense  
 45 shall be given also out of the king's revenue. <sup>a</sup>And for the building of the walls of Jerusalem, and  
 the fortifying thereof round about, <sup>a</sup>shall the expense be given also out of the king's revenue<sup>a</sup>,  
 and for the building of the walls (of other cities) in Judaea<sup>a</sup>.  
 46 Now when Jonathan and the people heard these words, they gave no credence unto them<sup>a</sup>, nor  
 received they (them), because they remembered the great evil that he had done in Israel<sup>d</sup>, and that  
 47 he had afflicted them very sore. And (moreover) they were well pleased with Alexander, because  
 he was the first that spake <sup>a</sup>words of peace<sup>a</sup> unto them, and they remained confederate with him  
 always.  
 48 And king Alexander gathered together <sup>f</sup>great forces<sup>f</sup>, and encamped over against Demetrius.  
 49 And the two kings joined battle, and the army of Alexander<sup>a</sup> fled, and Demetrius<sup>b</sup> followed after  
 50 him<sup>1</sup>, and prevailed against them. And he continued the battle<sup>b</sup> obstinately until the sun went  
 down; and Demetrius fell that day.  
 51 And Alexander<sup>1</sup> sent ambassadors to Ptolemy, king of Egypt, <sup>m</sup>according to these words<sup>m</sup>,  
 52 saying: 'Forasmuch as I am returned to my kingdom, and am set on the throne of my fathers, and  
 have gotten the dominion, and have overthrown Demetrius, <sup>n</sup>and have gotten possession of our  
 53 country<sup>n</sup>—yea, I joined battle with him, and he and his army were discomfited by us, and we<sup>n</sup> sat  
 54 upon the throne of his kingdom,—let us now establish amity<sup>p</sup> one with the other<sup>p</sup>; and give me  
 now<sup>o</sup> thy daughter to wife; and I will make affinity with thee, and will give both thee and her gifts  
 55 worthy of thee.' And Ptolemy the king answered, saying: 'Happy is the day wherein thou didst  
 56 return into the land of thy fathers, and didst sit upon the throne of their kingdom. And now will  
 I do to thee (according to) the things which thou hast written. But meet (me)<sup>q</sup> at Ptolemais, that  
 57 we may see one another; and I will make affinity with thee 'even as thou hast said'. And Ptolemy  
 went out of Egypt, he and Cleopatra his daughter, <sup>u</sup>and came unto Ptolemais, in the one hundred  
 58 and sixty-second year<sup>u</sup>; and he bestowed on him his daughter Cleopatra, and celebrated her  
 marriage at Ptolemais with great pomp, as the manner of kings is.

59. 60 And king<sup>v</sup> Alexander wrote unto Jonathan, that he should come to meet him. And he<sup>v</sup> went

<sup>a</sup>nations Luc 11<sup>a</sup> <sup>1</sup>this Luc <sup>u</sup>> 71 <sup>v</sup>+ as in former years AV 55 71 S L <sup>w</sup>> 71 <sup>x</sup>> 71 <sup>y</sup>> 71  
<sup>z</sup>> 71 <sup>aa</sup>> 64 <sup>ab</sup>house 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>c</sup>him S<sup>100</sup> > 71 <sup>d</sup>Jerusalem 64 <sup>e</sup>> 71 <sup>f</sup>all the  
 forces N <sup>1</sup> and many 19 93 <sup>g</sup>Demetrius N<sup>ca</sup> V 19 64 <sup>h</sup>Alexander N<sup>ca</sup> V 19 64 <sup>i</sup>them N<sup>ca</sup> 19 S<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>k</sup>S<sup>100</sup> is wanting from here to year in v. 67 <sup>l</sup>+ in that day Luc S<sup>100</sup> <sup>m</sup>> 71 <sup>n</sup>> 71 <sup>o</sup>1 Luc  
<sup>p</sup> with him A <sup>q</sup> with them N <sup>r</sup>> N 19 71 93 S<sup>100</sup> L <sup>s</sup>> 71 <sup>t</sup>expressed in N<sup>ca</sup> 19 93 <sup>u</sup>> 71  
<sup>v</sup>> 71 <sup>w</sup>> 71 <sup>x</sup>Jonathan Luc

yearly subsidy granted for the Temple service out of State funds, and regularly paid ('as in former years') under the  
 Persians, Ptolemies, and Seleucidae, prior to Antiochus Epiphanes.

42. the works of the house. i.e. the affairs of the Temple, see preceding note.  
 43. the five thousand shekels of silver, which . . . This item has already been dealt with in v. 31.

44. dues. Text reads *χρησται* = *צדק*, corrupt for *צדק* [Gen. Editor].  
 45. shall flee unto the temple. Jewish law granted the right of asylum only to those who had committed murder  
 accidentally: the places of asylum were the altar in the Temple, and the six cities of refuge (cp. Exod. xxi. 14; 1 Kings  
 i. 50, ii. 28, 29).

46. for the building . . . Cp. Ezra vi. 8, vii. 20.  
 47. they gave no credence. The promises were far too extravagant to inspire confidence.

48. the first. *ἀρχηγός*, i.e. he took a higher place in their estimation.

49, 50. This laconic account can only be understood by the aid of Josephus, who says (*Antiq.* XIII. ii. 4): 'And  
 when it was come to a battle, the left wing of Demetrius put those who opposed them to flight, and pursued them  
 a great way, and slew many of them, and spoiled their camp. But the right wing, where Demetrius happened to be,  
 was beaten: and as for all the rest, they ran away. But Demetrius fought courageously, and slew a great many of  
 the enemy: but as he was in pursuit of the rest, his horse carried him into a deep bog, where it was hard to get out,  
 and there it happened, that upon his horse's falling down, he could not escape being killed; for when his enemies saw  
 what had befallen him, they returned back, and encompassed Demetrius round, and they all threw their darts at him;  
 but he being now on foot, fought bravely; but at length he received so many wounds that he was not able to bear up  
 any longer, and fell.'

51. Ptolemy. The sixth of the name, surnamed Philometor; he reigned 180-146 B. C., first under the guardianship  
 of his mother, Cleopatra, and jointly with his brother until 170, when he became sole king of Egypt.

52. I am returned to my kingdom . . . This insolent falsehood had been so sedulously propagated that many  
 believed Alexander to be the rightful heir: presumably the author of 1 Macc. also believed this.

54. thy daughter. Cleopatra, the issue of the incestuous union between Ptolemy and his sister, Cleopatra.



I MACCABEES 10. 60-73

\*with pomp to Ptolemais\*, and met the two kings, and gave them and their Friends silver and  
 61 gold, and many<sup>r</sup> gifts; and he found favour in their sight. And there were gathered together  
 against him \*(certain) pestilent fellows out of Israel\*, men that were transgressors of the Law, to  
 62 complain against him; but the king \*gave no heed to them. And the king \* commanded<sup>b</sup>, and they \*  
 63 took off Jonathan's garments, and clothed him in purple; \*even so did they do<sup>d</sup>. And the king\* made  
 him sit with him, and said unto his princes: 'Go forth with him into the midst of the city, and make  
 proclamation, that no man complain against him<sup>f</sup> concerning any matter<sup>f</sup>, and let no man trouble  
 64 him for any manner of cause.' And \*it came to pass<sup>g</sup>, when they that complained against him<sup>h</sup> saw  
 his glory<sup>i</sup> according as (the herald) made proclamation<sup>i</sup>, and (saw) him clothed in purple<sup>k</sup>, that they  
 65 all fled away. \*And the king showed him<sup>l</sup> honour, and wrote<sup>m</sup> him among his Chief Friends, and  
 66 made him a captain, and governor of a province<sup>n</sup>. And Jonathan returned<sup>o</sup> to Jerusalem<sup>o</sup> with  
 peace<sup>o</sup> and gladness<sup>o</sup>.

X. 67-89. *Victory of Jonathan over Apollonius, the general of Demetrius II; he is rewarded by Alexander.*

67 And in the one hundred and sixty-fifth year came Demetrius, the son of Demetrius, out of Crete  
 68 into the land of his fathers. And (when) king Alexander heard (thereof) he<sup>p</sup> was grieved exceed-  
 69 ingly, and returned<sup>q</sup> unto Antioch. And Demetrius appointed Apollonius, 'who was<sup>r</sup> over  
 Coele Syria<sup>s</sup>, (captain); and he gathered together a great host, and encamped in Jamnia, and sent  
 70 unto Jonathan the high-priest, saying: 'Thou alone liftest up thyself against us; but I am had in  
 derision and in reproach because of thee. \*And why dost thou vaunt thy power against us in the  
 71 mountains?<sup>t</sup> \* Now therefore, if thou trustest in thy forces, come down to us in the plain, and there  
 72 let us try conclusions with one another, for with me is the power of the cities<sup>u</sup>. Ask and learn who  
 I am, \*and the rest<sup>v</sup> (of those) that help us; and they (will) say, Your<sup>w</sup> foot cannot stand before  
 73 our face; for thy fathers have been twice put to flight in their own land. And now thou wilt not

x > 71 z > 510 z > 53 a > 93 b + them A c he A d d > 71 E1 o kings N f f > 71  
 r > 71 510 a Jonathan Luc l-l > 71 k linen A l-l > 71 m appointed 55 n > N o > 71  
 p the king N q sent 19 r leader 55 E1 defender 55 s Syria 510 t > 71 u wars 64 v > 71  
 w > 510 x Thy 55

60. and he found favour in their sight. A Hebrew expression (עָנַן בְּעֵינָיו) which frequently occurs in the O.T., e.g. Gen. xxx. 27, xlvii. 25, 29; 1 Sam. i. 18, &c.

61. pestilent fellows. ἀσέβητες λοιμοί, cp. 1 Sam. xxx. 22 (Sept.) ἀσέβητοι λοιμοί; 1 Sam. xxv. 25 . . . τὸν ἀσέβητον τὸν λοιμόν . . . (עֲשֵׂי בְּלִיַּע וְשָׂרָא).

62. clothed him in purple. \*It is still the custom of oriental kings to bestow upon State officials, vassals, governors, ambassadors, and scholars, as a mark of honour, not, it is true, purple, but a costly garment, called *Khilo* . . . and especially also those whom they wish publicly and solemnly to declare innocent of some charge do they clothe in gorgeous apparel, and cause them to be led through the royal city' (Grimm); references to the accounts of travellers are given. Cf. Gen. xli. 43; Esther vi. 11.

65. Chief Friends. There were evidently different grades among the King's Friends, just as in an aristocracy; Jonathan had already been made a Friend of the King (see v. 16).

a captain, and governor of a province. \*Στρατηγός and μεραρχία may be taken as equivalent to military and civil governor. . . . It specially deserves notice, that, in spite of Jonathan's appointment as στρατηγός, a Syrian governor still continued to occupy the citadel of Jerusalem' (Schürer).

66. with peace and gladness. The rebuff which the Hellenistic Jews had received, and the honours which had been heaped upon Jonathan, occasioned him outward and inward peace.

67. the one hundred and sixty-fifth year. 147 B. C.

Demetrius. The second, surnamed Nicator. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 2) adds further that he came with a large number of mercenary troops, brought to him by Lathenes, a Cretan, and sailed to Cilicia. He had been living in exile in Crete since the war between his father and Alexander began.

68. returned unto Antioch. i.e. from Ptolemais.

69. Apollonius. According to Polybius (xxxii. 21. 2), the foster-brother (ἀδελφός) of Demetrius I. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 2) calls him 'Apollonius Daus', i.e. belonging to the Dahae, a great Scythian people who led a nomad life over a large tract of country east of the Caspian Sea, still called Daghestan.

Coele Syria. i.e. 'hollow (καὶ ἄρη) Syria', so called because it included, and was originally restricted to, the depression between the two Lebanons (cp. Joshua xi. 17 עֵקֶב הַבְּקָעָה הַשְּׂמֹנִית, 'the valley of Lebanon'); but in the Greek period it included the whole of eastern Palestine; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIV. iv. 5) says that it stretched from 'as far as the river Euphrates and Egypt'; it is in this extended sense in which the name is here used. It occurs for the first time in 1 Esdras ii. 17. In the Roman period Coele Syria was again used in the restricted sense, as it was made a separate province.

Jamnia. See note on iv. 15.

72. for thy fathers . . . As Apollonius is writing from Jamnia (Jabneel), i.e. from what was formerly Philistine territory, he is probably referring to Israelite defeats at the hands of the Philistines; the two most signal instances were the battle of Aphek, at which the Philistines captured the Ark (1 Sam. iv. 1-11), and the battle of Mount Gilboa,

I MACCABEES 10. 73-89

be able to withstand the horse and such an host as this in the plain, where there is neither stone  
 74<sup>r</sup> nor flint<sup>r</sup>, nor (any) place<sup>r</sup> to flee unto<sup>r</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Now when Jonathan heard the words of Apollonius, he  
 was<sup>a</sup> moved in his mind<sup>b</sup>; and he chose out ten thousand men,<sup>b</sup> and went forth<sup>b</sup> from Jerusalem;  
 75 and Simon his brother met him for to help him. And he encamped against Joppa; and they of the  
 city shut him<sup>c</sup> out, because Apollonius (had) a garrison<sup>d</sup> in Joppa<sup>d</sup>; and they<sup>e</sup> fought against it.  
 76<sup>r</sup> And they of the city, being afraid, opened (the gates)<sup>f</sup>, and Jonathan became master of Joppa.  
 77 And (when) Apollonius heard (of this), he gathered<sup>g</sup> an army of three thousand horse, and a great  
 host, and went to Azotus as though (intending) to journey on, but<sup>h</sup> at the same time<sup>h</sup> moved  
 78 forward<sup>i</sup> into the plain, because he had a multitude of horse, and relied on this. And he<sup>k</sup> pursued  
 79 after him<sup>l</sup> to Azotus, and the armies joined battle<sup>m</sup>. Now Apollonius had left a thousand horse  
 80<sup>n</sup> behind him<sup>n</sup>, hidden<sup>n</sup>; but Jonathan realized that there was an ambushment<sup>o</sup> behind him<sup>o</sup>. And  
 they surrounded his army, and cast (their)<sup>p</sup> darts at the people from morning until<sup>r</sup> late in the  
 81 afternoon<sup>r</sup>; but the people stood still, as Jonathan (had) commanded, while the (enemy's) horses  
 82 were wearying (themselves). And Simon drew forth his host, and joined battle with the phalanx—  
 83 for the horsemen<sup>s</sup> were spent—and they were discomfited by him,<sup>t</sup> and fled. And the horsemen<sup>t</sup>  
 were scattered in the plain<sup>u</sup>; and they fled to Azotus, and entered into Beth-dagon, their idol's tem-  
 84 ple<sup>v</sup>, to save themselves. And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities round about it, and took  
 85 their spoils;<sup>w</sup> and the temple of Dagon,<sup>w</sup> and them that fled into it<sup>w</sup>, he burned with fire<sup>x</sup>. And  
 they that had fallen<sup>y</sup> by the sword<sup>y</sup>, with them that were burned, were about eight thousand men.  
 86 And from thence Jonathan removed, and encamped against Askalon, and they of the city came forth  
 87 to meet him with great pomp. And Jonathan, with them that were on his side, returned to Jerusalem,  
 88 having many spoils. And<sup>z</sup> it came to pass<sup>z</sup>, when king Alexander heard these things, he honoured  
 89 Jonathan yet more; and he sent unto him a buckle of gold, as the use is to give to such as are of  
 the kindred of the kings; moreover, he gave him Ekron and all the borders thereof for a possession.

74<sup>r</sup> > L<sup>1</sup> \* + whither A<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>a</sup> enraged and moved S<sup>1</sup> \* b<sup>1</sup> > S<sup>1</sup>loc c<sup>1</sup> N<sup>1</sup> V S<sup>1</sup>loc L<sup>1</sup> make this refer to the city  
 d<sup>1</sup> therein S<sup>1</sup>loc \* he S<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>f</sup> And they were afraid and departed from the city L<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>g</sup> interposed 93 S<sup>1</sup>loc  
 h<sup>1</sup> > S<sup>1</sup>loc<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup> led forward A 55 \* Jonathan T.R. S<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>l</sup> + for battle N V<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>m</sup> + after him G (exc. Luc) S<sup>1</sup> L<sup>1</sup>  
 n<sup>1</sup> > 71<sup>1</sup> o<sup>1</sup> in a hiding-place T.R. p<sup>1</sup> > S<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>q</sup> expressed in 19 93 \*<sup>r</sup> evening T.R. the sinking (of the  
 sun) S<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>s</sup> > 71<sup>1</sup> t<sup>1</sup> > S<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>u</sup> > 93 S<sup>1</sup>loc L<sup>1</sup> v<sup>1</sup> > 19 93 S<sup>1</sup>loc \*<sup>w</sup> and its (i.e. the city's) temple A<sup>1</sup> > 71  
 x<sup>1</sup> > L<sup>1</sup> \*<sup>y</sup> > 71 S<sup>1</sup>loc L<sup>1</sup> z<sup>1</sup> > 71 S<sup>1</sup>loc L<sup>1</sup>

when king Saul was slain (1 Sam. xxxi. 1-7). These were by no means, however, the only occasions on which the Israelites were defeated by the Philistines, and perhaps for this reason Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 3) says that 'these are the very men who always conquered thy progenitors', though this, again, is a gross exaggeration, cp. e.g. 2 Sam. v. 17-21, when David defeated them at the battle of Baal-perazim (2 Sam. viii. 1; 1 Chron. xviii. 1, &c.).

73. **neither stone nor flint.** An exaggeration, to emphasize the contrast between the mountainous country and the plain.

75. **Joppa.** The modern Jaffa, 3½ miles from Jamnia; its chief importance lay in its harbour, which was the best, though not an ideal one, on the coast of Palestine; cp. 1 Macc. xii. 33, 34, xiii. 11, xiv. 5, 34, xv. 28-30, 35; 2 Macc. xii. 3-7.

77. **Azotus.** See note on iv. 15.

but . . . moved forward. With the purpose of enticing Jonathan out.

79. **hidden.** Lit. 'in secret', Josephus, more explicitly, 'in a gully.'

80. **realized.** Lit. 'knew', presumably by means of spies.

cast (their) darts. 'Shot their arrows' (Hebr. יָרָוּ הַיָּרֵי, as in, e.g. 1 Sam. xx. 36).

81. **but the people stood still.** This is explained by Josephus, who says that Jonathan commanded his army 'to stand in a square battle array'; they covered themselves with their shields, against which the enemy hurled their missiles in vain.

82. **Simon drew forth his host.** Evidently having been held in reserve all this time.

83. **Beth-dagon.** Dagon was one of the chief gods of the Philistines (cp. Judges xvi. 23, 24; 1 Sam. v. 1-5), whose worship they took over when they first entered into the land; his name occurs on the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, and has also been found inscribed on the walls of the temple of Mukair in southern Babylonia. Although it cannot be proved that Dagon was a fish-god, it is probable that this was the case, though Philo Byblus speaks of him as a corn-god (deriving the name from דָּגָן 'corn', instead of דִּיג 'fish').

84. **the cities . . .** Josephus, more correctly, 'the villages about it.'

86. **Askalon.** One of the five chief cities of the Philistines (Joshua xiii. 3), lying on the coast between Ashdod and Gaza; the modern *Askalūn*.

88. **he honoured . . . yet more.** *ἠπορίθεο δοξάζουσι*, a Hebraism (דָּבָר אֲדָוָה).

89. **a buckle of gold.** Cp. xl. 58, xiv. 44; the golden buckle and the purple robe (see v. 21) were only worn by the most distinguished men of the kingdom, or by 'the kindred of the kings'.

**Ekron.** The most northerly of the chief Philistine cities; it lay between Ashdod and Jamnia towards the east; the modern *Akir*.



## I MACCABEES 11. 1-13

XI. 1-19. *Alliance between Ptolemy VI and Demetrius II, resulting in the downfall of Alexander Balas. Demetrius becomes king of Syria.*

11 1 And\* the king of Egypt gathered together <sup>b</sup>great forces<sup>b</sup>, as the sand which is by the sea shore (for multitude), <sup>a</sup>and many ships<sup>a</sup>, and sought to make himself master of Alexander's kingdom by <sup>2</sup>deceit, and to add it to his own kingdom. And he went forth into Syria with<sup>a</sup> words of peace; and they of the cities opened unto him (the gates), and met him, and king Alexander's command was <sup>3</sup>that they should meet him, because he was his father-in-law. Now when <sup>4</sup>Ptolemy entered into the cities<sup>a</sup>, he placed in each city<sup>f</sup> his forces (for) a garrison<sup>a</sup>. And when he came near to Azotus, they showed him the temple of Dagon (which had been) burned with fire, <sup>5</sup>and Azotus, (which) together with the suburbs thereof, had been pulled down, and the bodies scattered about, and them that had been burned, <sup>6</sup>whom he had burned<sup>1</sup> in the war<sup>b</sup>, for they had made heaps of them in his way<sup>b</sup>. And they told the king what things Jonathan had done, in order to cast blame on him; and the <sup>7</sup>king<sup>1</sup> held his peace. And Jonathan met the king<sup>m</sup> with pomp<sup>n</sup> at Joppa, and they saluted one another, and they slept there. <sup>8</sup>And Jonathan went with the king<sup>n</sup> as far as the river<sup>o</sup> that is called<sup>o</sup> Eleutherus, and returned to Jerusalem.

8 But king Ptolemy made himself master of the cities upon the sea coast, unto Seleucia <sup>9</sup>which is by the sea<sup>a</sup>, and he devised evil devices concerning Alexander. And he sent ambassadors unto king Demetrius, saying: 'Let us make a covenant with one another, and I will give thee (to wife) my <sup>10</sup>daughter whom Alexander hath, and thou shalt reign over thy father's kingdom; for I have repented <sup>11</sup>that I gave my daughter unto him, for he sought to slay me.' <sup>12</sup>But he cast blame on him (thus), because he coveted his kingdom<sup>r</sup>. And taking his daughter (from Alexander), he gave her to <sup>13</sup>Demetrius, and <sup>s</sup>was estranged from Alexander<sup>s</sup>, and their enmity became manifest. And Ptolemy

XI. \* + Ptolemy 71    <sup>b-b</sup> an army **L**<sup>2</sup>    <sup>c-o</sup> > **L**<sup>1</sup>    <sup>d</sup> speaking **N**    <sup>e</sup> \* he entered into the cities of Ptolemais A V **N** <sup>c-a</sup>    <sup>f</sup> of them **S**<sup>100</sup>    <sup>g</sup> to guard (it) **N** <sup>c-b</sup> V 55    <sup>h-h</sup> > 71    <sup>i-1</sup> who had been killed **L**<sup>1</sup>    <sup>k-k</sup> with fire **S**<sup>c</sup>    <sup>l</sup> + went forth and 55    <sup>m</sup> + when he heard it **S**<sup>100</sup>    <sup>n</sup> him 71    <sup>o-o</sup> > 71    <sup>p-o</sup> And they went 71 **P-P** > 19    <sup>q-q</sup> > **L**<sup>1</sup>    <sup>r-r</sup> and to obtain my kingdom **L**    <sup>s-s</sup> T.R.; Alexander changed his face A    it became known unto Alexander **N**

XI. 1. **the king of Egypt.** Ptolemy VI, Philometer, cp. x, 51.  
**as the sand . . .** For this frequently used O.T. metaphor cp. Joshua xi, 4; Judges xvii, 12; 1 Sam. xiii, 5, xvii, 11, &c.  
**by deceit.** Cp., on the other hand, Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII, iv, 1), according to whose account Ptolemy came in perfect good faith.  
**the suburbs thereof.** Cp. xi, 61.  
**held his peace.** So as not to commit himself either for or against Jonathan.  
**met the king.** Cp. x, 86, where *συνάγειν* is used in the sense of a meeting for the purpose of submitting oneself (Kautsch); the verb here used is *συνάγειν*, cp. Gen. xlv, 28 (Sept.) where this verb is used in the sense of meeting some one with the purpose of showing honour to him (Jacob sending Judah to Joseph).  
**Eleutherus.** The modern *Nahr al-Kebir*, the most important river in Phoenicia; it rises in the Lebanon and reaches the sea a little north of Arka; Jonathan therefore accompanied Ptolemy for a considerable distance. Burckardt (*Travels in Syria and the Holy Land*, p. 161) says: 'It is a large torrent, dangerous at this period of the year (March) from its rapidity. The Hamah caravans have been known to remain encamped on its banks for weeks together, without being able to cross it.'  
**Seleucia which is by the sea.** Five miles north of the spot where the Orontes flows into the sea; one of the four most important cities of northern Syria; the port of Antioch, which was sixteen miles distant; it was founded by Seleucus I Nicator (reigned 312-280 B.C.), the founder of many cities. Mentioned in connexion with the missionary journey of Paul and Barnabas, Acts xiii, 4.  
**sent . . . unto king Demetrius.** He was presumably in Cilicia; cp. x, 67, and 75, 14, where it is said that the people of Cilicia had revolted against Alexander.  
**for he sought to slay me.** The occasion of this is not mentioned in our book; the author was biased in favour of Alexander because of the friendship between him and Jonathan; but Diodorus does not refer to it either, he says that Ptolemy only turned against Alexander when he realized what a hopeless weakling he was (cp. Grimm). On the other hand, Josephus refers to the occurrence in a circumstantial manner (*Antiq.* XIII, iv, 6): 'But as Ptolemy was at Ptolemais, he was very near to a most unexpected destruction, for a treacherous design was laid for his life by Alexander, by means of Ammonius, who was his friend; and as the treachery was very plain, Ptolemy wrote to Alexander, and required of him that he should bring Ammonius to condign punishment, informing him what snares had been laid for him by Ammonius, and desiring that he might be accordingly punished for it. But when Alexander did not comply with his demands, he perceived that it was he himself who had laid the design.' It is difficult to believe that there was not some truth in Ptolemy's allegation.  
**because he coveted . . .** This can scarcely have been the case originally, otherwise why should he have given his daughter in marriage to Alexander? A pretext for quarrelling could easily have been found if, in the first instance, Ptolemy had intended to seize the kingdom. It seems more likely that it was the proof of Alexander's enmity which was the reason of Ptolemy's determination to wrest the kingdom from him.

entered into Antioch, and put on himself the diadem of Asia; so he (now) had put two diadems upon his head, the diadem of Egypt and that of Asia.

14 But king Alexander was in Cilicia at that season, 'because they of those parts were in revolt'.  
 15 And Alexander heard of it, and he came against him in war; and Ptolemy led forth<sup>a</sup> (his host)<sup>a</sup>, and  
 16 met him with a strong force, and put him to flight. And Alexander fled into Arabia, <sup>a</sup>that he might  
 17 be sheltered there; but king Ptolemy was exalted<sup>a</sup>. And Zabdiel the Arabian took off Alexander's  
 18 head, and sent it to Ptolemy. And king Ptolemy died the third day (after); and they that were in  
 19 his strongholds were slain<sup>a</sup> by them that dwelt in the strongholds<sup>a</sup>. And Demetrius became king  
 in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year.

XI. 20-37. Jonathan secures the favour of Demetrius II.

20 In those days Jonathan gathered together<sup>a</sup> them of Judaea<sup>a</sup> to take the citadel that was in  
 21 Jerusalem; and he made many engines (of war) against it. And <sup>a</sup>certain ones that hated their<sup>a</sup> own  
 22 nation<sup>a</sup>, men that transgressed the Law, went unto the king, and reported unto him<sup>b</sup> that Jonathan  
 23 was besieging the citadel. And (when) he heard it he was angered; but immediately<sup>c</sup> on hearing it<sup>c</sup>  
 he set forth, and came to Ptolemais, and wrote unto Jonathan that he should not besiege it<sup>d</sup>, and that  
 24 he should meet him and speak with him at Ptolemais with all speed. But when Jonathan heard (this),  
 he commanded (that the citadel should continue) to be besieged; and he chose (certain) of the elders  
 25 of Israel and of the priests<sup>e</sup> and put himself in peril, and taking silver and gold and raiment, and  
 26 divers presents besides, went to Ptolemais unto the king. And he found favour in his sight. And  
 he confirmed him in the high-priesthood, and whatsoever other honours he had before<sup>f</sup>, and gave  
 27 him pre-eminence among his Chief Friends. And Jonathan requested of the king, that he would make  
 28 Judaea<sup>g</sup> and the three provinces of the country of Samaria<sup>g</sup> free from tribute; and he<sup>h</sup> promised him  
 29 three hundred<sup>i</sup> talents. And the king consented, and wrote letters unto Jonathan concerning all these  
 things after this manner:

30. 31 'King Demetrius unto (his) brother Jonathan and unto the nation of the Jews, greeting; The copy  
 of the letter which we wrote unto Lasthenes our<sup>m</sup> kinsman concerning you, we have written also unto  
 32. 33 you, that ye may see (it). King Demetrius unto Lasthenes (his) father, greeting; We have determined

<sup>1-2</sup> > 71 - <sup>a</sup> went forth 55 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>v</sup> expressed in N<sup>o-3</sup> Luc <sup>w</sup> > 71 <sup>x x</sup> > 71 <sup>z</sup> 7 7 Israel S<sup>t</sup> <sup>z z</sup> > 71  
<sup>a</sup> our N<sup>o</sup> <sup>b</sup> + saying Luc <sup>c</sup> > 71 <sup>d</sup> the citadel N<sup>o-4</sup> Luc <sup>e</sup> Jews N<sup>o</sup> > S<sup>z</sup> <sup>f</sup> + and glorified him with  
 great glory 55 <sup>g</sup> enemies E<sup>1</sup> <sup>h</sup> + and exalted him 19 93 S<sup>100</sup> <sup>i</sup> Idumaea 64 <sup>j</sup> Reading, with Grimm,  
 τοις Σαμαριταιοις for και τοις Σαμαριταιοις <sup>k</sup> they A <sup>l</sup> thirty 55 <sup>m</sup> your N<sup>o</sup> A<sup>o</sup>

13. . . . entered into Antioch. Cp. Diodorus (quoted by Knabenbauer), who says that Hierax and Diodotus, who had been left in charge of Antioch by Alexander, gave up his cause as hopeless, and induced the people of Antioch to offer the crown and kingdom to Ptolemy.

Asia. Not the Roman province of this name, which was formed in 133 B. C., and included Mysia, Lysia, Caria, the western part of Phrygia, together with the Dorian, Ionian, and Aeolian coast-cities, with the islands lying off the coast (Ramsay, in *HB*, 2, v.); nor the continent; but the Asia as understood after it had been reduced about 285 B. C., and when the name Asia was restricted to the coast-cities and the lower valleys of the Maeander, Cayster, Hermus, and Caicus (Ramsay).

15. and met him. According to Strabo, Ptolemy attacked Alexander at the river Oenoparas, on the plains of Antioch (Schurer, *op. cit.* i, 1, p. 244). Josephus says that Ptolemy was accompanied by Demetrius.

17. Zabdiel. 'A prince among the Arabians' (Josephus). The name occurs on a Palmyrene inscription (A. D. 155) in the form Zabdi-ila (Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* 2590; cp. G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 272).

18. . . . died the third day (after). Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 8) says that Ptolemy was thrown from his horse in the battle, and wounded in the head by his enemies; he was unconscious for four days, but partially recovered on the fifth, and died 'a little while after'.

they that were in his strongholds. Cp. v. 3.

19. the one hundred and sixty-seventh year. i. e. 145 B. C.

21. men that transgressed . . . As on several other occasions, it was the renegades of their own race who were the worst enemies of the Jewish leaders.

24. he found favour in his sight. For the Greek phrase cp. Sept. of Gen. vi. 8, xviii. 3, xxx. 27.

26. as his predecessors had done . . . Cp. x. 6, 18-20, 25 ff., 61-65.

27. confirmed him in the high priesthood. Cp. x. 20.

28. the three provinces . . . Cp. x. 30, and especially xi. 34; these provinces had been taken from Samaria; the reading και τοις Σαμαριταιοις, though supported by all MSS. and Versions, cannot be right, see crit. note.

29. after this manner. With the Greek cp. 2 Macc. i. 24.

30. unto (his) brother. Cp. x. 18, 25.

31. Lasthenes our kinsman. Cp. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 3), where it is said that it was Lasthenes, the Cretan, who brought a great number of mercenary soldiers to Demetrius. 'Kinsman', like 'brother' in v. 30, is a title of honour; the same is the case with 'father' in the next verse; cp. *Antiq.* XII. iii. 4, where Antiochus III addresses Zeuxis, the general of his forces and his 'intimate friend', as 'father'.



to do good to the nation of the Jews, who are our friends, and observe what is just toward us, because  
 34 of their good will toward us. We have confirmed unto them, therefore, the districts of Judaea, and  
 the three governments of Aphaerema<sup>a</sup>, and Lydda, and Ramathaim—(these) were added unto Judaea  
 from the country of Samaria—and all things appertaining unto them, for all such as do sacrifice in  
 Jerusalem, instead of the king's<sup>b</sup> dues which the king received of them yearly aforetime from the  
 35 produce of the land and the fruits of trees. And as for the other things which appertain unto us,  
<sup>c</sup>from henceforth<sup>d</sup>, of the tenths and the tolls<sup>e</sup> that appertain to us<sup>f</sup>, and the salt-pits, and the crowns  
 36 that appertain to us<sup>g</sup>, all these we will bestow upon them<sup>h</sup>. And not one of these things shall be  
 37 annulled<sup>i</sup> from this time forth and for ever. Now therefore be careful to make a copy of these things,  
 and let it be given unto Jonathan, and let it be set upon the holy mount in a fitting<sup>j</sup> and conspicuous  
 place<sup>k</sup>.

XI. 38-53. *Jonathan assists Demetrius in opposing Tryphon.*

38 And (when) king Demetrius saw that the land was quiet before him, and that no resistance was  
 made to him<sup>l</sup>, he sent away all his forces, each man to his own place,—except the<sup>m</sup> "foreign forces"<sup>n</sup>,  
 which he had raised from the isles of the Gentiles—and (therefore) all the forces<sup>o</sup> of his fathers<sup>p</sup>  
 39 were inimically disposed towards him. Now Tryphon was of those who aforetime had been of  
 Alexander's part, and he saw that all the forces murmured against Demetrius, and he went to  
 40 Imalkue<sup>q</sup> the Arabian, who was nourishing up Antiochus, the young child of Alexander<sup>r</sup>, and  
 pressed sore upon him that he should deliver him unto him<sup>s</sup>, that he might reign<sup>t</sup> in his father's  
 stead; and he<sup>u</sup> told him all that Demetrius had done, and the hatred wherewith his forces hated  
 him; and he abode there many days.  
 41 And Jonathan sent<sup>v</sup> unto king Demetrius, that he should cast out of Jerusalem them of the citadel,  
 42 and them that were in the strongholds; for they fought against Israel continually<sup>w</sup>. And Demetrius

<sup>a</sup> Ephraim  $\text{ס} > \text{ל}^1$     <sup>b</sup> >  $\text{ס} \text{ל}^1$     <sup>c</sup>  $\text{פ פ} > \text{זי}$     <sup>d</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{ס}^{\text{loc}}$     <sup>e</sup>  $\text{ר ר} > \text{ס}^{\text{loc}}$     <sup>f</sup>  $\text{א א}$  we remit unto them  $\text{ל}^1 > \text{זי}$   
<sup>g</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{זי}$   $\text{ס}^{\text{loc}}$     <sup>h</sup>  $\text{ו ו} > \text{זי}$     <sup>i</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{ס}^{\text{loc}}$     <sup>j</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{זי}$     <sup>k</sup> Malchus  $\text{ל}^2 \text{ס}^2$  = Josephus    <sup>l</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{ס}$     <sup>m</sup>  $\text{א א} > \text{א}$   
<sup>n</sup> make him king Luc    <sup>o</sup> they A    <sup>p</sup> d + letters זי    <sup>q</sup> >  $\text{ל}^1$

34. **Aphaerema.** i.e. Ephraim (2 Sam. xiii. 23), or Ephron (2 Chron. xiii. 9); according to Josephus (*Hell. Jud.* IV. ix. 9) it lay not far from Bethel, . . . he took Bethel and Ephraim, two small cities.' Cp. also John xi. 54 (see further, Robinson, *Researches in Palestine*, iii, pp. 67 ff.).  
**Lydda.** *Lod* in Hebr., afterwards called Diospolis, the modern Ludd; between Joppa and Jerusalem; one of the toparchies of Judaea, according to Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* II. xx. 4).  
**Ramathaim.** Cp. 1 Sam. i. 1, where it is called *Ramathaim Zophim* (but see Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Sam.*, in loc.), and located on Mount Ephraim; the usual form of the name is *ha-Ramah* ('the height'), which is, however, to be differentiated from the Ramah belonging to the tribe of Benjamin, nearer Jerusalem. It is probably to be identified with the modern *Bet Rima*, north-east of Lydda, in the neighbourhood of Thamna; this agrees with the accounts of Eusebius and Jerome (see Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 246).

from the country of Samaria. Cp. x. 30, xi. 28.  
 as do sacrifice in . . . i.e. the privilege is for the orthodox Jews; the 'transgressors of the Law', as well as the Samaritans living in the three provinces, are excluded.  
 instead of . . . The text is clearly not in order, something having dropped out; in Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 9) it says: 'I remit to them the three provinces . . . as also what the kings, my predecessors, received from those that offered sacrifices in Jerusalem, and what are due from the fruits of the earth, and of the trees, and whatever else belongs to us . . .'; cp. x. 29-31.

35. See notes on x. 29, 30.  
 all these . . . It is noteworthy that there is no mention about the siege of the citadel in Jerusalem (11. 20-23); presumably the siege was raised in consideration of all these concessions; the Syrian garrison, therefore, still remained in possession.

37. a copy. On tables of brass, cp. viii. 22.  
 38. the foreign forces . . . from . . . From Crete and from the other islands (Josephus), i.e. of the Grecian Archipelago.

were inimically disposed. The real reason for this was their loss of pay; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. iv. 9) says that the kings before this used to give pay to the soldiers in time of peace, 'that they might have their goodwill, and that they might be fully prepared to undergo the difficulties of war, when any occasion should require it.' This short-sightedness of Demetrius is only to be explained by the natural slothfulness which seems to have been characteristic of him; cp. Justin, xxxvi. 1. 1, 9, referred to by Grimm.

39. Tryphon. 'Diodotus, who was also called Trypho, an Apamean by birth, a commander of Alexander's forces' (Josephus).

Imalkue the Arabian. On a Palmyrene inscription (A. D. 162) the name *Maliku* (מלכו) occurs (de Vogüé, *La Syrie Centrale*, 9); on another of later date (A. D. 242) we have *Zabtila the son of Maliku, the son of Maliku*, cp. 17 (Vogüé, 15; cp. G. A. Cooke, *op. cit.*, pp. 276, 278). In Josephus the form is Malchus, so also the Syriac and one Latin version. Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 1, 247) refers to Nöldeke, in Euting's *Nabatäische Inschriften*, p. 74, where a Palmyrene inscription is given in which the name מלכו (= Imalku) occurs; Diodorus gives Iamblichus, which also is nothing else than מלכו.

41. . . that he should cast out . . . Nothing could better illustrate the broken power of the Seleucidae, and the way in which Jonathan was able, in consequence, to draw advantage from it.

I MACCABEES 11. 42-63

sent unto Jonathan, saying: 'I will not only do this for thee and thy nation, but I will greatly honour thee and thy nation, if I find favourable occasion. Now therefore thou shalt do well, if thou send me men who shall fight for me; for all my forces are revolted.' And Jonathan sent him three thousand valiant men unto Antioch. And they came unto the king; and the king was glad at their coming. And they of the city gathered themselves together into the midst of the city, to the number of a hundred and twenty thousand men; and they were minded to slay the king. And the king fled into the palace, and they of the city seized the thoroughfares of the city, and began to fight. And the king called the Jews to (his) aid, and they were gathered together unto him all at once; and they dispersed themselves in the city; and they slew that day to the number of a hundred thousand. And they set the city on fire, and got many spoils that day, and saved the king. And (when) they of the city saw that the Jews had made themselves masters of the city as they would, they waxed faint in their hearts, and cried out to the king with supplication, saying: 'Give us (thy) right hand, and let the Jews cease from fighting against us and the city.' And they cast away their arms, and made peace. And the Jews were glorified in the sight of the king, and before all that were in his kingdom; and they returned to Jerusalem, having many spoils. And (when) king Demetrius was seated on his throne of his kingdom (again), and the land was quiet before him, he lied in all that he had spoken, and estranged himself from Jonathan and recompensed (him) not (according to) the benefits with which he (had) promised to recompense him; but he afflicted him sore.

XI. 54-74. *Friendship between Jonathan and Antiochus VI.*

Now after this Tryphon returned, and with him the young child Antiochus; and he reigned, and put on a diadem. And there were gathered unto him all the forces which Demetrius had sent away in disgrace; and they fought against him, and he fled, and was put to rout. And Tryphon took the elephants, and became master of Antioch. And the young Antiochus wrote unto Jonathan, saying: 'I confirm unto thee the high-priesthood, and appoint thee over the four governments, and to be one of the king's Friends. And he sent unto him golden vessels and furniture for the table, and gave him leave to drink in golden vessels, and to be clothed in purple, and to have a golden buckle. And his brother Simon he made governor (over the district) from the Ladder of Tyre unto the borders of Egypt. And Jonathan went forth, and took his journey beyond the river, and through the cities; and all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him for to be his confederates. And he came to Askalon, and they of the city met him honourably. And he departed thence to Gaza, and they of Gaza shut him out; and he lay siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them. And they of Gaza made request unto Jonathan, and he gave them his right hand, and took the sons of their princes for hostages, and sent them away to Jerusalem. And he passed through the country as far as Damascus.

And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were come to Kedesh, which is in Galilee, with

<sup>r</sup> > 71    <sup>g</sup> of them A 55 64 93    <sup>h</sup> > 71    <sup>1</sup> > 55 <sup>l</sup>    J + Demetrius 64 93    <sup>k</sup> > 93    <sup>l</sup> (it) 93  
<sup>m</sup> palace <sup>l</sup>    <sup>n</sup> > 71 55 <sup>luc</sup> <sup>l</sup>    <sup>o</sup> > 71 <sup>z</sup>    <sup>p</sup> > 71    <sup>q</sup> > N\* (hab N<sup>o</sup>\*)    <sup>r</sup> > 19    <sup>s</sup> + much 64  
<sup>t</sup> + and gave him their right hand <sup>luc</sup>    <sup>u</sup> > 71    <sup>v</sup> + and they were named in his kingdom N <sup>l</sup>    <sup>w</sup> the Jews 71  
<sup>x</sup> > 71 <sup>l</sup>    <sup>y</sup> > N 93    <sup>z</sup> expressed in V    <sup>a</sup> Demetrius 64 93    <sup>b</sup> > <sup>l</sup>    <sup>c</sup> they were N    <sup>d</sup> > 55  
<sup>e</sup> and they burned it <sup>z</sup>    <sup>f</sup> saw <sup>l</sup>

43. all my forces are revolted. According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 3), the inhabitants of Antioch revolted, but all the troops which Demetrius had not dismissed (see v. 38) remained faithful to him; 'he took the mercenary soldiers which he had with him . . . and assaulted the Antiochians.'  
 45. a hundred and . . . This is an evident exaggeration, so too the number of the slain, v. 47.  
 48. they set the city on fire. Josephus adds that the houses were close together, and mostly built of wood.  
 49. they waxed faint in their hearts. For the Greek cp. Isa. vii. 4, Sept. (Grimm).  
 53. afflicted him sore. Josephus, more specifically, says that 'he threatened that he would make war upon him unless he would pay all the tribute which the Jewish nation owed to the first kings' (i. e. of Syria).  
 57. the four governments. i. e. Judaea and the three governments mentioned in v. 34.  
 58. clothed in purple, . . . golden buckle. See notes on x. 20, 62, 89.  
 59. the Ladder of Tyre. Cp. Josephus (*Bell. Jud.* II. x. 2), who says it is a high hill, a hundred stadia north of Ptolemais.  
 60. beyond the river. *ἐπέκεινται τὸν ποταμὸν* = עבר הנהר, i. e. the territory this side of the Euphrates from the point of view of the Israelites, that side of the Euphrates from the point of view of the Babylonians (cp. 1 Kings v. 4); the reference here is, therefore, to Syria; cp. the words in this verse, 'all the forces of Syria gathered themselves unto him.'  
 Askalon. See note on x. 86.  
 61. Gaza. The southernmost of the five chief Philistine cities, the modern *Ghuzzeh*.  
 62. Damascus. The modern *Esh-Sham*; it lies 120 miles north-east of Jerusalem, and 200 miles south of Antioch.  
 63. Kedesh. Cp. *Jos. Ant.* xxi. 32; Judges iv. 6, 11; situated on the northern frontier of Palestine, among the mountains of Naphtali. Josephus speaks of it as belonging to the Tyrians (*Bell. Jud.* II. xviii. 1, IV. ii. 3); it still retains its ancient name.



I MACCABEES 11. 64—12. 9

64 a great host, with the object of hindering him from his purpose; and he went to meet them, but  
 65 Simon his brother he left in the country. And Simon encamped against<sup>a</sup> Bethsura, and fought  
 66 against it many days, and shut it<sup>b</sup> up; and they made request to him that he would give them his  
 right hand, and he gave it to them; but he put them out from thence, and took possession of the  
 67 city, and set a garrison over it. And Jonathan and his army encamped at the water<sup>c</sup> of Gennesar,<sup>d</sup>  
 68 and early in the morning they got them to the plain of Hazor<sup>e</sup>. And, behold, an army of strangers  
 met him<sup>f</sup> in the plain, and they laid an ambush for him<sup>g</sup> in the mountains, but they themselves met  
 69 (him)<sup>h</sup> face to face. But they that lay in ambush<sup>i</sup> rose out of their places, and joined battle; and  
 70 all they that were of Jonathan's side fled; not one of them was left, except Mattathias the son of  
 71 Absalom, and Judas the son of Chalphi, captains of the forces. And Jonathan rent his clothes, and  
 72 put earth upon his head, and prayed. And he turned again unto them in battle, and put them to  
 73 rout, and they fled. And (when) they of his side who were fleeing saw it, they returned unto him,  
 74 and pursued (them) with him unto Kedesh to their camp; and they encamped there. And there  
 fell of the strangers<sup>j</sup> on that day<sup>k</sup> about three thousand men. And Jonathan returned unto  
 Jerusalem.

XII. 1-38. *Jonathan renews his alliance with Rome, and enters into a league with the Spartans. He defeats the followers of Demetrius.*

12 1 And Jonathan saw that the time served him, and he chose men, and sent them to Rome, to confirm  
 2 and renew the friendship that they had with them. <sup>a</sup>And to the Spartans, and to other places, he  
 3 sent letters after the same manner<sup>a</sup>. And they<sup>b</sup> went unto Rome, and<sup>b</sup> entered into the senate  
 house, and said: 'Jonathan the high-priest, and the nation of the Jews, have sent us, to renew for  
 4 them the friendship and the confederacy, as in former time<sup>c</sup>.' And they gave them letters unto (the  
 governors) of every place, that they should bring them on their way to the land of Judah in peace.  
 5. 6 And this is the copy of the letter which Jonathan wrote to the Spartans: 'Jonathan the high-priest<sup>d</sup>,  
 and the Council<sup>e</sup> of the nation<sup>f</sup>, and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Jews, unto their  
 7 brethren the Spartans, greeting! Even before this time were letters sent unto Onias the high-priest  
 from Areios<sup>g</sup>, who was reigning among you. (to the effect) that ye are our brethren, as the copy  
 8 (here) underwritten showeth. And Onias treated honourably<sup>h</sup> the man that was sent<sup>h</sup>, and received<sup>h</sup>  
 9 the letters, wherein declaration was made of confederacy and friendship. Therefore we also—albeit

<sup>a</sup> in A 64  $\Sigma^{lac}$  <sup>b</sup> them Luc  $\mathbb{L}^1 \Sigma^{lac}$  <sup>i-1</sup> > V <sup>k</sup> Nazor A V 55 64 <sup>l</sup> them 55  $\Sigma^a$  <sup>m-n</sup> >  $\Sigma^{lac}$   
<sup>n</sup> expressed in 55 <sup>o</sup> o >  $\mathbb{L}^1$   
 XII. <sup>a-a</sup> > 71 <sup>b-b</sup> >  $\mathbb{L}^1$  <sup>e</sup> + and they that were in Rome welcomed them 19 93  $\Sigma^{lac}$  <sup>d</sup> + of the nation A  
<sup>e</sup> + > A  $\Sigma^{lac}$  <sup>f</sup>  $\mathbb{L}^1$  = Josephus; all other authorities read Dareios <sup>g</sup> # those who were sent  $\mathbb{L}^1$  <sup>h</sup> gave 71

his purpose. i. e. of helping Antiochus.

65. Bethsura. See note on iv. 29.

67. the water of Gennesar. i. e. the lake of Gennesareth; the name occurs here for the first time.

the plain of Hazor. Cp. Joshua xi. 1, xii. 19, xix. 36; Judges iv. 2; 1 Sam. xii. 9; 1 Kings ix. 15; Josephus (*Antiq.* V. v. 1) says it was near the lake Semechonitis, or Merom; it lay, therefore, right in the north of Palestine.

74. three thousand. Josephus says two thousand (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 8).

XII. 1. he chose men. i. e. Numenius and Antipater, see *v.* 16, xiv. 22.

to confirm . . . Cp. viii. 17 ff.

2. and to other places. It is not specified either in this book or in Josephus what these 'other places' were.

6. the Council of the nation. This *Gerousia* is mentioned as being already in existence in the time of Antiochus the Great (cp. Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 3); the earliest reference to it is, however, 2 Chron. xix. 8. It developed later into the Sanhedrin, a name which occurs for the first time in the reign of Hyrcanus II (cp. *Antiq.* XIV. ix. 4). The head of this Council was the high-priest, as the head also of the State; it exercised judicial and administrative functions (cp. 1 Macc. xiv. 20). The measure of its authority varied according to the amount of autonomy granted by the suzerain power; but its moral influence over the Jews, whether in the Dispersion or in Palestine, was always very considerable.

the rest of the people. ὁ λοιπὸς ἔθνος; Grimm pointedly remarks that it is probably not without a purpose that the Greek translator of this book almost invariably restricts the use of the word ἔθνος to documents sent to or received from a foreign nation (viii. 29, xiv. 20, 25, xv. 17); his object in doing so is to place on record the fact that the Jewish people is one that is free and independent.

7. Onias. The first of the name, son of Jaddus (*Antiq.* XI. viii. 7) or Jaddua (Neh. xii. 11), father of the high-priest Simon I, the just. There is great uncertainty as to his date, some scholars putting it at about 320-300 B. C., while others contend for some fifty years later; others, again, place it between these two extremes.

Areios. The first of the name, who reigned over the Spartans 309-265 B. C. This is the correct form of the name Areios. All Greek MSS. wrongly read Dareios (see crit. note). That Areios is the right reading is evident from Josephus; the form Oniaries occurs in *v.* 20; Cod  $\mathcal{N}$  reads there  $\omega\omega\alpha\pi\pi\epsilon$  (= *Oni<sup>a</sup> 'Aππe*). The Old Latin Version alone has preserved the right reading.

8. the man that was sent. Named Demoteles, according to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. v. 8).

I MACCABEES 12. 10-33

10<sup>1</sup> we need none of<sup>1</sup> these things, having for our comfort the holy books which are in our hands—have  
 assayed to send that we might renew our brotherhood<sup>k</sup> and friendship<sup>k</sup> with you, to the end that we  
 should not become estranged from you altogether; for long time is passed since ye sent unto us.  
 11<sup>1</sup> We therefore at all times without ceasing, both at our feasts, and on other convenient days, do  
 remember you in the sacrifices which we offer, and in our prayers, as it is right and meet to be  
 12, 13 mindful of brethren; and, moreover, we are glad for your glory<sup>1</sup>. But as for ourselves, many  
 14<sup>m</sup> afflictions and many wars<sup>m</sup> have encompassed us, and the kings that are round about us have  
 15 fought against us<sup>n</sup>. We were not minded, however, to be troublesome to you, or to the rest of our  
 16 confederates<sup>n</sup> and friends, in these wars; for we have the help that is from heaven<sup>n</sup> to help us<sup>n</sup>, and  
 17 we have been delivered from our enemies, and<sup>n</sup> our enemies<sup>n</sup> have been humiliated. We chose,  
 therefore, Numenius the son of Antiochus, and Antipater the son of Jason, and have sent (them)  
 18 unto the Romans, to renew the friendship that we had<sup>1</sup> with them<sup>1</sup>, and the former<sup>1</sup> confederacy<sup>n</sup>.  
 19 We commanded them, therefore, to go also unto you, and to salute you, and to deliver you our letters  
 20 concerning the renewing<sup>n</sup> (of friendship) and<sup>n</sup> of our<sup>n</sup> brotherhood. And now ye shall do<sup>w</sup> well if  
 21 ye give us an answer thereto.<sup>1</sup> And this is the copy of the letters<sup>x</sup> which they<sup>z</sup> sent<sup>x</sup> to Onias:  
 22<sup>1</sup> Areios<sup>z</sup>, king of the Spartans, to Onias, the chief priest, greeting! <sup>z</sup> It hath been found in writing,  
 concerning the Spartans and the Jews, that they are brethren, and that they are<sup>b</sup> of the stock<sup>b</sup> of  
 23 Abraham; and now, since these things have come to our knowledge, ye shall do well to write unto us  
 of your prosperity. And we, moreover, do write on our part to you<sup>a</sup>, that your cattle and goods  
 are ours,<sup>c</sup> and ours are yours. We do command, therefore, that they<sup>d</sup> make report unto you on  
 this wise<sup>e</sup>.  
 24 And Jonathan heard that Demetrius' princes were returned to fight against him with a greater  
 25 force than afore, so he removed from Jerusalem, and met them in the country of Hamath; for he  
 26 gave them no respite to set foot in his country. And he sent spies into their<sup>o</sup> camp; and they  
 returned, and reported unto him that in such and such a way they had planned to fall upon him by  
 27 night. But as soon as the sun was down, Jonathan commanded his men to watch, and to be in arms,  
 that all the night long they might be ready for battle: and he sent forth sentinels (and placed them)  
 28 round about the camp. But (when) the adversaries heard that Jonathan and his men<sup>f</sup> were ready  
 for battle, they were afraid and trembled in their heart; and they kindled fires in their camp, and  
 29 departed<sup>g</sup>. But Jonathan and his men knew it not till morning; for they saw the fires burning.  
 30 And Jonathan<sup>h</sup> pursued after them, but did not overtake them; for they had gone over the river  
 31 Eleutherus. And Jonathan turned aside (and fought) against the Arabians, who are called Gaba-  
 32 dacans, and smote them<sup>i</sup>, and took their spoils. And he set out from thence, and came to Damas-  
 cus. <sup>k</sup> and took his journey through all the country.  
 33 And Simon went forth<sup>k</sup>, and took his journey as far as Askalon, and the strongholds that were

<sup>1</sup> we do not put our trust in  $\aleph$   $k-k > 71$   $^{-1} > 71$   $m-m > V$   $u-u > 71$   $o$  and brethren  $\aleph$   
 $\aleph > 71$   $\aleph^1$   $q$  they that are before us Luc 71  $r > \aleph$   $s > 71$   $t > \aleph$   $u-u > \aleph$   $v$  your  $\aleph$   
 $w$  ye have done A  $x-x > 71$   $y$  he  $\aleph^{o-a}$  64 93  $z$   $\aleph^1$  ( $> \aleph^1$ ) alone  $a-a > 71$   $b-b > \aleph$   $\aleph^1$   $o$  and if ye  
 command anything we will readily fulfil it 71  $d$  we  $\aleph$   $\aleph^1$   $e$  his  $\aleph$  (exc. Luc)  $\aleph$   $\aleph$   $\aleph$   $f$  fathers  $\aleph$   
 $g$  Luc  $\aleph$  only (= Josephus)  $h > A$   $i-1 > 71$   $k > \aleph$

9. the holy books. Cp. i. 56, 57, iii. 48.  
 15. we have been delivered . . . Cp. iii. 18 ff., iv. 30 ff. &c.  
 21. concerning the Spartans and the Jews . . . The fiction of a relationship between the Jews and the Spartans, which constituted the motive for the Spartans to write their letter (1 Macc. xii. 6, 7, 21, cp. 2 Macc. v. 9), was not unheard of during the era of Hellenism. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, p. 29, note, refers in illustration and for proof to Stephen of Byzantium under the word 'Ιουδαία . . . ὡς Κλαύδιος Ἰουδαίος ἀπὸ Οἰθαίου Σπαρτῶν ἐπὶ ἐκ Θύβηι μετὰ Διογένην ἱστορικόν. In a decree of the Pergamenes (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIV. xviii. 22) there is also mention of a relation between the Jews and the Pergamenes (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1. 251). On the other hand, as S. A. Cook and W. J. Woodhouse (*EB* 4744) contend: 'There is no reason to doubt the fact of diplomatic relations with Sparta having been set on foot by Jonathan. For Sparta was too obscure at the time to have suggested itself to a forger eager to magnify his hero by inventions of the kind. Again, the incident leads to no result in the sequel; the reverse would have tended to throw doubt upon the entire episode.' The probability is that while the details can scarcely be regarded as historical, the broad fact of diplomatic relations of some kind between the Jews and the Spartans is to be accepted as true (see further, *Ints.* § 7). The Greek legend of the Spartans having been descended from the Phoenicians may not have been without influence upon the subject (see, further, Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, ii, pp. 372 f.). Grimm's important pages (187-191) should, however, also be consulted; while not prepared to accept the copy in 1 Macc. as representing the original document, he holds that since diplomatic relationships were in existence between the two nations, documents of some kind must have been exchanged.  
 24. And Jonathan heard . . . The narrative, interrupted by *ov.* 1-23, is now taken up from xi. 74.  
 25. Hamath. On the Orontes; the modern Hamah. Cp. Num. xiii. 21; 1 Kings viii. 65.  
 30. Eleutherus. See note on xi. 7.  
 31. Gabadacans. Probably the small tract of land, about eight miles north of Damascus, now called *Zabdini*.  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$ ,  $\aleph$  read 'Zabadacans'.  
 33. Askalon . . . Joppa. See notes on x. 75, 86.



I MACCABEES 12. 34-53

34 near unto it. And he turned aside to Joppa, and took possession of it, for he had heard that they were minded to deliver the stronghold unto the men of Demetrius; and he placed a garrison there to keep it.  
 35 And Jonathán returned, and called the elders of the people together; and he took counsel with  
 36 them to build strongholds in Judaea, and to make the walls of Jerusalem higher, and to raise a great mound between the citadel and the city, <sup>1</sup>for to separate it from the city, <sup>2</sup>so that it might be  
 37 isolated <sup>m</sup>, <sup>3</sup>that they (within it) might neither buy nor (they without) sell <sup>n</sup>. And they were gathered together to build (the city) <sup>o</sup>; and (a part of) the wall by the brook that is on the east side  
 38 had fallen down, and <sup>p</sup>he repaired that which is called Chaphenatha <sup>q</sup>. And Simon also built Adida in the plain country, and made it <sup>r</sup>strong, <sup>s</sup>and set up gates <sup>t</sup>and bars <sup>u</sup>.

XII. 39-53. *The capture of Jonathán through treachery.*

39 And Tryphon sought to reign over Asia and to put on himself the diadem, and to stretch forth  
 40 his hand against Antiochus the king <sup>v</sup>. And he was afraid lest haply Jonathán should not suffer  
 41 him (to do so), <sup>w</sup>and lest he should fight against him <sup>x</sup>; so he <sup>y</sup>sought a way <sup>z</sup>how <sup>aa</sup> to take him,  
 42 <sup>ab</sup>that he might destroy him <sup>ac</sup>. And he <sup>ad</sup>removed, and came <sup>ae</sup> to Bethshan. <sup>af</sup>And Jonathán came  
 43 forth <sup>ag</sup> to meet him <sup>ah</sup> with forty thousand men chosen for battle, and came to Bethshan. And  
 44 (when) Tryphon saw that he came with a great host, he was afraid to stretch forth his hand against  
 45 him; and he received him honourably, and commended him unto all his Friends, <sup>ba</sup>and gave him  
 46 gifts <sup>bb</sup>, and commanded his Friends <sup>bc</sup> and his forces to be obedient unto him, <sup>bd</sup>as unto himself <sup>be</sup>.  
 47 And he said unto Jonathán: 'Why hast thou put all this people to trouble, seeing there is no war  
 48 betwixt us? And now, send them away to their homes, but choose for thyself a few men who shall  
 49 be with thee, and come thou with me to Ptolemais, and I will give it up to thee, <sup>ca</sup>and the rest <sup>cb</sup> of the  
 50 strongholds and the rest of the forces, and all the (king's) officers; then I will return and depart; for  
 51 for this cause did I come <sup>cc</sup>!' And he trusted him and did even as he said, and <sup>cd</sup>sent away his  
 52 forces, and they departed into the land of Judah. But he reserved to himself three thousand men,  
 53 two thousand <sup>cd</sup> of whom <sup>ce</sup> he left in Galilee, but one thousand went with him. But when Jonathán  
 54 had entered into Ptolemais, <sup>cf</sup>they of Ptolemais shut the gates, and <sup>cg</sup>took him; and all they that  
 55 had come with him they slew with the sword. And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee,  
 56 <sup>ch</sup>and <sup>ci</sup>and <sup>cj</sup>into the great plain <sup>ck</sup>, to destroy all Jonathán's men. And they perceived that he was taken  
 57 and had perished, and they that were with him; nevertheless they encouraged one another, and went  
 58 on their way close together, ready for war. And (when) they that were following (upon them) saw  
 59 that they were ready (to fight) for their lives, they turned back again. And they all came in peace  
 60 to the land of Judah, and they mourned for Jonathán and them that were with him. <sup>cl</sup>and they were  
 61 sore afraid. And all <sup>cm</sup> Israel mourned <sup>cn</sup> with a great mourning. And all the Gentiles that were  
 62 round about them sought to destroy them utterly, for they said: 'They have not <sup>co</sup> a man <sup>cp</sup> (that is)  
 63 leader and (who will) help (them); <sup>cq</sup>now therefore let us fight against them <sup>cr</sup>, and take away their  
 64 memorial from among men.'

1-1 > N\* (hab N<sup>ca</sup>) m-m > Sg n n > N\* (hab N<sup>ca</sup>) o expressed in N cities V P P he pulled down the mound which is called Chesphonitho S q > A r-r > A s-s > Sg t the younger Sg u-u > 71 v-v was desirous L w > N x-x > Sg y-y came stealthily V z > Sg aa > 64 93 b-b > N\* (hab N<sup>ca</sup>) V c-c > 71 d-d > Sg e-e likewise A f-f > 71 g many A h + Jonathán N<sup>ca</sup> 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup> i-i about N A k-k > S<sup>luc</sup> l-l > 71 m > A n-n > 71 o > A 98 P P > N V q q > 71

37. the brook that . . . i.e. the Kidron.

Chaphenatha. The meaning of this word is unknown; it does not occur elsewhere: Josephus does not mention it.

38. Adida. The Chadid of Era ii. 33; Neh. vii. 37, xi. 34, four miles east of Lydda; Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 5) says it is upon an hill, and beneath it lie the plains of Judaea'. The modern *el-Chadite*.

the plain country. Σφραϊά = the lowland region west of the mountainous country of Judaea.

40. Bethshan. See note on v. 52.

41. with forty thousand men. The number shows how Jonathán's power and influence had increased; it was not without reason that Tryphon recognized Jonathán's power to hinder him in his designs (cp. v. 40). Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 1) says that the reason why Jonathán came with such a large army was because he expected to be attacked by Tryphon.

43. commended. For this sense of *συνίστημι* cp. 2 Macc. iv. 24; Wisd. vii. 14; Rom. xvi. 1; 2 Cor. x. 18; for further references see Schleusner s.v.

49. the great plain. See note on v. 52.

50. had perished. But see xiii. 23, though it was natural to suppose that he had been murdered.

52. they mourned . . . Cp. ix. 20, xiii. 26; *ἐπίσθασεν* . . . *πίσθος μέγα*, a Hebraism.

53. They have not . . . Both the rival kings were now at enmity with the Jews; hitherto the Jewish leader had always managed to have the support of one or other of the claimants to the throne.

let us fight against them. This intention does not appear to have been carried out.

. . . take away their memorial . . . Cp. iii. 35; Eccles. x. 17.

I MACCABEES 13. 1-20

SIMON MACCABAEUS XIII. 1-XVI. 24.

XIII. 1-11. Simon elected leader.

13<sup>1</sup> And Simon heard that Tryphon had gathered together a numerous<sup>a</sup> host to come into the land of Judah, and destroy it utterly. And he saw that the people were troubled<sup>b</sup> and (were) in great fear<sup>b</sup>; so he went up to Jerusalem, and gathered the people together, and encouraged them, and said unto them: 'Ye yourselves know what things I, and my brethren, and my father's house, have<sup>c</sup> done for the<sup>d</sup> laws and the sanctuary<sup>d</sup>, and the battles<sup>e</sup> and the distresses<sup>e</sup> which we have seen<sup>f</sup>; by reason whereof all my brethren have perished for Israel's sake, and I alone am left. And now be it far from me that I should spare my own life in any time of affliction: <sup>g</sup>for I am not better than my brethren<sup>g</sup>. Howbeit I will take vengeance for my nation, and for the sanctuary, and for our<sup>h</sup> wives and<sup>h</sup> children: because all the Gentiles are gathered together to destroy us<sup>h</sup> of very hatred<sup>h</sup>. And the spirit of the people<sup>i</sup> as soon as they heard these<sup>j</sup> words, revived. <sup>k</sup>And they answered with a loud voice, saying<sup>k</sup>: 'Thou art our leader instead of Judas and Jonathan thy brethren<sup>l</sup>. Fight thou<sup>m</sup> our war<sup>m</sup>, and all that thou shalt say unto us that will we do.' And he<sup>n</sup> gathered together all the men of war, and made haste to finish the walls of Jerusalem, and fortified it round about. And he sent Jonathan the son of Absalom, and with him a great host, to Joppa; and he cast out them that were therein, and abode there<sup>o</sup> in it<sup>o</sup>.

XIII. 12-24. Simon defeats Tryphon.

12 And Tryphon removed from Ptolemais with a mighty host to enter into the land of Judah; and Jonathan was with him in ward. But Simon encamped at Adida, over against the plain<sup>1</sup>. And (when) Tryphon knew that Simon was risen up instead of his brother Jonathan<sup>2</sup>, and meant to join battle with him, he sent ambassadors unto him, saying: 'It is for the money which Jonathan thy brother owed unto the king's treasure, <sup>3</sup>by reason of the offices which he had<sup>3</sup>, that we hold him fast. And now send a hundred talents of silver, and two of his sons (as) hostages, that when he is set at liberty he may not revolt from us,—and we will set him at liberty.' And Simon knew<sup>4</sup> that they spoke<sup>4</sup> unto him<sup>4</sup> deceitfully, but sent the money and the children, lest peradventure he should bring upon himself great hatred on the part of the people<sup>5</sup>, (in that they should be) saying: 'Because I sent him not the money and the children<sup>6</sup> he perished<sup>6</sup>.' And he sent the children<sup>7</sup> and the hundred talents; and<sup>8</sup> he<sup>8</sup> dealt falsely, and did not set Jonathan at liberty. And<sup>9</sup> after this<sup>9</sup> Tryphon came to invade the land<sup>10</sup>, and destroy it, and he went round about by the way (that leadeth) to Adora;

XIII. 1. great 5c. b<sup>b</sup> > 71. c = all N V. d d the holy laws L. e e > N\* (hab N\*) V 71. f f T.R. N c b. g > 71. h h > 55. i i > 55. j k > 71. k k > 71. l l > 71. m m > 71. n n > 71. o o > 71. And they said L. 55. brother G L. Simon 64 93. T > N\* (hab N\*) V 54. in the sight of the temple L. > 71. > 71. knew not V 55. > 71. Israel 55. - Israel Luc. > N. > 55. > 55. > 71. Tryphon Luc. > 71. city A. - of Judah Luc.

XIII. 1. Simon. The last survivor of the five Maccabean brothers. He completed the work so brilliantly carried out by Jonathan, and made his people entirely independent of the Syrian kings.

3. which we have seen. i.e. experienced: *ἰδόν* is used in this sense like *ἴδον*, see Jer. v. 12, xiv. 15, &c.

4. my brethren have perished. According to the general belief Jonathan had been murdered, but he was still alive at this time, see xii. 12, 25.

I alone am left. Cp. the words of Elijah, 1 Kings xviii. 22.

5. I am not better . . . Cp. the similar words of Elijah, 1 Kings xix. 4.

7. the spirit . . . revived. Cp. Gen. xiv. 27 *αἰσχρολογία τοῦ πνεύματος ἵκανθη*.

9. and all that . . . Cp. Exod. xix. 8; Joshua i. 16.

10. to finish the walls . . . This work had been begun by Jonathan, see xii. 36, 37.

11. Absalom: Cp. xii. 70.

. . . to Joppa . . . Cp. xii. 35, according to which Joppa was already in possession of the Jews; Josephus (*Antiq.*

XIII. vi. 2) makes the matter clear: 'And sent . . . Jonathan the son of Absalom, to Joppa, and gave him command to cast out the inhabitants out of the city, for he was afraid lest they should deliver up the city to Trypho.'

13. Adida. See note on xii. 38.

the plain. *πεδῖον* here, in xii. 38 *σέφηλα*.

14. to join battle with him. For the Greek phrase cp. Deut. ii. 14 (Sept.).

15. the king's treasure. i.e. the royal treasury, cp. 2 Macc. iii. 13.

the offices which . . . Cp. 1. 65, xi. 63.

20. he went round about by the way. Cp. 1 Kings iii. 9 (Sept.); *σεκαὶς ὁδὸς* = *ἴσθμ* (Grimm), i.e. he purposely made a *detour* by way of Adora.

Adora. *Adurim* in the O.L., cp. 2 Chron. xi. 9, one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam, the modern *Dūra* (Josephus calls it *Dora*, *Antiq.* XIII. vii. 2), five miles south-west of Hebron.



I MACCABEES 18. 21-32

21 and Simon and his army marched over against him to whatsoever place he went. Now they of the citadel sent <sup>α</sup> unto Tryphon <sup>α</sup> ambassadors, hastening him to come <sup>β</sup> unto them through the wilderness, 22 and to send them victuals<sup>β</sup>. And Tryphon made ready all his horse to come; and in that night there fell <sup>γ</sup> a great quantity of <sup>γ</sup> snow, and he did not (find it possible to) come because of the snow; 23 so he removed, and came into the country of Gilcad. But when he came near to Bascama, he slew 24 Jonathan, and he was buried there. And Tryphon returned, and went away into his own land.

XIII. 25-30. Jonathan's sepulchre at Modin.

25 And Simon sent, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried him <sup>α</sup> at Modin, the city 26 of his fathers. And <sup>β</sup> all Israel <sup>β</sup> made great <sup>β</sup> lamentation over him, <sup>β</sup> and mourned for him many 27 days<sup>β</sup>. And Simon built (a monument) upon the sepulchre of his father and of his brethren, and raised it aloft, <sup>γ</sup> so that it could be seen <sup>γ</sup> (from afar); (he built it) with polished stone behind and 28 before. And he set up <sup>δ</sup> seven pyramids, <sup>δ</sup> one over against another, for (his) father, and mother, and 29 four brethren<sup>δ</sup>. And <sup>ε</sup> for these <sup>ε</sup> he made cunning devices, setting about them <sup>ε</sup> great <sup>ε</sup> pillars, and upon the pillars he fashioned <sup>ζ</sup> all manner of arms<sup>ζ</sup> for a perpetual memory, and beside <sup>η</sup> the 30 arms<sup>η</sup> <sup>η</sup> carved ships<sup>η</sup>, that they should be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, (and it is there) unto this day.

XIII. 31-42. Murder of Antiochus. Treaty between Simon and Demetrius II.

31. 32 Now Tryphon dealt deceitfully with the young <sup>α</sup> king <sup>α</sup> Antiochus, and slew him, and reigned in his stead, and put on himself the diadem of Asia, and brought great calamity upon the land.

α > A β > 71 γ > E δ them T.R. ε-1 they 71 ζ > Luc η > 71 θ > // to the sight  
† + upon it 35 Luc γ > 71 η > 35 δ > 35 ε > 35 (supplies 34. propitiatory offerings 34) † † various carved things A + he set up 35ε † great 64 63 † > 35

marched over against him. i.e. marched parallel with him, Simon in the mountain country and Tryphon in the plain.

21. hastening. For the Greek αὐραῖς ἔπεισε cp. Sept. of Exod. v. 13: 'And the taskmasters were urgent' . . .

22. because of the snow. It is but rarely that snow falls south of Hebron, though it is not altogether unknown even so low down south as that: see further, Nowack, *Hebr. Archäologie*, i. 49.

23. Bascama. This place is not mentioned elsewhere, its position is quite uncertain; see, further, Euhl, *Geographie des alten Palästina*, p. 241.

25. Modin. See note on ii. 3.

26. great lamentation. Cp. ii. 70, ix. 20.

27. the sepulchre. . . 'Ever since, in the fourth century B.C., Artemisia, widow of Mausolus, King of Caria, erected at Halicarnassus a stately monument to his memory—hence the word *mausoleum*—the custom of building similar sepulchred edifices had been spreading in the East' (Fairweather and Black, *op. cit.*, p. 230).

28. seven pyramids. Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 6) says that these had 'been preserved to this day'; he seems to be referring to some additional source of knowledge in adding: 'And we know that it was Simon who bestowed so much zeal about the burial of Jonathan, and the building of these monuments for his relations.' (*ibid.* 7, 20) the words 'unto this day'. The seventh pyramid Simon presumably set up for himself.

29. carved ships. Josephus makes no mention of these.

30. unto this day. Concerning the bearing of this on the date of the book see *Journ. J. A.* (Grimm quotes Eusebius, who says in his *Onomasticon*: 'Modem . . . unde fuerunt Maccabaei, quorum hodieque ibidem sepulchra monstrantur'.)

31. and slew him, and reigned in his stead. 'There are coins of Antiochus VI from 167 to 170 of the Seleucid era, or from 146-143 to 143-142 B.C. Coins of Trypho bear the number of the years III and IV. Josephus assigns to the reign of Antiochus VI a period of four years, and to Trypho a period of three years (*ibid.*, XIII. vii. 1, 2). This is in agreement with the statement of Porphyry, who gives to Demetrius, before his imprisonment, only a three years' reign (Eusebius, *Chron.*, ed. Schöneb., i. 257, 253 B.), from Olympiad 166, 1, which is really Olymp. 156, 4, or 141-140 B.C., to Olympiad 160, 3, or 138-137 B.C. Porphyry evidently reckons the reign of Demetrius as beginning with the displacement by conquest or murder of Antiochus VI. In thorough accord with this, too, is the chronology of 1 Macc. xiii. 31-41, which unhesitatingly assigns the murder of Antiochus by Trypho to the Seleucid year 170, or 143-142 B.C. Finally, it is no serious discrepancy when, in 1 Macc. xiii. 3 the Parthian campaign of Demetrius is dated from the Seleucid year 172, or 141-140 B.C.: while Porphyry, on the other hand, assigns it to Olympiad 166, 2, or 139-138 B.C. In direct contradiction, however, with the foregoing, stands the statement made by many writers (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. v. 11, vi. 1; Appian, *Syn. 67, 66*; Justin, xxvii. 13) that Antiochus was not murdered by Trypho before the time of the Parthian campaign by Demetrius, and indeed not till after Demetrius had been taken prisoner. This, however, is in opposition not only to the chronology of 1 Macc., but also to the circumstance that then there is not left a three or four years' reign for Trypho, which yet, according to Josephus and the coins, must be admitted. Then Trypho's death occurs almost contemporaneously with the seizure of Demetrius by the Parthians in 138 B.C. . . . It therefore seems to me hazardous to assume, with many modern critics, that the last-named authorities should have precedence over 1 Macc.' (Schürer, *op. cit.* I. 1, pp. 176 f.). Regarding the death of Antiochus, Grimm quotes Livy (*Epit.* 55) to the effect that 'Alexandri filius, rex Syriac, decem annos admodum habens, a Diodoro, qui Tryphonem cognominabatur, tutore suo, per fraudem occisus est, corruptis medicis, qui eum calculi dolore consumi ad populium mentii, dum secant, occiderunt.'

32. Asia. See note on xi. 13.

I MACCABEES 13. 33-50

33 And Simon built the strongholds<sup>7</sup> of Judaea, and fenced (them) about with high towers, and great  
 34 walls<sup>8</sup>, and gates, and bars; and he laid up victuals in the strongholds. And Simon chose men, and  
 sent to king Demetrius, to the end he should give the country an immunity,<sup>9</sup> because all that  
 35 Tryphon did was to plunder<sup>10</sup>. <sup>b</sup> And king Demetrius sent unto him according to these words, and  
 36 answered him, and wrote a letter unto him, after this manner<sup>b</sup>: 'King Demetrius unto Simon the  
 37 high-priest and Friend of kings<sup>11</sup>, and unto the elders and nation of the Jews<sup>12</sup>, greeting. The golden  
 crown, and the palm-branch<sup>13</sup>, which ye sent, we have received; and we are ready to conclude  
 38 a lasting peace with you, and to write to the officers to grant immunities unto you. 'And whatsoever  
 things we (have now) confirmed unto you, they are confirmed<sup>14</sup>; and the strongholds which ye have  
 39 builded, let them be<sup>15</sup> your own. <sup>b</sup> As for any oversights and faults (committed) unto this day, we  
 forgive (them)<sup>16</sup>; and the crown which ye owed<sup>17</sup> (we remit); and if there were any other toll  
 40 exacted in Jerusalem, let it no longer be exacted<sup>18</sup>. And if (there be) some of you meet to be  
 enrolled among those round about us, let them be enrolled; and (thus) let there be peace betwixt  
 41 us.<sup>19</sup> <sup>m</sup> In the one hundred and seventieth year (therefore) was the yoke of the heathen taken away  
 42 from Israel<sup>20</sup>. And the people of Israel<sup>21</sup> began to write in their instruments and contracts: <sup>o</sup> 'In  
 the first year<sup>22</sup> of Simon the great high-priest and captain<sup>23</sup> and leader of the Jews.'

XIII. 43-53. *Simon captures Gazara and the citadel of Jerusalem.*

43 In those days he<sup>24</sup> encamped against Gazara<sup>25</sup>, and compassed it round about<sup>26</sup> with armies; and he  
 44 made<sup>27</sup> an engine of siege<sup>28</sup>, and brought it up<sup>29</sup> to the city, and smote one tower, and took it<sup>30</sup>. And  
 they that were in the engine of siege leaped forth into the city; and there was a great uproar in the  
 45 city; and they of the city rent their clothes, and went up<sup>31</sup> on the wall<sup>32</sup> with their wives and children,  
 46 and cried with a loud voice, making request to Simon to give them right hands. And they said:  
 47 'Deal not with us according to our wickednesses, but according to thy mercy.' And Simon was  
 reconciled unto them, and did not fight against them; but he drove them out of the city, and cleansed  
 the houses wherein the idols were, and so<sup>33</sup> entered into it with<sup>34</sup> singing and giving of praise<sup>35</sup>.  
 48 And he put all uncleanness out of it<sup>36</sup>, and caused to dwell in it men who observed the Law; and he  
 made it stronger (than it was before), and he built therein a dwelling-place for himself.  
 49 But they of the citadel of Jerusalem were hindered from going forth,<sup>37</sup> and from going<sup>38</sup> into the  
 country<sup>39</sup>, and from buying and selling<sup>40</sup>; and they hungered exceedingly, and many of them  
 50 perished through famine. And they cried out to Simon<sup>41</sup> to take right hands; which thing he  
 granted them<sup>42</sup>; but he cast them out from thence; and he cleansed the citadel from pollutions.

<sup>7</sup> stronghold A <sup>8</sup> + and towers A <sup>9-10</sup> > 71 <sup>11-12</sup> And he sent unto him a writing thus 71 <sup>13</sup> of the king S<sup>130c</sup>  
<sup>14</sup> > 71 <sup>15</sup> palm-branched N <sup>16</sup> embassy 93 so probably S<sup>130c</sup> אַמְבַּסַּדָּוָה ('robe') being a mistake for אַמְבַּסַּדָּוָה ('embassy')  
<sup>17</sup> > 71 <sup>18</sup> they are L <sup>19</sup> > 71 <sup>20</sup> you A <sup>21</sup> owe V<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> > 71 <sup>23</sup> m-m > 71 <sup>24</sup> > N V 64 93  
<sup>25</sup> > 71 <sup>26</sup> > 71 <sup>27</sup> Simon T.R. <sup>28</sup> with Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7; *Bell. Jud.* I. ii. 2; Gaza all the MSS.  
 and Versions, wrongly <sup>29</sup> > 71 <sup>30</sup> > A a strong wooden tower S<sup>130c</sup>; in S<sup>130c</sup> the Gk. is transliterated <sup>31</sup> the  
 city S<sup>130c</sup> <sup>32</sup> > 19 93 S<sup>130c</sup> <sup>33</sup> then S<sup>130c</sup> L <sup>34</sup> > 71 <sup>35</sup> + to God V L <sup>36</sup> > 71 <sup>37</sup> > A 71 93  
<sup>38</sup> > S<sup>130c</sup> <sup>39</sup> > 71 <sup>40</sup> > 71

33. And Simon built . . . Simon was not slow to utilize the opportunity for strengthening his own position which the struggle for the Syrian throne afforded him.  
 34. And Simon chose men . . . This is not mentioned by Josephus.  
 35. King Demetrius . . . On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (e).  
 the elders. See note on xii. 6.  
 37. the palm-branch. See critical note. The reading βῆνν is to be preferred, βῆνν of Cod. N being most likely due to the following βῆνν, cp. 2 Macc. xiv. 4, where it is said that 'a chaplet of gold and a palm' (φοίνικα) were presented to Demetrius. The reference here is most likely to a sceptre the top of which was shaped into palm-leaves. In the O.T. the palm-tree is referred to as a symbol of prosperity (cp. Ps. xcii. 12); it is with this signification that it is depicted on some Jewish coins, see De Saulcy, *Numismatique Juive*, Pl. I, fig. 6; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 71.  
 to grant immunities . . . Cp. x. 28-35.  
 39. the crown . . . Cp. x. 29.  
 41. In the one hundred and seventieth year. i.e. 143-142 B.C.  
 42. And the people of Israel began to write . . . On the importance of the study of numismatics in connexion with this statement see Schäurer, *op. cit.* I, pp. 257 ff., and his Appendix IV.  
 43. Gazara. See critical note. For the correctness of this reading see v. 53; xiv. 7, 34; xv. 28; xvi. 1. On Gazara see note on iv. 15. On the situation of Gazara, Eusebius, *Onom.*, ed. Lagarde, p. 244 (quoted by Schäurer, *op. cit.* I, p. 261), remarks: καὶ νῦν καλεῖται Γάζαρα κώμη Νικονόματος ἀπέχουσα ὀμίλιος θ' ἐν Βορβόσις. It is the modern Tell-Jezer discovered by Clermont-Ganneau in 1873, and excavated by the *Pal. Explor. Fund* during the years 1902-9; see the 'Quarterly Statement' for these years.  
 an engine of siege. ἐλεπόλις (see critical note); on this machine see Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiq.*, s.v.  
 46. Deal not with us . . . Cp. Isa. i. 16 (Sept.); Jer. xxxiii. 5.



I MACCABEES 13. 51—14. 9

51 And he<sup>e</sup> entered into it<sup>f</sup> on the three and twentieth day of the second<sup>h</sup> month, in the one hundred and seventy-first year<sup>g</sup>, with praise, and palm-branches,<sup>i</sup> and with harps and with cymbals,<sup>k</sup> and with viols, and with hymns<sup>k</sup>, and with songs<sup>l</sup>; because a great<sup>l</sup> enemy had been destroyed out of Israel<sup>m</sup>. And he ordained that they should keep that day every year<sup>n</sup> with gladness<sup>o</sup>.<sup>p</sup> And the hill of the temple that was by the citadel he made stronger (than it was before); and he dwelt there, 53 (both) he and his men<sup>o</sup>. And Simon saw that John his son was (grown to be) a man, and he made him leader of all his forces; and he dwelt at Gazara.

XIV. 1-3. *Demetrius II imprisoned by Arsaces, king of Persia.*

14 1 In the one hundred and seventy-second year Demetrius the king gathered his forces together, and went into Media, to get him help, that he might fight against Tryphon. And (when) Arsaces, the king of Persia<sup>a</sup> and Media<sup>b</sup>, heard that Demetrius was come into his borders, he sent one of his leaders 3 to take him alive; and he went and smote the army of Demetrius, and took him, and brought him to Arsaces; <sup>b</sup> and he put him in ward<sup>b</sup>.

XIV. 4-15. *Simon's beneficent rule; an ode in his honour.*

4 And the land<sup>c</sup> had rest all the days of Simon; and he sought the good of his nation; and his 5 authority<sup>d</sup> and his glory<sup>d</sup> was well-pleasing to them<sup>d</sup> all his days<sup>d</sup>. And<sup>d</sup> in addition to all his (other) glory (was this that)<sup>d</sup> he took Joppa for a haven, and made it a place of entry for the ships<sup>e</sup> of the sea. 6 And he enlarged the borders of his nation, <sup>f</sup> And ruled over the land<sup>f</sup>. 7 And he gathered together<sup>g</sup> many that had been in captivity<sup>g</sup>, And he ruled over Gazara, and Bethsura, <sup>f</sup> and the citadel. And he took away uncleannesses therefrom<sup>h</sup>,<sup>f</sup> And there was none that could resist him. 8 And they tilled their land in peace; And the land gave her increase, And the trees of the plains their fruit. 9 Old men sat in the streets<sup>i</sup>,<sup>k</sup> All spoke together of the (common) weal<sup>k</sup>, And the young men put on glorious and<sup>l</sup> warlike apparel.

<sup>e</sup> they N 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>f</sup> the citadel Luc <sup>g-g</sup> > 71 <sup>h</sup> > 19 93 S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>i-i</sup> > 71 <sup>k-k</sup> > S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>l</sup> > 64  
<sup>m</sup> Jerusalem V <sup>+</sup> and no enemy rose up any more to fight Luc S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>n</sup> > A <sup>o-o</sup> > 71  
 XIV. <sup>a-a</sup> > 71 <sup>b</sup> > N (had N<sup>e-a</sup>) <sup>c</sup> + of Judah N V 19 55 S<sup>luc</sup> <sup>d-d</sup> > 71 <sup>e</sup> Luc S; isles all other  
 authorities <sup>f-f</sup> > 71 <sup>g-g</sup> much treasure S<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> from them 64 93 <sup>i</sup> assemblies N (streets N<sup>e-a</sup>) <sup>k-k</sup> > 71  
<sup>l</sup> + not Luc S<sup>g</sup>

51. the three and twentieth day . . . The 23rd of Iyyar (= Ziv in O.T., cp. 1 Kings vi. 1) 171 = the 23rd May 142 B.C.

palm-branches. Cp. 2 Macc. x. 7; John xii. 13.

with harps . . . Cp. iv. 54.

52. And he ordained . . . This feast is referred to in *Megillath Tu'anith* ('The scroll of Fasting', so called because fasting is forbidden on the days enumerated), ch. ii, which enumerates thirty-five days of joy in Jewish history which were kept as feast-days; it was compiled about the beginning of the Christian era. Possibly this feast is included in the words contained in Judith viii. 6, but it has long ceased to be celebrated.

And the hill of the temple . . . On this statement, and that of Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vi. 7), that Simon had the hill on which the citadel stood removed, in order that the Temple might stand higher than any other building in Jerusalem, see Schürer, *op. cit.* l. 1, p. 263.

53. John. i.e. John Hyrcanus I.

XIV. 1. one hundred and seventy-second year. On the Parthian expedition see note on xiii. 31.

2. Arsaces. i.e. Mithridates I, king of the Parthians. The name Arsaces was assumed by all the kings of Parthia after the founder of the Empire of this name.

7. Gazara . . . Cp. iv. 29, xiii. 43, 49-51.

8. they tilled . . . Cp. Lev. xxvi. 4; Esek, xxxiv. 27.

the land gave . . . Cp. Zech. viii. 12.

the trees . . . Cp. Deut. viii. 8; Hag. ii. 19.

9. Old men . . . Cp. Zech. viii. 4, 5.

I MACCABEES 14. 10-27

- 10 For the cities he provided victuals,  
<sup>m</sup> And furnished <sup>n</sup> them with defensive works,  
 Until his glorious name was proclaimed to the end of the earth.  
 11 He made peace in the land,  
 And Israel rejoiced with great joy.  
 12 And each sat under his vine <sup>o</sup> and his fig tree <sup>o</sup>,  
 And there was none to make them afraid <sup>m</sup>;  
 13 And no one was left in the land to fight them  
<sup>p</sup> And the <sup>q</sup> kings were discomfited in those days.  
 14 And he strengthened all that were brought low of his people;  
 He sought out the Law,  
 And put away the lawless and wicked.  
 15 <sup>r</sup> He glorified the sanctuary <sup>r</sup>,  
 And multiplied <sup>r</sup> the <sup>s</sup> vessels of the Temple.

XIV. 16-24. *Renewal of the alliance with Rome.*

- 16 And (when) <sup>t</sup> it was heard <sup>t</sup> in Rome that Jonathan was dead, <sup>u</sup> and <sup>v</sup> (even) unto Sparta <sup>u</sup>, they  
 17 were exceeding sorry. But as soon as they heard that his brother Simon was made high-priest <sup>u</sup> in  
 18 his stead, and ruled the country, and the cities therein <sup>u</sup>, they wrote unto him on tablets of brass, to  
 19 renew with him the friendship and the confederacy which they had established with <sup>u</sup> Judas and <sup>u</sup>  
 20 Jonathan <sup>u</sup> his brethren <sup>u</sup>; and they were read before the congregation in Jerusalem. And this is the  
 21 copy of the letter which the Spartans sent: 'The rulers and the city <sup>u</sup>' of the Spartans, unto Simon the <sup>u</sup>  
 22 high-priest, and unto the elders, <sup>u</sup> and the priests, and the rest of the people of the Jews, (who are)  
 23 brethren <sup>u</sup>, greeting; <sup>u</sup> The ambassadors that were sent unto our people made report to us of your <sup>u</sup>  
 24 glory and honour; and <sup>u</sup> we were glad for their coming. And we did register the things that were  
 25 spoken by them in the public records, after this manner: Numenius, son of Antiochus, and Anti-  
 26 ator, son of Jason, the Jews' ambassadors, came unto us to renew the friendship they had with us.  
 27 And it pleased the people to receive the men honourably, and to place the copy of their words  
 among the public records, to the end that the people of the Spartans might have a memorial thereof.  
 28 Moreover they <sup>r</sup> wrote a copy of these things unto Simon the high-priest. After this Simon sent  
 Numenius to Rome having a great shield of gold of a thousand pound weight <sup>r</sup>, in order to confirm  
 the confederacy with them.

XIV. 25-49. *The hereditary High-priesthood conferred upon Simon; a memorial tablet to Simon and the Maccabaeans is set up in the Temple.*

- 25 But when the people heard these things, they said: 'What thanks shall we give to Simon <sup>a</sup> and his  
 26 sons? For he, and his brethren, and his father's house have <sup>b</sup> made themselves strong <sup>b</sup>, and have  
 chased away in fight the enemies <sup>c</sup> of Israel from them, <sup>d</sup> and established liberty for it <sup>d</sup>.' And they  
 27 wrote on tablets of brass, and set them upon a pillar <sup>e</sup> in mount Zion. <sup>f</sup> And this is the copy of the  
 writing: '(On the eighteenth day of Elul, in the one hundred and seventy-second year—that is the

<sup>m</sup> > 71 <sup>n</sup> strengthened <sup>s</sup> <sup>o</sup> > N <sup>p</sup> > 71 <sup>q</sup> their A <sup>r</sup> > N <sup>s</sup> And the N <sup>t</sup> he heard A they heard Luc 55 71 <sup>u</sup> > 71 <sup>v</sup> + it was heard Luc <sup>u</sup> cities <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> + great Luc 55 <sup>x</sup> peace and your Luc <sup>y</sup> we V 93 <sup>z</sup> > <sup>aa</sup> <sup>ab</sup> + the high priest <sup>ac</sup> <sup>ad</sup> acted valiantly <sup>ae</sup> <sup>af</sup> the sons 64 <sup>ag</sup> and they gave the inheritance to Simon and established (him) Luc, making 'the people' in v. 25 the subject <sup>ah</sup> pillars N V <sup>ai</sup> > 71

12. each sat under . . . Cp. 1 Kings iv. 25; Mic. iv. 4; Zech. iii. 10.  
 And there was none . . . Cp. Deut. xxviii. 26; Jer. vii. 33; Zech. i. 21.  
 14. all that were brought low. *παύειν τοὺς ἐναντίους*; cp. Ps. xvii. 28; Isa. xiv. 32; Amos ii. 7 (all in Sept.).  
 He sought out the Law. Cp. Ps. civ. 45 (Sept.).  
 16. and (even) unto Sparta. See *Intr.* § 7. iii. (b).  
 18. the friendship and the confederacy . . . Cp. viii. 17-30, xii. 1-4.  
 20. The rulers and . . . On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. iii. (b). The rulers were the *Ephors* ever since the year 192 B. C., when Nabis, the last of the 'tyrants', was murdered.  
 22. Numenius. Cp. xii. 16.  
 24. After this . . . See *Intr.* § 7. iii. (c).  
 a thousand pound weight. An obvious exaggeration, cp. xv. 18.  
 27. Elul. The sixth month in the sacred year (= September approximately); cp. Neh. vi. 15.  
 the one hundred and seventy-second year = 141 B. C.



28 third year of Simon <sup>h</sup> the <sup>b</sup> high-priest <sup>a</sup>, and the prince of the people of God <sup>l</sup>—in a great congregation of priests and people and princes of the nation, and of the elders of the country, <sup>k</sup> (the following) was promulgated by us <sup>k</sup>; Forasmuch as oftentimes there have been wars in the country <sup>l</sup>, Simon the son of Mattathias, <sup>l</sup> the son of the children of Joarib <sup>l</sup>, and his brethren, put themselves in jeopardy, and withstood the enemies of their nation, that their sanctuary and the Law might be upheld; and they glorified their nation with great glory. <sup>l</sup> And Jonathan assembled their <sup>m</sup> nation together <sup>l</sup>, and became high-priest to them; and he was gathered to his people. Then their enemies determined to invade their country, <sup>n</sup> that they might destroy their country utterly <sup>n</sup>, and stretch forth their hands against their sanctuary. Then rose up Simon and fought for his nation; and he spent much of his own substance, and armed the <sup>o</sup> valiant men of his nation, and gave them wages. And he fortified the cities of Judaea, and Bethsura (that lieth) upon the borders of Judaea, where the arms of the enemies were aforetime, and set there a garrison of Jews. <sup>p</sup> And he fortified Joppa which is by the sea, and Gazara which is upon the borders of Azotus, wherein the enemies dwelt aforetime; and he placed Jews there <sup>o</sup>, and whatsoever things were needful for the sustenance <sup>o</sup> of these he put in them. And (when) the people saw the faith <sup>r</sup> of Simon, and the glory which he sought to bring unto his nation, they made him their leader <sup>o</sup> and high-priest, because he had done all these things, and because of the justice and the faith which he kept to his nation, and because he sought by all means to exalt his people <sup>o</sup>. And in his days things prospered in his hands <sup>s</sup>, so that the Gentiles were taken away out of their (the Jews') country; and they also that were in the city of David, they that were in Jerusalem, who had made themselves a citadel, out of which they issued, and polluted all things round about the sanctuary, and did great hurt unto its purity (these did he expel) <sup>t</sup>; and he made Jews to dwell therein, and fortified it for the safety of the country and of the city; and he made high the walls of Jerusalem. And king Demetrius confirmed him in the high-priesthood <sup>u</sup> in consequence of these things <sup>o</sup>, and made him one of his friends, <sup>v</sup> and honoured him with great honour <sup>o</sup>. For <sup>w</sup> he had heard <sup>w</sup> that the Jews had been proclaimed by the Romans friends, and confederates, <sup>v</sup> and brethren <sup>v</sup>, and that they had met the ambassadors of Simon honourably. And <sup>x</sup> the Jews and the priests were well pleased that Simon should be their leader and high-priest <sup>v</sup> for ever, until a faithful prophet should

<sup>a</sup> > §<sup>loc</sup>      <sup>b</sup> + great N V Luc 55      <sup>l</sup> in Asaramel (Saramel A = אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן אֵלִיָּהוּ) the prince of Israel §  
<sup>k</sup> he made known to us N A V &c. we made known to you Luc §<sup>loc</sup> these things were made known L (= אֲנִי הֵבִיאָם)  
<sup>l</sup> > N 71      <sup>m</sup> his V §<sup>loc</sup> L<sup>1</sup>      <sup>n</sup> > N\* (h<sup>1</sup> N e.s) V      <sup>o</sup> his N      <sup>p</sup> > 71      <sup>o</sup> nourishment and sustenance §<sup>loc</sup>      <sup>r</sup> deeds §<sup>loc</sup> L<sup>1</sup> + deeds V      <sup>s</sup> + and fortified Jerusalem 71      <sup>t</sup> > 71      <sup>v</sup> lit. according to these things; > 71 §<sup>loc</sup>      <sup>v</sup> > 71      <sup>w</sup> it had been heard A Luc 71      <sup>x</sup> 71; all other authorities add that

the third year . . . Cp. xiii. 42.

28. the prince of the people of God. Greek ἐν Σαραμὲλ, see critical note, where, however, the meaning of this expression given does not account for the ἐν; Schürer thinks that this represents the remains of σαραν (= שָׁרָן), the Hebr. for *sarparagade* [רֹד הַסָּרָן], cp. Jer. li. 23, 28, 57; Ezek. xxiii. 6, 12, 23; Ezra ix. 2; Neh. ii. 16, iv. 8, xii. 40, xiii. 11; Dan. iii. 2, 27, vi. 8; Acts iv. 1), *op. cit.* i. 1. 265; ii. 1. 258 f.; but, in this case, what has become of the σαρ? It seems more natural to follow Wernsdorf (quoted by Grimm and Kautzsch) and see in *σαραμὲλ* the transliteration of אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן אֵלִיָּהוּ, 'Prince of the people of God'; the translator, assuming that this was the name of a place, would then have inserted ἐν. The difficulty here is the mention of God, which is uniformly avoided in this book; it may, therefore, be that the Syriac Version has retained the original reading, 'a prince of Israel,' אֶלְעָזָר בֶּן אֵלִיָּהוּ; the Hebrew script in use before the square characters were introduced might easily account for reading an m (מ) for the second s (ש); the translator, who was obviously puzzled, may also have taken exception, through ignorance, to the repeated ש.

was promulgated by us. See critical note.

29. Joarib. Cp. ii. 1.

33. Bethsura. Cp. iv. 29.

34. he fortified Joppa. Cp. xii. 33, 34.

Gazara . . . upon the borders of Azotus. Cp. xiii. 43-8. This is a mistake as Gazara was 17 miles distant from Ashdod; Grimm thinks the error is due to the translator.

wherein. ἐν ᾧ . . . ἐκεῖ, a Hebraism; cp. e.g. Deut. iv. 5, 14, 26, ἡ γῆ ἐν ᾧ ἵμεν ἐισπορεύσθε ἐκεῖ; and often.

35. they made him . . . But cp. xiii. 8 ff.; on the chronological discrepancies between the details given in this letter and those in xi. 16-xiv. 24 see *Intr.* § 7. iii.

36. and brethren. ἀδελφοί is the more usual expression, cp. v. 18, viii. 20, xv. 17; ἀδελφοί is scarcely original.

41. leader and high-priest. Simon has three official titles: ἀρχιερεὺς, as spiritual ruler; στρατηγός, as military chief; and ἐθνάρχης, as civil governor; see xiii. 42, and v. 47 of this chap., cp. also xv. 1, 2.

for ever. i. e. that it should be hereditary in his family.

until a faithful prophet . . . By this is meant that 'this popular decree should remain in force until an authentic communication from God should make some other enactment. . . . The significance of this popular resolution lies not so much in the fact that it conveyed to him (Simon) any new dignity, but rather in this, that it legitimized and pronounced hereditary those dignities which he already had. In this way a new high-priestly and princely dignity was founded, that of the Asmoneans' (Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, p. 265).

I MACCABEES 14. 42—15. 14

42 arise<sup>r</sup>; and that he should be a captain over them<sup>r</sup>, to set them over their works, and over the country;  
 43 and over the arms, and over the strongholds, <sup>r</sup> and that he should take charge of the sanctuary, and  
 that he should be obeyed by all, and that all instruments in the country should be written in his  
 44 name<sup>r</sup>, and that he should be clothed in purple, and wear gold; and that it should not be lawful for  
 anyone among the people or among the priests to set at nought any of these things, or to gainsay  
 the things spoken by him, or to gather an assembly<sup>r</sup> in the country<sup>r</sup> without him, or that any (other)  
 45 should be clothed in purple, or wear a buckle of gold; <sup>aa</sup> but that whosoever should do otherwise,  
 46 or set at nought any of these things, should be liable to punishment<sup>aa</sup>. And all the people con-  
 47 sented to ordain<sup>bb</sup> for Simon that it should be done according to these words. And Simon accepted  
 (hereof), and consented to fill the office of high-priest, and to be captain and governor of the Jews  
<sup>aa</sup> and of the priests, and to preside over all matters<sup>aa</sup>.  
 48 And they commanded to put this writing on tablets of brass, and to set them up within <sup>cc</sup> the  
 49 precinct of <sup>cc</sup> the sanctuary in a conspicuous<sup>dd</sup> place; and copies of this (they caused) to be placed in  
 the treasury, to the end that Simon and his sons might have them.

XV. 1-9. *Antiochus VII (Sidetes) seeks the throne, and solicits the help of Simon.*

15 1 And Antiochus, son of Demetrius the king, sent letters from the isles of the sea unto Simon the  
 2 priest<sup>a</sup> and governor of the Jews, and to all the nation<sup>b</sup>; <sup>c</sup> and the contents thereof were after this  
 manner<sup>c</sup>:

<sup>d</sup> King Antiochus to Simon the high-priest and governor, and to the nation of the Jews, greeting:  
 3 Forasmuch as pestilent fellows have made themselves masters of the kingdom of our<sup>d</sup> fathers, and my  
 purpose is to claim the kingdom, that I may restore it <sup>e</sup> as before,—I have, moreover, raised a mul-  
 4 titude of foreign soldiers, and have prepared ships of war<sup>e</sup>, and I have determined to land in the country,  
 that I may punish them that have devastated our country, and them that have made many cities in the<sup>f</sup>  
 5 kingdom desolate,—I therefore (herewith) confirm<sup>f</sup> unto thee<sup>f</sup> (the release from) all the exactions which  
 6 the kings that were before me remitted unto thee, <sup>g</sup> and whatsoever gifts<sup>g</sup> besides they remitted unto  
 7 thee<sup>g</sup>; <sup>h</sup> and I give thee leave<sup>h</sup> to coin money<sup>k</sup> for thy country<sup>k</sup> with thine own stamp<sup>i</sup>. And Jeru-  
 8 salem and the sanctuary shall be free; <sup>j</sup> and all the arms which thou hast prepared<sup>j</sup>, and the strongholds  
 8<sup>j</sup> which thou hast built, which thou hast in thy possession<sup>j</sup>, let them remain unto thee. And everything  
 9 owing to the king, <sup>k</sup> and the things that shall be owing to the king, let them be remitted unto thee  
 9 from now and unto all time<sup>k</sup>. Moreover, when we shall have established<sup>m</sup> our kingdom, we will  
 glorify thee and thy nation and <sup>n</sup> the Temple with great glory<sup>n</sup>, so that your glory shall be made  
 manifest in all the earth.<sup>l</sup>

XV. 10-14. *Antiochus VII besieges Tryphon in Dor.*

10 In the one hundred and seventy-fourth year Antiochus went forth into the land of his fathers;  
 11 and all the forces came together unto him, so that there were (but) few men<sup>o</sup> with Tryphon. And  
 12 king Antiochus pursued him, and in fleeing he<sup>p</sup> came to Dor, which is by the sea; for he perceived  
 13 that<sup>q</sup> troubles were come upon him, and that his forces had forsaken him. And Antiochus encamped  
 against Dor, and with him a hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horse.  
 14 And he compassed the city round about, <sup>r</sup> and the ships joined in the attack from the sea; and he  
 pressed the city sore<sup>r</sup> by land<sup>s</sup> and sea<sup>s</sup>, and suffered no man to go out or in.

<sup>r</sup> + and should take charge of the sanctuary  $\text{G}^{\text{Luc}} \text{L}^1$ ; these words have crept into the text by mistake, they occur again in the next verse <sup>e e</sup> >  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$  <sup>aa aa</sup> > 71 <sup>bb</sup> + these things 64 93 <sup>cc</sup> >  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$  <sup>dd</sup> safe A

XV. <sup>a</sup> high-priest 55 64 <sup>b</sup> + of the Jews 71 <sup>c-c</sup> > 71 <sup>d</sup> my 55  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$  <sup>e</sup> my  $\text{N V}$  <sup>f</sup> f >  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$   
<sup>g</sup> exactions A <sup>h</sup> h > A <sup>i</sup> i + to make laws and to put forth decrees according to thine own will  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$  <sup>k</sup> k >  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$   
<sup>l</sup> l + > 71 <sup>m</sup> m obtained  $\text{L}^1$  <sup>n</sup> n our Temple 55 <sup>o</sup> o + that were left T.R. <sup>p</sup> Tryphon 64 93 <sup>q</sup> q + all Luc  
<sup>r</sup> r >  $\text{N}$  <sup>s</sup> s >  $\text{S}^{\text{Luc}}$

43. . . clothed in purple, and wear gold. Cp. viii. 14, x. 20, 89, and v. 44 of this chap.

49. in the treasury. Cp. 2 Macc. iii. 6, 28, v. 18; John viii. 20.

XV. 1. **Antiochus.** Called *Sidetes* on account of his having been brought up in the city of *Side* in Pamphylia (cp. v. 25). According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. viii. 2), he was also called the 'Pious' (*Eusebēs*), because of 'the great zeal he had concerning religion'. He was the seventh of the name; son of Demetrius I, and brother of Demetrius II.

from the isles of the sea. Schürer quotes Appian, *Syr.* c. 68, to the effect that while at Rhodes Antiochus learned of his brother's captivity (*πυθόμενος ἐν Ρόδῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχιμαρτυρίας*).

2. the contents thereof . . . On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (f).

6. to coin money . . . See Schürer, *op. cit.* i. 1, pp. 257-60.

10. In the one hundred and seventy-fourth year. i. e. 139-138 B.C.

11. Dor. Cp. Joshua xi. 2, xii. 23, xvii. 11; Judges i. 27; an ancient Phœnician town on the Mediterranean coast, about nine miles north of Caesarea; the modern *Tantura*.



I MACCABEES 15. 15-34

XV. 15-24. *The return of the Jewish envoys from Rome.*

15 And Numenius and his company came from Rome, having letters to the kings, and to the coun-  
tries, wherein were written these things :  
16, 17 'Lucius, consul of the Romans, unto king Ptolemy, greeting: The Jews' ambassadors came unto  
us (as) our friends and confederates, to renew the old friendship and confederacy, being sent from  
18 Simon the high-priest, and from the people of the Jews<sup>1</sup>; moreover, they brought a shield of gold  
19 of a thousand<sup>2</sup> pound<sup>3</sup>. It pleased us, therefore, to write unto the kings and unto the countries,  
that they should not seek their hurt, nor fight against them<sup>4</sup>, and their cities, and their country<sup>5</sup>,  
20 nor be confederates with such as fight against them<sup>6</sup>. And it seemed good to us to accept the  
21 shield from them. If, therefore, any pestilent fellows should have fled from their country unto  
you, deliver them unto Simon the high-priest, that he may take vengeance on them according to  
their law.'  
22 And the same things wrote he to Demetrius the king, and to Attalus, and to Ariarathes<sup>7</sup>, and to  
23 Arsaces, and unto all the countries, and to Sampsames<sup>8</sup>, and to the Spartans, and unto Delos, and  
unto Myndos, and unto Sicyon, and unto Caria<sup>9</sup>, and unto Samos, and unto Pamphylia, and unto  
Lycia, and unto Halicarnassus, and unto Rhodes, and unto Phaselis, and unto Cos, and unto Side, and  
24 unto Aradus, and Gortyna, and Cnidus, and Cyprus and Cyrene<sup>10</sup>. And a copy hereof they wrote to  
Simon the high-priest.

XV. 25-41. *Antiochus VII breaks his covenant with Simon.*

25 And Antiochus the king encamped against Dor the second (day)<sup>11</sup>, bringing his forces up to it  
26 continually, and making engines (of war); and he shut up Tryphon<sup>12</sup> from going in or out. And  
Simon sent him two thousand chosen men to fight for him, and silver and gold, and instruments (of  
27 war) in abundance. But he would not receive them, but set at nought everything that he had  
28 previously covenanted<sup>13</sup> with him<sup>14</sup>: and he was estranged from him<sup>15</sup>. And he sent unto him  
Athenobius, one of his Friends, to commune with him, saying; 'Ye hold possession of Joppa and  
29 Gazara, and the citadel that is in Jerusalem, cities of my kingdom. The borders thereof have ye  
wasted, and done great hurt in the land<sup>16</sup>, and have got the dominion of many places in my kingdom.  
30 Now, therefore, deliver up the cities which ye have taken, and the tributes of the places whereof ye  
31 have gotten dominion outside of the borders of Judaea<sup>17</sup>; or else give me for them five hundred talents  
of silver; and for the harm that ye have done, and the tributes of the cities, other five hundred  
32 talents; otherwise we will come and make war upon you.' And (when) Athenobius, the king's  
Friend, came to Jerusalem, and saw the glory of Simon, and the<sup>18</sup> cabinet with gold and silver vessels,  
33 and his great attendance, he was amazed<sup>19</sup>, and reported to him<sup>20</sup> the king's words. And Simon  
answered, and said unto him: 'We have neither taken other men's land, nor have we possession  
of that which appertaineth to others, but of the inheritance of our fathers; howbeit, it was had in  
34 possession of our enemies wrongfully for a certain time<sup>21</sup>. But we, having (taken) the opportunity,

<sup>1-1</sup> > 71    <sup>2</sup> five thousand A 55    <sup>3</sup> talents 55    <sup>4-5</sup> > N (hab N<sup>o</sup> A) 55    <sup>6-7</sup> > 71    <sup>8</sup> countries A 93 §<sup>100</sup> L<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>9</sup> Ariathes A 55 71    <sup>10</sup> Sampsaces A §<sup>100</sup> Lampsacus L<sup>1</sup>    <sup>11</sup> Caris A    <sup>12</sup> Smyrna V    <sup>13</sup> expressed only in N<sup>o</sup> A  
Luc    <sup>14</sup> + from all sides §<sup>100</sup>    <sup>15</sup> > 71    <sup>16</sup> > §<sup>100</sup>    <sup>17</sup> b-h > 55    <sup>18</sup> they A    <sup>19</sup> + golden Luc §<sup>100</sup>  
<sup>20</sup> > §<sup>100</sup>    <sup>21</sup> them A    Simon Luc    <sup>22</sup> > 71

16. **Lucius** . . . On this letter see *Intr.* § 7. ii. (c).  
**Ptolemy**. The seventh of the name; Euergetes II, Physcon; he reigned jointly with his brother, Ptolemy VI, Philometor, 170-164 B. C., and alone from 164-117.  
22. **Attalus**. King of Pergamum, but uncertain whether the first or second of the name (Grimm).  
**Ariarathes**. The fifth of the name, king of Cappadocia, 162-130 B. C.  
**Arsaces**. Mithridates I, king of Parthia; see note on xiv. 2.  
23. **Sampsames**. Possibly the harbour on the Black Sea between Sinope and Trebizond, but uncertain.  
**Delos**. This and Samos are islands in the Archipelago.  
**Myndos**. Like Halicarnassus and Cnidus, in Caria, the country on the south-west coast of Asia Minor.  
**Sicyon**. On the north coast of the Peloponnesus, west of Corinth.  
**Pamphylia**. The country on the coast of Asia Minor between Lycia and Cilicia; Side is a sea-port of Pamphylia.  
**Rhodes**. The island lying south off the coast of Caria.  
**Phaselis**. A city on the coast of Lycia.  
**Cos**. An island lying off the coast of Caria.  
**Aradus**. An island close to the Phoenician coast, nearly opposite the mouth of the Eleutherus (see xi. 7).  
**Gortyna**. A town on the island of Crete.  
**Cyrene**. The capital of Libya, the country lying to the west of Egypt.  
The disordered enumeration of all these shows that the writer's knowledge of their geographical positions was extremely meagre.

I MACCABEES 15. 35—16. 6

35 hold fast <sup>a</sup> the inheritance <sup>a</sup> of our fathers. Nevertheless, as touching Joppa and Gazara which thou demandest,—(though it was) they that did great harm among the people <sup>b</sup> and in our land <sup>b</sup>—we will  
 36 give a hundred talents for them.<sup>c</sup> And he <sup>b</sup> answered him not a word, but returned in a rage to the king, and reported unto him these words, <sup>a</sup> and the glory of Simon, and all things whatsoever he had seen <sup>a</sup>; and the king was exceeding wroth.  
 37, 38 But Tryphon embarked on board a ship, and fled to Orthosia. And the king appointed Cende-  
 39 baucus chief captain of the sea-coast, and gave him forces of foot <sup>d</sup> and horse <sup>d</sup>; and he commanded him to encamp before Judaea; also <sup>e</sup> he commanded him <sup>e</sup> to build up Kedron, <sup>e</sup> and to fortify <sup>e</sup> the  
 40 gates <sup>f</sup>, and that he should fight against the people; but the king pursued Tryphon. And Cende-  
 41 baucus came to Jannia, <sup>f</sup> and began to provoke the people <sup>f</sup>, and to invade Judaea, and to take <sup>f</sup> the people <sup>f</sup> captive and to slay them. And he <sup>g</sup> built Kedron, and set horsemen there, and forces of foot, to the end that, <sup>g</sup> issuing out, they might make outroads upon the ways of Judaea <sup>g</sup>, according as the king had commanded him.

XVI. 1—10. *Judas and John, the sons of Simon, defeat Cendebaucus.*

16 1, 2 And John went up from Gazara, and told Simon, his father, what Cendebaucus was doing. And Simon called his two eldest <sup>h</sup> sons, Judas and John, and said unto them: 'I and my brethren and my father's house have fought the battles of Israel <sup>h</sup> from our youth, even unto this very day <sup>h</sup>; and things  
 3 have prospered in our hands, <sup>h</sup> (so that we were able) to deliver Israel oftentimes <sup>h</sup>. But now I am old, and ye moreover, <sup>h</sup> by (God's) <sup>i</sup> mercy <sup>i</sup>, are of sufficient age <sup>i</sup>; be ye (then) instead of me <sup>i</sup> and my brother, and go forth <sup>i</sup> and fight for our nation; <sup>i</sup> and let the help that is from Heaven be with  
 4 you <sup>i</sup>.' And he <sup>h</sup> chose <sup>h</sup> out of the country <sup>h</sup> twenty thousand men of war and horsemen; and they  
 5 went against Cendebaucus, and rested at Modin. And rising up in the morning, they went into the plain, and, behold, a great host came to meet them, of footmen and horsemen; and there was  
 6 a brook betwixt them. And he encamped over against them, <sup>j</sup> he and his people; and he saw that

<sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> our inheritance and (that) A <sup>f</sup> Athenobius T.R. <sup>g</sup> <sup>g</sup> > V 93 <sup>f</sup> <sup>f</sup> > 71 <sup>h</sup> to build up N <sup>i</sup> cities A  
<sup>b</sup> Cendebaucus Luc <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> they might fight Judaea 71

XVI. <sup>h</sup> <sup>h</sup> > 71 <sup>i</sup> <sup>i</sup> > 71 <sup>j</sup> expressed in  $\xi^{100}$  <sup>k</sup> >  $\xi^{100}$  <sup>aa</sup> John Luc <sup>bb-bb</sup> > V 71

37. **Orthosia.** A town on the Phoenician coast, north of Tripolis; the name is preserved to the present day, the ruins of the ancient town being still called *Arthūsi*.

38. **Cendebaucus.** According to Schürer (*op. cit.* i. 1, p. 270) a name derived from *Kāibōβα*, a town in Lycia, cp. Sidetes, from *Sile* (see v. 1).

39. **Kedron.** Probably identical with Gederoth (Joshua xv. 41), the present Katra, south-west of Ekron, near Modin, according to xvi. 4 ff.

40. **Jannia.** See note on iv. 15.

XVI. 2. **his two eldest sons.** A third, Mattathias, is mentioned in v. 14.

**things have prospered in our hands.** Cp. the Hebr. phrase  $\text{לָקַחְתִּי וְנָתַתִּי}$  'to gain success for'.

3. **I am old.** Cp. Joshua xxiii. 2 'קִנְיָן'.

**by (God's) mercy.**  $\text{עַל רַחֲמֵי יְהוָה}$ , again the avoidance of the divine name which is characteristic of this book; cp. 'the help that is from Heaven' further on in this verse.

**of sufficient age.** Lit. 'sufficient in years'.

**go forth and fight.** According to Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vii. 3), Simon himself took the lead: '... Taking a resolution brisker than his age could well bear, he went like a young man to act as general of his army...'; this is also borne out by the  $\text{וַיֵּצֵא}$  that follow here, in spite of 'be ye instead of me' in this verse.

4. **he chose.** Logically 'Simon' is the subject; 'John' of the Lucianic MSS. (see critical note) was presumably inserted because of the words, 'I am old...'

**out of the country.** The point of these words is not quite clear (see critical note); the Jews had not yet had any idea of employing mercenaries, so that the words cannot be supposed to imply native-born soldiers as distinct from foreigners; nor could they have been new recruits, since they were 'men of war'. The MSS. which omit the words are perhaps justified in doing so.

**horsemen.** This is the first time mention is made of the Maccabees using horsemen, though their use in warfare was not new to the Jews (cp. Isa. xxxi. 1, xxxvi. 9; Hos. i. 7; Neh. ii. 9, &c.); that more use had not been made of them during the Maccabæan war was due to the method of warfare on the part of the Maccabæans; it was more advantageous for them to adopt mountain warfare.

**rested.** Lit. 'slept', = 'passed the night', the Hebr.  $\text{נָחַ$ .

**Modin.** See note on ii. 1.

5. **they went into the plain.** Cp. Job xxxix. 10 (Sept.).

**a great host.**  $\text{δύναμις πολλή}$ , cp. Ps. lxxvii. 12 (Sept.).

**to meet them.**  $\text{εἰς συνάντησιν αὐτοῖς}$ , cp. the same phrase in Gen. xiv. 17 (Sept.).

**a brook.** See note on v. 37.

6. **he encamped.** See notes on xv. 3, 4.

**his people.**  $\text{λαός}$  is used in the sense of an army in Joshua x. 5 (Sept.) for the Hebrew  $\text{צְבָאָה}$ .



I MACCABEES 16. 6-21

the people were afraid to pass over the brook, so he passed over first<sup>7</sup>; and (when) the men saw him<sup>7</sup> (doing this), they passed over after him. And he divided the people,<sup>8</sup> and (set) the horsemen in the<sup>8</sup> midst of the footmen, for the enemies horsemen were exceedingly numerous<sup>8</sup>. And they sounded with the<sup>8</sup> trumpets; and Cendebaeus and his army were put to the rout, and there fell of them<sup>9</sup> many wounded to death; and they that were left fled to the stronghold. At that time was Judas, John's brother, wounded; but John pursued after them, till he came to Kedron,<sup>10</sup> which [Cendebaeus]<sup>10</sup> had built<sup>10</sup>. And they fled unto the towers that are in the fields of Azotus; and he burned it with fire; and there fell of them about a thousand<sup>11</sup> men. And he returned to Judaea in peace.

XVI. 11-24. *Murder of Simon and his two sons, Mattathias and Judas, by Ptolemy; John Hyrcanus escapes.*

11 And Ptolemy the son of Abubus had been appointed captain<sup>11</sup> for the plain<sup>11</sup> of Jericho; and he<sup>12, 13</sup> had much silver and gold, for he was the high<sup>12</sup>-priest's son-in-law. <sup>11</sup> And his heart was lifted up<sup>12</sup>, and he was minded to make himself master of the country; and he took counsel deceitfully against<sup>14</sup> Simon and his sons, to make away with them. Now Simon was visiting the cities that were in the country, and taking care for the good ordering of them. And he went down to Jericho, he himself and Mattathias and Judas,<sup>14</sup> his sons<sup>14</sup>, in the one hundred and seventy-seventh year, in the eleventh<sup>15</sup> month, the same is the month Sebat<sup>15</sup>. And the son of Abubus received them deceitfully into the little stronghold that is called Dok,<sup>16</sup> which he had built<sup>16</sup>; and he made them a great banquet; and<sup>16</sup> he hid men there. And when Simon and his sons had drunk freely<sup>17</sup>, Ptolemy and they that were with him rose up, and took their arms, and came upon Simon<sup>17</sup> into the banqueting hall<sup>17</sup>, and slew<sup>17</sup> him and his two sons, and certain of his servants. <sup>17</sup> And he committed (thus) a great act of treachery<sup>18</sup>, and recompensed evil for good. And Ptolemy wrote these things, and sent to the king, that he should send him forces to aid (him), and that he should deliver to him their<sup>19</sup> country and the<sup>19</sup> cities. And he sent others to Gazara to make away with John; <sup>19</sup> and unto the captains of thousands<sup>20</sup> he sent letters to come unto him that he might give them silver and gold and gifts<sup>20</sup>. And others he<sup>21</sup> sent to take possession of Jerusalem, and of the mount of the Temple<sup>21</sup>. And one<sup>21</sup> ran<sup>21</sup> before to Gazara, and told<sup>21</sup> John<sup>21</sup> that his father and brethren had perished,<sup>21</sup> and<sup>21</sup> (said he), <sup>21</sup> he hath sent to

ee-er > 71 dd + holy V T.R. ee it A (in reference to the army) > 71 ff-ff > 71 g they Luc 5<sup>luc</sup> h two thousand N V 71 three thousand Luc 5<sup>luc</sup> e > V 55 d d his brother N\* (his sons N c-o) e-e > 71 f + and were merry 5<sup>luc</sup> g a goddess act A h the Luc 71 i > A 71 93 5<sup>luc</sup> k-k plur. 93 5<sup>luc</sup>

7. the horsemen in the midst . . . An unusual proceeding; Grimm cites an instance of the Romans having done so. The object here was two-fold; to accustom the horsemen to their new duties, and to avoid their meeting the full force of the enemy's cavalry, which was numerically superior.

8. they sounded with . . . Cp. Num. x. 8; the addition of *ἰεραῖς* in some MSS. is probably due to the mention of the priests in Num. x. 8, from which the phrase here seems to be borrowed; *οἱ ἱερεῖς σαλπασίμου ἐν ταῖς σαλπιγγίαις*, cp. 1 Chron. xv. 24 (Sept.).

the stronghold. i. e. Kedron, see xv. 39-41.

10. they fled. i. e. those of the enemy who had not been able to get into Kedron, and who had, therefore, been forced to continue their flight.

the fields of Azotus. i. e. the open country round the city. The 'towers' (טור) were used both for the defence of cities and for the protection of flocks; for the former use cp. 2 Kings xvii. 19, xviii. 8.

he burned it with fire. i. e. the city of Azotus; Jonathan had done this to Azotus ten years before (see x. 84), but it is not necessary to suppose that either then, or on this occasion, the city was wholly obliterated.

about a thousand men. See critical note.

11. Ptolemy the son of Abubus. He was the son-in-law of Simon, see below.

the plain of Jericho. ערביה יריחו Joshua v. 10, see also Sept. of this. The plain was 'seventy furlongs long, and twenty broad; wherein it (i. e. the fountain near Jericho) affords nourishment to those most excellent gardens that are thick set with trees' (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* IV. viii. 3).

12. the high-priest's son-in-law. See further Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. vii. 4, viii. 1).

13. his heart was lifted up. See note on i. 3.

14. went down to Jericho. For the phrase cp. Luke x. 30.

the one hundred and seventy-seventh year. i. e. 135 B. C.

the month Sebat. Properly Shebat (שבט); cp. Zech. i. 7. It corresponds approximately to February; the fifth civil and eleventh ecclesiastical month in the Jewish Calendar; the month, according to Jewish tradition, in which demons prevail.

15. Dok. Δοκ, Josephus (*Antiq.* XIII. viii. 1; *Bell. Jud.* I. ii. 3) calls it Δοκ. 'The name is still retained in that of the fountain *Ain el-Duk*, north of Jericho, on the border of the mountain land, in a position very suitable as the site of a fortress' (Schürer, *op. cit.* p. 271). Grimm says that *Duk* is mentioned as a mountain fortress lying between Jericho and Bethel, and belonging to the Templars; this was still standing in the thirteenth century.

16. had drunk freely. *ἑθελωθῆς* means that Simon was intoxicated cp. the murder of king Elah by Zimri under similar circumstances (1 Kings xvi. 9, 10).

17. act of treachery. See critical note. Cp. 2 Macc. xv. 10.

I MACCABEES 16. 22-24

- 22 slay thee also<sup>o</sup>. And when he<sup>1</sup> heard (it), he was sore amazed; and he laid hands on the men<sup>m</sup> that came to destroy<sup>n</sup> him<sup>n</sup>, and slew<sup>n</sup> them; <sup>o</sup> for he perceived that they were seeking to destroy him<sup>o</sup>.
- 23 And the rest of the acts of John, and of his wars, and of his valiant deeds<sup>o</sup> which he did<sup>o</sup>, and of
- 24 the building of the walls which he built, and of his (other) deeds, behold they are written in the chronicles of his high-priesthood, from the time that he was made high-priest after his father.

<sup>1</sup> John Luc    m<sup>n</sup> > 93 S<sup>loc</sup>    n<sup>n</sup> > V    o<sup>o</sup> > 71

23. **acts.** Lit. 'words', but the Hebr. word דבר means 'act' as well; cp. 2 Sam. xi. 18 ἀπήγγειλε τῷ βασιλεὶ Δαβὶδ πάντας τοὺς λόγους τοῦ πολέμου.

**the building of the walls.** i.e. the walls of Jerusalem which had been broken down by Antiochus VII Sidetes (Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. viii. 3).

24. **in the chronicles.** ἐπιθετικῶν ἡμερῶν; cp. the Hebrew name of the Books of Chronicles, דברי הימים, lit. 'the acts of the days'.

Grimm mentions that 'Sixtus Senensis (*Bibliotheca sancta*, lib. i, p. 39) declares that he saw in the library of Santes Pagninus in Lyons the manuscript of a very hebraic Greek book of the Maccabees, which embraced the history of thirty-one years (according to Josephus, *Antiq.* XIII. x. 7, Hyrcanus reigned this number of years), and which began with the words, καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀποκραθῆναι τὸν Σίμωνα ἐγενήθη Ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἱερεὺς αὐτοῦ; a book which, according to this description, must either have contained the chronicles here mentioned, or have been, at any rate, one which contained their substance. Unfortunately, soon after Sixtus Senensis had given this news to the world, the library in question was destroyed by fire'. Schürer (*op. cit.* ii. 3, p. 14) says regarding this manuscript: 'Judging from the enumeration of the contents as given by Sixtus, this book simply narrates the history of John Hyrcanus, and precisely as in Josephus (the same facts and in the same order). With regard to this he himself observes: "Historiae series et narratio eadem fere est quae apud Iosephum libro Antiquitatum decimo tertio; sed stylus, hebraicis idiomatibus abundans, longe dispar." Consequently he ventures to conjecture that it may have been a Greek translation of the history of Hyrcanus mentioned at the end of the First Book of the Maccabees. Many modern writers have concurred in this conjecture. . . . But in view of the enumeration of the contents given by Sixtus, it seems to me there can hardly be a doubt that the book was simply a reproduction of Josephus, the style being changed perhaps for a purpose.'