

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. CONTENTS AND CHARACTERISTICS.

2 MACCABEES is the anonymous *ἐπιτομή* (ii. 26, 28) or digest of an earlier Maccabean history which had been composed by a Hellenistic Jew called Jason of Cyrene. The writer condensed Jason's five books into one. It is unnecessary to hold that his statements to this effect are simply a literary device, as though he were a Jewish Defoe who thus attempted to gain the fictitious authority of age for his own composition (so e.g. Koster in *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1878, 491 f., and Kamphausen). Had this been the case, the contents would have been more of a unity than they are, and the *lacunae* would have been fewer. Besides, more than once, the style (e.g. in xiii. 22 f.) suddenly corresponds to that of an historian who is hurriedly compressing as well as popularizing some earlier source. Upon the whole the materials, the contents, and the style of the book answer fairly to the writer's account of his own method and aims (in ii. 19-32, vi. 12-17, xv. 37-9). His work is an abridgement and at the same time more than an abridgement. He must have omitted large sections of Jason's treatise and summarized even what he took over, but, instead of preserving invariably either the language or the shape of his selections, he embellished the former to suit the popular taste and enlarged the latter, for the sake of edification, with pious amplifications of the miraculous element.

The outline of the epitome is thus characterized by a unity of religious feeling, rather than by any historical sequence. The introductory documents of i. 1-ii. 18, containing two letters, are followed by a naive preface (ii. 19-32), after which the epitome proper begins, with five successive pauses (iii. 40, vii. 42, x. 9, xiii. 26, xv. 37, perhaps after Jason). The only formal interruption is a short passage upon the doctrine of retribution as the clue to Jewish history (vi. 12-17). Judas Maccabaeus comes on the scene in v. 27, and, once his story is resumed (in viii. 1 f.), it runs on to the end, the only digression being the highly-coloured tale of Antiochus' death (ix. 1-29; x. 1-8 resumes the narrative dropped at viii. 33). The epilogue (xv. 37-9) echoes the prologue. Indeed the aim of even the prefixed letters corresponds to the general purpose of the book, which is to magnify the two festivals of the Hanukkah and Nicanor's day,¹ as the ceremonial glories which recall the heroism of Judas Maccabaeus.²

2 Maccabees is not a sequel to 1 Maccabees. It is, in Luther's words,³ a second book upon the Maccabean struggle, not the second book. As the period of its narrative (175-161 B.C.) coincides with part of 1 Maccabees, a comparison of the two books might be expected therefore to clear up the problem of their relative value, and furnish a standard for valuating the second. To some extent this expectation is realized. But critical opinion has swayed curiously between an undue depreciation of 2 Maccabees as an historical document and an exaggerated claim on its behalf. The former tendency is represented by modern critics like Willrich and (especially) Koster; the latter by Niese (*Kritik der beiden Makkabäerbücher*, 1900), who not only succeeds in vindicating the trustworthiness of the book at several points, but attempts to prove that it is older and more authentic than 1 Maccabees—an attempt which has failed to carry conviction (cp. e.g. the articles of Lévi in *Revue des études juives*, 1901, 222-30, Abrahams in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1901, 508-19, Kamphausen in *Theolog. Literaturzeitung*, 1901, 287-90, and Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der kgl. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1905, pp. 117-63). The parallel narratives of the two books are as follow:—

¹ On the improbability of any connexion between the Purim festival of the book of Esther and Nicanor's day see L. B. Paton's 'Esther' (*Intern. Crit. Comm.*), pp. 78 f.

² Cp. Hochfeld in *ZATW*, 1902, pp. 264-84, who emphasizes, after Geiger, the Pharisaic interests and methods of the writer.

³ 'Man wolt es denn heissen ein anders buch und nicht das ander buch Maccabeorum, alium vel alienum scilicet non secundum.'

II MACCABEES

1 Macc.

- Accession of Antiochus Epiphanes: i. 10.
 Gymnasium, &c., introduced in Jerusalem: i. 11-15.
 Expedition of Antiochus against Egypt: i. 16-19.
 Antiochus plunders Jerusalem: i. 20-8.
 His royal commissioner completes secularization of Jerusalem: i. 29 f.
 The Maccabees leave Jerusalem: ii. 1 f.
 Hellenizing decree of Antiochus brought by messengers to Jerusalem: temple profaned and pagan customs established: i. 41-59.
 Jewish mothers and their children¹ killed: i. 60-1.
 Jews massacred for keeping sabbath: i. 29-38.
 Jews martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh: i. 62 f.
 Mattathias and his sons refuse to sacrifice: ii. 15-26.
 Mattathias organizes a revolt: ii. 27 f.
 Judas Maccabaeus succeeds Mattathias: ii. 49-70.
 Successful revolt of Judas: iii. 1-9.
 He defeats Apollonius and Seron: iii. 10-26.
 Lysias commissioned by Antiochus to exterminate the Jews: iii. 27 f.
 Lysias commissions Ptolemaeus, Nicanor, and Gorgias to devastate Judaea: iii. 38 f.
 Slave-dealers join expedition: iii. 41.
 Mustering of Jews: iii. 42-60.
 Withdrawal of some: iii. 55-6.
 Defeat of Gorgias: iv. 1-25.
 Defeat of Lysias²: iv. 26-35.
 Entry into Jerusalem: iv. 36-7.
 Purification of temple: iv. 38-51.
 Celebration of Hanukka-feast: iv. 52-61.
 Judas subdues Idumaeans, Baeanites, Ammonites under Timotheus: v. 1-8.
 Judas subdues pagans under Timotheus in Gilead, Galilee, &c.: v. 9-54.
 Gorgias defeats Joseph and Azarias outside Jamnia: v. 55-62.

2 Macc.

- iv. 7: accession of Antiochus Epiphanes.
 iv. 7-8: sacerdotal intrigues of Jason.
 iv. 9-17: gymnasium, &c., introduced in Jerusalem.
 iv. 18-22: fresh intrigues of Jason.
 v. 23-50: high-priesthood of Menelaus.
 v. 1: expedition¹ of Antiochus against Egypt.
 v. 2-10: intrigues and death of Jason.
 v. 11-21: Antiochus plunders Jerusalem.
 v. 22 f.: Apollonius, his deputy, completes the work.
 v. 27: Judas Maccabaeus and his followers leave Jerusalem.
 vi. 1-9: Athenian commissioner of Antiochus has temple profaned and pagan customs established.
 vi. 10: two Jewish mothers and their children² killed.
 vi. 11: Jews burnt for keeping sabbath.
 vi. 18-31: Eleazar martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh.
 vii. 1-42: mother and seven sons martyred for refusing to eat swine's flesh.³
 viii. 1-7: successful revolt of Judas.
 viii. 8 f.: Ptolemaeus, Nicanor, and Gorgias commissioned to devastate Judaea.
 viii. 10-11: slave-dealers join expedition.
 viii. 12-23a: mustering of Jews.
 viii. 12 f.: withdrawal of some.
 viii. 23b-29: defeat of Nicanor.
 viii. 30: defeat of Timotheus and Bacchides.
 viii. 31 f.: entry into Jerusalem.
 ix. 1-28: miserable death of Antiochus.
 x. 1-5: purification of temple.
 x. 5 f.: celebration of Hanukka-feast.
 x. 9-11: accession of Antiochus Eupator.
 x. 15 f.: Judas⁴ defeats Idumaeans, Timotheus, &c.

¹ This invasion of Egypt by Antiochus is not 'second' to the preliminary march south in iv. 21 (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 297-8), but the second of the campaigns against Egypt (cp. Dan. xi. 25 f., which agrees better with 1 Maccabees), the first of which (170 B.C.) was really followed by the attack upon Jerusalem.

² The question of circumcision.

³ The earliest martyrology—an important tradition preserved by Jason, though the presence of the king at the tortures, even if the scene is transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch, is dramatic rather than historical.

⁴ The epitomist (xi. 1-12) not only transfers this to the next reign but embellishes it in order to glorify the success of Judas. On the other hand, he dates the death of Antiochus too early. Whether the one error led to the other, and, if so, which was primary, it is impossible to determine.

⁵ These wars on the neighbours of the Jews may have lasted longer than 1 Maccabees implies, and it is even probable that some details which the epitomist has supplied in xii. 1 f. are to be credited, but Niese (pp. 55-60) is not justified in proceeding to set aside the fact that they began before the death of Antiochus. At his death the king had only heard 1 Macc. vi. 3-8 of the Jewish rebellion as recorded up to iv. 61, but this does not imply that the Jews had not already embroiled themselves with the surrounding tribes. The motive assigned in 1 Macc. v. 1 for the rising of these tribes is perfectly natural, and is not to be explained as a mere unhistorical echo of Neh. iv. 1.

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1 Macc.

Judas subdues Edomites and Philistines: v. 63-8.
Miserable death of Antiochus: vi. 1-16.
Accession of Antiochus Eupator: vi. 17.
Judas attacks citadel of Jerusalem: vi. 18 f.

Lysias and Eupator invade Judaea: vi. 28-54.
Lysias concludes a treaty of peace: vi. 55-63.
Accession of Demetrius I: vii. 1-4.
Alcimus installed high-priest by Bacchides: vii. 5-22.

Nicanor's mission, attempt to seize Judas by treachery, threats against temple, defeat and death: vii. 23-47.

Institution of feast: vii. 48-50.

2 Macc.

xi. 1-12: defeat of Lysias.
xi. 13 f.: Lysias arranges terms of peace.
xii. 1 f.: Judas punishes Joppa and Jamnia, &c., defeats pagans under Timotheus¹ in Gilead, &c.
xiii. 1 f.: Lysias and Eupator invade Judaea.
xiii. 22 f.: treaty of peace.
xiv. 1-2: accession of Demetrius I.
xiv. 3 f.: Alcimus to be re-instated high-priest by Nicanor.²
xiv. 15-xv. 35: Nicanor's mission, friendliness to Judas, attempt to seize him, threats against temple, defeat and death.
xv. 36: institution of feast.

A broad survey of the two documents puts it beyond reasonable doubt that upon religious questions like the resurrection of the body (e.g. vii. 11, xiv. 46) and the prohibition of warfare on the sabbath (viii. 27, xv. 1 f.), 1 Maccabees is decidedly more primitive than 2 Maccabees. It is probably the latter interest, among other things, which led the anti-Hasmonean epitomist to omit all reference to Mattathias (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 39 f.; also ii. 49 with its absence of any allusion to the resurrection). Niese (pp. 45 f.) attempts to turn the force of this argument against the accuracy and impartiality of 2 Maccabees by ascribing the introduction and prominence of Mattathias in 1 Maccabees to tendency—i.e. to the desire of glorifying the later Hasmoneans through Simon his son. But the probabilities are against this theory. It is incredible that Jewish traditions went wrong in glorifying the rôle of Mattathias; 'the Rabbinic tradition (which is independent of both books of the Maccabees) recognized Mattathias as the principal figure in the struggle for religious liberty' (Abrahams, *op. cit.* 516), and this consideration corroborates the impression that it is the omission of Mattathias in the epitome, not his rôle in 1 Maccabees, which is secondary.

The chronological disorder of 2 Maccabees, as has been already noted, further tells against the hypothesis of its superiority to 1 Maccabees. The first part of the epitome closes with the feast of the purification (x. 1-8), the second with the feast of Nicanor's day (xv. 36). The former feast is apparently³ dated after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; but there is really no sound reason for doubting that 1 Maccabees has preserved the correct tradition in the reverse order of these events (iv. 36 f., vi. 1 f.) as well as in its description of the manner in which Antiochus died, while the entire account of Lysias' subsequent actions (in 2 Macc. xi. 1 f.) shows that the writer, or the sources on which he relied, must have confused the two defeats of Lysias. It is not possible, with Niese, to establish the historical inferiority of 1 Maccabees on the basis of these incidents.

The historicity of the Roman correspondence in xi. 34 f. is also supposed to be corroborated not only by the fact that, in keeping with contemporary usage, the cognomen is omitted (Niese, 31), but by the likelihood that the Romans would no more hesitate to negotiate with the Jews against Demetrius at this juncture than they hesitated to deal with Timarchus who was in arms against the same opponent (Diod. Sic. xxxi. 27 a; cp. Niese 63 f., 88 f., and, for a more cautious statement, Laqueur, *op. cit.*, pp. 30 f.). Still, these considerations do not amount to more than the possibility that such documents (as e.g. the letters from Antiochus III in Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii) were composed at an early period by some Alexandrian writer who possessed good knowledge of the situation. At most they may reflect an historical nucleus, but in their present form the epistles of xi. 16 f. are almost certainly manufactured documents, like those in i-ii.

Here, as elsewhere, Niese's arguments and researches prove that the sources (i.e. especially Jason) used by the epitomist evince a knowledge of the age which is hardly likely to have been possessed

¹ An instance of the compiler's carelessness: he had already killed Timotheus (x. 37).

² Even Niese (pp. 76 f.) admits that 1 Maccabees at this point is plainly superior to the self-contradictions and patriotic evasions of 2 Maccabees. It is the inferior character of xii f. which has led some critics (from Grotius onwards) to suspect that Jason is no longer used.

³ 2 Maccabees, fusing the missions of Bacchides and Nicanor, obliterates the real course of events, but gives a not incredible account of the latter's policy and temper.

⁴ Laqueur (*Kritische Untersuchungen zum zweiten Makkabäerbuch*, 1904, pp. 30 f.), arguing that the Antiochus of xi. 22 f. was originally Antiochus Epiphanes, not Antiochus V, proposes to transfer x. 1-8 and xi to their true position before viii. 30 f. But this is a *tour de force* of criticism.

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by a Jewish writer after the second century B.C. There are vivid touches which are more than circumstantial, and independent notices which point upon the whole to the information of eye-witnesses and contemporaries behind some of Jason's narratives. Upon the other hand, 2 Maccabees exaggerates numbers generally (cp. e.g. xiv. 1 with 1 Macc. vii. 1) and horrors invariably, abounds in confused and contradictory notices (cp. e.g. on i. 17, ix. 18, xi. 5, xiii. 23), and is repeatedly unhistorical (see on iv. 21, ix. 2, 9, x. 11, xiii. 22, xv. 33), besides containing some references (e.g. to the vicarious suffering of the martyrs, vi. 28, and to sacrifices for the dead, xii. 43) which at any rate suggest that it is less primitive than its predecessor.¹ The result is that Niese must be pronounced more successful in establishing afresh the historicity of some details which are peculiar to 2 Maccabees, in opposition to ultra-scepticism, than in depreciating 1 Maccabees in favour of the general trustworthiness of the epitome. The epitomist, in fact, has the artistic temperament as well as the pious aim of edification; on both grounds he is naturally careless of the exact accuracy which an historian pursues, and satisfied if he can produce his effects in a picturesque manner. The relative position of the two Maccabean books may be, therefore, summed up in Wellhausen's verdict (*Geschichte*², p. 246): 'Niese's criticism of the two Maccabean books has taught me a great deal, but it has not convinced me that the second book is older than the first and that it deserves preference. . . . We must not indeed look at everything through the spectacles of the first book. Nevertheless we have no alternative but to make it our basis.'

§ 2. MSS. AND VERSIONS.

Second ² Maccabees (Μακκαβαίων Β, Machabaeorum liber secundus), like 1 Maccabees, is preserved in A and V, as well as in a number of minuscules. Probably owing to the influence of Athanasius, who objected to the Maccabaeon books, it was omitted from the Ethiopic version (Rahlfs, *ZATW*, 1908, pp. 63-4). The Syriac version is paraphrastic and of less value than in the case of 1 Maccabees. On the other hand, in addition to the pre-Hieronymian Old Latin or Vulgate version, there is a version reproduced in Codex Ambrosianus E. 76 inf. (cp. A. Peyron's *Ciceronis orationum pro Scauro, pro Tullio et in Clodium fragmenta inedita*, 1824, pp. 73-117), and yet another in Codex Complutensis (cp. S. Berger's *Notices et Extraits de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, 1895, pp. 147-52). Four fragments (iv. 39-44, 46-v. 2, v. 3-14, x. 12-26, x. 27-xi. 1) recently published by Mercati (*Revue Biblique*, 1902, 184-211, 'Frammenti Urbinati d'un' antica versione latina del libro II de' Maccabei editi ed illustrati') seem to be connected with the Peyron-text; iii. 13-iv. 4 and iv. 10-14, which also occur in a fragmentary Breslau MS. (eighth or ninth century), are now published by W. Molsdorf in *ZATW* (1904, pp. 240-50). It is thus from the Latin versions, as representing varied types, that most help is to be gained in the determination of the text. Still, the extant Greek text has been so badly preserved at certain points, that neither the aid of the versions nor of conjecture is sufficient to yield any sure confidence that we can have a text before us which approximates to the original.

§ 3. DATE.

The date of the epitome, and inferentially of Jason, cannot be fixed except within approximate limits. It has indeed been argued by Niese (see below) that, as i. 1-ii. 18 represent a composition of the author in 125-124 B.C. (i. 7, 10 a), this will date the entire epitome. But the integrity of the introductory section must be abandoned (see below); i. 10 a only dates (or professes to date) the particular letter to which it is appended; and, even on Niese's showing, the loose connexion between the introduction and ii. 19 f. would invalidate any argument from the date of the former to that of the latter. Furthermore, even supposing that 1 Macc. xvi. 23-4 formed part of the original work, these verses do not necessarily presuppose a date subsequent to the death of Hyrcanus (cp. Torrey in *Ency. Bib.* 2859 f., as against Niese on the one hand and Destinon, Wellhausen, and Abrahams on the other), so that 1 Maccabees need not be assigned to a period (after 104 B.C.) subsequent to the supposed date of the epitome (when the latter, or its source, is placed shortly after the last event which it records). The utmost that can be said, with any degree of certainty, as opposed to Niese on the one hand and to Willrich (*Judaica*, 1900, pp. 131 f.) on the other, is that the *terminus ad quem* is fixed by the use of 2 Maccabees not only in Fourth Maccabees and the Epistle to the Hebrews (especially xi. 35 f.) but in Philo (*quod omnis probus liber*, § 13), while the *terminus a quo* for its source is 161 B.C., the date of Nicanor's defeat by Judas (xv. 1-36)—although, if xv. 36 is an

¹ The Pharisaic author of 2 Maccabees may scatter angel appearances and surprising wonders over his romantic work. But the pious contemporaries . . . of the Maccabean brethren were content with the providential wonders of history' (Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, 344 f.).

² The first occurrence of the title is in Eus. *Praep. Euangel.* viii. 9 ἡ δευτέρα τῶν Μακκαβαίων.

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allusion to the book of Esther (ix. 21), the source of the epitome can hardly have been written earlier than c. 130 B.C., while the epitome itself must be later than 125 B.C. Jason's work may be dated, therefore, roughly after 130 B.C.; the epitome probably falls not later than the first half of the first century B.C. The internal evidence, as compared with that of 1 Maccabees, offers remarkably few reliable clues to its distance from the period of its subject. The predilection for the supernatural in the shape of apparitions (ἐπιφάνειαι, ii. 21), prodigies, and visions, vouchsafed from heaven to its favourites in need, is neither unexampled in Greek historians—indeed the apparition of the two youths (iii. 6 f.) recalls the cult of the Dioscuri—nor is it necessarily any proof of late composition. Legends spring up early on such soil, especially at some distance from the scene, and popular tales of the miraculous (so far as they go back to the sources) may be contemporaneous in the main with the events which they embellish (cp. Niese, pp. 34 f.). But the matter-of-fact air which pervades 1 Maccabees, in spite of its tendencies and omissions, invests it with superiority as an historical document to 2 Maccabees, and superiority here is practically equivalent to priority.

There is no obvious reason for conjecturing (so e.g. Kesters recently) that the latter is deliberately and primarily an attack on the former, although there is perhaps as little for suspecting that the epitomist (not Jason) was not familiar with the earlier document.¹ In any case, he had a fine, if uncritical, enthusiasm for the heroes (private as well as public) and the principles of the Maccabean rising; more specifically, as his pages prove, he was an Alexandrian Jew, a rhetorical adherent of the Pharisees, who wrote, probably during the third or fourth generation afterwards, in order to foster reverence for the temple in Jerusalem and also strictness in the observance of the Maccabean festivals as a bond of union between the Jews of Palestine and Egypt. If the anti-Hasmonean bias of the book is emphasized, a more precise *terminus a quo* for its composition might be found c. 106 B.C., when the Pharisees broke with the Hasmoneans (so Hochfeld). But this is not inevitable: 2 Maccabees might have been compiled shortly before that date, under stress of the growing antagonism, as naturally as after it.

§ 4. INTEGRITY AND COMPOSITE NATURE OF THE TEXT.

2 Maccabees, says Luther in his brief preface, appears to be 'zusammen geflickt aus vielen büchern'. This is evident (a) in i. 1-ii. 18, where some critics, like Grätz ('Das Sendschreiben der Palästiner an die ägyptisch-jüdischen Gemeinden wegen der Feier der Tempelweihe', in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wiss. des Judentums*, 1877, pp. 1-16, 49-72), N. Brüll ('Das Sendschreiben der Palästiner an die Alexandriner', in *Jahrbücher für jüdische Geschichte und Literatur*, 1887, pp. 30-40), and B. Niese (*op. cit.* pp. 10 f.), have contended that there is only one letter, opening properly at i. 10 after the introductory preface of i. 1-9, while others, e.g. Bruston (*Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1890, pp. 110 f.), Willrich (*Juden und Griechen vor der makkab. Erhebung*, 1895, pp. 76 f.), and Laqueur (*op. cit.* pp. 52 f.), have detected no fewer than three (in i. 1-7 a, 7 b-10 a, 10 b-ii. 18); the majority, however, rightly distinguish only two, in i. 1-10 a and i. 10 b-ii. 18, although opinion is still seriously divided upon the precise extent, date, and trustworthiness of both (cp. generally the older pamphlets by F. Schlunkes: *Epistolae quae secundo Machabaeorum libro cap. I. v. 1-9 legitur explicatio*, 1844, *Difficiliorum epistolae quae II Mach. I. 10 ad II. 18 legitur locorum explicatio*, 1847, with Kesters' essay in *Theol. Tijdschrift*, 1898, 68 f., C. Torrey's article in *Zeitschrift für die alttestam. Wissenschaft*, 1900, pp. 225-42, and H. Herkenne's full monograph, in Bardenheuer's *Biblische Studien*, viii. 4, on *Die Briefe zu Beginn des Zweiten Makkabäerbuches*, 1904). It is fair to start from the likelihood that, just as in xi. 21, 33, 38, the date of the first letter is placed at the end (i. 10 a). The date in ver. 6 (i. e. 144-143 B.C.) refers to a previous communication, to which the writer (or editor) awkwardly refers in order to lend verisimilitude to his present production as one item of a correspondence between the Palestinian and Egyptian Jews. The date assigned to this later epistle is 124 B.C. Those who join i. 10 a to the following letter are involved in the double awkwardness not only of beginning the letter with the date but of placing a full stop after *ἐν* in i. 7 (so Torrey), or else (cp. D. M. Sluys, *De Machabaeorum libris I et II quaestiones*, 1904, pp. 1-79) of taking i. 2-6 as an interpolation. The second letter apparently comes from a different source; it is undated, except generally after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the writers precede the receivers in the address (i. 10 b, c). But the object is the same (i. 18 a, ii. 16 f. = i. 9)—to bring out the historical and religious significance of the Maccabean feast of the Hanukka. Both epistles, as they stand, are specimens of the Alexandrian epistolography which was fond of producing such documents for purpose of edification. At the same time, the language of i. 18 a (*μέλλουσες ἄγειν κτλ*) and of ii. 16 (*μέλλουσες οὐκ ἄγειν κτλ*) is

¹ So e.g. Montet (*Essai sur les Origines des Partis Saducéen et Pharisien*, 1883, pp. 13 f.).

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a watermark of interpolation, the intervening paragraphs being a legendary insertion based on the tradition of s. 3 and perhaps on Epist. Jerem. 4-6. The retrospective allusion to Judas in ii. 14 is incompatible with the position assigned him in i. 10 b, but it fits in with the aim of setting Judas within the great succession of Moses, Solomon, Jeremiah, and Nehemiah; he ranks with Nehemiah as a collector of the sacred scriptures, and with the others as a transmitter of the holy fire which was essential to the sacrifices of the temple.

Whether authentic or not, these letters did not belong to the Jason-source, as the position of the preface (ii. 19-32) and the discrepancy between the two accounts of the death of Antiochus (i. 12 f. and ix. 1 f.) are enough to show, but there is scarcely sufficient evidence to indicate decisively whether both came from the same pen, and if so, whether it was the pen of the epitomist or of another. As the insertion (i. 18 b-ii. 15) is in all likelihood his own work, the two letters which form the framework may have been found by him in some other source and prefixed to his abridgement proper, instead of being placed chronologically in the narrative. It is a further question whether he translated one (the second, according to Ewald's *History of the Jews*, Eng. Tr. v, pp. 467 f.; the first, according to Schlünkes) or both (so e.g. Grätz, Brill, and Torrey) from the original Hebrew (Aramaic). Upon the whole, it seems difficult to give a satisfactory answer in the negative, with any positive evidence, to such a query, although the rest of the book was undoubtedly written in Greek ('Machabaeorum . . . secundus Graecus est; quod ex ipsa quoque φράσει probari potest', Jerome's *Prologus Galcatus*).

(b) This opens up the intricate problem of the sources which lay before the epitomist. Without refusing to deny that he had access to a Jason-source, we may conjecture that not only in i. 1-ii. 18 but in the body of the epitome (e.g. s. 32 f. and xii. 2 f.) he occasionally employed traditions and even documents from other quarters,¹ e.g. (i. 10) from the famous Alexandrian Jew Aristobulus (cp. Schürer's *Geschichte*, iii, pp. 512 f.). The conjecture, however, cannot be worked out with any approach to definiteness. Büchler, in his important *Die Tobitiden u. die Onitiden im II Makkabäerbuche*, 8c. (1899), pp. 277 f., 396-8, and Laqueur (*op. cit.* pp. 72-87) have recently elaborated precise theories of the use made respectively of Jason and of a supposed second source, involving frequent transpositions of material. The patent variations of style may lend some colour to the hypothesis that Jason is specially employed e.g. in viii. 1 f., and that throughout the writer is often an interpolator (e.g. in iii-v, cf. Büchler, pp. 277 f.) as well as an epitomizer. But as the available data (even e.g. in iv. 5-6 and viii. 20) are purely internal, they seldom enable us to check such theories, and the possibility—amounting to a probability—that Jason's large work already contained a variety of oral traditions counterbalances any attempt to run literary analysis into a confident scheme of results. Unfortunately we possess no independent clue to the character and scope of Jason's treatise. While the second book of τὰ Μακκαβαϊκά is an abridgement, it is not on the same footing as e.g. the *periochae* of the lost books of Livy. 2 Maccabees is neither a bare synopsis nor the summary of a summary; it is a literary composition, whose materials were selected from the original work of Jason. The latter's work has not survived, however, and even his personality is in dispute. He has been precariously identified (Herzfeld: *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1855, 445 f.) with the Jason of 1 Macc. viii. 17 (= the Judas² of 2 Macc. i. 10, ii. 14), and even more arbitrarily his Jewish nature has been denied (Sluys, *op. cit.* pp. 74 f.). The name (Ιάσων Κυρηναῖος) has been found in an Egyptian temple of Thothmes III (cp. Sayce in *Revue des études grecques*, 1894, p. 297), apparently dating from the third century B.C., but, while this does not necessarily tell against a Jew, the individual need not, on the other hand, be the author of the epitomist's source. His connexion with Cyrene would suggest a more accurate knowledge of Palestinian sites and affairs than the epitome reveals: its references to the latter are less reliable than in the case of the Syrian realm.

§ 5. AUTHORSHIP.

While the relation of the book to 1 Maccabees resembles on the whole that of the books of Chronicles to the books of Kings, in so far as a definitely religious pragmatism controls the epitomist, the affinities of the latter are with the Pharisaic type of Jewish piety. He lays emphasis e.g. upon legal praxis, the divine providence, recompense, the temple cultus, the sabbath, angels, and the resurrection. The last-named feature is bound up with the martyr-stories (c. vi-vii) which have floated the book into wide popularity throughout Christianity as well as throughout Judaism. They are told with a detailed ghastliness which jars on modern taste. Probably 'the

¹ It is impossible to ascertain whether an extra-Biblical touch like viii. 19 f. was due to the author or to Jason.

² Attempts have often been made to identify this Judas not with Judas Maccabaeus but with some other Judas (so e.g. Ewald and Niese), or to emend the text into τὸν Ἰουδαῖον or Ἰουδαῖος (Syr., so e.g. Torrey), or Ἰουδᾶς Ἀμαρτίβουλος Ὀνίς (Sluys), but in vain (cp. Grimm 36-7, Herkenne 65).

INTRODUCTION

stories had already clothed themselves for the writer in a halo of legend, and he tricks them out in that poor rhetoric, that stifled literary jargon, which was the curse of third-rate authors in the Hellenistic world; but if you can penetrate through this repellent medium, you can still touch an anguish that was once real and quivering' (E. Bevan, *Jerusalem under the High Priests*, 1904, p. 83). The anonymous author belongs to Alexandrian rather than to Palestinian Judaism, but beyond this general inference it is not possible to pass with any confidence to theories, for example, like the ingenious but unconvincing guess of Büchler (*op. cit.* pp. 396 f.), that the author or final editor was a Hellenistic Jew who reversed the polemic of the original (written by a Samaritan in Egypt) against the temple in Jerusalem.

§ 6. INFLUENCE ON LATER LITERATURE.

(a) The use of 2 Maccabees in Philo¹ and in 4 Maccabees (see above, § 3) is clearer than the evidence for Josephus' acquaintance with it; none of the latter's relevant passages (*Antiq.* XII. v. 1 = 2 Macc. iv. 1 f., XII. v. 5 = 2 Macc. vi. 2, XII. ix. 7 = 2 Macc. xiii. 3-8, XII. x. 1 = 2 Macc. xiv. 1) makes such a conjecture necessary. More is to be said for the hypothesis that the epitome is echoed in the *Assumptio Moysi* (cp. v. 1-4 = 2 Macc. iv. 11 f., v. 8, &c.; viii. 3 f. = 2 Macc. vi. 4 f., 11, 28, &c.; ix. 1 f. = 2 Macc. vi. 18 f.; ix. 6 = 2 Macc. vi. 11, vii. 2, x. 6, &c.). The edifying narratives of the martyrs in especial led to haggadic developments in Jewish literature (cp. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, pp. 130 f.), and also (b) in early Christianity where the Maccabean martyrs were eventually canonized² and accorded a yearly festival (August 1st) in the Greek and Latin churches (cp. Maas in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte u. Wiss. des Judentums*, 1900, pp. 145-56). This tallies with the early and widespread diffusion of the book, from the period of the epistle to the Hebrews down to Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Origen, Chrysostom, and Jerome. Portions of it are read in the Roman Breviary (for October).

§ 7. THEOLOGY.

The later popularity of 2 Maccabees is due as much to the support found in it by the Roman Church for dogmas like prayers for the dead (xii. 43, 45) and the intercession of the saints (xv. 11-16) as to the martyr-stories or the miraculous and legendary incidents (*ἐπιφάνειαι*). Otherwise, the theological ideas resemble those of the Pharisaic school during the latter half of the second century B.C. The doctrine of retribution and chastening is naturally worked out with particular care (vi. 12-17). The worst punishment is to be left severely alone by God, as is the case with pagan nations; the Jews, on the contrary, are chastened and thus prevented from lapsing into the excesses of sin which draw down upon their neighbours (individuals as well as nations) the shattering penalties of God even in this life (cp. e.g. iv. 38, v. 9-10, ix. 5-6, xiii. 4 f., xv. 32 f.). The sufferings of the martyrs, again, although due to the sins of their nation, avail to expiate God's just anger (vii. 33-8) on their fellows. After death, only the righteous rise, and rise with their bodies (vii. 11, 22 f., xiv. 46) to life eternal, i.e. apparently to participation in the messianic kingdom (vii. 29, 33, 37, xiv. 15) on earth. The similarity of this conception to that of Eth. En. lxxxiii-xc, where the scene of the messianic kingdom is also on earth, suggests that 2 Maccabees, in its eschatological outlook at this point, 'belongs essentially to the second century' (R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*, 1899, p. 230). The outlook on the future, as might be expected from the nature of the subject, has nothing of the catholic hope which dominated the best of the O.T. prophets.

§ 8. SPECIAL LITERATURE.

In addition to essays and monographs already cited: (a) critical editions of text in editions of LXX by Holmes and Parsons (*Vetus Testamentum Graece*, v, 1827), Fritzsche (*Libri Apocryphi Vet. Testam. Graece*, 1871), Tischendorf (*Vet. Test. Graece*, 6th ed., 1880), and H. B. Swete (*The Old Testament in Greek*, iii, 1894); (b) annotated editions by Grotius (*Annotationes in Vet. Testamentum*, 1644), Grimm (*Kurzerfassendes exeget. Handbuch zu den Apocryphen des AT*, 1857), Keil (Leipzig, 1857), Reuss (*La Bible*, vii, 1879), E. C. Bissell (*The Apocrypha of the O.T.*, 1880, New York, pp. 550-614), W. R. Churton (*Canon. and Uncan. Scriptures*, pp. 481 f.), Rawlinson (*Speaker's Comm.*, 1888, London), Kamphausen (*Kautzsch's Apocryphen u. Pseudopigraphen des AT*, 1901), and Knabenbauer (in *Cursus sac. s. Comment. in Vet. Test.*, 1908); (c) general literature, Westcott in Smith's *Dict. of Bible* (ii, 174-8), Welte in *Wetzer und Welte's Kirchenlexikon* (viii, 418-22), André's *Les Apocryphes de l'Ancien Testament* (Florence, 1903, pp. 86-115), Schürer's *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (iii, 1909, pp. 482-9), Fairweather in Hastings' *Dict. of Bible* (iii, 189-92), Torrey in *Encycl. Biblica* (2869-79), C. F. Kent in *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives* (pp. 38 f., 387 f.), Bertholet in Budde's *Geschichte d. althebraischen Literatur* (pp. 345-50), and F. Bechtel in *Catholic Encyclopedia* (ix, 497-8).

¹ Cp. Lucius, *Der Essenismus* (1881), pp. 36-9.

² Cp. the Acts of the Christian Felicitas and her Seven Sons, a variation of the same theme. The scene of the Maccabean martyrdom was transferred from Jerusalem to Antioch, where a basilica was erected in their honour.

³ The book's angelology is allied to a belief in dreams (xv. 11).

THE SECOND BOOK OF MACCABEES

I. 1-10a. *First document.*

1 To the brethren, the Jews in Egypt, greeting. The brethren, the Jews in Jerusalem and
2 throughout the land of Judaea, wish you perfect peace; yea, may God do good unto you, and
3 remember his covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, his faithful servants; may he give you
4 all a heart to worship him and do his pleasure with hearty courage and a willing soul; may he give
5 you an open heart for his law and for his statutes, and make peace, and hearken to your supplica-
6 tions; may he be reconciled to you, and not forsake you in time of evil. Such, then, are our
7 prayers for you in this place. In the reign of Demetrius, in the hundred threescore and ninth year,
8 we the Jews have already written unto you in the extreme tribulation that came upon us during
9 these years, from the time that Jason and his company revolted from the holy land and the kingdom,
10 setting the porch on fire and shedding innocent blood: but we besought the Lord, and were heard;
11 we offered sacrifice and made the meal offering, we lighted the lamps, and set forth the shewbread.
12 See that ye keep the days of the feast of tabernacles in the month Chisleu. Written in the hundred
13 fourscore and eighth year.

I. 10b-II. 18. *Second document.*

They that are in Jerusalem and they that are in Judaea and the senate and Judas, unto
Aristobulus, king Ptolemy's teacher, who is also of the stock of the anointed priests, and unto the
11 Jews that are in Egypt, send greeting and health. Having been saved by God out of great perils,
12 we render great thanks, as befits us to thank **One who arrayeth himself** against a king. For He
13 flung away into Persia those who had arrayed themselves against the holy city. For when the leader
14 arrived, with a force that seemed irresistible, they were cut to pieces in the temple of Nanaea by
15 the treachery of Nanaea's priests. Antiochus, on the pretext of marrying her, came into the place,
16 he and his Friends who were with him, that they might take a great part of the treasures by way
17 of dowry; but when the priests of the Nanaean had set the treasures forth, and he had passed
18 with a small company inside the wall of the precincts, they shut to the temple when Antiochus had
19 entered: then opening the secret door in the panelled ceiling, they threw stones and struck down
20 the leader, and hewing the company in pieces threw their heads to those who were outside. Blessed
21 for all things be our God who gave the impious doers for a prey. Whereas we are now about to
celebrate the purification of the temple in the month Chisleu, on the five and twentieth day, we

1. 7. **already written**, i.e. referring to some previous communication. The alternative (see *Introd.* § 4) is to take the perfect (*γγράψαμεν*) in the sense of the epistolary aorist (*ἐγγράψαμεν*, ii. 16), and render: *we write*, as if the context dated the present letter.

extreme tribulation (*ἐν τῇ θλίψει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀσπείῳ*), i.e. that under Demetrius (see 1 Macc. xi. 52). The hendiadys of the exaggeration is too obvious to justify Herkenne's (pp. 42-4) conjecture of *ἀλγῆ* (= warlike attack) for *ἀσπεί* (cp. iv. 13).

the kingdom, i.e. the theocracy; Jason's apostasy is described in iv. 13 f. The following words are a loose summary of the outrages subsequent to Jason's movement, and of the restoration under Judas (1 Macc. iv. 38, 50 f.).

9. **see that ye keep**: i.e. in Egypt, as we do in the Holy Land; or, by sending representatives to Jerusalem. The Maccabean festival of the temple's reconsecration was called either *τὰ ἑγκαίνια* (cp. John x. 22) or *ἡ ἀκροπομπή* (John vii. 2) *τῶν Νασαίων*, being celebrated for the same time and almost on the same lines (cp. 2 Macc. x. 6-7) as the feast of tabernacles, only during Chisleu (December) instead of during Tisri (October).

11. **arrayeth himself**. Reading, with Bruston and Herkenne, *παρὰσσομένην* (cp. Zech. xiv. 3, LXX) for *παρὰσσομένην*.

13. **in the temple of Nanaea**. i.e. the temple in Elymais of Artemis or Aphrodite (cp. Polyb. xxxi. 2; Josephus, *Ant.* xli. ix. 4, and *Appian. Syr.* 66) as identified with the Persian goddess Anaea (Anaitis), or of the Babylonian Nana.

14. **take . . . by way of dowry**. For this diplomatic trick see Seneca's *Orat. Suas.* 1, where Antony agrees to marry Athené at Athens for a dowry of a thousand talents. Antiochus is said to have tried a similar device at Hierapolis in Syria.

17. **gave the impious doers for a prey**. In 187 B.C. Antiochus III lost his life in an attempt to plunder a shrine of Bel in the Elymaean hills, and Antiochus VII (Sidetes) perished, in 129 B.C., in battle against the Parthians; *ἡμιστομενὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκείνῃ* (*Appian. Syr.* 68). The writer of the letter may have been so barren in imagination as to have embellished the death of this king (so recently Torrey and Niese) with legendary traits drawn from the fate of Antiochus Epiphanes, but it is the latter who is (erroneously) meant.

II MACCABEES 1. 18—2. 4

deem it our duty to inform you, that you too may keep the feast of tabernacles.—Now (concerning) the fire, on the occasion of Nehemiah offering sacrifices, after he had built both the temple and the altar (, you must know that) when our fathers were to be led into the land of Persia, the godly priests of that time took some of the fire of the altar, and hid it secretly in the hollow of a sort of empty cistern, wherein they made it sure, so that the place was unknown to all men. Well, after many years, when it pleased God, Nehemiah was sent on a mission by the king of Persia, and he sent in quest of the fire the descendants of the priests who had hid it. When they announced that they had found no fire, but thick liquid, he commanded them to draw out some and bring it to him: and when the sacrifices had been duly placed (on the altar), Nehemiah commanded the priests to sprinkle the liquid both on the wood and on the sacrifices. When this was done, after some time had elapsed and the sun, formerly hidden in clouds, had shone out, there was kindled a great blaze, so that all men marvelled. And the priests offered prayer, while the sacrifice was being consumed,—priests and all, Jonathan leading and the rest saying it after him, as did Nehemiah. The following was the prayer: O Lord, Lord God, the creator of all things, who art terrible and strong and righteous and merciful, who alone art King and gracious, who alone suppliest every need, who alone art righteous and almighty and eternal, thou that savest Israel out of all evil, who madest the fathers thine elect, and didst sanctify them: accept this sacrifice for all thy people Israel, guard thine own Portion, and consecrate it. Gather together our dispersion, set at liberty them that are in bondage among the heathen, look upon them that are despised and abhorred, and let the heathen know that thou art our God. Torment them that oppress us and in arrogancy shamefully treat us. Plant thy people in thy holy place, even as Moses said. Then the priests sang the hymns. Now as soon as the sacrifice was consumed, Nehemiah ordered the rest of the liquid to be poured on large stones. And when this was done, a flame was kindled; but, when the light from the altar shone over against it, it was extinguished. And when the matter became known, and it was told the king of the Persians, that, in the place where the captive priests had hid the fire, there had appeared the liquid with which Nehemiah and his company purified the sacrifice, then the king, after verifying the matter, had the place made a sacred enclosure. And the king exchanged gifts with those in his favour. Nehemiah and his company called this thing Nephthar, which is by interpretation, Cleansing; but most people call it Nephthai.

2. It is also found in the records, that Jeremiah the prophet commanded them that were carried away to take some of the fire, as has been already noted: and how that the prophet charged them that were carried away, after giving them the law, that they should not forget the statutes of the Lord, neither be led astray in their minds, when they saw images of gold and silver, and the adornment thereof. And with other such words exhorted he them, that the law should not depart from their heart. This also was in the writing, that the prophet, being warned by God, commanded the tabernacle and ark to accompany him, and that he went away to the mountain which Moses had

18. **the feast of tabernacles.** Several critics (from Schlunkes and Grimm to Kisters and Kamphausen) supply *τὰς ἡμέρας* before *τῆς σκηνοπηγίας*, while Herkenne adds *ταύτα*. Something like *ταῦ ἀνεπαθήματα* or *δοκίματα* or *φαινόματα* is usually supposed, also, to have dropped out after *πυρὶ*. But if (as the Syriac version suggests) *πυρὶ* is read for *καί*, the text may be rendered as above (so Torrey). Here the long interpolation (i. 18 b—ii. 15) begins.

built. The *τ. ἰ. οἰκοδομήσαντες* (125, so Herkenne) for *οἰκοδομήσαντες* is an attempt to get rid of the unhistorical statement about Nehemiah, whose prestige is exaggerated in another direction in ii. 13.

20. **announced.** The meaningless *ἡμῖν* (to us) between *ἀναγγέλλων* and *μὴ* is rightly omitted by Rawlinson (with 64, 93, Syr.) as the result of dittography (*ἡμῖν* repeated from *ἀναγγέλλων* and then amended into *ἡμῖν*).

26. **thine own Portion.** Deut. xxxii. 9.

29. Cp. Baruch ii. 28—35.

31. **to be poured on.** This involves the reading of *καταχύν* (A, vg.) for *κατέχευ* or *κατασχύν*, and either the addition of *ἐπὶ* (or *εἰς*) before *λίθους* or the construction of *καταχύν* with a double accusative, but there is no more satisfactory explanation of a corrupt and obscure passage.

33—5. The writer appeals to the testimony of the pagan monarch, whose respectful attitude to the phenomenon of the fire—as befitted a Persian—adds glory to this Jewish portent.

35. **exchanged gifts, &c.** Reading, with V, *ἐχρίσαντο* after *αἷς*—a naive Oriental method of expressing pleasure at some happy occurrence (cp. Esth. ix. 19, 22; Apoc. John xi. 10).

36. **Nephthai.** An inflammable oil, like the modern naphtha, is in the writer's mind, but the etymology of the word is beyond recovery. The writer equates N. with *καθαρισμὸς*, and this is the point of the legend, which connects the discovery of the fiery liquid with the purification of the temple (i. 18). The least improbable line of explanation is that which connects the word with the Persian *naphtar*: *naphtar apamni* was a Zend epithet for the sacred elemental water (*aristur*), which possessed purifying qualities (cp. Benfey and Stern's *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, 1836, pp. 204 f.).

II. 1. Legend had no scruple in transforming a prophet who was radically indifferent, if not hostile, to the ritual of the temple into a pious conservative (cp. further, xv. 14).

II. MACCABEES 2. 5-32

- 5 climbed to view the inheritance of God. On reaching it Jeremiah found a cavernous chamber, in which he placed the tabernacle, and the ark, and the altar of incense; and he made fast the door.
6. 7 And some of his followers drew near in order to mark the road, but they could not find it. Now when Jeremiah came to know this, he blamed them, saying, Unknown shall the spot be until God
- 8 gather the people again together, and mercy come; then indeed shall the Lord disclose these things, and the glory of the Lord shall be seen, even the Cloud, as in the days of Moses it was visible, and
- 9 as when Solomon prayed that the Place might be consecrated with solemn splendour. It was also
- 10 narrated how he, in his wisdom, sacrificed at the consecration and completion of the temple; as Moses prayed to the Lord, and fire descended from heaven to consume the sacrifice, so Solomon also
- 11 prayed, and the fire descended and burned up the holocaust; [and Moses said, Because the sin
- 12 offering had not been eaten, it was consumed in like manner with the rest;] and Solomon kept the eight days.
- 13 These things were narrated also in the archives or memoirs of Nehemiah; as well as how he founded a library and collected the books about the kings and the prophets, and the books of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts. Even so did Judas collect for us all the writings which had
- 14 been scattered owing to the outbreak of war. They are still with us. So, if you need them, send some messengers to fetch them for you.
- 15 Seeing therefore that we are about to keep the purification, we write thus to you. You will do well,
- 16 then, to keep the days (of the festival). Now God, who saved all his people, and restored to all the
- 17 heritage, and the kingdom, and the priesthood, and the hallowing, even as he promised through the law,—in God have we hope, that he will speedily have mercy upon us, and gather us together from
- 18 under the (wide) heaven to the holy place: for he did deliver us out of great evils, and did purify the place.

II. 19-32. *The preface of the epitomist.*

- 19 Now the things concerning Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, and the purification of the great
- 20 temple, and the dedication of the altar, and further the wars against Antiochus Epiphanes and
- 21 Eupator his son, and the heavenly apparitions vouchsafed to those that vied with one another in
- 22 manifold deeds for the religion of the Jews—so that, in spite of their small numbers, they plundered
- 23 the whole country, and routed the barbarian hordes, and regained the temple renowned all the world
- 24 over, and freed the city, and restored the laws which were on the verge of abolition, since the Lord
- 25 showed favour graciously to them: (all) this, recounted by Jason in five books, we will try to compress
- 26 into a single volume. For, in view of the flood of statistics and the difficulties presented by the mass
- 27 of material to those who desire to go into the narratives of the history, we have aimed at attracting
- 28 those who are fond of reading, at smoothing the path for those who like to memorize their facts, and
- 29 at being of some service to our readers in general. As for ourselves, we have not found this self-
- 30 imposed task of abridging to be a light business. On the contrary, we have sweated and sat up late
- 31 over it—just as there is no lack of work for any one who has to superintend a banquet and look after
- 32 the interests of others. Still, to reap the gratitude of many, we will cheerfully undertake this
- 33 toilsome labour; leaving the historian to investigate details, we will exert ourselves to prepare
- 34 an epitome upon the usual lines. For as the masterbuilder of a new house has to look after
- 35 the entire edifice, while the decorator who undertakes to inlay and paint it has only to look out
- 36 what is suitable for embellishing the house, so, methinks, is it with us. To enter into details and
- 37 general discussions and elaborate researches is the business of the original historian; on the other
- 38 hand, any one who simply recasts the material must be allowed to aim at conciseness of expression
- 39 and to eschew any thoroughgoing treatment of the subject.
- 40 Well now, let us begin the story. We have no more to add, by way of preface; for it is truly
- 41 stupid to expatiate in introducing a history and then cut short the history itself.

10. fire descended . . . sacrifice. A midrashic expansion of Lev. ix. 23-4. The Solomonic legend follows the midrash of 2 Chron. vii. 1 in preference to 1 Kings viii. 62 f., and a precedent for the Maccabean ceremonial is artificially found in the tradition of 1 Kings viii. 66 (2 Chron. vii. 8). The origin of the incoherent touch in verse 11 must have been also a midrashic paraphrase of Lev. x. 16 f.

13. about sacred gifts, i.e. about presents made to the temple. A specimen is preserved in Ezra vii. 12 f. The interest of 2 Maccabees in the temple comes out incidentally even in this allusion; such letters are ranked alongside of the sacred scriptures in Nehemiah's library. The next verse reflects the companion interest in the prestige of Judas Maccabaeus.

18. Cp. Exod. xix. 6; Deut. xxx. 1-10.

21. plundered the whole country. In the sense in which Cromwell's troops swept over England during the Civil War.

27. superintend a banquet. For the duties of the ἀρχιτεράωνος (?) see Sir. xxxii. 1-2; John ii. 8-9.

28. exert ourselves. Reading διαπονούμετες for ἀπονούμετες.

II MACCABEES 3. 1-25

III. 1-39. *The miraculous discomfiture of Seleucus and Heliodorus in their attack upon the temple at Jerusalem.*

1 When the holy city was inhabited in unbroken peace, and the laws were kept right strictly,
2 owing to the godliness of Onias the high-priest and his hatred of wickedness, it came to pass that
3 even kings themselves did honour the Place and glorify the temple with the noblest presents:
4 so much so that Seleucus the king of Asia actually defrayed, out of his own revenues, all the expenses
5 connected with the ritual of the sacrifices. But a certain Benjamite, Simon, who had been appointed
6 warden of the temple, fell out with the high-priest over the management of the city-market. Unable
7 to get the better of Onias, he betook himself to Apollonius of Tarsus, then governor of Coelesyria
8 and Phoenicia, and informed him that the treasury in Jerusalem was full of such untold sums
9 of money that the wealth of the funds was past counting; they did not belong, he said, to the
10 accounts of the sacrifices, and they could be got into the hands of the king. So when Apollonius
11 met the king, he informed him of the money which had been mentioned to him, and the king
12 chose his chancellor, Heliodorus, and dispatched him with orders to carry out the removal of
13 the aforesaid money. Heliodorus at once started on his journey, giving out that he intended to
14 visit the cities of Coelesyria and Phoenicia, though his real object was to execute the king's design.
15 On reaching Jerusalem, where he was courteously welcomed by the high-priest and the city, he
16 submitted the information which had been given him, and explained why he had come, inquiring
17 further if this information was really true. The high-priest pointed out to him that there were
18 deposits belonging to widows and orphans, besides monies belonging to Hyrcanus, the son of Tobias,
19 a man of extremely high position (by no means what that impious Simon had alleged), and that in
20 all there were four hundred talents of silver and two hundred of gold; it was utterly impossible, he
21 added, that injury should be inflicted on those who had put their trust in the sacredness of the Place
22 and in the majesty and inviolable sanctity of the temple, honoured over all the world. Heliodorus
23 had his orders from the king, however, and he replied that in any case these monies must be
24 confiscated for the king's treasury.
25 So, having appointed a day, he went in to superintend the investigation of the treasure. And
there was no small distress throughout the whole city. The priests, arrayed in their priestly robes,
flung themselves before the altar, and called to heaven on him who had appointed the law regarding
deposits, beseeching him to preserve these treasures safe for the depositors. And no one could look
at the mien of the high-priest without feeling a pang of heart. His countenance and changed colour
betrayed the anguish of his soul. For terror and a shuddering of the body had come over the
man, which plainly showed to the onlookers the grief that was at his heart. As for the people in
the houses, they flocked out with a rush to join in common supplication that the Place should not be
dishonoured. The married women, girt under their breasts with sackcloth, thronged the streets, while
the maidens who were kept in ward ran together, some to the porticoes, others to the walls, and
others to look out at the windows; but all, stretching forth their hands toward heaven, made their
solemn supplication. One could not but pity the populace all prostrate with one accord, and the
anxiety of the high-priest in his sore distress.
Meantime, however, as they were invoking the all-powerful Lord to keep the deposits safe and
sure for the depositors, Heliodorus proceeded to execute his orders. But when he and his guards
had got as far as the front of the treasury, the Sovereign of spirits and of all authority prepared
a great apparition, so that all who had presumed to enter were stricken with dismay at the power
of God and fainted with sheer terror. For there appeared to them a horse with a terrible rider, and

III. 4. **warden of the temple.** Whether this office corresponded to that of the *sēgan* (or *σπαργγός τοῦ ἱεροῦ*) or of the *ὑποφύλαξ* (Josephus, *Antiq.* XX. iii. 11, &c.) depends largely on the meaning assigned to *ἐπὶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀρραβωνίας* (the *v. l. παρὰ νόμον* being an attempt to smooth out the difficulty). According to Büchler (*op. cit.* pp. 33 f.; cp. Devan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 163) Simon the Tobiad, as *σπαργγός*, was also *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος* in the sense that he exercised a certain political control of the temple affairs. This identification of Simon with the Simon of Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iv. 10, is preferable to the alternative identification of Onias II (*Antiq.* XII. iv. 1-10) with the Onias of 2 Macc. iii (so e.g. Schlatter, Willrich, and Guthe in *Encycl. Biblica*, 3504 f.).

5. **of Tarsus.** Adopting Hort's convincing conjecture of *Θαρσία* for the *Θαράσιος* of the MSS.

7. **Heliodorus.** Probably the Heliodorus of the Delian inscriptions (cp. Deissmann's *Bible Studies*, pp. 303-7). The payment of the annual instalment of the war indemnity to Rome was one of the causes which made the government press for money in any likely quarter. Simon's information suggested a welcome and unexpected source of revenue.

9. **and.** Inserting *καὶ* (V) after *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*.

11. **Hyrcanus.** Perhaps the Jewish Alcibiades of Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iv. 2-11, whom Wellhausen sees behind Zech. xi. 4-17.

24. **Sovereign of spirits.** This is the same expression as Lord of spirits in 1 Enoch xxxvii. 2, &c.

presumed to enter. The implied insolence (cp. v. 15) is described in 1 Macc. i. 21. In the following account, the first horseman (ver. 25) seems to belong to a different tradition from that of the other two (26 f.). The latter do all the work. Similar traces of fusion occur in ix. 6 f., as if the author had embroidered his source with outside matter.

it was decked in magnificent trappings, and rushing fiercely forward it struck at Heliodorus with its forefeet. And the rider seemed to be armed with a golden panoply. Two youths also appeared before Heliodorus, remarkable for their strength, gloriously handsome, and splendidly arrayed, who stood by him on either side, and scourged him unceasingly, inflicting on him many sore stripes. He dropped suddenly to the ground, and thick darkness wrapped him round, but (his guards) caught him up and put him into a litter, and carried him away—carried him who had just entered the aforesaid treasury with a large retinue and all his guard, but who was now absolutely helpless—recognizing clearly the sovereign might of God. And so he had been laid prostrate, deprived of speech owing to God's strong hand, bereft of all hope and succour. But the Jews blessed the Lord who had done marvellous honour to his own place; and the temple, which a little before had been full of terror and alarm, was filled with joy and gladness, thanks to the manifestation of the all-powerful Lord.

Now some of Heliodorus' intimate friends at once besought Onias to call upon the Most High, and so grant life to him, as he lay quite at the last gasp. The high-priest suspected that the king might imagine the Jews had perpetrated some foul play against Heliodorus, and he offered a sacrifice for the recovery of the man. But as the high-priest was offering the sacrifice of propitiation, the same young men appeared again to Heliodorus, arrayed in the same robes; and they stood and said, Give Onias the high-priest hearty thanks, since it is for his sake that the Lord has granted thee thy life; and do thou, since thou hast been scourged from heaven, publish abroad to all men the sovereign majesty of God. And when they had spoken these words, they vanished out of sight. So Heliodorus offered sacrifice to the Lord and vowed very great vows to him who had preserved his life, and, after taking a friendly farewell of Onias, he returned with his army to the king, testifying to all men the deeds of the supreme God which he had witnessed with his own eyes. And when the king asked Heliodorus what sort of person would be suitable for another mission to Jerusalem, he said, If thou hast any enemy or conspirator against the state, send him thither, and thou shalt get him back well scourged—supposing he escapes with his life; for the Place is really haunted by some power of God. He who dwells in heaven above has his eye upon that Place and defends it, smiting and destroying those who approach it for ill ends.

III. 40—IV. 22. *Intrigues of Simon and Jason over the high-priesthood.*

Such was the history of Heliodorus and the preservation of the treasury. But the aforesaid 41 Simon, who had informed about the money and betrayed his country, proceeded to slander Onias, alleging that it was he who had maltreated Heliodorus and who had contrived the whole mischief. He dared to accuse of conspiracy the very man who had proved the benefactor of the city, and the guardian of his fellow-countrymen, and a zealot for the laws! And when the feud between them went to such a pitch that one of Simon's trusted followers actually committed several murders, Onias, recognizing the danger of the contention, and observing that Apollonius, the son of Menestheus, as governor of Coele-syria and Phoenicia, was fanning Simon's malice, betook himself to the king—not that he went about to accuse his fellow-citizens, but simply with a view to the good of all the people, both public and private; for he saw that, unless the king intervened and interested himself, it was impossible for the State to be at peace, nor would Simon abandon his insensate attempt.

But when Seleucus died, and Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, succeeded to the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias supplanted his brother in the high-priesthood, promising in a petition to the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, besides eighty talents from another fund; in addition to which he undertook to pay a hundred and fifty more, if he was commissioned to set up a gymnasium and ephebeum and to register the Jerusalemites as citizens of Antioch. And when the king had given his assent, Jason at once exercised his influence in order to bring over his fellow-countrymen to Greek ways of life. Setting aside the royal ordinances of special favour to the Jews, obtained by John the father of Eupolemus who had gone as envoy to the Romans to secure their friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he introduced new customs forbidden by the law: he deliberately established a gymnasium under the citadel itself, and made

28. recognizing. Reading *ἐνεγνωσμένοι*, with the majority of MSS., instead of *ἐνεγνωσμένοι*.

IV. 4. Menestheus. Reading *Μενεσθέας*, Hort's certain emendation of *Μενεσθέας* *ἢ* *ἢ* *ἢ*. Cp. ii. 21; Apollonius was naturally exasperated at the miscarriage of his little plot.

7. 8. Jason . . . promising, &c. If Josephus is correct, however, the charge of simony is undeserved; Jason succeeded to his brother's position, as Onias died leaving only an infant son (cp. *Antiq.* XII. v. 1).

9. to register . . . as citizens of Antioch. The coveted title of 'Antiochenes' (cp. Schürer, *Gesch. jüd. Volkes*, ii. 166-7), i.e. 'loyalists' (to the Seleucid dynasty and policy), carried with it certain privileges (cp. ver. 19). The cognate promise (Is. 15) to confer on the Jews the privileges of Athenian citizens is true to the Hellenistic and Athenian proclivities of Antiochus (Niese, pp. 29-30), who probably tried to atticize his Antiochene subjects.

11. See I Macc. viii. 17-32.

II MACCABEES 4. 13-35

- 13 the noblest of the young men wear the petasus. And to such a height did the passion for Greek fashions rise, and the influx of foreign customs, thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless
14 Jason—no high-priest he!—that the priests were no longer interested in the services of the altar, but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hurried to take part in the unlawful
15 displays held in the palaestra after the quoit-throwing had been announced—thus setting at naught
16 what their fathers honoured and esteeming the glories of the Greeks above all else. Hence sore distress befell them; the very men for whose customs they were so keen and whom they desired
17 to be like in every detail, became their foes and punished them. For it is no light matter to act impiously against the laws of God; time will show that.
18 Now games, held every five years, were being celebrated at Tyre, in the presence of the king,
19 and the vile Jason sent sacred envoys who were citizens of Antioch to represent Jerusalem, with three hundred drachmas of silver for the sacrifice of Heracles. The very bearers, however, judged
20 that the money ought not to be spent on a sacrifice, but devoted to some other purpose, and, thanks to them, it went to fit out the triremes.
21 Now when Apollonius the son of Menestheus was sent to Egypt to attend the enthronement of king Ptolemy Philometor, Antiochus, on learning that the latter was ill-disposed to him, proceeded
22 to take precautions for the security of his realm. Thus he visited Joppa, and travelled on to Jerusalem, where he had a splendid reception from Jason and the city, and was brought in with blazing torches and acclamation. Thereafter, he and his army marched down into Phoenicia.

IV. 23-50. *Intrigues of Menelaus.*

- 23 Now after a space of three years Jason sent Menelaus, the aforesaid Simon's brother, to convey the
24 money to the king and to remind him of some matters which required attention. But Menelaus got into favour with the king, whom he extolled with an air of impressive authority, and secured the high-priesthood for himself, outbidding Jason by three hundred talents of silver. On receiving the royal
25 mandate, he appeared in Jerusalem, possessed of no quality which entitled him to the high-priesthood, but with the passions of a cruel tyrant and the rage of a wild beast. So Jason, who had supplanted
26 his brother, was in turn supplanted by another man, and driven as a fugitive into the country of the Ammonites. Menelaus secured the position, but he failed to pay any of the money which he had
27 promised to the king, although Sostratus the governor of the citadel demanded it. As the latter
28 was responsible for collecting the revenue, the king summoned both men before him: Menelaus left his brother Lysimachus to act as his deputy in the high-priesthood, while Sostratus left (as his
29 deputy) Crates, the viceroy of Cyprus.
30 At this juncture, it came to pass that the citizens of Tarsus and Mallus raised an insurrection,
31 because they were to be assigned as a present to Antiochis, the king's mistress; so the king went off hurriedly (to Cilicia) to settle matters, leaving Andronicus, a man of high rank, to act as his
32 deputy. Then Menelaus supposed he had got a favourable opportunity, so he presented Andronicus with some golden vessels which he had stolen from the temple;—others he had already sold to Tyre
33 and the surrounding cities. On ascertaining the truth of this, Onias sharply censured him, withdrawing
34 for safety into the sanctuary of Daphne, close to Antioch. Whereupon Menelaus took Andronicus aside and exhorted him to kill Onias. So Andronicus went to Onias, gave him pledges by guile and also his right hand with oaths (of friendship), and persuaded him, despite his suspicions, to come out of
35 the sanctuary. He then killed him at once, regardless of justice. This made not only the Jews but

12. the petasus, i.e. a broad-brimmed felt hat, which, as the mark of Hermes, was the badge of the *palaestra*. The otiose *ἐνορέστων* of V probably arose from dittography with the following *ἐνὸς περάσων*.

16. For this idea of the punishment fitting the crime see ver. 38 (= Herod. iii. 64), v. 9-10, viii. 33, ix. 6, xiii. 8, xv. 32, Wisd. xi. 16, Test. Gad v. 10.

18. The celebration of games, in imitation of the Olympic festival and the Panathenaea, was an important part of the Hellenizing policy (cp. vi. 7). For the games held by Alexander the Great at Tyre see Arrian ii. 24. 6, iii. 6. 1.

20. thanks to them. Reading, with V, τῶν παρακομίζοντων, instead of τῶν ἀπρίκτων.

21. Antiochus, on learning that the latter was ill-disposed, &c. Apollonius, the representative of Antiochus at the enthronement (πρωτοκλαρία or πρωτοκλαρία = the ἀντιδοτήρια of Polybius xviii. 12. 8, τὰ ἐπιδοτήρια γινώσκοντες τὸν βασιλέα ἐκ τῶν ἐξ ἡλικίας ἑλθόντων) of the young Ptolemy, evidently reported to his master that a move was on foot to regain Coele Syria for Egypt. Antiochus took the initiative by concentrating his forces in Phoenicia. The writer, however, merely narrates the episode for the purpose of branding Jason's servility. In the following episode (30-81), either he or his source must be assumed to have coloured and shaped the death of Onias from the story of prince Seleucus' murder at the hands of Andronicus (so Willrich's *Juden und Griechen*, pp. 86 f., 120 f., and Wellhausen's *Urschichte*, pp. 223 f.), even though the murder of Onias is taken (as e.g. by Niese and Guthe) to be historical.

29. deputy. In the semi-technical sense of *διδάσκει*, the Egyptian court-title (cp. ver. 31 and xiv. 26). As Cyprus belonged to the Ptolemies, Crates can only have been viceroy of the island during the later and brief occupation by Antiochus. The phrase is therefore proleptic.

34. pledges. Reading *πίστις* (62, so Niese) for *πισθίς*, with *δεξιὰς θεῶν* μὲν ὄντων, and *ἀνέκρεται* (so Niese after vg. and S) for *παράδοται*.

- 36 many people of other nationalities indignant and angry over the unjust murder of the man. So when the king returned from the regions of Cilicia, the Jews of the capital (with the support of the
 37 Greeks who also detested the crime) complained to him about the illegal murder of Onias. Antiochus was heartily sorry about it, and was moved to pity and tears for the dead man's sober and well-
 38 ordered life; inflamed with passion, he at once had Andronicus stripped of his purple robe, and led, with rent under-garments, all round the city to the very spot where he had committed the outrage upon Onias; there he had the murderer dispatched, the Lord rendering to him the punishment he had deserved.
- 39 Now when many acts of sacrilege had been committed in the city by Lysimachus, with the connivance of Menelaus, the report of these spread abroad throughout the country, till the people rose against Lysimachus: for by this time a large number of gold vessels had been sold in all directions.
 40 But when the people rose in a frenzy of rage, Lysimachus armed about three thousand men and took the offensive with a bold charge, led by a certain Auranus, a man well up in mad folly no less than
 41 in years. On realizing that Lysimachus was attacking them, however, some of the people caught up stones, others logs of wood, and some snatched handfuls of ashes that lay near, flinging them all
 42 pell-mell upon Lysimachus and his troops. In this way they wounded many, felled some to the ground, and routed the whole band, slaying the sacrilegious robber himself beside the treasury.
- 43-44 In connexion with this affair, proceedings were taken against Menelaus, and when the king
 45 reached Tyre, three men sent by the senate laid their accusation before him. Menelaus felt that all was now over with him, but he promised a large sum of money to Ptolemy the son of Dorymenes,
 46 in order to get the king talked over. So Ptolemy took the king aside into a gallery, as though to get some fresh air, and induced him to change his mind, the result being that he acquitted Menelaus,
 47 who was responsible for all the trouble, and condemned to death the hapless trio, who would have been discharged as innocent, even had they pled before Scythians. This unjust punishment was
 48 inflicted instantly upon these spokesmen for Israel's city and folk and sacred vessels; which moved
 49 some Tyrians, who hated the crime, to provide magnificent obsequies for them. Menelaus, however, still remained in power, thanks to the covetousness of the authorities, and, waxing more and more
 50 vicious, he proved a great plotter against his fellow-citizens.

V. 1-27. *Profanation of temple and oppression of Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes.*

- 5 1, 2 Now about this time Antiochus made his second inroad into Egypt. And it so befell that throughout all the city of Jerusalem for almost forty days horsemen were seen charging in mid-air,
 3 wearing robes inwrought with gold, armed with lances, and arrayed in troops: swords flashing, squadrons of horse in array, assaults and charges repeated from one side and another, shields shaken, spears massed together, darts hurtling to and fro, the sheen of golden trappings, and corselets of all
 4 kinds. Which made all men pray that the apparition might betoken good.
- 5 Now a false rumour got abroad that Antiochus had died. Whereupon Jason took not less than a thousand men, and made a sudden attack on the city; the troops stationed on the walls were
 6 routed, and, as the city was now practically captured, Menelaus took refuge in the citadel, while Jason proceeded to slaughter his fellow-citizens without mercy, reckless of the fact that to get any
 7 advantage over kinsfolk is the worst kind of disadvantage, and imagining to himself that he was winning trophies from foes and not from fellow-countrymen. He failed to secure the place of power, however; and in the end he reaped only shame from his conspiracy, and had to pass over again as
 8 a fugitive into the country of the Ammonites. As for the end of his wretched career—imprisoned under Aretas the Arabian prince, flying from city to city, pursued by all men, hated as an apostate from the laws, and loathed as a butcher of his country and his fellow-citizens, he was expelled into
 9 Egypt. He who had driven so many into exile, died himself in exile, crossing over to the Lacedaemonians, with the idea of finding shelter there among kinsfolk. He who had flung out many

40. *Auranus*. The variant reading 'Tyrannus' (Τυράννου, V; cp. Acts xix. 9) is more likely to have arisen from the uncommon Αύραν (A, 55, 74, 106) than vice versa. The latter, even when read as Αύρανου, cannot mean 'homo in Auranide', which would be Αύρανίδης or Αύρανίτης. Nor is there any connexion between this assassin's name and Eleazar's title of Avaran (Αβάρ) or the 'stabber' (?) in 1 Macc. ii. 5.

V. 8. *imprisoned*. Owing to the compressed style of this passage, which recapitulates generally the closing adventures of Jason, the conjectural reading ἐχθρῶν (= arraigned; so read many editors from Luther and Grotius to Grimm), instead of ἐχθρῶν (cp. Nestle's *Septuaginta-Studien*, iv, p. 22), is plausible, but the lack of connexion in the epitome here is enough to explain how Jason could be described as fleeing from city to city after being a prisoner. Probably πῆρεν goes with ἐχθρῶν (cp. iv. 32), and πέρας with εὐχῆς ἀναστροφῆς. The easier π. 4. διαβῆν (V) enables πῆρεν to be taken not in an absolute construction but in close connexion with the verb.

9. *kinsfolk*. Cp. 1 Macc. xii. 21; Josephus, *Wars*, i. 26. 1. On the origin of the legend see Büchler, *op. cit.*, pp. 126 f. H. Winkler (*Altorient. Forschungen*, ii. 3. 365 f.) takes the Maccabean references as editorial additions based on a misunderstanding of the original כִּנְיָוִת.

a corpse to lie unburied had none to mourn for him, nor had he a funeral of any kind or place in the
 11 sepulchre of his fathers. Now when tidings of what had happened reached the king, he thought
 12 Judaea was in revolt. He therefore started from Egypt in a fury, stormed the city, and commanded
 his soldiers to cut down without mercy any one they met, and to slay those who sheltered in their
 13 houses. So there was a massacre of young and old, an extermination of boys, women, and children,
 14 a slaughter of virgins and infants. In the short space of three days eighty thousand were destroyed,
 15 forty thousand of them in close combat, and as many again were sold into slavery. Not content
 with this, he dared to enter the most holy temple on earth, under the guidance of Menelaus, who
 16 proved himself a traitor both to the laws and to his country; he laid polluted hands on the sacred
 vessels, and swept off with his profane hands what other kings had dedicated to enhance the glory and
 17 honour of the Place. Uplifted in spirit, Antiochus did not consider that it was on account of the sins
 of those who dwelt in the city that the Sovereign Lord was provoked to anger for a little while; hence
 18 His indifference to the Place. Had they not been involved in so many sins, this fellow would have
 fared like Heliodorus, who was sent by king Seleucus to pry into the treasury—he would have been
 19 scourged as soon as he pressed forward, and turned back from his presumption. But the Lord did not
 20 choose the nation for the sake of the Place; he chose the Place for the sake of the nation. And so
 the Place, after partaking in the calamities that befell the nation, shared afterwards in its prosperity;
 forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, it was restored again in full glory when the great Sovereign
 became reconciled.
 21 Antiochus, then, carried off from the temple eighteen hundred talents and hurried away to
 Antioch, thinking in his arrogance to make the land navigable and the sea passable by foot—so
 22 uplifted was he in heart. He also left governors behind him to ill-treat the Jewish people: at
 Jerusalem, Philip, a Phrygian by race, whose disposition was more barbarous than that of his
 23 master; at Gerizim, Andronicus; and, besides these, Menelaus, who lorded it worst of them all
 24 over the citizens. And in malice against the Jews he sent the Mysian commander Apollonius with an
 army of two and twenty thousand, under orders to slay all those that were of full age and to sell
 25 the women and the younger men. This fellow, on reaching Jerusalem, played the role of a man of
 peace, waiting till the holy day of the sabbath; then, finding the Jews at rest from work, he com-
 26 manded his men to parade in arms, put to the sword all who came to see what was going on, and
 27 rushing into the city with the armed men killed great numbers. Judas Maccabaeus, however, with
 about nine others got away, and kept himself and his companions alive in the mountains, as wild
 beasts do, feeding on herbs, in order that they might not be polluted like the rest.

VI. 1-31. *Enforced Hellenization of the Jews.*

6 1 Shortly after this the king sent an old Athenian to compel the Jews to depart from the laws
 2 of their fathers, and to cease living by the laws of God; further, the sanctuary in Jerusalem was to
 be polluted and called after Zeus Olympius, while the sanctuary at Gerizim was also to be called
 3 after Zeus Xenius, in keeping with the hospitable character of the inhabitants. Now this proved a sore
 4 and altogether crushing visitation of evil. For the heathen filled the temple with riot and revelling,
 dallying with harlots and lying with women inside the sacred precincts, besides bringing in what
 5 was forbidden, while the altar was filled with abominable sacrifices which the law prohibited. And
 6 a man could neither keep the sabbath, nor celebrate the feasts of the fathers, nor so much as
 7 confess himself to be a Jew. On the king's birthday every month they were taken—bitter was the
 necessity—to share in the sacrifice, and when the festival of the Dionysia came round they were
 8 compelled to wear ivy wreaths for the procession in honour of Dionysus. On the suggestion of
 Ptolemy, an edict was also issued to the neighbouring Greek cities, ordering them to treat the Jews
 9 in the same way and force them to share in the sacrifices, slaying any who refused to adopt
 10 Greek ways. Thus any one could see the distressful state of affairs. Two women, for example,
 were brought up for having circumcised their children; they were paraded round the city, with

23. And in malice against the Jews. Omitting (with V) *πολιτὰς* in var. 23, and taking *ἐχθρὸν . . . ἀπεχθὴ* with what follows (so Grimm, and R.V. margin).

24. the Mysian commander. *τὸν μυσιάρχην* may be either a derogatory epithet or an official title; probably it is both. The Mysians (*Μυσοί*, cp. Polyb. xxxi. 3. 3) formed a special division or guard in the Seleucid armies, and the unique formation *Μυσιαρχὴς* means 'commander of the Mysians' (cp. *Κομμαρχὴς*, xii. 2 = ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν Κομμάρων, for the form, though *μυσιαρχὴς* would mean 'governor of Mysia'). But the ill-repute of the Mysians (*Μυσῶν ἰσχυροί*, a scoundrel) suggested a play on the term, as if it meant 'detestable ringleader'.

27. Cp. x. 6, Heb. xi. 37-8.

VI. 2. Zeus Xenius. i.e. the protector of strangers or guests.

7. the king's birthday every month. For the monthly celebration of a royal birthday see the evidence from Egypt, Commagene, and Pergamum, collected by Schürer in *Preuschen's Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1901), pp. 48-52.

II MACCABEES 6. 11—7. 5

11 their babies hanging at their breasts, and then flung from the top of the wall. Some others, who had taken refuge in the adjoining caves in order to keep the seventh day secretly, were betrayed to Philip and all burnt together, since they scrupled to defend themselves, out of regard to the honour of that most solemn day.

12 Now I beseech the readers of this book not to be discouraged by such calamities, but to reflect 13 that our people were being punished by way of chastening and not for their destruction. For indeed it is a mark of great kindness when the impious are not let alone for a long time, but 14 punished at once. In the case of other nations, the Sovereign Lord in his forbearance refrains from punishing them till they have filled up their sins to the full, but in our case he has deter- 15 mined otherwise, that his vengeance may not fall on us in after-days when our sins have reached 16 their height. Wherefore he never withdraweth his mercy from us; and though he chasteneth his 17 own people with calamity, he forsaketh them not. So much by way of a reminder to ourselves: after these few words we must come back to our story.

18 Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, a man already well stricken in years and of a noble counten- 19 ance, was compelled to eat swine's flesh. But he, welcoming death with renown rather than life 20 with pollution, advanced of his own accord to the instrument of torture, affording an example of how men should come forward who have the courage to put from them food which, even for the 21 natural love of life, they dare not taste. Now those in charge of that forbidden sacrificial feast took the man aside, for the sake of old acquaintance, and privately urged him to bring some flesh of his 22 own providing, such as he was lawfully allowed to use, and to pretend he was really eating of the sacrifice which the king had ordered, so that in this way he might escape death and be kindly treated 23 for the sake of their old friendship. But he with a high resolve, worthy of his years and of the dignity of his descent and of his grey hair reached with honour and of his noble life from childhood 24 and, still more, of the holy laws divinely ordained, spoke his mind accordingly, telling them to dispatch him to Hades at once. 'It ill becomes our years to dissemble,' said he, 'and thus lead 25 many younger persons to imagine that Eleazar in his ninetieth year has gone over to a heathenish religion. I should lead them astray by my dissimulation, for the mere sake of enjoying this brief 26 and momentary life, and I should bring stain and foul disgrace on my own old age. Even were I for the moment to evade the punishment of men, I should not escape the hands of the Almighty in 27 life or in death. Wherefore, by manfully parting with my life now, I will show myself worthy of my 28 old age, and leave behind me a noble example to the young of how to die willingly and nobly 29 on behalf of our reverend and holy laws. With these words he stepped forward at once to the instrument of torture, while those who a moment before had been friendly turned against him, 30 deeming his language to be that of a sheer madman. Now, just as he was expiring under the strokes of torture, he groaned out, The Lord, who hath holy knowledge, understandeth that, although I might have been freed from death, I endure cruel pains in my body from scourging and 31 suffer this gladly in my soul, because I fear him.' Thus he too died, leaving his death as an example of nobility and a memorial of virtue, not only to the young but also to the great body of his nation.

VII. 1-42. *Martyrdom of seven brothers and their mother.*

7 1 It also came to pass that seven brothers and their mother were arrested and shamefully lashed with whips and scourges, by the king's orders, that they might be forced to taste the abominable 2 swine's flesh. But one of them spoke up for the others and said, Why question us? What wouldst 3 thou learn from us? We are prepared to die sooner than transgress the laws of our fathers. Then 4 the king, in his exasperation, ordered pans and cauldrons to be heated, and, when they were heated immediately, ordered the tongue of the speaker to be torn out, had him scalped and mutilated 5 before the eyes of his brothers and mother, and then had him put on the fire, all maimed and crippled as he was, but still alive, and set to fry in the pan. And as the vapour from the pan spread

18. of a noble countenance, was compelled. Reading *καλλίστος τυγχάνων ἡναγκάσθη* (19, 52, 62, 93, Syr.; V om. *ἀναγκάσθη*) with Niese and Nestle (*Sept.-Studen.* iv. 20).

20. affording an example. For *προπειρίων ἑα* (= but spat out the flesh first), which comes in awkwardly, read *προειπύσας* (so one minuscule; Nestle, pp. 20-1) as above, which tallies with 27-8 better than *προειπύσας* (V^a). The less natural alternative is to omit *δε* (with Niese) and read *τόσον* (so Grotius) for *τόσον*.

23. descent. For *γένους* (A) or *γέρας* (V) read, with Niese, *γένους*. The two considerations of age and race are developed in the following clauses, where *ἀναρχοφύλης* (R.V. margin, so A, 52, 55, 62) is preferable to *ἀναρχοφύλης* (R.V. text).

26. Cp. Heb. x. 31, xi. 35; also 27, 19 and 30 with Heb. xi. 35 (*ἄλλοι δὲ ἐτερομνησθήσαν*), and vii. 28 with Heb. xi. 3.

VII. 4. scalped. *ἡμεροσκόμους* refers to the practice of the Scythians, the typical savages (see above, iv. 47) and Red Indians of the ancient East, who flayed and scalped their victims (Herod. iv. 64).

II MACCABEES 7. 6-36

6 abroad, they and their mother exhorted one another to die nobly, uttering these words: The Lord God beholdeth this, and truly hath compassion on us, even as Moses declared in his Song which testifieth against them to their face, saying,

And he shall have compassion on his servants.

7 And when the first had died after this manner, they brought the second to the shameful torture, tearing off the skin of his head with the hair and asking him, Wilt thou eat, before we punish thy body limb by limb? But he answered in the language of his fathers and said to them, No. So he too underwent the rest of the torture, as the first had done. And when he was at the last gasp, he said, Thou cursed miscreant! Thou dost dispatch us from this life, but the King of the world shall raise us up, who have died for his laws, and revive us to life everlasting. And after him the third was made a mocking-stock. And when he was told to put out his tongue, he did so at once, stretching forth his hands courageously, with the noble words, These I had from heaven; for His name's sake I count them naught; from Him I hope to get them back again. So much so that the king himself and his company were astounded at the spirit of the youth, for he thought nothing of his sufferings. And when he too was dead, they tortured the fourth in the same shameful fashion. And when he was near his end, he said: 'Tis meet for those who perish at men's hands to cherish hope divine that they shall be raised up by God again; but thou—thou shalt have no resurrection to life. Next they brought the fifth and handled him shamefully. But he looked at the king and said, Holding authority among men, thou doest what thou wilt, poor mortal; but dream not that God hath forsaken our race. Go on, and thou shalt find how His sovereign power will torture thee and thy seed! And after him they brought the sixth. And when he was at the point of death he said, Deceive not thyself in vain! We are suffering this on our own account, for sins against our own God. That is why these awful horrors have befallen us. But think not thou shalt go unpunished for daring to fight against God! The mother, however, was a perfect wonder; she deserves to be held in glorious memory, for, thanks to her hope in God, she bravely bore the sight of seven sons dying in a single day. Full of noble spirit and nerving her weak woman's heart with the courage of a man, she exhorted each of them in the language of their fathers, saying, How you were ever conceived in my womb, I cannot tell! 'Twas not I who gave you the breath of life or fashioned the elements of each! 'Twas the Creator of the world who fashioneth men and deviseth the generating of all things, and he it is who in mercy will restore to you the breath of life even as you now count yourselves naught for his laws' sake. Now Antiochus felt that he was being humiliated, but, overlooking the taunt of her words, he made an appeal to the youngest brother, who still survived, and even promised on oath to make him rich and happy and a friend and a trusted official of State, if he would give up his fathers' laws. As the young man paid no attention to him, he summoned his mother and exhorted her to counsel the lad to save himself. So, after he had exhorted her at length, she agreed to persuade her son. She leant over to him and, befooling the cruel tyrant, spoke thus in her fathers' tongue: My son, have pity on me. Nine months I carried thee in my womb, three years I suckled thee; I reared thee and brought thee up to this age of thy life. Child, I beseech thee, lift thine eyes to heaven and earth, look at all that is therein, and know that God did not make them out of the things that existed. So is the race of men created. Fear not this butcher, but show thyself worthy of thy brothers, and accept thy death, that by God's mercy I may receive thee again together with thy brothers. Ere she had finished, the young man cried, What are you waiting for? I will not obey the king's command, I will obey the command of the law given by Moses to our fathers. But thou, who hast devised all manner of evil against the Hebrews, thou shalt not escape the hands of God. We are suffering for our own sins, and though our living Lord is angry for a little, in order to rebuke and chasten us, he will again be reconciled to his own servants. But thou, thou impious wretch, vilest of all men, be not vainly uplifted with thy proud, uncertain hopes, raising thy hand against the heavenly children; thou hast not yet escaped the judgement of the Almighty God who seeth all. These our brothers, after

6. **Song which testifieth . . . face.** This sententious description of the Song (Deut. xxxii, 36) is not only out of keeping with the *mise en scène*, but far-fetched; the testimony of the Song in question was borne against faithless Israel, not against outside oppressors.

18. Some MSS. insert *δὲ* before, or *γάρ* after, *ἀξίαι*. Niese, reading the latter, and following V* (*ἀξίαι*) and V (*γὰρ ἀξίαι*), conjectures *ἐοικασμένοι* for *θαυμαστοί* (i.e. *and have deserved punishment*). But the above reading, though characteristically abrupt, yields a good sense.

23. **men.** For *ἀνθρώπων γένεσιν* read with Niese *ἀνθρώπων* (or *ἀνθρώπωνος*), the first *γένεσιν* being repeated *per incuriam* from the second.

24. **overlooking.** For *ἐπιφρονέμενος* ('suspecting') read *ἐπιφρονημένος* (Vg. = *exprobrantis uoce despecta*) with Kamphausen. For the promised rank of Friend (i. 14, viii. 29, i. Macc. ii. 18, &c.) see Deissmann's *Bible-Studies*, pp. 167 f.

27. **reared thee.** Omitting (with 71, Vg, 2) the anticlimax of *καὶ τροφωθήσασθαι* (= *and sustained thee*, lit. nursed).

II MACCABEES 7. 36—8. 20

enduring a brief pain, have now **drunk** of everflowing life, in terms of God's covenant, but thou shalt receive by God's judgement the just penalty of thine arrogance. I, like my brothers, give up body and soul for our fathers' laws, calling on God to show favour to our nation soon, and to make thee acknowledge, in torment and plagues, that he alone is God, and to let the Almighty's wrath, justly fallen on the whole of our nation, end in me and in my brothers. Then the king fell into a passion and had him handled worse than the others, so exasperated was he at being mocked. Thus he also died unpolluted, trusting absolutely in the Lord. Finally after her sons the mother also perished. Let this suffice for the enforced sacrifices and the excesses of barbarity.

VIII. 1—36. *Revolt and early successes of Judas Maccabaeus.*

8¹ But Judas, who is also called Maccabaeus, together with his companions, went round the villages by stealth, summoning their kinsfolk and mustering those who had adhered to Judaism, till they collected as many as six thousand. And they invoked the Lord to look upon the people whom all men oppressed, to have compassion on the sanctuary which the godless had profaned, and also to pity the ruined city which was on the point of being levelled with the ground, to hearken to the blood that cried to him, to remember the impious massacre of the innocent babes and the blasphemies committed against his name, and to manifest his hatred of evil. Now as soon as Maccabaeus had got his company together, the heathen found him irresistible, for the Lord's anger was now turned into mercy. He would surprise and burn both towns and villages, gaining possession of strategic positions and routing large numbers of the enemy. He took special advantage of the night for such attacks. And the whole country echoed with the fame of his valour. So when Philip saw that the man was gaining ground inch by inch and adding daily to his successes, he wrote to Ptolemy, the governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, for support in maintaining the king's cause. The latter lost no time in selecting Nicanor, the son of Patroclus, one of the foremost among the king's friends, whom he dispatched at the head of no fewer than twenty thousand troops of all nationalities to exterminate the entire population of Judaea; and with him there was associated Gorgias, a military commander who had considerable experience of active service. Nicanor, however, determined to sell the Jews into slavery, and so to make up the sum of two thousand talents which the king owed by way of tribute to the Romans. He therefore sent at once to the maritime towns, inviting them to purchase Jewish slaves, whom he promised to sell at the rate of ninety a talent—little imagining the judgement that was to overtake him from the Almighty. Now when Judas was informed of Nicanor's inroad, and when he told his followers about the arrival of the host, those who were cowardly and sceptical about God's judgement ran off and decamped, while others sold all their remaining possessions and withal besought the Lord to deliver those whom the impious Nicanor had already sold before the battle; and this, if not for their own sakes, at least for the sake of the covenants made with their fathers and for the sake of His reverend and glorious name, by which they were called. But when Maccabaeus had got his men together, six thousand in number, he bade them have no fear of chains and slavery and no dread of the vast number of the heathen who had attacked them wrongfully; let them fight nobly, keeping before their eyes the wanton and lawless outrage of the heathen upon the holy place, the shocking and despicable violence done to the city, and further the overthrow of their ancestral polity. They trust to arms and daring deeds, he said, but we rely upon the Almighty God, who by a nod can lay low our enemies, aye and the whole world. Then he rehearsed to them the aid repeatedly vouchsafed in the days of their ancestors, as in the days of Sennacherib, when a hundred and eighty-five thousand perished, and as at the battle fought against the Galatians in Babylonia, where only eight thousand

36. **drunk.** Hort's conjecture, *πεπώκεισι*, for the MSS. *πεπώκεισι*, restores the original sense of the passage.

VIII. 4. **massacre of the innocent babes.** Cp. above, vi. 10, and I Macc. i. 61.

6. **villages.** *κώμαι* ('villages') is to be read for *χωρὰς*.

routing . . . enemy. Cp. Heb. xi. 34.

13. **God's judgment.** I.e. on their foes (cp. ver. 11). Contrast the account of I Macc. iii. 56.

14. **those whom . . . sold before the battle.** I.e. not stray captives picked up by the way but the speakers themselves, whom Nicanor had sold in advance.

16. **six thousand in number.** But this was the original number of the army (ver. 1)!

slavery. For *τοὺς πολέμιους* (V) or *τοὺς πολέμιους* read *τοὺς δεσμοίς*, which has been altered in A into *τοὺς δεσμοίς*, as the variant (19, 62) *τοὺς πολέμιους* has been altered into *τοὺς πολέμιους*.

18. **by a nod.** Cp. Apoc. Bar. xxi. 5, &c.

and the whole world. For the turn of expression see I John ii. 2.

20. **the battle . . . in Babylonia.** Nothing is known of the engagement which forms the subject of this exaggerated boast. The eight thousand, who are obviously Jews, may have been fighting either under Antiochus the Great against a body of Gallic mercenaries under Molon, the rebellious satrap of Media (221–220 B.C.), or, earlier, in the ranks of Antiochus Soter (281–261 B.C.), who is said to have won his title (Appian, *Syr.* 66) from his efforts against the Gallic raiders in Asia Minor.

men, together with four thousand Macedonians, took the field, and where, after the Macedonians were hard pressed, the eight thousand slew the hundred and twenty thousand, owing to the aid vouchsafed them from heaven, and won rich booty. With these words he inspirited them and got them ready to die for the laws and for their country. He then divided his army into four, and put his brothers at the head of the various divisions, Simon, Joseph, and Jonathan each being in command of fifteen hundred men; he also made Eleazar read aloud the holy Book, and taking 'God's Help' as a watchword put himself at the head of the first division, and engaged Nicanor. And, since the Almighty fought on their side, they slew over nine thousand of the enemy, wounded and disabled the greater part of Nicanor's army, and forced them all to flee. They also secured the very money of those who had arrived for the purpose of buying them. Then, after pursuing them for some distance, they were obliged to turn back on account of time; it was the day before the sabbath, and therefore they made no effort to follow them up. So, after collecting the arms of the enemy, and stripping them of their spoils, they attended to the duties of the sabbath, loudly blessing and praising the Lord who had preserved them unto this day and thus begun to show them mercy; after the sabbath, when they had apportioned part of the spoils to their own wounded and to the widows and orphans, they shared the remainder among themselves and their children. This done, they united in supplication, beseeching the Lord of mercy to be fully reconciled to his servants.

In an encounter with the forces of Timotheus and Bacchides, they also killed over twenty thousand and got possession of some extremely high strongholds, securing a large quantity of plunder which they distributed equally with themselves not only among the wounded, the orphans, and the widows, but also among the older people. Then, after collecting the arms of the enemy, they stored them all carefully in the most important forts, conveying the rest of the spoils to Jerusalem. They also slew Phylarches, who belonged to Timotheus' forces, a most impious scoundrel who had inflicted serious injuries on the Jews. And while they were celebrating the victory in the city of their fathers, they burned Callisthenes and some others, who had set fire to the sacred gates, and who had taken refuge in a small house; thus did these men receive the due reward of their impiety. As for the thrice-accursed Nicanor, who had brought the thousand merchants to buy the Jews for slaves, those whom he reckoned of no account humbled him by the help of the Lord; doffing his splendid uniform, he had to make his way alone, like a runaway slave, straight across country to Antioch, having fared disastrously in his expedition and having left his army annihilated. So the man who undertook to secure tribute for the Romans by selling the Jerusalemites into captivity, proved the means of showing that the Jews had a Champion and that they were invulnerable since they followed the laws which He enacted.

IX. 1-29. *The miserable death of Antiochus Epiphanes.*

9 Now about that time it happened that Antiochus had to beat a disorderly retreat from the region of Persia. He had entered the city called Persepolis and tried to rob temples and get hold of the city; whereupon the people flew to arms and routed him, with the result that Antiochus was put to flight by the people of the country and broke up his camp in disgrace. And while he was at Ecbatana, news reached him of what had happened to Nicanor and the forces of Timotheus. So, in

22. Joseph, here and in x. 19, is an error of the author or of a copyist for John (cp. 1 Macc. ix. 36 f.).
23. made Eleazar read aloud. Reading (Vg. S, 19, 62, 64, 93, so Grimm, Rawlinson, and Kamphausen) παραγνώσει for παραγνώσει (A.V. Fritzsche, Swete). 'God's Help' is a play on the name of Eleazar.

26, 27. The real reason was not sabbatarian strictness (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 17 f.), and the spoiling of the enemy is ante-dated (cp. 1 Macc. iv. 18, 23). On the Sabbatarianism see above, vi. 11, and Jub. 7. 6-13.

27. after collecting the arms. Here, though not in ver. 31, ἀποκαταθήσαντες αὐτοῖς might also be rendered, 'having piled their arms' (contrast 1 Macc. iv. 6).

thus begun to show them mercy. The pretty reading, σπάζαντες ('distilled'), is less well supported than σάζαντες (as above, cp. ver. 5) or σάζοντες (62). Niese, reading the latter, with καὶ after αὐτοῖς, renders, 'to him who had preserved them and appointed this day to be the beginning of mercy for them.'

29. to be fully reconciled. i.e. to show the permanence of his favour by continuing to crown their efforts with success. Grimm quotes a similar phrase from Euseb. H. E. viii. 16. 2 (τῆς θείας προνοίας . . . τῇ μὲν αὐτῆς καταλασσομένη λαῷ, of the cessation of persecution).

33. a small house. The point of mentioning the smallness of the house (οἴκιδον, a real diminutive) is obviously to contrast the number who took refuge in it. This tells, together with the position of ἐφῆψαν after Καλλισθένης, in favour of πεφνεύσαντες instead of πεφνεύσαντες (as if Callisthenes was the only incendiary who hid himself in the hut or cottage). of καὶ τινος ἄλλου after Καλλισθένης, and of ἐκομίσαντο for ἐκομίσαντο.

reward of their impiety. For the phrase cp. 2 Pet. ii. 13.

35. fared disastrously. Reading ἐπεράσαν δυσμερῶς.

IX. 2. Persepolis was not in Elymais; consequently, unless 'Elymais' in 1 Macc. i. 6 is a corruption (cp. Cheyne in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 1284, 366), there is a geographical contradiction between the two narratives. See i. 12 f. tried successfully, according to Appian (*Syr.* 66).

3. Ecbatana, the capital of Media, was not near the route of his flight to Babylon (1 Macc. vi. 4).

a transport of rage, he determined to wreak vengeance on the Jews for the defeat which he had suffered at the hands of those who had forced him to fly, and ordered his charioteer to drive on without halting till the journey was ended. Verily the judgement of heaven upon him was imminent! For thus he spoke in his arrogance: When I reach Jerusalem, I will make it a common sepulchre of Jews. But the all-seeing Lord, the God of Israel, smote him with a fatal and unseen stroke: the words were no sooner out of his mouth than he was seized with an incurable pain in the bowels, and his internal organs gave him cruel torture—a right proper punishment for one who had tortured the bowels of other people with many an exquisite pang. He did not cease from his wild insolence, however, but waxed more arrogant than ever, breathing fire and fury against the Jews, and giving orders to hurry on with the journey. And it came to pass that he dropped from his chariot as it whirled along, so that the bad fall racked every limb of his body. Thus he who in his overweening haughtiness had supposed the waves of the sea were at his bidding and imagined he could weigh the high mountains in his scales, was now prostrate, carried along in a litter—a manifest token to all men of the power of God. Worms actually swarmed from the impious creature's body; his flesh fell off, while he was still alive in pain and anguish; and the stench of his corruption turned the whole army from him with loathing. A man who shortly before had thought he could touch the stars of heaven, none could now endure to carry, such was his intolerable stench. Then it was that, broken in spirit, he began to abate his arrogance, for the most part, and to arrive at some knowledge of the truth. For, as he suffered more and more anguish under the scourge of God, unable even to bear his own stench, he said: Right is it that mortal man should be subject to God, and not deem himself God's equal. The vile wretch also made a vow to the Lord (who would not now have pity on him), promising that he would proclaim the holy city free—the city which he was hurrying to lay level with the ground and to make a common sepulchre—that he would make all the Jews equal to citizens of Athens—the Jews whom he had determined to throw out with their children to the beasts, for the birds to devour, as unworthy even to be buried—that he would adorn with magnificent offerings the holy sanctuary which he had formerly rifled, restoring all the sacred vessels many times over, and defraying from his own revenue the expense of the sacrifices; furthermore, that he would even become a Jew and travel over the inhabited world to publish abroad the might of God. But when his sufferings did not cease by any means (for God's judgement had justly come upon him), he gave up all hope of himself and wrote the following letter, with its humble supplication, to the Jews:

19 To his citizens, the loyal Jews, Antiochus their king and general wisheth great joy and health and prosperity. If you and your children fare well and your affairs are to your mind, I give thanks to God, as my hope is in heaven. As for myself, I am sick. Your esteem and goodwill I bear in loving memory. On my way back from Persia I have fallen seriously ill, and I think it needful to take into consideration the common safety of all my subjects—not that I despair of myself (for, on the contrary, I have good hopes of recovery), but in view of the fact that when my father marched into the upper country, he appointed his successor, in order that, in the event of anything un-

8. Cp. v. 21; Isa. xl. 12, 15.

9. worms, &c. A conventional doom for blasphemous persecutors (cp. Acts xii. 23). The narrative of Jason probably described the disease as a result of the fall from the chariot. The epitomist not only puts in the supernatural touch of ver. 5, but some of the high colouring in the edifying sequel.

11. broken in spirit. V's reading (*ἐνορθωμένος*) may mean either that he grew steadily worse (Bissell) or that he was suffering severely (an instance of *meiosis*, so Grimm and Kamphausen); but the variant of A (*ρεθραμένος*, so Fritzsche, Rawlinson, &c.) gives a better sense, and Niese's conjecture that *κατὰ στυγὴν* has arisen by dittography from *μίστην* (cp. 62, *μίστην*) is very plausible. 'Ferner muss man mit 19, 62, 64, 93 lesen: καὶ ἐν ἐπιγνώσει ἔρχεσθαι ἀληθείας' ἀπὸ γὰρ μίστην ἐπιγνώσεως ταῖς ἀληθείαις καὶ μηδὲ τῆς ὁσμῆς δύναμιν ἀνέχεσθαι ἐπ' (Kritik, p. 113). In ver. 12 *ἐνορθωμένος* (A, 55, 71, 74, 106, 243) is probably (so Grimm, Bissell, Kamphausen) a gloss upon *ισόθεα* (cp. Phil. ii. 6; Aesch. *Persae*, 820, &c.).

17. become a Jew, &c. The narrative makes Antiochus outdo even Nebuchadrezzar (Dan. iv. 37) in the way of abject penance, or at least of promises.

18. the following letter, with its humble supplication. The letter does not answer to this description, and, as addressed to Judas and his party, is entirely out of keeping with the facts of the situation. Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, ii. 177, 202), like Niese (70), defends it by supposing that it was originally meant for the Hellenizing Jewish community of Jerusalem, which Antiochus affected to regard as the genuine article. He calls them *χρηστοὶ* in the sense in which the Cavaliers in seventeenth-century England were called the 'honest' party (cp. e.g. Aristoph. *Frags* 783 ἀλὶ γὰρ τὸ χρηστὸν ἔστιν), and describes himself as their *στρατηγός* (general) by way of flattery, implying that he was proud to be *strategos* in Jerusalem no less than in Athens. Had the author, or Jason, composed the letter, he would probably have coloured and shaped it to fit the context. Its very discrepancies with the present setting tell in favour of the hypothesis that it reflects some authentic document.

21. I am sick. Your esteem, &c. The asyndeton is awkward, but it is more awkward to insert *ἐν μὴ* before *ἀσθενῶ* or *ἀδύνατος* before *ἐμὴν*, and translate (with Rawlinson): 'I am sick, otherwise I would have remembered, &c.' (retaining the *ἄν* before *ἐμνησθῆναι*, which probably arose from the last syllable of the preceding *ἐμνησθῆναι*).

23. marched into the upper country. Cp. 1 Macc. iii. 37.

24. anything unexpected. A euphemism for the king's death, like 'the coming event' (ver. 25).

II MACCABEES 9. 24—10. 16

expected occurring or any unwelcome news arriving, the residents at home might know whom the
 25 State had been entrusted to, and so be spared any disturbance. Besides these considerations, as
 I have noticed how the princes on the borders and the neighbours of my kingdom are on the alert
 for any opportunity and anticipate the coming event, I have appointed my son Antiochus to be king.
 I have often committed and commended him to most of you, when I hurried to the upper provinces.
 26 I have also written to him what I have written below. I therefore exhort and implore you to
 remember the public and private benefits you have received and to preserve, each of you, your
 27 present goodwill toward me and my son. For I am convinced that with mildness and kindness he
 will adhere to my policy and continue on good terms with you.
 28 So this murderer and blasphemer, after terrible suffering such as he had inflicted on other people.
 29 ended his life most miserably among the mountains in a foreign land. His bosom-friend Philip
 brought the corpse home: and then, fearing the son of Antiochus, he betook himself to Ptolemy
 Philometor in Egypt.

X. 1-8. *The temple purified and the feast of dedication instituted.*

10 Now Maccabaeus and his followers, under the leadership of the Lord, recaptured the temple and
 the city, and pulled down the altars erected by the aliens in the market-place, as well as the sacred
 inclosures. After cleansing the sanctuary, they erected another altar of sacrifice, and striking fire
 out of flints they offered sacrifices after a lapse of two years, with incense, lamps, and the presentation of
 the shew-bread. This done, they fell prostrate before the Lord with entreaties that they might never
 again incur such disasters, but that, if ever they should sin, he would chasten them with forbearance,
 instead of handing them over to blasphemous and barbarous pagans. Now it so happened that the
 cleansing of the sanctuary took place on the very day on which it had been profaned by aliens, on
 the twenty-fifth day of the same month, which is Chislev. And they celebrated it for eight days
 with gladness like a feast of tabernacles, remembering how, not long before, during the feast of
 tabernacles they had been wandering like wild beasts in the mountains and the caves. So, bearing
 wands wreathed with leaves and fair boughs and palms, they offered hymns of praise to him who had
 prospered the cleansing of his own place, and also passed a public order and decree that all the
 Jewish nation should keep these ten days every year.

X. 9-38. *Further campaigns of Judas.*

9 Such was the end of Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes. We will now explain what occurred
 under Antiochus Eupator, the son of that godless man, summarizing the calamities of the wars.
 11 When he succeeded to the throne, he appointed a certain Lysias as his chancellor and as supreme
 12 governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia. For Ptolemy, who was called Macron, had set an example
 of justice to the Jews in righting wrongs done to them, and had endeavoured to deal amicably
 13 with them. For this he was arraigned before Eupator by the king's Friends; on every side he heard
 himself called a traitor for having abandoned the island of Cyprus which Philometor had entrusted
 to him, and for having sided with Antiochus Epiphanes: so, feeling unable to maintain the prestige of
 his position, he took poison in a fit of despair and made away with himself.
 14 But when Gorgias became governor of this district, he maintained a force of mercenaries and kept
 15 up war with the Jews at every turn. Besides that, the Idumaeans, who were in possession of important
 strongholds, harassed the Jews and did their utmost to keep the feud going by welcoming the refugees
 16 from Jerusalem. But Maccabaeus and his men, after solemnly imploring and beseeching God to

29. **bosom-friend.** A Hellenistic court title (cp. Fränkel in *Altertümer von Pergamon*, viii. 1, pp. 111 f.) here as in Acts xiii. 1 and in the inscription of Delos (see above, on iii. 7) which assigns it to Heliodorus.

X. 3. **striking fire out of flints.** According to the ancient view that only fire obtained thus fresh from nature, i.e. struck from flints or otherwise (cp. i. 22 f.), could be used to rekindle altar-fires. 'Two' years is a mistake for 'three' (cp. i. Macc. iv. 54).

6. **wandering, &c.** v. 27, Heb. xi. 37-8.

11. **a certain Lysias.** The off-hand allusion to Lysias (*ῥωσι*) is on a par with the unhistorical conception of the regent's position (cp. i. Macc. iii. 32, vi. 17, &c.).

12. **For** gives the reason why Lysias was made governor of Coele Syria and Phoenicia, which Ptolemy (cp. viii. 8) had hitherto ruled. The boy-king must have been a puppet in the hands of Lysias: the latter was responsible for the impeachment of Ptolemy, who was evidently suspected by the anti-Semites on much the same flimsy pretext as Desdemona ('She did deceive her father, marrying you. And . . .').

13. **the king's Friends.** This title was revived by the phalanx of political mercenaries in the eighteenth century who intrigued for George III. As though, said Junius, the mass of Englishmen were enemies of the king!

prestige. Grimm's conjecture, *εισηγορία*, for the textual variants (*εισηγορία*, *εισηγορία*, *εισηγορία*, &c.) gives an excellent sense, but the words in *ἀδελφία* (56), though poorly supported by MS. evidence, are too vivid and essential to be a gloss.

15. **the refugees.** i.e. Hellenistic Jews expelled by Judas.

II MACCABEES 10. 17—11. 4

17 fight on their side, rushed at the strongholds of the Idumaeans and, after a vigorous assault, captured the positions, beating off those who manned the walls, slaying any whom they came across, and
18 slaughtering no fewer than twenty thousand. No less than nine thousand took refuge in two
19 extremely strong towers, which were well equipped to stand a siege; so Maccabaeus left Simon and Joseph, together with Zacchaeus and his division, as a force adequate for the siege, and went off
20 in person to various places where he was needed. But the covetous retinue of Simon allowed themselves to be bribed by some of those inside the towers, and let some of them slip out, on payment of
21 seventy thousand drachmas. When Maccabaeus learned of what had occurred, he summoned the leaders of the nation and accused them of selling their brethren for money, by setting their enemies
22 free to fight against them; then he slew these men for having turned traitors and instantly stormed
23 the two towers. Successful in every feat of arms which he undertook, he destroyed in the two strongholds more than twenty thousand men.
24 Now Timotheus, who had been previously defeated by the Jews, mustered a foreign force of vast size, and raised a large detachment of Asiatic cavalry, and arrived in Judaea as though he meant
25 to capture it by force of arms. But on his approach Maccabaeus and his men sprinkled earth upon
26 their heads and girded their loins with sackcloth, in supplication to God, and falling down upon the step in front of the altar besought Him to show favour graciously to them, to be the enemy of their
27 enemies, and the adversary of their adversaries, as the law affirmeth. Then rising from prayer they took up their arms and advanced some distance from the city, halting when they drew near to the
28 enemy. And when the dawn came, the two armies joined battle; one had a pledge of success and victory, not only in their valour but in their appeal to the Lord, while the other side were impelled
29 to the struggle by their own passions. And as the fight waxed fierce, the enemy saw five resplendent
30 men from heaven on horses with golden bridles, who led on the Jews and took Maccabaeus between them, sheltering him with their armour and preserving him scatheless; they also showered arrows and thunderbolts on the enemy till, blinded and disordered, they were utterly bewildered and cut to
31 pieces. Twenty thousand five hundred were slain, with six hundred horsemen, and Timotheus himself took refuge in a stronghold called Gazara, which was very strongly fortified under command
32 of Chaeceas. The troops of Maccabaeus laid eager siege to this fort for twenty-four days, during
33 which time the besieged, who relied on the strength of the place, blasphemed furiously and gave vent to impious cries. But, as the twenty-fifth day dawned, twenty youths from the Maccabean army, burning with anger at all this blasphemy, stormed the wall like men, and in a wild fury of passion
34 proceeded to cut down every one they met. Meantime others had followed them up by a wheel movement and had set fire to the towers, kindling fires and burning the blasphemers alive, while
35 some burst the gates open and admitted the rest of the band. So they captured the city, and killed Timotheus, who had concealed himself in a cistern, and his brother Chaeceas, and Apollonphanes.
36 Having accomplished this feat, they sang hymns of thanksgiving, blessing the Lord who rendereth great services to Israel and giveth them the victory.

XI. 1-38. *Defeat of Lysias, and terms of peace arranged.*

11 1 Quite soon after this, Lysias, the king's guardian and kinsman and chancellor, who was seriously
2 annoyed at what had taken place, collected about eighty thousand infantry with all his cavalry and
3 marched against the Jews, intending to make the city a residence for Greeks, to levy tribute on the temple as on the other sacred places of the nations, and to put up the high-priesthood for sale
4 every year; for he never reckoned with the might of God, but was puffed up with his own myriads

19. **Zacchaeus** (cp. viii. 22) is otherwise unknown, unless his name is explained from 1 Macc. v. 56. Thus Grotius conjectured that the original reading here was *καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ζαχαρίου*.

21. **selling their brethren for money.** i.e. betraying the wider interests of the nation for the sake of pecuniary advantage to themselves.

24. **Asiatic cavalry.** The Iranian cavalry were a famous item in the Seleucid armies; but if *ἵππους* here is equivalent to *horses*, probably Media is intended specially.

25. **sprinkled earth upon their heads.** See xiv. 15 and 1 Macc. xi. 71.

26. **as the law affirmeth.** Cp. Exod. xxiii. 22.

28. **came.** Literally 'succeeded the night' (*ἐπαχθόμενος* as in Wisd. vii. 30).

30. **led on the Jews, &c.** Reading *Ἰουδαίων, οἱ καὶ κτλ.* (instead of *Ἰουδαίων οἱ δύο καὶ κτλ.*). *Δύο* is the gloss of a scribe who wished to emphasize that Judas was escorted by two of the angels, one on each side (so Grimm).

32. **Gazara.** Gezer was really captured by Simon (1 Macc. xiii. 43 f.), but, in this extract, the credit of the exploit is assigned to the troops of Judas, the only Maccabee in whom the book is interested, and the story is retold in order to bring out the religious fanaticism of the Jewish army (cp. Koster in *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, 1878, pp. 519 f.). This strong post, on a ridge of the Shephelah, was 'virtually the key of Judaea at a time when Judaea's foes came down the coast from the north' (G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geogr. of Holy Land*, pp. 215 f.). But, if the story is taken as an independent narrative, Gazara must be identified with Jazer (1 Macc. v. 8) in Gilead.

II MACCABEES 11. 5-33

5 of infantry and thousands of cavalry and eighty elephants. On entering Judaea, he came up to
6 Bethsaron, a strong fort about five leagues from Jerusalem, and pressed it hard. Now when Maccabaeus
and his men learned that he was besieging the strongholds, they and all the people wailed and wept,
7 beseeching the Lord to send a good angel to save Israel. Maccabaeus himself was the first to take
up arms, and he urged the others to join him at the hazard of their lives, in order to succour their
8 brethren. So they sallied forth, all together, right willingly. And ere ever they had left Jerusalem,
9 a rider appeared at their head, in white apparel, brandishing weapons of gold; and they joined in
blessing God the merciful and were still more encouraged; ready now to break through not only
10 men but ferocious beasts and walls of iron, they advanced in array with their heavenly ally—for the
11 Lord had mercy on them. And leaping like lions upon the foe, they slew eleven thousand of
12 their infantry, and sixteen hundred of their cavalry, and forced all the rest to flee. The majority
only escaped with wounds and the loss of their arms, while Lysias himself had to save his life by
13 a disgraceful flight. Now Lysias was no fool. Thinking over the defeat he had sustained, and
14 recognizing that the Hebrews were invincible, thanks to the mighty God who was their ally, he sent
to persuade them to agree to a fair and comprehensive settlement, undertaking that he would even
15 induce the king to become their friend. Maccabaeus agreed to all the terms proposed by Lysias,
thereby showing a sagacious regard for the interests of the people, since the king did grant all the
16 written demands which Maccabaeus made to Lysias on behalf of the Jews. Now the letter addressed
by Lysias to the Jews was to this effect:

17 Lysias to the people of the Jews, greeting. Your envoys, John and Absalom, have presented the
18 appended petition and asked for a decision upon its contents. I have therefore informed the king
19 of whatever had to be laid before him, and he has agreed to all that could be granted. If you will
20 maintain your goodwill toward the State, I will endeavour in future to promote your interests, and,
as for this particular business, I have instructed your representatives and my own to confer with
21 you. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth year, on the four and twentieth day
of the month Dioscurus.

22 The king's letter ran as follows:

23 King Antiochus to his brother Lysias, greeting. Now that our father hath passed over to the
gods, it is our pleasure that the subjects of the realm should live undisturbed and attend to their own
24 concerns. As for our Jewish subjects, we understand that they object to our father's project of
bringing them over to Hellenism, preferring their own ways of life and asking permission to follow
25 their own customs. It is our will therefore that this nation also shall not be disturbed, and we have
decided to give them back their temple and to permit them to live after the manner of their
26 ancestors. Thou wilt do well therefore to send messengers to them and give them the right hand
of fellowship, that they may know our purpose and be of good heart and cheerfully settle down to
their own business.

27 The king's letter to the nation was as follows:

28 King Antiochus to the senate of the Jews and to the rest of the Jews, greeting. If you fare well,
29 it is as we wish; we too are in good health. Menelaus has informed us of your desire to return
home and attend to your own affairs. Those Jews then who return home up to the thirtieth day of
30 Xanthicus shall have our friendship, with full permission to use their own food and to observe their
31 own laws as of yore; none of them shall be molested in any way for any unwitting offence. More-
32 over, I have sent Menelaus to reassure you. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth
33 year, on the fifteenth day of Xanthicus.

XI. 5. Bethsaron (*Βηθσαρὼν*, gen. after *συνεγγισίας* as in 1 Macc. xi. 4, xiii. 3, &c.) in 1 Macc. iv. 29 is the strategic fort of Beth-zur, commanding the highroad from Jerusalem to Hebron. The *β. λ. ὀχίονος* (*ὀχίονος* = thirty stadii) for *σβαλίων* is probably an attempt to correct the error of placing B. so near to Jerusalem, unless the writer (or his source) confused the place with another of the same name in the vicinity of the capital, e.g. Bet Sahūr (Grimm), or Keir-et-Tūr (on the Mount of Olives, cp. Schick in *Palest. Explor. Fund Quarterly*, 1895, p. 37). The *ὀχίονος*-reckoning, which brings up its distance to 150 stadii, would almost harmonize with the statement of Eusebius that Beth-zur lay 160 stadii from Jerusalem, but this reckoning never occurs elsewhere in 2 Maccabees (cp. xii. 9, &c.).

6. a good angel. Cp. xv. 23; Tobit v. 21. He came in white apparel, the conventional guise of angels.

14. induce the king. Text corrupt. Translation omits *ἀναγκάσειν*.

16. to this effect. For an analogous expression see Acts xxiii. 25.

people. *πληθὺς* here, as in 1 Macc. viii. 20, &c., is used in its official and political sense of *δῆμος* (see below, ver. 34).

17. Absalom. Possibly the same as the Absalom of 1 Macc. xiii. 11.

21. the month Dioscurus. The *Διοσκειρεῖον* of A, &c. (cp. the *Διοσκειρεῖον* of V in ver. 28) is either a corruption of *Διοσχοῖ* (read by some MSS. in Tobit ii. 12; Addit. Esth. xiii. 6, as an equivalent for Adar), or some intercalary month between Dystus and Xanthicus (cp. below, vers. 33 and 38), or, most probably, an error for *Διοσκειρεῖον* (i.e. the third month of the Cretan calendar). When *Διοὺς Κορυμβίου* is read, the first month of the Macedonian calendar is perhaps meant (*Διοὺς* = Marcheshvan, the *Maparashvan* of Josephus, *Antiq.* i. iii. 3, &c.), and the name betrays the king's love of introducing Hellenic novelties into the very calendar of the East.

29. to return home. Literally 'to go down' (i.e. from Jerusalem to the country-districts).

II MACCABEES 11. 34—12. 20

34 The Romans also sent them a letter to this effect:

Quintus Memmius and Titus Manlius, ambassadors of the Romans, to the nation of the Jews, greeting. With reference to what Lysias, the king's kinsman, has granted you, we hereby give our consent. As for the points which he decided were to be referred to the king, send some one at once to advise on them, that we may act in your interests. We are off to Antioch; make haste, then, to send some of your number, that we may know what your mind is. Fare ye well. Written in the hundred and forty-eighth year, on the fifteenth day of Xanthicus.

XII. 1-45. *Fresh campaigns of Judas.*

12 After these agreements had been concluded, Lysias went away to the king, while the Jews devoted themselves to husbandry. But some of the local governors, Timotheus and Apollonius, the son of Gennaëus, with Hieronymus and Demophon, and also Nicanor, the governor of Cyprus, would not let them alone or leave them at peace. Some inhabitants of Joppa also perpetrated the following crime: they invited the Jewish residents to embark, with their wives and children, in boats which they provided, as if they meant no harm at all but were simply acting according to the public regulations of the town. The Jews agreed to go, since they wished to be peaceable and had no suspicions; but, when they were out at sea, the men of Joppa drowned no fewer than two hundred of them. Now when Judas heard of this brutal cruelty to his fellow-countrymen, he summoned his men, called on God the righteous Judge, and attacked the murderers of his brethren, setting fire to the haven by night, burning the boats, and putting to the sword those who had fled thither. Then, as the town was shut against him, he retired, intending to come back and extirpate the entire community of Joppa. And on learning that the inhabitants of Jamnia meant to carry out the same kind of plot against the local Jews, he attacked them also by night, and set fire to the haven and the fleet, so that the glare of the light was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs distant. Now when they had drawn off nine furlongs from thence, on their march against Timotheus, they were attacked by no fewer than five thousand Arabs, with five hundred horse-men, and a stiff fight was waged in which, by God's help, Judas and his men won the victory. The vanquished nomads besought Judas to be their friend, promising to give him cattle and to be of service in other ways, and Judas, with the idea that they would really be of use in a number of ways, agreed to keep peace with them; whereupon, after pledging friendship, they departed to their tents. He also fell upon a town which was strongly fortified with earthworks and walls, and inhabited by a mixed population; its name was Caspin. The inhabitants, relying on the strength of their walls and their ample provisions, scoffed insolently at Judas and his men, and, more than that, blasphemed and uttered cries of impiety; but Judas and his men, invoking the great Sovereign of the world, who without rams and instruments of war had laid Jericho low in the days of Joshua, made a furious attack on the walls, and, capturing the town by the will of God, they massacred an unspeakable number, so much so that the adjoining lake, which was two furlongs broad, looked as though it were filled with the deluge of blood. Drawing off seven hundred and fifty furlongs from thence, they made their way to Charax, to the Jews who are styled Tubieni. Timotheus they did not find in that locality; he had gone off without achieving any success, and left behind him in a certain post an extremely strong garrison. But Dosithens and Sosipater, captains of Maccabæus, sallied out and destroyed the troops left by Timotheus in the stronghold, over ten thousand men. Whereupon Maccabæus, arranging his men in divisions, set a leader over each division, and hurried after Timotheus, who had with him

34. **Titus Manlius.** In 163 B.C., two years later than the date of this letter, a certain Manius Sergius was one of the envoys to Antiochus Epiphanes (Polybius, xxxi. 9. 6), and in 164 B.C. T. Manlius Torquatus went on a mission to Egypt (Livy, xliii. 11), but there is no record of any Roman envoys to Syria bearing the names of Q. Memmius and T. Manius (or Manlius). Niese (72 f.), in his desire to identify one of them, emends the reading of V (*Manios Epimor*) into *Manios Sapior*, and takes *Tiros* as the corruption of a name ending in -tius. But this is too heavy a price to pay for vindicating the historicity of the passage. For *πρωτεύς* (*senex*) = *πρωτεύς* (*legatus*) see I Macc. xiv. 22, xv. 17, Philon 9.

XII. 6. **thither.** I.e. to the coast, where refugees from the interior were trying to escape by sea.

13. **earthworks.** For *γεφυρών* (om. V, Syr., &c.) read *γεφύρας* (55, Vg. = *firmam pentibus*) with Grimm and Kamphausen, in sense of 'embankments' or 'earthworks'. In I Macc v. 26-36 Judas, during his raid into Gilead, captures Casphor among other towns, and subsequently (46 f.) storms Ephron, an 'extremely strong' town. When 'Gephyron' is retained here, it may be identified with this Ephron, as the 'Gephyrus' of Polyb. v. 70. 12, or with Heshbon, which had a large reservoir adjacent (ver. 16). Otherwise the town's name, Caspin (or Caspis), must be connected with Casphor, i.e. the modern el-Muzeirir, 'the great station on the Hajj road' (so G. A. Smith, *Eng.ycl. Bible*, i. 707-8, who pronounces Furrer's identification of Casphon with Chishu as 'philologically improbable').

20. **over each division.** Reading *rois*, Grimm's conjecture for the MSS. *airois*.

II MACCABEES 12. 21-42

- 21 a hundred and twenty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry. Now as soon as Timotheus heard of the onset of Judas, he sent forward the women and children and also the baggage into a place called Carnaim, which was hard to besiege and difficult of access owing to its narrow approaches on all sides. But when the first division of Judas appeared in sight, panic seized the enemy, who were terrified by the manifestation of Him who beholdeth all things; they took to flight in all directions, so that many got hurt by their own men and wounded by the points of one another's swords, while Judas kept up a hot pursuit, putting the wicked wretches to the sword, and destroying as many as thirty thousand men. Timotheus himself fell into the hands of Dositheus and Sosipater, whom he adjured with plenty of specious guile to spare him and let him go, on the ground that he had the parents of many and the brothers of some in his power, and that (if he were not released) it would be the worse for them. So, to save their brethren, they let him go, after he had solemnly pledged himself with many an oath to restore them unhurt. Then Judas attacked 27 Carnaim and the temple of Atargatis, massacring twenty-five thousand persons, and after this rout and slaughter he made war against Ephron, a strong city, where Lysias had a residence and where the inhabitants came from all nationalities. Stalwart young men drawn up in front of the walls offered a resolute defence, and the place held ample stores of military engines and darts, but the Jews invoked the Sovereign who crusheth forcibly the strength of his enemies, and got the city into their hands, destroying as many as twenty-five thousand of the inhabitants. Setting out from thence they marched in haste against Scythopolis, which is six hundred furlongs from Jerusalem, but since the local Jews testified to the goodwill shown them by the Scythopolitans and to their humane conduct during periods of misfortune, they simply thanked them and enjoined them to continue well-disposed to their race in future. Then they marched up to Jerusalem, as the feast of weeks was close at hand.
32. 31 After the feast called Pentecost they hurried against Gorgias, the governor of Jamnia, who came out to meet them with three thousand foot soldiers and four hundred cavalry. And when they 35 joined battle, it came to pass that a few of the Jews fell. But a man Dositheus, belonging to the Tubieni, who was a powerful horseman, caught hold of Gorgias and, gripping his mantle, dragged him off by main force, meaning to capture the accursed wretch alive. A Thracian horseman bore 36 down on him, however, and disabled his arm, so that Gorgias managed to escape to Marisa. And as Esdris and his men were now exhausted by the long fight, Judas called upon the Lord to 37 show he was their ally and leader in the fight; then, raising the war-cry and songs of praise in the language of the fathers, he made an unexpected rush against the troops of Gorgias and routed them. 38 And Judas took his army to the town of Adullam, where, as the seventh day was coming on, they 39 purified themselves according to custom and kept the sabbath. Next day, when the troops of Judas went—as it was high time they did—to pick up the corpses of the slain, in order to bring them 40 home to lie with their kinsfolk in their fathers' sepulchres, they discovered under the shirts of every one of the dead men amulets of the idols of Jamnia—a practice forbidden the Jews by law. All saw 41 at once that this was why they had perished, and, blessing the (dealings) of the Lord, the just Judge 42 who revealeth what is secret, all betook themselves to supplication, beseeching that the sin committed might be wholly blotted out; and the noble-hearted Judas exhorted the people to keep themselves from sin, after what they had seen with their own eyes as the result of sin committed by those

21. **Carnaim.** The Carnaim of 1 Macc. v. 26, 43, where Derketo, the fish-goddess (cp. W. R. Smith's *Religion of Semites*², pp. 171 f.; Cheyne in *Encycl. Biblica*, i. 379), was worshipped as Atargatis (see below, ver. 26).

26. **Then, &c.** Resuming the narrative of ver. 23, after the interlude of vv. 24-25.

29. **Scythopolis,** the Bethshan of 1 Macc. v. 52, is so named in Judith iii. 10 and Polybius v. 70. 4 (cp. Rix, *Tent and Testament*, pp. 152 f.). Though a Hellenistic town under the Syrian power, it was not bitterly anti-Semitic at this period.

32. **Jamnia.** The change (Grotius) of Ἰδομπαίας into Ἰαμνίας brings the narrative more into line with ver. 40, 1 Macc. v. 58-9, and Josephus, *Ant.* XII. viii. 6 (where Gorgias is called Ἰαμνίας ἀρχηγός).

35. **Dositheus.** Evidently a different man from the Dositheus of vv. 19 and 24. For τοῦ Βασιλίου read (with 19, 62, 64, 93; so Niese) τοῦ Τυβιηνίου (Τυβιηνίου). Dositheus belonged to the Tubieni Jews of ver. 17.

36. **Esdris.** The Πύπρις of A 24, 64, &c., is more probably a correction of Ἐδρίης, due to the feeling that Esdris (for the name cp. 1 Chron. xxvii. 26) has not hitherto been mentioned, than of Ἐδρίης (i. e. priests called after Ezra, Ewald). The epitomist, with characteristic carelessness, has forgotten to transcribe from Jason any previous allusion to this Jewish captain; hence the abruptness of his introduction. The earlier part of the engagement seems to have been costly and doubtful (for the reason assigned in ver. 40), but Judas as usual, with divine aid, proves successful in the end.

38. **the town of Adullam.** Not far from Marisa (the Mareshah of 1 Macc. v. 66); cp. Micah i. 15; 2 Chron. xi. 7; Neh. xi. 30.

purified themselves. i. e. from the stains of recent contact with pagans as well as of bloodshed.

40. **a practice forbidden.** Deut. vii. 26, &c. These ἱερήματα were small portable idols, worn as amulets (see W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of Semites*², pp. 208-9, and L. Blau, *Das altjüd. Zauberkraut*, pp. 86-7).

43 who had fallen. He then collected from them, man by man, the sum of two thousand drachmas of silver, which he forwarded to Jerusalem for a sin-offering. In this he acted quite rightly and properly, bearing in mind the resurrection—for if he had not expected the fallen to rise again, it would have been superfluous and silly to pray for the dead—and having regard to the splendour of the gracious reward which is reserved for those who have fallen asleep in godliness—a holy and pious consideration! Hence he made propitiation for the dead, that they might be released from their sin.

XIII. 1–26. *Lysias and Eupator forced to make terms with Jews.*

- 13¹ In the hundred and forty-ninth year tidings were brought to Judas and his men that Antiochus² Eupator was marching with large troops against Judaea, accompanied by Lysias his guardian and chancellor, each commanding a Greek force consisting of a hundred and ten thousand foot-soldiers, five thousand three hundred cavalry, twenty-two elephants, and three hundred chariots armed with scythes. Menelaus also attached himself to them and, making loud pretences of patriotism, abetted Antiochus—not that he cared for the safety of the fatherland, but because he thought he would be appointed to office. But the King of kings stirred the anger of Antiochus against the scoundrel, and, learning from Lysias that he was responsible for all the troubles, he ordered him to be taken to Beroea and put to death there in the local fashion. For at Beroea there is a tower, fifty cubits high, filled with (hot) ashes, and a revolving contrivance which drops the victim sheer into the ashes. To this they bring any one who is guilty of sacrilege or other heinous crimes, and they all push him on, to meet his doom. By such a fate it befell that Menelaus, the law-breaker, died, not even getting a grave in earth. And this was perfectly just. Many a sin had he committed against the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy; by ashes, then, he got his death.
- 9 Now the king was coming in hot indignation to inflict on the Jews the very sorest of the sufferings that had befallen them in his father's time. But when Judas heard this, he bade the people call day and night on the Lord, that he would succour them, now if ever, as they were on the point of losing the Law, their country, and the holy temple, and that he would not allow the people, after their brief and recent revival, to fall into the hands of profane pagans. Now when they had all done so with one accord, and implored the merciful Lord for three days without ceasing, weeping and fasting and lying prostrate, Judas addressed them and ordered them to get ready. After consulting privately with the elders, he determined that, before the king could throw his army into Judaea and master the city, they would march out and decide the issue by the help of God. So, committing the outcome of it to the Creator of the world, and charging his men to fight stoutly, even to death, for laws, temple, city, country, and polity, he pitched his camp near Modin, and, giving his troops the watchword of VICTORY IS GOD'S, he and a picked body of his bravest young men made an onset by night upon the royal tent and slew as many as two thousand men within the camp; they also stabbed the chief elephant and his mahout, and finally, after filling the camp with panic and confusion, got away triumphantly, just as the day began to dawn. This was due to the help of God's protection.
18. 19 After this taste of the Jews' prowess the king used stratagem in attacking their positions. Thus he moved upon Beth-sura, a strong fortress of the Jews, was routed, dashed at it (again), was worsted.
20. 21 Judas got the necessaries of life conveyed to those inside. But Rhodocus, a Jewish soldier, betrayed the secrets of the Jews to the enemy; search was made for him, he was arrested and imprisoned.
- 22 Again the king made overtures to the residents in Beth-sura, pledged his right hand, took theirs,

43. man by man. *κατ' ἀνδραλογίαν* (Swete) or *κατ' ἀνδραλογίαν* (V, 74, Fritzsche) is a corruption of *κατ' ἀνδρα λογίαν* (44, 71, cp. Deissmann's *Bible-Studies*, pp. 219–20) or *λογίαν*. The following *κατασκευάσματα* is to be omitted (with 52, 55, 74, 106, 243) as a gloss. The sacrifice for the dead is recounted in such a way as to suggest that the writer anticipated, not unnaturally, objections to it on the score of novelty. It is, from the religious standpoint, one of the remarkable contributions made by this book to our knowledge of contemporary Judaism.

XIII. 2. elephants. The elephants and their mahouts (ver. 15) were imported by the Seleucid monarchs from India. The 'futile device' of the scythed chariot (*ἄρμα διασπασφόρον*, *currus falcatus*) was used as late as the battle of Magnesia (cp. Livy xxxvii. 40–1), 'but it may be questioned whether after the experience of that day they were used again' (Bevan, *House of Seleucus*, ii. 290).

5. Nothing otherwise is known of this local custom at Beroea (the modern Aleppo), 'but suffocation in a pit full of ashes was a recognised Persian punishment, and one frequently inflicted upon offenders of a high class' (Rawlinson). See Ovid's *Ibis*, 317–18.

6. they bring. Reading *ἄρουντες* (Niese) for the unintelligible *ἀπαυρες* of the MSS., and *προωθοῖσιν* below ('push on') for the *προσωθοῖσιν* of the MSS. With 7–8 cp. iv. 26, ix. 5–6, Wisd. xvi. 1.

15. stabbed. Reading *ἐνεκέντησε* (cp. xii. 23), Grimm's ingenious correction of the meaningless *συνέθηκεν* of the MSS.

17. just as . . . dawn. This. Omitting (with V) the *δε* after *ἑσπεραιομένης* and adding (with V, so Niese) *δὲ* after *τοῦτο*. Judas still believed in night-attacks (viii. 7).

21. Rhodocus apparently was more leniently treated than the earlier traitors (x. 22).

22. pledged his right hand, took theirs. &c. See xii. 12. The writer, or the source which he is hurriedly recapitu-

23 departed, attacked the forces of Judas, was defeated, heard that Philip who had been left as chancellor in Antioch had become desperate, was confounded by the news, proposed peace to the Jews, submitted with an oath to all their equitable conditions, came to terms with them and offered 24 sacrifice, honoured the sanctuary and the sacred Place, behaved humanely, took gracious farewell 25 of Maccabaeus, left Hegemonides in command from Ptolemais to Gerar, went to Ptolemais. The men of Ptolemais felt sore over the treaty; they were excessively indignant with the Jews and 26 wanted to annul the articles of the agreement. Lysias advanced to the bema, defended it as well as possible, convinced them, pacified and won them over, departed to Antioch. Such was the course of the king's inroad and retreat.

XIV. 1-46. *Intrigues and threats of Nicanor.*

14 1 Now after the space of three years Judas and his men learned that Demetrius the son of Seleucus 2 had sailed into the haven of Tripolis with a powerful army and fleet, and had seized the country, 3 after making away with Antiochus and Lysias his guardian. And Alcimus, a former high-priest, who had voluntarily polluted himself in days when there was no trafficking (with the Gentiles), and who therefore judged he was no longer safe and that he was now debarred entirely from the holy 4 altar, came to king Demetrius in the hundred and fifty-first year with the present of a golden crown and palm, and, in addition to these customary gifts, some of the olive-branches from the temple. 5 The first day he said nothing. But when he did get a chance of furthering his infatuated enterprise, on being summoned to confer with Demetrius and being asked about the temper and aims of the 6 Jews, he replied: It is the Jews called Hasidæans, led by Judas Maccabæus, who are keeping up the 7 feud and stirring sedition; they will not let the kingdom settle down in peace. Wherefore, deprived of 8 my ancestral glory—I mean, the high-priesthood—I have now come hither, primarily from a sincere concern for the king's interests, and secondly from anxiety on behalf of my own fellow-citizens: for 9 the recklessness of the aforesaid party has involved our nation in no small misfortune. Acquaint thyself, O king, with the details of this business, and take measures on behalf of our country and our 10 sorely tried nation, according to the gracious kindness which thou showest to all. For as long as 11 Judas is alive, it is impossible for the State to be at peace. When he said this, the rest of the king's 12 Friends, who cherished ill will against Judas, hastened to inflame Demetrius still further against him, 13 and, after instantly summoning Nicanor, formerly master of the elephants, and appointing him 14 governor of Judæa, he dispatched him with written instructions to make away with Judas and to 15 scatter his troops and to set up Alcimus as high-priest of the great temple. Now all the heathen throughout Judæa, whom Judas had driven to flight, flocked to join Nicanor, anticipating that the 16 misfortunes and calamities of the Jews would mean gain to them. But when the Jews heard of Nicanor's inroad and the onset of the heathen, they sprinkled earth upon their heads and solemnly 17 invoked Him who had established his own people to all eternity and who ever upholds those who 18 are his Portion with visible aid. Then, by order of their leader, they at once started out and joined 19 battle with them at a village called Lessau. Now Simon, the brother of Judas, had already 20 encountered Nicanor and, thrown suddenly into consternation by the foe, had sustained a temporary 21 check. Nevertheless, Nicanor shrank from deciding the issue at the sword's point, as he had heard of the manliness and the courage shown by the troops of Judas in fighting for their country. He therefore sent Posidonius and Theodotus and Mattathias to give and receive pledges of friend-

ship. After full consideration, when the proposals were laid by the general before the troops, and it appeared they were all of one mind, the compact was agreed to, and a day was fixed for the two

lating, glosses over the fact that the fortress was starved into surrender (1 Macc. vi. 49-50), and that Judas was routed (cp. Josephus, *Ant.* XII. ix. 5).

23. Cp. v. 22, ix. 29, where a different tradition emerges. It was really Lysias, not the king, who was upset by the news of Philip's move (cp. 1 Macc. vi. 55 f.).

24. *Hegemonides*. If *ἡγεμονίδης* is equivalent to *ἡγεμόν*, the story is guilty of another historical error in making Lysias appoint Judas as governor. But the word is more probably a proper name, formed on the analogy of *ἡγεμόν*, especially as *ἡγεμονίς* would otherwise be superfluous.

Gerar. For *Γερραῖων* (V), = 'the inhabitants of Gerrha', read *Γερραῖων* (*Γερραῖων* 55) = Gerar, SE. of Gaza (so Ewald), or Garar (Syr.), i.e. Gezer (Gazara) near Lydda (1 Macc. xv. 28, 35). The phrase means 'from Ptolemais on the north to G. on the south'. Gerrha (Gerra), between Rhinocura and Pelusium, belonged at this time to Egypt. Hence, unless the writer is held guilty of a serious error, the other reading is preferable.

XIV. 3. *voluntarily polluted himself, &c.* The Hellenistic proclivities of Alcimus were aggravated, to the writer's mind, by their gratuitousness; he had not been forced to adopt Syro-Greek customs, and he had not the excuse of any syncretistic current during his high-priesthood (cp. ver. 38).

14. *whom Judas had driven to flight*. A solecism (*μετὰ τὴν ἐκκέντησιν τῶν Ἰουδαίων*) apparently based on the analogous uses of *φεύγειν τινά* = 'to fly from one' (e.g. Herod. v. 62).

16. *Lessau*. The v. l. *Δεσσαύ* is connected by Ewald with the Adasa of 1 Macc. vii. 40, 45; otherwise neither Lessau nor Dessau can be identified.

17. *a temporary check*. Reading *βραχέως* (V) instead of *σπαδῶς* (A, 19, 44, 62, &c.).

- 22 leaders to meet by themselves. A litter was carried forward from each army; chairs of state were placed; Judas stationed armed men ready in suitable positions, lest the enemy should spring any treacherous attack; they carried through the conference duly. Nicanor stayed a while in Jerusalem and did nothing amiss: he even disbanded the hordes who had flocked to join his standard; he kept Judas always beside him; he had become heartily attached to the man, urged him to marry and beget children. He did marry, settled down, and enjoyed life.
- 26 But when Alcimus saw their mutual goodwill, he got hold of the treaty which had been concluded and went to Demetrius, alleging that Nicanor was ill affected toward the State, since he had appointed that conspirator Judas to be his successor. At this the king fell into a passion and, exasperated by the calumnies of the scoundrel, wrote to Nicanor that he was displeased at the compact, and ordered him to send Maccabaeus instantly as a prisoner to Antioch.
- 28 Nicanor was confounded by this news and sadly vexed at the thought of annulling the terms arranged, as the man had done no wrong. However, as the king could not be gainsaid, he bided his time to carry out the business by a stratagem. But Maccabaeus noticed that Nicanor was treating him with less friendliness and behaving more rudely than was his wont; so, reckoning this harshness was of a sinister character, he gathered a considerable number of his men and hid from Nicanor. The latter, conscious that he had been pluckily outwitted by Judas, went to the great and holy temple, while the priests were offering the usual sacrifices, and commanded them to deliver up the man. And when they swore they did not know where the man was whom he sought, he stretched forth his right hand toward the sanctuary, and swore this oath: Unless you hand over Judas as my prisoner, I will raze this shrine of God to the ground, and break down the altar, and erect on this spot a temple of Dionysus for all to see. With these words he went away. But the priests stretched forth their hands to heaven, invoking Him who ever fighteth for our nation, thus: O Lord, who hast no need of aught, as it hath pleased thee to have among us a sanctuary where thou dwellest, so now, O holy Lord, from whom is all hallowing, keep free from defilement for evermore this house so lately cleansed, and shut every impious mouth.
- 37 Now information was laid before Nicanor against a Jerusalemite elder called Razis, a patriot who was very highly esteemed, and addressed as Father of the Jews on account of his benevolence. For in bygone days, when there was no trafficking (with the Gentiles), he had been accused of Judaism, and had most resolutely risked body and life for Judaism. So Nicanor, with the intention of showing his hostility to the Jews, sent over five hundred soldiers to arrest him. For he meant to strike a blow at the Jews by this arrest. But when the troops were on the point of capturing the tower, forcing the outer door of the courtyard and calling for fire to set light to the doors, he fell upon his sword, seeing he was surrounded on every side; he preferred to die a noble death rather than fall into the scoundrels' hands and suffer outrages unworthy of his noble character. Owing to the hurry of the struggle, however, he missed his stroke, and, as a crowd of men was now pouring through the door, he pluckily ran up to the wall and threw himself bravely down among the crowds.
- 44 They drew back at once, so that he fell between them on the open street. Still alive, however, he got up in a fury of anger and ran, with blood pouring from him, sore wounded as he was, right through the crowds; then, standing on a steep rock, his blood now drained from him, he tore out his bowels, taking both his hands to them, and flung them at the crowds. So he died, calling on Him who is Lord of life and spirit to restore them to him again.

XV. 1-36. *Attack, defeat, and death of Nicanor.*

- 15 1 Now, learning that Judas and his men were in the region of Samaria, Nicanor determined to attack them without any risk upon the day of rest. And when the Jews who were forced to accompany him said, Destroy them not so savagely and barbarously, but show honour to the day which He who becometh all things hath hallowed in his holiness, the thrice-cursed wretch asked them if there was a Sovereign in heaven who had ordered the observance of the sabbath day. And when they declared, There is the living Lord, himself a Sovereign in heaven, who bade us observe the seventh day, he replied, I too am a sovereign on earth, and my orders are to take arms and execute the king's business. Nevertheless he did not succeed in executing his shocking purpose.
- 6 Now Nicanor, in the height of his overweening pride, had determined to erect a public trophy of victory over Judas and his men; but Maccabaeus still ceased not to trust with absolute confidence

24. the hordes, i.e. the supporters mentioned in ver. 14.

36. and shut every impious mouth. So 19, 62, φράξεν δὲ πᾶν στόμα ἁμίων (φράξεν . . . ἄδικον, 64, 93a), and S.

42. A higher motive for suicide than in the case of Ptolemy Macron (x. 13).

XV. 5. he did not succeed, &c. The writer gives no account of what transpired. The purpose of the excerpt is simply to exalt, in ultra-Pharisaic and unhistorical fashion (cp. 1 Macc. ii. 41), the rigid sabbatarianism of the Maccabean army.

II MACCABEES 15. 8-36

8 that he would obtain help from the Lord, and exhorted his company not to dread the onset of the heathen, but to keep in mind all the help they had formerly received from heaven and to expect at 9 the present hour the victory which would be theirs from the Almighty; and comforting them out of the law and the prophets, as well as recalling the struggles they had endured, he made them 10 more eager (for the fray). Then, after rousing their spirits, he issued his orders, and at the same time 11 pointed out the heathen's perfidy and breach of their oaths. He armed each man, not so much with confidence in shields and spears as with the heartening which comes from apt words, and also 12 cheered them all by recounting a reliable dream, a **sort of vision**. This was what he had seen: Onias, the former high priest, a good and great man, of stately bearing yet gracious in manner, well-spoken and trained from childhood in all points of virtue—Onias with outstretched hands invoking blessings 13 on the whole body of the Jews; then another man in the same attitude, conspicuous by his grey 14 hairs and splendour, and invested with marvellous, majestic dignity. This, Onias explained to him, is the lover of the brethren, who prayeth fervently for the people and the holy city. Jeremiah the 15 prophet of God. And Jeremiah held out his right hand to present Judas with a golden sword, and 16 as he gave it he addressed him thus: Take this holy sword as a gift from God, and with it thou shalt crush the foe.

17 So, encouraged by these truly heroic words of Judas, which had the power of rousing young souls to valour and stirring them to manliness, they determined not to pitch camp but manfully to set upon the foe and, by engaging them right valiantly hand to hand, to decide the issue, since the city 18 and the sanctuary and the temple were in danger. For their anxiety about wives and children, as well as about brethren and kinsfolk, weighed less with them than their supreme and chief anxiety 19 about the consecrated sanctuary. Whereas those left behind in the city were uneasy about the 20 encounter in the open country, and suffered no slight anguish. All were now waiting for the critical moment, the enemy had now **united their forces** and drawn up their line of battle, the elephants 21 were arranged for easy action, and the cavalry stationed on the wings, when Maccabaeus, surveying the hordes in front of him, with their varied weapons and fierce elephants, held up his hands to heaven and called upon the Lord, the worker of wonders, for he knew that victory is not decided 22 by weapons but won by the Lord for such as He judgeth to deserve it. And his prayer was in these terms: Thou, Sovereign Lord, didst send thine angel in the days of Hezekiah king of Judaea, and 23 he slew as many as a hundred and eighty-five thousand of Sennacherib's host; so now, O heavenly 24 Sovereign, send a good angel before us to scare and terrify the foe; by the great strength of thine 25 arm may those who have blasphemously assailed thy holy sanctuary be utterly dismayed. And as 26 he ended with these words, Nicanor and his men advanced with trumpets and paeans. But Judas 27 and his men joined battle with the enemy, calling upon God and praying; and so fighting with their hands, while they prayed to God with their hearts, they slew no fewer than thirty-five thousand men, 28 mightily cheered by the manifest help of God. The battle over, they were returning with joy, when 29 they recognized Nicanor lying dead in full armour: a shout of excitement arose, they blessed the 30 Sovereign Lord in the language of their fathers, and he who was ever in body and soul the protagonist of his fellow-citizens, he who retained through life his youthful patriotism, ordered Nicanor's head 31 and arm to be cut off and carried to Jerusalem. When he arrived there, and had called his countrymen together and set the priests before the altar, he sent for the garrison of the citadel, showed them 32 the vile Nicanor's head and the impious creature's hand which he had stretched out vauntingly 33 against the holy house of the Almighty: then, cutting out the impious Nicanor's tongue, he said he would throw it piecemeal to the birds and hang up the rewards of his insensate folly opposite the 34 sanctuary. And they all lifted to heaven their cry of blessing to the Lord who had manifested 35 himself, saying, Blessed be He who hath preserved his own Place undefiled. And he hung Nicanor's 36 head from the citadel, a clear and conspicuous token to all of the Lord's help. And all decided, by public decree, never to let this day pass uncelebrated, but to celebrate the thirteenth day of the twelfth month—called Adar in Syriac—the day before the day of Mordecai.

11. a **sort of vision**. Reading *ἕνα τι* for *ὅραμα τι*. This intercessory function of the saints is denied in Slav. En. liii. 1.

20. **united their forces**. Reading *συνεβλήσαντες* (V) for *προσμεβλήσαντες* (A).

21. and **fierce elephants**. Omitting, with V, *ἐν μέσσοις ελεφαντων*.

24. **sanctuary**. Reading *ναόν* (V) for *ἁγίον* (A). Cp. xiv. 33.

33. **the rewards of his insensate folly**. i.e. the mutilated head and hand (cp. 1 Macc. vii. 47), which were the miserable recompense of his insensate attack on the Jews. The citadel was not in the hands of the Jews at this period, however, but held by a Syrian garrison.

34. **to heaven . . . to the Lord**. Cp. 1 Macc. iv. 24, 55.

35. Cp. 1 Sam. xxxi. 10, Judith xiv. 1. For 'head' (as a rendering of *κεφαλή*) R. V. prefers 'head and shoulder' (cp. ver. 30).

II MACCABEES 15. 37-39

XV. 37-39. *Epilogue of the epitomist.*

37 Such was the history of Nicanor; and as the city was held from that period by the Hebrews,
38 I will make this the end of my story. If it has been well told, if it has been skilfully arranged, such
39 was my desire; but if it is poor and indifferent, that was all I could manage. For just as it is bad
to drink wine alone or again to drink water alone, whereas wine mixed with water proves at once
wholesome and delightful, so the skill with which a book is composed is a delight to the taste
of readers.

And here shall be the end.

37. the city was held from that period. A pious exaggeration: the citadel was not captured by the Jews till 142-141 B.C., and Antiochus Sidetes recaptured the city in 133 B.C.

39. This verse carries on the thought of the first part of the preceding verse; it has nothing to do with the second part. The writer expresses himself obscurely, although the obscurity may be due to some corruption of the text, but it is clear that he is not comparing graphic and prosaic passages in his narrative to wine and water, as if defending the blend of the two. He did his best, he pleads, to be pointed. For good style, blended with sound matter, adds to the reader's profit and pleasure; facts alone, and style alone, are alike inferior to this combination of history and literature.