

**LIBRARY**

OF THE

**Theological Seminary,**

**PRINCETON, N. J**

*Case* B31555 .....

*Shelf* 4, H514 .....

*Book* No. ....







DISSERTATIONS  
ON THE  
GENUINENESS OF DANIEL  
AND THE  
INTEGRITY OF ZECHARIAH.





DISSERTATIONS  
ON THE  
GENUINENESS OF DANIEL  
AND THE  
INTEGRITY OF ZECHARIAH.

BY  
DR E. W. HENGSTENBERG,  
Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.

TRANSLATED BY THE  
REV. B. P. PRATTEN.

AND  
A DISSERTATION  
ON THE  
HISTORY AND PROPHECIES OF BALAAM,

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

TRANSLATED BY  
J. E. RYLAND.

EDINBURGH:  
T. & T. CLARK, 38. GEORGE STREET:  
LONDON: SEELEY & CO.; WARD & CO.; JACKSON & WALFORD, &C.  
DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON.—NEW YORK: WILEY & PUTNAM.—BOSTON  
CROCKER & BREWSTER.—PHILADELPHIA: J. W. MOORE.

MDCCCXLVIII.

PRINTED BY  
M'COSE, PARK, AND DEWARS.  
DUNDEE.



## TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

---

THE Translator has felt the more interest in the preparation of the first of these Dissertations, from a conviction that it is just now, in England, a seasonable publication. Dr. Arnold's opinion of the Book of Daniel has recently obtained a wide circulation, and thus the subject has been *forced* on the attention of English readers. It is not uncommon to hear persons of some intelligence object to the issue of German works of this class in our country, as being, to say the least, unnecessary. "In England," we are told, "those doubts are unknown which beset a German mind; why, then, trouble ourselves with replies to objections which we do not feel?" This can no longer be said, at least respecting the "Authenticity of Daniel." The writer whose words we are about to quote has the merit of stating doubts which every one laying claim to the character of an intelligent reader of Scripture ought to feel, till he is able to remove them by a fair inductive investigation. The importance of the Book of Daniel, in particular, to the question of Inspiration, ought to give great interest to the subject. Dr. Arnold says—"I have long thought that the greater part of the Book of Daniel is most certainly a very late work, of the time of the Maccabees; and the pretended prophecy about the Kings of Grecia and Persia, and of the North and South, is mere history, like the poetical prophecies in Virgil and elsewhere. In fact, you can trace distinctly the date when it was written, because the events up to the date are given with historical minuteness, totally unlike the character of real Prophecy; and beyond that date all is imaginary. \* \* \* The self-same criticism which has established the authenticity of St John's Gospel against all questionings, does, I think, equally prove the non-authenticity of great part of Daniel; that there may be genuine fragments in it, is very likely." (Life, vol. ii. p. 195, 5th ed.) It is surely not desirable that such a statement should go forth,

sanctioned by a name of no ordinary piety, candour, and judgment, without some attempt to rescue the credit of a book of reputed Holy Scripture. The reader will judge how far our Author has met Dr. Arnold's objections. One circumstance is worthy of being noticed,—that these objections appear to have arisen primarily from a previous dogmatic view. Just before the passage quoted, it is said, in reference to his Sermons on Prophecy, “the points in particular on which I did not wish to enter, if I could help it, but which very likely I shall be forced to touch on, relate to the latter chapters of Daniel, *which, if genuine, would be a clear exception to my canon of interpretation*, as there can be no reasonable spiritual meaning made out of the Kings of the North and South.” Dr. Hengstenberg too has his theory of Prophecy, which is stated incidentally in this work; and it will be for the reader to determine whether he is consistent with himself in maintaining the Authenticity of Daniel; and if so, which of the two theories is nearer the truth. Dr. A. is not the only opponent who has set out in his examination with dogmatic prejudices, and the reader may be pleased to see in what manner our author deals with these.

To make the work more serviceable to general readers, most of the quotations have been translated. The aim throughout has been to give a correct and perspicuous version, even at the risk of sacrificing some other qualities.

A few errors have been noticed, some of which must be ascribed to the translator's distance from the press.

B. P. P.

## P R E F A C E .



THE Author, perceiving the urgent necessity of a reaction in the department of Introduction to the Old Testament, and feeling called upon for this purpose to render what little assistance might be in his power, at first entertained the idea of confronting the Compendium of Dr DE WETTE by another of about the same size. But he soon became aware, that a work which did not carry on the process of investigation before the eyes of its readers, but simply offered the results, could produce no substantial conviction in their minds, but would only contribute to a flip-pant condemnation of opponents—a thing extremely repugnant to his judgment. He perceived that such a publication could only be seasonable when all the principal topics belonging to an Introduction had been previously handled, either singly or in a complete work ; so that the Compendium might aim, and might need, to be nothing more than an epitome, to aid the memory, of results already sufficiently established. He formed the design, therefore, of constructing, when the Christology of the Old Testament should be finished, a complete Manual of Introduction, arranging the topics in the order hitherto usually observed. But this plan also he afterwards found himself obliged to relinquish, for two reasons. It did not seem proper to treat those questions which less affect the essentials of theology, and which, therefore, have been less subject to perversion by a Rationalistic bias, with the same copiousness as the others, as would have been necessary in a Manual ; or to place them, as must have been done, in some instances, before those inquiries, of which the results are of the utmost consequence, not only to theology as a science, but also to the Church. Besides this, there was another, a subjective ground. The interpretation of the Messianic predictions in the second part of Zechariah, and in the Book of Daniel, which was intended to be given in the second volume of the Christology, would have



had no foundation to rest on, if it were not preceded by proofs of the genuineness of these portions. Accordingly, the Author at first purposed to give these investigations in the Christology itself, with the same compressed brevity as those in the first volume respecting the genuineness of the second part of Isaiah. The execution of this design was not difficult in the case of Zechariah; but the impossibility of it in that of Daniel soon appeared. The number of arguments adduced against the genuineness of Scripture is here particularly large; few books of the Bible have been assailed by such practised combatants, and with such appearance of having truth on their side; the reply to several of the arguments against the genuineness necessarily demands, even in the most concise mode of presenting it, no little particularity; and the same may be said of the production of several of the positive arguments for the genuineness. In scarcely any one part of the inquiry can we refer to anything already published that exhausts the subject. The author soon discovered that it would be better to leave the task altogether untouched, than to confine it to the narrow limits that could be afforded in the Christology. The former he could not do, partly from its bearing on the Christology, partly because the investigation, once commenced, had excited too lively an interest in his mind. He was willing to hope that, by its successful accomplishment, of which, at the very commencement, there seemed the most favourable prospect, he might not only rescue the credit of this book, one of the most important of the Old Testament, but also excite in the minds of those who are not wilfully blinded to the truth, a wholesome suspicion of the entire body of Rationalistic criticism on the Old Testament, since its most triumphant result is considered to be the spuriousness of this very Book of Daniel! He determined, therefore, to undertake the inquiry in its full extent, and, instead of the Manual of Introduction to the Old Testament, before contemplated, to publish Contributions to it. The first volume, which now appears, is occupied with the dissertations on Daniel and on Zechariah, the latter appearing in the form in which it was originally intended for the Christology. The other volumes, whose appearance, although in a state of considerable forwardness, will be delayed to admit of the previous completion of the Christology, will next treat of the other spe-

cially important and disputed points, as the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, the Age of Job, the Age and Credibility of the Books of Chronicles and Esther, the Sources of the Historical Books, the Allegorical Interpretation of the Song of Solomon, &c., and then, if the Lord grant life and health, with all the remaining subjects of the Introduction ; so that the Contributions, when finished, may, by the aid of complete tables and indexes, serve the purpose of a proper Manual.

To the reply to the first objection against the Genuineness of Daniel, taken from the alleged Greek words, the author intends hereafter to make an addition, which he has not time now to work out, although much has already been collected for that purpose. He feels it, however, his duty to observe *now*, that the instrument *συμφωνία* is mentioned in a passage of POLYBIUS ; and that, on the other hand, no mention of it occurs in SERVIUS, although the Author, who had not a copy of him at hand in the first instance quoted him on the authority of GEIER, CH. BEN. MICHAELIS, WINER, &c. ; the slightest glance at the passage quoted (*Serv. ad Aen. xi., 737*) will suffice to show the mistake.

A friend, to whom the author shewed a part of the treatise on Daniel, observed to him that it might possibly require some explanation, why he had spoken throughout not so much in the tone of an inquirer, as in that of one who wished to satisfy others of a result already established. The author might reply, that every inquirer, before he presents the question in detail to the view of his readers, is supposed to have already fully made it out to his own satisfaction, and is consequently justified in affirming the certainty which he has derived from an investigation of the whole, even when he is handling the several parts, provided he does not require his readers to give to the several arguments a force beyond what actually belongs to them. But in the present case the author possesses a still more important justification. Being firmly persuaded that the Divine authority, and consequently the genuineness of Daniel, are decidedly maintained by our Lord and his apostles, he felt it neither possible nor becoming, according to his principles, for him to present the question as if he himself had any doubt about the result, or as if the decision depended in the smallest degree, to his own mind, on the issue of such inquiry ; he wished it to be conspicuous at every turn, that his

object was to offer that of which he was personally convinced by a higher than human authority, and with human weapons to defend it against those who do not acknowledge this authority. These parties cannot reasonably dispute the author's right to assume this position, so consonant with his principles, whilst, on the other hand, he is conscious that he has not invalidated his solution of any difficulty, by appealing to an authority not recognised by his opponents as well as himself.

The author thinks he has a right to expect that, as he has employed arguments in his book, he will be answered with arguments. If this righteous demand should not be acceded to, as he can hardly imagine it will, after the experience he has had in regard to the *Christology*, the loss will not fall upon him, but on those who attempt to annihilate evidence with abuse. There was a time when this might pass, when a sneering critique of a few lines in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek* could all but blast the fruits of many years' conscientious toil devoted to the cause of the Lord. But that time is now gone by. The author, however, will not on this account refuse to make a conscientious use of every well-founded criticism, in whatever way it may be offered.

In the correction of the proof sheets, and the preparation of the index, the author has been assisted by a valued Christian friend, Herr Hävernick, Cand. theol. of Mecklenburg, who is about shortly to offer to the learned world, as the first fruits of his studies, a complete commentary on Daniel. The author was much gratified to receive frequent occasion from him of subjecting his views to a more sifting test.

May the Lord bestow his blessing on this little work, and grant that some at least may be liberated by it from a portion of their prejudices against his Holy Word, and be strengthened in the faith!

THE AUTHOR.

BERLIN, January 10. 1831.



# CONTENTS.

## THE GENUINENESS OF DANIEL.

	Page
CHAP. I.—HISTORY OF ATTACKS ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL, ..	1
CHAP. II.—REPLY TO OBJECTIONS, .. .. .	9
Sect. i.—Alleged Greek Words, ✓ .. .. .	9
ii.—Impure Hebrew, .. .. .	16
iii.—Silence of Jesus Sirach, ✓ .. .. .	17
iv.—Position in the Canon, ✓ .. .. .	19
v.—Deprcciatory Statements of the Jews, .. .. .	25
vi.—The O. T. referred to as a Complete Whole, ✓ .. .. .	27
vii.—Aimless Profusion of Miracles, ✓ .. .. .	29
viii.—Historical Errors, .. .. .	34
ix.—Irreconcilable Contradictions, ✓ .. .. .	53
x.—Improbable and Suspicious Accounts, ✓ .. .. .	58
xi.—Later Ideas and Usages, .. ✓ .. .. .	113
xii.—Unusual Definiteness of the Prophecies, ✓ .. .. .	141
xiii.—This Definiteness ceases with Antiochus Epiphanes, ✓ .. .. .	158
xiv.—Other Objections—	
1. The Passage, Chap. xii. , .. .. .	175
2. Correspondence in Ideas and Expressions with much Later Books, .. .. .	176
3. Marks of Jewish National Pride, .. .. .	177
4. Absence of all higher Moral Tendency, .. .. .	177
5. Passages which speak in Praise of Daniel, .. .. .	179
CHAP. III.—ARGUMENTS FOR THE GENUINENESS, .. .. .	182
Sect. i.—Testimony of the Author himself, ✓ .. .. .	183
✓ ii.—Reception into the Canon, and General Acknowledgment of Canonicity, .. .. .	192
Sect. iii.—Testimony of Christ and the Apostles, ✓ .. .. .	209
iv.—Traces of the Book in pre-Maccabean Times, .. .. .	224
1. The passage of Josephus, <i>Arch.</i> xi. 8, .. .. .	224
✓ 2 1 Macc. ii. 59, 60, .. .. .	233
3. The LXX. of Deut. xxxii. 8, and Isaiah xxx. 4, .. .. .	234

	Page
4. Badness of the Alex. Version of Daniel which was nearly cotemporary with the alleged original composition, .. .. .	235
Sect. v.—Character of the language, .. .. .	240
1. Use of Hebrew and Aramæan, .. .. .	240
2. Correspondence of its Aramæan with that of Ezra, and Deviation from that of the Targums, .. .. .	245
vi.—Exact Knowledge of History, .. .. .	251
vii.—Familiar acquaintance with the Institutions, Manners, and Customs of the Times of Daniel, .. .. .	251
viii.—Other arguments, .. .. .	251
1. The entire peculiarity of Prophetic Style and the mode of Representation adopted in the Book, .. .. .	285
2. Several things at variance with the spirit of the Maccæbean times, .. .. .	288
3. Exact agreement of the Historical part and the Prophecies, .. .. .	289
4. Immediate conjunction of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Messianic times, .. .. .	290

---

### THE INTEGRITY OF ZECHARIAH.

CHAP. I.—HISTORY OF ATTACKS UPON IT, .. .. .	293
II.—ARGUMENTS FOR THE GENUINENESS OF THE SECOND PART, .. .. .	295
III.—REPLY TO OBJECTIONS, .. .. .	304

---

NOTE BY THE TRANSLATOR, .. .. .	316
INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND AUTHORS, .. .. .	321
Do. WORDS, .. .. .	326
Do. PASSAGES, .. .. .	327

---

### ERRATA.

- Page 9, line 5, for *with all* read *of all*.  
 ... .. 70, line 6, for *Haman* read *Mordecai*.  
 .... 105, top, for *worship to the* read *worship the*.  
 ..... 112, line 21, for *prevail* read *prevails*.  
 ..... 133, line 12, for *Hystaspis* read *Hystaspes*.  
 ..... 142, line 5, for *exegitical* read *exegetical*.  
 ..... 159, top, for *phenomen-ı* read *phenomenon*.  
 ..... 174, Note, for *humane* read *homine*.  
 ..... 191, line 24, omit the second of  
 ..... for *respondentur* read *respondentem*.  
 ..... 218, line 26, for *Elias* read *Isaiah*.  
 ..... line 28, for *Eph. v. 11*, read *Eph. v. 14*.  
 ..... 259, line 4 from bottom, for *chap. vi.* read *chap. v.*

THE  
GENUINENESS OF DANIEL.

---

IN this inquiry we cannot avoid going into considerable detail, not being able to refer to full dissertations already extant on the subject to the same extent as in the case of other books. DERESER'S reply to the acute objections of BERTHOLDT in his work on Daniel is not, in all respects, satisfactory; the positive evidence for the genuineness is to be found in JAHN, and in him only in imperfect outlines. The recent attacks of BERTHOLDT in his Introduction, of GESENIUS, DE WETTE, GRIESINGER, BLEEK, and KIRMS, have hitherto received nothing like a thorough refutation. And hence the prejudice against the book has become pretty general, as if the genuineness of Daniel were indefensible, and given up even by orthodox theologians.

CHAP. I.—HISTORY OF ATTACKS ON THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

We shall first of all give a historical view of the attacks upon it. It is very remarkable, that these have proceeded entirely from such as were enemies of revealed religion altogether, whether belonging or not to the visible community of its professors, or at least from those who came under the manifest influence of such enemies, and of the spirit of the age as moulded by them. The whole Jewish synagogue and the whole orthodox Christian Church have ever decidedly maintained the genuineness of Daniel. The facts that seem to speak to the contrary *only seem* to do so. With regard to the Jewish synagogue, we are referred to a passage in

the Talmud,\* where it is said, “The members of the great synagogue wrote Daniel and some other books.” Now, we must certainly maintain, against BERTHOLDT, who (*Daniel*, I. p. 88, sqq.) takes כָּתַב in the sense of *introduce*, and explains the whole passage merely of the reception into the canon, that it treats of the actual penning of the book. For the meaning assigned to the verb כָּתַב, that of an introduction not connected, as it is in Esth. i. 19, ii. 23, with the act of writing, can nowhere be proved, and is specially excluded from the passage before us by the fact, that the word is there used immediately before of Moses, Joshua, and other sacred writers, and thus necessarily takes the sense of writing, not that of introducing; comp. the whole passage in WOLF, *bibliotheca Hebr.*, vol. ii. p. 3. Nothing, however, was farther from the thoughts of the Talmudists than to assert the spuriousness of those writings, the penning of which they ascribe to the men of the great synagogue. The supposition is quite irreconcilable with the great reverence they cherish towards those men, whom consequently they would never have thought of charging with an imposition. They supposed, rather, that the contents of these books became known to the men of the great synagogue, partly by accurate tradition, partly by fresh inspiration—for they had several prophets among them; comp. the passages in *Aurivillius de synagoga magna, dissertatt.*, p. 147—and were by them committed to writing without any mistake. As the ground of this erroneous opinion, JARCHI, on this passage of the Talmud, mentions, in reference to Ezekiel and Daniel, and, no doubt, correctly, the Jewish conceit, that no sacred book could be composed beyond the limits of the Holy Land. The correctness of this ground, which must also be extended to the Book of Esther, is manifest from the circumstance, that just those three books are placed together whose authors lived out of Palestine. The correctness of the ground adduced by JARCHI in reference to the minor prophets is more doubtful.

Let us pass on to the Christian Church. BERTHOLDT (*Dan.* i.

---

\* *Baba Batra*, fol. 15, אֲנִשְׁי בְּנֵי הַגְּדוּלָה כָּתְבוּ קִדְּוֹן סִימֹן יְהוֹקָאֵל וְשֵׁנִים עֶשֶׂר דְּנִיָּאֵל, —*Viri synagoga magna scripserunt Kudg., quibus litteris significantur libri Ezechielis, duodecim prophetarum minorum, Danielis et Estherae.*



p. 12) affirms, that very many among the ancient Christians did *not* regard Daniel as the author. He derives this opinion from some expressions in ORIGEN'S book against Celsus. But the idea is altogether imaginary. In that work of ORIGEN, nothing whatever of the kind occurs, except a passing doubt of the *heathen* Celsus, of which no further proof is attempted, as to the truth of the facts narrated in Daniel. (Comp. vii. 7, § 5, Mosh.) BERTHOLDT farther appeals to a passage of ISIDORUS HISPALENSIS in the seventh century (Origg. vi. 2), "Ezekiel and Daniel are considered to have been written by certain wise men."\* But that we are not to conclude with him (*Einkl.* p. 1508) from this passage, that some Christian teachers had private doubts of the genuineness, appears from his putting Ezekiel and Daniel together. This makes it exceedingly probable, that Isidorus, in whose time precise doubts of the genuineness of Daniel are the very last things to be looked for, was merely giving a piece of information which he had obtained from some Jew; and that the *virī sapientes*, among whom we are certainly not to reckon authors of fictitious works, are no other than the members of the great synagogue. In the first half of the eighteenth century, EDWARD WELLS propounded the notion, that the first chapter was not written till after Daniel's death. ISAAC NEWTON † and BEAUSOBRE (*remarques sur le N. T.*, t. i. p. 70) maintained that Daniel himself wrote only the last six chapters. Yet they regarded the parts of which they doubted as not on that account less to be relied on than the other portions; ‡ they only thought they could perceive in the style some reason for the opinion, that it was not Daniel writing about himself, but another perfectly credible author writing about him.

Of a totally different character is the denial of the genuineness of Daniel by the opposers of revelation. It must not be overlooked, that this denial is quite indispensable to the ground they

---

\* "Ezekiel et Daniel a viris quibusdam sapientibus scripti esse perhibentur."

† "The six last chapters contain prophecies written at several times by Daniel himself; the six first are a collection of historical papers written by others." *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel, and the Apocalypse of St John*, i. p. 10.

‡ How firmly the great ISAAC NEWTON was persuaded of the genuineness and inspiration of the prophecies of Daniel, his own words will show: "To reject his prophecies," says he, "would be to undermine the Christian religion, which is all but founded on his prophecies respecting Christ."

occupy. The miracles and prophecies of the book so far transcend the ordinary course of things, that the recognition of the genuineness of Daniel and the recognition of revealed religion are inseparably connected.\* Hence we find in every instance of more signal opposition to Christianity, where the contest generally takes a scientific form, that attacks have been made at the same time on the genuineness of this book. The list of assailants is opened by PORPHYRY in the third century. Of his work against the Christian religion, in fifteen books, the whole of the twelfth is devoted to an attack on Daniel. He asserted, according to JEROME in his *proœmium* to Daniel (opp. v. p. 267), that the book was composed by a Jew of Palestine in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, in the Greek language, “*and that Daniel did not so much predict future events, as narrate past ones.*”† His reason for saying so was the exact correspondence of the prophecies with actual history down to the times of Antiochus, whilst all beyond this remained unfulfilled. He was answered by EUSEBIUS of Cæsarea, METHODIUS of Tyre, APOLLINARIS of Laodicea in Syria, and by JEROME; and the last-mentioned knew how to make a good use of the historical materials so industriously collected by PORPHYRY. His work was afterwards, by imperial command, condemned to the flames; yet JEROME has preserved to us not a few fragments out of the twelfth book. SPINOZA and HOBBS are generally mentioned as the first who trod in the footsteps of PORPHYRY. Neither of them, it is certain, according to their system, could admit the genuineness of Daniel, except from inconsequential reasoning or from ignorance of its contents. Yet there is not to be found in their *words*, as is commonly affirmed, any distinct disavowal of it. On the contrary, SPINOZA, in his *tractatus theologico-politicus*, ch. x. p. 130, sqq., expressly says, that the last five chapters were written by Daniel himself—that probably the first seven were ori-

---

\* Josephus, *Antiqq.* X. xi. 7, says, that the Book of Daniel offers the most effectual refutation of the Epicurean view of the world: “ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας—τοὺς Ἐπικουρείους ἐκ τούτων εὐρίσκειν πεπλανημένους, οἱ τὴν τε πρόνοιαν ἐκβάλλουσι τοῦ βίου, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν οὐκ ἀξιούσιν ἐπιτροπεύειν τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τῆς μακαρίας καὶ ἀφ’ ἁάρτου πρὸς διαμονὴν τῶν ὅλων οὐσίας κυβερνᾶσθαι τὰ σύμπαντα ἄμοιρον δὲ ἠνιόχου καὶ φροντιστοῦ τὸν κόσμον αὐτομάτως φέρεσθαι λέγουσιν. Οὐ γὰρ ἂν κατὰ τὴν κείνου ἐπροφητείαν, εἰ συνέβαινεν αὐτοματισμῷ τινι τὸν κόσμον διάγειν, πάντα ἐωρῶμεν ἀποβαίνοντα.”

+ “Ei non tam Daniele[m] ventura dixisse, quam illum narra[re] praeterita.



ginally a portion of the Chaldee annals—that these different parts were, at a very late period, transcribed together, and published by some unknown author, either to prevent the introduction of spurious books of Daniel, or to show that the prophecies of Daniel were fulfilled, and in this manner to confirm the nation in a steadfast attachment to their religion. If we follow the *words* of SPINOZA, the credibility of the first seven chapters is not for a moment disputed by him. HOBBS says (*Leviathan*, c. 33), that Jeremiah, Obadiah, Nahum, and Habakkuk prophesied about the time of the captivity, “*but whether they themselves wrote and published these prophecies cannot be known;*”\* and that the same is true of Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, and Zechariah. So far as words go, there is nothing more asserted by him here, than that it is uncertain whether the prophets mentioned did themselves prepare the collections of prophecies called after them. Perhaps, however, they both meant to imply more than they expressly said.

Among the English Deists, COLLINS tried to impugn the genuineness of the book, but his learning came far behind his hatred of Revelation; so that, even according to the judgment of BERTHOLDT (*Einkl.* p. 1508), he could not conceal, beneath the blinding pretext of the difficulty inherent in the subject itself, that his actuating motive was his infidelity. His kindred spirits in Germany since the last quarter of the last century have succeeded better in this. SEMLER rejected the inspiration of Daniel, without assigning any further reason than that he found “no such benefit likely to result from the book as God surely intends to confer on man when he makes use of means of a very extraordinary character.” (Comp. *Untersuch. d. Canon* iii. p. 505.) The first step in the way of a scholarlike attack on the book was made by J. D. MICHAELIS, who, however, must not be ranked in the same class with subsequent opponents. He maintained very decidedly the genuineness of chap. i., ii., and vii.—xii.; and even on his doubts of the genuineness of chaps. iii.—vi. he laid no peculiar stress. In reference to one of his arguments, that derived from the Greek words occurring in chap. 3, he remarked himself, that the more closely they were examined, the more completely most of them disappeared. (Comp. *Ann. f.*

---

\* “Utrum autem prophetias suas ipsi scriptas ediderint, sciri non potest.”

*Ungelehr. X. Bemerk. z. Dan.*, p. 22, ff.) He declared that Daniel, on account of his minute and circumstantially fulfilled prophecies, was one of the strongest proofs of the divinity of revealed religion. (*Or. Bibl.* 1, p. 197.) EICHHORN went farther; yet in the first and second editions of his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, he ventured to reject only the first six chapters; the genuineness of the last six was defended by him, in glaring contradiction to the system which he had even then adopted. He was followed by HEZEL (*die Bibel u. s. w.* vi. p. 741. ff. ed. ii.) According to him, the first six chapters were, at some later period, prefixed as an introduction to the second and genuine part, and contain much that is fabulous. He was still so satisfied of the genuineness of the second part, that he observed, "Daniel is the most important witness among all the prophets, to the credibility of the prophets in general, and of Divine revelation and the Christian religion in particular." The first who directed his attacks against the entire book was CORRODI, who took his stand entirely on antisupranaturalist ground. He maintained, in his *Beleuchtung des Bibelcanons* Bd. 1, p. 75, ff., (comp. his *Freimüth. Versuche*, and *Gesch. des Chiliasm.* I., p. 247, sqq.) that it was fabricated by some impostor in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. EICHHORN seemed only to have been waiting for such a pioneer to relieve his own mind of its heavy burden. (*Einl.* 3 u. 4. Ausg.) Then comes BERTHOLDT, far surpassing all previous opponents in acuteness and precision (*Daniel neu übers. u. erkl.* 1806–8, 2 Bde. S. 22 ff. and *Einl.* S. 1511 ff.); but, alas! truthfulness and even candour are sadly wanting in his researches. GRIESINGER (*neue Ansicht der Aufsätze im Buche Daniel*, 1812) did little more than repeat the old arguments in a perplexed form. GESENIUS (*Allgemeine Litterat. Z.* 1816, Nr. 57, *E. B.* Nr. 80) differed from EICHHORN and BERTHOLDT in defining the aim of the book. BLEEK (*theol. Zeitschrift von SCHLEIERMACHER, DE WETTE, und LÜCKE*, iii. p. 171, ff.) attempted to sift, and render more cutting and complete, BERTHOLDT'S reasoning against the genuineness, and deserved credit for exposing in detail the futility of EICHHORN'S and BERTHOLDT'S hypothesis of a plurality of authors, and showing the unity of the book. He went, however, farther than either of them, and even than GESENIUS *zu Jes.* i., p. 52; for he denied that the book had

any historical foundation whatever. Several arguments brought forward by BERTHOLDT were given up by him as untenable; others, on the contrary, that are manifestly still more untenable, were declared to be valid; so that the praise which SACK gives to his examination of the question, as being of a more purely scientific character, lies open to reasonable suspicion. KIRMS (*commentatio historico-critica, exhibens descriptionem et censuram recentium de Danielis libro opinionum*, Jena 1828) offered little of his own, but there is an admirable completeness in his collection and arrangement of the modern views; and he has exposed, in a very clever manner, the untenableness of those points in which BLEEK went farther than his predecessors. DE WETTE (*Einl. ins. A. T.* 3te Aufl.) gives, in succinct review, the arguments of BERTHOLDT and BLEEK, whom the other disputants come far behind.

The impugnors of the genuineness of Daniel may be divided into two great classes. The arguments of the first class, which relate to the object of the book, we shall by and by have an opportunity of looking into more narrowly. Those of the other relate to the oneness or plurality of the supposed authorship. It is no small advantage to us here, that we can assume the oneness of the authorship as a thing now generally conceded. Since the time of EICHHORN and BERTHOLDT, the latter of whom makes the book to consist of nine portions, written by different authors, living at different times, and collected into one volume after the religious persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, no further advocate of a plurality has appeared. On the contrary, GESENIUS, DE WETTE, BLEEK, and KIRMS, have so clearly shown that there was but one author (and even DERESER had preceded them in this), that we can make our appeal to them, although we may not *wholly* coincide in their arguments. In this way our task is rendered very simple; and, at the same time, we have this advantage, that every argument by which we show that any single portion of the book could not have been composed by the alleged Pseudo-Daniel living after the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, affords proof likewise of the genuineness of the whole.

Not to mention the older authors, who undertook the easy task of replying to the objections of PORPHYRY, &c. (comp. WOLF'S enumeration of them, l. c. i., p. 335), there have not been want-



ing in modern times numerous, and in some instances acute and learned, defenders of the genuineness of Daniel. LÜDERWALD'S defence of the first six chapters (Helmst. 1787) is not very important, but still is not to be left out of the account. STÄUDLIN (*Prüfung einiger Meinungen über den Ursprung des Buches Daniel*, in the *neue Beiträge zur Erläut. der Proph. Gött.* 1791), it is true, defended the genuineness not without some limitations;\* and he even favoured that erroneous hypothesis which makes it difficult to defend the genuineness at all, namely—that the definite prophecies of the whole book do not extend beyond the times of the Maccabees (comp. his *Abh. Dan.* ix. 24–27 *nach Parallelst. erkl.*, ebendas. S. 37–62); but, at the same time, he declared there was a preponderance of probability for the genuineness of the principal portions, and earned the merit of totally annihilating some arguments brought by CORRODI against it, and furnishing the decided defender of it with many useful hints. At a later period, when his constantly growing inclination to rationalism, of which he himself, towards the end of his life, speaks with sorrow (comp. *Selbstb.* p. 17), released him from all obligation to avow the genuineness of the book, he declared himself for BERTHOLDT'S view. BECKHAUS (*Integrität der proph. Schriften*, p. 297 ff.), in his defence of the genuineness of the second part, to which his object confines him, avails himself chiefly of the arguments of EICHHORN and STÄUDLIN. But the best defender of all is indisputably JAHN, to whom also later ones are chiefly indebted. After him DERESER is the only writer who has produced a detailed argument in its favour: it is founded in the main on that of JAHN, but contains much original remark (*die Propheten Ezechiel und Daniel erklärt*, Fref. 1810.) The reader may find detached valuable observations in defence of the genuineness of Daniel, in *der Rec. von Berth. Comm. in der Jen. Litteraturz.* 1809, Nr. 77, 78, and in *die holl. Bibl. f. theol. Litt.* 1809, N. 5; in PAREAU, *institutio interpret. V. T.* p. 424–25, 528–31; in ROYAARDS, *over den geest en het belang van het boek Dan.*, in *der Abhandl. der Haager Gesellsch. f. d. J.* 1821; in SACK,

---

\* Comp. his Autobiography in the work entitled: *Zur Erinnerung an STÄUDLIN von HEMSEN*, Göt. 1826, p. 11. "I did not wish properly to defend the genuineness of Daniel, but simply to invalidate the arguments adduced by others against it."

*Apologetik*, p. 276 ff. ; in SCHOLL, *Comment. de LXX., Hebdomad. Dan. Fref.* 1829, p. 5, 6, 32-34.—ACKERMANN (*introductio in librr. V. F. Wien*, 1826) gives the arguments of JAHN with hardly any addition.

Before we attempt to establish, by positive proof, the genuineness of Daniel, we shall show the fallacy of the arguments adduced against it. And we shall confine our remarks principally to the objections of BERTHOLDT and BLEEK, without, however, omitting to notice any thing original that other opponents have brought forward, unless it is to be regarded, like many of the objections of CORRODI, as now entirely antiquated. The arguments against it are the following.

## CHAP. II.—REPLY TO OBJECTIONS.

### SECT. I.—GREEK WORDS.

“ We meet with Greek words in the Book of Daniel ; and this circumstance excludes the idea of an earlier composition than (taking the highest, but still an improbable supposition) towards the middle of the reign of Darius Hystaspis, when Daniel could no longer have been alive. *προτιμοι*, פתגם *φθεγμα*, כהרז *κηρυξ*, כרז *κηρυσσειν*, קיתרוס *κιθaris*, סבבא *σαμβυκη*, כומפניה *συμφωνια*, פסגש *ψαλτηριον*, פטיש *πετασος*, נבובה *νομισμα*.” BERTH. Comm. 1, p. 24. This list has been much lessened by later opponents. That the first two words are not of Greek, but Persian origin—*Par-domim*, in Parsee, *grandees* ; *peigham*, in Parsee, or *Pedam*, in Pehlvi, *word*—has been shewn by JAHN, and admitted by GESENIUS (*Gesch. der Heb. Sprache und Schr.* p. 61, 64), DE WETTE, BLEEK, KIRMS, and even by BERTHOLDT (*Einl.* 1534.). But, if we are to listen to BERTHOLDT, the advocates of the genuineness will gain nothing by this admission. He affirms that even the use of Persian words by Daniel is not to be accounted for. It is very true, he says, that Daniel held offices in the Persian government, but only in the later years of his life ; and, even granting that he himself was acquainted with the Persian language before that, yet the manner in which these words are employed in the Book of Daniel supposes, what cannot be believed, that such words had been generally adopted into the

language of the Jewish exiles as early as the time of Daniel. In rebutting this objection, we cannot content ourselves with the remark of DERESER, that Elam was subject to the sway of Nebuchadnezzar; and we are the less disposed to do so, because BERTHOLDT, as we shall see presently, denies this.\* It is almost unanimously agreed by modern linguists, that the names of Babylonian gods, kings, and other persons, which occur in the Bible and in profane writers, find their explanation in the Persian. Comp. LORSBACH, *Archiv. f. Bibl. und Morgenl. Litt.* ii., 246, ff. GESENIUS, *Gesch.* S. 63. ROSENMÜLLER, *Alterthumsk.* i. 2, p. 33, 77, 82, 85. Now, if we take the explanation of LORSBACH and others, that the Chaldeans themselves belonged to the Medo-Persian stock; or that of ROSENMÜLLER, that these words belonged to the Assyrian language, a dialect of the Medo-Persian, and became naturalized in Babylon through the Assyrian domination; or, if with GESENIUS, in his later explanations of this circumstance (comp. *Encycl. von ERSCH u. GRUBER*, Th. 16, p. 111), we assume, what has the preponderance of probability in its favour, that both nations, the Assyrians and Chaldeans, were of the Medo-Persian stock; in any case, the fact is established that, even in Daniel's time, there existed, in the Babylonian language, an important Persian element, and that, consequently, Persian words might pass also into the language of the Jews in the captivity. Even if the assertion of Gesenius (*Gesch.* p. 60), could be proved correct, that the authors living in Palestine did not make use of Persian words before the period of the Persian dominion, this would not at all affect the case of Daniel. But we find in Jeremiah too, and, to all appearance, even in Isaiah and Nahum, words whose Persian derivation is all but indisputable. V. BOHLEN (*Symbolae ad interpret. S. Sc. ex ling. Pers.* p. 19, ff.) adduces a considerable number of such. If some of these words are doubtful, yet of several the Persian origin is certain.

As to two of the words, quoted as borrowed from the Greek, it is uncertain whether they were originally Semitic, or were borrowed

---

\* LORSBACH also, *Archiv.* ii. 245, observes—"In very early times, when the Aramæans were governed by their own kings, they had for their neighbours on the east, Japhetic tribes, who spoke Persian, in Media, Susiana, and Elymais; so that many a Persian word would be imported among them at that period, both in peace and war."



from the Persian: נְזוּבָה is compared by V. BOHLEN, p. 26, with the Persian *nuvaza*, *donatio*; WINER s. v. agrees with him. Most lexicographers and commentators, however, (comp. GES.\* s. v.) derive it from the Chaldee בְּזוּבָה, *erogare*. The derivation from the Greek νόμισμα, is, according to GESENIUS and WINER, opposed by the unsuitableness of the meaning to the passage in question (Dan. ii. 6), and by the usage of the Chaldee language, in which it never has the meaning of *money*. The verb בְּזוּ, and the noun בְּזוּתָא, according to JAHN and DERESER, are cognate with the Zend *Khresio*, *to call to from behind, to shout*, as are κηρύσσειν and κήρυξ in Greek, which belongs to the same family of languages. But the wide diffusion of the root, not only in Chaldee, but in Syriac, renders it more probable that it was originally Semitic. Its relation to the Greek may be accidental, or it comes, like many other words, from the original language of the world, or it is an instance of *onomatopœia*. The derivation from the Greek is rejected by GESENIUS also. פֶּטְשׁוֹ is the Syriac *petsho*. Against the derivation from πέτασος, comp. GESENIUS and WINER, s. v.

Thus there remain only four names of musical instruments, occurring in chap. 3. We begin with the word כִּנְרוֹן, iii. 5, 15, which BLEEK says, p. 217, is of itself most decisive, and even warrants us in assigning to the others a derivation from the Greek. "It is manifestly the Greek *συμφωνία*, and surely no one will affirm that the Greeks first obtained the word, along with the thing, from Asia, and that it came from the same quarter to the Jews or Babylonians, for it is too clearly compounded of the Greek words *σὺν* and *φωνῆν*." The following reasons, however, militate against its derivation from the Greek. 1. The word *συμφωνία* is *never* found in the Greek, or in the Latin of the classical writers, in the sense of a particular musical instrument. The only authorities † for the existence of such an instrument, are SERVIUS on Virgil, in the 5th, and ISIDORUS HISP., in the 7th century—for JEROME has been adduced as such incorrectly. It

---

\* In his *Lexicon Manuale* GESENIUS says he prefers the *Persian* derivation; remarking that, if from Chaldee, it could only come from a *Niphal* form, which does not exist.—TRANSL.

† But comp. Pref.—TR.

is very probable, however, that these authors gave to an originally foreign appellation a Greek etymology, slightly altering the word; numerous examples might be adduced to prove that this was very frequent in later times. To mention a few—FESTUS derives the instrument *gingris*, which is of Phœnician origin and Phœnician etymology, *a gingriendo anserum*. *Κινύρα*, the Hebrew כִּנְיָרָה, is derived by SUIDAS and others ἀπὸ τοῦ κινεῖν τὰ νεῦρα; by HESYCHIUS, who explained it by *κιθάρα οἰκτρὰ*, from *κινύρεσθαι*, *lamentari*. Comp. BOCHART, *Can.* ii. 7. The Egyptian *pi-ramu-e*, *radius solis*, was altered by the Greeks into *πυραμῖς*, and they derived it from *πῦρ*, fire. Comp. JABLONSKI, *Panth. Aeg. Prolegg.*, p. lxxxiii. But, if any one chooses to assert that there was really an instrument in their time bearing the Greek name *συμφωνία*, he is not in the least warranted in claiming that appellation for the older Greek language; it cannot for a moment be supposed, with the numerous accounts we have in which music is mentioned, that, if such a term had really existed, it would not have come down to us in some one of the old writers. 2. The same instrument is called in v. 10, in the text, כִּנְיָרָה. By this change, the comparison of the word with the Greek *συμφωνία* lies still more open to suspicion. It furnishes certain proof that the Chaldee word corresponds to the Syriac *tzephunyo*, *tuba*, *tibia*. And that this Syriac word is corrupted from the Greek, is no probable supposition. These arguments shew, at least, thus much, that the derivation from *συμφωνία*, as being doubtful, cannot have any force of evidence. On the other names, even BLEEK, as already remarked, lays no peculiar stress. As to one of them, כִּנְיָרָה, its non-Greek origin can be clearly made out. STRABO, l. x., in BOCHART l. c., says—“Some of the instruments are called by foreign names, as *νάβλα*, *σαμβύκη* (which is also called *βάρβιτος*), *μαγάδες*, and several others,\* and ATHENÆUS informs us, l. iv., in BOCHART l. c., from an earlier writer, “that the *Sambuca*, which is called the Phœnician lyre, was an invention of the Syrians.† The foreign original of *Sambuca* is affirmed also by CLEMENS ALEX. *Strom.* l. i. p. 307. Even BLEEK, in the face of these decided testimonies, can-

\* τῶν ὀργάνων ἐνία βαρβαρῶς ὀνόμασται, *νάβλα* καὶ *σαμβύκη*, ἢ καὶ *βάρβιτος*, καὶ *μαγάδες* καὶ ἄλλα πλείω.

† Σύρων ἔυρημα εἶναι τὴν καλουμένην λυροφοίνικι *σαμβύκη*ν.

not help conceding that the *Sambuca*, as indeed its other name *λυροφοίνιξ*, or simply *φοίνιξ*, Phœnician lyre, shews, came to the Greeks from abroad; but, that he may lose nothing for his position, he sets up the conjecture that it came first from the east to Greece, and then went back again from Greece to the East!—כִּיָּתָר certainly appears to be the same word as the Greek *Κίθαρς*. But since, as has been shown, most of the names of Greek musical instruments were of foreign origin, why should just this one be originally Greek? The only proof adduced for it is, the alleged derivation of the word from *κιθάρα* or *κιθάρος*, *breast*, *rib*, because, in playing, the instrument was laid on the breast. But this derivation has no authority from antiquity, except that of ISIDORUS, which is of no weight: he says (*Origg.* 1. 2, 21), The form of the cyther was at first similar to the human breast, which in the Doric dialect was called *κιθάρα*, *quod veluti vox de pectore, ita et ipsa cithara cantus ederetur*. That no dependence is to be placed on his derivation, appears even from the fact, that in the same breath he gives a contradictory one—first, from the similarity of form, and then from the similarity of use. The connection of the meanings, too, is so farfetched, that the derivation cannot be at all proved a necessary one. Far more likely appears the derivation of the word *κινύρα* from *κινεῖν*, and that of *Sambuca* from *Sambucus*, *elder*; and yet these derivations are known to be false. Lastly, כִּיָּתָר must, according to DE WETTE, be the Greek *ψαλτήρ*. But this never signifies a stringed instrument, but always the player on it. Moreover, *ψαλτήριον*, which others compare with the Chald. word, is still more remote. The similarity of sound may be quite accidental, and it may be asked whether totally different instruments may not be designated by the two names; especially as in the Rabbinic (*Midr. Kohel.* c. i. v. 3), if the reading and BUXTORF'S interpretation of the passage be correct, which certainly may be doubted, almost the same word occurs in the sense of *olla*, *lebes*; which would lead one to think of a kettle-shaped instrument. PAREAU, therefore, l. c. p. 424, justly rejects altogether the proof derived from these supposed Greek words: “Although a likeness is traced in many words of that sort, yet in some cases the similarity is only accidental, and in the names of musical instruments it is of such a



kind, that the Greek appellations are rather to be considered as having an eastern origin."\*

But, even supposing a Greek origin could be made to appear probable, in any or all of the said musical instruments, nothing would be gained by that, towards proving the spuriousness of the book. The case would be different, if there could be shown to be a Greek complexion in the whole diction, or even a single Græcism in the construction. The latter has indeed been attempted by BERTHOLDT in the passage, chap. xi. 20; but GESENIUS (*Gesch.* p. 64) has already saved us the trouble of pointing out the incorrectness of his interpretation. The dispute is, at most, merely about the names of three musical instruments; and who can deny that these might, by even the slightest intercourse of the Greeks with the Babylonians, have found their way to the latter? That such an intercourse existed immediately between the Greeks and the Upper-Asiatics, is proved by historical evidence. CURTIUS, B. 4, c. 12, relates, that in the Persian army which was led against Alexander there was an entire tribe of people who, as early as the time of the Median dominion, had wandered forth from Greece and settled in Upper Asia. Compare other testimonies of BEROSUS and STRABO in KIRMS, p. 15. Of the intercourse of the Greeks with the Upper-Asiatics in far earlier times, we have lately received a very striking confirmation in the Armenian Eusebius. According to the fragments there given of POLYHISTOR and ABYDENUS, the Greeks invaded Cilicia in the reign of Sennacherib; he resisted them and gained the victory, but with great loss of his own people. Compare the defence of this account in NIEBUHR, *kl. Schriften*, i. p. 203, ff. The same writer remarks, p. 205, that the traditions about Greek settlements in Cilicia are not to be wholly rejected; but that the city of Tarsus in Cilicia was founded by Sennacherib. Now, if it is established that such an intercourse did in some cases exist, what reason is there to reject the supposition, that such emigrators carried to

---

\* Quum in nonnullis istius modi vocabulis quaesita sit similitudo, in aliis fortuita, in musicis vero instrumentis ita comparata, ut Græcae appellationes potius censendae sint originem orientalem habere.

Upper-Asia, along with the Greek instruments, the Greek *names* of them likewise? or that these names became known at the Chaldean court, by means of wandering Greek musicians? But if, in opposition to history, all immediate connection of Greece with Upper-Asia before the time of Darius Hystaspis is denied, what can be said against the opinion of GROTIUS, that these names came with the instruments from Greece into the Asiatic colonies of the Greeks, and from thence to Upper-Asia; a thing that, from the extensive commercial relations of the Babylonians (compare HEEREN, *Ideen*. i. 2. p. 178 ff. Aug. 3), might so very easily happen? Nay, how can any one be at all surprised at the occurrence of some Greek words in Daniel—such words especially as are most easily transferred from one language into another—when it is regarded as no improbable thing, that some words of originally Greek origin occur even in the oldest Hebrew, (compare GESENIUS *Gesch.* p. 65. WINER *lex. s. v.* לַפֶּזֶד and פֶּלֶגֶשׁ), when even in the oldest Greek a considerable number of words is found, which undeniably were imported from the East into Greece (compare GES. p. 66), a fact that certainly establishes the possibility of the contrary? Still, BERTHOLDT and GRIESINGER raise the objection, How comes it, then, that Ezekiel and the Psalms composed during the captivity, are free from Græcisms? But the reply is easy; for the same reason that in the second, the prophetic, part of Daniel, not a single word occurs in which a Greek origin would for a moment occur to the mind (a fact which GRIESINGER, p. 28, very characteristically explains, by saying that the author, for the purpose of deception, in order to give to his prophecies the appearance of antiquity, avoided Greek words); they had no occasion to mention the things which in Daniel are described with alleged Greek terms. It may also be asked, whether the alleged Greek terms were known to them; for this is not proved by Daniel's acquaintance with them. Moreover, this objection was urged by its originators only on the supposition which is now generally abandoned, that, besides the names of musical instruments, a considerable number of other Greek terms are met with in Daniel; and so it falls of itself, along with this supposition. We only remark farther, that the latest opponent of the genuineness, although still maintaining the Greek origin of

the names of three musical instruments, has yet given up this entire argument as untenable.\* (Compare KIRMS, p. 15, 16).

SECT. II.—IMPURITY OF THE HEBREW.

“The language of the last five chapters sinks in point of style below the Hebrew of the very latest books in the Old Testament canon.” BERTH. *Comm.* p. 27, *Einkl.* p. 1536, &c. This argument is entirely given up by BLEEK, l. c. p. 213, with the remark, that we have not remains enough from the different centuries after the captivity, to enable us to trace the gradual degeneracy of the language, and to determine, with any certainty, to what period a writing belongs; whether it was composed at the time of the captivity, or how long after that. In order to a more precise refutation of the argument, it would be requisite to have it presented in a more determinate form, and with a more detailed induction of proof. Then it might be seen how far BERTHOLDT’S assertion is correct, that the style of the book does not *at all* wear the character of its time; or the assertion of KIRMS, that it differs *toto genere* from that character; then would it especially appear whether its approximation, as BERTHOLDT asserts, to the Rabbinical dialect, consists in what is peculiar to the Rabbinical, or in that which has passed into it from the Chaldee. In the very fact, however, that no one has hitherto undertaken to adduce this proof (BERTHOLDT says he is afraid, that, if he were to furnish particular proofs of his position, he should take up the space required for more necessary investigations!) lies a tacit confession that such proof cannot be furnished. BERTHOLDT, appealing merely to the philological instinct, hopes to see his assertion raised to the rank of the highest evidence, when once a correct and critical history of the Hebrew language shall appear. But this hope has not been fulfilled, at least by GESENIUS. He places (*Gesch.* p. 27) Daniel, in respect to the language, in the same class with Esther, Ecclesiastes, the Chronicles, and Jonah. A *somewhat*

---

\* MÜNTER also (*Rel. d. Bab.* p. 75) remarks, that there is no difficulty in the fact that certain names of musical instruments are Greek; but offers the untenable supposition, that they were introduced into the text at a later, Syrio-Macedonian, period, instead of the original terms, which had ceased to be understood.



purer language is ascribed to Ezra, Nehemiah, Zechariah, and Malachi. According to him (p. 35), of all the Old Testament writers, Ezekiel, who was contemporary with Daniel, has the *most* grammatical irregularities and incorrectnesses. But if the language of Daniel were really more corrupt than it is proved to be, yet this could be so satisfactorily explained from the position in which Daniel stood, that we should certainly not be obliged to have recourse to any other explanation. Daniel was early carried away to Babylonia—he was invested with office under the Babylonian government, and was by that very circumstance cut off from his compatriots, and obliged to make almost constant use of the Chaldee language. Hence, it must have been far more difficult for him to maintain the purity of his language, not only than for Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, and Zechariah (who lived in Palestine, where the Hebrew language, although just becoming extinct, had not yet fully ceased even as the language of the people), but also than for Ezekiel, who, though in exile, yet lived in constant communication with his own people. Now, if living in exile had such an influence upon Ezekiel, that Chaldaized expressions and constructions are more abundant in him than in the contemporary Jeremiah (comp. GESEN. l. c. p. 35), it ought not to seem strange to us if we perceived a far stronger influence in Daniel's case; and, if the contrary be the fact, the only explanation is, that Daniel, by a zealous study of the sacred writings, assiduously strove to maintain the purity of his native language. It must have cost Daniel the same pains to acquire purity of language as it would have cost the supposed pseudo-Daniel, living in the time of the Maccabees, when Chaldee prevailed as generally in Palestine as it did in Daniel's time in Babylonia; nay, even greater pains, inasmuch as the people among whom the pseudo-Daniel is said to have lived still thought in Hebrew, and even their Chaldee had rather a Hebrew colouring.

SEC. III.—SILENCE OF JESUS SIRACH.

“ A negative proof that the Book of Daniel was not in existence at a period shortly before the time of the Maccabees, is derived from the silence of Jesus Sirach, in whose work, c. 49, we might

have expected an express mention of Daniel, if the book now existing under his name, or merely what is there related of him, had been known. The author's business from c. 44-50, according to the purpose he has announced at the beginning, is to extol the famous men of his nation; and that we ought to expect here some account of Daniel, and especially in connection with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, no one surely will deny." Among modern opponents this argument, properly speaking, is peculiar to BLEEK alone (l. c. p. 187, ff.), who lays very great stress on it, but DE WETTE in his last edition has adopted it from him; by EICHHORN it is altogether passed over; by BERTHOLDT it is touched upon with other matter merely in passing (*Comm.* i. p. 84; *Einl.* p. 1530); by BRETSCHNEIDER (*liber Jesu Sirac.* p. 664); and by KIRMS (l. c. p. 9) all force is expressly denied to it. How fallacious an *argumentum a silentio* generally is, may be clearly seen in this instance. The aspect which the argument would perhaps assume, if Jesus Sirach had in other instances constantly adhered to his plan, is happily destroyed by the fact, that the reverse of this can be incontestibly shown. The most striking example of it is the omission of the celebrated Ezra, whilst the comparatively less important Zerubbabel, Joshua, Nehemiah, are mentioned with great commendation. Most probably, too, the whole of the minor prophets are left out; for the passage in which they are mentioned, ch. xlix. 10, καὶ τῶν δώδεκα προφητῶν τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀναθάλοι ἐκ τοῦ τόπου αὐτῶν, is, as BRETSCHNEIDER *in loc.* has shown, to be regarded, on the strongest evidence, as an interpolation. Mordecai also is passed over in silence. Now, if the silence of Jesus Sirach is not regarded as any proof that the Book of Ezra, that the prophecies of the twelve minor prophets, and that the Book of Esther, were not in existence in his time, who will venture, for such a reason, to reject the Book of Daniel? Moreover, this argument proves nothing, because it proves too much. It would prove that no distinguished man of the name of Daniel ever lived. For in the chapters of Jesus Sirach referred to, there is given a list, not of the most celebrated *writers* of the nation, but of its most celebrated men in general, without regard to the question whether they left any writings behind them. From this dilemma, even BLEEK'S bold hypothesis (one hitherto peculiar to its author, and which we shall by and by reply to), cannot set him free, viz. that

no Daniel lived at the time of the captivity (l. c. p. 283, ff.) The only question we have now to do with is, whether at *any* time a Daniel lived, and attained to such reputation that we are justified in expecting a mention of him in Jesus Sirach. But this is proved, beyond the power of the most arrant sceptic to deny, by the two passages in Ezekiel, ch. xiv. 14–20, and xxviii. 3, where Daniel appears as an example of divinely accepted piety, and of the highest wisdom. Now, even granting the correctness of BLEEK'S assertion, that Ezekiel "was here thinking of some person of a former time who had long been known," yet it is none the less imperative that Jesus Sirach should have made mention of this person; for he begins his list with Enoch, and afterwards even introduces Seth. It is perfectly clear, that the other opposers of the genuineness can make even less use of this argument, since they all agree that the name of Daniel was very distinguished among his people in the times of the Siracidæ. We are not obliged to offer a more particular reason for the omission of Daniel by Jesus Sirach, since we have shown that in other cases the omission proceeded merely from negligence. But, if there *was* such a reason, it was probably the same that led to the placing of the Book of Daniel among the Hagiographa, namely, that Daniel did not live and labour among his own people, as the others did, not even excepting Ezekiel.

#### SEC. IV.—POSITION IN THE CANON.

"The circumstance that the Book of Daniel has always stood among the Hagiographa, and that even among them it takes one of the lowest places, furnishes a significant hint that it did not come to light before the Maccabean period, after the second part of the canon was already made up. If Daniel had really written it, we may suppose it would have been known among the Jews, and may confidently assume that the collectors of the prior and later prophets would have given it a place in that collection." So, following EICHHORN, says BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i. p. 39, *Einl.* 1542. Also BLEEK l. c. p. 190, KIRMS, and DE WETTE, lay very important stress on this argument, partly influenced, no doubt, by the inability of most ancient and modern advocates of the



genuineness to explain satisfactorily the circumstance on which the hypothesis is built. The correct view of the matter, however, is to be found, at least in the form of suggestion, in KLEUKER (*das Hohelied*, p. 33), and in PAREAU (l. c. p. 57.)

As regards, first of all, the objection taken simply from the position of Daniel among the Hagiographa, we must, in order to its removal, examine the view entertained by those who employ it, of the threefold division of the O. T., with which the argument stands or falls. According to BERTHOLDT (*Eintl.* I. 70 ff.), with whom DE WETTE § 13 agrees, this division originated quite accidentally, and in the following manner. "The compilers of the canon first of all took up the Pentateuch; whatever else was to be received into the canon, must not be associated with that, because of its superior authority, and must form a second part. The circumstance that the books next claiming admission happened to be prophets, was the reason why the name of prophets was given to this second part. The Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and the Kings, were put in this collection, only because there was as yet no third part. This division was thus completed and closed, and afterwards, when still more books were discovered, claiming to be received into the canon, they found themselves under the necessity of adding a third part to the national sacred library. Into this part the rest of the books were received *at once*, or at least in very quick succession." This entire hypothesis rests on three equally feeble grounds. 1. The *name* of the third division is said to prove that it was not added till the second, the prophetic, part of the canon was already closed,  $\text{בחדש}$  being understood to mean a *newly introduced* book (BERTH. l. c. p. 81.) But we have already seen that  $\text{בחדש}$  never means *to introduce*, and the *newly* is a mere imaginary addition. 2. The later origin of the third part is said to be proved by the reception of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings, into the second; for, if the third part had been then in existence, undoubtedly they would have been placed in it, BERTH. p. 79. But this argument rests on the assumption that there was no internal reason in these books themselves to justify their reception into the second collection. It may, however, be easily shewn that there was. The said historical books were ascribed, on the testimony of tradition, to prophets as their authors, and were therefore with perfect propriety received into the collec-

tion of prophetic writings, and separated from the other books written by no-prophets. 3. The unsuitable position of the Book of Daniel compels us to assume that the third part of the canon was not compiled till the second was completed, BERTH, p. 80. But here we may ask, whether the position of Daniel is really so unsuitable, and whether, on the contrary, the compilers of the canon were not led by some internal reason, sound or unsound, to place it where they did ; if such a reason could be pointed out barely *ex conjectura*, this argument would at once lose its weight, and much more if such a reason can be shewn on historical evidence to have really existed. But this entire view of the origin of the threefold division of the canon, which, as has been remarked, has no single argument in its favour, is proved to be unsound by the following arguments. 1. The concurrent testimony of Jewish tradition is against it. According to that, the threefold division rests upon the varied relations in which the authors of the sacred books stood to God. Comp. the passages in CARPZOV I. 25, ff. This is in itself probable ; for if it can be shewn that the nearness of relation to God was to the compilers of the canon the criterion of canonicity, as even DE WETTE allows, *Einkl.* p. 21, nothing surely would be more natural than the division of the books according to the different degrees of canonicity ; and if, as even BERTHOLDT, p. 70, remarks, the distinction between the first and second division is founded on this principle, no other principle distinct from this can be assumed for the separation of the second and third. 2. One cannot at all perceive in what the reason for the alleged closing of the second part could have consisted. Was it, that in the original manuscript which contained the second division there was no more room ? But such a misfortune might easily have been remedied ; at all events it could not have been so serious, that for the sake of it a book should have been wrested from its proper place. The reason for closing the division must therefore be sought for internally. But such a reason our opponents cannot even produce. They allow (comp. BLEEK, p. 206) that the reception of the Book of Daniel into the canon is to be explained simply and alone from the fact, that it was regarded as the work of a prophet living at the time of the captivity, but which had been concealed since that time. Now, even if the second collection had been considered as closed,



because they believed that all the remains of the ancient prophets were fully contained in it, yet, on the discovery of the supposed genuine Daniel, they would immediately have given up this opinion and opened the collection again. But BLEEK himself (p. 206) allows that, at the time assumed by him for the reception of Daniel, the whole canon, and of course the collection of Hagiographa with the rest, was regarded as closed. If so, this, too, would need to be opened again, and it is impossible to see why they should have opened the declared unsuitable, rather than the suitable, class. From what has been remarked, it appears that even the opponents of the genuineness are obliged to admit that the Book of Daniel was ~~not~~ received into the third division, <sup>not</sup> because the second was regarded as closed, but because, from some reason it was considered as not belonging to the second. But if this is conceded, why might not the compilers of the canon from the same reason have assigned to the *genuine* Daniel the same place? 3. It is altogether an untenable view, that the historical books found in the second division were received into the second division only because there was no third existing, and that hence all sacred writings besides the Pentateuch which were known at the time when the second collection was made, were thrown together into this. According to this the collection would have borne an entirely false title; for BERTHOLDT'S assertion, p. 76, is not correct, that all authors of sacred writings might be called נביאים; although we grant that in the later Hellenistic usage προφήτης not seldom had this wider signification. The noun נביא was the official name of the prophet; the older more general meaning (Gen. xx. 7) received, under the theocracy, a narrower limitation, and occurs only once in poetry, Ps. cv. 15, and then only of those who lived before the prophetic office under the theocracy was established. It remains unexplained on this supposition, why the Books of Ruth and Ezra, which are generally allowed to have been in existence at the time the second collection was made, were not received into it. This fact shews that, in the distribution of the historical books into the two divisions, they were guided by certain definite considerations. It remains unexplained why the Lamentations of Jeremiah were severed from his prophecies, and received into the third collection. The reason of it can be nothing else than the opinion of the collectors, that the Divine

influence received by the author in the composition of this book, which bears mainly a subjective character, was different from that which he was under in writing his prophecies. Finally, by this view we are driven to the unnatural supposition, that the Psalms, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, the Proverbs, were not discovered till a later time by the compilers.

If now we have shewn, on unimpeachable grounds, that the hypothesis of a successive origin of the threefold division is unsound, that this division existed from the first, and that every sacred book was assigned to its class on definite grounds, it only remains for us to answer the question, why our book was placed in the third division instead of the second. Even if we were obliged to leave the question unanswered, our opponents would gain nothing by it. For we have shown that the compilers were generally guided by distinct principles in their arrangement of the books, and that our opponents themselves are obliged to assume as much in relation to Daniel. We might then, if it were necessary, fearlessly pronounce the *non liquet*. But we do not find ourselves reduced to this extremity; the reasons may be discovered without much trouble. A distinction must be made, in the prophets, between the prophetic gift and the prophetic office.\* The former a person might possess in the highest degree without having the latter. Daniel was actually possessed of the highest prophetic gift; on that account he is called a prophet in the N. T. and in Josephus; and in the Alexandrine version he is placed in the list of prophets. But the compilers of the canon destined the second class exclusively for writings penned by prophets according to office, and by them as such. The first of these points is proved by the appellation נביאים, which in course of time became the official name of the prophets; whilst the other appellations הוֹדֵה and רִאָה designated the *donum propheticum*, and therefore were more generally employed; the writers of the Psalms, *e.g.*, were called הוֹדֵים. Comp. 2 Chron. xxix., xxx. It is proved also, by looking at the collection itself, in which are

---

\* Comp. WITSIUS, *Miscell. S.* 1 p. 15: "Distingui in prophetis potest donum, quod et privatis contigit et in revelatione rerum arcanarum consistit, et munus, quod extraordinaria in ecclesia functio erat certarum quarundam personarum speciali vocatione divina eo destinatarum."

contained only the writings of prophets according to office. The second point is proved by the exclusion of the Lamentations. It is no objection to this, that historical books composed by prophets were admitted. For the drawing up of the history of the theocracy, which embraced at the same time indirect prophecy of the future, formed an essential part of the prophetic vocation. Now, this being the nature of the second division, the collectors could not possibly admit Daniel into it. He had not, like the rest of the prophets in Palestine, and Ezekiel in the captivity, laboured as a prophet among his people. They had, then, no choice but to put Daniel into the third class. This class was a miscellaneous one; it was intended to contain a variety of sacred writings, whose common characteristic was merely their being composed by those who were not prophets by office—the Lamentations, from what we have remarked above, forms only an apparent exception. This description of the class is warranted by the names applied to it. It was called כְּתוּבִים, *writings*, namely *sacred*, as γραφαὶ frequently occurs for γραφαὶ ἁγίαι; again, it was called τὰ ἄλλα; lastly, from the first book, ψαλμοὶ—clearly indefinite appellations of wide extent and compass, which serve only to distinguish this collection from the two others, without assigning any definite positive character to it. But from this very generality of destination the compilers might receive Daniel into this class, without even in the least doubting of his prophetic gift. THEODORET (*proœm. in Dan.*) and his numerous followers are not less in error, when they bring it as a heavy charge against the Jews that they have dared to erase Daniel from the list of prophetic books, than the moderns, when they decide on his unauthenticity because he is not found there.

It only remains for us now to refute the argument which our opponents borrow from the position of the book towards the end of the collection. But here they seem not to entertain their opinion very earnestly. BERTHOLDT (*Comm. i. p. 39*) himself remarks, that no further conclusion can be drawn from this, since the unquestionably older book of Ezra is placed after it. In his *Einleitung*, indeed, he repeats the argument which he had himself rejected, but he there unwittingly refutes himself again; for he says, i. p. 84, that the writings contained in the third part were admitted *all at once*, or at least in very quick succession one after



another. BLEEK passes over this argument altogether. It falls at once with the remark, that the compilers of the canon in the arrangement of the third division set out with no distinct view, paying no regard either to the chronology or to the particular importance of the several works, and that hence nothing farther can be determined from the position of a book.

SEC. V.—DEPRECIATORY STATEMENTS OF THE JEWS.

“Favourably as Josephus pronounces of Daniel, yet the judgment of the Talmudists and later Jews is to his disadvantage; the reason of which is probably to be sought in an old tradition and in ancient doubts, handed down to their time, respecting the genuineness of his prophecies.” To this argument great weight was ascribed, especially by CORRODI and his imitators. But the refutation of it by STÄUDLIN, l. c. p. 90, ff., has been so effectual, that by modern opponents it is either expressly rejected, as by BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* viii. and *Einl.* 1508, or passed over. Only GRIESINGER, l. c. p. 25, has repeated it, without any regard to all that has been urged on the other side.

It is to be observed, in the first place, that it results purely from misconception, that a depreciation of Daniel is attributed to the *older* Jews, as is done *e.g.* by BERTHOLDT, who adduces, as the reason of it, the difficulty in which they found themselves placed by the arguments grounded by the Christians on Daniel, and by KIRMS, l. c. p. 2, who adds, as a further reason, that their hope was deceived by the non-fulfilment of the prophecies which they supposed to refer to the Romans. The passage of THEODORET, on which they both particularly insist, is not at all applicable. The simple fact that THEODORET knew of no other charge to bring against the Jews than one founded on error, that of their not assigning to Daniel the place he deserved among the prophets, shows that in his time no well-founded complaint existed against them in this respect, as RICHARD SIMON (*Hist. Crit. V. T.*, p. 56) has firmly maintained, principally on the ground of a passage in JEROME. In the Talmud occurs only one passage which appears to pertain to the subject, *Sanhedrin* fol. 93, in EISENMENGER i. p. 707. Here the question is raised, where Daniel was when his



three companions were cast into the fiery furnace ; and, among various absurd answers, this one is given—that he was gone a journey to fetch pigs from Alexandria. But by this, in all probability, it is not intended to bring *Daniel* into contempt, but the heathen king whom he served. The passages which really in any way detract from the reputation of Daniel, and which may be found collected most completely in CARPZOV l. c. p. 229, divide themselves into two classes. To the first belong two statements of Abarbanel and of Moses Maimonides (*More Neb.* p. 319, *Buxt.*), in which, with the fullest recognition of the canonicity of the Book of Daniel, a lower degree of inspiration is ascribed to it and to all the other Hagiographa, than to the prophets. It is only necessary to inspect these passages to perceive the incorrectness of BERTHOLDT'S assertion, that all the more unfavourable judgments of the Jews on the Book of Daniel proceeded only from polemic zeal against the Christians. It is at once manifest that they were induced to attribute a lower grade of inspiration to Daniel, merely because they did not understand the real reason for its position among the Hagiographa, and yet wanted to give a reason. To the second class belong some contemptuous oral expressions of common trafficking Jews about Daniel, uttered against Christians, who tried to convince them, out of Daniel, of their error. These expressions, the like of which are not to be found in any single Jewish writer of reputation, point of themselves to their source, and never ought to have been preserved. These remarks show the utter futility of the argument. The two passages of Maimonides and Abarbanel are the only ones worthy of notice ; and with the same justice as the charge is preferred against them of doubting the authenticity of Daniel, because they ascribe to him another kind of inspiration than to the prophets, we might maintain that *all* the Hagiographa were spurious. Their judgment of the Book of Daniel proceeded simply from the fact, that they ascribed what they regarded as a common characteristic mark of the Hagiographa, their being written in the Holy Ghost (בִּירוֹחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ), to Daniel also as a part of them.

## SEC. VI.—THE O. T. ALLUDED TO AS A COMPLETE WHOLE.

“ But even the book itself affords a pretty certain proof, that it was first composed at a time when the rest of the canon was already made up and regarded as a complete whole. In chap. ix. 2, a collection is designated by the term  $\text{ספרות}$ , in which the prophecies of Jeremiah were to be found; this expression, like  $\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\iota\alpha$ ,  $\eta$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\eta$ ,  $\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\alpha\iota$ , can only designate the entire compass of the holy writings of the Jewish people which had superior canonical authority, and among which no doubt were found, not only the prophetic writings, but also the Pentateuch, since it cannot be believed that that designation was ever intended to be used specially of any collection which did not include the Pentateuch. The author thus unintentionally betrays the age in which he wrote, since he makes Daniel acquainted with the collection of sacred writings which in his time did not yet exist.” So BLEEK, l. c. p. 209, before him GESENIUS, s. v.  $\text{ספר}$ , after him KIRMS, p. 10, and WINER, s. v.; BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i. p. 79, mentions this argument only in passing; for he, like DE WETTE, *Eint.* § 13, *a*, understands by the  $\text{ספרות}$  merely a particular collection of prophetic writings.

It is in this argument, first of all, arbitrarily assumed, that  $\text{ספרות}$  is a standing designation of a complete and generally acknowledged collection of sacred writings. The article, on which even Ch. B. MICHAELIS grounds this assumption, does not prove this. “ I Daniel,” it is said, “ examined in the writings,  $\text{בספרות}$ , the number of the years which, according to the prophecy of Jeremiah, should elapse till the restoration of the state.” The article stands frequently with objects “ which, as definite in their kind, are intelligible to the hearer from the subject-matter of the discourse and the context.” Comp. EWALD, *Gramm* p. 567. Accordingly, *the* writings here are those writings in which the said prophecy of Jeremiah is contained. The reference to the complete whole of the O. T. canon is opposed by the circumstance, that even in the later usage of the language  $\text{ספרות}$  never occurs as a *terminus technicus*—this is rather *hakketubim*—to designate it. Moreover, the reputed pseudo-Daniel could not speak of a *completed* collection for this reason also, that he himself must

have had it in view to procure for his composition a reception into the canon. Nothing more, therefore, can be gathered from this passage, than that Daniel was in possession of certain sacred writings, of which we know nothing further than that the collection of the prophecies of Jeremiah must have been among them. But that this can prove anything against the genuineness of the book, surely no one will maintain. We shall not once refer to the fact that, according to a preponderance of evidence, a collection of sacred writings prepared *publica auctoritate*, was to be found in the temple even before the captivity. A defence of the reasoning of EICHHORN, *Eiul.* i. § 3, of PAREAU, l. c. p. 49, ff., and of others, against the objections of BAUER, CORRODI, and BERTHOLDT, and a confirmation of it would here lead us too far, and is not indispensably necessary to our cause. It is enough for us to shew, that before the collection of the canon after the captivity there existed private collections of sacred writings. This results properly from the nature of the case. If Moses and the prophets were always acknowledged as Divine messengers (and innumerable proofs of this can be adduced from their writings), the pious subjects of the theocracy would feel themselves called on by this acknowledgment to get possession of the most complete collection of their writings possible. And we are at no loss for historical proof that this demand was met. The prophet Jeremiah, for instance, must have possessed a considerable collection of sacred writings. This may be indisputably shown from those passages of his prophecies in which the writings of earlier prophets are imitated. Amongst others he had before him the Pentateuch, Isaiah, Obadiah, Micah, who is expressly quoted xxvi. 12, <sup>15</sup>a collection of Psalms, the Book of Job (comp. the cursing of his birth xv. 10, and especially xx. 14, with Job chap. iii.); comp. EICHHORN, *Eiul.* § 536; DE WETTE § 217; JAHN ii. 2, 463, ff., KLEINÉRT, *Echtheit des Jesaia*, p. 130, ff. Equally numerous were the writings which Zechariah had before him, as will be shewn below in the dissertation on the integrity of Zechariah. More than these two instances are not required to set aside the whole argument. We have no need whatever to take refuge in the bold supposition of PAREAU (p. 52), that Jeremiah, before the burning of the temple, according to the Jewish tradition (a very uncertain one, contained merely in the passage, for the most



part fabulous, 2 Macc. ii. 4–8, and even there not at all clearly), had saved the sacred library, and entrusted it to Daniel's keeping, with the addition of his own prophecies, of which latter the proof is grounded only on one passage, misunderstood through a false reference of the article. Daniel was only in possession of one of the more or less ample private collections, from which, after the captivity, the complete canon of the O. T. was compiled.

SEC. VII.—AIMLESS PROFUSION OF MIRACLES.

“ We find in Daniel an aimless profusion of miracles. Of what use was it to Nebuchadnezzar to know who would be his successors, or to be acquainted with the revolutions that were to take place afterwards in his monarchy? Was it worth such a manifold variety of miracles to satisfy his political curiosity? What was the object of making known to Belshazzar, by a writing which nobody but Daniel could read, that the Medes and Persians were to be masters of his capital? &c. This want of any adequate aim in miracles altogether surpassing the common course of nature, must perplex even the most candid inquirer.” So particularly BERTHOLDT (*Comm.* i. 22); GRIESINGER, p. 49; KIRMS, p. 11. It is perfectly clear that this attack is directed properly against the miracles themselves; yet it is deserving of our consideration, inasmuch as it is disguised under a more seemly pretext. Undoubtedly it is the existence of an aim worthy of God that distinguishes the miracles of Scripture from the heathen prodigies; and the genuineness of the Book of Daniel would fare badly if such an aim could not be pointed out in the miracles contained in it. But we need not here have recourse to mere conjectures and possibilities; the book itself gives us distinct and express explanations concerning the objects of the miracles. “ The aim of the narratives in the Book of Daniel,” observes GRIESINGER, p. 81, quite correctly, although from the correct fact he draws a false conclusion, “ is not hidden: that Jehovah is mightier than all the gods of the heathen; that he alone determines the destinies of the kingdoms of the world; that those who in wicked pride exalt themselves above Jehovah, and afflict his beloved people, are not allowed by him to go unpunished;



this is constantly repeated, not merely as occasion might call for it, but on purpose, quite designedly." Let a person only read carefully through the first six chapters, and he will find in every single miraculous occurrence this object distinctly stated. After Daniel, for instance, has told and interpreted to Nebuchadnezzar his dream, Nebuchadnezzar in astonishment acknowledges, ii. 46, that the God of the Jews is a God above all gods, a Lord above all kings, who reveals secrets. In chap. iii. Nebuchadnezzar, when he had, ver. 15, arrogantly defied the God of Israel, and God had, by the miraculous deliverance of his worshippers, vindicated his honour against the idols, praises Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, because they would not pray to any god but their God, and prohibits all his subjects from blaspheming the God of Israel, because there is no other god who can deliver as he can. In regard to the miracle of the writing hand, it is, chap. v. 24, expressly said that it was wrought to manifest the omnipotence of the God, whom Belshazzar in his rash insolence had derided at an idol feast, and compared disparagingly with the idols. In Daniel's deliverance from the lions' den Darius the Mede sees an evidence of the omnipotence of the God of Israel, and issues a command that all his subjects shall fear and reverence the God of Israel. But the question may be farther asked, whether, just in the time of Daniel, the attainment of this object, the manifestation of the omnipotence of the God of Israel before the heathen kings and nations, was of such importance that the means employed exhibit no disproportion to the end. This question can only be answered in the affirmative, by him who acknowledges with all his heart the divine origin of revealed religion in general, and has a corresponding apprehension of the sublimity of the aims to be realized by it, and for the following reasons :—

1. The people of the covenant, being carried away into captivity, into the midst of idolatrous people, were exposed in a far greater degree to the temptation of apostatizing, which, even previously in their fatherland, they had not been able to resist. The wholesome excitement which had been secured by their living together under the institutions of religion, and by its central point, the temple, was gone ; there was present, according to the ideas of the ancient world, the thought, that the derision of the heathen, who inferred from the impotency of the people the impotency of

their God, was well founded. Even the better sort, who, mindful of the repeated declarations of the prophets, acknowledged that the cause lay not in the impotency of God, but in the corruption of the people, could not tell how to understand it, that God had not "for his name's sake" protected his people from total ruin. The hope of the promised deliverance found nothing at all on which to fasten in the visible appearance of things. Now, such being their state of mind, in proof of which a multitude of passages might easily be adduced, it was certainly most fitting (if, that is to say, the maintenance of the true religion among the people of the covenant, the necessary condition of the appearance of the Messiah, was of any importance) that the weakness of their faith should be assisted even by sensible means of support, and the omnipotence of the true God be made known in a striking manner in what was actually visible, that the elevation of Daniel by these miraculous events to the highest dignities in the heathen court should serve as a sign and a pledge of the approaching exaltation of the whole people. This reason is noticed by JEROME in his *Comm.*—" *Quod quidem et in Joseph apud Pharaonem et Aegyptum factum legimus et in Mardocheo apud Assverum : ut in utraque gente haberent captivi et peregrinantes Judæi solatia, videntes hominem gentis suæ Aegyptiorum esse principem vel Chaldaeorum.*"

2. As Joseph, by miraculous interpositions of Providence in a foreign land, was raised to the highest dignity, so as to become the preserver of his family, to whose narrow limits the kingdom of God was then confined ; as at a later period God, by miracles far surpassing in magnitude those which occur in our book, effected the liberation of his people, when they were, for the first time, oppressed in an enemy's land ; so the object of the miracles enacted in Daniel's time was to prepare for the liberation of the Israelites, by producing a conviction of the omnipotence of the Lord, and of the authority of Daniel. That the latter had a very great share in bringing about that event, is partly allowed, even by our opponents. Thus BERTHOLDT says, in contradiction to his assertion of the aimlessness of the miracles, *Comm.* i. p. 11, that Daniel *without doubt very much* contributed to obtain the permission from Cyrus for the exiled Jews to return to their fatherland, and to build Jerusalem and the Temple anew. Indeed,

unless we admit this, it is inexplicable why Cyrus, in the edict preserved to us in Ezra i. 1-4, amidst an avowal of the tutelary God of the Jewish nation as the common Lord of heaven and earth, who had bestowed on him all the kingdoms of the earth, should have given an order for the liberation of the people, and the rebuilding of the Temple. That the motives attributed to Cyrus by DE WETTE, GESENIUS (*zu Jes.* xli. 2), and SCHLOSSER, are insufficient to explain the fact, has been strikingly shewn by KLEINERT, l. c. p. 155, ff. It is only necessary to look at the edict to be convinced that a certain similarity of religions, with far greater dissimilarity in other respects, could not have called it forth; and the assertion that Cyrus favoured the Jews from political grounds, ascribes to this people an importance which they did not at that time by any means possess. We perfectly agree with KLEINERT'S opinion, which he has well sustained, that the immediate occasion of the edict was the reading of the prophecies of Isaiah concerning the liberation to be granted to the Jews by Cyrus. But this very occasion presupposes another more remote cause of the edict, the influence of Daniel. It cannot be believed that the prophecies of Isaiah laid before Cyrus *ex abrupto* by an unknown Jew, of the genuineness of which, in such a case, there was nothing to assure him, should have moved him to such weighty decisions; it cannot be believed that he should have attained to such a conviction of the omnipotence of the true God, if he had not previously become acquainted with it in more unequivocal declarations. On the other hand, all is easily explained as soon as we assume the co-operation of Daniel. How much he longed for the deliverance of his people, is shown in chap. ix. He had already obtained from the Chaldean kings an acknowledgment of the God of Israel as the Lord over all lords, and the God over all gods; Darius Medus had raised him to the highest honours when he became acquainted with his remarkable prophecy to Belshazzar, and had afterwards, in a public edict, expressed the recognition of the God of Israel, which we find again in the edict of Cyrus. There remained now only one step to the liberation of the Israelites, and it was Daniel that influenced Cyrus to take the step, partly by his great credit with the monarch, resulting from all the preceding miraculous events, even those which had occurred under the reign of the Chaldeans—partly by his laying before



him the prophecies of Isaiah concerning him, which he attested with his own authority. But supposing we were to reject the latter account, we should be so much the more compelled, in order to an explanation of the undeniable fact of the deliverance of the Israelites, to assume the co-operation of Daniel.

3. But also in reference to the heathens themselves, these declarations of the omnipotence of the true God were not without their importance. We cannot certainly admit, with several ancient interpreters, that the heathen kings were really converted by them; the contrary may be proved from this very book. But yet a wholesome dread of the God of Israel was awakened among the heathens, and thereby limits were set to that proud contempt of him which had been peculiarly nourished at that time by the weakness of his people. This, moreover, served as a prelude and a preparation for the farther and more perfect manifestation of his dignity among them;\* and, at the same time, independently of any determinate action, it was demanded by the majesty of God, which never left itself without witness when the true God came into competition with idols, and was, as it were, called upon to vindicate itself against them; as, *e. g.*, the destruction of Pharaoh and his army was rendered necessary on this ground alone, if there had been no other; and the destruction of Sennacherib's army, too, had certainly this for its object in part. After these remarks, we submit to our readers whether they will agree with GRIESINGER, who maintains, p. 49, that, although plausible aims may be imagined in some of the miracles, yet the needlessly profuse expenditure of miracles can in no way be reconciled with the wisdom of God. This assertion appears to us all the more unfounded, if we assume, farther, that the efficacy of the miracles was not calculated on merely as affecting the contemporaries of Daniel, but that they had a reference to the later community of the faithful, as well that of the Old Testament—namely, under the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes (comp. 1 Macc. ii. 52–60)—as that of the New, being intended to serve, as they in fact have served, for the confirmation of their faith, of which numerous and striking instances might be adduced from the Christian Church.

---

\* It is not to be overlooked, that at the end of the captivity many heathens were converted to the God of Israel. Comp. JAHN, *Archäol.* iii. p. 179, sqq.



## SECT. VIII.—HISTORICAL ERRORS.

I. “ The Book of Daniel contains historical errors, which it is impossible Daniel could have penned, and which can only be explained on the assumption that the writer was of later date. The most glaring instance is ch. viii. 1, 2. According to this passage, Daniel, in the third year of Belshazzar, is in Shushan the palace, in the province of Elymais. In the 27th verse, he says, that he had official business to transact here for the king. This account is, in many respects, inconsistent with history. *a.* The province of Elam never belonged to the Chaldean court in Babylon. That it was not under the government of Nebuchadnezzar, appears from Jeremiah xxv. 25, and Isaiah xxi. 2, where it is mentioned as part of the Median kingdom. From his weak successors its subjugation is not at all to be expected. It is therefore an offence against history to say, that Daniel was then in this land, and had public business to transact there. *b.* Mention is here made of a palace in Shushan. But in Nabonned’s time there was as yet neither court nor palace in the capital of Elymais. It was the kings after Cyrus who first took up their winter residence in Shushan ; Darius Hystaspis was the first to erect the buildings required for that purpose. Plin. H. N. vi. 26. *c.* The town, as we learn from Herodotus, had formerly another name. It was not till long after the time referred to in our passage, that the figurative name לְיָסֵן, lily, given by Darius Hystaspis to the palace, on account of its splendour, was applied to the city.” So, at great length, BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i. 34 ; ii. 476, ff. ; *Eintl.* p. 1541 ; and after him GRIESINGER, p. 40 ; DE WETTE, &c. But all these arguments may be shown, with complete certainty, to be unfounded.

*a.* It can be shown that Nebuchadnezzar conquered Elam, and incorporated it with his kingdom, as ROSENMÜLLER has recently asserted, *Bibl. Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 309. At the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah, Jeremiah prophesies to the kingdom of Elam destruction and ruin by the Chaldeans, ch. xlix. 34, ff. The fulfilment of this prophecy is shown by Ezekiel xxxii. 24, where, in a prophecy uttered soon after the destruction of Jeru-

salem, among the other kingdoms destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, Elam is brought forward. If, then, it is established that Nebuchadnezzar subjugated Elam, one cannot see how, in the third year of Belshazzar, fourteen years before the conquest of Babylon by the Medo-Persian army (for the last king of the Chaldeans reigned, according to Berossus and Ptolemy, seventeen years), it should have been subject to Median domination. The two passages adduced by BERTHOLDT do not at all prove this. The passage in Jeremiah speaks to the very contrary. Elam, in this prophecy uttered in the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, is placed along with Media, only because of its proximity; to it, as well as to Media, independent kings are ascribed, and the conquest of the people by Nebuchadnezzar declared. In Isaiah, certainly, Elam appears in conjunction with Media as the people which the Chaldeans were to conquer; but, in all probability, Elam stands here in that more comprehensive sense in which it generally occurs in the older books of Scripture, and serves for a designation of Persia, whose peculiar name occurs first in Ezekiel; comp. VITRINGA and GESENIUS, in loc. But, even if Elam had just the same sense as in Daniel, yet nothing could be farther from what the passage proves, than that, in the third year of Belshazzar, the Elamites were not subject to the Chaldeans. Nothing more could be gathered from it, than that, on the breaking out of the war against the Chaldeans, the Elamites would voluntarily go over to the Medes, or, subjugated by them, would serve in their army. No difficulty whatever, therefore, would exist in our passage, even if we should actually understand, with BERTHOLDT, a bodily presence of Daniel in Susa; but it may be abundantly shown farther, that Daniel was at Susa only in the same manner as Ezekiel, *in the visions of God*, was at Jerusalem, viii. 3; xl. 2; as THEODORET, ABEN EZRA, CALVIN, CH. B. MICHAELIS, and many other interpreters have assumed. In favour of this view we mention, 1. That the object for which Daniel feels himself transported to Susa in particular, strikes us most clearly at a glance. Susa was the future metropolis of the kingdom which the prophecy concerned. "Susa was anciently the capital of the Persians: when, therefore, he is being taught the destruction of the Persian kingdom, he necessarily imagines the vision to take place

in that city."\* 2. It is said, v. 27, that Daniel, when he had recovered from the weakness of body caused by the intense excitement connected with the vision, attended to the king's business. This points us to Babylon, not to Susa, as the real place of the prophet's abode, and the scene of the vision. We cannot conceive what Daniel could have had to do with the king's business at Susa. BERTHOLDT supposes the collection of tribute; but Daniel, under the Chaldean kings, and even, as appears from ch. v. 11, under Belshazzar, was president of the learned men of the Babylonian court, and as such had nothing to do with the collection of tribute in a province, nor had he any business whatever out of Babylon; and yet he must have transacted the king's business at the place where he had the vision. His being at Susa must therefore belong to the vision. 3. But this is expressly said ver. 2, and this of itself is sufficient proof. This verse reads literally, "And I saw in the vision, and it came to pass, as I saw, and I was at Shushan the palace, in the province of Elam, and I saw in the vision, and I was by the river Ulai. And I lifted up mine eyes and saw, and lo," &c. According to BERTHOLDT, "and I was, &c." is, in both cases, a parenthesis, and the words, "and I saw in the vision," merely mark the transition to the subsequent narrative. But this interpretation certainly has not the advantage of being an easy one. According to it, not only are the twice repeated words, "and I saw in the vision," superfluous, a thing that certainly might be justified, but also "and it came to pass as I saw." The natural interpretation, that which suggests itself at once to every body, is most surely this: that "and I saw in the vision" stands in a causal relation to "and I was," especially as in ver. 3, an entirely similar connection is found, "I lifted up mine eyes and saw, *and* a ram stood."

b. We grant certainly that a palace at Shushan is mentioned. For although  $\text{הַמַּלְאָכָה}$  is used here in a wider signification—the palace Shushan for the city Shushan, comp. GESEN. *thes. s. v.*—yet this wider signification can only be explained on the supposition, that there was a palace in the city. But the assertion that

\* THEODORET: τὰ Σοῦσα μητρόπολις ἦν πάλαι Περσῶν ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν τὴν τῆς Περσικῆς βασιλείας μινθάνει κατάλυσιν, ἀναγκαίως ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει δοκεῖ βλέπειν τὴν ἀποκάλυψιν.



Shushan had not, at that time, any palace, is, first of all, not supported by any historical testimony. For the passage adduced from PLINY cannot be regarded as such. He says, "*in Susiana est vetus regia Persarum, Susa, a Dario Hystaspis filio condita.*" He asserts, not that the palace alone, but that the entire city of Susa, was founded by Darius Hystaspis. But this assertion is opposed by the unanimous testimony of all oriental (comp. HERBELOT, *bibl. Orient. s. v. Sous*, p. 829) and Greek writers, who assign the building of the city of Susa to the earliest antiquity. STRABO mentions, p. 1058, as its founder, Tithonus, father of Memnon, and adduces, among the reasons which led the Persian kings to exalt the city to be their residence, its magnitude and splendour. PLINY, then, at all events, if his testimony has a general foundation of truth, is chargeable with confounding the extension and embellishment of the city with its first erection. The assertion that Susa had no palace in it before the time of Darius Hystaspis is, however, not merely groundless, but it may also be refuted by distinct historical proofs. Shushan, the capital of Elam, must have had a palace in it, from the mere fact, that it had kings of its own from Abraham's time downwards, comp. Gen. xiv. 1. HERODOTUS (v. 54), STRABO, l. c., and STEPHANUS of BYZANTIUM, expressly mention this palace, and say that it bore, from its founder, the name *τὰ Μემνονεία*, and remained till the Persians became dominant. Cyrus, who, according to the testimony of Xenophon, used to pass the three spring months at Susa (comp. HOECK, *veter. Mediæ et Persiæ monumenta*, p. 92), must, it would seem, have found a palace already existing there.

c. Just as imaginary is the assertion, that the name Susa was first given by Darius Hystaspis to the palace, and that it passed from that to the city. This assumption, in the first place, finds no support in the appellation itself. BERTHOLDT's assertion is incorrect, that it refers to the beauty of the buildings; according to ATHENÆUS and STEPHANUS of BYZANTIUM (in HOECK, l. c. p. 90, and more fully in BOCHART, *Geogr. Sac.* p. 751), the city received its name from the quantity of lilies growing in the neighbourhood. This assertion is just as little supported by saying, that the city, in ancient times, bore the name of Memnon's city; to the palace only the name "Memnon's palace" is given by the



writers quoted (comp. also Herodot. v. 53); but here, as GESENIUS also allows, the question is about the city. The name *Μεμνόνιον ἄστυ* in Herodotus, C. 51, is only an appellative—Herodotus has, in the same passage, as a *nomen proprium*, Susa. Of a change in the name of the city, in the time of Darius Hystaspis, not only is there not a syllable of mention in any single writer, but XENOPHON, *Cyrop.* viii. 6, 22, as well as Herodotus, testifies to the existence of the name Susa in ancient times. Add to this, that the assertion that the name *Shushan* was first invented by Darius Hystaspis, is founded upon an hypothesis already shown to be groundless, that of his being the founder of the city or the palace; and that, assuming the correctness of this, it would surely be necessary, as in other similar changes of name, to point out a reference in the name to the person of him that gave it. Thus, in all this argumentation, BERTHOLDT'S *oleum et opera* are thrown away.

II. Among the instances of historical incorrectness is mentioned, farther, the description of the den of lions in chap. 6, which is alleged to be in decided contradiction to what we otherwise know of lion-dens. BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. 397, ff., now lays little stress on this, (comp., however, i. p. 74); but DE WETTE goes so far in his *ridiculous* arrogance, as to call the representation of the lions' den a *ridiculous* one. Concerning the construction of the Chaldean or Medo-Persian lion-dens, we have not the slightest information from other sources; all that we possess, is only a single description of lion-dens of quite another land, and quite another period, in HÖST'S *Nachrichten von Maroko und Fes*, S. 77 and 290, abridged in JAHN'S *Archäologie*, ii. 2, p. 355, and copied out at length in ROSENM. *A. und N. Morgenl.* iv. Nr. 1084. This agrees with our description in the most essential features, *e. g.*, that the receptacles for the lions were underground, and that persons condemned to death were thrown down into them. Nay, exactly considered, no difference whatever can be detected between the two. For, the assertion that in our passage a very narrow opening is ascribed to the lions' den, just as in vessels terminating in a point above, rests merely on the fact, that, according to ver. 17, it was closed by a stone laid upon it above. But we must here imagine a large flat stone, which, as in graves (comp. JAHN, *Archäol.* i. 2, § 213), served for a door

III. In the same arbitrary manner, another historical error is assumed—"According to chap. v. 11, 13, 18, 22, Belshazzar (Nabonned), who, according to profane historians, is the fourth successor of Nebuchadnezzar, is his son. This could not have been said by Daniel, who must have been perfectly well acquainted with Nebuchadnezzar's family." BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i. 35; BLEEK, p. 270; KIRMS, p. 11. It is generally allowed that אָב frequently signifies ancestors in general, and בֶּן, or בְּנֵי, descendants, and especially grandchildren (comp. GESEN., *Thes.* p. 6, and 216.) Belshazzar was probably a son of Evilmerodach, and grandson of Nebuchadnezzar, (comp. the evidence in ROSEN-MÜLLER, *Alterthumsk.* i. 2, p. 89.) This designation, then, in itself, gives no countenance to the supposition that the author took Belshazzar for a son of Nebuchadnezzar. But, objects BLEEK, if the author had not done this, he would in ver. 11, at the very outset, where we read "and in the time of thy father wisdom was found in him," have expressly added the name of Nebuchadnezzar. With far greater propriety might we conclude, because, in the words immediately following, "thy father" is more exactly defined by "the king Nebuchadnezzar," that the queen or the author expressly distinguished Nebuchadnezzar from the proper father of Belshazzar. But a reason can very well be given, why the queen does not in the first breath give this more accurate definition. The queen who here comes from her chamber into the banqueting hall was not, as BERTHOLDT l. c. p. 366. assumes, the wife of Belshazzar—for his wives were, according to ver. 2, present in the hall—but the queen dowager, the wife of Evilmerodach; comp. the proof farther on. When she was speaking of events as having transpired in the time of Belshazzar's father, she might reasonably suppose that he would not think of the insignificant Evilmerodach, who, according to the testimony of Berosus in Josephus, reigned only two years, but of the famous, celebrated Nebuchadnezzar.—The difference of the names Belshazzar and Nabonned, to which BLEEK farther refers, is the less capable of proving anything, inasmuch as both, like the names in general of the ancient kings of the East, are rather surnames than proper names—Belshazzar from the god Bel (*GES. thes.* p. 226), Nabonned from the god Nebo (*GES. jes.* II. 342.) Nebuchadnezzar's father, too, appears under the double name of

Nebuchadnezzar and Nabopolassar; comp. BEROSUS in JOH. *Arch.* X. xi. 1.

IV. It is farther attempted by BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. p. 885, ff., and after him by BLEEK, p. 270, DE WETTE, and, which is to be wondered at, even the more discreet ROSENMÜLLER, (*Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 369), to prove that there is a historical error in the fact, that the king whom Xenophon calls Cyaxares II., is here called Darius. They assert that the later author of the Book of Daniel gave him this name only by a confusion with Darius Hystaspis. We will here for a moment suppose no historical traces to exist, that the first and last Median king of Babylon bore the name Darius. Even then there had need to be very strong grounds for attributing to the author just in this particular such ignorance of history, since his statements, especially in this chapter, serve so strongly to confirm his credibility as a historian. Of Cyaxares II. HERODOTUS and JUSTIN say nothing. According to both of them Astyages had no son. According to HERODOTUS and CTESIUS, the list of Median kings closed with Astyages, and immediately thereupon the Persian kingdom began with Cyrus. With them agree DIODORUS SICULUS, STRABO, POLYENUS. And yet clear reasons can be produced to shew, that the scanty testimonies to the existence of a Darius Medus are correct; comp. previously BERTHOLDT, ii. p. 818, ff. Now, is it at all likely, that a writer, who, in reference to the reign of a Median king over Babylon, displays a knowledge of history such as we look for in vain in the oldest and most credible writers of profane history, and such as we cannot suppose in a Jew of the time of the Maccabees, should have allowed himself to be chargeable with such gross confusion as to the name of the king mentioned by him? Still farther, the author agrees in another special fact with profane history. XENOPHON relates (*Cyropædia* VIII. vi. 1, ff.), that soon after the taking of Babylon the conquered lands were divided into provinces, and governors set over them. All this is stated in our book too.—Are we indeed to infer from a mere difference of names, that the author is chargeable with confounding them? But such differences occur also in other Hebrew writings, in which nobody thinks of a historical error, because of their acknowledged credibility, and in part their contemporaneity. The Cambyses of profane writers is called in the Book of Ezra Achaschverosh (Ahasuerus.) Pseudosmerdis



bears even in profane writers two different names, in CTESIAS Spendates, in JUSTIN Oropastes, and in Ezra he appears under a third name Artachshasta (Artaxerxes); comp. JAHN, *Archäol.* II. 1, p. 244; RSM. l. c. p. 373. Now, why is this appearance in all other cases unanimously explained on the ground that the names of kings were not *nomina propria*, but surnames,\* whilst, on the contrary, in this single instance, this explanation is not once proposed as at all possible? And yet in this very case this explanation is quite natural, since it is generally allowed that the name Darius in particular is an appellative. That it was a mere title appears from this, that several different kings bear it. According to Herodotus, the name represented the Greek ἐρξείης, tamer, subduer. HERBELOT observes, *bibl. Or.* s. v. Dara, “*Nom Persien, qui est plutôt appellatif que propre, car Dara en langue Persienne signifie un Souverain.*” Comp. RSM. l. c. p. 373; GES. and WINER s. v.

We have hitherto been speaking on the supposition that there is no historical confirmation of the asserted fact, that the last Median king was called Darius. But this supposition of opponents is false. There is a splendid confirmation of the credibility of our book in this particular in the Armenian chronicle of EUSEBIUS. There, in a short appendix to a fragment of Abydenus, which is found also without the appendix in EUSEBIUS' *preparatio evangelica*, t. I. p. 61, ed. Ven., after it has been mentioned that Cyrus made the last king of Babylon a present of the province of Carmania after his imprisonment, it is said, “*Darius rex de regione depulit aliquantulum.*” To doubt the genuineness of these words, is out of the question; they are not employed at all by EUSEBIUS for the illustration or confirmation of Scripture; he regards them as so indifferent that in the *preparatio*, he leaves them out; they bear the very peculiar confused character of Abydenus, in whom you often cannot at all tell what he means to say. Its genuineness receives confirmation from this fact also, that Aby-

---

\* So says HEEREN, *Ideen* I. 1, p. 163, 164, “The difficulty arises only from the difference in the names of two kings. But these need the less surprise us, because the usual names of the Persian kings were properly mere titles or surnames, whose significations HERODOTUS has preserved to us, which, therefore, might be easily changed, and especially might be differently expressed in different languages.” Comp. also VOLNEY, *recherches nouvelles*, Paris 1814, t. I. p. 141, ff.

denus, in another passage that has hitherto been acknowledged as genuine, speaks of a Mede who, in connexion with a Persian, would overthrow the Babylonian kingdom; comp. BERTHOLDT, *Dan.* ii. p. 853. Here, then, we have the name which occurs in our book, from a historical source quite independent of it.—Another less certain confirmation, although one not to be despised, is afforded by the name of the *Darics*, a Persian gold coin. Several older writers, as PRIDEAUX, *hist. d. Juifs* t. 1, and VITRINGA, *obs. sacrr.* ii. p. 308, advanced the opinion, that this coin received its name from Darius Medus. All ancient writers (HERODOTUS, DIODORUS, PLUTARCH, &c., comp. *Brisson. de reg. Pers. princ.* p. 346) agree, that a king Darius gave it the name—so that all derivations of it from other sources (comp. WINER, *lex.* p. 23), none of which derivations are otherwise recommended by plausibility, are to be rejected. Now HERODOTUS, it is true, says that the coin was first struck by Darius Hystaspis; but that he only transferred to him what belonged to another older Darius, appears probable from the fact, that the *Darics* are mentioned in the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, as a coin long ago in circulation, and commonly current. To this we may add the concurrent accounts of several ancient writers. SUIDAS says  $\sigma$  v. *δαρεικός*: οὐκ ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου τινὸς παλαιότερου βασιλέως ὠνομάσθησαν. So also the scholiast on Aristophanes, on the *Ecclesiaz.* p. 741. HARPOCRATION observes, *ἐκλήθησαν δὲ Δαρεικοί, οὐκ ὡς οἱ πλείους νομίζουσιν ἀπὸ Δαρείου τοῦ Ξέρξου πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑτέρου βασιλέως.*—But, finally, we can offer a probable explanation of the discrepancy between Xenophon and Daniel, in reference to the name of the last Median king. There is no doubt that the two names (*Astyages* and *Cyaxares*) which Xenophon attributes to the father and the son as different, are identical. We can here refer to NIEBUHR, *kl. hist. Schr.* p. 207. “*Asdahag (Astyages), according to a remarkable account given by the Milanese editors (of the Armenian chronicle of Eusebius) from Moses of Chorene, who quotes Armenian songs in proof, might have been the name of an old Median dynasty; but also in the name Cyaxares (Kei-Axar) Axar and Asdahag are identical, like Ἀρταξάρης and Artachshasta.*” In all probability, then, Xenophon is chargeable with confounding the names of the father and son.—From NIEBUHR'S remark it may be clearly seen,

at the same time, with what justice BLEEK, l. c., would infer anything against the credibility of Daniel, because the father of the last Median king is here (chap. 9, 1) called Ahasuerus, in Xenophon Astyages. The name Astyages is identical with Cyaxares, and in reference to the latter name SCALIGER (*de emend. temp.* l. vi. p. 587), with the consent of VITRINGA l. c. ii. p. 313, has shewn, that it is identical with Ahasuerus (Ahashverosh) and the Greek Xerxes.

V. But peculiar stress is laid upon a historical error which is said to be found in chap. i. 1. "It is here said, that the taking of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, in which Daniel was carried away as a prisoner, took place in the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim. But this is impossible; for, according to Jer. xxv. 1, Nebuchadnezzar did not mount the throne in Babylon till the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim. The assumption that Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem before his accession to the throne, on the expedition which, according to Berosus in Josephus, *Archæol.* X. xi. 1, was undertaken in his father's lifetime, is inadmissible. For, not to mention that Nebuchadnezzar is here called king, and that the assertion of his being associated by his father in the co-regency at that time is not adequately sustained, it can be proved that on this expedition Judea was not invaded. And even if it had been invaded, still a contradiction would remain; for, according to Jer. xlvi. 1, the conquest of the Egyptians by the Chaldeans at Carchemish did not occur till the fourth year of Jehoiakim. But the subjugation of Jerusalem could only take place as a consequence of that; and yet, according to the account before us, Nebuchadnezzar took Jerusalem in the third year of Jehoiakim, a year before. If the deportation of which we here read really took place, it could not have happened till the expedition of Nebuchadnezzar into Lower Asia, in the seventh year of his reign, and in the eleventh of that of Jehoiakim, which closed with the dethronement and murder of the latter (comp. 2 Kings, xxiv. 2; and Jer. lii. 28.)" This objection certainly startles, and appears so much the more unanswerable, as the attempt at reconciling the discrepancy made by several older scholars, as *e. g.* CHR. B. MICHAELIS, and even admitted as valid by BERTHOLDT, (*Comm.* i. p. 172), with seeming impartiality, but with the view, clearly manifest elsewhere, of thus being able to point out ano-



ther still grosser error (comp. *Eint.* p. 1545), is clearly untenable. It is assumed that the account here given really relates to the taking of Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, but that this, according to another mode of reckoning the years of his reign, is here called the third—that Jehoiakim suffered two invasions from Nebuchadnezzar, between which, according to 2 Kings xxiv. 1, three years elapsed—that on the first attack, which, according to this, falls in the eighth year of Jehoiakim, he became tributary to Nebuchadnezzar—that onward from this year, by command of Nebuchadnezzar, a new reckoning of the years of his reign was employed, and that the author the more readily followed this as he lived in Babylon—that he accordingly speaks here of the *anno tertio regni Jojakimi, non simpliciter inchoati, sed a Nebuchadnezzare redditi et confirmati*. But against this assumption the following arguments may be adduced. 1. The assumption of a double reckoning of the years of Jehoiakim's reign being thus occasioned, has no historical proof, and although, perhaps, in the history of other nations, it has analogy in its favour, yet it has none in the Jewish. 2. It is here unjustly assumed as proved, that the invasion of Judea by Nebuchadnezzar, mentioned 2 Kings xxiv. 1, falls in the eighth year of Jehoiakim. It is merely said there, that Jehoiakim revolted from the king of Babylon, after he had been three years tributary to him. But whether Nebuchadnezzar immediately undertook the punishment of the rebel, or whether he deferred it perhaps through several years, until he found occasion for an expedition against more important enemies, in which he had opportunity to settle this, in his eyes, insignificant affair, is not said. The assumption, then, that Nebuchadnezzar undertook his first expedition in the eighth year of Jehoiakim, is an hypothesis grounded merely on our passage. Of an expedition undertaken in the eighth year of Jehoiakim, there is not any trace elsewhere, either in biblical or profane writers. 3. But even if we lay no decisive stress on these two arguments, yet there occurs another, which of itself is enough to annihilate this assumption. It causes an irreconcilable contradiction between chap. 1 and 2. It would make the deportation of Daniel to happen in the seventh year of Nebuchadnezzar:—not certainly (see further on) of his monarchy, but of his co-regency, which, however, lasted only two or three years—to them were added, according

to ver. 5, 18, three years more, in which the education of Daniel in the Chaldee learning was completed. According to chap. ii. 1, however, Daniel expounds a dream to Nebuchadnezzar in the *second* year of his reign, consequently at a time when he was still a boy in Judea. The advocates of this hypothesis (comp. CHR. B. MICHAELIS *in loc.*; JAHN, *Eint.* ii. 609) help themselves by assuming, that it is not the second year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign that is here spoken of, but the second year of his grand universal monarchy. But of this era there is not the slightest trace elsewhere, and the period of its commencement cannot be discovered with any certainty whatever.

But it can nevertheless be shewn that this passage, far from containing an error, rather affords a striking proof of the exact historical knowledge of our author, and therefore of the genuineness of his book. A favourable providence has preserved to us a passage of Berossus, which relieves us in this instance from the necessity of pronouncing the *non liquet*, and at the same time, like the difficulty we last met with, shews how safely we may pronounce it in other cases, and how rash and unworthy of an earnest inquirer, is the conduct of those who are immediately ready with the charge of error and contradiction, whenever existing historical accounts are not sufficient to shew us the *possibility* of solving and reconciling. Berossus, in the third book of the Chaldean history, in Josephus *Arch.* X. 11, 1, informs us that the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (Nabopolassar), on hearing of the revolt of the governor, whom he had appointed in Syria and Phœnicia, to the Egyptians, (comp. on this subject farther on), being too weak to go himself, sent his son Nebuchadnezzar with an army. In this expedition (according to Jer. xlvi. 1) the Egyptians were defeated in the great battle of Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and Phœnicia and Syria came under the dominion of the Babylonians. The campaign was brought to a close by the news of the decease of Nabopolassar. Nebuchadnezzar hastened, with few attendants, the nearest way to Babylon, bidding his army, with the prisoners and booty, follow him thither. The beginning of this expedition must fall at least in the end of the third year of Jehoiakim. For since, according to Jer. xlvi. 2, Nebuchadnezzar gained the battle of Carchemish in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and, according to xxxvi. 9, took Jerusalem in the same year (see

*infra*), the time would be too short for the events of the campaign if we were to place the beginning of it in the fourth year. "Nebuchadnezzar then besieged Carchemish, on the Euphrates, a city which had been taken possession of by Necho about three years before. But, from the difficulty attending the capture of walled towns in those days, it is probable that he was detained a considerable time with the siege; and that, in the meanwhile, Necho came with forces from Egypt, which, however, were defeated by the Babylonians in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. After this, Nebuchadnezzar soon succeeded in taking Carchemish, and marched into Judea, the king of which was an ally and tributary of Necho, towards the close of that fourth year."\*

In this expedition, then, Judea was invaded and Jerusalem taken. Let us first reply to the arguments which have been brought against this opinion. 1. "The army, according to Berosus, took its march, both in advancing towards Egypt, and in returning to Babylon, *on the other side of the Jordan* (*διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου*)," BERTH., p. 166. But this is a falsification. It is merely said of Nebuchadnezzar, that, on receiving news of the death of his father, he hastened back to Babylon, with few attendants, through the desert (*αὐτὸς ὁρμήσας ὀλιγοστὸς διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου παρεγένετο εἰς βαβυλῶνα*); and the simple fact that this is related of Nebuchadnezzar as something peculiar to himself, shows that the army, on going out and returning, took another way. Indeed, if the army both times took this way, how could Phœnicia have been conquered, a fact which BEROSUS expressly relates, and which rests also upon the testimony of the Phœnician Annals? "In the archives of the Phœnicians are to be found statements agreeing with those of BEROSUS respecting the king of Babylon, to the effect, that he subjugated Syria and all

---

\* PERIZONIUS. In his famous work *Origines Aegyptiacae et Babylonicae*, t. ii., he treats very fully of these points, and between his results and those of the author, who did not consult him till after a full investigation on his own part, there exists a remarkable agreement. "Tunc obsedit Nebucadnezar Carchemisum ad Euphratem, quam urbem tribus fere annis ante occupaverat Nechao. Sed cum difficilis esset illo tempore urbium inunitarum expugnatio, verisimile est aliquandiu ipsum in ea obsidione hoesisse, atque ita venisse interim Nechaonem cum copiis ex Aegypto, sed quæ profligatæ istæ sunt a Babyloniis anno jam Jojakimi quarto. Tum vero etiam Carchemisum mox cepit Nebucadnezar, et in Judæam, cujus rex erat Nechaonis amicus et tributarius, venit anno illo quarto jam ad finem vergente." l. c. p. 430.



Phœnicia." \* 2. "From Jer. xxxvi. 9. 29, it incontestibly appears that Nebuchadnezzar, even in the fifth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, had not yet come to Jerusalem." But we shall presently see, that in this passage there is contained a pretty significant reference to a taking of Jerusalem already past. That such an event had not occurred, is not once said; and the fact that the *entire destruction of the state and devastation of the land* are announced as still future, which was really the case, affords no intimation whatever that it had not. "We are to consider the prophet as intending to remind them, that they were not to regard the evils which he had, by divine command, warned them to expect from Nebuchadnezzar, as at an end, simply because Nebuchadnezzar had already invaded Judea, and, although he had carried off many captives and spoils, had left the king still in possession of his authority; for that he would come again, and bring total desolation on the land."† Another prophecy of Jeremiah, chap. xxv., to which appeal is also made, was, like that in chap. xlvi., delivered immediately *before* the invasion of Judea that occurred during this expedition, and by that event was incipiently fulfilled. 3. "Josephus expressly says that Nebuchadnezzar, in this expedition, did not even enter Palestine." But this testimony of Josephus, *Arch.* x. 6, 1 (*διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Εὐφράτην ὁ βαβυλώνιος τὴν ἄχρι Πηλουσίου παραλαμβάνει Συρίαν παρέξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας*), has just as much authority as the testimony of BERTHOLDT himself, or of any other modern commentator or historian. Josephus did not derive the *παρέξ τῆς Ἰουδαίας* from some source no longer at our command; what follows shows that he obtained it merely from the wrongly understood passage, 2 Kings xxiv. 1. Erroneously taking the three years mentioned there as the space between the two invasions, he supposed that he could not assume any invasion before the eighth year of Jehoiakim.

Thus there is not even a plausible argument existing against

\* JOSEPHUS, *c. Ap.* l. 1. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν Φοινίκων σύμφωνα τοῖς ὑπὸ Βηρωσσοῦ λεγομένοις ἀναγέγραπται, περὶ τοῦ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων βασιλείως, ὅτι καὶ τὴν Συρίαν καὶ τὴν Φοινίκην ἅπασαν ἐκεῖνος κατεστρεψατο.

† PERIZONIUS, l. c. p. 445—"Ratio hujus prophetiæ est, quasi propheta voluisset dicere: non esse, quod se defunctos jam putent malis, quæ a Nebucadnezare ipsis expectanda jussu Dei denuntiaverat, siquidem Nebucadnezar jam venisset in Judæam et abductis licet aliquot captivis et spoliis regem tamen in regno reliquisset; nam venturum etiam deinceps et terram plane perditurum."

the assumption, that Nebuchadnezzar's invasion affected Judea also.\* On the other hand, apart from the probability of the thing, even if it could not be corroborated by direct historical evidence (PERIZONIUS l. c. p. 439, "*At quare queso Judeam reliquisset intactam, quæ tunc erat amica et tributaria Aegypto et in recta via ferente in Aegyptum sita?*"), the fact is supported by the following reasons:—1. BEROSUS mentions among the nations from whom Nebuchadnezzar carried away captives to Babylon, the Jews, and, indeed, he mentions them first (*καὶ τὸν ἀιχμαλώτους Ἰουδαίων τε καὶ Φοινίκων καὶ Σύρων καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔθνῶν*). BERTHOLDT, p. 167, is ready here with the expedient, that BEROSUS no doubt confounded Jews with inhabitants of the former kingdom of the ten tribes. But it can easily be seen that this assumption is quite arbitrary. Such a confusion is the less supposable, as the land of the ten tribes was then in possession of foreign heathen colonists from Babylon, Cutha, &c., who had nothing in common with the Jews, and whose deportation by Nebuchadnezzar into their former country is by no means probable; comp. JAHN *Arch.* ii. 1, § 40. This is to be regarded as the principal argument, and one which of itself alone contains a full sufficiency of proof. Besides this there is a second testimony of a profane author, that of Alexander Polyhistor, in a fragment contained only in the Armenian chronicle of Eusebius (t. i. p. 45); he speaks of the conquest of Judea, as connected with the conquest of Syria and Phœnicia—" *Deinde regnavit Nabucodrossorus annos 43 et contractis copiis veniens captivos duxit Judeos et Phœnices ac Syros.*" 2. In 2 Kings xxiv. 1, mention is made of an expedition of Nebuchadnezzar against Judea, in which Jehoiakim became subject to him. To this expedition the passage also in 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 must refer. "Against him came up Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, and bound him in fetters, to carry him to Babylon." For in the second expedition, in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, this king,

---

\* SCHLOSSEN, too, grants this (*Uebersicht*, i. p. 219)—"The Jews had to pay a heavy tax to the Egyptian king, by receiving a king at his hands, and remained the vassals of Egypt until Nebuchadnezzar defeated the Egyptian king on the Euphrates (601) in a decisive battle, and then hastened through Syria to Palestine, where the king of the Jews did him homage." In what follows there are a multitude of most palpable errors; but it is not within our present scope to point them out.

as Jeremiah predicts, chap. xxii. <sup>19</sup> ~~12~~, and as is expressly related in 2 Kings xxiv. 2, was immediately put to death in Jerusalem. Now, in the Chronicles, it is true, mention is made only of the intention of carrying him away to Babylon, not of the fulfilment of that intention; but this unfulfilled plan could only be mentioned to show how severely the divine retribution fell upon him; had he been put to death on the spot, we cannot see why the intended deportation is mentioned. The fact that on this supposition the second expedition, the more important one as affecting Judea, is not at all spoken of in the Chronicles, can afford no ground for rejecting it, if we consider the great brevity and incompleteness of the information contained there regarding the later times of the Jewish polity (comp. BERTHOLDT, p. 174). It is thus historically certain, that, before the invasion in the eleventh year of Jehoiakim, Judea was once conquered by the Babylonians. Indeed history tells of no other expedition of Nebuchadnezzar than that before us; nay, according to BEROSUS, Nebuchadnezzar employed himself most zealously, during some years after his accession to the throne, in fortifying and embellishing the city, and in other internal arrangements. Justly, therefore, do we find in the two passages of the historical books a confirmation of the account of BEROSUS. 3. Of less weight, but not altogether unimportant, provided it be taken together with the other proofs, is the passage in Jerem. xxxvi. 9. According to this, a public fast was appointed in Jerusalem, in the fifth year of Jehoiakim, in the ninth month. From analogy (comp. Zech. viii. 19, and as to later times RELAND *Antiqq. ss.* iv., 10) it is probable that this fast was held on the anniversary of the taking of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, which, accordingly, would have taken place in the ninth month of the fourth year.

To this capture of Jerusalem, then, our passage relates. Two arguments more are alleged against this, which, however, on nearer inspection, appear of no value. 1. From the account of BEROSUS, Nebuchadnezzar undertook this expedition in the lifetime of his father, and consequently before he succeeded to the throne; but here not only the name of king is attributed to Nebuchadnezzar, but the full exercise of the kingly prerogative, as, *e.g.*, that he brought the vessels of the temple into the treasure-house of his god, comp. CH. BEN. MICHAELIS. l. c. p. 12. But as regards



the complete exercise of kingly authority, the proofs of it, among which must not be reckoned the orders in reference to the instruction of Daniel and his companions, first make their appearance at the time of the return of Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon, when, according to the testimony of BEROSUS, his father was now dead, and the government in his own hands. Thus there remains only the title of king for consideration. Now, if we assume, with GEIER, that this is here given to Nebuchadnezzar *per anticipationem*, “and that, because when Daniel wrote Nebuchadnezzar was really king;”\* or, with others (comp. SCHLOSSER, *Weltgesch.*, i. p. 11), that Nebuchadnezzar, before the expedition, was associated in the co-regency by his aged and infirm father, a thing probable in itself, and confirmed by Jer. xlvi. 1 (vid. infra), and which, perhaps, also in the words of BEROSUS, “he conferred on his son Nebuchadnezzar, who had attained the age of manhood, some share of the government,”† has an express historical warrant—in any case, it can be shown, with certainty, from our book, that its author, just as BEROSUS, places the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign in the reign of his father, and at least a year either before his reigning at all, or before his reigning solely. According to ch. ii. 1, Daniel, in the *second* year of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, showed him a dream, when he had been instructed in the learning of the Chaldeans *three* years. This proves clearly, that, at the time of the conquest of Jerusalem, the highest dignity was not yet in the possession of Nebuchadnezzar, and that the reckoning was still made according to the years of his father’s reign. 2. It is alleged, that, according to our passage, Jerusalem was taken as early as the third year of Jehoiakim, whilst, according to Jeremiah, the battle of Carehemish did not occur till the fourth year (comp. supra. p. 43.) But this objection vanishes as soon as we translate ch. i. 1, “In the third year of king Jehoiakim, Nebuchadnezzar the king *set out* to Jerusalem,” &c. The verb שָׁרַח occurs just in the same manner Jon. i. 3, אֵת הַבַּיִת בָּאָה לְתַרְשִׁישׁ, “a vessel going to ‘Tarshish.’” See other examples in GESENIUS, *thes.*, and in WINER, s. v.‡

\* “Idque eo, quod cum Daniel scriberet, Nebucadnezar rex jam esset.”

† συστήσας τῷ υἱῷ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ ὄντι ἐν ἡλικίᾳ μέρη τινα τῆς δυνάμεως.

‡ Similarly PERIZONIUS, l. c. p. 430, “Tertio Jojakimi anno Neb. profectum contra Aegyptios et eorum socios statuimus necesse est. Eo itaque anno cepit hoc bellum moveri et quasi initium fieri veniendi in Judaeam.”

It is worthy of remark, and serves for a surprising confirmation of our view, that, according to it, for every single circumstance in ver. 1-3, a historical confirmation can be brought. Jehoiakim is given into the hand of the king of Babylon—according to the Books of Kings he becomes subject to him—according to the Chronicles he is bound with chains; Nebuchadnezzar takes away part of the temple furniture, and brings it into the house of his god—Chronicles, “Also Nebuchadnezzar brought a part of the vessels of the house of the Lord to Babylon, and put them in his palace.” BEROSUS, “With the spoils of the war he magnificently adorned the temple of Belus, *and the other* (great edifices)” &c.; \* Nebuchadnezzar gives command, out of a larger number of captives to select some for his own service—according to BEROSUS Jewish captives among the rest are carried off, and Nebuchadnezzar gives command on his return to appoint for them, as well as the others, suitable places of residence in Babylonia. We leave it to every reader to consider on which supposition this accurate historical knowledge is the more easily to be explained—that Daniel was the writer, or that it was the work of a Jew in the unhistorical Maccabean age.

It now only remains for us to reconcile our passage with Jeremiah xxv. 1. This appears at the first glance to be utterly impossible. For there the beginning of Nebuchadnezzar’s reign seems to be placed in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. The question arises, then, what is to be understood by the first year of Nebuchadnezzar, whether the first of his monarchy, or the first of his co-regency? On the first supposition we are met by an inexplicable difficulty. It would make Nebuchadnezzar’s monarchy to begin before the battle of Carchemish, and before the conquest of Jerusalem. The three years’ instruction of Daniel and his companions cannot have begun till after that; and yet it was completed by the second year of Nebuchadnezzar’s monarchy. (“Let us take another method of finding out the time of Nabopolassar’s death. This is determined by the thirty-seventh year of Jeconiah, spoken of as agreeing with the last of Nebuchadnezzar. For, if we go back through those thirty-seven years, adding the

---

\* Ἀυτὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου λαφύρων τό τε τοῦ Βήλου ἱερόν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κοσμήσας φιλοτίμως, κ.τ.λ.

last six of Jehoiakim, who reigned eleven years in all, we shall have in the sixth of Jehoiakim the first of the forty-three years which are always ascribed by the Babylonians to Nebuchadnezzar.\*) The second supposition has not only probability in its favour, ("The son appears to have administered the affairs of the kingdom in connexion with his father; so that, whenever that united government may have begun, the Scriptures reckon the years of Nebuchadnezzar from that time. For it mattered not to the Jews whether he reigned alone or with his father; since their only care was about the calamity he was bringing upon them; nor did they consider whether he oppressed them in his own or his father's name,"†) but also the testimony of BEROSUS, according to whom all Syria and Phœnicia was conquered under Nabopolassar, and Nebuchadnezzar took the government into his hands not until he had finished the whole campaign, and was returned to Babylon. "He took into his own hands the affairs of state, which had been managed by Chaldeans, and the royal prerogative which had been guarded by the chief of them, having obtained the whole of his father's dominions," &c.‡ It is not to be urged as an objection, that in Dan. ii. 1, the second year of Nebuchadnezzar is the second of his monarchy; to an author living in Babylonia this reckoning was natural, to one living in Judea (comp. p. 51) the other rather: there is also found a difference of ex-

---

\* Another difficulty too must be added. According to Jeremiah lii. 31, Nebuchadnezzar died in the thirty-seventh year of Jeconiah. This would make it impossible that he should have begun his reign in the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Comp. PENNZONIUS, l. c., p. 433—"Verum facimus hæc missa et investigemus aliis rationibus mortem Nabopolassaris. Ostendit nobis eam Trigesimus et Septimus ille Jeconijæ annus cum ultimo Nebuchadnezzaris concurrens. Hinc enim si retro regrediamur per illos 37. et sex insuper ultimos Jojakimi, qui XI. regnavit in universum, habebimus in sexto Jojakimi primum 43. annorum, qui a Babyloniis constanter tribuuntur Nebuchadnezzari."

† I. EMPEREUR, on Joseph Jach. p. 29.—"Inque eum patre filius regni negotia administrasse omnino videtur; ergo quodcumque istius conjuncti imperii fuerit initium, ab eo etiam Nebuchadnezzaris annos scriptura numerat. Quia sive solus, sive cum patre regnaret, Judæis perinde erat; quoniam ipsos tantum sollicitos habuit calamitas, quæ ab illo inferbatur; nec in eo discrimen observabant, sive suo, sive patris nomine ipsos opprimeret."

‡ παραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδαίων καὶ διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν, κροισέας ὀλοκλήρου τῆς πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς κ. τ. λ.



pression between the two passages, which is perhaps not without its significance. Comp. RABBI ALSCHECH in L'EMPEREUR on ii. 1. On this supposition, then, the difficulty in reference to ch. i. 5, compared with ii. 1, disappears; but another seems to remain: how can Nebuchadnezzar in the third year begin the expedition in which Jerusalem was taken, whereas, according to Jeremiah, he did not till the fourth year enter on the co-regency, with which the beginning of the expedition coincides? But this difficulty disappears on a nearer inspection of the passage in Jeremiah. He does not say that Nebuchadnezzar began his reign in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; but only that the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebuchadnezzar. But since we cannot conceive that the years of their respective reigns mentioned began on the same day, the accounts of Daniel and Jeremiah are very easily reconciled, by supposing that the first year of Nebuchadnezzar began towards the end of the third year of Jehoiakim, and that this was really the case we have earlier attempted to shew.

## SECT. IX.—CONTRADICTIONS.

“There are found in the Book of Daniel some totally irreconcilable contradictions.” BERTHOLDT has particularly laboured to shew this, *Comm.* i. 54, ff; *Eintl.* 1545, next to the maintenance of his hypothesis of a plurality of authors, which, however, would of itself prove that the book was not genuine. More recently the force of this argument has been, even by several opposers of the genuineness, as DE WETTE, BLEEK, and KIRMS, if not wholly denied, yet doubted and little insisted on. Nor could this be otherwise, since they agree with its defenders in maintaining the oneness of authorship. The solution of the contradictions is, therefore, just as obligatory on them as on the others. For it is certainly improbable that the supposed pseudo-Daniel, to whom we cannot refuse the credit of the *highest sagacity*, without imputing to the countless multitude of persons who allowed themselves to be deceived by him, an *infinite dulness*; who, in his earlier narrations, and even, it is alleged, in the mention of apparently most insignificant accessory circumstances, always pre-

pared the way for what was to follow ; for example, mentioned in chap. i., the carrying away of the sacred temple-furniture by Nebuchadnezzar, with an eye to the account given chap. v. (comp. BLEEK, p. 274); and throughout pursued a definite purpose—it is quite improbable that such a man should not have guarded against the grossest, most evident contradictions. Such a mixture of the greatest dulness and sagacity would be an inexplicable psychological enigma, and a single instance of gross and *primâ facie* contradiction would suffice to refute at once the defenders of the genuineness, and the defenders of the oneness. But the weakness of this ground is immediately apparent, when we look more narrowly at the several assumed contradictions. These are, besides that grand contradiction between chap. i. and ii., already examined, the following :

I. “ According to chap. i. 21, Daniel lived only till the first year of the reign of Cyrus. According to ch. ~~3~~<sup>xv</sup> 1, he had, and described, a remarkable vision as late as the ~~first~~<sup>3d</sup> year of the reign of this king.” BERTHOLDT, l. c., GRIESINGER, p. 39. This contradiction can be the less admitted by the defenders of the *unity*, who are at the same time opponents of the *genuineness*, because it carries with it another also between ch. i. 21 and vi. 28, where it is said, that Daniel, not only under Darius the Mede, but also under Cyrus, occupied high official stations, which leads to the inference of a longer life of Daniel under Cyrus. DE WETTE, p. 367, contents himself merely with the remark, that the contradiction may be removed by a solution not of a forced character. BLEEK observes, p. 242, that the supposition of a contradiction rests upon an uncertain, probably false, interpretation of the first passage ; but then, p. 283, by the interpretation which he recommends, unwittingly brings forward a contradiction at least as great. According to him, the author wished to express, not that Daniel lived till the first year of Cyrus, but that he remained up to that time in such circumstances in Babylon, and then with the rest of the exiles returned to Palestine. This interpretation brings the passage, i. 21, into inexplicable contradiction with both vi. 28 and x. 4, according to which, Daniel, in the third year of Cyrus, had a remarkable vision on the Tigris. If it should be said that Daniel was there only in spirit, as ch. viii. on the Ulai, for which, however, no distinct ground can be adduced as in that instance,

and against which ver. 7 seems to speak, yet even then his finding himself transported thither in spirit would prove that he was residing in Babylonia. For no reason appears in the contents of the prophecy for a transportation from Palestine to the Tigris. There is, then, in this passage a distinct intimation, that, according to the view of the author, Daniel was not, in the third year of Cyrus, living in Palestine. It must be added, that this explanation is totally unjustifiable on philological grounds. For "in these circumstances in Babylon" is quite an arbitrary supplement, and altogether inadmissible in the full explicit style of our book. Let the reader judge whether J. D. MICHAELIS is more correct, who maintains that  $\text{בבבל}$  has been omitted! We must, therefore, look about for another explanation; and this offers itself to us readily and naturally. We explain: Daniel continued to, or lived to see, the first year of Cyrus; not, he lived till the first year of Cyrus; for the assertion of BERTHOLDT is incorrect, that  $\text{היה}$  may stand *precisely* for  $\text{היה}$ , and does so stand here. By this remark, then, the author means, either simply to give a general definition of time—Daniel not only lived through the whole time of the duration of the Chaldean monarchy, but reached even the beginning of the reign of Cyrus—or, which is more probable, he names the first year of Cyrus with reference to the fact, that in this year the liberation of the Israelites took place, Ezra i. 1, for which, according to ch. ix., Daniel had so panted, and of which to be even a witness was to him a matter of great joy. According to the latter supposition, this verse would stand thus in relation to ver. 1, ff.: Daniel, who was brought to Babylon in the first deportation, saw likewise the happy liberation and restoration of his people. But we must here notice the objection which might be raised against this interpretation, from the assertion of some recent grammarians (EWALD, *Gram.* p. 604; WINER, *lex.* s. v. against GENSENIUS, *Lehrg.* p. 817; and DE WETTE on Ps. cx. 1), that the particle  $\text{עַד}$  never refers to time *after* the limited period mentioned. We fully agree with these grammarians, that  $\text{עַד}$  or  $\text{אֲשֶׁר עַד}$ , never, grammatically and taken by itself, includes *et etiam postea*, but always extends only to the *terminus ad quem*, including that *terminus*. But not less certain is it, that very often a *terminus ad quem* is mentioned, which is not the most extreme one, but only one of peculiar importance in a certain respect, so that what



lies beyond is left unnoticed. This arises so much from the nature of the case, that it is found, and must be found, in all languages. Who thinks, for instance, in German, that everybody who is said to have lived to see his jubilee must necessarily have died in the same year? or that when we bid a person "farewell" till we meet again, we wish him ill for the after time? In Hebrew occur passages open to this remark, as Jerem. i. 3, where it is said that Jeremiah prophesied under the kings Josiah, Jehoiakim, and till the end, עַד הַסֵּוֹף, of the eleventh year of Zedekiah. Here it is just as arbitrary, with several expositors, to translate עַד הַסֵּוֹף "till the end and farther on," as with EWALD, without any farther reason, to maintain that the superscription does not extend to the entire collection of the prophecies of Jeremiah. With the destruction of the state the prophetic agency of Jeremiah did not terminate, but it became much more insignificant and unimportant. The author of the superscription, then, keeps this after-period quite out of sight, to which it is quite true that certain pieces in the collection belong; comp. besides, Gen. xlix. 10 (*Christol.* I. i. p. 79); Exod. xv. 16; Ps. cxii. 8. By these remarks the proposed explanation of our passage appears fully justified, and every pretence of contradiction is removed.

II. "According to chap. ii. 48, 49, Daniel was, in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, chief president of the order of magicians, and a very distinguished person at court; according to chap. v. 14, on the contrary, under the reign of Belshazzar, nobody at the court any longer knows this but the queen, and nobody besides at the court seems to know him." That this assumed contradiction is easy to remove, even DE WETTE and BLEEK observe. The assumption rests on the false supposition, that the book must necessarily contain a complete chronicle of Daniel's life, whereas the author has manifestly proposed to himself only a record of what was important in reference to religion, and touches upon all the rest only so far as it is inevitably necessary for the understanding of that. The two passages are in perfect agreement, if we only assume, what the author has omitted distinctly to state, but what appears of itself from the second passage, that Daniel, although, as may be gathered from viii. 27, he transacted certain royal business even in the time of Belshazzar, yet after the death of Nebuchadnezzar was, from a variety of assignable causes, so

far removed again into obscurity (comp. BERTH. p. 6, where this is mentioned in contradiction to what has been just adduced), that he was personally unknown to Belshazzar, who from his character probably had no desire to search out people like Daniel. That he was unknown to all the rest at the court, is in the second passage neither said nor hinted at.

III. With the same facility another pretended contradiction may be reconciled. "How can Nebuchadnezzar, chap. iii. 14, be represented as never having heard that the Jewish nation adored a divinity of its own, whilst, according to ii. 47, he was already a believer in the God of the Jews?" BERTH. *Comm.* i. p. 65. Nebuchadnezzar says nothing in the former passage from which it can be concluded that he did not know the God of Israel, but he merely challenges him with the arrogance of a Sennacherib, and in reliance on the superior power of his idols. The contradiction, which seems to lie between it and ii. 47, belongs not to the author, but to Nebuchadnezzar, who was guilty of it in common with all natural men. The faith there expressed in the superior power of the God of Israel, not, be it well observed, in his sole supremacy, had no root in his soul, but it was wrung from him only by a single and peculiarly mighty manifestation of his power. It disappeared, therefore, so soon as the external display had by time lost its impression. We perceive the same thing, only in a still stronger degree, in the case of Pharaoh. Here is another proof how peculiarly deficient rationalism is in the more profound psychology, as we have had occasion several times already to observe.

IV. But this arbitrary mode of dealing is most palpable in the last contradiction assumed. "In chap. ii. and iii. the character of Nebuchadnezzar is represented quite otherwise than in chap. iv. Here he appears as a gentle, yielding, and quite reasonable man; there as a frantic and cruel tyrant." BERTH. p. 72. It is true, Nebuchadnezzar appears in chap. ii. 3, as an oriental despot, but at the same time as one whose mind is not resolutely closed against the truth when it comes to him in a palpable way; in chap. iv. quite the same man meets us, only that by a more powerful display of the truth than on former occasions, he is more profoundly and deeply humbled. Indeed, in ver. 30, his proud arrogance is adduced as the reason why the madness was sent upon

him by God!—These remarks will, we may hope, suffice to make the argument derived from the contradictions disappear for ever from the list of arguments against the authenticity of Daniel.

SEC. X.—IMPROBABLE AND SUSPICIOUS STATEMENTS.

There occur in the historical part of the book a multitude of improbable, and on many grounds suspicious, narratives." Here it is necessary, on account of the great weight commonly assigned by the opponents of the genuineness to this argument, that we should go scrutinizingly through all that has been found offensive in the several chapters, taking them in their order.

CHAP. I.—Here we are met at the very outset by an argument which, if it should be found substantiated by proof, would for ever decide the controversy. It is directed against nothing less than the existence of a Daniel at the time of the captivity. "By the way and manner in which Daniel here makes his appearance, we may surely regard it as certain that the author intended the same Daniel who occurs in Ezekiel. This prophet mentions Daniel in two passages. Chap. xiv. 14–20, he names him along with Noah and Job as well-known examples of rectitude; chap. xxviii. 3, he says, in order to depict the pride of the king of Tyre in the strongest colours, that he regards himself as wiser than Daniel. In both passages it is supposed that Daniel is sufficiently known to all as a pattern of wisdom and rectitude. In both passages we are bound far rather to suppose that Ezekiel referred to a celebrated man of a former age, than to a cotemporary. Daniel must, according to the dates contained in the book, have been still very young, at least when the first prophecy was spoken. How could Ezekiel suppose that the name of Daniel and the fame of his wisdom were known even to the distant king of Tyre? If, then, it is proved that the Daniel mentioned in Ezekiel is either a person of a far earlier age distinguished for wisdom and piety, or, like Job, only a poetical character, then is our book shown to have no ground or foundation whatever as history." This argument, which may be regarded as the very summit of arbitrary criticism in the researches on the authenticity of Daniel,



was prepared by BERNSTEIN (*über das Buch Hiob*, in the *Analecta* of KEIL and TZSCHIRNER, i. 3, p. 10), who, from the improbability that the Daniel living at the time of the captivity should be brought forward in such a way by Ezekiel, inferred that either the entire passages of Ezekiel were not genuine, or at least the references to Daniel were of later introduction. BLEEK (l. c. p. 284), whom DE WETTE (*Eint.* p. 361) follows, as he does throughout his researches on Daniel, borrowed the idea from BERNSTEIN, but drew from it another inference, the one we have mentioned. The other opponents of the genuineness could not presume so far. BERTHOLDT (*Comm.* i. p. 7; *Eint.* p. 1506), says that the testimony of Ezekiel incontestibly shows, that Daniel actually, and indeed in his earlier years, occupied a very distinguished position in the court of Babylon, and by his understanding had already earned for himself a high and extensive reputation. KIRMS, p. 59, sqq. tries at some length to show the nullity of this hypothesis.

We will, first of all, deal with the arguments by which it is attempted to be shown, that the Daniel of Ezekiel cannot be the same who occurs in our book as a cotemporary of his. The first prophecy of Ezekiel in which we find mention of Daniel, falls, on comparison of ch. viii. 1, probably in the sixth year of Zedekiah, and consequently in the thirteenth or fourteenth after the carrying away of Daniel, which took place, as we have shown, in the fourth year of Jehoiakim; in this prophecy, Daniel is brought forward only as a pattern of rectitude and piety. The second prophecy, which contains the glowing praise of Daniel's wisdom, falls five years later. Now, according to our book, the occurrence which laid the first foundation of Daniel's fame and greatness, took place as early as the second year of the sole reign of Nebuchadnezzar, and thus about ten years before the first prophecy of Ezekiel. If, then, Daniel had at that time really distinguished himself in the manner related in our book, no reason can be seen why Ezekiel should not speak of him in this manner; on the contrary, if we take into consideration the circumstances of the times, it appears perfectly natural. The lower the Israelitish people were sunk at the time of the captivity, the more earnestly would their looks be directed towards one of their number, who maintained his attachment to the religion of his fatherland amidst

the most trying and seductive associations ; whose high reputation amongst the heathen people was regarded by the entire nation as a kind of indemnification for the contempt they suffered ; whose miraculous, divinely-wrought achievements were to them a pledge and a type of the deliverance they were one day to experience ; in whom they hoped they saw the instrument of this deliverance as promised by the prophets ; who even now was able to secure a variety of protection to his fellow-countrymen ; and who for their God, to whom they had been led by misfortune humbly to return, obtained a fresh recognition of his supremaey from the heathens who had hitherto proudly contemned him, inferring his weakness from the weakness of his people. That Ezekiel supposed the fame of Daniel to be known even to the distant king of Tyre is incorrect, although this might well have been the case. The prophecies against foreign kings, although addressed to them, were not destined specially for them, (for the most part they knew nothing about them), but for the people of the covenant. That Daniel, therefore, in a prophecy addressed to the king of Tyre, is named as a pattern of wisdom, proves nothing more than that he was known as such among the Israelites in the captivity. Finally, the placing of Daniel between Noah and Job, from which BERNSTEIN, l. c. p. 9, wishes to infer that Daniel must necessarily have lived before Job, is explained on the ground, that the mention of Job was not so suitable to the object of Ezekiel as that of Noah and Daniel, inasmuch as the different fate of Job and his children was determined, not, as was required for this object, by their respective piety and ungodliness merely, but only by the greater or less amount of the former ; besides which it must be considered, that the prophet would suppose Noah and Daniel to be better known to his countrymen, and the mention of them would make therefore a greater impression than that of Job. But, supposing such reasons could not be pointed out, yet nothing would follow from this position of the names, since we have no warrant for assuming that Ezekiel would quote the examples in chronological order.

Let us now pass on to the positive arguments for the assertion, that the Daniel of Ezekiel lived at the time of the captivity, and is identical with the Daniel of our book. 1. There is no doubt that Ezekiel not merely named Noah, Daniel, and Job, on the

general ground of their being pious men, but that he was determined by some special consideration to name just those, to the omission of Abraham, Jacob, Moses, and others. This consideration is better developed by THEODORET than by any other expositor, (*Opp.* ii. p. 768, *Hal.*) “ If, says Jehovah, I determine to punish a nation for their sins, and they will not repent, they shall obtain no mercy ; nor should they, even if Noah, Job, and Daniel, were among them ; those men should reap the fruits of their own righteousness and be safe, but should not rescue the others from the impending vengeance. The reason why he mentions these persons is, that the occurrences of their times corresponded strikingly with the case in hand. Noah, *e.g.*, lived among an impious generation, but was unable to rescue from the total desolation of the flood those who would not repent ; Daniel likewise, who lived at the time of the captivity, could not deliver his countrymen, because of their wickedness, from the calamities that were inflicted, but he himself, although taken prisoner, overcame the enemy, and received the submissive homage of those who had enslaved him. Nor, again, did the children of Job derive any advantage from the piety of their father, but he alone escaped from the plot of the foe.”\* In this view agree also JEROME *in loc.* and ROSENMÜLLER, *Ez.* i. p. 367. The contrast between the pious, who are preserved and raised to happiness, whilst the others are smitten with ruin, is also so expressly marked in the passage, that there can be no doubt of its correctness. Hence, then, there results at least this much with certainty, that the Daniel of Ezekiel must have sustained about the same position as the Daniel of our book, and the manner in which Ezekiel introduces him

---

\* “ ἐὰν, φησὶν, ἀμαρτήσαν ἔθνος κολάσαι βουληθεῶ, μετνοία δὲ χρήσασθαι μὴ βουληθεῶσιν οἱ κολαζόμενοι, οὐδεμιᾶς τεύξονται συγγνώμης, οὐδὲ εἰ Νῶε καὶ Ἰώβ καὶ Δανιὴλ εὔρεθεῖεν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὔτοι μὲν τῆς οὐκείας δικαιοσύνης τρυγήσουσι τοὺς καρποὺς, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπολαύσονται, ἐκείνους δὲ τῆς ἐπαγομένης οὐκ ἀπαλλάξουσι τιμωρίας. Τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐμνημόνευσεν, ὡς τοῖς ἐιρημένοις τῶν κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους αὐτῶν γεγυότων λίαν συμβαινόντων. Ὁ, τε γὰρ Νῶε ἐν ἀσεβῶν εὔρεθεῖς γενεῆ, οὐκ ἴσχυσε τῆς τοῦ καταλυμοῦ πανωλεθρίας ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς μετνοία χρήσασθαι μὴ θελήσαντας· καὶ ὁ Δανιὴλ ὡσαύτως, κατὰ τὸν τῆς ἀιχμαλωσίας γενόμενος καιρὸν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀσέβειαν οὐκ ἤλευθέρωσε τῶν ἐπερχέντων κακῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ δορυάλωτος γενόμενος τῶν πολεμίων ἐκράτησε, καὶ τοὺς ἀνδραποδίσαντας ἔλαβεν ὑπηκόους. Ὁυδὲ οἱ τοῦ Ἰώβ δὲ πᾶδες τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δικαιοσύνης ἀπάναντο, μόνος δὲ κρείττον τῆς τοῦ πολεμήσαντος ἐπιβουλῆς ἀπεφάνθη.”



is perfectly intelligible, if the two are regarded as identical 2. If the Daniel of Ezekiel were a celebrated man of a former period, how is it to be explained that mention of him occurs for the first time in a prophet living during the captivity? The very thing which BLEEK particularly urges, that Daniel is introduced as a pattern of rectitude and wisdom, sufficiently known to all, is opposed to his view, in support of which he adduces it. For, supposing him to have been sufficiently known to all, how then is it to be explained that no writer before the captivity names him? The supposition that so celebrated a man was accidentally passed over, has certainly no probability, especially if we take the second passage into the account, in which Daniel is adduced as a pattern of the highest wisdom, and that too in such a connection, that we can think only of a wisdom announcing itself in important external relations. Of a poetical personage we certainly cannot think, when we look at the celebrity here ascribed to him, and at the manner in which Daniel is named in both passages, and if recourse be had to the case of Job as favouring such an idea, that is supposing something as proved which is not proved. The very passage in Ezekiel offers the most certain proof against the assumption that Job was a merely fictitious poetical person, as would appear also from the fact, that the most strenuous defender of this view, BERNSTEIN, feeling its weight, seeks to free himself from the difficulty by declaring it spurious or critically corrupt. 3. Even if we grant the spuriousness of the Book of Daniel, yet it is not to be supposed that Daniel did not live, on the whole, in the circumstances and at the time assigned in the book. The author could of course have no other object in his imposture than to gain currency for his work by means of a universally honoured name, and he would have acted very unsagaciously if he had separated the person, whose part he was playing, from the circumstances and the time to which the prevailing tradition assigned him.\*

---

\* This is acknowledged in another place by BLEEK himself (p. 252)—“In order, therefore, to obtain among his people greater confidence in his consolatory views, that he might thus contribute to strengthen and confirm them in faithful, steadfast continuance in the service of Jehovah, he chose the person of a man who at that time must *undoubtedly* have been regarded as a distinguished prophet living during the captivity.”

Another argument likewise propounded by BLEEK (p. 286), and approved by DE WETTE, is noticed by us merely to shew how prejudice can lead persons to attribute the force of proof to that which is of itself most unconvincing. "Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael, and Azariah, occur as names of persons in the age of Ezra (Nehem. x. 6, 23; viii. 4.) Now, as Daniel and Mishael are names elsewhere very rarely occurring, it is probable that the author borrowed the names of the four Jewish youths from these four men." It is scarcely worth the trouble seriously to reply to such an argument. Hananiah and Azariah are among the very commonest names; the name Daniel must be left quite out of the account, because, forsooth, as is maintained, p. 287, the author borrowed it from Ezekiel, and a double borrowing surely cannot be admitted in one and the same name; there remains, then, only the name Mishael to account for, which occurs only in Exod. vi. 22, and Levit. x. 4, from which it by no means follows that it was rare, but only that few persons of this name were particularly distinguished. If, moreover, we were to infer any thing at all from this similarity of names, we should certainly be more justified to take the fact that the names in our book appear in use in the adjacent period, as a confirmation of the historical truth of the narrative. But the *defenders* of the genuineness do not need such arguments.

Let us pass on now from the objections of BLEEK against the first chapter to those of BERTHOLDT. "It is in itself probable that the young men, with praiseworthy scrupulosity, repudiated the meats and drinks which by the law of Moses were unclean. But what goes beyond that may easily be recognized as fiction. It was the aim of a later age to represent Daniel and his companions as patterns of abstinence, even beyond what the law required. They are, therefore, made to refuse altogether the use of flesh food, and to request merely pulse. Wine was not on the whole forbidden by Moses, but what moderation for the four young men to drink only water!" *Comm.* i. 177. This reasoning is based on the erroneous assumption that Daniel and his associates refused the use of flesh and wine on ascetic grounds. On the contrary, it is plainly enough said, ver. 8, that Daniel would not defile himself with *the king's* meat, and with the wine of his table; consequently that he renounced, not the use of flesh and wine

altogether, but only of such flesh and wine as in his eyes passed for unclean—and it was only between these and the diet chosen by him that his choice lay, if he would not put the courtesy of the chamberlain to too severe a test. The futility of the assumption of an ascetic renunciation appears too from x. 3, according to which Daniel did drink wine when he had come into an independent condition. Now the question farther is, why Daniel regarded the meat and the wine of the king's table as unclean. For as soon as a sufficient reason for this can be pointed out, the objection at once loses all plausibility. The reason seems to lie not so much in the fact that the Babylonians ate many kinds of food forbidden to the Jews, which of course Daniel was in the habit always of avoiding, as in the fact that the meat of the royal table was very frequently meat offered in sacrifice to idols, and that what was not in this manner rendered unclean could not be separated from the rest. But the eating of idol-food was always regarded by the Jews as a participation in idolatry, and rightly so, since it was so regarded also by the idolaters themselves; even the Jewish Christians, it is well known, not only held this view, but even went farther (comp., in reference to the later Jews, EISENMENGER ii. 614, sqq). It was a similar case with wine. The wine of feasts among heathen nations was almost universally consecrated by a libation to their gods. Comp. the passages in LIPSIIUS, l. iii. *antiq. lect.*, and in GEIER, p. 58.

But, still objects BLEEK, p. 275, this scrupulousness seems among the Jews to have arisen *principally* after the Maccabean age, especially during the time when in the land, and even in the temple, sacrifices were offered to Grecian deities; comp. 2 Macc. v. 27, where, we are told, it is related of Judas Maccabæus and his attendants, that for this reason (?) they ate only pulse. But even if this passage, raked up without examination, and having nothing at all to do with the question, were valid as proof, yet surely, from the fact that in the Maccabean times this anxious dread of the taint of idolatry is found, it could not be inferred that it had not existed earlier, and particularly under the quite similar circumstances of the captivity. This is clearly shown by the passage in Ez. iv. 13, 14, where the prophet predicts to his countrymen as a punishment, that in the captivity they should be compelled by the direst necessity to eat unclean food, and even assures



them, with the protestation of his excessive abhorrence, that unclean flesh had never come into his mouth. A scrupulosity really well-founded, and not resting merely on arbitrary institutions, would necessarily influence pious theocrats at all times, and especially in the times of the captivity, when the people, warned by calamity, avoided with the most anxious care everything which could be regarded by any one as a participation in idolatry.

BLEEK farther, p. 275-80, tries to bring our chap. into suspicion by maintaining that there is manifestly a parænetic aim, that of reminding the Jews that under similar circumstances, such as those which really existed at the time of the Maccabees, they should act in the same manner. But this parænetic aim is discoverable only in so far as every narrative in the work is at once a lesson and a warning for the present and the future. The peculiar object of the tale is clearly that only of shewing by an example how stedfastly Daniel and his associates withstood a temptation by which, as Ezekiel foretold, many others were overcome, in order thus to prepare the way and lay a foundation for what is afterwards related of the splendid elevation of Daniel. Were it worth the trouble, it might be easily shown that, allowing such arguments to be valid, none of the writings of the O. T. were composed till the time of the Maccabees.

CHAP. II.—On this chap. the objections are not very numerous, and still less important. “The pages of ancient history,” observes BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i., p. 192, “would present no greater monster to our abhorrence than Nebuchadnezzar, if he were really capable, at the instigation of so mad a whim, of dooming several innocent men to execution. Never has it been believed that expounders of dreams, with a sort of omniscience, could even call back dreams which had vanished from the memory of others. It is quite *opposed to history* to believe Nebuchadnezzar capable of such senseless atrocity.” On the contrary, we observe, 1. The assumption of a “mad whim” of Nebuchadnezzar rests only on a false interpretation of ver. 5, adopted by BERTHOLDT after several old translators and expositors. In that passage Nebuchadnezzar, on the magicians saying, in reply to his demand to have the dream told, that the king must first tell it them, for that they could do nothing more than give its import, says, גִּזְרָתָא מִנִּי אֵינִי.

This BERTHOLDT translates, "the dream is gone from me." This interpretation rests on the assumption, that the verb  $\text{נָס}$ , which occurs only in our chapter, is equivalent to  $\text{לָס}$ . But, even granting the correctness of this assumption, we may just as well, with L'EMPEREUR, MICHAELIS, GESENIUS (*thes. s. v. p. 58*), and many others, translate: *verbum a me processit, h. e. hoc a me decretum et statutum*, with reference to the threat which follows. But, in all probability, this assumption is altogether incorrect. Not a single example occurs, in either Hebrew or Chaldee, where it can be proved that the letters  $\text{ס}$  and  $\text{ל}$  are interchanged. Nor can we see why in just these two single passages, ii. 5, 8, the form  $\text{נָס}$  should be used, when in the rest of the Chaldee portion of Daniel the form  $\text{לָס}$  constantly occurs, and even in our chap. v. 17, 24. Another interpretation, which assigns to the verb the meaning *to be firm*, looks much more like the true one. Thus the SYRIAN, SAADIAS, ABEN-EZRA, WINER, *lex. s. v.* This interpretation is favoured by a comparison of the corresponding Arab. *vatzada, firmus fuit*, whilst the foregoing one has properly no philological justification whatever. It has, moreover, in its favour the analogy of  $\text{לָסָאָן לָסָאָן}$ , vi. 13. But, whichever of the two interpretations may be selected, thus much is certain, that the sense contained in the passage according to both, and not that found in it by BERTHOLDT, is the true one. That the king forgot his dream is of itself an absurd idea. How could that which had excited in him such lively emotion suddenly quite vanish from his recollection? How could he be disquieted about a dream of which he no longer knew anything? How can the magicians continue to insist that the king shall tell his dream, when this, according to BERTHOLDT's own interpretation, was not in his power? It is, moreover, quite distinctly and unequivocally said in ver. 9, that the king desired the magicians to tell him the dream, not because he had forgotten it, but simply to put them to the proof. "If," the king there says, "ye cannot tell me the dream, I see from that, that you are wishing only to deceive me with lies. Therefore, tell me the dream, that I may be sure that you will also give me the correct meaning of it." According to this interpretation, Nebuchadnezzar's demand was not so absurd. The magicians boasted that, by the help of the gods, they could reveal "what was deep and obscure." If this pretension be just, reasoned Nebuchadnezzar, it

must be quite as easy for them to impart to me my dream as its meaning. And, as they are unable to do the first, he takes them for deceivers, with the same propriety as the people, 1 Kings xviii., did the priests of Baal, because their gods did not answer with fire. 2. The king's treatment of the magicians was certainly barbarous, but nothing more than, judging even by our sparingly afforded historical information, we might expect of him under such circumstances; and it is certainly altogether a mistake to expect an oriental despot to use our standard in the estimate of human life. It is not enough to say, that Jeremiah, chap. li., charges the Babylonians generally with the greatest atrocities, such as cry to God for redress; we have sufficient vouchers for the personal cruelty of Nebuchadnezzar. When the captive king Zedekiah was brought to him at Riblah, he had his children killed before his face, and then his own eyes put out. Not content with the awful slaughter at the taking of the city, he had a great number of the principal prisoners put to death at Riblah. Comp. 2 Kings xxv. 7, 18-21; Jerem. xxxix. 5, sqq.; lii. 9-11, 24-27. Nebuchadnezzar might, it is true, suppose that he was justified in these atrocities by the revolt of the Jews; but such a pretext was not wanting also in the case before us. It is, moreover, to be well observed, that the command of Nebuchadnezzar was given in the heat of the moment, and that on reflection he would hardly have had it carried out to its full extent, as we may judge from the tardy and considerate manner in which the chief executioner proceeds to its performance, as if he would give the king time to reflect first.

Another argument against the credibility, and thus against the genuineness, of our chapter, is brought forward by BERTHOLDT, l. c. p. 63. There are said to be distinct indications of its being an older narrative retouched. "In v. 16-25, mention is made merely of the exposition of the dream, and yet Nebuchadnezzar, in his first address to the magicians, requires not only the meaning but an account of the dream itself, and Daniel likewise in the sequel gives both. In all probability, the statement that Nebuchadnezzar demanded of the magicians the meaning also of the dream, is only a later off-growth of the legend, having for its object to make the matter more marvellous and more telling for the fame of Daniel. The elaborator, however, in the pas



sage named was not cautious enough to obliterate the older view and representation of the matter." But the idea of such childish negligence on the part of the pretended elaborator is just as unnatural, as the assumption of an elaborator is unnecessary. The real fact is sufficiently explained by saying, that the author, weary of the constant repetition of the entire mandate of the king, expressed it more briefly. He needed the less to fear being misunderstood, from the manner in which he did this, since, according to the foregoing narration, the interpretation of the dream necessarily included and pre-supposed a description of it, and because the object properly was *only* the interpretation, to which the description was to serve merely as an attestation of its correctness.

We need not consider the older attacks, which have been already replied to by LÜDERWALD, l. c. p. 40, sqq.; and thus there only remains for our notice an objection of BLEEK'S, p. 280. "The entire narrative of the dream of Nebuchadnezzar and its interpretation by Daniel seems, both in the whole plan and in particular expressions, to be an imitation of the narrative in Genesis of the dream of Pharaoh and its interpretation by Joseph." But the points of agreement are only these, that a king has a disquieting dream, which his dream-expounders are not able to interpret, and whose interpretation is, with the help of God, given by an Israelite, who is consequently raised by the king to high honours. In all the rest, there prevails entire dissimilarity. And what the two cases have in common is explained, partly by the great importance which all antiquity ascribed to dreams and the interpretation of dreams—partly from the conduct of divine providence, which at different times made use of the same means for the safety of the chosen people. The striking resemblances are only, that Joseph and Daniel (Gen. xli. 16; Dan. ii. 27), in nearly the same manner, although not with the same words, direct the attention of the king from themselves to their God, and also that in both narratives (Gen. xli. 8; Dan. ii. 1-3) the verb נִרְאָה is used. But, if this is to be regarded as anything more than accidental, we cannot see why *Daniel* might not have read the Pentateuch as well as the Pseudo-Daniel.

CHAP. III.—In regard to this chapter the objections are particularly numerous. We begin with one used by DE WETTE, p.

368, and BLEEK, p. 268, which is not only directed against the authorship by Daniel, but denies that our chapter has any historical foundation whatever. "Such an occurrence as that related in our chapter would necessarily suppose at least an inclination to religious persecution in Nebuchadnezzar, or in the Chaldeans generally—a feature which did not by any means belong to the character of these people or of these times, so far as we otherwise know. Traces of it must necessarily have been preserved to us in other prophets—in Ezekiel, for instance, and Jeremiah." But of a religious persecution no trace is found in our chapter, as even BERTHOLDT, p. 261, has remarked. It is true, the king commands the assembled officers, from all the provinces of his kingdom, to adore the statue set up by him; but he was far from wishing, on that account, to deprive every one of his own religion, as Antiochus Epiphanes afterwards did. He only sought for his gods that acknowledgment which all polytheistic nations freely rendered to the gods of those with whom they mingled, such, for instance, as, according to 2 Kings xvii., those Babylonians who were carried away into the land of Israel thought they must not refuse to the God of Israel; we can hardly suppose, in his case, such an exact knowledge of the Jewish religion, that he should perceive how such an acknowledgment was, to its true votaries, morally impossible. As he acknowledged the God of Israel as a really existing, and, to a certain degree, powerful, being, so he thought the Israelites must do still more in reference to his god, who, as he supposed, had proved himself the mightier of the two by the conquest he had wrought; comp. Is. xxxvi. 19, sqq. Moreover, no Jew as such was compelled to this external religious homage, but only the three companions of Daniel as servants of the king. With the unlimited obedience which oriental despots demand, their refusal was regarded, without respect to its cause, as an offence against majesty, and punished more as such than as anything religious. This appears from the complaint, v. 10–12. It is not want of reverence towards the Babylonian gods that forms the main ground of complaint, but only the violation of the royal command, which must have been the more sensibly felt by the king since there were such numerous witnesses of it. In this view Nebuchadnezzar also regards the matter. The only charge he brings against the accused, ver. 14, 15, is, that they would not

worship *his* god and the image which *he* had made. The companions of Daniel were, therefore, persecuted only indirectly on account of their religion, in as much as they, from deference to it, could not comply with all that was in a despotic state reckoned among the duties of subjects, just as Daniel himself, chap. vi., and Haman, Esth. iii.—From the mere fact, moreover, that the character of Nebuchadnezzar and of the Babylonians in this respect, appears here just what it does in Ezekiel and Jeremiah, we get an evidence not to be despised *in favour* of the antiquity and the genuineness of Daniel. The pretended Pseudo-Daniel, living at the time of the Maccabees, who, according to BLEEK and DE WETTE, merely invented these tales in order to inspire the Jews with fortitude under the religious persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, would certainly not have omitted to represent Nebuchadnezzar, who, even in name, they tell us, was a mere creature of his fancy, and a copy of Antiochus Epiphanes, as the originator of a real religious persecution, such indeed as should concern not only merely three of his officers, but the whole Jewish people. Nebuchadnezzar demands only from all his officers an external testimony of respect for his gods; Antiochus Epiphanes wishes to force his religion upon all his subjects, to the entire abrogation of their own, 1 Macc. ~~xliii.~~ I. 43 and is most fearfully mad against those who are not willing to comply with his command.

By these remarks the following argument also of BLEEK, p. 259, is for the most part answered. “When we read, chap. iii., that Nebuchadnezzar set up a golden statue, and wished to compel all his subjects to pay it worship, we are involuntarily reminded of Antiochus Epiphanes, who had the temple profaned, and consecrated to Jupiter Olympius, and had heathen sacrifices presented on the altar of burnt-offering, after the *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως*, *without doubt* the statue of Jupiter, had been set up there. To that this section *without doubt* refers. That it was his object to confirm his countrymen, and to exhort them to a faithful adherence to the religion of their forefathers, is most markedly expressed in the answer of the three men. This answer the Jews were to give to the Syrians. But at the same time the conclusion of the narrative promises them that Jehovali will in the end achieve the victory for his cause and his worshippers, and that even their



persecutors and his despisers shall be compelled to a recognition of his power. We *cannot doubt* that the narrative was composed very soon after that erection of the statue upon the altar of burnt-offering. The author seems even to have adopted into his description particular features of the incident. At any rate the Greek names of the musical instruments are explained on that supposition. Probably the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering as an idol-altar, and the erection of the statue of Jupiter, were attended with pomp and music. In *all* probability, then, the author called those Greek instruments by their Greek names, because they were really used at that solemnity." The dissimilarity of the two occurrences on the whole, we have already pointed out. We have therefore farther to do only with particulars. Especial stress is laid by BLEEK on the fact, that in each of the cases an idol-statue is consecrated and set up for worship. But the reply is far from difficult. *There never was a statue of Jupiter Olympius set up in the temple at Jerusalem.* The only passage to which BLEEK appeals, is 1 Macc. i. 55: "They erected the abomination of desolation upon the altar."\* But that by βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως here, we are not to understand the statue of Jupiter, but a smaller idol-altar which was placed on the altar of burnt-offering, appears from the use of ᾠκοδόμησαν. How could this word be used of the setting up of a statue? The same thing is apparent from the words which immediately follow—καὶ ἐν πόλεσιν Ἰούδα κύκλω ᾠκοδόμησαν βωμούς; and, with a certainty excluding all doubt, from ver. 59, καὶ τῇ πέμπτῃ καὶ εἰκάδι τοῦ μηνὸς (the same day that is named, ver. 55, as the day of the setting up of the βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως) θυσιάζοντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. According to chap. iv. 43, this idol-altar was broken down at the reconsecration of the temple by Judas, and the stones of it carried to unclean places. But, if it is proved that there is not a syllable said about the erection of the statue of Jupiter, neither are we to suppose that it really took place. Concerning the desecration of the temple, besides the account of JOSEPHUS, who also knows nothing of the erection of a statue (*Arch.* 12, 6, 7), we have a threefold, com-

---

\* ᾠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον.

paratively full, narrative (1 Macc. ii. iv., and 2 Macc. vi.) Would not the statue have been mentioned as the first thing in each of those accounts, if it had really been set up? In the other cities also there occurs only the setting up of altars, nowhere of the statues of gods.\*—With the same facility we may dispose of the assertion, that the conclusion of the transaction, as told in ver. 28, is only a prophecy invested with the form of history. That Antiochus Epiphanes, as here related of Nebuchadnezzar, would yet some day be brought to a “recognition of the power” of the God of Israel, was in itself, considering his disposition of mind, so improbable a thing, that no one could easily admit such a thought. And what is more, and fully decisive, in our book itself it is predicted, that Antiochus Epiphanes would persist to the end in his impious temper and his hostility to the chosen people, and would perish by a judgment of God; comp. chap. xi. and xii., especially ver. 45. Had it been the intention of the author to represent Antiochus Epiphanes by Nebuchadnezzar, would he not rather have made him to be destroyed by a Divine judgment, especially when he had, in the history of Sennacherib, a historical analogy for it? Would he have designedly introduced a discrepancy which must have served to frustrate his alleged aim?—Finally, the weakness of the argument drawn from the presumed Greek names of the musical instruments, is manifest at a glance, and is avowed even by KIRMS, p. 16. In neither of the accounts is there found the slightest trace, that at the dedication of the temple for idol-worship music was employed; and it is rendered improbable by the mere fact that the erection of a statue of Jupiter never took place. Some hint about it we might surely look for in 1 Macc. iv. 54, where we are told that the re-consecration was accompanied with music; of all the instruments mentioned in our chap., a single one only, the either, occurs. But, if the alleged use of music at that time made such an impression on

---

\* Perhaps an argument for the contrary might be taken from 1 Macc. i. 47—*οικοδομήσαι βωμούς και τεμένη και ειδωλεῖα*, &c., where the Cod. Alex., instead of *ειδωλεῖα*, buildings for idol worship, has *ειδωλα*. But the correctness of the received reading is clear, partly from the word *οικοδομήσαι*, partly from Josephus, whose paraphrase of our pass. (*οικοδομήσαντες δὲ ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει καὶ κόμη τεμένη αὐτῶν καὶ βωμούς*) shews that he read *ειδωλεῖα*, which word he thought he might omit, as comprehended in *τεμένη*.

the Jews, that the pretended Pseudo-Daniel transferred the very names of the several instruments used by the heathens into the history of Nebuchadnezzar, how comes it to pass that in the historical records of this period, this fact is not once adverted to? —What similarity is there, then, remaining between the two occurrences? And yet, if there were a real similarity, it would prove nothing for the opinion of our opponents. It has been shewn that Nebuchadnezzar, in the expedition against Egypt, came with a great army to Jerusalem, broke into the city, took the holy vessels out of the temple, and carried them away with him to his own land. The same thing is told literally of Antiochus Epiphanes, 1 Macc. i., 19, sqq. Now, who will think of asserting on that account, that one of the two statements is untrue, and that the first, which rests not only on the testimony of Jewish writers, but also on that of Berossus, was invented with a view of imparting consolation to the Jews in the time of the Maccabees?

We pass on now to examine the objections raised against particulars in our chap., and first of all those objections to which the modern opponents, with a certain unanimity, attribute convincing force, or on which some lay a very particular stress. “The accused replied to the comparatively mild address of Nebuchadnezzar with revolting insolence and levity. They take it to be beneath their dignity to assign the reason of their refusal, and studiously aim to enrage the king, by raising in him the suspicion that their refusal results from mere contumacy. They use such language towards their monarch, that they themselves dictate the fiery punishment, yet they are perfectly tranquil, and seem hardly able to hide from the king that God will rescue them by a miracle. They must have known well, that it was never customary with the Deity to rescue even the most excellent men from fatal dangers by miracles. Could they, then, have had even the faintest presentiment of a preservation of their lives, unless it had been shewn to them by *an immediate revelation* from God, that the power of the fire upon their lives would be extinguished?” BERTH. i. p. 253; KIRMS, p. 66. It is remarkable how contradictory this opinion of the behaviour of the three men is to the opinion of the whole ancient Church. We quote, as a specimen, only a passage of THEODORET (*Opp.* t. ii. p. 1110), “Who can help being amazed at the courage of these youths, their wisdom, their piety,



their strict observance of the laws, their sobriety in all respects? For, that they were not terrified at such a tyrant, when all mankind, so to speak, were leagued with him against them, and at that dreadful fiery punishment, which was not only threatened in word, but was actually before their eyes, bears witness to a courage most indomitable; and that they esteemed the law of God beyond their own life,—what obedience can exceed this? Their moderation also is manifest, by their not making use of harsh words to the king, or, on the other hand, disgracing their birth by cowardice; and their prudence and wisdom are shewn by their opposing a pious temper to his impious and blasphemous speeches.”\* Comp. also especially CALVIN *in loc.* The ground of these different judgments lies in nothing but the belief or disbelief of revelation. An intimation, by no means obscure, is given, that the three men would have done better to conform to the required ceremony; he who himself knows of no other truth than that which he has made for himself, is stumbled if others, for the sake of truth given from above, willingly sacrifice property and life, and break through every consideration that cannot consist with allegiance to it.—Let us look now at the several parts of the objection. The charge of insolence would certainly be well-founded, if the translation which KIRMS gives of ver. 16, “Your demand does not even deserve a reply,”† were correct. But this sense is not in the words, but is only superinduced upon them. “It is not necessary,” say the three men, “for us to answer this.” They mean to say that, free from all anxiety, and perfectly resolved what is to be done, they decline making any apology for God, who, as they hoped, would justify himself, or any defence, or excuse. That this is the

---

\* τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐκύτως ἐκπλαγείη τῶν μακαρίων τούτων νέων τὴν ἀνδρείαν, τὴν σοφίαν, τὴν ἐνσέβειαν, τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους δικαιοσύνην, τὴν περὶ πάντα σωφροσύνην; τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ καταπλαγῆναι τὸν τοσοῦτον ἐκείνον τύραννον, μετὰ πάντων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώπων ἀντιτεταγμένον, καὶ τὴν μεγίστην πυρὰν, οὐ λόγοις μόνον ἀπειλουμένην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀρωμένην, τὴν ἀδάμαντος στεβρότεραν ἀντοῖς ἀνδρείαν μαρτυρεῖ, τὸ δὲ τοὺς θεῶν νόμους τῆς παρούσης προτιμῆσαι ζωῆς, ποίας δικαιοσύνης ὑπερβολὴν καταλείπει; τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην αὐτῶν κηρύττει, τὸ μῆτε φρασέσι κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως χρῆσασθαι λόγοις, μῆτε δειλίᾳ πάλιν καταισχύναι τὸ γένος· τὴν δὲ φρόνησιν καὶ σοφίαν ἢ τοῖς δυσσεβέσι καὶ βλασφήμοις λόγοις ἀντιτεθεῖσα ἐν σέβειαι.

† *Ista quidem sollicitatio tua ne responso quidem digna est.*

true sense, appears from the parallel passage 2 Macc. vii. 2, where the seven brothers, on being required to eat swine's flesh, answer, "What wouldest thou ask or learn of us? We are ready to die, rather than transgress the laws of our fathers."\* There is in this reply just as little insolence as in that of Cyprian, when he was required by the nobles to purchase his life by a renunciation of the truth—"In so sacred a matter there is no room for hesitation."†—Quite as little foundation is there for the charge derived from the fact, that the three men do not assign the cause. We have no need to have recourse to the remark of CALVIN, that probably all their words are not quoted, but only a short abridgment of them. That Nebuchadnezzar had no idea of imputing their refusal to any other than a religious reason, his own words shew—"Let us see who is the God that will deliver you out of my hands;" and still more clear is it from ver. 28, where Nebuchadnezzar says, "they would honour and worship no other God, but only their own God." There needed, therefore, no detailed explanation of the reason, which they justly suppose to be known to Nebuchadnezzar. But the assignment of it is distinctly enough contained in their words. For when they say that the God *whom they serve* can and will deliver them, it is surely expressed that, because they are servants of the true God, and not from caprice, they refuse to obey the command of the king. Besides, how could it once enter the mind of Nebuchadnezzar, that they would console themselves with such a cheerful confidence in the help of their God, if mere caprice was the ground of their refusal?—When the three men declare not only that God *can* deliver them, but that he *will* deliver them, it is, we must admit, the expression of a confidence immediately excited by God. But the reality of such an assurance may be easily shewn by a multitude of instances. Compare in this respect merely the transitions in the Psalms. The deepest lamentation is followed almost universally by the highest joyfulness and assurance, which are so certain of deliverance as to exult and offer thanks for it as if

---

\* τί μέλλεις ἐρωτᾶν καὶ μανθάνειν παρ' ἡμῶν; ἔτοιμοι γὰρ ἀποθνήσκειν ἔσμεν, ἢ πατρώους νόμους παραβαίνειν.

† In re tam sancta nulla deliberatio.

already accorded. The assertion, that the three men had the less reason to expect a miraculous deliverance, because they must have known that God had never granted such even to his most honoured worshippers, hardly deserves a reply. It was the very fact that they knew the contrary from history, which was to them a human reason for their hope. How could they help, *e. g.*, being reminded of Hezekiah, who, when the Assyrians had uttered exactly similar reproaches against God, on that very account expected and received the help of God? Moreover, the firm resolve of the three men not to hearken to the command of the king, rests, not as BERTHOLDT maintains, on this certainty of rescue, which they express only briefly and in passing, but on their general relation to God. They immediately add, "But should God, for wise and holy reasons, see fit to afford us no miraculous aid, yet are we prepared, in resignation to his will, to suffer everything, rather than transgress his commands."

"The soldiers who throw in the criminals, are obliged to pay for their dutiful service with their lives. But this certainly did not happen in a natural way. So that a miracle was required to put the innocent soldiers to death." This need not be supposed, although a reason to the contrary can just as little be derived from the innocence of the soldiers, as a reason against the destruction of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, could arise from there being many a soldier in it who was perfectly innocent of Pharaoh's sin, or a reason against the destruction of Jerusalem as a judgment for the murder of Christ, from there being many in the city who were innocent in this respect. The natural cause is clearly enough given in ver. 22. The rage of the vengeful oriental despot allowed the soldiers to think of nothing, but how they might with most despatch discharge their commission. The king, when in his wrath he commanded that the oven should be heated seven times hotter than common (see *infra*), surely did not consider whether the executioners also, whose lives were certainly at this moment a matter of perfect indifference to him, could approach it without danger. This was the more difficult, because the fatal oven was so constructed, that the criminals were precipitated into it from a stair or scaffold (comp. BERTH. p. 270.) Before, therefore, the executioners could draw back, they were seized on by the flame and perished.



“Nebuchadnezzar has the furnace held in immediate readiness for those who should refuse homage to the idol. Did he know beforehand of the refusal of the three toparchs, or is the furnace an invention of the author, to pave the way for a miracle of deliverance?” GRIESINGER, p. 41. But there is no trace in the narrative that the furnace was prepared in the vale of Dura, and was kindled beforehand (comp. BERTH. on ver. 6.) The contrary of the latter statement seems rather to result from ver. 19, where the furnace is said to have been then first kindled by command of the king. But, supposing that were really contained in the narrative which is attributed to it, this would prove nothing against its correctness, for a quite similar case could be adduced even from the seventeenth century. CHARDIN (*voy. en Perse*, iv. p. 276) relates, that in that country a whole month was taken up in feeding two ovens with fire, in order immediately to throw in any dealers who at that time of famine exceeded the legal prices. It may, then, appear very surprising that Nebuchadnezzar should beforehand command the worship on pain of being cast into the fiery furnace, although the transgression of his command was not exactly probable. But it is quite agreeable to the character of an oriental despot, to proclaim the punishment at once, on the bare possibility of the case arising, in order thus to make really palpable his unlimited supremacy. The punishment by the furnace, moreover, was in use in Babylon, as appears from Jerem. xxix. 22, where Nebuchadnezzar had two false prophets roasted at the fire, and we shall afterwards see how this very account furnishes an evidence *for* the genuineness of Daniel.

“What result is gained by the miracle in our chapter? Simply this, that Nebuchadnezzar pronounces an eulogy on God, and gives command that no one, on peril of life, shall blaspheme him. This object is too insignificant for such an expenditure of means.” BERTH. p. 255. But the immediate consequence of the miraculous occurrence must not be regarded as its only object; it formed only a single member in the chain of occurrences, by which, as we have already seen, a great purpose worthy of God was aimed at and attained.

“The expressions Nebuchadnezzar breaks out into, ver. 28, after the deliverance of the three men, are altogether at variance with his dignity and station, and at the same time opposed to the

religion of his fathers, which he was surely obliged to maintain even from political considerations." BERTH p. 253. But, if it be once granted that the miracle really took place, and immediately before Nebuchadnezzar's eyes, one cannot really wonder if, under the first impulse of his amazement, he does not nicely ponder his words, and breaks out into an exclamation of astonishment. Moreover, Nebuchadnezzar takes care, in the order which he immediately issues, not to trench too closely upon his paternal religion. He only forbids, under a severe penalty, to speak ill of the God of the three men. A later narrator, or certainly an inventor, who did not follow history but made it, would not have been so moderate. The edict of Nebuchadnezzar is quite in keeping with the modes of thought at that time current among polytheistic nations. Just as Sennacherib, 2 Kings xviii. 31, infers the feebleness of the gods of those nations whom he had subdued, from their not being able to deliver their worshippers, and as the God of Israel was generally despised by the heathens because he had not delivered his people, so Nebuchadnezzar infers the power of God from the deliverance granted, and forbids the farther abuse of him. Moreover, if any expression were to be found which did not seem quite suitable in the mouth of the king, yet it must ever be remembered that Daniel only expresses the sense of what the king said in his own words.

We pass on now to those objections which, after the replies of LÜDERWALD, JAHN, and DERESER, are now only occasionally brought forward, and are represented even by BERTHOLDT, p. 256, as capable of being easily removed. "The statue probably represented a human figure. But what a disproportion between the height, reaching to sixty cubits, and the breadth of six cubits! The statue was made, therefore, in the proportion of ten to one, whereas the natural proportion of height and breadth in the human body is six to one. What an undertaking to set it up! And was it possible for it, with such an ill-proportioned height, to stand of itself? In all probability, the statue here mentioned was no other than the golden statue of Belus in the temple at Babylon, mentioned by HERODOTUS, i. 183. But this was only twelve cubits high. Of the same statue it is probable that DIODORUS SICULUS speaks, ii. 9. But he assigns only forty feet as the height."

It is, first of all, by no means proved that the statue had a human form and human proportions. Perhaps it was a simple column in honour of a god, with a figure or head of the god on the top. Such columns we everywhere find in antiquity connected with the statues of gods properly so called; comp. SELDEN, *de Diis Syr. prol.* c. iii. p. 49; they were very common, for example, among the Egyptians, whose idolatry was very nearly related to the Chaldean (comp. GESENIUS, *Jesaias*, p. 330.) JABLONSKI, *Panth. Aeg.* p. lxxx. sqq., has shown that the obelisks were idol-pillars of this sort. Still more distinctly is it shewn that they were in use in the very regions of which we are speaking, by a passage in the *chronicon Alexand.* p. 89: "The early Assyrians erected a pillar to Mars, and worshipped him among the Gods."\* According to PHILOSTRATUS (*vit. Apoll.* i. 27), Apollonius, in his travels in these parts, still found such columns.† If, however, from the simple ground that the statue is here called ܡܘܨܐ, which word, c. ii. 31, sqq., occurs as the designation of a human-like figure, it should be inferred that the statue must necessarily have had human shape and human proportion, (which two things cannot for a moment be set down as necessarily connected, since we know just nothing of the extent to which the arts had progressed among the Babylonians),‡ yet nothing

---

\* Assyrii primi erexerunt columnam Marti, eumque inter deos coluerunt.

† Similarly MÜNTER, *Religion der Babylonier*, p. 59: "Of the value of these statues as works of art nothing definite can be said. The assigned measures, it is true, do not always show a correct knowledge of proportion; yet perhaps the very astonishing disproportion observable in the measures of the statue of Bel erected by Nebuchadnezzar, namely, that of sixty cubits of height to six of breadth, may be explained by the fact, that it was in reality, like the Amyclæan Apollo, a column to which were added head and feet. How little proportion also is observed in many of the small so-called Etruscan figures?" We have here another confirmation of the truth, that it is only *dabblers* in any science, as BRETSCHNEIDER lately in the physical sciences, who seek to point out absurdities in revelation, whilst real *masters* of science, even when not strongly actuated by religious belief, defend the truth of revelation.

‡ GESENIUS observes, in the *Encycl. von ERSCH und GRUBER*, Art. *Babylon*, Th. vii. p. 24: "The ruins (of the tower of Bel) are imposing only from their colossal size, not from their beauty; all the ornaments and sculptures are rude and barbaric." From all accounts, the Babylonians had great preference for every thing colossal, huge, irregular, and grotesque; and hence whatever agrees with this taste is far more likely to be genuine Babylonian, than any thing which meets the requirements of a sense of the beautiful. In the Babylonian architecture, giant-forms are everywhere to be seen; (comp. MÜNTER, l. e. p. 58.) "Even the poorer Babylonian was not content with small household gods of wood; they must needs be large—images that could not be



could be concluded from the disproportion of the height to the breadth, since the statue in this instance must surely have had a pedestal, and a particularly high one, to make it visible to the whole surrounding multitude, and the pedestal may be included in the sixty cubits. The difficulty of raising the statue was not at all greater than in the Egyptian obelisks, which were frequently still higher, or in the Colossus at Rhodes, which, according to PLINY (H. N. xxxiv. 18), was seventy cubits high.\* The assertion that our statue is identical with that mentioned by Herodotus and Diodorus scarcely deserves a reply. There is nothing more in its favour than that, in both cases, a statue is mentioned; but these plainly existed in no small number. Herodotus mentions, even in the passage quoted, *two* different statues of Bel. The statue of Diodorus was, according to him, erected by Semiramis; ours was set up by Nebuchadnezzar.† The statues of Herodotus and Diodorus were in the temple at Babylon; ours was set up in the vale of Dura, and that it was brought thence to the temple of Belus at Babylon, as BERTHOLDT assumes, is not hinted at in a single word. Probably Nebuchadnezzar, on returning from his victories, wished, by the consecration of a new and huge statue, to which he applied a part of the acquired treasure, to testify his thankfulness to his god.—“Whence could Nebuchadnezzar have brought the astonishing quantity of gold which he must have expended on this colossus? Even supposing that, in some way or other, Nebuchadnezzar had succeeded in becoming the most wealthy of all the rich monarchs of the ancient East, yet the largest amount of treasure which we can possibly suppose him to have amassed, would not have been enough to erect such a monument

---

moved!” Is. xl. 20. (Münter, p. 60). The Greek accounts also bear witness to this taste in sculpture. According to Is. xlvi. 1, the idols are so heavy, that the beasts of burden sink down exhausted under their load. At the feast of the sun-god 1000 talents of incense, about 51,432 pounds, was burnt. (Münter, p. 66.)

\* Our view is admirably supported by HEEREN, another example of the *master versus dabblers* (*Ideen*, 1, 2, p. 170): “The circle of our experience is too limited for us to assign at once the scale of what is possible in other lands, in a different clime, and under other circumstances. Do not the Egyptian pyramids, the Chinese wall, and the rock-temple at Elephanta stand, as it were, in mockery of our criticism, which presumes to define the limits of the united power of whole nations?”

† This difference is certainly of less importance, because, according to BEROSUS, the Greek writers ascribed to Semiramis much that belonged to Nebuchadnezzar.

as stands before us in our text." In reply, it has already been remarked, after CHRYSOSTOM, by DERESER, BERTHOLDT, &c., that the statue might have been internally of wood, and covered externally with gold plate. They quote Is. xl. 19; xli. 7; xliv. 13; Jer. x. 3-5; and refer to the *usus loquendi* of Exod. xxxix. 35, where the altar fabricated of acacia wood, and only covered with gold, is called the *golden* altar; and of ver. 39, where the altar merely covered with brass, is called the brazen altar.\* But there is at any rate quite as much probability that the statue was hollow within. To this supposition one is absolutely compelled, in the case of the *golden* statues of Herodotus and Diodorus. According to Herodotus, the *great* golden statue of Belus, the *great* table standing by it, the golden steps and the golden seat, *together* consisted of only 800 talents of gold, which would be very far from enough if these objects consisted wholly of massive gold. According to Diodorus, there were only 1000 talents of gold in the statue forty feet high, which would be a mere trifle for a massive figure of such height and proportionate bulk. DIODORUS likewise (ii. 9) expressly represents the statue as wrought by the hammer, and consequently it was not massive. All accounts farther agree in stating, that immense treasures were heaped up in Babylon (comp. Is. xiv. 4, where Babylon is called "the golden;" Jerem. l. 37; li. 13); and especially that it was customary to fabricate statues of the gods out of gold; comp. besides the passages quoted, Is. xlvi. 6.

"As Daniel, according to the preceding part of the book, was one of the highest officers in the realm, it is surprising that he was not present at this transaction, although all the royal officers, great and small, had been summoned to attend. And why does not Daniel, standing in such high favour as he did with Nebuchadnezzar, intercede for his accused friends?" Nothing certainly is easier than to raise a multitude of such objections to any narrative, which omits many circumstances, because it is directed to some certain object, and because the author, being conscious that he is worthy of credit, does not think of anticipating possible fu-

---

\* MÜNTER, l. c. p. 60. "We may surely take it as the rule, that these colossal statues of gods were not of massive gold, but that their interior was formed of some other metal, or of wood or clay; Is. xl. 19."

ture doubts about it. Allowing that Daniel really belonged to the number summoned by the king, yet a quantity of possible things may be adduced which would account for his absence from the dedication. But it is expressly said, ver. 2, that only the higher and lower *magistrates* were called together by the king, to whom Daniel did not belong ; for, according to chap. ii. 48, 49, he had reserved to himself only the office of president over the wise men at Babylon. But the very fact that the author attributes to Daniel no share in the matter, shows that he is giving history, and not, as BLEEK maintains, pure fiction. For, were the latter the case, he would certainly ascribe to Daniel, the hero of his book, the principal share. To the objection that Daniel's mediation is not mentioned, it might be replied, with some, that it was ineffectual, and therefore the mention of it would be superfluous. But the narrative itself readily offers another answer. As, according to ver. 4, it was not till the officers were all assembled, that the proclamation was made that every one should prostrate himself before the image on peril of the punishment of the furnace, (whereby is explained another thing that has likewise been made matter of objection, that the three men did not rather remain away on some pretext), so, according to ver. 6, 15, 19, quite agreeably to the character of oriental justice, the punishment was immediately proceeded with, before Daniel could employ his intercession, fruitless as it would doubtless have been, and only involving himself too in destruction, indeed probably before he knew anything of the matter.

CHAP. IV.—The main argument generally adduced in modern times against the historic truth of the contents of this chapter, is the silence of the other historical sources respecting the facts related here. We will first present this argument in all the force which our opponents have been at the pains to give to it. “Did Nebuchadnezzar really once lose his understanding? Did he on that account live among the wild beasts, away from all human intercourse? Did he at length recover both his reason and his kingdom? The historical books of the O. T. do not once give the remotest hint of this ; but, considering the hatred of the Jews to Nebuchadnezzar, it may be presumed with certainty that their writers would have made mention of this account, if only the bare



report of it had come to their ears. No single writer of heathen antiquity knows anything of this extraordinary occurrence. The assertion of Josephus, that he copies it merely from the sacred writings of his nation, shews manifestly, that in his time there was no information of this incident to be had from any other source. ORIGEN, the greatest scholar and the best-read man of the third century, found himself, in the exposition of the chapter, so deserted on all hands by ancient history, that he was induced principally for that reason alone to abandon the historical interpretation altogether. JEROME affirms that nothing whatever of the transaction is to be found in the ancient histories. It was impossible that the thing should remain hidden; for Nebuchadnezzar himself made it known in his whole kingdom after his restoration. Could the generally known account have been so speedily lost, as to entirely escape the compilers of the history of the Chaldean kingdom and rulers, when so much else of less interest and importance was preserved from this and former times in the mouth of the priests and people, whence it passed into the writings of an Herodotus, Diodorus, Berosus, Abydenus, and others? The Greek historians know nothing whatever of the matter, although some of them travelled themselves over these regions, and carefully collected the legends of people and priests. The following is the result of our observations: since no corresponding account is anywhere else to be found of this most notoriously memorable occurrence, the correctness of it, with all the attendant circumstances related in connexion, must be called in question by historical criticism." (Comp. *e. g.*, BERTH. ii. p. 292-300, BLEEK, p. 268.)—Plausible as this argument is, yet on nearer inspection it loses all force.

As regards, first of all, the silence of the other historical books of the O. T., how can any stress at all be laid on that, when not one of them embraces the period to which our occurrence belongs, the last years of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; when the Books of Kings and Chronicles carry on the history only to the captivity; Jeremiah and Ezekiel, otherwise the most copious sources for the history of Nebuchadnezzar, were now dead; and Ezra and Nehemiah treat of a much later time, that of the Persian domination?

Farther, among the profane writers, the Greek ones must be

at once dismissed altogether from the question, although we are told that "in the times of the deepest decline of their nation and literature, they were occupied with general histories of the most ancient kingdoms in middle Asia." Not only do the most distinguished of recent historians agree as to their entire worthlessness in regard to the older history of Asia (comp. NIEBUHR, *historischer Gewinn aus der Armenischen Übersetzung der Chronik des Eusebius*, in his *Kl. Sch.* Bonn, 1828, 1, p. 189, and SCHLOSSER, *Geschichte der alten Welt*, i. 1, p. 172), but these writers do not say one word about Nebuchadnezzar; nay, even the older and more credible Herodotus gives no account of him. How, then, can it be demanded that writers who pass over in total silence one of the most celebrated conquerors of the ancient world, who know nothing whatever of his most notable achievements, as, for instance, the battle of Circesium, shall mention an occurrence, which, notwithstanding its importance in relation to the history of revealed religion, was yet without any influence upon the general history of ancient states, and which loses for the most part even its extremely remarkable and extraordinary features, if we take away from it what the caprice of interpreters has added, namely the seven years' duration, and the sojourn among wild beasts without any oversight? Josephus, who sought out every thing that could serve to explain the Chaldee history, and Eusebius, met in the whole range of profane literature with only six writers who as much as mentioned Nebuchadnezzar; and we, far from being any richer in this respect, are limited wholly and solely to the extracts given by them from these now entirely lost writings. Of these six writers *four* do not come into the account here. The Annals of the Phœnicians related, as might naturally be expected, only so much of the history of Nebuchadnezzar as affected themselves, the conquest of Phœnicia. PHILOSTRATUS, in the Phœnician history, related nothing more of Nebuchadnezzar than his siege of Tyre. In like manner, only a passing mention of Nebuchadnezzar was to be seen in the Indian history of MEGASTHENES, and the only fact which Josephus quotes from it, Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Libya and Iberia, rests probably on an error (comp. PERIZONIUS l. c. p. 463; and especially VOLNEY, *recherches sur l'hist. anc.* t. 3. p. 150). Lastly, in the Persian history of DIOCLES, nothing farther occurred than a

passing mention of Nebuchadnezzar (comp. *Jos. Arch.* x. 11 ; *c. Ap.* i. 21.) Thus there remain only ABYDENUS and BEROSUS, as authors from whom we may expect any information about this occurrence. They both obtained their materials from the Chaldean tradition ; ABYDENUS, who lived at a later period, and was the author of an Assyrian and Median history, is, according to the fragments preserved to us by Eusebius in the *Chronicon* and in the *præparatio Evangelica*, a very sorry writer, as is confessed even by NIEBUHR, l. c. p. 187, 203, who otherwise thinks so very much of the delineators of the domestic history of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and, according to SCHLOSSER'S judgment (l. c. i. p. 172), which we shall see to be correct, *too* much. BEROSUS, on the contrary, a Chaldean by birth, living in the third century, is much praised by Josephus, and, fabulous as are his accounts of the earliest history, yet in general his worthiness of credit in the history of the later period is attested by his correspondence with the authentic history of the O. T., which we have already seen in a remarkable instance. But our expectation of finding a complete confirmation of this history in both authors, is much lowered, when we come to examine more nearly their character. Both of them drew from the tradition of the Chaldeans ; but the deeper these people were then sunk, the prouder they were, as always happens of their past history (comp. in respect to the earlier history, SCHLOSSER l. c. p. 169), and in a most particular manner of Nebuchadnezzar, in addition to whose real achievements they invented many more. Megasthenes, who lived somewhat earlier than Berosus, perhaps about 280 B.C., at the court of Seleucus Nicator, king of Babylon, tried, so Josephus affirms, to prove that this king exceeded Hercules in bravery and the greatness of his deeds, and from the same impure source flowed his information, that Nebuchadnezzar carried his victories as far as the pillars of Hercules. In Berosus, too, the mythical magnificence of Nebuchadnezzar is not to be mistaken. If all is correct that he tells of his splendid spoils, it is certainly false that the new sumptuous palace was built by him in fifteen days, as appears from the fact, that, according to Abydenus, the threefold wall around Babylon was completed in the same space of time ; but his boasting, or rather that of the Chaldee tradition, is especially manifest when he tells us, in the passage already quoted,



that the satrap appointed by Nabopolassar in Egypt, Syria, and the neighbouring countries, had revolted from him. The opponent of Nabopolassar was the mighty king of Egypt, Pharaoh Necho, who received the kingdom from his powerful father Psammeticus; never had Syria, much less Egypt, been under the dominion of Nabopolassar (comp. PERIZONIUS, l. c. p. 446, sqq). In the statement of Berossus, likewise, that Nebuchadnezzar, before his departure, arranged affairs in Egypt (καταστησάς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀιγυπτου πράγματα), just as if Egypt had been already conquered by him, which was demonstrably not the case *then*, the bragging tone of the Chaldeans cannot be mistaken. Hence SYNCELLUS correctly says of BEROSUS and MANETHO, that their history is ἐπίπλαστος, since the only object of each is “to exalt his own nation;”\* and (p. 37), “they both spin webs of fiction in exalting their own nation and country.”† We can *a priori* expect nothing else from the old Chaldee historians, because all native accounts of the ancient kingdoms bear the same character. The native history of the Egyptians, *e.g.*, as found in Manetho and in the Greek historians, who implicitly received what the Egyptian priests told them, is full of the basest lies, disfigurements, and misrepresentations (comp. PERIZONIUS, l. c. p. 463). Thus, to adduce only one example, they related with exultation the victory of Pharaoh Necho over the Syrians, but passed over in total silence his defeat at Circesium, which was far more important in its consequences, and made no mention whatever of Nebuchadnezzar, who stood in no less relation to the Egyptians than that of conqueror to the conquered. We shall, moreover, have occasion farther on to adduce other misrepresentations and boastings of the Chaldee historians besides those already quoted.

Under these circumstances, the most we can expect from the two writers, who narrate from the Chaldee tradition, is such a treatment of the case as was not adapted to depreciate Nebuchadnezzar. For if Nebuchadnezzar himself, recently humbled and full of joy and gratitude for his recovery, and, at the same time, conscious of his greatness, gives publicity to the matter, it must not be inferred that the later Babylonians would be equally candid. And

\* τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος δοξάσαι.

† ἕκαστος τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος καὶ τὴν πατρίδα δοξάζων ἀράχνας ὑφάινει.

to a remarkable degree we actually find such a mode of treatment in both writers. Let us begin with BEROSUS.

He says (in *Jos. c. Ap.*): Nebuchadnezzar, after beginning the wall before mentioned, fell into a feeble state of health and died, having reigned forty-three years.\* This account agrees with ours in two remarkable points. 1. It is plain that Berosus is here speaking of a long illness preceding the death of Nebuchadnezzar. BERTHOLDT, indeed, p. 294, denies this, observing that Berosus seems always to have concluded his biographical sketches of the Chaldee rulers with this or a similar form, unless they died a violent death. But the inaccuracy of this assertion may be shown even from our scanty fragments. Of Neriglossar, who did not die a violent death, nothing of the kind is said. Of Nabonned, who, according to Berosus, did not perish at the conquest of Babylon, but was treated kindly by Cyrus, and had his residence appointed in Carmania, it is said—"Nabonned spent the rest of his life in that country, and there died."† It is indeed said also of Nebuchadnezzar's father—"Nebuchadnezzar at that time got into feeble health and died."‡ But ἀρρώστησαντι is surely not so expressive as ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρώστιαν; and farther, in this case as well as the other, the death was actually preceded by a lengthened illness or state of debility. BEROSUS expressly remarks, that Nabopolassar gave up the chief command of the army to Nebuchadnezzar because he was himself too weak to go to the war. The illness, then, which the Chaldee tradition for the reasons assigned did not more exactly define, is represented in our book as madness. 2. There is between the two accounts a surprising agreement in the definition of the time. According to both, Nebuchadnezzar was attacked by his complaint towards the end of his reign, and after the completion of his great buildings. That no mention is made of his recovery in Berosus, as is done here, need not surprise us, as probably this was of short

---

\* Ναβουχοδονόσορος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τὸ ἀρξασθαι τοῦ προειρημένου τείχους, ἐμπεσὼν εἰς ἀρρώστιαν, μετηλλάξατο τὸν βίον, βεβασιλευκῶς ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τρία.

† Ναβόννηδος μὲν οὖν, τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διαγενόμενος ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ χώρᾳ, κατέστρεφε τὸν βίον.

‡ Ναβουχοδονοσόρῳ συνέβη κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν ἀρρώστησαντι μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον.

duration, and the bodily health of Nebuchadnezzar never again wholly restored.\*

But we are still more favoured by the passage of ABYDENUS (in EUSEBIUS, *præp. Evang.* ix. 41, and *Chronicon Armeno-latinum*, i. p. 59), which we must give in full. “After this, as the Chaldeans relate, *on ascending to the roof of his palace, he became inspired by some God*, and delivered himself as follows: Babylonians! I, Nebuchadnezzar, foretell you a calamity that is to happen, which neither my ancestor Bel nor queen Beltis can persuade the fates to avert. There shall come a Persian mule (one having parents of different countries), having your own gods in alliance with him, and shall impose servitude upon you, with the aid of a Mede, the boast of the Assyrians. Rather than this, would that some Charybdis or sea had engulfed him in utter destruction! *or that he had been forced some other way through the desert*, where there are no cities, and no path trodden by man, but where wild beasts feed, and birds roam, where he must have wandered among rocks and precipices! and that I had found a happier end, before becoming acquainted with such a disaster! Having thus said, he immediately disappeared.”† Even BERTHOLDT, p. 296, is obliged to confess that “this rare legend is in its chief points identical with our account.” The points of agreement are the following: 1. The madness of Nebuchadnezzar, as BERTHOLDT also grants, is not indistinctly referred to in the words of Abydenus. Madness and prophecy stood, according to the notions of antiquity, in the closest connection, which

---

\* On the opposite side, appeal cannot be made to iv. 36. “I obtained still greater glory;” for these words occur in Nebuchadnezzar’s edict published immediately after the return of his reason; the case would be different if the *author* had said that Nebuchadnezzar was promoted to still greater glory.

† μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ, λέγεται πρὸς Χαλδαίων, ὡς ἀναβάς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆα, κατασχε-  
 Ζεῖη θεῶ ὅτεω δὴ, φθεγγόμενος δὲ εἶπεν· Ὁυτος ἐγὼ Ναβουχοδοноόσορος, ὃ βαβυ-  
 λώνιοι, τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑμῖν προαγγέλλω συμφορὴν, τὴν ὅ, τε Βηλος ἐμὸς πρόγονος,  
 ἢ τε βασιλεία Βῆλτις ἀποτρέψαι Μοίρας πεῖσαι ἀσσηνοῦσιν· ἢξει Πέρσης ἡμίονος,  
 τοῖσι ὑμετέροισι δαίμοσι χρεώμενος συμμάχοισιν. ἐπάξει δὲ δουλοσύνην, οὐ δὴ συν-  
 αἴτιος ἔσται Μήδης, τὸ Ἀσσύριον ἄνχημα· ὡς εἶδε μιν πρόσθεν ἢ δοῦναι τοὺς πολι-  
 ἦτας, Χάρυβδιν τινὰ, ἢ θάλασσαν εἰσοδεξαμένην, αἰστώσαι πρόρριζον· ἡμῖν ἄλλας  
 ὁδοὺς στραφέντα φέρισσαι διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, ἵνα οὔτε ἄστυα, οὔτε πάτος ἀνθρώπων,  
 Σῆρις δὲ νόμον ἔχουσι καὶ ὄρνιθες πλάζονται, ἐν τε πέτρῃσι καὶ χαράδρῃσι μῶ-  
 νον ὀλώμενον· ἐμέ τε, πρὶν εἰς νόον βαλίσσαι τὰντα, τέλος ἀμείνονος κυρῆσαι· ὁ  
 μὲν θεοπίστας παραχρήμα ἠφάνιστο.



is marked in the language itself; in order to attain the latter, they tried in an artificial manner to excite the former; comp., *e.g.*, V. DALE, *de oraculis ethnicorum*, p. 172. EUSEBIUS has very appositely remarked this, *Chron. Arm. lat.* p. 61—"In Daniel's history we are informed under what circumstances Nebuchadnezzar lost his reason: we must not, however, be surprised if the Greek historians or the Chaldeans conceal the disease, and relate that he was inspired, and call his madness, or the demon by which he was possessed, a god. For it is their custom to attribute such things to a god, and to call demons gods."\* Here, at the same time, we may judge with what propriety BLEEK maintains that this account of Abydenus was never made use of for a confirmation of Daniel till modern times. The circumstance, moreover, that Abydenus puts into the mouth of Nebuchadnezzar a prophecy respecting the future fate of his kingdom, is easily explained from a confusion and intermixture in the Chaldee tradition (which the very late Abydenus received in a very disfigured state) of two distinct occurrences, namely, the madness and the disclosures respecting the future that were made to Nebuchadnezzar, partly by prophetic dreams, partly by the prophecies of Daniel, to both of which the things here put into his mouth may be referred. The passage of Abydenus serves, therefore, in another respect also, to confirm the credibility and genuineness of Daniel. This supposition seems preferable to the other possible one, that Nebuchadnezzar, when attacked with madness, really attended for the first time, and especially during his fits of frenzy, to the disagreeable visions into the future opened up to him at an earlier period. 2. The notation of time and place corresponds in an astonishing manner. According to Abydenus, Nebuchadnezzar was attacked by the extasis after the completion of all his conquests; and, indeed, which is peculiarly worthy of notice, it manifested itself for the first time on the roof of his palace (*ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλῆϊα*), just as in our book. 3. It must not be left out of sight, that Abydenus designates the con-

---

\* In Danielis sane historiis de Nebuchodonosoro narratur, quo modo et quo pacto mente captus fuerit: quod si Graecorum historici aut Chaldæi morbum tegunt et a deo eum acceptum comminiscuntur, deumque insaniam, quæ in illum iutavit, vel demonem quendam, qui in eum venit, nominant, mirandum non est. Etenim hic quidem illorum mos est, similia deo adscribere, deosque nominare daemones.

dition of Nebuchadnezzar as brought about by a *certain* god (the reading ὅτεω δὴ, assumed by SCALIGER in place of the meaningless οτε ωδη, has been since confirmed by the testimony of the Armenian version, which has “*diis quibusdam, in mentem ejus penetrantibus eamque occupantibus.*”) Hence it follows distinctly that the Chaldee tradition derived the ailment of Nebuchadnezzar, not from one of the native gods, but from a foreign divinity. 4. That which is uttered at the close by Nebuchadnezzar as a curse on the Median king (“may he wander in the wilderness, where no cities are, no footstep of man, where wild beasts feed, and fowls roam, amid rocks and precipices, roving about alone”) corresponds so surprisingly with what is historically recorded of Nebuchadnezzar in our book, that one feels tempted to suppose either confusion or intentional modification in the Chaldee tradition, or that Abydenus misunderstood it. This supposition is the easier, as we have just pointed out another intermixture of two different occurrences. Thus far the agreement. For we must not, with some, adduce παραχρήμα ἠφάνιστο as a point of agreement, and refer it to Nebuchadnezzar’s disappearance, after his insanity, from the view of the multitude. The comparison of another passage of Abydenus, where the mythical Belus is said τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ ἰκνευμένῳ ἀφανισθῆναι, renders it probable that the Chaldee tradition made the mythically illustrious Nebuchadnezzar be received among the gods. This feature shews, at the same time, why we find there no fuller confirmation of the records of our book. But this much appears from it, that Nebuchadnezzar did not live much longer after his madness, and thus the reconciliation of the account of Berossus with that of our book, becomes more easy and certain. Farther, it is very important, in speaking of the relation of the Chaldee tradition to the narration in our book, to compare the accounts preserved to us by Eusebius in the *præparatio* and the *Chronicon*, which Berossus and Abydenus give of the creation, the flood, and the building of the tower of Babel, with the accounts in Genesis. The relation of the two is here quite the same. Besides the most remarkable agreement, reaching to the most particular circumstances, there are the same misunderstandings and misrepresentations.

We now pass on to the objections which have been drawn from

the narrative itself against its truth. But here our opponents are so fair as to allow, that there is nothing in itself improbable in Nebuchadnezzar's falling into a frenzy which made him unfit for the duties of government; comp. BERTH. p. 304. MICHAELIS justly says, *Ann. z. Dan.* p. 41, "It has long ago been remarked, that this calamity more frequently attacks great and extraordinary minds than ordinary ones." But it is maintained that the particular circumstances given in the narrative are of such a kind, that they cannot possibly be true in their entire extent. From the trouble of replying to a quantity of such objections, which regard not the narrative itself but only false interpretations of it, and some of which are still to be found in GRIESINGER, p. 42, we are relieved by BERTHOLDT. He grants, p. 291, that the text says not a word of a metamorphosis of Nebuchadnezzar; that he is described merely as a wild man; and that the unfolding of the history is perfectly natural. That in his insanity Nebuchadnezzar lived quite in the manner of wild beasts; that the fact of his body becoming gradually covered with hair (the clause "his hair became like eagles' feathers" is correctly explained by TERTULLIAN, *capilli incuria horrorem aquilinum preferente*), was a consequence of his wild mode of life, and that nearly the same thing has been observed in many a man of the wood. We shall examine here only what BERTHOLDT himself adduces as conclusive. "Is it credible that the royal family and the royal senators should have shewn so little attention, as to allow Nebuchadnezzar, after the breaking out of his madness, to get into so helpless a state? Would they not at least have tried to keep him in safe custody? Would they not have sought for him again and brought him back? Could he, in the level and forestless Babylonia, have concealed himself from all search? It could only have been through a continuous miracle that he wandered about so long a time, without losing his life by one of the thousand accidents to which he was daily exposed. What unwise policy in a government, to offer to a factious people so degrading a spectacle!" BERTH. p. 300, 303. But this entire objection vanishes, as soon as it is shewn that the assumption lying at the basis of it, and which is indeed to be found in all expositors, viz., that Nebuchadnezzar roamed about at large without any custody or supervision, is demonstrably an incorrect one. The expositors (comp.



*e. g.*, GEIER and MICHAELIS on ver. 22), rest this assumption on ver. 36, "They sought me." "For, if the nobles *sought after* Nebuchadnezzar, he must have been *lost*, so as to *need* being sought for."\* But this argument hardly needs a formal refutation. Were Daniel and his companions *lost*, because, according to ii. 13, where the same verb נִדְּבַ occurs, they were *sought for* that they might be put to death? Nay, there is rather in this passage a proof of the contrary. If Nebuchadnezzar, soon after being restored to reason, is sought by his nobles, for the purpose of giving the government back to him, must he not have been surrounded by watchers, who brought his nobles the news of his recovery? But it is still more clearly apparent from ver. 12, 20, that they did not neglect to take the proper precautions for his safety. According to these passages Nebuchadnezzar was laid in fetters of iron and brass. The assumption of expositors, that he had broken through these fetters in excessive rage, and run off alone into the desert, has not only nothing in the text to support it, but is expressly refuted by these passages. For it is said that Nebuchadnezzar should be bound in fetters, in the grass of the field and wetted by the dew of heaven; he wore the fetters therefore still, when he roamed at large. We must imagine the state of the case to be as follows. There is often in madness a violent desire after a free, solitary, wild, life. Out of many instances, we quote only one mentioned by Abenezra. A madman in Sardinia ran away into the mountains, herded with the deer, lived like them on the grass and herbs, and went on his hands and feet. When taken in hunting by the king of the island, and given up to his parents, he answered nothing they said to him, spurned wine and bread when placed before him, and took only grass and herbs.† Soon after he slipped off again to the mountains, and returned to his deer. Comp. too the account of the man who was possessed, Mark v. Now, in Nebuchadnezzar's case, they humoured this propensity so far as it was feasible; only they had him watched,

---

\* Nam si Nebuchadnezzarem magnates ipsius quaesiverunt, ergo amissum illum fuisse oportet, ita ut quaeri debuerit.

† "It is a peculiarity of insane persons, not only to speak and act in a manner contrary to all reason and order, but to eat whatever falls in their way. And this may be seen to be the case now, in persons molested by demons." THEODORET.

that he might fall into no danger, and bound him in fetters that he might do himself no mischief. Probably they took care also that he should haunt those places only where he would not be exposed to the gaze of his subjects.

“Is it credible that, without any scruple or any fear of his relapsing again, they would have entrusted to the hands of a man that had for many years been entirely bereft of his reason, the reins of government, and therewith the lives of many hundred thousands of persons?” BERTH. p. 301. In this objection it is assumed as proved, that the madness of Nebuchadnezzar lasted seven years, although BERTHOLDT in other places (p. 299, 323), allows that to understand seven times as meaning seven years, is not necessary, and indeed by no means accordant with probability. It must not be said that  $\text{עֶזְרָא}$ , chap. vii. 25 ; xii. 7, occurs in the sense of *year* ; it stands in both passages properly, as here, in the undefined sense of *time* ; the more strict definition is not in the word, but is only given afterwards. Now, since in this case such a definition is not to be found, and the number *seven* very frequently occurs as the definite for the indefinite, we must agree with CALVIN, who says—“Their opinion is probable, who think that the number is indefinite, *i. e.*, until the expiration of a long time.”\* But even granting that a definite period was pointed at, we should not be warranted to assume seven years, any more than seven other portions of time, however large or small they might be. Nor is a period of seven years at all required for the occurrence of what is related in the narrative ; the uncommon growth of the nails and hair might take place in a comparatively short time, and yet this in ver. 30 is referred to as the extreme *terminus ad quem* of the madness. Thus the appeal to the length of the time must be altogether disallowed. And who would think of maintaining it to be incredible, that in any case the government should have been restored to a ruler who had had an attack of madness ? It appears from ver. 33, that the government during Nebuchadnezzar’s madness was carried on by his nobles, and reserved for him in the hope of his recovery, just as, according to the information of Berosus, it once happened on a former occasion,

---

\* Probabilis eorum est sententia, qui putant, indefinitum esse numerum, *h. e.*, donec longum tempus transeat.

when Nebuchadnezzar was absent at the death of his father (*πα-  
ραλαβὼν δὲ τὰ πράγματα διοικούμενα ὑπὸ Χαλδῶν, καὶ  
διατηρουμένην τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν.*) And  
several causes surely concurred to prevent the nobles from think-  
ing of a change of rulers. Nebuchadnezzar was the pride of the  
nation; from his successor, Evilmerodach, only mischief could be  
looked for; the highest officers in the realm must expect under  
him a deposition from their rank, as is so frequently the case in  
the East on a change of rulers. The general and the individual  
interest combined, therefore, to determine them to reserve the  
crown as long as possible for Nebuchadnezzar, in whose name and  
authority meanwhile they were certainly not reluctant to rule  
without control. The fear of a relapse would the less restrain  
them on his recovery from restoring the government to him again,  
because they could easily secure themselves and the kingdom by  
the same measures they had already taken.

“Would not Nebuchadnezzar, in order to gain the general con-  
fidence, have used all means to make everybody forget his former  
condition, or to displace the reports disseminated respecting it by  
other more advantageous, though untrue accounts?” BERTH.  
p. 301. So it would certainly seem on the first glance, but how  
often is that which is improbable the historical truth! It must  
be remembered, that a character like Nebuchadnezzar’s does not  
always act with a prudent calculation on the possible impression,  
but in the consciousness of its greatness, elevates itself above the  
judgment of the multitude, and demands their acquiescence in its  
decisions; farther, that the edict was given in the first excite-  
ment, and under the still recent and forcible impression made by  
what had occurred—that the notions of the ancient world about  
madness must not be identified with ours—that Nebuchadnezzar in  
the narrative always appears as an object of the especial providence  
of God, and that when the punishment inflicted by God, which cer-  
tainly must have been generally enough known, has been removed  
by his merciful interposition, the matter is thus placed in a better  
light than it stood in before. Why, when there are not wanting  
in history instances of kings who openly exposed to view the most  
disgraceful and dishonourable vices; when, for example, a Xerxes  
publicly offered a reward to any man who should invent him a  
new kind of sensuality; why in the world must this acknowledg-



ment, by far less discreditable, alone be untrue? And lastly, if these arguments are held to be insufficient, we are surely at liberty to ascribe the edict to the mental obliquity yet remaining from the madness!

We now pass on to those arguments against the genuineness of the edict, which EICHHORN, BERTHOLDT, &c., have derived from the mode of representation prevailing in it. "The narrator makes Nebuchadnezzar speak, now as an orthodox Jew, and in phraseology drawn from Old Testament books, and even from far later ones (iv. 1, 2, and iv. 34-37, comp. Is. xl. 15-17), now again as an idolater (comp. iv. 8, iv. 18); comp. BERTH. i. p. 70, ii. p. 310, 37, 38." But just this mode of representation would be expected in case the edict was genuine, and certainly affords a presumption that it is. It cannot *à priori* be imagined that Nebuchadnezzar rooted out the inveterate superstition so quickly from his mind, that the traces of it should not have appeared in connection with what he had learned from the instruction of Daniel. And such we find was really the fact. Nebuchadnezzar does, indeed, name the God of Israel the most high God, as Cyrus also acknowledges him to be in his edict, Ezra i. 1; but that he was not therefore resolved to renounce the superstition of his fathers, is apparent from his still calling Bel *his* god, chap. iv. 8; and that he still in the main retains his hold of polytheism is shown by ver. 9, 18, where he attributes to Daniel the spirit of the holy gods; comp. CALVIN on the passages, who strikingly proves from them the incorrectness of the opinion of very many expositors as to the radical and entire conversion of Nebuchadnezzar. How agreeable to the character of polytheism was such a mixture of religions, may be proved from many examples. It is found, *e. g.*, in the same manner in the edicts of the Persian kings in the book of Ezra. Just as the Persians in earlier times blended their worship of nature with the doctrine of Zoroaster (comp. SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 278), so did they, after the conquest of Babylon, unite the Babylonian worship and Babylonian astrology with the fire worship of their own system (SCHLOSSER, p. 279.) That a later Jew, bold in his fictions, would not have been satisfied with such a conversion of Nebuchadnezzar, is clear from the attempt of very many Jewish and Christian expositors to make the conversion as radical and complete as possible.

The affinity of certain phrases with passages of the other books of the O. T. can of itself prove just as little against the authenticity of the edict as the occurrence of certain biblical phrases in an edict of a newly converted heathen prince of the most modern times. Like all the rest that he knew about the true God, Nebuchadnezzar had got these expressions from Daniel, and repeated them again all the more exactly the less independent his knowledge of religion as yet was. We have a perfectly similar case in the edict of Cyrus, in which, notwithstanding its brevity, several verbal references are found to the prophecies of Isaiah; comp. KLEINERT, l. c. p. 142. An affinity with passages from later books would of course be decisive; but this could only be affirmed on the ground that the second part of Isaiah belonged to these, the genuineness of which part, however, besides the voluntary defenders of it, has found an involuntary one in the most recent times, V. CÖLLN, who, in the *A. L. Z. Erg. Bl.* 1828, Febr. Nr. 16, whilst conceding what GESENIUS denies, that this part was made use of in Jerem. l. li., finds himself compelled to declare these chapters also spurious!—"The spuriousness is betrayed by the writer unwarily, ver. 29, falling into the narrative style." BERTH. p. 70. We cannot by any means allow that this happens *unwarily*. With the exception of ver. 19, where *the king* stands for *I*, which calls for no remark, because the same thing is found repeatedly in the decrees of the Persian kings, comp. *e. g.*, Ezra vii. 14, 15 (GES. *Lehrg.* p. 742), the use of the third person commences just where the narrative of the fulfilment of the divine threat of punishment begins (ver. 28.), and ends where the description of the sad ailment of Nebuchadnezzar comes to a close (ver. 33). His restoration he describes again in the first person. This cannot possibly be accidental, and if not, then no argument can be taken from it against the genuineness, although we cannot assign with certainty the reason of the change. It may be conjectured that Daniel disposed this part in a briefer, or more detailed and exact, narrative than as it stood in the edict (so CALVIN), and now, to be chargeable with no falsehood, used the third person; or it may be assumed, although this is less probable, that Nebuchadnezzar himself thought it not becoming to tell of his madness in his own person. On the first assumption we get rid also of the difficulty, otherwise of little importance, which

BERTH., p. 71, derives from the expression, "the palace of the kingdom of Babylon" (iv. 29.) For as Daniel, although living at Babylon, yet wrote not simply for Babylonish Jews, this more precise statement was not uncalled for.

We have only now to consider farther the objection which BLEEK, p. 264, derives from the asserted parænetic tendency of the narrative. "This narrative is intended, like the following, to serve the purpose of reminding the heathen tyrant (*Ant. Eph.*) in the way of threatening and warning, of the fate that awaits him if he persists in his arrogant wickedness. The author seems to menace the Syriac despot with his fate: he would himself one day, by the calamity which should assail him as a punishment for his pride, conduce to the acknowledgment of the power and greatness of Jehovah among men, and only when he himself should penitently own his weakness and dependence, and Jehovah as king of heaven and earth, should he possess his kingdom in peace." But with far greater probability might it be maintained that the history of Pharaoh, and Sennacherib, and others, on account of their distinct parænetic tendency, were first invented in the age of the Maccabees. Indeed, in this case there is wanting the most essential feature of the similarity, which is really to be found in the others, the infliction of the punishment for the oppression of the people of God. Not for his cruelty towards the chosen people, but only for his pride, is Nebuchadnezzar punished (comp. ver. 30.) How can it be expected from an author indulging in free invention, in the time of the Maccabees, that he should have left just this main point out of sight, and thus have totally sacrificed his aim? How little this, even apart from the distinct parænetic tendency, was accordant with the spirit of the later times, is shewn by the Alex. version, where this circumstance is supplied; compare DANIEL *sec. LXX.* ed MICHAELIS, p. 49—"Thy heart is lifted up with pride and with violence against the Holy One and his angels. Thy works are come before God, because thou hast wasted the temple of the living God." Nebuchadnezzar in our fragment, from the beginning, shews himself benevolent towards the Jews in the person of Daniel; even against the God of the Jews he commits no special offence; how, then, could this account serve as a warning to Antiochus? Farther, the assumption of BLEEK is affected here again by the argument that has



been already shown to be valid, that Daniel would be contradicting himself if he, on another occasion, announced destruction unconditionally to Antiochus Epiphanes, but here would open up to him the prospect of divine favour. And, finally, it is plain, as KIRMS has fully shown, that here as well as in all historical portions of the book, Daniel plays so chief a part, that one is in doubt whether he or Nebuchadnezzar is to be regarded as the principal person. Now why, with the alleged aim of the author, raise a person so very high to whom no counterpart could be found in the age of the Maccabees ?

CHAP. V.—In this chapter the objections are less numerous, and particularly feeble. “The event which connects the two occurrences related in chaps. v. and vi., is the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. But the author does not make the *smallest mention* of it, although he thus casts over his relation a deep historical darkness—a clear proof that he knew nothing of this intermediate event, and lived in far remote times.” (BERTH. i. p. 73, ii. p. 356.) One can hardly imagine that this objection is brought forward in serious earnest. When the author, ver. 28, makes Daniel announce to Belshazzar, “thy kingdom is divided and given to the Medes and Persians;” when, ver. 30, he designates Belshazzar, in the account of his death, as the king of the Chaldeans (THEODORET: Χαλδαῖον δὲ αὐτὸν ἐντάνθα προσηγόρευσεν, ἵνα δείξῃ, λοιπὸν τῆς Χαλδαϊκῆς βασιλείας τὸ τέλος); when he says, chap. vi. 1, that after Belshazzar’s death Darius the Mede (𐤠𐤃𐤃𐤁, on account of its opposition to 𐤠𐤃𐤃𐤁, must not be considered, as it is by several expositors, by BERTH. for instance, ii. 856, who supposes that it was intended by this surname to distinguish Darius from the Persian Darius, and thus finds an evidence of unauthenticity, as an *epitheton perpetuum*, but as denoting merely the transference of the dominion from the Chaldeans to the Medes; comp. ver. 29, ix, 1, Ezra v. 12, 13) succeeded to the government; surely there can be no doubt whatever, that according to him the slaughter of the Chaldee king, which supposes the conquest of the city, was enacted by the Medo-Persians.

Still more strange, if possible, is another argument: “the word 𐤠𐤃𐤃𐤁 by which the higher officers of state are here specially de-

signated, occurs scarcely at all in the older Aramaic writings in the sense *magnates, aulici*; only in the later Targums it is used frequently." (BERTH. i. p. 73.) This argument proves too much, namely, not only that Daniel, but that the pretended pseudo-Daniel, in the time of the Maccabees, cannot have been the author of our book. For even our oldest Targum does not go back to this time. It is, therefore, quite needless to remark any further in reply.

"Does it not look like a Popish dispensation in *partibus* for Belshazzar to appoint Daniel the third ruler in his kingdom, when the king had been for years shut up in his residence? Daniel in the same night, according to the royal promise, is proclaimed by royal heralds as the third ruler in the kingdom. How can all these transactions be compressed into the space of a single night? No reason can be seen why they should not have waited for the proclamation of the new minister till the next day, instead of choosing for it a night in which the whole population was in a state of stupefying debauchery." (BERTH. ii. p. 346.) Here it is very easy to answer BERTHOLDT in his own words. As to the bestowment of the dignity on Daniel, it seems perfectly justified by his own remark (353), that the Babylonians, feeling perfectly secure, only laughed at the siege (*Cyrop.* vii. 5, 13, 14); that in Babylon there prevailed such recklessness that no inquiries were ever made as to what was going on among the enemy, and nothing was perceived of all those operations by which Cyrus had long been preparing the conquest of the city (HEROD. i. 191.) The difficulty raised on the improbability of the execution of the royal command the same night disappears with the remark, that the text contains not a word about its execution. BERTHOLDT himself translates, p. 390, "Then Belshazzar gave command to put on Daniel the purple robe and the golden neck-chain, and to have it proclaimed by a herald that he was the third magistrate in the kingdom." And that this is the correct translation is confirmed by the almost universal usage of our book, according to which the execution is narrated separately from the command; comp. *e. g.* in our chap. v. 2 with ver. 3, ver. 7 with ver. 8, ver. 12 with ver. 13. But the author considered it superfluous in this instance to say expressly that the command was not carried into execution, because from the following words, "in the same night

was Belshazzar slain," this would be perfectly understood of itself, and he could have had no idea of an *involuntary* misunderstanding.

"Daniel speaks to king Belshazzar in so harsh a tone, that according to Babylonian custom, he would without fail have been immediately hewn in pieces. But not only does he go unpunished for this, but he even dares further to announce to the king the loss of his kingdom to the Medes and Persians, who were encamped before the city; nay, Belshazzar names that very Daniel, who, by his unreserved interpretation of the writing on the wall, cuts off all hope from him as his minister." BERTH. p. 345, 346. But the behaviour of the king ceases to be surprising, if we reflect that he had just before been terrified at the appearance of the writing on the wall, which there was no accounting for on the ground of imposture, since he had himself seen the hand in the act of writing—that this terror was all the greater because he now viewed the outward danger also, by which he was surrounded, in its true light, and was roused out of his former carelessness—that the Lord probably increased the alarm which external appearances must now have occasioned him, by a corresponding inward operation upon his soul—that the personal impression of the venerable old man, from whose high gifts and deeds he had just received fresh knowledge, could not but extort reverence from him—finally, that the foreboding of the truth of his prediction, to whose fulfilment he did not think himself so near, induced him to seize the only means whereby he thought it possible to avert the threatened calamity, by seeking to assure himself of the goodwill of that man whom he held to be a favourite of the Deity, whose intercession, therefore, according to the notions of the ancient world, he regarded as particularly effectual, and who, by his elevation to one of the first dignities of the realm, was, as it seemed, at the same time implicated in the fortunes of the king.

"But the greatest difficulty of all is in the writing, which contained certain words in the Babylonish tongue, and yet could not be read and interpreted by any one but Daniel, not even by those versed in hieroglyphics among the magicians, who yet were acquainted with the general modes of writing in use at home and abroad, as well as all mystic writing, and from whom Daniel had received all his knowledge of this kind." BERTH. p. 346. But



this difficulty disappears, if we attempt previously to place the transaction in a natural point of view. According to the account, it was only by supernatural illumination that Daniel was able to read and explain the writing, and only because the king believed him to possess it, that he was called in for the purpose. The characters must therefore have been quite uncommon, so as not to be deciphered without divine illumination.

BERTHOLDT seeks besides to shew the falsity of the account from the absence of all purpose in the miracle there recorded; but in reply to this we may point to what has been before remarked. It is utterly fallacious to wrest a single miracle away from an entire chain of occurrences, and to pronounce on its aim solely from its effect on the immediate present. The direct consequence in this instance was the elevation of Daniel to one of the highest offices of state under the Medo-Persian government, comp. chap. vi. 2, which formed a necessary element of its influence on the liberation of the chosen people. The difficulty in the fact that Daniel does not at first appear among the magicians, but is called for afterwards, we have already removed on another occasion. We only remark farther, that even in modern times, on the death of a Persian monarch, his astrologers are accustomed to be deposed. Comp. CHARDIN in ROSENMÜLLER, *A. u. N. Morgenl.* iv. p. 352.

We have now only to consider the objections which BLEEK, on this portion, as on the earlier ones, raises from the pretended paracnetic aim. "The reference to Antiochus Epiphanes becomes here very apparent. That Belshazzar is punished for his profanation of the holy vessels, seems to be directly a warning threat against Antiochus, who not only took away the holy vessels out of the temple, but probably applied them, with his people, to the purposes of common banquets, at any rate feasts in honour of the gods." But the very thing which might in some measure justify the suspicion of invention, the profanation of the holy vessels by Antiochus, is wholly imaginary. In the books of the Maccabees not the least trace of it is to be found; and yet it must have been making a great stir, if the alleged pseudo-Daniel was incited by it to make this parabolic representation. On the contrary, it is clear from 2 Macc. v. 21, that the seizure of the vessels of the temple was merely a financial project on the part of the king, which is confirmed also by 1 Macc. i. 23, although the words *καὶ*

*ἐλέπισε πάντα* there cannot, according to usage, be rendered with *KIRMS*, *et diffregit omnia*, but rather refer to the covetous peeling off of the gold and silver plating. It is hardly worth the trouble to point to the contradiction that would exist between this parabolic representation, in which the king is made to be slain, and the previous one, according to which either no adverse fate touches him, or only a slight and passing one, or to remark that the really existing similarity is far less than that in other demonstrably true occurrences, or to offer proof how in this way every occurrence of ancient and modern history may be rendered doubtful, since for every one a similar can be produced, and indeed nothing at all new happens under the sun.

CHAP. VI.—We begin here with an objection which surpasses in plausibility all others that have been raised against this chapter, and nearly all that have been urged against the whole book, and the unsatisfactory answers to which, by the generality of defenders of the genuineness, have given still greater importance to it in the eyes of opponents. “Darius Medus or Cyaxares II. issues a command, that during a whole month none of his subjects shall ask anything from any god or man, himself only excepted. Now, although Cyaxares appears in Xenophon likewise as a prince not very strong-minded, inflammatory, whimsical addicted to wine and women, a prince from whom much wisdom cannot be looked for, yet one cannot possibly credit him capable of the folly and insanity which this edict would evince. Could it be expected from such a religious people as the Babylonians, that they would allow their public and domestic worship to be forbidden for only a single day? Had the senators the impiety to make such a resolution without fear of the wrath of the injured deities? And was Cyaxares so destitute of religion as not from a similar fear to refuse his signature to the mandate? Does this agree with the reverence which he previously manifests even towards a foreign deity, the God of the Jews? And under what pretext did the ministers offer such counsel to the king? That of an apotheosis of himself? But it is yet to be shewn historically, that it was ever the custom, at least in those days, and in Upper Asia, to deify deceased or still living princes.” BERTH. p. 357. *sqq.* We will here premise two passages from HEEREN’S

*Ideen* (3te. Ausg. i. 1, p. 446, 51), which will at least serve to weaken the impression made by this argument. "The person of the king is in the Asiatic kingdoms the centre about which everything moves. He is, according to the notions of the East, regarded, not merely as ruler, but rather as proprietor of land and people. On this fundamental idea political constitutions there are built, and it not rarely received an extension of meaning, which to the civilized European appears *incomprehensible or even ridiculous*." "The notion of citizens of the State, in the European sense, was therefore a notion totally foreign from those parts; without any exception, from the highest to the lowest, they are called vassals of the king, and the right of wielding unlimited authority, over every one of them, was never disputed to him by the nation." But we readily grant, that the oriental despotism alone does not suffice for a perfectly satisfactory justification of our interpretation, and that some other support is needed. But history completely supplies this. It can be shewn by the most conclusive arguments, *that the kings of the Medes and Persians were regarded and worshipped as representatives and incarnations of Ormuzd*. In the sacred books of the Zend religion, we find the germs and outlines of this view. "Zoroaster saw those kingdoms of light and darkness in a manner realized on earth; Iran, the Medo-Bactrian kingdom under Gustasp, is to him the image of the kingdom of Ormuzd; *the king himself the image of Ormuzd*; Turan, the northern nomad land, where Afrasiab rules, is the image of the kingdom of darkness under the rule of Ahriman." (HEEREN, *l. c.* p. 474.) This view, however, did not receive its complete finish till later times; the theory of religion was made to conform to the existing state of things. In the Bactrian kingdom, where the Zend religion first originated, and where the sacred books were written, there subsisted a milder form of government (comp. RHODE, *die heilige Sage des Zendvolkes*, p. 538); among the Medes and Persians this religion at its introduction found the oriental despotism already in perfection, and, as it universally placed the state of things that actually existed at the foundation of its theories, so here also it had the task of justifying things as they were, and giving to them a higher sanction. This demand the magi the more readily satisfied, because in this way they drew the kings into their interest, and, the more unlimited was their



power, the more easily they secured the introduction and continuance of their religion.\* The king was, therefore, set forth as the representative, the visible manifestation of Ormuzd, like him commanding with unlimited power; the seven princes of the empire next in rank to him, as HEEREN also, p. 489, adds, were called the representatives of the seven Amshaspands, who stood round the throne of Ormuzd. The proofs of this deification of the king are equally clear, from the accounts of the classical writers, from Scripture, and from the ancient Persian monuments. It is true all these testimonies refer directly to the Persians only; but, from the general relation which subsisted between them and the Medes, respecting whom our accounts are so exceedingly scanty, we may with perfect certainty form our conclusions with regard also to the latter. For, as HEEREN, p. 426, observes, "The entire constitution of the Persian court, as well as their dress and private life in general, was copied from the Median; and with this was likewise connected their adoption of the court and state religion of this people, and of the whole politico-religious ceremonial which it prescribed." Nay, it seems that the Magi, who formed this theory, were derived from the Medes to the Persians, who were the last of the two to adopt the Zend religion!† Let us bring together the proofs. 1. The accounts of classical writers. PLUTARCH relates (*Themistocle*. chap. xxvii.) out of *Charon Lamp-sacenus*, that the Persian Artabanus, on understanding that Themistocles wished to be presented to the king, replied that it could not be unless he would submit to offer worship; that among the Greeks, however, freedom was regarded as the highest good. "We have many excellent customs, but this is the best of them

---

\* The old Zend religion was modified and metamorphosed in many points among the Medes and Persians, comp. SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 168—"That it (the book containing their religion) describes essentially the doctrine of the ancient Persian religion, and the principles on which it rested, cannot be denied; but there is just as little doubt that, in its present form, it does not give us the features of the purer Indian cultus."

† Nor is there lacking distinct historical testimony. HERODOTUS relates i. 199, of the Median Dejeoes, that, by way of enhancing his dignity, he commanded that no one should have access to the king, but that all affairs should be transacted by his ministers; that no one should look at the king; that no one should laugh in his presence. "He thought that, by making himself invisible to his subjects, he should be regarded as a being of a higher order." Comp. also, on the despotism prevalent among the Medes, XENOPH. *Cyrop.* i. 3, 18.

all, to honour the king, *and to worship to the image of God the preserver of all things.*"\* The all-sustaining God here is Ormuzd, comp. RHODE, p. 187. XENOPHON (*Agesil.*) finds fault with the Persians as "appropriating the very honours due to the gods."† ISOCRATES (*Panegy.* in BRISSONIUS, *de Pers. princ.* p. 17), charges them with offering to men divine honour, and thus insult to the gods (*θνητὸν μὲν ἄνδρα προσκυνοῦντες, καὶ δαίμονα προσαγορεύοντες, τῶν δὲ θεῶν μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καταφρονοῦντες.*) ARRIAN vi. 29, on the information of Aristobulus, an eye-witness, relates respecting the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadæ—"In the vicinity was a small house built for the Magi, to whom was intrusted from the times of Cambyses, from father to son, the custody of the tomb. The king gave them daily a sheep, a portion of corn and wine, and every month a horse as an offering to Cyrus." On this HEEREN, p. 259, observes rightly, that this offering could not have been presented to Cyrus himself, since the Persians sacrificed to no deified man or hero, *as such*; we are, therefore, limited to the supposition, that the offerings were presented to the god who had appeared in the person of Cyrus. Lastly, CURTIUS, viii. 5, says, "That the Persians worshipped their kings among the gods."‡ How would Alexander ever have thought of raising himself by the arts of deception to the dignity of a god (comp. PRIDEAUX, *l. c.* iii. p. 26), if, as ARRIAN (p. 262, Blanc.) expressly observes, he had not wished thus to assimilate himself to the Persian kings, and to appropriate the advantages of that *nimbus*, which surrounded their persons? 2. The accounts of Scripture. A reference to this view is found in this very chap. v. 8, which tells us that every command of the king, according to the unalterable law of the Medes and Persians, *i. e.*, according to the doctrine of the religion of the Magi as it passed commonly current among the Medo-Persians, comp. HEEREN, p. 487, was irrevocable. This irrevocableness of the commands of the king, and it is also confirmed by the Book of Esther, seems as if it could only have been derived from the idea of a more than human power as belonging to him. Another and still

\* ἡμῖν δὲ πολλῶν νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων, κάλλιστος οὗτός ἐστι, τιμῶν βασιλεία, καὶ προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα Θεοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα σώζοντος.

† ἀξιούοντας καὶ τὰς τῶν Θεῶν τιμας καρποῦσθαι.

‡ Persas reges suos inter deos colere.

more distinct trace of it is found in the Book of Esther. Mordecai there refuses to the first minister of the king, who was regarded as his representative, and in whose dishonour that of the king was involved, the homage demanded, and on *religious* grounds, as appears from chap. iii. 4, where Mordecai adduces as the reason of his refusal the religious laws of his nation, and still more from Haman's scheme of revenge against the whole Jewish people, a scheme which is wholly inexplicable unless Haman had the conviction that the fault of Mordecai was one common to them all; and, indeed, he describes them to the king as people whose laws were different from those of any other nation, and who would not obey the laws of the king. But, if Mordecai refused the homage on religious grounds, it must have been essentially of a different kind from that which the early Hebrews used to offer, not a civil but a religious homage, which was amenable to the express laws of the Pentateuch (Lev. xvi. 1; Deut. xvi. 22).

3. Persian monuments. These are of very special importance for our purpose. We begin with one that is of doubtful meaning. On a wall of the principal building at Persepolis sits a king upon his throne. Above him hovers a half figure of the human shape with a beard, *dressed exactly as the king, and in every respect like him*. On the two royal tombs at Persepolis this representation is repeated, only that in this instance the king is drawn standing with a bow in his hand, before the holy fire. Above the fire itself is seen a ball. The half figure has a ring in its hand. In one of the sculptures, the figure is soaring up from the king to the ball; in another it is returning from the ball to the king. Comp. HEEREN, p. 250; RHODE, p. 485. Now, the whole question, as far as regards our object, comes to this, Who is the human half figure? To the view of HERDER and HEEREN, who see in it the *Ferver*\* of the king, RHODE opposes the just remark, that the *Ferver*\* of man never appeared as an essence distinct from himself, but is rather man's soul itself, and also, that then the symbol of the ring receives no fitting explanation. According to RHODE the half figure is Ormuzd himself. The ring is an image of time, taken from the circular course of the sun, which always returns to the point from which it set out, and like

---

\* See Note at the end — Tr.



a herald who never grows tired, begins his course anew, until after 12,000 years the circuit of the heavens has been entirely gone through, and the ring is completed. The ball is a symbol of the great original essence Zervane Akerene. Ormuzd appears as intermediate between this and the king, as, according to the Zend legend, he is always placed between the infinite essence Zervane Akerene and the material creation. Even this explanation, which is certainly correct in the main points, for the proofs of which we refer the reader to the pages of RHODE, is beset by a capital objection which cannot be removed. It remains unexplained still, how it comes that the figure, in which RHODE is correct in seeing Ormuzd, is so like the king, that, as HEEREN expresses it, it seems to be an exact repetition of his own form. Whatever diversity there may be in the explanation of the rest, yet this much decidedly follows, that a certain identification of the king with Ormuzd was recognized, and this is amply sufficient for our purpose. We may, then, suppose, either that the moving of the half figure from the ball to the king, and from the king to the ball, is intended to emblemize the idea, that between Ormuzd as rendered visible in the person of the king, and the primitive cause of all things, there subsisted constantly the most intimate association; or we may suppose that, when the half figure is represented as moving down to the king, the incarnation of Ormuzd at the coronation is signified, and when the half figure is represented as mounting up from the king to the ball, the disembodiment of Ormuzd at the death of the king is betokened. Either will do equally well for our purpose.—The latter, however, is rendered the more probable supposition, by a comparison of two other sculptures, still more important for our object, which NIEBUHR gives us from Persian monuments; comp. RHODE, p. 498. These figures represent the solemn consecration of a Persian king. The king takes with his right hand a ring; on his head he wears a round helmet-fashioned cap, on which a large ball rests. RHODE, in the explanation of these sculptures, has allowed himself no small license. The ring, which in the former sculptures was very suitably shown to be a symbol of time, is here made at once, without any proof, to signify the kingdom of the servants of Ormuzd; the ball, which above signified the supreme god Zervane Akerene, is here all of a sudden the figure of the great Persian empire! If we keep

simply to what has been already proposed, there can be no doubt that the king, in all probability Darius Hystaspis (comp. RHODE p. 500), appears here merely as the visible representative of Ormuzd, on the one hand as ruler of the great circle of time, on the other as subject like him to Zervane Akerene, whose symbol rests on his head.—In Persian inscriptions in DE SACY, *memoires s. divers. antiq. de la Perse. Pl. I. p. 27, 31*, the Persian kings are called “offspring of gods,” “of the race of gods,” and even “gods.”\* In others in DE SACY, *mem. de l’institut. hist. et litterat. anc.*, t. ii. p. 184, 188, they are denominated *germe céleste de la race des dieux*. GROTEFEND has found in the wedge-formed inscriptions at Persepolis the title *stirps mundi rectoris* (comp. MÜNTER, l. c. p. 29.)—We leave it to others to explain and establish this Medo-Persian idea by other similar ones from Lamaism, which in other respects also contains not a few traces of affinity with the Zend religion (comp. J. J. SCHMIDT, *Forschungen im Gebiete der älteren religiösen, polit. litter. Bildungsgeschichte der Völker Mittelasiens*, p. 146, *sqq.*; SCHLOSSER, p. 161), as well as to describe more exactly the kindred representations of the Indians,† and we only remark farther, that on Egyptian monuments also the Persian king appears with a symbol of deification; comp. GROTEFEND, in HEEREN, p. 593.

If, then, we may regard it as raised above all doubt that the kings of the Medes and Persians were regarded as representatives and visible revealers of Ormuzd—and this, too, would explain why the holy fire was as it were inseparable from them, was carried before them whenever they shewed themselves in public, was put out when they died; comp. HEEREN, p. 252, RHODE, p. 187—all the difficulties raised by BERTHOLDT, &c. vanish. At the same time we are furnished with the pretext under which the officers of the realm persuaded the king to publish the edict. It was an attempt to gain currency for the religion of Zoroaster, “which in a high degree breathes the spirit of intolerance” (comp. HEEREN, p. 486), amongst the conquered peoples, not exclusively perhaps, but at least along with their already existing religions,

---

\* Ἐκγονοὶ θεῶν, ἐκ γένους θεῶν, θεοὶ.

† “It is wrong,” says MENU, “to treat a king, even though he be a child, like another person, or to imagine that he is a mere mortal; he is rather a powerful divinity appearing in human form.”—V. RAUMER, *Vorlesungen über alte Gesch.* i. p. 31.

and at the same time to obtain that recognition of the royal dignity which lay at the very root of this religious system. That the latter was the principal object might follow from the remarkable analogies of Dejoeces and Alexander, who, in order to the firm settlement of their newly acquired dominion, adopted a perfectly similar behaviour, as Cyrus, also, for the same purpose, according to Arrian, introduced the *προσκύνησις*, and, according to Xenophon, made himself unapproachable. This object was all the more easily attained, if the king during the appointed month hearkened to all feasible requests, and thus got himself regarded in his dignity as the representative of his god, which, as MICHAELIS correctly observes, he might the more readily do, as the heathens were not forward to ask for spiritual benefits, but only for corporeal ones. The king would have the less dread of giving any offence to his subjects, since heathenism, from its tolerant character, could find nothing to be offended at in adding to its many gods one new unknown god more, and in presenting to him for a short time an exclusive homage. Indeed, the Persians had voluntarily bartered their former religion for the Zend religion, and afterwards shown themselves just as friendly towards the deities of the Babylonians, as these now do towards the god of their conquerors. There is, too, another circumstance. MÜNTER, l. c. p. 29–31, has tried to show that the idea, so familiar to despotic kingdoms, of regarding the king as an incarnation of deity, as from Ezek. chap. xxviii. seems also to have been the case among the Syrians (comp. esp. ver. 2), was by no means a strange one to the Babylonians also. “Bel’s tomb and his temple were the same building. The representations of a primeval king of the land must, therefore, have been early confounded with those of an incarnation of the sun-god.” Very many other testimonies besides are adduced.

Of little importance are the remaining objections against this chap. “Cyaxares issues a command in his kingdom to offer divine honour to Jehovah. Had this really occurred, history must have spoken of it; the strange tone too in which the edict is couched throws doubt on the reality of such a proclamation by Cyaxares.” But what a demand! Profane history, which, Xenophon excepted, has nothing more about Darius than some fractional notices scattered here and there, is forsooth to give an



account of an edict in which the religious adoration of Jehovah is, properly, not once commanded, and which perhaps soon after it was given passed into forgetfulness ! How little, moreover, there is to call for astonishment in this recognition of Jehovah on the part of Darius, is shewn by a comparison of the edicts of the Persian kings in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, in which Jehovah is constantly recognized as the true God. To inquire whether the kings tried by any theory to make this recognition consistent with the Zend system, whether perchance they considered Jehovah to be a different form of manifestation of Ormuzd, or whether this recognition is to be traced to a contradictory intermixture of religions, such as subsisted in a high degree among the Persians at least (comp. HEEREN, p. 485), is not our business. As regards the strange tone of the edict, the tone of the edict of Cyrus is certainly still more astonishing.

The difficulties which BERTH. p. 361, finds in the preservation of Daniel in the lions' den, do not concern us, because we are far from putting this fact in a merely natural point of view. That the king entertains a hope, although a very uncertain one, of the preservation of Daniel, need not surprise us ; for surely Daniel's deeds and adventures under the Chaldean government were not unknown to him ; they had rather furnished the ground of his elevation. When KIRMS, p. 67, charges Daniel with pharisaic hypocrisy, with arrogance, with tempting God, for praying with his window open, he has forgotten that Daniel did this in his upper room, where he could be seen and heard by nobody who did not, as his enemies did, steal into his house to play the spy upon him. It is, moreover, expressly said that Daniel in this case only continued his usual practice ; and CALVIN has fully shewn that he acted rightly. " For, had he relaxed his former habit in any degree, he would have been indirectly making a recantation. He would not have said in so many words that he consented to dishonour God to please Darius ; but the very fact of his making a difference would have been a mark of defection from his allegiance. We know that God not only looks for the fidelity of the heart, but expects us to testify and avow our piety before men."\*

\* Nam si quid mutasset ex suo more, hæc erat obliqua abjuratio. Non dixisset palam, se deum continere in gratiam Darii ; sed ipsa diversitas signum fuisset per-

We come now to the objections of BLEEK, p. 262, 63. He first thinks it very surprising that no regard is here had to the three companions of Daniel. But what if they were long ago dead, or if they were not watched by the royal officers like Daniel, the only object of their hatred and envy, and could therefore exercise their paternal religion peacefully and without molestation? It is clearly enough to be seen that the author is not writing a chronicle, but mentions the individual persons only so far as their adventures belong to his plan. Consequently, he takes just as little notice of the three companions of Daniel here, as in chap. iii. of Daniel himself. But here again BLEEK rests his argument specially on the fact, that the features of this "parabolic story" are manifestly borrowed from Antiochus Epiphanes. "After the capture of Jerusalem this prince issued an edict to his whole empire that all should form one people, and that every one should give up his νόμιμα, 1 Macc. i. 41, sqq., and tried among other things to compel the Jews to desist from their native laws, and no longer to live according to the laws of God." But this objection is weaker if possible here than in the other chapters, as KIRMS has very well shewn. How in the world could an author, giving free scope to his fictions, have managed to parabolize Antiochus Epiphanes in such fashion, that none but the critics of the most recent times, on whose acuteness he surely did not reckon, have succeeded in recognizing him again in his awkward disguise? The character of Darius is different in *every* respect from that of Antiochus: this a cruel frantic tyrant, he a weak but mild ruler, who, very far from loving to persecute the Jews, does every thing he can to save Daniel from the peril into which he has got by a refusal of the sign of homage demanded from him, and can neither eat nor sleep for distress. Nor did the royal officers aim at any religious persecution whatever. What more remains, then, for the similarity, when nothing at all is found analogous to the miraculous deliverance, when it cannot be shewn that in the Maccabean times anything of the kind would ever have been expected, and it is therefore not probable that the pretended pseudo-Daniel

---

fidæ defectionis. Scimus autem, non tantum fidem cordis a deo requiri, et interiorem affectum, sed etiam testimonium et confessionem pietatis nostræ.

should have aimed to call forth such an expectation among his countrymen ?

By this time it sufficiently appears, from the remarks made on the several chapters, with what propriety BLEEK, p. 259, maintains "that to all the several features and descriptions in these portions perfectly corresponding ones (!) are found in the history of the beginning of the Maccabean period." But we must here examine, farther, a general argument which, after GRIESINGER p. 1-6, BLEEK, p. 257, brings against the historical character of the first six chapters, from the alleged fact that the tales are all composed of the same elements, are rounded off in the same fashion, and finish in the same way, in a manner surprising beyond all that is ever customary either in pure history or in disfigured tradition. GRIESINGER raises here two points in particular—1. "In chaps. ii., iv., v., the magicians are in each case called in and cannot accomplish what is demanded of them, which is then actually accomplished by Daniel." But that the magicians are always called for on these different occasions, is so fully explained from the character of the east at that time, that it may rather pass as an evidence for, than against, the historical credibility of the book. "The belief in predictions which commonly prevail there," observes HEEREN, l. c. p. 481, "especially in constellations, and hence the custom commonly observed of beginning no enterprise of any importance without the advice of those who possess a knowledge of them, and the blind confidence which is accustomed to be reposed in these persons, gained for the caste of priests the most decided influence, not only over all private affairs, but also over all public undertakings." That the magicians always fail to give the required solution, and that Daniel gives it, is explained just as the similar occurrences under similar circumstances in Egypt, from the purpose of God to magnify himself among the heathen. 2. "The result is always the conviction and the declaration on the part of the king of the supremacy of the God of the Hebrews." But how could it be otherwise, when Daniel, as already repeatedly remarked, had made it his object to record only those occurrences in which this supremacy was made known and recognized ? Here too the story of the Pentateuch offers a



remarkable parallel. But in all the rest an entire difference prevails.

SEC. XI.—LATER IDEAS AND USAGES.

“The book of Daniel contains many later ideas and usages, or at least such as in the age of Daniel were yet unknown in Upper Asia.” This argument is especially favoured by BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* i. p. 29, *Eintl.* 1538, GRIESINGER, p. 45, and DE WETTE. On the other hand, even BLEEK, p. 229, has wholly rejected it, with the remark, that most of them are such as might have been introduced into the theology of the later Jews simply from contact with those nations among which Daniel is said to have lived. If several things are found here more frequently than in other writers of the captivity, that, he thinks, may be naturally explained in the case of a man educated and circumstanced as Daniel was. But an examination of the particular instances will shew that every thing can be fully explained without the supposition of a foreign influence, and verified as belonging to the age of Daniel. We only now premise the general remark, that, considering the great influence which the book of Daniel has obtained on the later Jewish theology (SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 242, justly remarks, although certainly the “*all*” requires some modification, “all later Jewish theories which have nothing in common with the Mosaic, must be derived principally from Daniel”), nothing whatever is proved by the occurrence in Daniel of the germs of certain ideas which appear in a more finished form in the later Jewish writings. BERTHOLDT, &c. have attempted to point out traces of the customs of later times principally in regard to prayer. “Daniel prays *at three distinct times of the day, with his face turned towards Jerusalem, in a particular chamber* in the upper part of his house, vi. 10.”

1. “The custom of turning in prayer towards Jerusalem did not arise among the Jews living abroad till after the rebuilding of the temple. No certain trace of it is found before the times of the second temple. Appeal is made, indeed, to the address of Solomon at the dedication of the temple, 1 Kings viii. 33, 35, 38, 44, 48. But criticism assigns this address, at least in the form in which we have it at present, and for other urgent reasons, to the times after the captivity. It is true, we find the custom of turn-

ing the face in prayer towards the sanctuary among other oriental nations also, but it first came to them from the post-Babylonian Jews. But, even if the custom of turning the face in prayer, when abroad, towards Jerusalem, had been prevalent before Daniel's time, yet it could not have been acted on in Daniel's time, because the temple, on account of which this position was assumed, lay a heap of rubbish, and God was departed out of the holy land." (Comp. BERTH. *Comm.* i. 30, ii. 403, *Eintl.* 1538.) If we look merely at the analogy of other nations, it is *à priori* most improbable that the custom of turning the face in prayer towards the sanctuary, originated at so late a period. It is found, not only among the Mohammedans (comp. ROSENM. *A. u. N. Morgenl.* iv. p. 14), where possibly a Jewish influence might be supposed, but also among the votaries of Ormuzd, comp. Ez. viii. 16; indeed MUNGO PARK found it even among the Negroes in Africa, (comp. BURDER in ROSENM. *A. u. N. Morgenl.* iv. p. 361.) But it can be proved also, by the most decisive testimony, that the practice existed among the Hebrews from the oldest times. David prays in Ps. v. 8, cxxxviii. 2, towards the sanctuary of the Lord. In Ps. xxviii. 2, he raises his hands towards it. The same reason, moreover, which induced a person to turn towards the sanctuary when in the temple, would necessarily cause him, when out of the temple, to look towards it, and, when out of Jerusalem, to look towards Jerusalem. On Zion was the seat of the special gracious presence of the Lord; from thence his people looked for help—"I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills," say the pilgrims travelling towards Jerusalem, Ps. cxxi. 1, "from whence cometh my help." "The Lord send thee help," pray the people for David, Ps. xx. 3, "from the sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Zion." There was also another reason. As, according to Deut. xii. 1, all offerings must be brought to the temple, so, by placing themselves in the direction of Jerusalem, they, as it were, sent all prayers thither, and caused them to ascend from thence. That the temple was regarded as a place adapted above all others for the offering of prayer, appears from Is. lvi. 7, where it is called the Lord's house of prayer, and still more clearly from 1 Kings viii. 22-55, comp. especially ver. 29, "That thine eyes may be open towards this house night and day, towards the place of which thou hast said, My name shall be there; that thou mayest hearken unto the

prayer which thy servant shall make in *this place*." But in this dedication-prayer of Solomon there is the most distinct injunction that all Israelites who might be away from the temple should turn their faces thither in prayer. Only on this condition is audience promised to their prayer. But, even allowing that this dedication-prayer, as BERTHOLDT and GRAMBERG (*Geschichte der Religionsideen des N. T.* i., p. 386) assert, contains clear traces of a later authorship, yet, since by unanimous agreement the books of Kings were written during the captivity, even then it would belong to a period before the composition of Daniel, chap. vi. But this assertion may be farther shown to be incorrect, not only from external grounds—the demonstrable honesty of the relater in the use of his sources—but also from internal grounds. We call attention simply to the fact, that Jerusalem and the temple are throughout spoken of as standing, and a destruction of either is not once supposed as possible (in ver. 46, sqq. the discourse is only of partial deportations, as is manifest from ver. 48—"if they pray towards their land, *towards the city* which thou hast chosen, *the temple* which I have built for thy name), whereas, the compiler living in the time of the captivity, if he had wished to use any freedoms, would surely have introduced a reference to this. Farther, the entire address is in most remarkable agreement with the character of Solomon. Here we discover the first germs of an idealistic tendency in religion, the complete development of which at a later period led Solomon away from the truth. Quite correct, undoubtedly, is the sentiment expressed, ver. 27, that God, whom the heaven of heavens cannot contain, cannot dwell on earth in a temple made by man's hands. The production of this maxim was also quite in place, considering the tendency of the people to entertain limited ideas of God, as was the case with the heathen nations, who thought their gods confined to definite places, and as it were shut up in them; and, indeed, for the same reason, Isaiah too, chap. lxvi., brings it forward. But, besides what God is in himself, and what indeed in a certain sense he never ceases under any circumstances to be, it might be expected *on such an occasion as this* that what he had done in condescension to his people would not be passed over; that mention would be made of the special gracious presence of God in the temple, to be manifested after the conse-



eration of the building, as previously in the tabernacle, in a manner recognizable even by the senses,—that presence which is so often and joyously celebrated by David and other pious subjects of the theocracy. Nevertheless, Solomon almost throughout takes his stand on New Testament ground (comp. Acts vii. 49, xvii. 24), ground, however, which was not strictly correct till New Testament times. The temple has in his view a preference before other places for worshipping God, only so far as God *from heaven* looks down upon it with special complacency, and hears the prayers offered up in it, a thing so surprising to the Chaldee paraphrast, that he tried to remove the stumbling-block by a false interpretation.—More plausible is the objection of BERTHOLDT, that the custom could by no means be followed then, because the temple was in ruins (comp. GRAMBERG l. c. p. 425). According to Ezekiel xi. 22, the glory of the Lord, the Shekinah, is removed at the destruction of the city out of the temple, and, according to xliii. 2, it does not return till the new temple is built. But STOLBERG (*Religionsg.* iv. p. 48) has already justly observed—“the very place where the temple had stood, and was again to stand, was holy to Daniel.” We can shew from other passages also, that, even when the symbol of the divine presence had removed, Zion was still regarded as the centre of the theocracy, as the place from which the Lord sends help to his people. In Ps. lxxiv., the temple is spoken of as burnt down, and yet the Lord, ver. 2, is thus invoked, “remember Mount Zion wherein thou dwellest.” In the 7th ver. of Ps. xiv., which most certainly must be ascribed to the time of the captivity, although we may not with DE WETTE assign the composition of the whole psalm to this time, it is said—“O that salvation were come out of Zion, and that the Lord would rescue his captive people,” on which DE WETTE remarks—“the Jews in the captivity prayed towards Jerusalem.” But it is surprising that BERTHOLDT has paid no attention to the fact, that the Jews, even since the destruction of the second temple, who are in a condition quite similar to that of Daniel, offer no prayer unless with their faces towards Jerusalem (comp. VITRINGA, *de syn.* p. 179, EISENMENGER i. p. 584, where, among other things, it is said—“all Israelites direct their prayers towards Jerusalem and to the temple, because from thence the prayers ascend to the blessed God.”)

2. "A particular chamber was set apart for prayer in later times, when the Jews were possessed with great superstition and formality in worship." BERTH. p. 30. But there is no trace at all in the text that Daniel used the upper room *exclusively* for prayer. That it was the custom, however, in far earlier times to offer prayer, as Daniel did, in the upper room, and indeed to transact everything there in which it was wished to avoid the intrusion of others, distinct proofs are not wanting. According to 2 Sam. xviii. 33, David, on receiving the news of Absalom's death, goes up to the upper room, there to weep out his grief before the Lord. According to 1 Kings xvii. 20, Elijah goes up to the upper room to pray. Such a chamber was also built for Elisha by the Shunamite. In direct contradiction to this, however, the custom was abandoned in later times, and Christ had to enjoin it anew, in opposition to the hypocrites who sought publicity in prayer (Matt. vi.,) a certain proof that it is not to be deduced from superstition and formality.

3. "Daniel offers his prayer at three different times of the day, namely at the third, sixth, and ninth hour, comp. Acts ii. 2 ; xv. 3 ; i. 10, 9. This arrangement belongs to the fine-spun religiousness of the later Jews." But it is totally uncertain at what time the custom of praying at these particular hours came up. And then it is quite arbitrarily assumed by BERTHOLDT, that Daniel prayed just at these hours. Merely three times are spoken of, without defining which, and without the smallest intimation that Daniel was following a custom universally practised, in which case the circumstance would hardly perhaps have been mentioned. But that in still earlier times other pious persons approached the Lord in prayer at three different times of the day, appears from Ps. lv. 17, "evening and morning, and at noon, will I cry unto thee." This is so perfectly founded in the nature of the case, that the same custom is found among other nations, upon whom a Jewish influence is not conceivable. Thus, it is an inviolable law with the Brahmins, to perform their devotions three times a-day, at sunrise, mid-day, and at sunset (comp. BURDER, in ROSENM. iv. p. 54.) With the pious Jews two out of these three times of prayer would be the more readily fixed, as they corresponded to the daily morning and evening sacrifice. That it was usual to connect prayers with these, appears from Ezra ix. 5,

where Ezra begins his prayer at the time of the evening sacrifice. Those who lived in the captivity continued the custom of offering their prayer about this time, as appears from Dan. ix. 21, where Gabriel appears to Daniel as he is praying at the time of the evening sacrifice.

Traces of a later age are, moreover, said to be found in the view, which the book is presumed to give, of the meritoriousness and expiatory virtue of alms. "The notion of the irresistible power of alms-giving over the gracious volition of God (iv. 27), is far more recent than Daniel's age, and is the unmistakable dogma of later centuries." But this objection rests on a manifestly false interpretation of the passage. Daniel, after announcing to Nebuchadnezzar the calamity that impended, gives him this advice—**הַשִּׁיב בְּצַדִּיקָהּ צִדְקָה וְגִוּוֹרָהּ בְּרִימָה זָכוּ**. These words BERTHOLDT renders, ii. p. 330, "Atonement for thy sins by charitable gifts, and for thy guilt by benefits conferred on the poor." But, although most of the ancient versions render **צִדְקָה** by *alms*, yet the undoubtedly correct translation, as WINER also s. v. **צִדְקָה** allows, is, "buy off," or "break off (both meanings belong to the verb **צִדַּק**) thy sins by justice, and thine iniquities by compassion towards the distressed." This interpretation is sustained, 1. By the parallelism itself, the only thing on which BERTHOLDT grounds his interpretation. The noun **גִּוּוֹרָהּ** cannot possibly, according to the usage of the language, be referred to mere charitable gifts. It designates rather goodness, kindness, and compassion in general. Thus it occurs in Prov. xiv. 21, in opposition to **בְּזוּ**, haughty contempt, ver. 31, to **עֲשָׂק**, violent oppression. 2. By the usage of the language. The noun **צִדְקָה** occurs in no one passage of the O. T. in the sense of *giving freely*, or even of *doing a kind action*. In the passages which GESENIUS and WINER quote for this usage, if they are not quite unjustly and even without any shew of probability referred to these things, *e. g.*, Prov. x. 2; xi. 4, it is left out of view, that even the theocratic blessings, inasmuch as their bestowment flows from the truth of God in the fulfilment of his promises, may be regarded as effects of the rectitude of God (comp. 1 Sam. xii. 7.) 3. Justice is the appropriate virtue of kings, and the mention of it here all the more natural, the more incompletely Nebuchadnezzar fulfilled this his royal duty—the more deeply he had sinned by injustice, namely in his treatment



of the Jewish people, which certainly was principally in Daniel's thoughts. Comp. *e. g.*, merely the passages in which the Messiah is depicted as a king; justice is there always specially brought forward among the virtues of the king; so Is. xi. 4, "with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and pronounce equitable judgment for the distressed of the land." Ps. lxxii. 4. "He shall dispense justice to the poor of the people; he shall help the children of the needy." BERTHOLDT'S interpretation, therefore, is still more untenable here, than if the question were about a private person. Daniel then calls upon the king, if we take the right interpretation, to remove the Divine punishment by putting justice in the place of injustice, and instead of unsparing harshness towards his poor subjects, kindness and compassion, an admonition which quite agrees with that of Is. i. 16, 17, "Cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow;" and still more precisely with that which Jeremiah xxi. 12, addresses to the Jewish king, over whom, as over Nebuchadnezzar, a Divine punishment impended. "O house of David, saith the Lord, execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my fury go forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evil of your doings."

GRAMBERG, l. c. p. 425, sqq., lays special stress on pretended later notions of the virtue of fasting, which are alleged to be found in our book. The fast mentioned in chap. ix. stands in no need of a serious investigation. For, that fasting was always in vogue among the Hebrews on occasions of public and private calamity, as an external sign of the inward sorrow for the sins of the individual or of the people who had called for the divine infliction, needs no proof (the passages may be found in every Archæology); and that Daniel actually then found occasion for this symbolical action, in a distinct calamity, the annihilation of the theocracy, and, notwithstanding the great revolution of affairs by the conquest of Babylon which had already happened, the uncertainty still remaining as to its restoration, is distinctly enough expressed. GRAMBERG'S assertion, that in this chap. a special meritoriousness is ascribed to fasting as an external action, is refuted at once by a very superficial glance at the account. Where the utter worthlessness of all human merit is so clearly and pointedly de-

clared as it is here (comp. *e. g.*, ver. 18, "We present our supplications before thee, not for our righteousness but for thy great mercy"), it is only a wicked intention that can detect a crude superstition, which is condemned even in the Apocrypha (comp. CRAMER, *Moral der Apokryphen* in KEIL'S *u. TZSCHIRNER'S Anal.* ii. 2, p. 8.)

A reply is more needed to the objection taken from chap. x. "No reasonable occasion is to be found here for the sadness of Daniel; for he was in honour and power, and therefore his countrymen, under his conduct in the Persian kingdom, were certainly well off. We must, therefore, conjecture that he employed the usages of mourning, and in particular fasting, only because he perceived that a revelation was then going to be made to him. Thus the summit of ascetic superstition is reached, so that the Apocrypha itself cannot reach a higher point of it." STÄUDLIN also (*N. Beitr.* p. 279,) assumes, that Daniel abstracted himself as far as possible from sensible objects, in order to obtain very high revelations, and that the reason why only Daniel saw the appearance, lies in the fact that only he had been fasting a long season and doing penance, and had thereby sharpened and sanctified his vision. In like manner BERTHOLDT, p. 674, 697, GRIESINGER, p. 47.

Now, granting this view to be the correct one, yet surely nothing could be inferred from it as to the later age of the book. For this practice of fasting is found among the Hebrews just as little in later as in former times, with the exception, perhaps, of the imitator of Daniel, the pseudo-Ezra, and the Essenes, who cannot be taken as any specimens of their times; and if we consider the condition of the prophets when their prophecies were delivered (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 294, sqq.,) we can easily suppose that in particular cases they sought by such ascetic practices, as well as by other preparatives (comp. 2 Kings, iii. 15), to weaken the excessive force of the individual life within them. At all events CHRYSOSTOM (in Matt. xvii.) attributes *two* wings to him who prays and fasts too; and elsewhere also we find traces of asceticism in the prophets (comp. GESEN. *zu. Jes.* xx. 2.) But it can be incontrovertibly shewn, that the account here does not relate to such an ascetic fast. It is, first of all, incorrect to say, that no conceivable occasion for mourning can be discovered in

the circumstances then present. It is true, the permission to return had been given to the chosen people, who were the object of Daniel's tender concern, and engaged more of his attention than his own interests; but only a small share of the people had availed themselves of it. This is noted by THEODORET as the principal cause of Daniel's grief. "Although the king then in power esteemed his piety, and shewed him every mark of favour, and honoured him beyond all else, yet Daniel receives no comfort, but suffers great distress from the stubbornness of his countrymen, and their oblivion of the holy city."\* The consequence of this, together with other circumstances, was, that the beginnings of the new colony were extremely paltry, and far behind what had been hoped. According to Ezra iii. 12, 13, the aged men who had seen the splendid temple of Solomon, wept at the sight of the new unsightly house of God. Haggai, chap. ii., comforts the faint-hearted people concerning the smallness of the temple, by pointing to the times of Messiah, when the second temple should be more glorious than the first had been. Malachi also, chap. iii. 14, comforts the people by reference to the Messianic times. These circumstances, however, cannot be the only things that occasioned Daniel's mourning. From ver. 13, where Gabriel says, "the prince of the kingdom of Persia withstood me one-and-twenty days; but lo, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me," it appears that the more immediate occasion of Daniel's mourning was the injurious measures which the Persian government had either already taken against his people, or which were to be dreaded from this quarter. Now here history presents to us such a remarkable disclosure, that we shall farther on obtain from it an argument for the genuineness of our book. According to Ezra iv. 1-5, the enemies of the Jews, the Samaritans, were able, by machinations and bribes at the Persian court, where they represented the Jews as seditious and dangerous to the state, to get the building of the temple prohibited soon after its commencement. This event exactly coincides with the point of time men-

---

\* καὶ βασιλέως τὴν ἐνσέβειαν τιμῶντος τοῦ τηνικάδε κρατοῦντος καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν-  
τῷ Σεραπείαν προσφέροντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμῶντος ἀπάντων, οὐδέμιαν ὁ  
μακάριος Δανιὴλ λαμβάνει παραψυχὴν, ἀλλ' ἀνιᾶ καὶ λίαν ἀντόν ἀλγύνει τοῦ λαοῦ  
τὸ ὀσπειθεῖς καὶ τῆς ἀγίας πόλεως ληθεῖ.



tioned in our chapter, the third year of Cyrus. Now, that Daniel was moved to hold the fast by this sad condition of the chosen people, and did not use it as an ascetic mode of preparation for a vision, is shewn by the following reasons. It is favoured, 1, by the very expression *הִתְרַחֵם* in ver. 2. This verb denotes the internal and external mourning for sin and calamity, on the part of an individual or of the whole people. Thus it is used of Ezra mourning for the transgression of those who were returned from the captivity, x. 6; of Nehemiah, mourning on account of the melancholy condition of the city and the temple; of the people, mourning because of the announcement of the Divine judgment, Numb. xiv. 39, &c., &c. If the fast had had an ascetic aim, this expression would have had no sense. 2. It is said, ver. 3, that Daniel had not anointed himself. Anointing was an external sign of joy. The omission of it cannot be regarded as an act of asceticism. 3. In chap. ix. fasting is commonly allowed to be a mark of mourning. But, with the great similarity of the two passages, it cannot be imagined that fasting was employed on the two occasions for different objects. There is, however, a surprising similarity between our passage and Nehem. i. 2, sqq. Nehemiah, who was in a similar position with Daniel at the Persian court, asks some persons just come from Palestine of the condition of the people there. They replied, "The remnant that are left of the captivity there are in great affliction and reproach; the wall of Jerusalem is broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire." "And when I heard these words, I sat down and wept, and fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven." Now if we add, farther, that fasting occurs nowhere else as a preparative to a Divine revelation, and that the occasion of the mourning can be made out from our chap. itself, there can then be no doubt at all about the interpretation of the passage.—We must, however, here consider the argument on which our opponents principally lean. They maintain that ver. 12 shews that the writer himself makes Daniel employ this penitential exercise as a preparative to the Divine revelation. We there read, "he (Gabriel) said unto me, fear not, Daniel; for from the first day that thou didst set thine heart *to understand*, and to chasten thyself before God, thy words were heard, and I am come *for thy words*." This passage, most undoubtedly, shews that Daniel was induced

by the present condition of his people to long for disclosures respecting their future state, that he wished to know whether the distress of the people was really to be perpetuated, or whether deliverance would one day yet succeed their calamity. This follows too from ver. 14, where Gabriel says he is come to show Daniel what shall occur to his people in the future ; but this must be the very thing for which Daniel had prayed ; for Gabriel had before said he was come *for the words* of Daniel. Then, too, the contents of the prophecy that follows are in perfect agreement with this. The more or less melancholy condition of the people is to last through the times of the Persian and Grecian domination ; then prosperity is to come in part, but most illustriously in the Messianic times, just as Haggai, Malachi, and Zechariah tell the people for their comfort. But from the fact that Daniel is not content with a general supplication for help, but wishes more explicit disclosures respecting it, surely no conclusion can be less just, than that his fasting was an ascetic mode of obtaining these disclosures. The fasting was only an external sign of that grief for sin which was the necessary condition of forgiveness and help, and so indirectly also of the impartation of agreeable announcements respecting the future.

BERTHOLDT, p. 31, moreover finds anachronisms in the passages ix. 7, xii. 7. “ The reference here is to the dispersion of the Jewish people, which is connected in most minds, but very improperly, with the captivity. The *διασπορά*, of which mention is frequently made also in other later books, occurred first of all to any extent under the oppression of the Seleucidæ, and it is particularly worthy of notice that here, just as in 2 Macc. ii. 17, 18, Tob xiii. 10–21, the end of the dispersion is placed immediately before the commencement of the Messianic reign.” Let us look, in the first place, at the first passage. The reference there is to the present. Daniel says, “ O Lord, righteousness belongeth unto thee, but unto us confusion of faces, as at this day : to the men of Judah and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and unto all Israel *that are near, and that are far off, through all the countries whither thou hast driven them.*” It is difficult to see what any one can find in the passage unsuitable to the age of Daniel. Were, then, the Hebrews at that time not yet dispersed into several, and in some cases distant, lands ? Long before that the

people of the ten tribes was carried away to Assyria, Mesopotamia, Media, Elam, Shinar. After the carrying away of the Jews, part of those who were left behind in the land had fled to Egypt; Jerem. xli. 13. Some as prisoners had got to other lands by the traffic in slaves, Joel iii. 11, Am. i. 6, 9. But what need have we of farther proof, since we can adduce quite similar passages out of cotemporary writers? Jerem. xxiii. 3, "I will gather the remnant of my flock out of *all* countries;" xxxii. 37, "out of *all* countries whither I have driven them;" Ezek. xxxvi. 24, "I will take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of *all* countries.\* The second passage relates to the future. It is *dubie interpretationis*. The predicted deliverance of the chosen people is to arrive בְּכַלּוֹת יַעַץ יְד-עַסְקָתָם. We translate with most of the older interpreters, and WINER, s. v. יד, who however under יַעַץ gives just the contrary explanation—"when the crushing to pieces of the hand of the holy people is finished;" *hand*, as frequently, for *power*, and so, "when the oppression and the misery of the chosen people shall have reached their extreme limit;" comp. Deut. xxxii. 36, "the Lord will have compassion on his people when he shall see כִּי-אָזְלַת יָד, that the power has departed." But even if, with BERTH. ii. p. 797, we should render it, "when the dispersion of a part of the holy people shall come to an end," yet the passage does not afford the smallest evidence in his favour. The return of the dispersed formed from the most ancient times an essential element of the Messianic hopes, comp. the passage in GESEN. zu Jes. xi. 11; and that Daniel should speak here of only

---

\* The other anachronisms, too, which BERTHOLDT, p. 633, will find in this passage, may be easily disproved. He observes that the reference here is to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, which at that period contained no inhabitants. But who can help seeing that by יושבי ירושלים the prophet intends the former inhabitants of Jerusalem, just as Jeremiah in the Lam. i. 11, "all her people sigh;" iv. 2, "the noble sons of Zion?" from which phraseology it might just as well be inferred that the Lamentations were composed either before the destruction or after the restoration of Jerusalem. Nay, Jerusalem is represented in the whole chapter as destroyed, and the people as in exile, and even in our verse the mention of the Jews and Israelites as "near" and "far off" presents them to us as entirely dispersed in lands more or less distant. In ver. 16 the words "thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us" (לְכָל כְּרִיבֵיהֶם), are adduced as proving that the author lived, not in Babylon, but in Palestine. But was it not perfectly natural that the author should transport himself to Palestine, the proper seat of the chosen people, in whose name he speaks? Comp. the very similar passage, Lam. ii. 15, 16.



a part of the chosen people, is quite natural, since one part at the time of the delivery of our prophecy was already returned, and is supposed throughout the whole piece to be already dwelling in the land.

We come now to the Christology of the book. The later age of the author is said to be betrayed here in a fourfold manner. 1. "In Daniel's times the doctrine of the Messiah was far from being so finished and sublimated as to assign to him, until the time of his appearance in majesty and glory on earth, a residence among the celestial beings, comp. vii. 13, 14." So BERTH. i. p. 31, after BAUER, *Theol. des A. T.* But we may here save ourselves the trouble of replying, since in the *Christologie* (i. 1, p. 216, sqq.) it has already been shewn that testimonies to the union of the divine and human nature in the Messiah, here indicated by his appearance in the clouds of heaven in the form of a man, are found even in the oldest prophetic writings.

2. "The idea of the kingdom of the Messiah is presented quite in the fashion of later times, ii. 44, vii. 13, sqq." In what respects? It surely needs no proof that in the oldest prophets and psalmists the theocracy of the New Covenant appears under the form of a great kingdom extending itself over the whole world, comp. *e. g.*, Is. ix. 11, Ps. lxxii. That the kingdom of the Messiah is represented as a fifth monarchy, is indeed peculiar to Daniel. But let a single passage be pointed out in a later book in which this idea occurs without its being immediately manifest that it was borrowed from Daniel!

3. "Before the Messianic kingdom is set up, there comes a time of great distress, of which the Rabbins have so much to say under the title *הבלי המשיח*." BERTH. ii. 691. It might easily be shewn that the representation that great oppressions will have to be endured by the people of God previously to the final glory of the theocracy, occurs in older prophets than Daniel, and that the doctrine of the later Jews as to the *הבלי המשיח* was derived in its essential elements from these passages. But here we do not need this testimony; the prospect of the Messianic period is in Daniel immediately connected with the deliverance from the oppressions of Antiochus Epiphanes, just as in Isaiah with the deliverance from the Assyrians and the Babylonians, and in Jeremiah from the

latter—the reason of this mode of representation has already been sufficiently developed in the *Christologie*—and it is simply to this distress under Antiochus Epiphanes that chap. xii. 1 relates. It is said there, “at that time shall Michael stand up, the great prince which standeth for the children of thy people; and there shall be a time of trouble such as never was, and at that time thy people shall be delivered.” The words יְהִי־עַתָּה־צָרָה־אֲשֶׁר־לֹא־נִקְרְוָהָ BERTHOLDT renders—“there shall come a time of distress, such as hitherto has never been.” But it is manifest that these words cannot refer to the time when Michael had already undertaken the defence of his people; they must therefore refer to a previous time, to the oppressions of Antiochus more fully predicted in the preceding chapter, which are here placed in contrast to the deliverance which follows, just as in the parallel passage of Jeremiah xxx. 7, which correspond even in words—“Alas! for that day is great, so that none is like it: it is even the time of Jacob’s trouble; but he shall be saved out of it.”

4. “The Christology of the book betrays its later origin also by the fact, that the doctrine of the resurrection is connected with it, of which there was no idea in Daniel’s time.” It is not difficult to evince the existence of the doctrine of the resurrection in the time of Daniel. With the exception of some traces of the doctrine of immortality in the Pentateuch, which do not properly belong here, the first clear testimony to the resurrection of the body is found in Is. xxvi. 21, on which even GESENIUS remarks (l. c. ii. 805)—“that this passage really contains the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, the words undoubtedly shew.” The existence of this doctrine in the time of Daniel, is shown also, as is likewise admitted by GESENIUS, by Ezek. xxxvii. 1–14. Even supposing that the reanimation of the dead men of Israel is to be understood in that particular passage only in a figurative sense, as referring to the restoration of the people, yet in this figurative representation there is manifestly a reference to the real occurrence, at some future period, of the thing from which the figure is borrowed, as JEROME in loc. observes—“The figure of a resurrection would never have been employed to represent the restoration of the people of Israel, if the resurrection had not been a literal truth, and its future occurrence believed in; for no one illustrates

matters of uncertainty by things that have no real existence."\* Finally, this doctrine is contained indirectly in Is. lxvi. 24. For if, according to this passage, to the very phraseology of which there is an allusion in Dan. xii. 2, the wicked are to suffer eternal torments, whilst the faithful enjoy eternal blessedness, this seems necessarily to suppose a resurrection in connection with the advent of the glory of the theocracy.—But here we cannot at all agree with GESENIUS and others, when they maintain that this doctrine was imported from Parseeism into the Jewish religion. This assertion has, in the first place, nothing in its favour. For, from the fact that it does not occur in the oldest religious writings of the Hebrews, or is found only in the germ, nothing can be inferred, since the same thing holds true in reference to other doctrines; as *e. g.* the doctrine of the divinity, sufferings, and atoning death of the Messiah, and many other points connected with these (comp. *Christol.* p. 24, sqq.) It must not be forgotten that if with the Pentateuch the giving of the law closed, revelation did not. There was, rather, the same relation between Moses and the prophets, as between Christ and the apostles, with this simple difference, that it is doubtful whether Moses himself possessed an insight into many things, the promulgation of which was not suitable to the degree of revelation as yet afforded, although it can be clearly shown that he had such an insight into some important subjects, as *e. g.* the doctrine of Satan and of immortality, both of which Moses knew, and hinted at, but concealed. It may be added, that there are many proofs of the existence, among the enlightened Hebrews at that period, of an oral tradition embracing several points of doctrine not suitable to the then religious grade of the people.—And it is just as little to the purpose if we find an agreement between any doctrine of the later books of the O. T. and Parseeism. For the same appearance is discovered with regard to such doctrines as are found in the oldest books of the O. T., on which we cannot suppose Parseeism to have had the smallest influence. We instance merely the doctrine of angels in general, the doctrine of Satan (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 35), of the אַנְגֵּלִים

---

\* Nunquam poneretur similitudo resurrectionis ad restitutionem Israelitici populi significandam, nisi staret ipsa resurrectio et futura crederetur, quia nemo de rebus non extantibus incerta confirmat.



יהוה (i. 1, p. 238), of the Messiah (i. 1, p. 8), of the creation, the fall, the flood, and other things, which RHODE, l. c. p. 413-61, who, indeed, especially in this section, must be read with careful scrutiny, has adduced. If we consider this extensive affinity of the religion of Jehovah, as contained in even the oldest books of the O. T., with the Zend religion, it seems rather in the highest degree improbable, apart from all theological grounds, which of course are opposed to the assumption of a borrowing by the sacred writers, that in particular doctrines the agreement should have originated in a different way from all the rest. We are necessitated, then, in the one case as well as in the other, to explain the agreement by supposing an original revelation,—where that agreement is not, as in many particular usages and laws, accidental, or to be explained from the constitution of human nature in general, and the circumstances and manners of the East in particular—a revelation the traces of which among some of the heathen nations were entirely erased by human folly, and which among the Zend people was preserved in comparatively the purest state, but among the Israelites, through the constant management of God, whilst the heathen were left to themselves, continued quite pure and unturbid.—It must be added, that not the smallest historical proof can be alleged to shew that the pious Hebrews, and particularly the prophets, regarded the Zend religion differently from any other heathen system. The contrary rather is clear from Ez. viii. 16, where the prophet speaks with horror of certain customs of this religion (comp. ROSENM. in loc.) Let the prophets be regarded as they may, it is certain that the charge of coalition with other systems can with far less plausibility be preferred against them, than that of intolerance, which from a certain point of view may no doubt, subjectively considered, be justly framed. But what specially opposes the borrowing of the doctrine of the resurrection from the Zend religion, to say nothing of the essential diversity of this doctrine as exhibited in the two religions, which it is thought may be explained from the accommodation made of it by the Hebrews to their previous religious system, is that this doctrine is found in Isaiah. Some, indeed, and at length GESENIUS, have called in question the genuineness of the whole section, chap. xxiv.—xxvii.; but there are few portions of Isaiah the reasons against which are so weak, and the

reasons for which so strong, as this very part, so that even ROSENMÜLLER, whose reasoning however can and must be very much reinforced, as has been partly done in the first volume of KLEINERT'S work on the integrity of Isaiah, and will be done still more in the second, has been compelled in the second edition of his *Comm.* to return to the advocacy of the genuineness.—But after this digression, to which we have been led also in some measure by the assertion of GRIESINGER, p. 46, that it is incredible that Daniel, so addicted as he continued to be to the religion of his fathers, or rather that the spirit of God, who inspired Daniel, should have adopted opinions from the Mazdeesians, it is time for us to return to our object. BERTH. maintains, not so much the non-existence of the doctrine of the resurrection in the time of Daniel, as the non-connexion of it with the doctrine of the Messiah. Now, even supposing we could adduce no evidence from earlier times of the connexion of both doctrines, yet this would prove nothing. The connexion of the two occurring in the later Jewish theology, might then be explained from the regard had to our passage, which it can be shewn was considered as the *locus classicus* for the doctrine of the resurrection, as indeed the later theology of the Jews may almost universally, and far more than is commonly the case, be traced back to understood or misunderstood passages of the Bible. But, indeed, the connexion of the two doctrines is quite the same in the passage of Isaiah as in ours. If in the section, chap. xxiv.-xxvii., the reference to the judgment of the world and to the subsequent glory of the theocracy, be not regarded, as it is at length by ROSENMÜLLER and ARNDT (*de loco cap. 24-27, Jes. vindicando et explic. Hamb. 1826*), as the exclusive one, yet every body, as even GESENIUS has done, must allow this much, that with the view of the destruction of Babylon is connected the view of the judgment of the world, and with the view of the deliverance of the Israelites from captivity the view of the Messianic times. But we have thus gained all we need for our purpose. As in that passage the view of the Messianic times, with which the resurrection is supposed connected, annexes itself to the view of the deliverance from Babylon, so here to the deliverance from the oppression of Antiochus Epiphanes.

We may now proceed to the last, but most contested, point, the

doctrine of angels. Here we distinguish those passages which, as occurring in speeches made by Chaldeans, may be explained from their doctrine, and must be in harmony with it, from the passages in which the author's own ideas are expressed. Against the former the following objections have been raised. 1. "In chap. iii. 25, Nebuchadnezzar speaks of a son of the gods; and although the Chaldeans and most of the upper Asiatics were polytheists, yet it cannot be proved that in those countries any thing was known of theogonies, before the Greeks, beginning with the time of Seleucus Nicator, had carried their fictions of this kind thither." BERTH. *Comm.* p. 29, *Eintl.* 1538. This argument is silently rejected even by GESENIUS, who (*thes.* p. 237) explains *filius deorum* by *deorum immortalium unus*, appealing to the fact that the contrasted *filius hominis*, in the *usus loquendi* of Daniel as well as in the Syriac, occurs in the sense *homo, mortalis*; comp. also p. 25. But although we grant the correctness of this interpretation, yet we must allow, on the other side, that, as the designation *son of man* for *man* simply, would not have arisen unless there had existed among men the filial relation, so also the designation *son of the gods* for *divine being* cannot be explained, unless we can show theogonic ideas to have existed among those who use it. But this can be done in the case of the Babylonians. That they regarded the inferior divinities as begotten by the superior, appears from the fact that they associated with the highest god, Bel, Mylitta as a female divinity,\* so lascivious a being, that in her honour the women prostituted themselves, and that they had besides another female divinity, the moon, to whom likewise they attributed carnal intercourse with the male deities (comp. *GES. Comm.* 2. *Jes.* iii. p. 337 sqq.) The very name Mylitta testifies to the existence of theogonic ideas among

---

\* MÜNTER l. c. p. 17—"Here we cannot avoid maintaining that, besides their astronomical ideas, there prevailed throughout the East a cosmogonic idea, which is found from India to the North, and can be shewn to have existed among the Babylonians also—the idea of a primordial power of nature, which is divided into the procreative and the conceptive, or parturient. Thus we have the Axiokersos and Axiokersa of the Samothracians, the *γένος* and *γεννά* of Sanchoniatho, the Tholad and Tholath of the Carthaginians. And can we doubt that the Babylonian Mylitta was the female element of their primordial power?" In p. 25 MÜNTER proposes the conjecture, that the planet-gods were regarded as the first emanations of Bel and Mylitta. P. 44 sqq. he gives from Damascius a regular Chaldean theogony, and maintains the high antiquity of its main elements.



the Babylonians. It is no doubt the Aram. מְלִיָּדָה, the bringer forth. "In the cosmogonic fragment of Berosus she is called *Omorca*, which he translates by the Chaldee *Thalath*. Here we have the Punic *Tholath*, the bringer forth." MÜNTER l. c. p. 22. We can, however, adduce a proof of the existence of theogonic ideas among the Bab. from the Scripture itself. It is said 2 Kings xvii. 29 sqq., of the heathen colonists introduced into the kingdom of the ten tribes—"Every nation made gods of their own, and every one put them in their cities where they dwelt. *The people of Babylon made booths of the daughters* (בְּנוֹת בָּנוֹת), those of Cuth made Nergal, those of Hamath Ashima, the Avites Nibhaz and Tartak, &c." By the *booths of the daughters* here SELDEN understands tents of branches and green leaves, in which the young women prostituted themselves in honour of Mylitta. But it is inconceivable how GESENIUS, WINER, and MÜNTER (l. c. p. 74) could subscribe to this opinion, already refuted by BEYER in the *additam. ad Seld.* p. 297. It is expressly said before, "every people made themselves gods," and in the particular enumeration which follows, "they made" is in each case followed by the object of their idolatrous reverence, proof enough that "the booths of the daughters" too must be one of this class; and this the ancient translators also (LXX. σωκχῶθ Βενίθ, Chald. Syr.) perceived. We understand, then, by the בְּנוֹת little tent-like temples, which were themselves regarded as holy, and worshipped along with the deities which they contained. Such small temples are mentioned in DIODORUS SIC. xx. 25, by the name of σκηνη ἱερά; Amos v. 26, charges the Israelites with having, during their march through the wilderness, carried the כְּסִיָּה of an idol; according to 2 Kings xxiii. 7, the women wove houses for Ashera, who is distinct only in name from the Babylonian Mylitta (comp. GES. l. c. p. 338.) In Ez. xvi. 16, the charge is brought against the Israelites—"thou didst take of thy garments and make of them varicoloured בְּנוֹת (*i. e.* here, small idol temples);" comp. GESEN. *thes.* p. 188. Thus, then, the בְּנוֹת must be the deities themselves that were worshipped, and we cannot help thinking of the daughters of Bel and Mylitta, who were worshipped along with these principal deities. 2. In chap. iv. 17, it is said in the edict of Nebuchadnezzar, "by a decree of the watchers (עֲרִיָּץ) is it established, and by a decision of the holy ones is the proposal

(ܢܝܨܘ never occurs in Heb. and Chald. in the sense of *res, aliquid*, which, after SCHULTENS, BERTHOLDT and WINER here give it) made." In this passage too BERTHOLDT, ii. p. 324, finds traces of later Parsee-Jewish ideas. But the whole is made perfectly clear from the Babylonian religious ideas, with which of necessity the divine revelation made to Nebuchadnezzar would be mixed up in his mind. DIODORUS SIC. (in *GES. z. Jes. l. c. p. 333*) says, "to these stars (the five planet-gods) thirty others, they say, are subordinated, whom they call gods of counsel, θεοὶ βουλευτικοί (γνῶσις), half of whom have the superintendence of the regions under the earth, whilst the others overlook what is going forward on earth among men, and in heaven. Every ten days one of them is sent as a messenger of the starry host from those above to those below, and likewise another from those below to those above." This passage throws astonishing light on ours. Here, as there, is a senate of under-gods, or angels, who exercise an oversight of the earth, and give information of what is going on there, and receive the sanction of their superiors to their proposals. On a sculpture also in KAZWINI, (comp. *GES. p. 337*) Bel appears with genii hovering around him, ready to execute his commands.\*

We may now proceed to the properly Hebrew doctrine of angels in the book. It behoves us here, in the first place, to distinguish between the real doctrine of angels contained in the book, and that which has been merely superinduced upon it. "The question relates to seven archangels, which the Jews have adopted from the Parsees; but the religion of the Parsees was not enriched with the doctrine of seven Amshaspands till after the times of Darius Hystaspis. Consequently the seven archangels cannot occur earlier in any writing of the Hebrews." BERTH. *Comm. ii. 458, 528, Einl. 1540*. In this assertion almost every word is an error. The seven Amshaspands occur as early as the *Zenda-vesta*, and indeed not merely in a passing notice, but in such intimate connexion with the whole, that the doctrine must necessarily be as old as the religion itself (comp. RHODE, p. 312, sqq.) This

\* The identity of the *watchers* and the θεοὶ βουλευτικοί is also admitted by MÜNSTER, l. c. p. 13, with whom the author has happened, quite independently, to coincide. MÜNSTER also, and with apparent propriety, regards the *sons of the gods* as identical with the two.

doctrine, then, cannot be declared a product of such late times, unless we can accede to the opinion of some older scholars, that the Zendavesta was not composed before the reign of Darius Hystaspis. But this opinion may now with perfect propriety be regarded as quite antiquated. All modern investigators agree, that the origin of the Zendavesta must be assigned to a far earlier time. "The age of the Magian Zoroaster," observes NIEBUHR, *kl. Sch.* i. p. 200, "is altogether mythical; considered as the author of the Magian religion, he must be assigned to a very remote period, and that is certainly the most untenable opinion of all, which places him *after Cyrus*, from the idea that Hystaspes was Darius the son of Hystaspis." Comp. the thorough examination of HEEREN, l. c. p. 459, sqq., RHODE, p. 136, sqq. But more strange than this involuntary error, is the assertion that in our book there occur *seven* archangels, which can only be regarded as a wilful mistake.

Let us now turn to the ideas about angels which are really contained in our book.\* "The distinction between superior and inferior angels is derived by the Jews from the pneumatological system of the Persians; but this did not make its appearance till a considerable time after the end of the Babylonish captivity." BERTH. ii. 528. For a refutation of this assertion, as well in regard to the borrowing from the Persians, as in regard to the later period of this distinction, the passage in Is. chap. vi., whose genuineness has been hitherto disputed by none, is in the general adequately sufficient. In God's immediate retinue Isaiah sees the Seraphim, in whom, with all other expositors, GESENIUS recognizes angel-princes, comp. on ver. 2, "As the earthly monarch is surrounded by his nobles, so here is Jehovah by princes of heaven." This opinion is sustained also by the etymology. It is true, GESENIUS is inclined to pronounce the word identical with  $\text{שֶׁרָפִים}$ , serpent, regarding it probable that the Seraphim were shaped as animal forms, who, besides the wings of a bird, and the feet of a man, derived other parts, perhaps the head, from the serpent, and thence received their name. But this opinion may

---

\* Even BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, *bibl. theol.* p. 282, observes, "It does not appear that particular periods can be pointed out in the history of doctrines among the Israelites, in which the doctrine of angels was elaborated or received any difference of complexion in the main. At least no such can be evinced from the books of the O. T.



on urgent grounds be proved incorrect. The Seraphs have manifestly a whole human form, man's face and feet, ver. 2, hands, ver. 6. Besides, the serpent was regarded from the first (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 27), among the Hebrews, as well as among the Persians, as a symbol of the evil principle. Isaiah himself, chap. xi. 8; lxxv. 25, speaks of it as the representative of all that was destructive and hateful in the animal world, which at the manifestation of the earth's glory shall be done away. GESENIUS, indeed, maintains that in Numb. xxi. 8; 2 Kings xviii. 4, there are traces that the serpent among the Hebrews, as well as among the Egyptians, was regarded as the beneficent, healing power; but we cannot see the smallest evidence whatever of such a thing in these passages. In the first passage the serpent has probably no symbolic meaning; an external sign was chosen on the general ground of removing all thoughts of the natural effectuation of the cure, and this one in particular was selected, because the image of the destructive animal itself offered the least pretext for ascribing what had been effected by God alone to the sign appointed by him. The second passage must be left quite out of the account, since it relates to an idolatrous abomination, which was practised in connexion with the figure. If, then, this explanation of the term is proved to be false, a comparison with the corresponding Arab. *shárisfoon*, or *sharífoon*, *nobilis*, *princeps*, is fully warranted, and the very name of the Seraphim expresses the *character dignitatis*. Traces of a gradation of rank among the angels are found also in Job. xxxiii. 23, provided we understand by the *angelus interpres*, according to the correct explanation, which has been recently defended also by WINER, an angel. The מַלְאָכִים אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיבְרִיב is there designated "one among a thousand," *i. e.*, infinitely exalted above the lower angels in wisdom and power. In like manner Ps. ciii. 20—"here not only are the 'mighty' and the 'hosts' distinguished, but also 'hearken to his words' and 'execute his commands';" BAUMGARTEN-CRUSIUS, l. c. p. 287.—But we can go farther; we can shew that those angels of higher rank, who play a particular part in our book, are the very same that meet us in just the same character in the oldest books. We have already pointed out in the *Christologie* that the doctrine of the angel or revealer of God. runs through the whole of the O. T., who in a twofold respect, first, as the highest of all angels, then

as connected with the hidden God by a oneness of essence, appears as his revealer. But in Exod. xxxii. 34, with this highest revealer of God, another angel is associated, standing in the same relation to him as he to the Most High God. He who has hitherto been the leader of the Israelites, the מלאך יהוה, declares, when they have transgressed, that he will no longer lead them himself, but send his angel (מַלְאָכָי) before them (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 223.) Let us now examine how far the two can be recognized again in our book. There cannot be the least doubt, that Michael is identical with the מלאך יהוה. It is true Michael is called, chap. x. 13, one of the angel chiefs, הַשָּׂרִים הָרְאשֹׁנִים; but that the author intends by this designation merely to present us with a view of his relation to the other angels (a view which is expressed in the same manner in the appellation, “the angel of Jehovah,” and a similar representation to which is found also in the Zend religion, comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 238), appears from chap. xii. 1, where Michael is called הַשָּׂר הַגָּדוֹל, the great prince, in striking agreement with Joshua, v. 13, where the מלאך יהוה bears the name, “the prince of the army of Jehovah,” שָׂר־צְבָא־יְהוָה, *i. e.*, the prince and supreme of the angels, who are constantly represented as the army of Jehovah. Moreover, Michael is, chap. x. 21, called the prince, xii. 1, the defender of the Israelites. But the same dignity is elsewhere universally ascribed to the מלאך יהוה; comp. besides the passages quoted in the *Christol.*, especially Zech. chap. i., where the angel of the Lord appears, surrounded by a troop of angels, as the protector of the Jewish people, and also Zech. iii. This identity of Michael and the angel of the Lord was recognised by the older Jews, perhaps on the testimony of tradition. JEROME observes on Zech. chap. i., in regard to the מלאך יהוה, “*Hunc Hebraei Michaellem archangelum esse putant.*” In some passages of the Talmud, Michael, as in others the angel of Jehovah, is associated with the Shekinah. In *Breschit Rabbah*, we read, “*ubicunque locorum Michael visus fuit, ibi est gloria ipsius Shekinæ.*” In the *Sohar*, “*in omni loco, quo invenies Michaellem, qui est caput angelorum, ibi est Shekina.*” Comp. these and other passages in DANZ in MEUSCHEN, *N. T. ex Talm. illustr.* p. 718–19, 733.

But it is no less capable of abundant proof, that the celestial person also who appears chap. x. 5, 6, is identical with the angel

of the Lord, and thus also with Michael. Daniel finds himself on the banks of the Tigris, and sees hovering over its waters a human form, clothed in linen, with a golden girdle about his loins. "His body was like a chrysolite, his countenance like the lightning, his eyes like torches of fire, his arms and feet like gleaming brass, his voice like that of a great multitude." Now, BERTHOLDT, ii. p. 685, assumes that this celestial person was no other than Gabriel, who from ver. 11 speaks to the prophet. But the following reasons argue the contrary. 1. The description, as STÄUDLIN also, *N. Beitr.* p. 299, admits, is much too glowing to be referred to Gabriel. 2. Daniel says, ver. 8, "I saw this *great* vision," and thus designates the apparition which he has now beheld, as far more sublime than the former ones. He is so terrified by the voice of the apparition, that he falls into a deep swoon, and for a long time cannot recover, whereas with Gabriel, on his former, single appearance, chap. ix., he converses quite freely and without restraint. 3. The person who, ver. 11, speaks to Daniel, is the same who, ver. 10, rouses him from his swoon by touching him with his hand. But this must be a distinct person from the illustrious apparition, ver. 5, 6. For he is on the bank where Daniel stands. But the apparition in ver. 5, 6, is found towards the end of the vision, chap. xii. 6, still over the middle of the Tigris. 4. According to chap. xii. 5, there are, besides the celestial person in the middle of the Tigris, two others on its two banks, one of whom asks the person clothed in linen, as if in Daniel's name, when the predicted occurrences should take place. Now, if it be assumed that the person clothed in linen is Gabriel, then one of these two persons becomes a *κωφὸν πρόσωπον*, and we cannot understand for what purpose he appears. On the contrary, if the person clothed in linen be regarded as distinct from Gabriel, every one there performs his part. The angel of the Lord "is present in calm silent majesty, and works with an unseen power. At first he only calls down an angel to instruct and strengthen Daniel, and at the close himself adds a short declaration." His presence, whilst previously only his messenger appeared to Daniel, is intended here to strengthen the impression of the whole upon the prophet. Accordingly, he himself, ver. 7, by a brief utterance, impresses his seal on the speech of his messenger, from which verse at the same time it appears.



that the man clothed in linen cannot be, as STAÜDLIN assumes, absolutely identical with the Most High God, but is as distinct from him, as the angel of the Lord from the Lord himself. For he swears, not by himself, but, with his right hand lifted up to heaven, by the eternal God.—One of the angels standing on the bank is Gabriel, who, as the messenger and interpreter of the angel of the Lord, had given to Daniel, who was standing on the same bank, all disclosures respecting the future. The third angel, standing on the opposite bank, puts the question concerning the length of time to the angel of the Lord. But this question shows that the person asked must be infinitely exalted above the other angels. 5. The supposition of a distinction between the one clothed in linen and Gabriel, has the analogy of chap. viii. 16, in its favour. “And I heard a man’s voice between the banks of Ulai, which called and said, Gabriel, expound to this man the vision, that he may understand it.” Here also Gabriel is deputed by another more exalted being, to impart disclosures to Daniel respecting the future, and this being continues to hover about the waters of Ulai, whilst Gabriel repairs to Daniel on the bank.—But, convincing as are the arguments for the distinction between the one clothed in linen and Gabriel, in our passage, equally easy of refutation are the arguments brought forward against this assumption. When it is objected that Daniel, ver. 9, says that he heard the voice of the man clothed in linen, and yet that nothing said by him is given, if the following words are attributed to Gabriel, this is easily explained from what immediately succeeds—“And when I heard it, I sank down fainting to the earth.” What the angel of the Lord said, was to be gathered from the analogy of chap. viii. 16, according to which he gave a command to Gabriel to impart the revelation to Daniel; but Daniel does not here give the words again, because immediately that the angel of the Lord, who here appears in greater majesty than in chap. viii., raised his voice, he fell into the swoon.—BERTHOLDT observes, that if the one clothed in linen were intended to be distinguished from the one who come forward, ver. 10 sqq., there must necessarily have been placed after  $\tau$ , ver. 10, an  $\omega\sigma$ . But in that remark it is quite overlooked, that Daniel here speaks according to his perception. He felt only as he lay in the swoon, that a hand touched him, without knowing *whose*; comp. v. 16, 18. Not

till afterwards does Gabriel make himself known to him, and he sees that the angel of the Lord is still upon the waters of the Tigris.—BERTH. observes farther, that this view fails to recommend itself, because in chap. xii. 4, (since in ver. 6 Jehovah is again made to be the person who stands on the waters of the Tigris), one is obliged to make Gabriel retreat as suddenly again from the scene, as he appeared there unbidden in the first instance. But this objection rests on a mistake. Gabriel is one of the two angels who, ver. 5, stood on the two sides of the river. These are called אַרְכַּנְיִם, others, not in relation to Gabriel, but in reference to the angel of the Lord; comp. v. 6.—We here find, then, the angel of the Lord again, and with him his messenger or angel, with whom we were before acquainted in the Pentateuch. Nor need it be deemed superfluous to notice also the fact, that the angel of the Lord here appears attended by two angels, just as in Gen. chap. 18 (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 218.)

Whilst however the persons of the angels are common to Daniel and the other books of the O. T., their names, Gabriel and Michael, are peculiar to him. But the very fact that in later Jewish books, names are ascribed to angels, supposes that they had an example of this custom, and a justification of it in some book of Sacred Scripture. But it must not be forgotten, that these names are not so much *nomina propria*, as *appellativa*, as RHODE observes in reference to the Amshaspands (p. 316), “In the Zend there were in reality no proper names for these beings; they were designated by short descriptions and intimations of their power, properties, and operations.” Even in the later Judaism the names of angels have not yet quite lost this character, as appears from the multitude of names given to several individual angels. The name Raphael, God heals, in the book of Tobit, is ascribed to the angel who appears there with a manifest reference merely to the tale narrated in the book.—It is to be well observed, farther, that both Gabriel and Michael occur only in such visions, as from their dramatic character demand the most exact description possible of the persons concerned, and the bringing of them out into stronger relief.—Finally, there are by no means wanting in the O. T. writings analogies for this fact. How can it be surprising that the chief of the good angels is here designated by such an appellation, when the chief of the bad angels occurs in the far

more ancient Book of Job, and in the nearly cotemporary Zeehariah, under the name of Satan, and again in the Pentateuch probably under the name of Azazel? Who can be surprised that the angel of God here bears a symbolic name, betokening his essence, when he, in whose person he was afterwards to appear, the Messiah (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 245,) bears such a variety of similar names, Immanuel, the whole list of names in Is. chap. ix. Jehovah Zidkenu in Jeremiah, &c; when even to Jerusalem in the Messianic times, several such appellative names are given?—And even granting that all this were not enough to explain fully the occurrence of these names in Daniel, they ought to be looked at as a peculiarity of the prophet (since every prophet has his peculiarities), until it can be shewn that their origin must necessarily be placed in a later period, a thing that will never be done. The names Gabriel and Michael, too, wherever they occur in the later Jewish theology, are used so pointedly in reference to Daniel, that even assuming the spuriousness of the book, there is no escape from the supposition that these names were first formed by the author of it.

Farther traces of a later age are discovered by BERTHOLDT, p. 458, in chap. vii. ver. 9, sqq., where, on the appearance of God in judgment, seats are placed around him, on which the angel-princes sit, whilst thousands and tens of thousands of angels encompass him. The figurative representation here, in a prophecy which is declared to be erroneously placed in the age of the last Chaldean king, is most manifestly borrowed, he says, from the circumstances and customs of the Persian court; there is even an allusion to the annals of the Persian kingdom in the words, “and the books were opened.”\* But we cannot perceive how a trace of a later age can be discovered here, since every single feature of the picture can be pointed out in earlier writings. We find solemn assemblies of angels under the presidency of God in Job, chap. i. ii. and 1 Kings xxii. 19–22, where the prophet Micaiah in a vision sees the angels standing as counsellors about God’s throne; the principal angels appear also in Is. chap. vi. as standing *next* to the throne of God. Attended by holy myriads the Lord appears

---

\* This argument proves nothing, for this, if for no other reason, that the Chaldeans too had their council of state and their annals of the affairs of their kingdom.



also in Deut xxxiii. 2. According to Ps. lxxviii. 18, the chariot of God is tens of thousands. That in the *books* there can be no reference to the annals of the Persian realm, is clear from this, that the discourse relates not to a transaction of government, but to one of judgment. The figure must therefore be derived from the papers of the judge, in which the names of the criminals and their deeds are registered.

BERTH. remarks farther, i. p. 32, that there were not at that time such decided opinions respecting the extraordinary forms of angels, as is here, chap. x. 5, 6, agreeably to later ideas, expressed. But here again it is quite overlooked, that this is no dogmatic description but part of a vision, in which the inner dignity and majesty are presented in sensible forms to the inner eye. Is the description that Isaiah gives of Jehovah, or the angel of Jehovah, and of the Seraphim, at all less detailed? Does not Ezekiel in depicting the Cherubim go still farther in the sensible representation of the super-sensible? Does not Zechariah too give the most detailed description of the outward appearance of the angels?

There now remains only one point more for us to consider as to the doctrine of angels in the book. In chap. x. the guardian angels of the Persians and the Greeks appear as those who try to prevent the entire independence and prosperity of the chosen people, whilst Michael and Gabriel contend for it with them. Even BERTHOLDT, p. 32, 706, will not claim this as a valid argument against the age of the book, remarking that in Daniel's time the idea, which had passed from the Babylonians and Persians to the Jews, that every people had its own guardian angel, had become generally prevalent. But we can by no means grant with JAHN, *Eind.* p. 649, that the Jews borrowed this notion from the Babylonians and Persians. That the idea of a guardian spirit for every nation occurs in the Babylonian and Persian religion, has indeed been asserted, but is very far from proved. In the Zendavesta not the least thing of the kind occurs, except that Bahman, the first of the Amshaspands, who stands in about the same relation to Ormuzd as Gabriel here does to the angel of the Lord, is called the guardian watcher of his people (comp. RHODE, p. 322.) Nothing whatever occurs about guardian spirits of other nations; quite other employments rather are assigned to the rest of the Amshaspands; all are active for the elect people, and ward off from it

the destructive physical and moral influences of the kingdom of darkness. But we seem compelled to regard the entire notion of guardian spirits of other nations in Daniel, upon the dogmatic conception of whom the whole later Jewish doctrine on this point rests, not indeed with JAHN and DERESER as purely symbolical (comp. on the contrary Eph. vi. 12, and other passages of the N. T.), but still as being of such a kind, that, besides the dogmatic element, there is a strong symbolie one.

We think, after the detailed reply given, that we may answer the triumphant inquiry of BERTHOLDT—"Can a person want any thing more to convince him that the book must have had another author, and belong to a far later time?" with a decided Yes!

SEC. XII.—DEFINITENESS OF THE PROPHECIES.

"The symbolical prophetic pictures, which are to be found in the six last chapters, and in the second, may be recognized, by the exact historic detail which distinguishes them, and which is unknown to all other prophecies of the O. T., as delineations which were sketched *post eventum*." This argument is common to all modern opposers of the genuineness, comp. esp. BERTH. *Comm.* i. p. 23, *Einkl.* p. 1512 sqq., 1531 sqq., GRIESINGER, p. 50 sqq., DE WETTE, l. c. BLEEK, however, p. 235, is distinguished beyond the other opponents for granting that this argument cannot be adduced as certain proof of the later age of the book, if it have in other respects all the marks of genuineness, because we are not in a position to draw any distinct and precise limits, and to say how far and with what degree of definiteness the spirit of prophecy would disclose the future. In reply to this argument we remark as follows:—

1. Here also there lies at the foundation the empty naturalistic view of the prophetic office, which denies all supernatural illumination to the prophets, and regards their prophecies merely as general poetical pictures without any distinct historic prototype. This view, even without referring to the authority of the New Testament and the entire position of the prophets under the theocracy, may be most fully refuted from the prophecies themselves. One of its principal advocates, nay in many respects its first

framer, EICHHORN, has expressed an unwilling avowal of its futurity; for, in despair of the possibility of an explanation of the prophecies on natural grounds, he has declared them universally to be veiled pictures of the past and present—a mode of treatment, the necessary concomitant of which was the most violent exegetical and critical operations, which, therefore, has found no advocate besides the originator of it, and in GESENIUS a vigorous opponent; and which leaves untouched the Messianic prophecies at least, which could not have been composed *post eventum*, and respecting which it can be unquestionably shewn, that they contain not simple general guesses; but the most special, precise, and perfect painting, in regard to both the internal and external aspect of the work of redemption. From the great multitude of the other prophecies we adduce only some few. The prophecy respecting the conquest of Babylon, Jer. l. li., contains such a historical detail that history itself hardly furnishes us with a more exact one—the city is to be taken by the Medes and the nations associated with them—and indeed by the drying up of the bed of the Euphrates (l. 38, li. 32, 36)—in a night when all the people lie buried in intoxication (li. 39, 57)—with the conquest of the city is to be associated the return of the Israelites to their fatherland—the conquest of the city forms the commencing point of its complete desolation and its disappearance without a vestige remaining. The impossibility of explaining this prophecy from natural causes has recently extorted an unwilling avowal even from CÖLLN and DE WETTE (comp. DE WETTE *Eint.* § 216, I. B., 3te Aufl.), in the fact of their assailing the genuineness of it on this account. For what they adduce as a historico-critical ground, besides this dogmatic one, the borrowing of certain passages from earlier prophecies of Jeremiah, cannot surely have been regarded even by its originators as convincing, since such repetitions are more frequent in Jeremiah than in any other prophet—there occur no less than 57 verses twice, comp. JAHN, *Append. hermen.* ii. p. 113,—and can be fully explained from his peculiarity of mind and from his character as a writer, just as his frequent borrowings from older prophets. And what is farther insisted on, the affinity of the language with spurious pieces in Isaiah, is nothing more than an unwilling, but not the less welcome, avowal of the genuineness of the second part of this prophet, the more



welcome, because GESENIUS, not being able to rise to this height of criticism, in this instance at least, had affirmed that the affinity between the respective pieces was not so great, as necessarily to demand the assumption that Jeremiah had made use of Isaiah. As a farther example, we may cite the prophecy in Zech. ix. 1-8, in which the victories of Alexander are depicted with almost historical distinctness and in most exact agreement with fact—Syria and Phœnicia are conquered—Tyre, after her bulwarks have been thrown into the sea, is burnt down—Gaza loses its king (the Persian viceroy of the city, Betis, was, after the capture of the city, put to death by Alexander in the most barbarous manner)—Ashdod is peopled with a colony after the expulsion of its own inhabitants, as Arrian relates of Gaza—Jerusalem continues, by the protection of the Lord, secure from all vexations (comp. JOSEPH. xi. 8.) Here too (comp. the dissert. “on the integrity of Zech.”) the impossibility of explaining the prophecy from natural causes has pressed so heavily on certain modern naturalistic expositors, that they have maintained the composition of it after Alexander’s time—a beginning certainly of commendable consistency, but not going quite far enough, since it is just in Zechariah that the Messianic prophecy is marked by the greatest distinctness, and thus it would be necessary, in order to follow out this position to its complete consequences, to maintain that his prophecies were fabricated after the birth of Christ. Of prophecies such as Is. xxi. 1-10, and thus also chaps. xiii. xiv., and the whole of the second part, BERTHOLDT himself allows that they are “of the same stamp” as the prophecies of our book, an admission which, so long as the arguments for the integrity of Isaiah by MÖLLER, in the *Christologie*, by KLEINERT, and by STEUDEL (*Tübinger Zeitschrift. Jahrg. 1830, Heft ii. p. 44 sqq.*) stand unrefuted, may be regarded as a retraction of the assertion that the prophecies of Daniel are without any analogy in the other prophets.

But we must here examine particularly two points to which BLEEK, who is distinguished here for moderation, and makes the general admission that there are prophecies which refer to particular casual occurrences of the future, has assigned especial prominence. “The deviation from the rule is most surprisingly apparent in the very precise chronological destination of future events, viii. 14, ix. 25-27, xii. 11, 12. This is indeed without analogy

in the Hebrew prophets ; for in the passage, Is. vii. 8, the text is confessedly corrupt, and the 70 years of Jeremiah are to be taken only as a round number." Let us take our stand first of all at the passages expressly rejected as inconclusive. In Is. vii. 8, the entire destruction of the Israelitish state and people is announced as impending, and to occur in 65 years. It has been shown in the *Christologie* i. 2. p. 56 sqq., both that prophecy and history here correspond most exactly, and also that the 'doubts that have hence arisen from dogmatic prejudices respecting the genuineness of this passage are unsatisfactory, and that it has decisive arguments in its favour.\* The very attacks, moreover, made on the

---

\* The defence of the genuineness offered in the *Christol.* has not hitherto received a reply; for the attack of FRITSCHÉ, in his critique on the *Christol.* (*Hall. L. Z.* 1830, E. B. Nr. 22, p. 175), is only pointed at the remarks there made relative to the fulfilment, on the correctness of which the genuineness is in no wise dependent. We may however observe, that the attack is quite worthy of the writer, and in this review quite in place. The author had maintained in the *Christol.* that the kingdom of the ten tribes was enfeebled by Shalmaneser, but not yet deprived of all its inhabitants; that the total annihilation of the Israelitish commonwealth—and it is to this that our prophecy relates—did not occur till Esarhaddon put into possession of the land new colonists from Babylon, Cutha, and other countries; that after this event the ten tribes never again formed an independent state. This assertion rests on the following grounds:—In 2 Kings xvii. 24 sqq., after the account of the deportation of the Israelites by Shalmaneser, and the observations relating to it, we are informed that the king of Assyria sent colonists from Babylon, Cutha, &c., and peopled the cities in Samaria with them instead of the children of Israel. That we are not here to understand by the king of Assyria, Shalmaneser, may be proved simply from a reference to this passage. For, 1. Among the colonists the Babylonians are mentioned first; this supposes that Babylon was then *immediately* subject to the Assyrians, which was not the case under Shalmaneser, but began to be under Esarhaddon. 2. The land, when the colonists possessed it, was so full of lions that they could not keep them under, and out of fear resolved on the worship of Jehovah. This supposes that the land had been for a considerable time very scantily inhabited, like Judea during the captivity; for in a cultivated land such a prevalence of lions cannot be imagined.—That the conquest of the land was effected by the new colonists, and particularly under Esarhaddon (a thing probable in itself, since this king undertook an expedition into these parts, in which Mauasseh was carried off prisoner to Babylon), is clear from Ezra iv. 2, where the Samaritans protest to the Jews that they had sacrificed to Jehovah since the time that Esarhaddon, king of Assur, brought them up thither. Hence, at the same time, it is clear that the colony planted under Esarhaddon was the first and only one. For if there had been an earlier one, and the accounts given in the Book of Kings of the worship of Jehovah referred to an earlier time, the Samaritans would not have deprived their object of support by failing to refer to this.—Now, the reviewer makes the following objections to the representation in the *Christol.*—1. The Assyrian colonists, according to Ezra iv. 2, were brought by Asnapper: where, then, is the warrant for saying that it was by Esarhaddon? It is clear enough from this that the reviewer has not looked at Ezra iv. 2, much less carefully examined it, and that consequently his charge



genuineness of this passage afford a proof that it contains a most troublesome declaration of the precise time, one which is confirmed by history, and that the assailants despair of being able to free themselves from the difficulty in any milder way. In deal-

---

against the author, of making citations which any student, by referring to them, may see to be fallacious, rebounds on himself. It is not Asnapper that is mentioned in ver. 2, but Esarhaddon. The name Asnapper occurs for the first time in ver. 10, in the address of the Samaritans to the king of Persia, and, as the same thing is here ascribed to him as in ver. 2 to Esarhaddon, the only point of difference can be, whether he is identical with the latter, or one of his satraps who took out the colony at the command of the king. Either will do equally well for our purpose; but the former appears the more probable, from the fact that Asnapper is supposed to be known to the king of Persia, and is called the *great* and *noble*, appellations which belong to a monarch, not to a satrap. The difference of the names prove nothing to the contrary, because Oriental rulers frequently have several names. It must farther be particularly observed, that the name Asnapper, or Osnapper, occurs in a letter to the *Persian* king. Perhaps it was merely another form of the name Esarhaddon, which the Samaritans here employed because the king was known by this name in Persia. Other forms of the name Esarhaddon are found which deviate quite as much; comp. *GES. thes.* p. 133. 2. It is quite untrue that Esarhaddon, when he led the colony into the land of the ten tribes, carried off the remainder of the proper inhabitants; in 2 Kings xvii. 24 sqq., there is not a word about the carrying away of the others, but just the contrary—we are informed of the *conduct* of the *Israelites that remained behind*, in reference to religion, *along with* the imported colonists, and, according to 2 Kings xxiii. 19, 20, the land was likewise *under Josiah* inhabited by Israelites, who sacrificed in high places. Here we shall produce clear proof that a second deportation actually took place under Esarhaddon. No one can doubt, that at the invasion of Shalmaneser no small number of citizens of the ten tribes escaped the deportation, partly by flight into neighbouring states, especially into the kingdom of Judah, partly by concealing themselves in the inaccessible and covert places of the country. DE VIGNOLES observes (*Chronologie de l'histoire sainte*, i. p. 430), “*Comme cette tribu (Ephraim) bernoit au septentrion le royaume de Juda, il est moralement impossible, qu'un bon nombre de ses habitans ne se soyent réfugiés dans le pais de Juda, pour ne tomber pas dans l'esclavage des Assyriens, qu'ils évitèrent cette fois.*” The king of Assyria contented himself that time by carrying away as many as he could capture. For more than forty years, until Esarhaddon led the new colony thither, the land was neglected by the Assyrians. Is any farther evidence required, that the frightened inhabitants, on the retirement of the Assyrian army, again returned to their land and their possessions, and reorganized their commonwealth themselves, so that, although a great part of the land lay waste for want of inhabitants, the people had not yet lost their national independence? But if it is proved, that the land of Israel was still in the possession of the remains of its original inhabitants, when Esarhaddon led the new colonists thither, it is equally clear that these remains were carried off by him. The new colonists appear, 2 Kings xvii., as the only inhabitants of the land; not *along with*, but *instead of* the children of Israel, did they possess the cities in Samaria; it is *altogether untrue*, that we have an account here how the Israelites that remained behind behaved towards the imported colonists; the reviewer would have done much better if he had not put this statement in italics. But the total carrying away is especially manifest from the following: in ver. 26 the colonists complain in a message to the king that they are unacquainted with the proper mode of worshipping the God of the land. The king accordingly commands to



ing with the second passage we must go more into detail, since the main attack directed against it by BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. p. 627 sqq. which DE WETTE, GESENIUS, and BLEEK have unconditionally adopted, has hitherto received no thorough reply. That the number seventy expresses only an indefinite time, says BERTHOLDT, appears from the fact, that in the two passages where it occurs, Jer. xxv. 11, 12, xxix. 10, it does not stand in one and the same relation, but in relation to two objects distinct as to their extent of time; in the first, the inhabitants of Judah are threatened, in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, with a *seventy years' bondage* till the destruction of the Babylo-nico-Chal-dee kingdom; in the second, in a writing addressed to the Jewish exiles in Babylonia, a *seventy years' exile* is spoken of. This entire objection is owing probably to the simple fact, that the second passage was not consulted in the original, but in a translation, in which *בבבל* was rendered by *at Babylon*, as in that of Luther. "When seventy years," it is said, "are fulfilled to Babylon," *i. e.*, when it has exercised dominion over you seventy years. That the author is far from giving here a different point of commencement from that in the former passage, appears from his express reference to that passage—"I will fulfil my good promise to you, in bringing you to this place." There is then only *one terminus a*

---

send them some of the priests that had been carried into exile, that they might be instructed by these in the worship of the God of the land, and for the future remain secure from his judgments. Does not this suppose that at that time there was not a single priest, nay, that there were no Israelites whatever in the land, from whom they might obtain such rude ideas of the worship of Jehovah as they wanted? Nor in Ezra iv. is there any reference to an Israelitish portion of the inhabitants of Samaria, and yet, if there had been such, the Samaritans would certainly not have omitted to urge it, as being peculiarly favourable to their object. It is incorrect that under Josiah the land is still found inhabited by Israelites, who sacrifice on high places. The two passages, 2 Kings xxiii. 19, 20, and 2 Chron. xxxiv. 6, 7, contain no proof of it, although the author freely allows that, misled by several predecessors, in particular by LOWTH and GESENIUS (*Jes.* i. p. 286,) he formerly quoted them in a hurry with such a reference, yet not so as to influence the matter any farther (comp. *Christol.* Vorw. p. v.) In these passages it is related that when Josiah had abolished idolatry in the kingdom of Judah, he made an excursion into the land of Samaria, destroyed the houses of high places erected by the king in Israel, and put the priests to death. But it is expressly said in 2 Kings xvii. 29, that the new colonists used for their worship the houses of high places formerly built by the Samaritans, and ver. 32, that they chose from among them priests of high places, who sacrificed to the Lord in the houses of high places. What, then, is there to warrant the assumption that Josiah still found Israelites in the land?

*quo*, and that is to be sought in the first passage, the Babylonian servitude—"these people shall *serve* the king of Babylon seventy years." BERTHOLDT maintains, farther, that the fact of its being a round number appears from the impossibility of reckoning these seventy years chronologically. "The kingdom of Judah became subject to Babylonico-Chaldean bondage in the eighth year of Jehoiakim ; accordingly, the Babylonian bondage comprises

Of the 43 years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign	39 years.
Evilmerodach reigned	2 "
Neriglossar	4 "
Labrosoarchad, 9 months,	1 "
Nabonned	17 "
	<hr/>
Total,	63 years.

According to this reckoning of BERTHOLDT, there would be a *deficit* of seven years. But this is very easily covered. The *terminus a quo* is not, as BERTHOLDT assumes, the eighth, but the fourth year of Jehoiakim. This appears distinctly enough even from the passage in Jeremiah. The prophet manifestly mentions the fourth year of Jehoiakim as a turning point. Three and twenty years has the Lord warned the people by him in vain ; now comes the threatened punishment. We have above shewn in detail, that according to the testimony of history, and it is confirmed also by this prophecy, the beginning of the Babylonian bondage falls really in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in which Jerusalem was taken, tribute levied on the king, and a number of captives carried into exile, so that it would not create any difficulty, even if in the second passage the reference were really to a seventy years' duration of the captivity. We gain a year more by observing, that the forty-three years assigned in the Chaldee writings to Nebuchadnezzar's reign, are those of his monarchy, which did not commence till the beginning of the sixth year of Jehoiakim, whilst the *terminus a quo* of our prophecy, the fourth year of Jehoiakim, is the first of the co-regency of Nebuchadnezzar. Accordingly we get for Nebuchadnezzar forty-four years instead of thirty-nine, which is also confirmed by the passages 2 Kings xxv. 27, and Jer. lii. 31. For according to these the death of Nebuchadnezzar took place towards the end of the thirty-seventh year after the carrying away of Jeconiah ; but this took place in the eighth year after the taking

of Jerusalem under Jehoiakim, since Jehoiakim reigned eleven years and Jeconiah some months. Now, if we reckon farther the two years' reign of Darius, or Cyaxares II.—to which surely no valid objection can be raised, for the bondage of the Israelites during this time was a consequence and a continuation of the Babylonian—we obtain our seventy years exactly. But supposing that through the defectiveness of our chronological *data* we were not in a condition, as we incontestibly are, to point out precisely the seventy years, yet the exact fulfilment, and thus also the intention of the prophet to give a definite number, would be made out merely on the ground that those who could best judge of the case, the Jews after the exile, define the Babylonian bondage as lasting seventy years, and declare the prophecy to be exactly fulfilled. We will not insist here particularly on the passage 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21, which GESENIUS, *Jes.* i. p. 570, maintains was copied from the prophecies of Jeremiah. We have two other witnesses, to whom no one will deny the fullest credibility, and who determine the value of the testimony of the Chronicles, which is just as weighty, but in our time not so fully acknowledged. The first is Zechariah, who says, chap. i. 12, “O Lord of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation *these seventy years?*” as ROSENMÜLLER correctly explains, “*toto exilii tempore, quod per-tulimus, toto tempore prædicto a Jeremia, quod jam primo Cyri anno expiraverat.*” Here surely nothing can be said of any copy! Zechariah uttered these prophecies at a time when the exile was within a short time of its close, when every one certainly knew how long the Babylonian servitude had lasted. The second witness is Ezra, who, chap. i. 1, says, that the seventy years foretold by Jeremiah came to an end in the first year of Cyrus.—Moreover, these three passages may serve us for another purpose also. They shew the correctness of our former reasoning, where we shewed that as early as the fourth year of Jehoiakim, in the first expedition of Nebuchadnezzar, the city was taken and the people made subject to the Babylonians. For only on the assumption of this *terminus a quo* can the seventy years be made out; and who would maintain that these three writers assumed a different *terminus a quo* than the one that was historically correct?—After the reasoning that has been offered, no other way can re-



main of evading our conclusion, but to pronounce both of the prophecies of Jeremiah spurious, and the writings of those who quote them too. But we wish principally to insist on the seventy years of Jeremiah as a proof, that in the prophecies of Scripture there occur definite chronological *data*.

But it is inconceivable, quite apart from these two passages, how BLEEK could so boldly express the opposite opinion. Could he be ignorant that in Is. vii. 14, sqq. the time to the deliverance of Judah and the destruction of its enemies is fixed at two or three, and in chap. viii. 1-4, at one and a half years? that Isaiah, chap. xvi. 14, announces the destruction of the Moabites in three years, forbidding the suspicion that the definite number stands for the indefinite, by adding, "as the years of a hireling," on which GESENIUS himself, *Comm.* i. p. 553, observes, "the clause, &c. is intended to give to the statement of time a more definite character, inasmuch as the hireling serves out his time, but works no longer; hence the sense, a time *no longer and no shorter*?" Did he not remember that, according to chap. xvii. 14, the Assyrian army is to be destroyed between evening and morning (comp. the literal fulfilment, chap. xxxvii. 36)? that in chap. xx. 3, the prophet in vision goes three years naked and barefoot, thereby excluding the supposition that the definite number stands for the indefinite, and in this manner announces the impending overthrow of the Egyptians, to take place in the course of three years, a fact which is so inconvenient to GESENIUS, that he here again declares himself inclined to the conjecture, that the words may be a later definition of the time, which somebody after the fulfilment wrote in the margin, in this way offering an unwilling testimony to the exactness of the fulfilment? that it is said chap. xxi. 16, "within a year, *according to the years of a hireling*, and all the glory of Kedar shall fall?" that Isaiah, chap. xxxviii. 15, promises to Hezekiah fifteen years more of life? Why, are not these examples of definite time, taken from *one* prophet, more numerous than those occurring in Daniel, and would not a person be ashamed to adduce this argument any more?

A second point to which BLEEK gives especial prominence, is this: in no prophecy of the O. T. are the particular fortunes of kingdoms depicted, which were not in existence at the time of its utterance. But this also is not correct, although we certainly

grant that the Book of Daniel goes farther in this respect than the rest. We adduce only a few examples, and first of all the striking one in Zech. ix. 13, because it has to do with the same times and occurrences as the prophecies of our book. It is there said, "When I have bent Judah for me, filled my bow with Ephraim, and raised up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Javan." Here we find the clearest reference to the wars of the Maccabees against the Greek rulers of Syria—for  $\gamma$  in our book also occurs in a wider sense, comprehending Macedonia. That this reference is undeniable, is manifest from several unwilling acknowledgments of modern expositors. PAULUS maintains that the prophecy could only have been composed after the times of the Maccabees; EICHHORN, at least not before the times of Alexander the Great, because the Greeks began from this time to appear in the political horizon of the prophet. ROSENMÜLLER observes that the prophet, though he speaks of the Greeks individually, designates all dangerous enemies of the Jews; but, feeling himself that this opinion would be tenable only in case the Greeks were a very mighty people in the time of the prophet, and dangerous to the Jews, as in other passages the enemies of the theocracy are designated individually by Edom, Moab, &c., he adds, "At that time the Macedonians appear to have been growing so powerful, as to inspire the people of Western Asia with dread."\* Thus he runs directly in the face of history, rather than admit a prophecy inexplicable from the political horizon of the prophet. A remarkable instance too is afforded by the prophecy of Balaam, Numb. xxiv. 24—

"The ships of the Chittim shall come, and shall afflict Ashur and Eber;  
But destruction shall also overtake the victor."

If it should be assumed that the name Chittim in ancient times was not exclusively peculiar to the Macedonians, as it occurs in the Books of the Maccabees, but a general designation of the Greek islands and maritime regions, yet we cannot help seeing in this prophecy, which in later times was unanimously considered as fulfilled in Alexander and his successors, a reference to circumstances

---

\* "Videntur tunc temporis Maedones ita invalescere cepisse, ut Asiae occidentalis civibus metum injicerent."

which, in the time of the prophet, or, if you please, of him who at a later period fabricated the prophecy in his name, did not yet exist even in commencement. We appeal farther to the prophecies in Micah iv. and Is. xxxix., in which, at a time when Babylon was not an independent kingdom, but an Assyrian province, and merely Assyria stood in a hostile relation to Judah, the carrying away of the whole people to Babylon and by the Babylonians is announced. Here too there is no lack of unwilling admissions on the part of opponents. HARTMANN (*Eint. zum Micha*, p. 16) pronounces the passage of Micah spurious without more ado, because forsooth the reference to the carrying away by Nebuchadnezzar cannot be mistaken, and Micah could know nothing about such an event. EICHHORN (*hebr. Proph.* i. p. 381) would refer the prophecy to the carrying away of king Manasseh; but then the difficulty arises, that a total carrying away is here spoken of, whereas Manasseh was carried away alone to Babylon, and not by the Babylonians, which yet, from a comparison of the parallel passages in the cotemporary Isaiah, must be assumed in Micah too, but by the Assyrians. ROSENMÜLLER thinks the whole matter settled by simply saying—"We have, however, very often expressed our disapprobation of the practice of referring general predictions of the prophets to particular events."\* But however often this may be said, it continues to be exceedingly strange that the Hebrews were carried away just to that region which was, as ROSENMÜLLER thinks, the most distant one with which the prophet was acquainted, and to no other; and any one can easily perceive, that if the carrying away had been really made to some other, the appeal would have been triumphantly made to this passage as an unfulfilled prophecy. GESENIUS in the passage of Isaiah is ready with the excuse, that the prophecy may have been more distinctly expressed after the event than it was originally, and thus he grants what is sufficient for us (since any one can see at a glance that such an assumption proceeds from a dogmatic prejudice), that the prophecy is not to be explained from the political acumen of the prophet; indeed, we know well how commonly history defeats the conjectures of the most sagacious politicians, even as to the immediate future.

---

\* "Nobis tamen illud studium generalia vatum præsentia ad certos eventus referendi minime probandum videri, sæpius diximus."



These remarks may suffice to expose the fallacy of a view of the nature of prophecy, which we shall take another opportunity of examining more fully, a view which has emanated from pure unbelief, and is compelled to employ the most violent and arbitrary treatment on all hands, but which yet has taken such possession of the age, that even believers in revelation have not been able to hold themselves quite free from its influence. Sentiments like the following—Prophecy having to do strictly with the superhuman element of history, and not with its external material, describes the actual occurrences of the future only in those main particulars in which it will meet the demands of the truth; and—All numbers in prophecy are in a certain sense symbolical (this occurs in one of the most pleasing productions of modern theological literature, the *System der christlichen Lehre*, by NITZSCH, p. 67)—can only be explained from this influence. Just as it was necessary that the internal miracles of revelation should be accompanied by external ones, partly to meet the case of those who were not yet in a condition to comprehend the former, partly also to remove every doubt in the faithful of their divine effectuation, that the divine power might be displayed in the external facts in a manner externally recognizable, and excluding all suspicion of deception—so was it necessary that prophecy should present not only the inner, but also the outer aspect of God's plan of recovery. What relates to actual occurrences only just so far as they coincide with the demands of the truth, is connected with a principle in the mind of man, and hence might be easily regarded as nothing more than mere subjective presentiment; *e.g.*, the prophecy of redemption in general might be derived from the need of redemption, in connexion with our knowledge of the divine love. Hence it necessarily occurred even in the Messianic prediction, that the prophecy referred also to the more external features and circumstances; and this was demanded moreover by the fact, that the majority of persons, in reference to the approaching redemption, simply because it was not yet come, were rather prepared only for this external presentation of it. And how could the Messianic promise, having reference to the distant future, find credence, and thus attain its object, unless opportunity were constantly given to the people to satisfy themselves in the present, by means of the fulfilment of prophecy, of the divine mission of

the prophets? Does it not besides form a main purpose of prophecy, to comfort the people by the awakening of faith in the divine management of all their fortunes, to warn them against apostacy, to retain them in fidelity to the Lord, to make them sensible of the difference between the dumb idols of the heathen and the living God of Israel, before whom the future lies disclosed equally with the present? But was it possible for these prophecies to refer always to points in which actual fact coincided simply with the demands of the truth, when such points were only rarely to be found, and in the proper sense only once? Must not prophecy in that case have been wholly silent respecting entire periods, *e.g.*, respecting that from the Babylonian captivity till Christ? Is not this *à priori* definition of prophecy refuted also by the prophecies of Christ, which refer not seldom to single casual circumstances, standing in no immediate connection whatever with divine truth?

2. Some difference, however, between the prophecies of Daniel and those of the other prophets, must certainly be granted.\* What in them is presented rather in particular parts, is found here collected as a whole, and compressed into a small space, yet scarcely so that our book contains so many distinct prophecies and particular features, as the certainly far more comprehensive collection of Isaiah, in whom, for instance, the description of the Messiah and the Messianic times goes far more into particulars, and contains a far greater number of distinct features. Add to this the unfigured character of our prophecies, whose style approaches almost to the prosaic, and is therefore more easy to be understood than that of the other prophets, in whom very frequently only the fulfilment decides what is to be taken figuratively and what literally. But this difference can surely prove nothing against the genuineness of our prophecies. We perfectly agree with NITZSCH, when, l. c. p. 66, he lays it down as an essential condition of prophecy that it shall not disturb man's relation to

---

\* A circumstance worthy of attentive consideration is, that all the prophecies of Daniel refer to a time concerning which we have a multitude of historical sources at hand, whereas there are but few such in connection with the other prophets, when their predictions relate to foreign nations; and hence the exact agreement of prophecy and fulfilment is in them frequently not so entirely demonstrable as in Daniel, which is due also in a considerable degree to the industry of Porphyry in collecting in the latter case the materials necessary for such demonstration.

history. But our prophecies can well afford to admit this condition, since they themselves lay it down too; for Daniel declares (though this, to be sure, as CALVIN\* also observes, must be taken with the necessary limitation) that they were not understood by himself, and their principal reference is expressly represented as not transpiring till the time of their fulfilment; comp. viii. 27, xii. 4, 8, 9. Let this "compendium of the history of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors" be put into the hands of a person who knows nothing of this history; certainly he will gain from it no historical knowledge, farther than a general idea of a cruel tyrant to whose oppressions and persecutions of the Jews for their religion a period is at last put by God, and many indefinite and confused ideas besides, of different kingdoms, of wars and confederacies among one another, &c. Everything special is so put, that before its occurrence the relation to history is not interfered with, but after the occurrence there is a certainty that cannot be explained from any human foresight. How many obscurities remain even to us, who are able to compare the comparatively abundant sources of history! To be convinced of this comp. *e. g.* only the great mass of commentators on chap. ix., or, since the older ones are charged with being misled by perverse prejudices, take only the modern rationalistic expositors, and it will be found that on the most important points no two of them are of one mind.

3. No objection, then, can be urged *à priori* against the genuineness of Daniel from this difference between his prophecies and those of the other prophets, since there is in them no violation of the fundamental characteristic of all prophecies. But this argument will be still more completely divested of all plausibility when we have succeeded in pointing out the ground of this difference. Prophecy is always regulated by the necessities of the people of God. Hence it is afforded more sparingly and with less distinctness, when the divine direction of the theocracy is so clearly announced in what is sensibly apparent, that faith does not much need such a support, and when, at the same time, the theocratic sentiment is so firmly rooted among the people, that the proposed

---

\* Tamen simul memoria tenendum est, neque Daniele, neque ulios pios lusisse operam in hoc vaticinio. Deus enim patefacit illis, quantum satis erat, pro temporis ratione.



effect can be produced upon them by the ordinary means, without resorting to any extraordinary and definite threats of divine punishment. Thus, *e. g.*, in the reigns of David and Solomon prophecy makes its appearance but very sparingly. The prophets appear on the scene less as predictors than as divine teachers and plenipotentiaries. The case was different when the power of the people was broken by the separation of the kingdoms, when the powerful neighbouring states threatened it with destruction, and, at the same time, the moral apostacy and the tendency to the worship of idols was every day increasing. Prophecy, alike necessary for the consolation of the pious, and for the admonition of the ungodly, portion of the chosen people, was bestowed now so copiously, that none of the more important occurrences remained unnoticed by it. The captivity especially, which could only attain, and did attain, its purpose in connection with its pre-announcement, and which moreover might be regarded, as it actually was by the heathen, as the most material evidence against the fact of the divine direction of the theocracy; the deliverance also from the captivity, which appeared in its true light only when viewed as a work of divine love—these were the objects of prophecies as numerous as distinct, and extending to the most particular circumstances. But far greater was the need of prophecy after the captivity. There impended over the Jews then a still stronger trial of their faith. In the earlier prophets the deliverance from the captivity, and the deliverance by Christ, were dissolved into one. All their distress, the Jews now hoped, was to find a termination with the former. In this hope they saw themselves miserably deceived; and this deception would be the more dangerous to them, because with their present external fidelity to the Lord it must have been far more difficult for them to seek the cause in themselves than formerly. The condition of the new colony was in the beginning miserable; the tokens of favour which had been shewn them by Cyrus were partly taken from them by the Samaritans; if it fared better with them afterwards for a while under the Persian kings and Alexander, yet this was not by any means the prosperity they had expected; and soon under the successors of Alexander, under whom Judea as in a state of interregnum peculiarly suffered, there followed the severest oppressions. CALVIN justly observes—“If the affairs of our world ever

seemed in such confusion, as to awaken the suspicion that the Almighty was asleep in the heavens and had forgotten the human race, they certainly appeared so at that period, when revolutions occurred in such number and variety that the most sagacious were baffled—when there was no end of wars—when Egypt was gaining the ascendancy—when there were commotions in Syria, &c.\* Other reasons conspired to make these assaults especially full of trial to the people of God. The time from the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ was a kind of middle age, in which every immediate operation of God upon the theocracy ceased. No longer did the hand of God, as formerly so often, display itself from the cloud, in a mode visible even to the corporeal eye. Soon, too, the voice of the prophets became completely silent. Thus every thing seemed to say that the special providence of God towards his people, if it had ever existed, had now ceased. Now, does it not from this point of view appear in the highest degree suitable to the entire character of God as displayed in history, that he offered his people a means of strengthening their faith during this assault of temptation, by causing their manifold fortunes to be exactly predicted beforehand, and representing their calamities as actually caused by themselves, and by repeating the former promise of the Messianic kingdom—and thus saving the authority of the earlier prophets from suspicion, and directing the eyes of the suffering people from the present to the future?—But these necessary disclosures could not as before be given one after another, and just as every single occurrence approached. For by a divine decree the prophetic office was soon to cease entirely, whereas formerly an unbroken series of prophets had appeared. Now, accordingly, a period of this large extent must be comprehended at once. With this procedure was inseparably connected not only the concurrence of a comparatively large number of distinct events, but a more than usual definiteness, and a more than common detail. For how would it otherwise have been possible, amidst so great a multitude of events for the most part very simi-

---

\* *Si res unquam fuerunt in mundo turbatæ, ut possent conijcere homines, deum dormire in celo et oblitum esse humani generis, certe talis fuit conditio illorum temporum, imo tot et tam multiplices et variæ fuerit conversiones, ut etiam cordatissimus quisque posset quasi evanescere, quum nullus esset bellorum finis, et jam Aegyptus prævaleret, jam essent motus in Syria," &c.*

lar, so to designate the future, that the mind should not be directed to any accidental correspondence of fact with prediction? But it was quite otherwise with the earlier prophecies; in these it was always usual, with the exception of the Messianic prophecy, alike necessary for all time, merely to present the nearer future in distinct and clear outlines, although to particular prophets were granted clear views into the more distant future also; it was proper that the rest should be presented in more indistinct and airy sketches, that the prophets coming after might farther illustrate it, and give it in sharper outline. The less numerous were the events to be distinguished from one another, and the more the actors out of the future lived, as was often the case, in the present, the less need was there of detail.—Now, if such disclosures respecting the future were to be imparted, Daniel, of all the prophets during the captivity and since, was the most suitable instrument for it. God, in the gift of prophecy, is always guided by man's capacity to receive it; so that a man who, like Daniel, had passed his whole life in high offices of State, must have been peculiarly adapted for the accurate apprehension of communications, which for the most part related to political revolutions. The other prophets possessed, in addition to the *donum*, the *munus propheticum*; their discourses had a distinct reference to the men of their time; but with this the promulgation of so long a series of special revelations was hardly compatible; for these, as is declared in our book, were destined rather for the future than the present; when there is a particular destination of a prophecy to the time present, there is necessarily connected with it a directly parænetic tendency, and along with this a dignified and chiefly poetic style of discourse, which might easily be prejudicial to the distinctness and clearness here required. A remarkable proof how much the destination of a prophecy to the present, limited the powers of seeing into the future, is afforded by a comparison of the first part of Isaiah and Zechariah respectively with the second. The first part of both prophets, containing those declarations which were particularly designed for the present, gives, for the most part, distinct and clear disclosures only with reference to the more immediate future; even the Messianic prediction exhibits only those phases which were adapted to exert more particular influence upon the mass of the people in the present; in the second part, on the contrary,



which was rather designed as a legacy to after ages, the most important disclosures are made concerning the more remote and most remote future. Now, Daniel was no prophet by office; hence, in the prophecies entrusted to him, less regard needed to be had to the necessities and the power of perception of the present generation; a lofty poetic style would not here have been in its place, since he requested and obtained disclosures with an immediate view to himself only. He had been in so remarkable a manner authorized by God (CALVIN justly makes the establishment of this authority one of the objects of the prefixing of the first six chapters), that no one could dare refuse assent to his declarations on account of their obscurity; and hence the fulfilment was the more carefully compared with the prophecy, as we have certain evidence from the books of the Maccabees and Josephus.

After this explanation we think we may confidently pass on to the next argument.

SECT. XIII.—THE DEFINITE PROPHECIES REACH ONLY TO ANTIOCHUS  
EPIPHANES.

“In all the prophecies in the Book of Daniel the definiteness of prediction, and its exact correspondence with history, go as far only as Antiochus Epiphanes. Either the prophecy concludes with the death of the tyrant, or there is immediately annexed to it the prophecy of the deliverance of the Jews from all their troubles, and of the advent of the Saviour, who with the annihilation of all other kingdoms shall set up one to last for ever, and of the resurrection of the sleeping pious, so that there can be no mistaking the intention of the author to express, that this will take place immediately after the death of Antiochus Epiphanes. Now, if Daniel possessed so distinguished a gift of prophecy, we should expect that this foresight would have extended to the events standing in history in immediate connexion with the predicted occurrences, and that he would not have announced these merely in general figures, and moreover in a manner to which the result has not corresponded, as it has in the preceding instances.” With this argument PORPHYRY set out in his attack on the genuineness of Daniel; in recent times it has been adduced particularly by BLEEK (p. 236), from whom we have borrowed the words. Yet

he himself grants, that this phenomena may be explained in another way, and that we should not by this alone be justified in denying the prophecies to be Daniel's. In truth, this fact would not need to perplex us, even if the assumption, that it is only the generally received *Messianic* predictions that go beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, were a correct one. We might then appeal to perfect analogies in other prophets, from which it appears that the Lord frequently granted to his servants, according to his wise purposes, clear and distinct disclosures only up to a definite time, because these were sufficient for the necessities of the theocracy; and, on the contrary, revealed the more remote future to them only in general indistinct outlines. Let us compare, *e.g.*, the far more extensive prophecies of Jeremiah. From the commencement of his operations to the time of the deliverance from the captivity, no circumstance of any importance to the theocracy is found, which was not predicted by him with all definiteness, so that even his embittered foes could find no plausible ground for casting suspicion on his divine mission. Beyond the close of the captivity, on the contrary, there is found hardly one distinct prophecy relating to an individual, casual fact; the Messianic announcement is given more indistinctly in him than in several of the older prophets, Isaiah for instance. It is true there are found in it certain special features, but these cannot be denied to Daniel, even if we for a moment lay down the modern interpretation as correct, nay they are found in him more numerous and remarkably,—such as the union of the divine and human nature in the Messiah, his coming in the clouds of heaven to judgment, the resurrection of the dead connected with it, of the pious to eternal life, of the ungodly to condemnation. The same holds true of Ezekiel as of Jeremiah, if we except the last part of his book, in which the future only will decide whether distinct prophecies relating to particular incidents are contained. Nay, it may be shewn that to no one prophet besides was there granted such a clear gaze into all the parts of the future. Thus, *e.g.*, to the greatest of all the prophets, Isaiah, the entire period from the deliverance from the captivity till Christ, remains almost a *terra incognita*, and not till this point does his prophecy regain the clearness and distinctness which it had in reference to the oppressions of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and the rescue by Cyrus.

Now, if it follow from this, that prophecy was not a *habitus infusus*, manifesting itself according to the caprice of the prophet, but a gift in every case dependent on the will of God, what objection can be made to the assumption, that to Daniel also this gift was imparted only up to a certain period? And this period, according to the observations made above, was manifestly that in which the chosen people most needed the definite announcement of its fortunes, because then the temptation to apostasy was greatest! But if the cessation of definite prophecy with Antiochus Epiphanes, supposing it really the case, would prove nothing, with just as little propriety is it attempted to set aside the inspiration, and thus the genuineness, of the prophecies of Daniel, by his alleged mistake in the connexion of the Messianic kingdom and the resurrection with the fall of Antiochus Epiphanes. Otherwise one would be compelled, if any regard was had to consistency, to deny the inspiration and genuineness of all the prophets. It is the universal practice of the prophets, either immediately to annex to the announcement of the inferior punishment that of the higher, and to that of the lesser deliverance of the people of God that of the greatest and final one of all, or to combine the two together. Thus in Isaiah, *e.g.*, the Messianic announcement is annexed to that of the deliverance from the Assyrians and Babylonians; in Jeremiah and Ezekiel we find an interlacing of the rescue from the captivity, and of the rescue by Christ; Zechariah passes immediately from the lower acts of divine kindness towards the chosen people in the expedition of Alexander, to the higher ones at the appearance of the Messiah. Even in the prophecies of Christ, there is found a juxtaposition and interweaving of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the judgment of the world. We have the less need here to dwell on this fact, since it has been already in the *Christologie* developed at length, and deduced from the essence of prophecy.

But we cannot for a moment grant what is laid down as a certainty in the bringing forward of this argument. We maintain that in the book very distinct prophecies are contained, reaching beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes. The main proof of this assertion is found in chap. ix., where the time that was to elapse till the appearance of the Messiah is given, the nature of the New Testament economy described, and the violent death of



the Messiah, as well as the destruction of Jerusalem consequent upon it, announced. We cannot, indeed, give the reasons of this interpretation here, in order not to anticipate the continuation of the *Christologie*. But infinitely more than we could obtain from any learned argumentation, we derive from the testimony of Christ, who, Matt. xxiv. 15, announces the fulfilment of this prophecy as to take place at the conquest of Jerusalem; so that, in common consistency, he only can advance the opinion that the Book of Daniel contains no distinct prophecies reaching beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who denies to Christ a freedom from mistake, and so questions his divinity.\* Moreover, we can refer to some modern learned dissertations, in which the correct interpretation is substantially defended, comp. SACK, *Apologetik*, p. 287, sqq. SCHOLL, *commentatio de LXX. hebdom. Dan. Fft.* 1829, and the review of this work in the *Litterar. Anzeiger* of THOLUCK, 1830. Nr. 34, 35.

Nor can the author, as to chaps. ii. and vii., ever be convinced of the correctness of the modern interpretations, which agree in saying that the contents of these prophecies do not extend beyond Antiochus Epiphanes. We suppose it to be generally allowed, that by the four parts of the great Colossus in the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, the same kingdoms are intended as are represented in the vision chap. vii. by the four animals, and that the contents of both prophecies are essentially the same, only that the latter treats more at large of the fourth kingdom. We consider it best, therefore, in testing the modern interpretations, to combine both passages. Those modern expositors who make the contents of these prophecies to reach no farther than Antiochus Epiphanes, divide themselves into two parties.

1. According to EICHHORN, *Einkl.* 4te Ausg. Bd. 4, p. 484, JAHN, DERESER, DE WETTE, and BLEEK, the succession of the Chaldean, Median, Persian, and Macedonian empires, the last including also the Macedonio-Asiatic kingdoms growing out of it, was symbolised in these prophecies, in the latter of the two with especial reference to the Syrian kingdom under Antiochus Epiphanes. We shall here deal only with the difficulties which are peculiar to

---

\* That Christ really quotes the prophecy of Daniel as one yet to be fulfilled, will be shown farther on.

this interpretation, reserving those which are common to it with the following one, till we come to reply to that.—The principal difficulty arises from the separation of the Median and the Persian kingdom, here assumed. If we look to history, this appears hardly allowable. The Median kingdom will here naturally come under consideration only from the time of the conquest of Babylon. For it is expressly said, chap. ii. 39, in the address to Nebuchadnezzar, “*after thee shall another kingdom arise,*” and chap. vii. 5 also militates against the idea of the co-existence of the two. Now, the Median kingdom, as taking the place of the Babylonian in the dominion of the world, lasted only as long as Cyaxares II. lived, only two years after the conquest of Babylon; but, strictly considered, the government, even during this brief period, was rather in the hands of Cyrus. Indeed, on that account almost all profane writers, for instance HERODOTUS, CTESIUS, and their whole train of successors, entirely pass by the Median dominion over Babylon! But it becomes still more improbable that the Median kingdom is here individually symbolized, if we reflect that the author in his selection of kingdoms has manifestly had regard to their relation to the chosen people, and their influence upon its fortunes. But no such influence can be pointed out in the short Median domination. It merely formed an unimportant void space between the Babylonian and Persian. The separation of the Median dominion from the Persian is also rendered improbable by the fact, that the Persian monarchy can hardly be regarded as a new one distinct from the Median. “We set out with the remark,” says SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 243, “that the kingdom of the Medes and Persians was fundamentally one and the same, only that in the change of dynasty other families obtained the precedence.” Comp. also ROSENM. *Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 291. We saw before that the Persians adopted the entire Median customs and ideas about religion; more than this, Cyrus, after the death of Cyaxares, took possession of the throne as rightful heir to it, since he had married the only daughter of this his uncle (comp. JAHN, *Archäol.* ii. 1, p. 229.) But what is most convincing of all is, that every where, both in our book itself, and in the later Jewish writers, the Medo-Persian monarchy appears as a whole. That in chap. viii. 3, sqq. it is symbolized by a ram with two horns, even the advocates of the present view allow;

comp. especially ver. 20. In chap. v. 28, Daniel says to Belshazzar, "Thy kingdom is divided and given to the *Medes and Persians*." In chap. vi. 8, 12, 15, even under Cyaxares mention is made of the laws of the *Medes and Persians*; the two nations, then, even at that time are regarded as *together* constituting the ruling people. The same mode of regarding the matter prevailed also at a later period, when the royal family of Persia had ascended the throne. In the Book of Esther it is not the Persians alone, but the Persians and Medes, who appear as the ruling people. In chap. i. 3, Ahasuerus "gives a feast to all his princes, the great men in Persia and Media." In i. 18 occur, "the princesses in Persia and Media;" in ver. 19, "the laws of the Medes and Persians;" in x. 2, "the chronicles of the kings in Media and Persia." According to 1 Macc. i. 1, Alexander smote τὸν Δαρείου βασιλεία Περσῶν καὶ Μήδων. We are disposed to attribute less weight than Josephus does, *Archaeol.* x. 10, 4, to the fact that chap. ii. 32, the arms as well as the breast are assigned to the second kingdom, answering to the ram with two horns in chap. viii., from which he concludes that this kingdom must be a combined one, the Medo-Persian.

But we must now examine the ground on which the advocates of the opinion, that the second kingdom was the Median, rely. They say (EICHHORN, *Einkl.* iv. p. 614, DE WETTE, l. c.) that the second kingdom is chap. ii. 39, described as less than the first, the Babylonian; so that if the passage be interpreted of the Medo-Persian kingdom, those most decided and unmistakable representations which are always given of it as an extensive and terrible monarchy, are quite unknown here. But it must be well observed, that the second kingdom is not called less than the Chaldean kingdom in general, but than the Chaldean kingdom in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, in the time therefore of its greatest glory and power; so that this kingdom might none the less be represented in chap. vii. as a terrible one, and victorious on all sides;—moreover, that this description occurs in the address to Nebuchadnezzar, where it was fitting to give prominence in some measure to the superiority of his kingdom, for his comfort, although such did not exist in *all* respects, and was true only at certain times;—finally, that this description, if it creates a difficulty at all, must place the advocates of the Median kingdom



also in a dilemma; for, if the three עַלְמַי (vii. 5) are made to represent the Median, Persian, and Babylonian people, had not the Median kingdom in that case nearly the whole extent of the succeeding Persian? But if we keep in view the two first remarks, this description is fully borne out by history. Notwithstanding its great extent, the Persian kingdom very soon came into a state of internal corruption which led to its downfall. SCHLOSSER shows, l. c., p. 285, sqq., that “amid all the lustre of the Persian kingdom, neither science nor true art, neither genuine civilization nor power to resist internal and external foes” existed; that “rather with the ancient simplicity of manners, all that was noble and good was irrevocably lost,” p. 288. “Its later history shews us continually one satrap against another; one hinders the most useful measures of the other, and the king is only a sacred name to delude the people with, as formerly in the kingdom of the Great Mogul, and now in the Turkish empire. The throne at Susa is a mere pretence, which no satrap can dispense with. As regards the Persian military establishment, nothing can be conceived of more pitiful than the later armies of the kingdom;” comp. also HEEREN, l. c. p. 439, sqq. Scarcely would an army like that of Alexander, which with so little difficulty overthrew the Persian monarchy, have overpowered the Babylonians, although at the time of its fall it had already lost much of the greatness which it possessed in Nebuchadnezzar’s time.

2. The second modern view, which likewise makes the contents of both prophecies end with Antiochus Epiphanes, has found its main advocate in BERTHOLDT. According to him the first kingdom is the Babylonian, the second the Medo-Persian, the third the kingdom of Alexander, the fourth the States that arose out of this. The ten horns, which, according to chap. vii., sprout from the animal that symbolises the fourth kingdom, are the ten kings of Syria; the little horn that afterwards grows up among these horns, Antiochus Epiphanes. The following difficulties arise against this view:—

*a.* It is here assumed that the kingdom of Alexander is symbolised apart from that of his successors. But there are grave considerations opposed to this. In the first place, this opinion has the clear sense of the passage, chap. vii. 6, against it. It is said there of the third kingdom—“After this I beheld, and lo

another, like a leopard, which had upon the back of it four wings of a fowl ; the beast had also four heads ; and dominion was given to it." Now, here the kingdom of Alexander is manifestly symbolised together with that of his four principal successors. BERTHOLDT tries, l. c. ii., p. 427, to avoid the force of this troublesome passage, *by which at the same time the former hypothesis, which made the third kingdom to be the Persian kingdom, is met by an insurmountable obstacle*, since such a quadripartition of the Persian kingdom can by no means be shewn, by remarking—"this twofold description [with four wings and heads] in all probability expresses the extension of the colossal empire of Alexander to all the four quarters of heaven." But this opinion is not only in itself improbable, since at best the four wings, not the four heads, could symbolise this extension, but it is also distinctly rebutted by the parallel passage, chap. viii. 8, "therefore the he-goat (the Macedonian kingdom) waxed very great ; and when he was at his greatest, the great horn was broken ; and instead of it came up four notable horns toward the four winds of heaven." In the explanation of the vision it is said, ver. 22, "now that four stood up in its place when it was broken, signifies, that four kingdoms shall arise out of the nation, but not so mighty as he was." Now, if the four horns symbolise the four principal kingdoms proceeding from the kingdom of Alexander, Egypt, Syria, Thrace, and Macedonia (comp. BERTH. p. 488), how can it be mistaken that by the four heads the same kingdoms are symbolised (the "four wings" correspond to the expression, "towards the four winds" in our passage) ? But from this it follows with the same necessity, that the third kingdom cannot be the Persian, or the fourth that of Alexander's successors. For, since it has already been symbolised along with that of Alexander, how could it here again be symbolised separately as a fourth kingdom ? A second parallel passage is chap. xi. 4, "his (Alexander's) kingdom shall be broken, and *shall be divided towards the four winds of heaven.*"—Farther, nowhere in Daniel does the kingdom of Alexander's successors appear in such a manner distinct from his, as the kingdom of the Medo-Persians from that of the Babylonians, the kingdom of Alexander from that of the Persians. In chap. x. 20 rather, according to BERTHOLDT's own admission, the monarchy of Alexander and all his successors is designated, in oppo-

sition to the Persian monarchy, by ἡ Ἑλλάς Greece. Nor is such a division to be found in the later Jewish writings. The only passage to which BERTHOLDT appeals, 1 Macc. i. 6, needs only to be cited to shew that it proves the very contrary:—"Wherefore he called his servants, such as were honourable, and had been brought up with him from his youth, and parted his kingdom among them, while he was yet alive."\* The contrast in chap. ii. 44, where it is said of the Messianic kingdom that it shall not pass to *any other people*, shews that the division of the kingdoms was not founded on a change of dynasties, but on a change of nations, which was not the case between the kingdom of Alexander and that of his successors. BERTHOLDT himself remarks, p. 681: "Alexander's kingdom still continued to live in the smaller States that grew out of it, because the dividers of it and the founders of these were Greeks."

*b.* The manner in which the fourth kingdom is described, makes the supposition impossible that it was the kingdom of Alexander's successors. It is as clear as day, if we compare the description ii. 33, 40, sqq., that a kingdom is meant which at first formed a whole but was afterwards divided. This is especially manifest in ver. 41; that the feet and toes of the colossus are partly of iron and partly of clay, is here explained to mean that the fourth kingdom should be divided. But if these were intended to symbolise the division, then the legs wholly of iron must necessarily symbolise an undivided kingdom.—Farther, the fourth kingdom is here represented as a great deal more mighty and terrible than the three preceding ones. "The fourth kingdom," it is said, chap. ii. 40, "shall be strong as iron: forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces and subdueth all things, so shall it break in pieces and bruise *all these kingdoms*." In chap. vii. 7, we read, "the fourth beast was dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and broke in pieces, and stamped the residue with its feet: *and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it*." These last words, according to BERTHOLDT, p. 428, must be referred to the manifold form or the plurality of the fourth kingdom. But this interpretation, if we look no farther

---

\* καὶ ἐκάλεσε τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἐνδόξους, τοὺς συνεκτρόφους αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ μιότητος, καὶ διεῖλεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ.



than our passage, is improbable ; for the diversity from the other beasts stands even here in manifest connexion with the greater terribleness. The same thing, however, appears still more clearly from ver. 23, where, to the words “it will be quite diverse from all the kingdoms,” it is added as a kind of explanation, “it shall devour the *whole earth*, and shall tread it down and break it in pieces.” As early as JEROME the true interpretation was given, “*in prioribus bestiis singula formidinum signa, in hac omnia sunt.*” In the Apocalypse, chap. xiii. 2, the form of this animal appears as one made up out of that of the three former. It is as clear as day, that the reason why the author did not mention some particular animal was, that all nature did not offer one that was terrible enough for symbolising this kingdom. Now, BERTHOLDT, by this picture of the fourth kingdom, so little suited to his hypothesis, gets into no small difficulty, from which however he tries, p. 218, to extricate himself by the remark, “*regarded as a whole*, the States which arose out of Alexander’s dominions certainly formed an extraordinary power,” (which is nullified by the mere fact that, according to BERTHOLDT’S own remark, p. 199, the parts of the colossus symbolise events *according to their succession to one another*, and thus there must correspond to the legs *wholly of iron*, a State of the fourth kingdom which is *earlier* than that symbolised by the feet and toes partly of iron and partly of clay); and, p. 428, by the remark, that since Palestine during the contentions of Alexander’s successors had an inexpressible amount of suffering to undergo, it may be readily understood why the fourth kingdom is depicted so fearfully and terribly. But it may be easily perceived that these remarks do not meet the case, as BERTHOLDT himself feels; for he adds, “meanwhile it must not be overlooked, that most of the expressions are derived from the figurative use of iron in the second chapter (ver. 40), and, therefore, must not be too closely pressed,” a most strange way of getting out of the difficulty, since, of course, the inquiry immediately presents itself, why the author in the second chapter chose for this kingdom the image of iron. Even supposing it were allowable to regard the kingdoms of Alexander’s successors as a collective whole, were they as such at all more terrible than the Chaldean and Persian monarchy, nay, rather, than the kingdom of Alexander himself? Could it be said of them, that they would

devour, tread down, and break in pieces, the *whole earth*? How far the author himself intended the whole description to be pressed, appears from the fact that, chap. vii. 19, sqq., he repeats it word for word. The assumption, moreover, that the kingdom of Alexander's successors presents itself to the author as more terrible than it really was, merely because it was so destructive to the chosen people, is refuted by the passage chap. viii. 22, where it is said of Alexander's successors, that *they were not so mighty as he was*; farther, by chap. xi. 4, where it is said that the kingdom of Alexander's successors would not equal his kingdom. But let the entire description of the kingdoms of Alexander's successors in chap. xi. be compared; nowhere is there a trace to be found of the terribleness and power which is here ascribed to the fourth kingdom, and yet the same cause must have operated there, which is said in this case to have produced the exaggeration.

*c.* It remains unexplained on this hypothesis, what the ten kings or kingdoms are, which, according to chap. vii., proceed from the fourth kingdom, and who is the king that is to annihilate three of these. We need not stay to refute the earlier attempts of the advocates of this hypothesis, since BERTHOLDT, p. 431, has shewn them to be altogether unsatisfactory. The attempt of BERTHOLDT himself is, however, just as unsatisfactory. He assumes that the ten kings are to be sought for merely among the rulers of Syria. But history knows of only seven sovereigns of this kingdom in all. According to BERTHOLDT the three kings that are wanting are the following:—1. Heliodorus, who poisoned Seleucus Philopator, and tried, with the help of a somewhat powerful party, to get possession of the throne. 2. Ptolemæus Philometor, king of Egypt, who laid claim to the throne as sister's son to the late king, and likewise had a party. 3. Demetrius, to whom, as the son of the former king, the throne would have belonged of right. The eleventh king is said to be Antiochus Epiphanes, who mounted the throne by supplanting the three pretenders to the crown. But in the whole representation the discourse is about three *actual* kings or kingdoms, who are deposed or destroyed by the eleventh king. Moreover, not a single one of these three pretenders to the crown is produced by any historian in the list of Syrian kings. Antiochus mounted the throne *peacefully*; Demetrius, who might at first be numbered as a king of Syria, had not at all made good

his claims, and was made a hostage at Rome. Comp. PRIDEAUX, *hist. d. Juifs*, iv. p. 156 sqq.

With these difficulties it will be most advisable, in case the objections raised in modern times against it can be set aside, to return to the more ancient explanation, the one received almost universally in the Jewish synagogue and in the Christian church, which made the four kingdoms to be the Babylonian, Medo-Persian, Greek, and Roman, the fifth the Messianic. This interpretation is remarkably favoured by the testimony of tradition. Josephus several times mentions that falsely understood prophecies were a principal means of exciting the Jews to rebellion against the Romans. That these prophecies were no other than ours, that, consequently, in those early times no other reference was even held to be possible in them, although men had the history of the period to which, according to the modern view, these prophecies refer, lying far more clearly and distinctly before them than we have, is shown by the passage, *Archæol.* x. 10, 4. Josephus relates and explains there the dream-vision of Nebuchadnezzar, chap. ii. When he comes in his interpretation to the stone, he says he will say nothing about it, since it is his object to describe only what has occurred, not what is to come, and refers those who wish to be informed upon it to the Book of Daniel itself. By this he intimates distinctly enough, that he takes the fourth kingdom to be the Roman, and expects its overthrow by that of the Messiah. So immoveable, then, was his persuasion that the fourth kingdom was the Roman, that all the things his people and himself had suffered in the Jewish war, partly occasioned as they were by this interpretation, were not able to wean him from it; he seems to think merely that there was formerly an error in regard to the time, or that the people were mistaken in undertaking themselves to bring about the better period, whereas, according to the prophecy, the erection of the Messianic kingdom was to be a work of God.

Let us now examine the arguments which BERTHOLDT, p. 211 sqq., and p. 421, has brought forward against this interpretation. 1. "It is contrary to the historical practice of the Jewish writers, to put together the kingdom of Alexander and his successors." The contrary has already been shewn. 2. "According to this interpretation, the relation between the stone and the fifth king-



dom is destroyed. The stone is said to be the Messiah, and the fifth kingdom his kingdom. This is contrary to the whole analogy of the dream-vision and its authentic explanation in the text, &c." BERTHOLDT, however, might here have spared himself the whole of his reasoning. For it concerns, not this interpretation in itself, but only an erroneous modification of it, rejected even by the better earlier expounders (comp. *e.g.* CALVIN, GEIER, CHR. B. MICHAELIS in loc.), according to which the stone is referred to the person of the Messiah, instead of the Messianic kingdom.

3. "It is only by allowing oneself the greatest liberties, that what is said of the fourth kingdom can be adapted to the Roman. Singularly copious as history here is, yet is it too poor to furnish these few words with attestations." We maintain, on the contrary, that on this assumption every thing can be shewn to be more completely fulfilled than on any other, with the exception, that is, of what yet remains to be fulfilled, to which belongs, for instance, the eleventh king in chap. vii., whose appearance the Apocalypse also, chap. xiii., where our prophecy is again resumed, and Paul, in a passage hereafter to be looked at more attentively, set down as future and belonging to the last times.—The fourth kingdom is depicted as far more terrible than the foregoing ones, and as stretching its conquests over the whole earth (com. p. 167.) This is just the picture Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives, in the præm. to his *Roman Antiquities*, of the relation of the Roman kingdom to the earlier kingdoms of the world—the Assyrio-Babylonian, the Persian and the Grecian. "Such," he says, "are the most famous kingdoms down to our time, and such their duration and power. But the empire of the Romans pervades *all regions of the earth*, which are not inaccessible, but inhabited by mankind; it reigns also over the whole sea, and is the first and only one that has made the East and the West its boundaries. Its power, too, has not lasted a short time, but longer than that of any other kingdom.—There is no people that does not recognize Rome as the universal mistress, or which refuses to submit to its dominion." This whole passage deserves to be compared in the original, as it agrees in a remarkable manner with our prophecies.—But the fourth kingdom is afterwards to be divided, first into great kingdoms, the feet, then into smaller ones, the toes. The Roman kingdom separated first into the Oriental and

Occidental empire, afterwards into the European kingdoms, connected in a variety of respects with the Roman empire, and growing out of it (comp. J. D. MICHAELIS on chap. ii.)—In this later period the fourth kingdom will lose a great deal of its former power and terribleness. JEROME in loc. says—“As in the beginning the Roman empire was most impregnable, so has it at length become most feeble: for both in our civil wars and our hostilities with foreign nations we require the aid of strangers and barbarians.”\* The reference to the Roman empire has manifestly the farther circumstance in its favour, that in that case the twofold division of the fourth kingdom found in the text, first into two kingdoms, then into several of dissimilar strength, can be pointed out, a thing which, with the reference to the Grecian kingdom, cannot be done.—In ii. 43, it is, moreover, cited as something peculiar to the fourth kingdom, that its rulers will seek by marriages to confirm its sinking power. In this the advocates of the reference to the successors of Alexander seek the principal confirmation of their view; but, whilst from the whole history of these kingdoms only two alliances of Syrian and Egyptian kings can be pointed out, the history of the Roman kingdom offers a vastly greater number of them (comp. CALOV, *bibl. ill.*, and MICHAELIS in loc., VELTHUSEN, *animadv. ad Dan. II.* 27–45, in the *Commentatt. theoll.* of VELTHUSEN, KNINÖL, and RUPERTI, v., p. 377, sqq.)—According to chap. vii., there are to proceed from the fourth kingdom ten kings, *i. e.*, in accordance with the frequent usage of the book (comp. BLEEK, p. 279), ten kingdoms. These ten kingdoms had been already in the dream-vision of Nebuchadnezzar figured by the ten toes. MICHAELIS: “it is manifest that a prophecy, unless it intends particularly to indicate every single period, cannot name a very exact number, but must make use of a round number. The number of the kingdoms in the great community of Europe moves, so to speak, fluctuatingly about this round number, being sometimes more sometimes less.” In this, however, it must be observed, that probably at the time of the final fulfilment the number ten will be a definite one, as

---

\* Sicut in principio nihil Romano imperio fortius et durius fuit, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quando et in bellis civilibus et adversum diversas nationes aliarum gentium barbararum indigemus auxilio.

would appear to result from the fact that the eleventh king is to destroy three kings and their kingdoms.—In the time of the fourth kingdom of the world, the Messianic one is to appear, at first small and unpretending, but afterwards rising into infinite greatness and power (the figurative representation is quite similar to that in Ezekiel, chap. xvii. 22–24), and subduing the whole earth; that is, the spiritual kingdom of Christ from the time of his entering on his glory, taken in connection however with his appearance hereafter in the end of days (comp. *Christol.* i. 2, p. 30, sqq.), which rests upon the firmest testimony of the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself; and hence assertions like that of BERTH. p. 212, that such a kingdom—from which of course, if we allow the symbolical character of the Old and New Testament declarations (comp. NITZSCH, l. c. p. 248), we must separate every thing carnal, and which must not be confounded with the kingdom of a thousand years—rests on *mere phantoms*, deserves no reply, as being an undisguised product of disbelief in divine revelation (comp. 2 Pet. iii. 3, 4.)—BERTHOLDT objects, (4.) that according to this interpretation the whole must be regarded as a *historical* revelation from God, whereas the other divine revelations, *which we recognize as such*, are wholly of a moral kind; this objection, however, we may pass over, since according to its very words it is founded on the subjective sentiment of the originator, and has been already sufficiently refuted in the preceding section;—farther, that these prophecies cannot be taken for divine revelation, if it were only for their great obscurity; but it is astonishing that the *obscurity* is here adduced against the inspiration, and elsewhere the clearness and definiteness, and the question arises whether the obscurity has its cause in the object, or in the subjectivity of the expositor, which latter might perhaps with some probability be concluded from the remarkable, almost universal, agreement of the Jewish synagogue, and of the older Christian Church in the interpretation;—finally, that in such a prophecy, no object worthy of God can for a moment be divined, an assertion which is no more directed against our prophecy than against all the rest, and falls at once with the recognition of divine revelation, and which, even if we regard merely those for whom the prophecy was at first destined, the Jews, is sufficiently answered by the following words of CALVIN:—“The Jews knew



that the Chaldeans were then by a decree of heaven the ruling power, that next was to come another kingdom inferior to it, that after that they would be in bondage to the Macedonians, but finally the Romans would become conquerors and masters of the world—all this, observe, the result of the divine decree. When they took these things into consideration, and then heard that the Redeemer who was promised to them was to be a perpetual king, and that all these empires, however they might flourish for a while, were destined to disappear, they would hence be reassured in no ordinary degree. The Lord wished, therefore, to sustain their fortitude, that they might remain faithful to him amidst all these commotions and changes, and wait in patience and tranquillity for the Redeemer promised to them.\* But greatly more important than all the opposing arguments brought forward by BERTHOLDT is the following {5. } on which most particular stress is laid by DERESER—“What is said in chap. vii. of the eleventh horn has a surprising similarity to that which chap. viii. 9, sqq. and xi. 21, sqq. is said of Antiochus Epiphanes, so that one is involuntarily led to the conjecture that in both passages one and the same subject is described.” But this matter is explained just as easily in another way. Antiochus Epiphanes typifies Antichrist; what is said of him in chap. viii. and xi. is, that his desecration of the temple, his persecutions, &c., should have their fulfilment at the end of the centuries. This typology is necessarily founded in the very nature of the O. T.; most striking examples of it can be adduced from the prophecies. But here we have a special justification of this in the authority of the N. T. Paul, in his description of Antichrist (2 Thess. ii. 3), clearly on purpose, borrows the very expressions he employs from the description of Antiochus Epiphanes, chap. xi. BENGEL excellently paraphrases ver. 4, “The day of Christ will not come until that shall have been

---

\* “Cum Judæi scirent ex cælesti decreto Chaldaeos tunc regnare, deinde venturum aliud imperium deterius, et tertio etiam subeundam illis esse servitutem sub Macedonibus, postremo Romanos fore victores ac Dominos totius orbis, semper, ut dixi, cælesti decreto—cum ergo hæc apud se reputarent, deinde audirent redemptorem, qui illis promissus fuerat, fore regem perpetuum, et monarchias omnes, etiamsi ad tempus fulgerent, tamen non habere certam stabilitatem, hæc fuit illis non vulgaris confirmatio. Voluit igitur Dominus illorum animos fulcire, ut inter tales agitationes et turbas manerent tamen constantes et patienter ac quietis animis expectarent redemptorem sibi promissum.”

fulfilled (in the man of sin) which Daniel foretold of Antiochus, but foretold in such terms, that it is more applicable to the man of sin, who answers to Antiochus, and outdoes him in wickedness."\* Even the article in *ἡ ἀποστασία* and *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* points back to the Book of Daniel. Nor can the coincidence in the measures of time (vii. 25, comp. xii. 7), prove anything (comp. Apoc. xii. 6.) (6.) Against this interpretation there has been farther urged the measured gradation of the prophecies from the indefinite to the definite. But even according to that gradation, the single prophecies stand in an exact and fitting relation to one another. The first, the dream of Nebuchadnezzar, forms the preliminary sketch, which is farther wrought up in what follows. The first kingdom, the Babylonian, as already existing, required no farther distinction. In chap. vii. every necessary disclosure is given respecting the fourth kingdom. Chap. viii. and chaps. x.—xii. are occupied now with the second and third, especially with the latter, because this was especially pregnant with influence on the chosen people, and the fortunes of the kingdoms are treated with constant reference to them, whence too it is explained why the great monarchies in later times cotemporary with the Roman empire are not once mentioned.

Now, if the fourth kingdom be the Roman, it is established that in our book, even apart from chap. ix., there are contained prophecies which reach beyond Antiochus Epiphanes, which therefore are not to be fully explained on the assumption of their composition under Antiochus Epiphanes. No human sagacity could then foresee that the Roman empire would so far surpass the preceding empires of the world in power and terribleness, that it would quite swallow up the Grecian empire, and much less still its separation at first into two, and afterwards into several kingdoms (comp. the farther amplification in J. D. MICHAELIS, l. c., p. 15, sqq.)

#### SECT. XIV.—OTHER OBJECTIONS.

We will here put together all the remaining arguments against the genuineness.

---

\* "Non venit dies Christi, nisi impletum sit (in humane peccati), quod Daniel de Antiocho ita prædixit, ut magis etiam conveniat in hominem peccati Antiocho respondentur et illo deteriorem."

1. "In chap. xii. 4, Daniel is commanded to shut up the roll containing the prophecies he had received, and to seal it up till the time of fulfilment. This feature contains marks of design not to be misunderstood. Traces of the existence of these historical predictions in earlier times might have been sought for; but the procedure referred to would make it quite intelligible, why they did not make their appearance till the time when the author lived, and when all that was predicted was already come to pass." So BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* p. 795, DE WETTE, l. c. (comp. BLEEK, p. 186, 207.) SACK also, *Apologetik*, p. 285, supposes that a literal shutting up and sealing is intended, and endeavours thus to explain the position of the book in the canon; he thinks that by the arrangement of the author it was entrusted for a long time to a narrow circle of priests and scribes, and not added to the other books for the purposes of divine worship till the approaching fulfilment made the use of it beneficial. But it may be easily shewn that neither the opponents nor the advocates of the genuineness can get anything from this passage, since the exposition of it laid down by them as the basis of their reasoning, is manifestly false. The command to the prophets to shut up and seal the prophecies, relates only to a symbolical action, to be understood of something internal, and after the removal of the mere drapery, the imperatives are to be resolved into futures—thus, these prophecies will be closed and sealed till the time of the end, in nearly the same manner as Zech., chap. xi. 15, is commanded in a vision to take the instruments of a foolish shepherd, to intimate that some day ungodly rulers will ruin the people. This is evident from the following reasons. There can be no doubt that chap. viii. 26, "shut up the vision, *for* it reaches to a distant period," is to be regarded as a parallel passage to ours. But here the explanation of a literal closing is beset by great difficulty. Why should only this particular prophecy be closed up? The following words, "I was astonished at the vision, and nobody understood it," shew clearly enough what the shutting up means. But the external acceptance of the words is still more strongly opposed by chap. xii. 9. There the angel answers Daniel's request for more precise disclosures respecting the prophecy, by saying that he cannot furnish him with them because it is closed, and sealed up till the last time. According to this, then, the



sealing and shutting up of the prophecy refers to an internal peculiarity; it was already so before Daniel put it in writing, and could think of an external sealing and closing. Then we must notice likewise the parallel passages, in which the same figurative representation prevails. First of all, Is. xxix. 11, comes under notice, "and the vision of all is become unto you as the words of a book that is sealed, which men deliver to one that is learned, saying, Read this, I pray thee; and he saith, I cannot, for it is sealed." Here then is a sealed prophecy, that is a dark, unintelligible one. It is true the passage would lose a part of its analogy, if with GESENIUS we should explain קְטוּרָה, not by *prophecy*, but by *law* (!); but this explanation stands in just as little need of a serious refutation as the violent assumptions in ver. 10. Farther, it is said in Rev. xxii. 10, with manifest reference to our passage, "Seal not the words of the prophecy of this book, for the time is near," *i.e.*, the approaching fulfilment will shed light on this prophecy. On the other side, the advocates of the external acceptation can appeal to no parallel passages. For it has already been demonstrated, *Christ.* i. 2, p. 101, that Is. viii. 16, where, according to SACK, Isaiah is to deliver the mysterious prophecy to his disciples, does not apply. קְטוּרָה can just as little mean prophecy here as קְטוּרָה in the other passage can mean law. It may be easily shown, too, that the other passage adduced by BERTHOLDT, Jer. xxxii. 14, has nothing to do with the question.

2. "In the Book of Daniel there is found the same view of things, and there occur the same expressions and forms of speech, as in far later books, for instance the first and second Book of the Maccabees, and the fourth Book of Ezra. In this we have a clear attestation that it does not belong to the age of Daniel." BERTH. *Comm.* i. 33, *Einl.* p. 1540; DE WETTE, *l. c.* This argument is strange, but more than strange is the question asked by BERTHOLDT, "Is this conformity to be explained as a prophetic anticipation?" The oldest of the books in which traces are said to be discovered of affinity with our book, and where it is really to be found, is the first Book of the Maccabees. But here there is so undeniable a use made of our book, that even BLEEK, p. 181, allows that the author used, not only the original of our book at that time commonly known and acknowledged among the Jews, but probably also a Greek translation of it. In

every case where a real affinity with our book is found, a direct or indirect borrowing from it can be pointed out. The argument, therefore, is no better and no worse, than if from the affinity of the pseudepigraphum, the *ascensio Jesaie* (comp. resp. it GESENIUS, *Jes.* i. p. 45, sqq. NITZSCH in the *Stud. und Kritik.* 1830, ii.), with the canonical Isaiah, any one should attempt to prove the spuriousness of the latter.

3. "The Book of Daniel contains unmistakable traces of Jewish national pride." GRIESINGER, p. 47. But, if we except the alleged encomiastic passages about Daniel, which we will treat of by and by, that which the objector adduces in evidence, affects the other writings of the O. T. just as much as the Book of Daniel; and in fact, p. vii., he is not ashamed to allege the same charge against all the prophets. We may therefore leave this objection here unexamined, as not specially directed against our book, but proceeding from the principle of a general denial of revelation. Then only will it have the force of evidence, when it can be shewn, that, besides the doctrine which is not peculiar to the writings of the O. T. only, but is also in the most express manner confirmed by Christ and the apostles—the doctrine of God's especial providence towards the chosen people—*another* doctrine, which is foreign to the whole of the Old and New Testaments, that, namely, of their possessing any peculiar worthiness beyond others, is to be found. But this notion is as strongly denounced here as in any other prophet. "We present before thee our prayer, not for our righteousness, but for thy great compassion," ix. 18; "We have sinned and done wickedly," ver. 15; "For our sins and for the iniquities of our fathers, Jerusalem and thy people are become a reproach to all that are about us," ver. 16; "For thine own sake, save us Lord," ver. 19.

4. "Nothing is apparent in these prophecies of the higher moral tendency, which is so prominent in the most remarkable prophecies of other seers, of earlier and later times, and which marks them out as inspired," BERTH. p. 23. "The spirit of moral admonition appears very rarely," DE WETTE, l. c. All that is correct in this charge is the absence of *direct* admonition, a thing however that can be fully explained and justified from the circumstances in which Daniel stood, and which likewise occurs, *e g.* in the second part of Zechariah, which no one on that account

thinks of pronouncing spurious. But this argument cannot have any force, unless, since all Scripture is declared to be useful for doctrine, for admonition, for correction, it can be shewn that this criterion is wanting in our book, and that there is not contained in it a rich treasure of indirect admonition, reproof, and comfort, as was the case with all that the other prophets delivered, so far as their vocation was similar to Daniel's. But who will undertake to maintain this? We adduce here only one circumstance, referring our readers to the excellent treatises of CALVIN and MELANCTHON (*Opp.* t. ii.) in the introduction, as well as to the *porismata* of GEIER, objectionable only for its pedantic form. The main purpose of the book is, to point out how God's providence reigns over his church; how, although he may for a time give them up to be deservedly chastised by their enemies, yet, when the suffering has attained its purpose, he delivers all the more gloriously—how all worldly power perishes when it enters into an unequal encounter with the Almighty God of Israel—how at length, after the destruction of the great kingdoms of the world, the everlasting kingdom of God and Christ shall spread over the whole earth. It hardly need be shewn what a rich fund of admonition is contained in this the main doctrine of the book, what powerful incitements it contained, and still contains, to a faithful devotedness to God, to a willing pursuit of his commands, to steadfastness in sufferings and persecutions, such for example as came upon the Jews under Antiochus Epiphanes. Now, if fidelity to God be the supreme of all duties, how can moral worth be denied to a book, whose chief aim it is to establish men in that fidelity? What powerful incitements to this are there not in the historical examples of it set forth in the first part; in the announcement, chap. xii., that at the end of all things some shall rise to everlasting life, and some to shame and contempt; that those who have not only remained faithful themselves, but also have confirmed others in their fidelity, shall shine like the splendours of heaven? Could any direct admonition have possibly led the people to a deeper sense of their sins, to a more profound sorrow and repentance, than the prayer, chap. ix., uttered in the name of the people? Could there be any farther need of a direct admonition, for the excitation at once of hope and fear, when the people were informed, with an intimation at what distance of time, of the cer-



tain appearance of the expected Messiah, and of the desolation of their city to follow, in consequence of their disbelief of the promises? We may then boldly maintain, that this book is inferior to no other prophetic book in its moral texture, but rather in this respect bears certain marks of its divine origin.

5. "The eye of the reader falls on passages which, if Daniel wrote thus about himself, he cannot in any wise reconcile with the character of an intelligent and great man; comp. i. 19, 20; v. 11, 12; vi. 4; ix. 23; x. 11." BERTH. i. 37, *Eint.* p. 1541, DE WETTE, l. c. In the first place, we offer the following general remarks in reply. We find the same phenomenon in other parts of the sacred writings. Moses calls himself, Numb. xii. 3, a particularly humble and meek-minded man. And, what is especially observable, the modest Paul, to whom the Lord had made himself known in a still more distinguished manner than to Daniel, utters so much in praise of himself, that the alleged laudatory passages in Daniel pass for nothing in comparison. He says, 1 Cor. xv. 10, "I have laboured much more than they all," and his second letter to the Corinthians contains so many similar passages, that it is not worth while to quote any one in particular. A similar thing appears in the writings of distinguished Christians, whom no one will dare to accuse of pride; thus, for instance, WESLEY and WHITEFIELD manifest no reluctance to enumerate in their journals the great successes which had attended their preaching of the Gospel, the distinguished divine recognition they had received.—How, then, do we explain this fact? It is perfectly clear that a Pelagian who should say such things of himself, could not make the smallest claim to the "character of a great and intelligent man." *Propria laus sordet*. But it is a mistake for a person to apply his own standard to appearances which must be measured by quite a different standard. He who has attained the innermost persuasion that in him by nature not the smallest good dwells; he who ascribes, not with the *mouth* but with the *heart*, all the good that is found in him to the single source of all that is good in creatures, the undeserved favour of God; he who gives evidence of this by telling us as frankly and readily of *his* frailties and sins as of *God's* grace;—that man is, in regard to his own self, placed in just as objective a position for judging, as in reference to a third person; for it is in reality another person than

himself to whom his praise belongs. It is not indeed enough to entitle a man to do this, that he is on the whole a Christian; not merely justification, but the highest degree of sanctification attainable in this life, is demanded for it; there is not one among thousands who, with even the most complete theoretic persuasion, and with the loudest confessions, that God is every thing and he nothing, does not retain in the secret nooks of his heart, notwithstanding, a *residuum* of self-righteousness; who does not, at least, so far fail to see a mirrored reflection of himself, as to indulge with complacency the thought that these favours of God have fallen to *his* particular lot. Now, so long as there is this impure state of mind, which with most persons never ceases in this life, and which especially in our times, backed by the corrupting influences of Rationalism, exists even within the precincts of Christendom more strongly than perhaps at any former period, it is a sacred duty to withdraw the eye as much as possible from that which grace effectuates in us, and thus to conceal it from ourselves, and still more from others.—But we have every reason to believe that those sacred writers in whom we find the thing referred to, were actually raised by the Holy Spirit to such a height of perfection, that the sinful contemplation of their own excellencies appeared only in transient emotions, which were immediately quelled. There needs no proof that Moses everywhere appears as a pattern of humility—that he always wishes to be nothing else than God's instrument; with the same frankness with which he speaks of his humility and meekness on occasion of an attack made on his character, he informs us elsewhere of his frailties and failings, *e. g.*, his unbelief, which excluded him from the land of promise. The prevailing tone of Paul's life is seen in the passages, 2 Cor. iii. 5, "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God;" x. 17, "but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord;" xii. 5, "of this I will glory; but of myself I will not glory, but in mine infirmities." He who possesses the spiritual faculty, without which spiritual matters cannot be examined, perceives that Paul always gives honour not to himself but to God.—Daniel's deep acknowledgment of his own unworthiness and of his own wretchedness, expresses itself with peculiar force in the prayer, chap. ix. ; he prays there not as a saint for sinners, but he classes himself

among the latter ; and that this was not a mere figure of speech, but that he was fully serious in it, is apparent from ver. 20, “ whilst I was speaking, and praying, and confessing *my* sin, and the sin of the people.” Throughout the whole book Daniel diverts the honour from himself to God. It is God, not his own deserts, that gives Daniel favour with the principal chamberlain ; i. 9. He alone, not Daniel’s wisdom, although it was greater than that of all living men, “ can reveal hidden things.” *God* gives Daniel and his companions skill and understanding in all kinds of literature and wisdom, i. 17. The ground of his distinction beyond all the other counsellors of Darius is, according to chap. vi. 4, not his own cleverness, but the more noble spirit which is in him (רוח יהוה), the Spirit of God, who conferred on him distinguished gifts for the benefit of his people and for the glory of God. How emphatically he directed attention from himself to God, appears from the fact that even the heathen queen, chap. v. 11, ascribes his eminence solely to his having the spirit of the holy gods, as also does Nebuchadnezzar, chap. iv. 8. Nowhere is there to be found the slightest trace of his loving to contemplate himself ; God, and God only, every where supplies the watchword of the author.—If, after these preparatory remarks, we turn to the particular passages, it is immediately apparent that two of them must on previous grounds be wholly dismissed, SACK, *Apol.* p. 278, says, “ It is strange that DE WETTE extends this to chap. ix. 23, x. 11 ; for if an angel has called me dear and worthy, why should I not put that in writing ?” In that case Mary, the lovely image of humility, must lie under a still stronger charge of pride, for not keeping to herself the greeting of the angel, “ Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee, thou blessed among women !” The passage, chap. v. 11, 12, must also immediately be dismissed from the question, since Daniel here only quotes a foreign judgment respecting himself, by the omission of which the historic representation would have been rendered incomplete. There remain, then, for consideration only the passages chap. i. 19, 20, vi. 4. In the first, Daniel informs us that Nebuchadnezzar, on instituting an examination of the pupils, had found him and his companions more advanced than all the rest, nay, than all the Babylonian wise men. But if it be considered that Daniel has a little before spoken of God as



the author of this superiority, so as to make it even form a part of the great contrast between God and the idols, which, in the first six chapters, is exhibited throughout (CALVIN, "God wished to display his glory—he wished to exalt himself in the person of his servants, that the king might be compelled to acknowledge a divine agency at work in those youths"\*),—that the praise is expressed only relatively, whilst the wise men of Babylon, whose attention, as SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 175, observes, with the exception of certain practical sciences, was confined "to the paltry work of making almanacks and to the tricks of priestcraft,"† bore these names only catachrestically, somewhat as the Rationalists bear theirs, if by *ratio* we are to understand the pure reason, such as God originally created it,—finally, that Daniel puts himself on a perfect equality with his three companions,—every thing offensive is removed. In the second passage, the account of Daniel's superiority to the other officers was likewise necessarily demanded for the completeness of the history, in which every feature contributes to the glory of God; besides, Daniel found himself here in a similar position to that of Moses and Paul, and by the intrigues of his opponents was compelled to a sort of defence.

#### CHAP. III.—ARGUMENTS FOR THE GENUINENESS OF DANIEL.

WE have thus replied to all the arguments brought forward against the genuineness of Daniel. But this reply, if it must be allowed to have succeeded, may undoubtedly also, viewed on another side, be regarded as affording positive proof for the genuineness; inasmuch as in the case of a supposititious book, if it be only subjected to a thorough investigation, no attempt to set aside all the

---

\* Jam tunc voluit Deus illustrare gloriam suam—voluit seipsum extollere in persona servorum suorum, ut rex cogeretur agnoscere aliquid divinum in istis adolescentibus.

† Comp. also HERDER *Ideen*, iii. p. 72:—"We must not apply our notion of wisdom to the wisdom of the Chaldeans. The sciences which Babylon possessed were confided to the custody of a distinct learned tribe, which, on the fall of the empire, became at length a society of knaves. They were Court philosophers, and as such descended to all the fraudulent tricks of Court philosophers." Comp. especially BRUCKER, *hist. philos.* i. p. 112, sqq.

arguments adduced against it will succeed. But the favourable judgment already gained for the genuineness of the book is increased, by the following direct evidence, to the firmest and most substantial persuasion, as well founded as in the case of any book of Scripture or of heathen antiquity.

SEC. I.—TESTIMONY OF THE AUTHOR HIMSELF.

There is no doubt that the whole book was intended by the author to pass as the work of the prophet Daniel. In regard to the second part this hardly needs any proving. It is there repeatedly and of manifest purpose represented that Daniel was the author; thus, *e. g.*, chap. vii. 28, “I Daniel;” viii. 2, “a vision appeared to me—I Daniel;” ver. 15, “when I Daniel saw the vision;” ver. 27, “and I Daniel was sick;” ix. 2, “in the same year I Daniel understood;” x. 1, “to Daniel who is called Belteshazzar, was something revealed.” Daniel speaks constantly in the first person; the years of the Chaldee and Medo-Persian kings are given, under whom the prophecies were uttered; in the principal prophecy Daniel, to prevent any confusion, even adds to the Hebrew name the Chaldee one—a carefulness and precision which we find quite as remarkably exemplified in Zechariah and Ezekiel, who were nearly cotemporary with Daniel, and in them more than in the older prophets.—Not only the prophecies themselves, but the superscriptions also, appear clearly to be Daniel’s. They are for the most part immediately connected with the prophecies, and therefore cannot have been added by a later collector; thus chaps. viii., ix., x., where, in ver. 2, *בִּימֵי הַהֵם* refers back to the clause, “in the third year of Cyrus,” in ver. 1. It is true that in two superscriptions, those of chaps vii. and x., the first person is introduced by the third; but how little proof this can afford of the opinion that the prophecies were collected by another person who prefixed these superscriptions, appears among other things from Ezekiel, chap. i. 1–3, where exactly the same change of persons is found, only there the first person precedes and the third follows, ver. 1, “in the thirtieth year, &c., the heavens opened and *I* saw visions of God,” ver. 3, “there came the word of God to *Ezekiel*, the son of Buzi the priest, in the land of the Chaldeans, by the

river of Chebar"—which superscription furnishes altogether a complete analogy to that in chap. x., of which BLEEK (l. c. p. 231) declares that it has a foreign air, and betrays itself as the addition of another hand.—The use of the third person was so familiar to Daniel from the first part, that he could not altogether abandon it at once in the second part, at least in the superscriptions.

Now, if the author of the last part undeniably means to be regarded as the prophet Daniel, we are obliged to find it probable beforehand that this testimony extends also to the first part. For there is not the smallest trace that the two ever existed apart from one another. Since, however, the application of the proof to the first part has been denied, since even SACK (l. c. p. 282) maintains a difference of authorship in the two, and the composition of the first after Daniel's time, it becomes necessary for us here to reply to the arguments for the non-extension of the evidence to the first part, especially such as have been advanced by BERTHOLDT (*Einkl.* p. 1514), and to prove the identity of the author of both parts.

BERTHOLDT maintains—1. "In the first part Daniel is spoken of in the third person; in the second part he appears as himself the speaker. Now, although there are not wanting instances of people speaking of themselves in the third person, yet no example can any where be found of an author's alternating with the first and third person." It is difficult to persuade oneself here that the author of such an assertion should have been unacquainted with any one of the numerous instances which evince the futility of it. Why, there are such to be found in the second part of this very book, in the introductions to chap. vii. and chap. x.; and they are all the more in point, because they shew that such a change was not foreign to this particular author. The instances in Is. vii. and xx. have been adduced by BLEEK (l. c. p. 230), who draws from them the conclusion, that it does not at all follow from the use of the third person in the first part, that Daniel himself was not the author. It is true GESENIUS maintains, in reference to the first passage, that the use of the third person is explained from the fact, that ver. 1-16 form a later historical introduction, composed by another hand, to the prophecy contained in this chap.; but the baselessness of this assumption has been already completely shewn by KLEINERT (l. c. p. 481 sqq.)



In regard to chap. xx. GESENIUS (*Comm.* i. p. 642) remarks, that the use of the third person here is to be explained, as in Jeremiah also, where it occurs particularly often in the historical sections, from the prophet's making use of an amanuensis. Now, if this hypothesis had any truth in it, we should of course only have to apply it to Daniel, and the use of the third person could no longer give us any trouble. But there is not the slightest trace of any amanuensis to Isaiah; and in Jeremiah's case the use of the third person cannot be accounted for in this way, because his prophecies were committed to writing by the amanuensis not in parts but as a whole, so that we should look for the constant use of the third person.—But what shews this hypothesis to be wholly untenable is, that the alternate use of the first and third person occurs in single portions of the prophets, in which, of course, we cannot think of finding any marks of the amanuensis. In a passage forming a whole, chap. i. 3, Hosea through the whole of the first chapter speaks of himself in the third person; in chap. ii. and iii., on the contrary, in the first; Amos chap. vii. speaks, as the rule, in the first person; but in ver. 12 and 14, he uses the third of himself. The instance in Ez. i. 1–3 has before been adduced.—2. “No reason can be assigned for such change. Daniel could with propriety have used the third person in the prophetic part also.” But it is surely manifest from a comparison of the examples produced, to which Is. xxxvi.—xxxix. may be also added, that the prophets as a general rule made use of the third person in historical sections only. An exception occurs in the single passage quoted from Amos. That historical writing has a peculiar inclination to the third person, may be shewn also from other examples. Thus John in his gospel never speaks of himself otherwise than in the third person, comp. *e. g.* xviii. 15, xix. 26, 35, xx. 2, 21; on the contrary, in the Apocalypse, after using the third person in the introduction, as Daniel and Ezekiel do, he appears as the speaker. This is explained from that striving after objectivity which belongs to history in general, and to sacred history in particular. But we perceive, moreover, among the sacred historians universally, an attempt to make their own personality retreat as much as possible from view; in Daniel we must the more expect this, the more strongly the contents of the historical part otherwise led to it; let the first person be substituted for the third. and

an opposite impression will not fail to be produced. In the prophecies, on the contrary, and especially in the visions, the first person is quite in place on account of the dramatic character preponderating in them; the use of the third, as a rule, would introduce a foreign element.—According to these remarks, this very change between the third and first person must be regarded as no inconsiderable argument for the genuineness. Can we ascribe to the alleged pseudo-Daniel a refinement of artifice that surpasses even modern critics? In the attempt to make the whole pass as the work of Daniel, would he not have employed the first person in the first part also, since the use of the third might so easily lead an ignorant reader to the supposition of a different author? Would he not also in the introductions to the prophecies have constantly employed the first person?

Now, if there appears no reason to *deny* the identity of the author of the first and second part, that is of itself a reason for admitting it. For it is perfectly evident that a writing which has been transmitted to us as an undivided whole, contains a presumption in favour of the identity of the author. But there is no lack of satisfactory arguments of another kind. (1.) It would certainly be a curious coincidence, if two authors of a work made up at a later period from their productions, should agree in using alternately the Hebrew and the Chaldee language; and particularly if the one should end with Chaldee and the other begin with Chaldee, and so the Chaldee portions of both should immediately connect together.—In both parts the Chaldee has precisely the same peculiarities, as we shall by and by shew. Nor can it fail to be perceived, that the Hebrew of the first and second parts has quite the same character. (2.) So far as the contents of the two parts coincide, there are found passages corresponding almost word for word; comp. *e. g.* chap. vii. 14, שלטנה שלטן עלם דגלא יערה ומלכותה דגלא, with ii. 44, מלכו די לעלמין לא תתחבל והיא תקום לעלמא, &c.—Chap. vii. 1 agrees almost verbally with chap. iv. 5, even the peculiar phrase דהוי ראש. Chap. vii. 2, דהוה הויית נאצרו, comp. ii. 31, דהוה הויית נאצרו. In both parts *the kings* are put for *the kingdoms*, comp. ii. 38 with vii. 17, viii. 20, 21. Others have already remarked on the correspondence of the whole representation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream in chap. ii, with the vision in chap. vii. (3.) It seems that in the introductions to the prophecies of the second part, the

narratives given in the first are supposed to be known. In these introductions there is always just as much given, as is requisite to place them in their right position in the history which has been presented in detail in the first part. Had the second part been composed before the first, this precise rule would not have been always observed in it. 4. But the main proof is in the fact, that the choice of incidents in the historical part, has manifestly been made from the same point of view as that which prevails in the prophetic. That the author of the first part did not design to write a complete history of Daniel, so far as existing records would suffice, appears from this, that with the exception of chaps. i. and ii., the contents of which are immediately connected in chronological order, the particular pieces are strung together without any connexion, without even particles of transition, so that the conjecture might arise that they were separate and unconnected pieces by different authors. Moreover, if this supposition were correct, one piece (chap. iii.) would not have been inserted, in which no mention at all of Daniel occurs. But the contents are still more against this view. All the narratives go to shew how infinitely God is exalted above all that human folly exalts above him, or compares with him; how he appoints trials indeed for his people, but, provided they persist in their fidelity towards him, saves them from dangers from which no human power could liberate them, and raises them to so much the greater happiness. Exactly thus, also, in the prophetic part the principal object is the declaration of the supremacy of God over all earthly kingdoms, and his special providence towards his people. By his permission the four great empires of the world arise; one falls after another, until at last the everlasting kingdom of the Messiah is founded by him, and the hitherto oppressed people of God exalted to dominion. The tyranny of Antiochus Epiphanes and his antitype ends with their downfall, &c. (comp. the farther illustration in CHR. B. MICHAELIS, *præf.* § 27.) Now, this oneness in the point of view must of necessity lead to the identity of authorship. For it is certainly very improbable that the alleged author of the first part should have been so deeply imbued with the spirit of the author of the second.

Thus it is evident that the question can only be, whether or not Daniel is the author of the *whole* book attributed to him. But, it seems, there is not yet much done. It has been maintained in



modern times that the genuineness of the second part of the book by no means follows from the fact that the author seems to ascribe it to Daniel. On this point a twofold path has been taken.

*a.* Some (EICHHORN, *Eiul.* Bd. 4, § 615, b. p. 510, sqq., BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* and *Eiul.*) maintain, that the author's announcing himself as Daniel is mere drapery, as, *e.g.*, is the case in the Book of Wisdom, where Solomon is introduced as speaking. Not that the author had any intention to lie or deceive, any more than CICERO, when he makes friends converse on philosophical subjects, who had never spoken to one another about them, or than HOMER, VIRGIL, and TASSO, when they put into the mouths of celebrated men of former times predictions of past events. The drapery in the prophetic sections is nothing more than an elegant mode of presenting history, an attempt to present history in a poetic form. To heighten the illusion, the historical chaps. containing all the information that could be got together about Daniel, are placed first.

This view, on even a superficial acquaintance with our book, has so unnatural an appearance, that one can hardly help thinking that its origin is due to an apprehension lest the difference between a divinely-inspired prophet and a contemptible impostor might be too great for an age not yet fully accustomed to the light. This suspicion of a "wise accommodation" becomes, at least in regard to BERTHOLDT, and by his own declaration, a certainty. He observes on chap. xii. 4 (*Comm.* ii. p. 795), "Not without design, perhaps, is this feature (*comp.* p. 174), interwoven with the machinery of the fiction. Traces of the existence of these historical predictions in earlier times might have been sought for; but the procedure referred to would make it quite intelligible why they never came to light till now, at the time when the inventor wrote and when all that was predicted was already come to pass." This clear explanation sheds light on other more covert hints in EICHHORN, as well as in BERTHOLDT, and justifies us in laying to the charge of both of them together an intentional deception of their readers, a matter of little consequence, it is true, in the eyes of a rationalist, since forsooth the rationalist Christ set the example of such well-meant, innocent deceit, and since even those who come forward openly with the avowal that our author foisted his work on the nation in Daniel's name with a view to deceive.

do not shrink from calling him a pious patriot, and a zealous worshipper of Jehovah (comp. BLEEK, in the *Berl. theol. Zeitschr.* i. p. 158), or a *wise man* (comp. DE WETTE, l. c. § 257).

Under such circumstances, perhaps, we might altogether spare ourselves the trouble of a reply to this view, especially since, now that GESENIUS, DE WETTE, BLEEK (who l. c. p. 247, pronounces it so unnatural that it must be matter of wonder how it could find any one to concur in it, and declares that, if the only choice lay between this view and that of the genuineness, there could be no hesitation in returning again to the latter), and KIRMS, have declared against it, it may be regarded as pretty well obsolete; we will, however, offer at least a few remarks in reply, partly for the sake of the completeness that should be aimed at in a monograph, partly because this view may have gained a firm hold of some individuals through long habitude. 1. If the author wished merely to give an artistical representation of history—if it was, as in the Book of Wisdom, for the sake of mere drapery that he appeared on the scenes as Daniel, how is it to be explained that the object of his book has ever been regarded not as historic, but as prophetic? Only in this way of looking at the matter is the reception of the book into the canon conceivable, which, according to EICHHORN'S and BERTHOLDT'S own assumption, must have followed immediately after the composition; we find this view even in the first book of the Maccabees; at the time of Christ, among all the prophecies of the O. T., those of Daniel exercised the most influence. But where is any analogy to be found for such illusive dealing with history in even the smallest degree? Who would ever have thought of looking for real prophecies in VIRGIL and TASSO? (2.) Even by the advocates of this view it is not denied that a part of the predictions in chaps. vii.—xii., all that concerns the Messianic kingdom and the Messianic times, is prophetic. But this part stands in the closest connection with the rest, and we cannot at all perceive how a totally different aim can be maintained in the two cases. (3.) Several particulars occur, which will not admit of the hypothesis of a mere dressing up of facts. Such, for instance, are the designed statement of the composition of the work by Daniel in the second part, the express mention that he himself had committed the prophecies to writing, the addition of the Chaldee name Belteshazzar, but especially the

precise notation of the place in which, and of the time when, each vision was imparted to Daniel. This precision is, as already remarked, greater in Daniel than in the older prophets, and common to him with Ezekiel and Zechariah; it seems to be a relic of the sojourn in Babylonia, among a people that paid a manifold attention to the numeration of time. But how should anything like this be discovered, if the prophecy serves merely for the embellishment of history? Moreover, there is several times a very special weight assigned to the fact that the prophecies, for the most part unintelligible to Daniel himself and to his contemporaries, would not have a full light shed upon them till towards the time of their fulfilment, and then only to the pious. Here, then, that is ascribed to our book which in the N. T. (2 Pet. i. 20, sqq, *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως οὐ γίνεται οὐ γὰρ θελήματι ἀνθρώπου ἠνέχθη ποτὲ προφητεία, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πνεύματος ἁγίου φερόμενοι ἐλάλησαν ἅγιοι θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*) is given as the characteristic of inspired prophecy, which can only be explained on the supposition, that either the prophecies of our book are really genuine and inspired, or were published as such by an impostor. 4. This opinion is opposed by the point of view which, as above shewn, predominates equally in the historic and in the prophetic part. (5.) Others have already observed that a merely historical aim being supposed, invincible difficulties arise from the fact that the very same incidents would then be several times related: moreover, that the embellishment would in that case be carried so far beyond all necessary bounds, that the real object would often come short of it in extent of treatment; thus the dressing up would fill the whole of chap. x; in chap. ix. it would include twenty-three verses, and only four would remain for the history. Finally, in the (*sixth*) place, this view stands in decided contradiction to the declarations of Christ and the Apostles, who always regard the Book of Daniel not as a historic but as a prophetic book.

*b.* Others (GESENIUS, DE WETTE, BLEEK, KIRMS) maintain that the author, of set purpose to deceive, gave out his prophecies as Daniel's; that, at a time when the prophetic office had been long extinguished, he wished to encourage and strengthen his cotemporaries by prophecies of the coming conquests of the theocracy, which, to obtain a readier credit, and to make up for his



own defective credibility, he ascribed to the ancient seer Daniel, of whom tradition spoke. The prophetic reference to incidents which had already taken place, was intended to obtain belief for his prophecies concerning those which had not yet actually occurred.

It is perfectly clear, that the advocates of this view cannot deny the force of the argument derived from the fact, that the author of the Book gives himself out as Daniel. As in common life, so in the criticism of ancient and modern literary productions, the rule holds good, that no one without definite reasons will declare a person to be another than what he gives himself out to be, unless he wishes to be chargeable with calumny. If in the whole book mention was made only *of* Daniel, and if no other reasons could be brought, either for or against his authorship, the matter would have to remain undecided. But now we have so far the advantage, that we have the presumption of the genuineness in our favour, and that the proof of the contrary is obligatory on our opponents, a demand to which, as we have seen, they are in no wise able to respond. To a person, however, who is at all able to comprehend the spirit of our book, this argument must possess a far greater force. "Such an opposition," observes SACK, l. c. p. 282, "between the greatest kingdom in the world, and the kingdom of God, between human mandates and the Word of God, between impious self-deification and of prophetic piety and frankness, such a combination of simplicity of form with magnitude of objects—all this stands unrivalled, not only in the non-hebraic and apochryphal literature, but even in the canonical." And an author, who displays such a lofty and profound spirit, that we are involuntarily impelled, with the whole Christian Church, to suppose a peculiar divine assistance rendered in the composition of his work; who is so deeply imbued with the grace of God, that in all things he gives to him alone the honour; who in such an exalted strain depicts the blessedness of the pious—is forsooth an impostor, so initiated in the arts of lying, that he knew how to play the part which he had undertaken in the most finished manner, and deceived cotemporaries and posterity! Really, the arguments must be very strong that could induce us to subscribe to such an opinion. The whole history of literature affords no parallel to such a phenomenon. We possess no fictitious pro-

phetic writing which would not be recognized as a base, unsubstantial imposture. Comp., *e. g.*, the Sibylline oracles, to which BLEEK appeals as an analogous instance. He himself has so little opinion of them that he avows he would grudge the pains he has bestowed upon them, were it not that many historical records may be gained from them.

#### SECT. II.—RECEPTION INTO THE CANON.

The spuriousness of Daniel can in no way be reconciled with the history of the canon. In order to show this, we must here go more deeply into the latter, since we can refer to no satisfactory work already existing.

What was it the collectors of the canon had to do? They had to collect the works of those writers whose divine inspiration had always been generally acknowledged, at least by the pious, and which, therefore, even under the first temple, supposing them to have been then in existence, passed as canonical; and they had to arrange and combine them in a complete collection, and thereby to distinguish them from all other literary productions, which were either written only with the usual aid of the Spirit, or were supposititious and deceptive, or which from their contents could make no claim to sacredness.

When was this business begun and finished? A twofold view is held respecting this. The Jewish synagogue and the ancient Christian Church, although their opinions were divided respecting the authors of the collection, and the manner in which it was made up, yet agreed that the collection of the O. T., as it now lies before us, was completed in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (both of them lived and laboured together, probably for a long while, at Jerusalem, comp. Nehem. viii. 9; x. 2, although Ezra began his operations there about thirteen years earlier, comp. *GES. thes.* s. v. *Artachshasta*, BLEEK, p. 200), and of the prophets cotemporary with them, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. On the other hand, it has been maintained in modern times (comp. *e. g.*, DE WETTE, *Eiol.* § 11), that the canon of the O. T. was formed by degrees, and as it were of itself; that only a beginning was made with the collection in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that

this business, as well as that of producing new works, was proceeded with till about the year 150 B.C.

It must appear very surprising that the latter view, to say nothing of the unfounded assumptions respecting the age of certain biblical books, with which we cannot here concern ourselves,\* is so very bare of all arguments to sustain it. DE WETTE here also verifies his frequent adage—*stat pro ratione voluntas*. He contents himself, just as if he had been present at the making up of the canon, with the mere *assurance* that it was done in this way. BLEEK, who in some particulars recedes from the modern view as going too far, has indeed been at the pains to adduce two arguments for what is held by him to be the essential groundwork of it; but on nearer examination it will be seen that he could only have been misled by a previous interest to attribute any force to them. He maintains that the other books of the O. T. could not have been combined into a whole with the Pentateuch till after the time of Nehemiah, and for the following reasons:—1. “In Nehem. chaps. viii.—x., Ezra engaged the people in a solemn manner to a renewed observance of the law; here there is a reference only to the Pentateuch; had the other writings been at that time combined with the Pentateuch into a whole, with equal canonical authority, Ezra would have bound them to keep them also.” A strange conclusion! With the same propriety it might be maintained that the other books at the time of the Maccabees were not yet combined with the Pentateuch into one collection and regarded as canonical, because in the first book of the Maccabees the discourse is entirely about zeal for the law; or that the prophets did not consider themselves inspired, because they always refer to the law as the basis of the theocracy, comp. *e. g.* Is. viii. 16, 20, Mal. iii. 22. The Pentateuch, it must be remembered, contained the entire contents of the law, and with this only

---

\* It must not be forgotten, that even in this respect our opponents, compelled by the force of evidence, are beginning to return partially to the right way. This is particularly the case in reference to the collection of Psalms. The existence of Maccabean Psalms, to which BERTHOLDT appeals as one of the surest proofs of the later closing of the canon, is disputed not only by BLEEK (l. c. p. 203) and HASSLER (*de Psalm Maccabaicis partic. 1, Uhm.* 1827), but even by DE WETTE (*Comment. z d. Ps.* Aufl 2, 3) and GESENIUS (*Vorrede zu GRAMBERG's Religionsg.* p. 12.), who formerly defended this view; and they allow that there is not one Psalm in the whole collection which dates after the times of Ezra and Nehemiah.



was their concern in all times of the theocracy. The prophets in this respect gave nothing new, and dared give nothing new, since they themselves were strictly bound to an observance of the Pentateuch. They, as well as the authors of the other books, were only called upon to set forth the contents of the book of the law; to bring it into contact with the heart; to give it a special application; to shew the fulfilment of the threatenings and promises contained in it, and more accurately to define and more fully to amplify them, but not to deal thus with the laws. The untenableness of the view, that the writings of the prophets were not held as canonical, *i. e.* as inspired, in the time of Ezra, might be made apparent, if it were necessary, from the writings of the older prophets, and of those cotemporary with Ezra and Nehemiah (comp. *e. g.* Zech. i. 4, vii. 7, 12), and with equal plainness from the historical books. But in a matter which properly requires no proof we need not expatiate; the discourse of Ezra himself affords proof complete enough. Ezra says, chap. ix. 27, they killed *thy* prophets; ver. 29, *thou* didst testify against them, that thou mightest bring them again to thy law; ver. 30, *thou* didst testify against them by *thy* spirit in *thy* prophets. Is not the divine inspiration of the prophets, and what is inseparably connected with it, the canonicity of their writings, here declared in plain terms? It is true, a complete equality of the Pentateuch and of the other writings does not follow from this; but neither was this maintained by the compilers of the canon. On the contrary, from the very opinion that Moses enjoyed a higher grade of inspiration than the authors of all the other books, his writings were placed in a particular class, just as also between the second and third compilation the higher and lower grade of inspiration formed the ground of distinction.

2. "In 2 Macc. ii. 13, a notice is contained derived from lost memoirs of Nehemiah, according to which he made a collection of writings, manifestly of such as had a peculiar value for his people and had not yet been collected. Of the correctness of these notices we have no reason to doubt. This passage is important in many respects. It shows that in the time of Nehemiah there was as yet no thought of combining the Pentateuch with the other writings into a whole; for the Pentateuch is not once mentioned in it, and cannot, therefore, have been an ingredient in

the collection made by Nehemiah ; those writings, therefore, must have been received later into the canon, which were at that time excluded from it, and to which, in a religious and historical point of view only, a special interest was ascribed. Moreover, the collection of Nehemiah was in a certain respect more copious than the later canon ; for it contained, besides, the *ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων*, probably letters of foreign princes respecting presents to the temple, which afterwards, when the collection of Nehemiah was combined with the book of the law, the point of view being now the sacredness of a writing, were excluded as the writings of heathen princes. In another respect, however, it was more scanty. For, of the Hagiographa it contained only our Psalms."

In the whole of this argumentation there are just as many errors as assertions.

We place foremost the passage which is said to contain such full and important proof, giving it at length :—*Ἐξηγούντο δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματισμοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Νεεμίαν τὰ αὐτὰ, καὶ ὡς καταβαλλόμενος βιβλιοθήκην, ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν, καὶ τὰ τοῦ Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων.*

It is, in the first place, unpardonable to take a statement found in the work of an arrant impostor (for such a name properly belongs to the author of the forged letter prefixed to the second book of the Maccabees), and, in ignorance of previous thorough investigations of the subject (we refer our readers only to RAINOLDI, *censura librr. apocrr.* p. 1319, and especially to the acute and learned WERNSDORF'S *Comment. de fide histor. librr. Macc. Breslau* 1747, p. 66 sqq., and p. 181 sqq.), to use it with the same assurance as if it were derived from the purest historical source. This conduct would be in some measure excusable if this impostor had really made use of lost genuine memoirs of Nehemiah. But how can that for a moment be imagined ?

If memoirs of Nehemiah really existed, in which the statement brought forward by the author was to be found, it must, judging by the wretched character of the other statements which he quotes from Nehemiah, have been a miserable *apocryphum*. But the very existence of such a source is, on nearer inspection, destitute of all probability. As the author here cites Nehemiah, so ver. 4, 5,

does he cite Jeremiah, and ver. 11, Moses ; but what he quotes from them is not to be found in their canonical writings. Nor in any of the apocryphal writings that have come down to us does that occur which is quoted by him. Is it then at all probable, as GAAB (*Comm. z. den Apokr. z. d. St.*) assumes, that the author made use of three apocryphal books, of which not a single vestige remains to us ? Is not this all the more improbable from the fact, that what he quotes, ver. 2, from Jeremiah, namely, that the prophet exhorted his countrymen to a faithful adherence to the law and to an avoidance of idolatry, is actually found in the canonical Jeremiah, chap. xlv ? It is much more likely that the author, supposing his readers to be just as grossly ignorant of Scripture as he shews himself to be (ascribing, *e. g.*, chap. i. 18, the building of the temple and the altar, which was effected by Zerubbabel and Joshua, to Nehemiah ; attributing to him, also, the religious arrangements which, according to the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, were made by Ezra, whom he hardly seems to have any knowledge of, since *e. g.* he attributes to Nehemiah, who was never a priest, the regulation of the sacrifices ; and lastly, according to chap. ii. 15, not knowing that the Egyptian Jews have the same sacred books as the Jews of Palestine), confidently appeals to the canonical books of Moses, Ezra, and Nehemiah, without troubling to inquire whether the quotations were really contained in them or not. Is not this audacity quite of a piece with that of his arrogating to himself the name of Judas Maccabæus ?

Now, if this be the true account of this *locus classicus*, it is most improbable beforehand that it contains what BLEEK finds in it. For, even granting BLEEK'S views of the canon to be correct, how could such a precise historical statement be expected in such a writer respecting this matter ? This presumption on nearer inspection turns out to be well-founded. It is not true that the author understood, by the writings which Nehemiah is said to have collected, such as had not been earlier collected. For when, ver. 14, he says that Judas in like manner (*ὡσαύτως*) collected again (*ἐπισυνήγαγε*) the holy writings that had been scattered abroad, this proves him to have supposed that the writings collected again by Nehemiah had existed in a collection before the captivity. Nor is the main assertion true, which is said to be so



decisively proved, that the Pentateuch was not in this collection of Nehemiah. It is very clearly apparent here, that it will not do to press a single passage quoted, but that the surer way is to take into the account the preceding and following context. The author had before related how Jeremiah, on the downfall of the State, saved the book of the law, as well as the sacred fire and the ark of the covenant, and entrusted it to the care of trustworthy men, comp. ver. 2. What need after this of citing the Pentateuch among the writings collected together by Nehemiah from the dispersion? What was already in hand, needed not to be sought for afresh.—It is just as incorrect to maintain that the collection of Nehemiah contained a piece which is not found in our canon, the *ἐπιστολὰς β. π. αυ.* There can be no manner of doubt what we are to understand by these letters. They are the letters contained in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, written by the Persian kings from Cyrus to Artaxerxes, in which they grant rich presents to the temple, and great favours to the Jewish people. The very expression is found again in Josephus xi. 5 (*καὶ τὰ δεδομένα σοι ἱερὰ σκεύη ἀναθήσεις*) in the letter of the Persian king to Ezra. What other letters could they well be imagined to be, allowing the correctness of the statement? The author no doubt thought that the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, or at least the latter, were not composed till after the death, or at least till the latter days, of those whose deeds they related. But he supposed he must assign the collecting of the holy writings by Nehemiah to the beginning of his labours at Jerusalem. He thus had an inducement in himself, to make Nehemiah place in the library founded by him only the foreign documents inserted in his work.—Finally, when the author speaks only of *τὰ τοῦ Δαβὶδ*, it would not follow, even if he were a better and more exact writer, that he excluded the rest of the Hagiographa from the collection of Nehemiah, especially as the succeeding parallelism of it with the collection instituted by Judas Maccabæus, shews that he thought of nothing else than a complete collection of the writings of the later canon, with merely the exception just mentioned. With equal propriety might it be inferred from Luke xxiv. 24, where the whole of the third collection is quoted under the name *ψαλμοὶ*, that at the time of the authors of the N. T. it contained nothing but the Psalms. It is well known that the third collection, having no characteristic ap-

pellation, was designated by various general appellations, or by such as were taken from some principal component of it. What inducement, too, could the author have for giving a more exact designation or a very complete enumeration of the particular books, when he gave the entire account of the collection instituted by Nehemiah merely for the sake of the statement that follows respecting the similar procedure of Judas Maccabæus? Besides, the designation of the entire prophetic-historical books, the *prophete priores*, by τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων is just as vague, since, exactly taken, it applies only to a part of the Books of Samuel and the Books of Kings, but not at all to the Books of Joshua and the Judges.—But we can the more readily spare ourselves from going into farther detail, since BLEEK himself, p. 204, finds it not improbable that the other poetical books of the collection were passed over in silence by the author. But if these, why not the others too?

We think, now that the opposite view has been shewn to have nothing in its favour, that we may pass on to establish our own.

1. This view has no trifling direct external evidences in its favour. We begin with the most important, that of JOSEPHUS. He says, in the famous passage *c. Apionem* i. 8, that the occurrences from the reign of Artaxerxes down to his time, were indeed committed to writing, but that the writings belonging to this period were not regarded as equally worthy of credit with those of earlier date, because there was then no unbroken succession of prophets.\* It might seem, on the first cursory glance, as if Josephus was here assigning not the *terminus ad quem* of the collection, but only of the composition, of the sacred writings. But that it was not so, is shewn on a nearer inspection of the reason why the later writings are not put on an equality with the older. Josephus does not deny that in later times also particular men may have enjoyed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit in the composition of their writings; he maintains, on the contrary, elsewhere, the continuance of the gift of prophecy, although as very rarely occurring; comp. *de bell. Jud.* i. 2, concerning John

---

\* Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀρταξέρξου μέχρι τοῦ κατ' ἡμᾶς χρόνου γέγραπται μὲν ἕκαστα, πίστιως δὲ οὐκ ὁμοίως ἠξίωται τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν προφητῶν ἀκριβῆ διαδοχὴν.

Hyrchanus:—"He it was who alone had three of the most desirable things in the world—the government of his nation, the high priesthood, and the gift of prophecy. For the deity conversed with him, and he was not ignorant of any thing that was to come afterward."\* He rather ascribes the inferior trustworthiness of the later writings to the fact, that there did not exist, as formerly, an unbroken succession of men illuminated by God, the later of whom always bore witness to the divine illumination of the earlier, so that the people were not in uncertainty whether to regard a writing as inspired or not. Now, if this was the reason, it is established that, according to the view of Josephus, with the cessation of an exact line of prophets, the canon also must have been closed. For even supposing a writing to have been afterwards found, which had been actually composed by a man of former times illuminated by God, or which claimed to pass as such, it could not have been received into the canon, for the same reason that made the reception of the later writings, even assuming their divine inspiration, impossible, namely the want of sufficient attestation. But Josephus lays down a double *terminus ad quem* of the composition, and, what according to him coincides with it, the collection of the biblical writings—the reign of Artaxerxes, and the cessation of an unbroken series of prophets. Let us first of all leave the former aside, and try to define the latter independently of it. The existing materials place us in a complete position for doing this, and it has already been attempted by several, but most successfully by VITRINGA, in his excellent treatise, *De defectu prophetiæ post Malachiæ tempora, obs. sacerr. t. ii. p. 336, sqq.* The Jews, whose testimony against themselves here is just as valid as that of Epimenides against the Cretans, unanimously assert, that after Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, the line of prophets, having continued several centuries unbroken, ceased; they deny to the time after Ezra and Nehemiah even the *ריה הקדש*, which in their opinion the authors of the Hagiographa enjoyed, and which Josephus, in his looser way of speaking, in which by *προφητεία* divine inspiration in general is

---

\* τρία γοῦν τὰ κρατιστεύοντα μόνος εἶχε, τὴν τε ἀρχὴν τοῦ ἔθνους, τὴν τε ἀρχιερωσύνην, καὶ προφητείαν· ὁμίλει γὰρ ἀντὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς μηδὲν τῶν μελόντων ἀγνοεῖν.



designated, comprehends in the prophetic vocation. In the first Book of the Maccabees, not only in chap. iv. 46, xiv. 41, does the prophetic office appear as at that time extinguished, but in chap. ix. 27, the cessation of the prophetic office is expressly declared to have been cotemporaneous with the commencement of the first colony on the Jordan. It is said there, "And there was great affliction in Israel, such as had not been since the time that a prophet was not seen among them."\* Instead of the last words JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* xiii. 1, puts as equivalent, "After the return from Babylon,"† which is stated only a little farther on. With the first Book of the Maccabees and Josephus, the other older and later Hebrew writers perfectly agree. Malachi everywhere appears as the latest prophet. The author of the book Cosri says that the prophetic office lasted under the second temple about forty years. After the death of Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, say the Talmudists, the Holy Ghost departed from Israel and ascended to heaven.—Josephus, then, distinctly declares, that in the age of Ezra, Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, the canon was completed, and this declaration has the more weight, since he gives it, to judge by his words, not as his private judgment, but as the judgment of the whole Jewish Church. EICHORN rightly observes, in the excellent treatise *hist. Unters. über den Canon* (*Repert. Th.* 5, p. 253), "had Josephus wished to propound his own opinion of the canon as differing from the common one, he would no doubt have expressed himself more restrictedly,—'I regard it as not so trustworthy as they do,' or 'the Pharisees regard it as not so trustworthy as they do,' especially as in other places he carefully distinguishes between general and particular opinions."—This certainly very important testimony in favour of the older view of the canon, our opponents, *e. g.*, BERTHOLDT (*Einkl.* p. 1519), and BLEEK (p. 197), have tried to set aside by the remark, that it is not supported by historical or traditional grounds, but is merely a conclusion of Josephus; for that he places the incidents of the Book of Esther, and thus also its composition, which he supposed cotemporaneous with them, in

\* και ἐγένετο ἑλίφως μεγάλη ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, ἥτις οὐκ ἐγένετο ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας οὐκ ᾤφθη προφήτης ἐν αὐτοῖς.

† μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἐπίστροφον.

the time of Artaxerxes, and then infers from the age of the latest book thus determined, at what time the canon must have been closed. But this expedient may easily be shewn to be without foundation, and to have proceeded only from the dilemma in which Josephus found himself. For Josephus gives his judgment expressly not as a private judgment, but as the judgment of the Jewish Church, and, what is still more important, he assigns not merely the reign of Artaxerxes, but also the cessation of the precise line of prophets, as the point of the closing of the canon. Now, if we keep the latter circumstance in view, we cannot possibly allow that Josephus determined the time of the closing of the canon by his view of the age of the Book of Esther. For the two are clearly not coincident. Josephus, as is well known, places Ezra and Nehemiah, and the prophets cotemporary with them, under the reign of Xerxes, at the end of which therefore, according to him, the exact line of prophets ceases; on the contrary, he places the book of Esther not under Xerxes, but under Artaxerxes. Thus by this doubly incorrect account, he got into this dilemma, that he must either exclude the Book of Esther from the canon, or contradict the common view, that with the cessation of the precise line of prophets the canon also was closed. He was anxious to do neither. He tried therefore to help himself, by hiding in mystified phraseology the difficulty which he could not remove. On the one side, he closed the canon with the reign of Artaxerxes, without saying whether with the beginning or the later period of it—for had he said the former, he would have been asked, how then the Book of Esther got into the canon; had he said the latter, how, contrary to his own statements, he could prolong the succession of prophets till that time;—on the other side, he placed as the *terminus ad quem* the cessation of the line of prophets, but was cautious not to say expressly, what, if he had been pressed, he must have said, that this cessation took place with the death of Ezra, Nehemiah, and the cotemporary prophets. But by this very indefiniteness his statement of the matter remained the true one, and in accordance with the Jewish tradition. For the difficulty which compelled him to this indefiniteness vanishes, so soon as his mistake in reference to the age of Ezra and Nehemiah, and of the Book of Esther, is corrected.

A second direct testimony is afforded us by the passage quoted

from the second Book the Maccabees. It proves at least this much, that according to the view prevailing in the time of the author, who in any case must have lived before the birth of Christ, the canon of the O. T. was made up in the first period of the new colony. That this was done by Nehemiah, cannot be believed on the word of the author. We have already seen that he everywhere ascribes more to Nehemiah than belongs to him, and that such is the case in the present instance appears to result from the fact, that in the trustworthy cotemporaneous accounts Nehemiah appears occupied almost solely with the civil affairs, whilst on the contrary the care of religious matters lay on Ezra the priest and scholar, and the cotemporary prophets.

In agreement with these two passages, are the statements of the other older Jewish writers, and of the Fathers of the Church, from the oldest onwards, all of whom place the collection and closing of the canon in the age of Ezra, and ascribe to him a special co-operation in the work (comp. the passages of the latter in BUXTORF, *Tib.* Cap. xi.) It has indeed been objected against the trustworthiness of the accounts of the Fathers, that following the fourth Book of Ezra they give credit to the absurd tradition of the restoration of all the books lost in the captivity, by means of an inspiration imparted to Ezra; but on the one hand, in reference to some, and those the most ancient, *e. g.*, Irenæus and Clemens Alexandrinus, this is liable to well-founded, although not quite decisive doubts (comp. BUDDEUS, *h. eccl. V. T. p.* 1025, sqq.), and on the other, the existence of a historical foundation is certainly not destroyed by a disfigurement of the fact.

2. No less important than the direct historical testimonies are the indirect. So far as we can go back into the history after the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, we meet with the writings of the O. T. as a complete collection, strictly separated from all other literature, acknowledged with perfect unanimity, revered as sacred and divine. That this, the mode of viewing the matter in the N. T., is the prevailing one throughout PHILO and JOSEPHUS, could be partially denied only by the most extreme dogmatic prepossession in the period of SEMLER'S influence; and now, as being generally acknowledged, requires no proof farther than that which has been afforded, among the moderns, in the best and most complete manner by EICHHORN in the treatise referred to. We



produce here from the said passage of JOSEPHUS *c. Ap.* only the following words, because they are of themselves sufficient to establish our position—"It is perfectly clear what confidence we repose in our writings. For during all the long period that has elapsed, no one has dared either to add, or take away, or transpose anything; but it is a dictate of nature with all the Jews from their very birth, to regard them as the Word of God, to adhere to them, and, if necessary, to give up their lives cheerfully in their defence."\* Still more to our purpose is the fact, that none of the apocryphal books was received into either the Palestine or the Egyptian canon (comp. the evidence for the identity of the two in EICHHORN, l. c. p. 228, sqq.), which is the more remarkable, the more some of them agreed with the Alexandrian taste. Nay, we can trace this mode of viewing the collection of the Sacred Writings to the very point to which the literature of the Hebrews after Nehemiah reaches. In the prologue to Jesus Sirach, the oldest apocryphal book, not only does the canon of the O. T. appear as a complete collection, strictly severed from all other literature, the three component parts of which are brought forward by name, as the repository of all wisdom, but it is even expressly said, that the grandfather of the prefacer (about the year 180 B. C.) devoted himself zealously to the reading of the canonical writings in their three departments, and that his work was the fruit of the study of them. And the same mode of regarding the Scripture, according to all its parts, is still more clearly manifest in the book itself, in the praise of the scholar, chap. xxxix.† Attention to the Holy Scriptures is here represented as the most elevated employment to which a man can devote himself, because they alone are the pure fountain of all wisdom.—Now, these facts remain inexplicable according to the modern view of the collection of the canon. The canon of the O. T. must have been collected at a time to

---

\* δῆλον δ' ἐστὶν ἔργῳ, πῶς ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἰδίῳις γράμμασι πεπιστεύκαμεν. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ αἰῶνος ἤδη παρωχηκότος, ὅντε προσθεῖναι τις οὐδέν, ὅντε ἀφελεῖν αὐτῶν, ὅντε μεταθεῖναι τετόλμηκεν, πᾶσι δὲ σύμφυτόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γενέσεως Ἰουδαίῳις τὸ νομίζειν αὐτὰ θεοῦ δόγματα καὶ τούτοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰ δεῖ, θνήσκειν ἠδέως.

† Might not the features of the picture of the wise man in this chap. v. 4-11, have been borrowed from Daniel as he appears in our book? At all events, the particulars correspond to no other wise man of former times so completely as to him; comp. esp. ver. 4, 5.

whose decision later times unconditionally submitted, because they recognized as still operative in it the Spirit of God, by whom they felt themselves forsaken; and this time, judging from the nature of the case itself, and from the unanimous testimony of the Jewish tradition, can be no other than the first period of the new colony. How else than on such an authority could we explain the complete agreement of the Jews in reference to their sacred books? That this is possible in no other way, is most clearly evident if we compare the history of the Christian canon, in reference to which there was no such authority. The perplexity and disagreement respecting the extent of the canon of the O. T., were removed only by the fact that information was obtained among the Jews about the extent of the canon; in reference to the canon of the N. T. there prevailed just as great disagreement.—An indirect evidence against the modern view is afforded, lastly, by the fact, that the canon of the O. T. was preserved in the temple, as appears from JOSEPHUS, *Arch.* v. 1, 17, *de bell. Jud.* vii. 5, 5, and probably also *de vita sua* § 75. If the canon arose of itself, without reference to any revered authority, without the direction of any competent power, whose was it to decide what writings should be preserved in the temple, and what not?—The weight of this argument, taken from the indirect historical testimonies, for the closing of the canon in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, is so great, that even EICHHORN, at a time when he was not yet compelled by the erroneous results of his inquiries concerning particular biblical books, to advocate the modern view, felt himself obliged fully to acknowledge it. He says, l. c. p. 279, “From the accounts hitherto collected, it seems to me undeniable that, at the time of Christ and his Apostles, the canon of the Jews corresponded in extent with our present editions of the Bible. And if before their time, in the interval between the end of the Babylonish captivity and the birth of Christ, it had ever contained fewer books, either the truth of the representation which antiquity gives us of the way in which the Jews regarded their sacred books, must be denied, or it must be maintained that the Jews never instituted an intentional and well-defined collection of their national writings. The first might be said contrary to all reason to fly in the face of the most trustworthy testimonies of antiquity, and the latter to be contrary to all appearance.”

3. But the weight of these direct and indirect historical testimonies is farther increased by other arguments. The successive and accidental formation of the canon is opposed by the threefold division of it, which, as we have before shewn (comp. p. 19 sqq.), rests upon the different relation in which, according to the view of the compilers, the authors of the several books stood to God. Such a division, made in accordance with a distinct principle, supposes that the collection was *ex professo* undertaken and completed at a particular time. Farther, it is in itself probable that the collection of the sacred books was undertaken in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, and that the greatest pains were taken to completely finish it. The people were by the captivity inspired with a new enthusiasm for the religion of their fathers, and at the same time it was felt that the immediate operation of the Divine Spirit was about to be taken away. What was more natural and more suited to the entire character of a period that leaned on the past, than to inquire all the more eagerly for, and to seek before it was too late to secure, what the Holy Spirit had spoken by his instruments in former times, who in some measure, by the captivity itself and by the return from it, had been most illustriously confirmed to be such? And if the attempt was made to collect completely all such remains, what could prevent its being realized in a short time, since, from the limited extent of the new colony, the necessary inquiries could be easily instituted, and from the active intercourse carried on with their brethren who remained behind, whatever might have been retained among them might easily have been procured? But that Ezra in particular was occupied to a great extent with the sacred writings, and thus in all probability with the collecting of them, appears from his very title הסופר, which he himself prefers to the other belonging to him, הכהן. BLEEK'S assertion (l. c., p. 201), that Ezra bore this designation only in reference to the book of the law, is not proved by the fact that it occurs in Ezra vii. 6, with this special reference. There the more precise definition is applied; where it is wanting, the surname can refer, according to its derivation and the usage of the language, only to the entire of the sacred writings, which, as has already been shewn, were not confined at that time to the books of Moses.

If, then, it be established that the canon of the O. T. was made up in the times of Ezra and Nehemiah, how is the reception of



Daniel into it to be explained, in case the book was composed in the time of the Maccabees? Certainly the explanation is not contained in the assumption, that they who received the book into the canon, themselves believed that it was a genuine work of Daniel; for, as we saw before, the canon was regarded as closed, not merely because there were no longer any writers to be found illuminated by the Spirit of God, but rather because the later times, forsaken by the Spirit of God, had not the credit of being capable of deciding with certainty on the canonicity of a book; to which we may surely add, in the case of any writings alleged to have sprung from the period before the making up of the canon, the persuasion they would feel that the compilers of it would not have passed them over, if the suitable age and divine inspiration had really belonged to them. But that the Maccabæan age itself formed no exception to this consciousness of being forsaken by the Divine Spirit, and to the uncertainty arising out of it, is clear from the passage, 1 Macc. iv. 46, where we are told that the stones of the ruined heathen altar, because they did not know what to do with them, were preserved “until there should come a prophet to show what should be done with them.”\* Would an age, that could not venture to decide about such a trifling matter, have presumed to decide on the canonicity of one of the most important books in the Bible? If we should be reminded of the credulity of the Maccabæan age, the more easily to be accounted for here because the book met their wishes and hopes (comp. BLEEK, p. 207), here too we are not destitute of a striking counter-proof. In 1 Macc. xiv. 41, the Jewish people decide that Simon shall be general and high priest “until there should arise a faithful prophet,”† on which VITRINGA, l. c. properly observes: “There is an emphasis in *προφήτης πιστός*. Having been so long a time without any prophet, they were naturally suspicious of any man who gave himself out as a prophet, without at the same time producing the clearest testimonials; most justly, therefore, the Jews would not be satisfied with *any* prophet that might offer, but desired one that should be *πιστός*, worthy of the most implicit and extended credit.”‡ Is it to be supposed that those who here

\* *μέχρι τοῦ παραγεννηθῆναι προφήτην, τοῦ ἀποκριθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.*

† *ἕως τοῦ ἀναστῆναι προφήτην πιστόν.*

‡ “*Emphasis habet, quod dicitur προφήτης πιστός. Etenim cum longum adeo*

manifest so little desire, contrary to what was often the case formerly, of allowing themselves to be deceived by an illusive appearance or by splendid promises, should, in another case, credulously have seized on whatever was offered them?—Or, shall we be told of the confusion of the Maccabæan times, in which, by the favour of a few, a book might easily have slipped into the canon without its being observed by the many who were quite unacquainted with the earlier extent of it? We might object to this, not only the unlimited reverence which the Jews even then had for their sacred writings,—of which, among other things, the passages quoted from the book of Jesus Sirach, as well as the strenuous defence of them by the Jews themselves, afford evidence, with which reverence we must surely suppose an exact knowledge of its object, and an attentiveness to it, connected,—but also especially the passage 1 Macc, vii. 12. : “Then did there assemble unto Alcimus and Bacchides a company of scribes, to require justice.”\* From this passage it appears, that during the Maccabæan times, and even after the greatest oppressions of Antiochus Epiphanes, there was a considerable number of men who made the Scriptures the exclusive object of their studies, and who certainly would not have looked calmly on, if a supposititious book had sought introduction into the canon.—But even supposing men had succeeded by any artifice in bringing the book into the canon, which we cannot by any means allow, even then it would be inconceivable how the author could so perfectly have succeeded in his deception, that, although the writings which give us direct or indirect information about the book go back so near comparatively to the time of the author and the reception into the canon, which must have followed very soon after the composition, yet nowhere is the very slightest trace to be found of doubts of the genuineness, but that, on the contrary, everywhere there appears the firmest persuasion of the genuineness of the book. We shall

---

tempus absque propheta transegissent, merito ipsis suspectus erat quisunque homo, qui se prophetam jactabat, et non simul evidentissimis documentis auctoritatem suam adstruebat; summo itaque jure Judæi non quemvis, sed πιστόν, fidelem, indubium et magnæ fidei prophetam desiderabant.”

\* καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν πρὸς Ἀλκιμον καὶ Βακχίδην συναγωγὴ γραμματίων ἐκζητῆσαι δίκαια.

farther on see that the author of the first book of the Maccabees in his work placed Daniel at the foundation, and made it his aim to shew the fulfilment of his prophecies. The still older version of the LXX. affords proof by its very existence, that its author reckoned Daniel with the undoubtedly canonical writings. JOSEPHUS places the book of Daniel higher than most other books of the O. T. Thus he says, Arch. x., 11, 7 :—"All these things did this man leave behind in writing, as God had shewed them to him ; so that those who read his prophecies, and see how they have been fulfilled, must be astonished at the honour conferred by God on Daniel."\* He says of one of his prophecies, "that it was delivered 408 years before the fulfilment."† Arch. ii., vii. 6. This confidence with which Josephus here and in other passages appeals to our book as to a genuine production of the prophet Daniel (in a passage already quoted, p. 4, he declares that it suffices alone for a refutation of the Epicurean theory of the world), shews incontestibly that in his age he could not suppose the smallest doubt to exist of the genuineness of the book, for otherwise he would certainly, if only in passing, have replied to it. And the very same thing results from the fact, that the contemporaries of Josephus, chiefly induced by the falsely understood prophecies of Daniel, allowed themselves to be urged to the most important undertakings. How could this be accounted for, if the slightest doubt had existed of the genuineness and inspiration of the prophecies of Daniel? If Josephus had not considered the genuineness of Daniel to rest on immoveable external grounds, would he not have wavered in his belief of the book, when he saw what disasters, without any fault of its own certainly, it had brought on the people? But we have already seen (comp. *supra*) that nothing was farther from being the case than this.

After the preceding observations, we think we are fully justified, notwithstanding the protestation of BLEEK (l. c. p. 208) resting on purely groundless assertions, to pronounce the reception of the book into the canon, together with the general acknow-

---

\* ταῦτα πάντα ἐκεῖνος Θεοῦ δείξαντος αὐτῷ συγγράψας κατέλειψεν, ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας καὶ τὰ συμβαίνοντα σκοποῦντας θαυμάζειν ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ τοῦ Θεοῦ τιμῇ τοῦ Δανιήλου.

† πρὸ β' ἰταίαν πρὸ τετρακοσίου καὶ ὀκτῶ γενομένην ἔτων.



ledgment of its canonicity, a certain, irrefragable proof of its genuineness, of course with the proviso, which has already been shewn to be met, that there be no decisive reasons existing to compel us to regard the extremely improbable and impossible, as possible and probable.

SECT. III.—TESTIMONY OF CHRIST AND THE APOSTLES.

Amongst the external evidences, an important place must be assigned to—the testimony of Christ and his Apostles. There are few books of the O. T. whose divine authority is so fully established by the testimony of the N. T., and in particular by our Lord himself, as the book of Daniel. We shall shew that this testimony does really exist, and to this extent. We begin with the most important item, the declarations of Christ. The principal passage is Matt. xxiv. 25, (ὅταν οὖν ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου, ἐστὼς ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ, (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω!) τότε κ. τ. λ.); comp. with Mark xiii. 14, (ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως ἐστὼς ὅπου οὐ δεῖ, (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων νοεῖτω!) τότε κ. τ. λ.) We must prepare the way for the proof, that this declaration of Christ contains a full confirmation of Daniel, by a few observations.

1. All expositors agree that the words *ὁ ἀναγιν. ν.* form a parenthesis; but they differ as to the person to whom these words are to be ascribed. The older expositors almost unanimously ascribe them to Christ; the modern (comp. *e. g.* HEUMANN in loc., HUG, *Einl. ins N. T.* ii. p. 12, SCHOTT, *comment. in Christi sermm. de reditu*, p. 50, KUINOEL in loc.), with the exception, however, of PAULUS and FRITSCHÉ in loc., to the Evangelists. Neither party have sufficiently sustained their opinion, least of all the latter. HUG, on the assumption that these words belong to Matthew, without attempting in any way to justify it, nay, without the least mention of the contrary opinion, grounds his hypothesis of the period of the composition of Matthew's gospel. SCHOTT is the only one who has attempted to assign a reason for this opinion; but this, on closer examination, proves to be untenable. He maintains that if the words *ὁ ἀ. ν.* belonged to Christ, they must have pointed to the book of Daniel; that such a refer-

ence, however, would have been out of place, at least in Mark, since the words τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Δανιὴλ τοῦ πρ., which are found in him also according to several critical authorities, are by other very important ones repudiated, and have manifestly been interpolated from Matthew. But, although this must be granted, yet it remains not the less certain, that in Mark too Christ refers to Daniel, and if the mention of him by name is wanting there, nothing more can be inferred, than that this prophecy of Daniel was so well known, and so familiar to the disciples, as may be shewn likewise to have been the case with the whole of that age (vid. *infra*), that only a slight mention of it was needed. Only on the false supposition that there was no such acquaintance with it, can SCHOTT maintain that the words, taken as an admonition of Christ's, would not have been expressive enough. The modern view, however, is decidedly shewn to be incorrect by the following grounds. *a*). On this assumption it is inexplicable, how the parenthesis is found both in Matthew and Mark. It must in that case be maintained, that Mark borrowed these words from Matthew; but not a single instance can be alleged where, as here, one Evangelist borrows from another his own interposed remarks. It can also be made very probable, in our passage at least, that Mark wrote independently of Matthew, and drew from another source. Were it not so, why should he have exchanged the more expressive ἐν τόπῳ ἀγίῳ for the less significant ἐν τόπῳ ὅπου οὐ δεῖ? why should he have left out the words τὸ ῥηθὲν, &c.?  
*(b.)* No case can be produced in which Matthew or Mark have thrown in such exhortations in their narratives. On the other hand, in the discourses of Christ, quite similar exhortations repeatedly occur. Thus ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκούετω, and ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν χωρεῖτω. *(c.)* The words ὁ. ἀ. ν. are manifestly taken from Daniel ix. 23, 25. The admonition which the angel there addresses to Daniel respecting the revelations that had been made to himself, Christ here repeats in reference to the readers of this same revelation, who stood in the same relation to it as did Daniel. *(d.)* On the assumption that the words belong to the Evangelists, they are translated: "let him that readeth observe," as if the Evangelists were calling on the inhabitants of Judea to turn the said announcement to purpose by flight. But this explanation, as we shall immediately see, is demonstrably incorrect. Accord-

ing to the correct interpretation: "let him that readeth understand," the exhortation would be unsuitable in the mouth of the Evangelists. For the expression *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* is so little farther defined in the words of Christ, that a command to gain from them alone a deeper insight into its nature, would not be at all in place.

2. We will now examine the meaning of the admonition of Christ, *ὁ. ἀ. ν.* The translation we have quoted is found almost universally among expositors. But this is opposed, in the first place, by the *usus loquendi* of the N. T., in which *νοεῖν* is never used merely in the sense, *to pay attention to a thing*, but always in the sense *to understand*. The only passage to which ancient and modern expositors and lexicographers appeal besides ours, 2 Tim. ii. 7. *νόει, ἃ λέγω*, has not even the semblance of being applicable. For that these words contain, not a command to pay attention, but a call to deep, spiritual understanding, is shewn by what immediately follows: *δώη γάρ σοι ὁ κύριος σύνεσιν ἐν πᾶσι*. "Contemplate," is the meaning, "what I say to thee, with the eye of the mind, by the assistance of the Lord, who, I trust, will, as in other things, so here also grant thee a clear insight." Moreover, such a way of accepting our passage is precluded by a reference to the passages, Dan. ix. 23, and 25. The words *בְּרַבְרָה בְּרַבְרָה בְּרַבְרָה* are just as little capable there of being rendered, with BERTHOLDT, "be attentive to the declaration and observe the revelation," as the words *לְשׁוֹנְךָ בְּרַבְרָה* by, "but mark well;" and neither the Alexandrian translators nor THEODOTION (ver. 23, *καὶ ἐννοήθητι ἐν τῷ ῥήματι, καὶ σύνες ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ*. v. 25, "*καὶ γνώση, καὶ συνήσεις*), have taken them in this sense, but in that of deep spiritual understanding. It is intimated in these words, that the revelation was not to be comprehended by the carnal understanding, as THEODORET also has remarked: *βαθύτερα ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου τὰ λεχθησόμενα· τοῦτο γὰρ λέγει, σύνες ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ, τουτέστιν ἀνιγματοδῶς ταῦτα λεχθήσεται, καὶ δεῖ σοι κατανοήσεως ἀκριβοῦς εἰς τὸ νοῆσαι ταῦτα*. The correctness of this mode of taking the words, appears from the simple fact, that *לְשׁוֹנְךָ בְּרַבְרָה* has a manifest reference to what the angel, ver. 22, has said of the object of his coming: "I am come to give thee discernment" (*לְשׁוֹנְךָ בְּרַבְרָה*). It must be added, finally, that the exhortations of Christ adduced as analogous, likewise call on men not for mere



attentiveness, but for a deeper understanding in things, the sense of which does not lie on the surface, and that his object is to characterise them as such. Here also, indeed, the true interpretation needs to be defended previously against false acceptations. The words *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούει ἀκουέτω*, according to many expositors (*e. g.* FRITSCHÉ on Matth. xi. 15), are likewise a mere exhortation to attentiveness. But that they contain more,—that this exhortation intimates that more is needed for an understanding of what is propounded than merely the ear of sense, appears from comparing the passage where it occurs. It stands in Matth. xi. 15, after the correct interpretation of a passage of the O. T. which was understood by the Jews in an external and carnal sense; in chap. xiii. 9, after the parable of the sower, propounded without an interpretation; in chap. xiii. 43, after another parable; in the Apocalypse always after the mysterious promises to the churches; alternately with this, and as equivalent, occurs in chap. xiii. 18: *ὧδε ἡ σοφία ἐστίν· ὁ ἔχων νοῦν, ψηφισάτω τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ θηρίου* and xvii. 9, *ὧδε ὁ νοῦς ὁ ἔχων σοφίαν*. To confirm the interpretation we have given, and to refute the opposite one, several declarations of Christ also may be adduced, which show that by the ear we are to understand that which is spiritual, opened by God. In Matth. xiii. 13, he says to his disciples: *διὰ τοῦτο ἐν παραβολαῖς αὐτοῖς λαλῶ, ὅτι βλέποντες οὐ βλέπουσι, καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐκ ἀκούουσι, οὐδὲ συνιοῦσι*. ver. 16, *ὑμῶν δὲ μακάριοι οἱ ὀφθαλμοί, ὅτι βλέπουσι, καὶ τὰ ὦτα ὑμῶν, ὅτι ἀκούει!* In Mark viii. 18, he says to them, after a gross misunderstanding of his words, *ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχοντες οὐ βλέπετε; καὶ ὦτα ἔχοντες οὐκ ἀκούετε; καὶ οὐ μνημονεύετε;* 'The second admonition, *ὁ δυνάμενος χωρεῖν κ. τ. λ.* Matth. xix. 12 is explained by some expositors (*e. g.* FRITSCHÉ in loc.) *qui capere, h. e. viribus suis sustinere potest, sustineat*, who appeal to the fact that the verb *χωρεῖν* can have no other meaning here than ver. 11 (*οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, ἀλλ' οἷς δέδοται*), where, they say, *χωρεῖν* can be understood in no other way than, with most expositors, as meaning *parem esse*. But this argument has no force, because the latter assertion is demonstrably incorrect. The meaning *parem esse* in ver. 11, is not at all suitable, much less necessary. The disciples say it is good not to marry. Certainly, says Christ, but for a higher reason, which lies beyond

the comprehension of common carnal men, and which can only be perceived in its real significancy by the aid of God's grace. This higher reason is the exclusive aim to promote the kingdom of heaven; but there is needed something more than a carnal perception to understand what I wish to say on that point. What farther precludes the interpretation *parem esse*, both in ver. 12 and ver. 11, is, that this meaning is only fictitiously imputed to the verb *χωρῆν*, and occurs neither in the LXX. and the Apocrapha, nor in the N. T.—According to the foregoing reasoning, then, the words *ὁ. ἄ. ν.* are intended to remind the hearers that a nearer insight into the nature of the *βδέλυγμα ἐρ.*, which is not more exactly defined on the present occasion (FRITSCHÉ is the only one among modern expositors who has correctly perceived that the defining of it independently of Daniel, is quite impossible), is to be sought in Daniel, and at the same time that it is not easy to be obtained, but may be easily missed, because what was imparted to the prophets, by the inspiration of the Spirit of God, can be understood only by the aid of that Spirit. Christ had the more occasion for this remark, because Daniel's prophecies were of such a kind, that the prophet himself only partially understood them, chap. xii. 8; because only to those who were wise was the understanding of them promised, in the future, and they were declared to be unintelligible to the wicked, even towards the time of their fulfilment, chap. xii. 10; and because, as history teaches us, incorrect and carnal ideas were so widely diffused among the Jews as to this very book of Daniel.

3. It has been maintained (comp. *e. g.* BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. p. 584), that the reference to Daniel in our passage is not precise, and that it may be asked whether Christ intended the passage chap. ix. 27, or the passages chap. xi. 31, xii. 11, where likewise a *βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρ.* is spoken of. We must maintain the former, and for the following reasons. *a.* Christ speaks in such a manner of the *βδέλ. τ. ἐρ.* in Daniel, that he supposes in his hearers the knowledge of that *βδέλ. τ. ἐρ.* which he intended; and hence he considers any more precise definition superfluous. We may then, with confidence, assume that he means that prophecy of Daniel which was then regarded among the Jews as relating to a still future occurrence, the yet impending conquest and destruction of Jerusalem. He could not, therefore, have had before his eyes

the prophecy, chap. xi. and xii. For this was commonly considered by the Jews to have been fulfilled, as was really the case, in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes and the Maccabees. A proof of this is furnished by the LXX., in which several special features are introduced from the history of those times into the prophecy that was regarded as rather indefinite, from which it appears that the translator sought in history for its fulfilment. Thus chap. xi. 25: "he will awaken his power against the king of the south" (כּוֹנֵן), LXX. ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀιγύπτου. ver. 30, "there shall come ships from the coasts of the Mediterranean (others, from Macedonia)," LXX. καὶ ἤξουσι Ῥωμαῖοι. But the first Book of the Maccabees furnishes a still more striking proof. This book, although this self-evident fact has been overlooked, in its historical delineation takes so fully as its basis the prophetic statements of the eleventh chap., that it only fills them up with the historical particulars. The description of Alexander is almost a verbal transcript from our book; the sequel till Ant. Epiph. is passed over in the first Book of the Maccabees; the description of this prince, again, is so entirely founded on that given in our book, that the very words are often borrowed from it. We will show this in reference to some passages, to obviate all doubt. LXX. xi. 31: καὶ μιανούσι τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ φόβου. 1 Macc. i. 46: καὶ μιᾶναι ἀγίασμα.—xi. 25: He will march against the king of Egypt ἐν ὄχλῳ πολλῶ. Macc. i. 17: καὶ εἰσήλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐν ὄχλῳ βαρεῖ.—LXX. the same: καὶ ὀυστήσεται. Macc. v. 18: καὶ ἐνετρίπη Πτολεμαῖος ὑπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφυγε.—26: כּוֹנֵן עַל הַיָּם LXX. καὶ πεσοῦνται τραυματαῖα πολλοὶ. Macc. v. 18: καὶ ἔπεσαν τραυματαῖα πολλοὶ.—v. 28: καὶ ἐπιστρέψει εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ ἐν χρήμασι πολλοῖς. Macc. xix. 20, merely adding a more precise historical description: καὶ ἔλαβε τὰ σκῦλα γῆς Ἀιγύπτου, καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν Ἀντίοχος.—v. 36: καὶ ποιήσει κατὰ τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ ὁ βασιλεὺς—καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τῶν θεῶν ἔξαλλα λαλήσει. Macc. 24: καὶ ἐποίησε φονοκτονίαν καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὑπερηφανείαν μεγάλην.—v. 31: δώσουσι βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως. Macc. 54: ὠκοδόμησαν βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως.—It therefore can admit of no doubt, that the author of the first book of the Macc. was himself persuaded of the fulfilment of chaps. xi. xii. in the Maccabæan times, and had it in view to point this out to his readers.—



Accordingly, Christ must have had the prophecy in chap. ix. before his eyes. Remarkably enough, it can be shewn that this prophecy was in his time generally referred to a destruction of the city yet impending. A sufficient proof of this is afforded by the passage, JOSEPHUS *Arch.* x. 11, 7: "Daniel predicted also the Roman supremacy, and that our country should be desolated by them." \* That Josephus is here pointing at the prophecy chap. ix., is clear from the fact that no other can with any plausibility be referred to the destruction of the Jewish State by the Romans. There is also an allusion to it in the very form of expression: Jos. *ἐρημωθήσεται*, LXX. ver. 27: *συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν*. We are still more favoured by the passage, Jos. *de bello Jud.* iv. 6, 3, proving as it does that this exposition was not merely a private opinion of Josephus, but the commonly received one. It is there said of the zealots—"they occasioned the fulfilment of the prophecy against their country. For there was a certain ancient oracle afloat, that the city should be taken and the sanctuary burnt by a foe, when faction should arise among the Jews and their own hands should begin to pollute the sacred precincts; *which prediction the zealots did not disbelieve*, and yet made themselves the instruments of accomplishing it." † There can be no doubt at all, that by the *παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν* here is to be understood the prophecy chap. ix. By the *βδέλυγμα ἐρ.* was understood the abominations with which the temple was to be desecrated by wicked members of the chosen people themselves. How general the reference of the prophecy then was to a future destruction of the city, appears from the express observation of Josephus, that even the zealots had no doubt of the correctness of this interpretation. The same interpretation is found also in the Babylonian and Jerusalem *Gemarah.*—(b.) That Christ here had in view the prophecy chap.

\* Δανιῆλος καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν Ρωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται.

† καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος προφητείαν τέλους ἤξιωσαν. Ἦν γὰρ δὴ τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν ἔνθα τότε τὴν πόλιν ἀλώσεσθαι καὶ καταφλεγῆσεσθαι τὰ ἅγια νόμῳ πολέμου, στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ καὶ χεῖρες οἰκέται προμάνωσι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τέμενος. οἷς οὐκ ἀπιστήσαντες οἱ ζηλωταὶ διακόνοῦς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπέδοσαν.

ix., is clear, farther, from the clause *ὁ ἀν. ν.*, which, as already shewn, was derived from this place. (c.) We may also add the clause *ἐν τόπῳ ἀγίῳ*, sufficiently correspondent to *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τ. ἐρ. ἔσται*, ver. 27.

Let us now enquire how far there is contained in this passage a confirmation of the authority, and so of the authenticity, of Daniel. We suppose, at the outset, that the words, *τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου* proceed from Christ himself. 1. Daniel is called by Christ, *προφήτης*. Assertions, such as that of GRIESINGER (l. c. 24), that it does not hence follow that Christ regarded him as a prophet in the proper sense, because the name prophet was too common and ambiguous, require now no farther refutation. It is now generally allowed (comp. *e. g.* BRETSCHEIDER, s. v.), that *προφήτης* in the N. T. has universally the notion of divine inspiration.—2. Christ quotes from Daniel an actual prophecy to be fulfilled in time yet future. We do not ground the proof of this position on the expression *τὸ ῥηθὲν*, by itself considered. We readily concede to BERTHOLDT (l. c. ii. p. 587), that, according to the *usus loquendi* of the N. T., it might even stand where only the realization of a prophecy, which refers immediately to another historical fact, comp. Matt. iii. 3, is intended. But that the expression has not that sense here, that the appeal to Daniel cannot be regarded, as BERTHOLDT asserts, as “a mere individualizing figure, taken from the ancient national history,” appears from the following reasons. *a.* As the cotemporaries of Christ unanimously regarded the passage of Daniel, to which he refers, as a proper prediction of the event of which he speaks, he would have led his hearers into an unavoidable mistake, since they could have found in his words only a confirmation of their notion. If this notion was not countenanced by him, he would have refrained altogether from quoting this passage. *b.* Christ gives no exacter definition of the *βδέλ. τ. ἐρ.*; his hearers were to gain this from Daniel himself. But how was this possible, if the passage quoted spoke only of incidents of the Maccabæan time? *c.* The words, *ὁ ἀν. ν.* also shew that the more precise definition was to be drawn from Daniel alone.—3. But these words, taken alone, serve for a proof that Christ regarded our book as divinely inspired. For they contain, as has been already shewn, an intimation that the prophecies of our book

have a profound meaning, only to be understood by the aid of the Spirit of God.

But we must now examine two assertions, by which it has been attempted to rob our passage of its force. After SCHOTT (l. c. p. 49), BLEEK has asserted that the words τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ Δαυὶλ τοῦ προφήτου were probably not brought forward by the Evangelist as the words of Christ, but only parenthetically inserted by himself. But there is no reason for this assertion, except the absence of these words in Mark. But who would lay it down as a rule, that whatever one Evangelist has more than another, is to be taken as his own addition? And then, even granting the correctness of this assertion, what the opponents gain on one side by it, they lose again on the other. They are only relieved from the express designation of Daniel as a προφήτης, and that only partially, since we may reasonably infer Christ's view from the view of the Apostle. For, would the Apostle have put these words into the mouth of Christ (the unnaturalness of the assumption of their being a mere parenthesis of the Apostle's, need not for the first time be shewn), if he had not, at some other time, spoken thus of Daniel? But, on the contrary, let us assume that Christ did not utter these words, and then what an intimate familiarity with Daniel does his discourse suppose in the disciples! Christ then speaks of this prophecy of Daniel as of a subject often handled between him and the Apostles, which he only needs to hint at.—BLEEK tries, moreover, to bring the whole passage in Matthew and Mark into suspicion, by asserting that in Luke quite a different thing is found! Now, even granting that the passage, Luke xxi. 20 (ὅταν δὲ ἴδητε κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων τὴν Ἱερουσαλήν, τότε γινώτε, ὅτι ἤγγικεν ἡ ἐρήμωσις αὐτῆς.), is to be considered directly parallel to ours, yet nothing more would follow from the difference, than that Luke, writing as he did for readers, from whom for the most part any exact acquaintance with Daniel could not be expected, omitted the reference to this prophet, and, without anything farther, set down the thing which in his view was designated in Daniel by the obscure expression, βδέλ. τ. ἐρ. But what justifies us in assuming that Luke here meant to give just the contents of the two passages of Matthew and Mark? It is much more probable that Christ, whether at that or at some other time, took occasion, from the



prophecy of Daniel, to direct attention to different tokens of the impending destruction of the city. Luke, then, adduced what Christ had quoted from Dan. ix. 26, (*καὶ βασιλεία ἐθνῶν θφερεῖ τὴν πόλιν*). As, according to Daniel's prophecy, the city was to be destroyed by heathen nations, so, when it should be actually compassed about by them, deliverance was no longer to be hoped for. Luke was induced to bring forward only this particular sign, simply from the character of his readers as already described. GROTIUS has remarked too, that the very use of the word ἡ ἐρήμωσις in Luke, proves the reference to this passage of Daniel.

But the opponents do not intend it quite so seriously against the testimony of Christ, notwithstanding the exceptions they have taken to it. BERTHOLDT (*Einkl.* p. 1517) does not at all deny that in the N. T. the book is ascribed to Daniel. *Comm.* i. p. 19, he says expressly, that Jesus followed the general ecclesiastical tradition among the Jews, which laid down the authorship of Daniel as an indubitable fact. They maintain that, even granting Christ to have regarded the Book of Daniel as genuine, nothing would be proved by that, since Christ and the Apostles, with the practical use which they made of the writings of the O. T., without devoting themselves to critical researches and elucidations, confined themselves without any farther trouble to the Jewish tradition and praxis. If such a quotation in the N. T. were to be regarded as decisive, the book of Enoch also must, from Jude 14, be ascribed to Enoch himself, and, in like manner, to Elias must be ascribed the writing from which a passage is quoted, 1 Cor. ii. 9, and perhaps Eph. v. 14 (comp. BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. p. 526, BLEEK, p. 179.)—But that the assumption of such an error is irreconcilable with even the lowest view of Christ, the conduct of the opponents themselves affords a proof. If the testimony of Christ is of no importance, why seek by the most untenable hypotheses and exceptions to shew that this testimony is not in favour of Daniel? Why does even a PAULUS (*Comm.* z. N. T. iii. p. 408) give to the words *ὁ ἀν. ν.* the miserable interpretation, "take good care not to refer the passage of Daniel, which treats of quite a different matter, and which I have quoted only in the way of accommodation, to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans?" But he who, by God's grace, has obtained

a firm conviction of the divinity of Christ, can only, if he have the smallest regard to consistency, or even any genuine life in Christ, regard such an assertion with the deepest abhorrence. Christ, the Son of the living God, he who knew what was in every man without needing to reason from the actions to the inner state, is, forsooth, because he was not in a condition to pursue critical researches, to mistake a wretched impostor for a prophet of God, and to recommend him to his church by his emphatic testimony! The quotations which are appealed to for proof that the testimony of the N. T. is inconclusive, are not to the point, to say nothing of the fact that Christ and the Apostles cannot be thus simply put in one rank. A mere citation from the N. T., apart from any inquiry as to the kind and manner of it, and the contents of the cited passage, can certainly prove nothing as to genuineness or spuriousness. Thus, it does not serve for a proof of the genuineness of the second part of Isaiah, that passages are quoted from it in the N. T. under the name of Isaiah. The sacred writers might here have confined themselves to the prevailing mode of citation, without any intention of confirming the false notions from which it might possibly have proceeded. But here the case is quite of another order. An impostor is called a prophet; a prophecy of his, which, having been framed for the most part *post eventum*, referred only to his time, is quoted as pointing to the future, and described as of profound import, and of an interpretation only to be afforded by the Spirit of God.—We beg our readers farther to compare the excellent reply to this assertion in SACK (*Apologetik*, p. 279), who here maintains that sober theological sentiment which so beautifully distinguishes his entire work.

We now proceed to collect the proofs that are to be gathered from the discourses of Christ himself, of the authority and genuineness of Daniel. One of the most frequently recurring self-designations of Christ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, the Son of God appearing in human form (comp. BRETSCHNEIDER s. v.), is, by common consent, borrowed from Dan. vii. 13, and to be explained only by a comparison with this passage. That which induced Christ to use this expression instead of a more explicit one, could be nothing else than the view of designating himself as him whom Daniel had announced under this name. But is it consistent with the dignity of Christ in this way to remind his hearers constantly of

the production of an impostor, to lay so much stress on the fact that he is the person announced in his forged prophecy?

But, what is more, the passage Dan. vii. 13, 14, and 26, 27, in which the second appearing of Christ is depicted, forms the groundwork of all the declarations of Christ concerning this matter. In order that this may be strikingly seen, it is necessary to place together the passages of Daniel and the declarations of Christ. Dan vii. 13—*ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἦρχετο, καὶ ὡς παλαιὸς ἡμερῶν παρήν, καὶ οἱ παρεστηκότες παρήσαν αὐτῷ* (more correctly *THEODOTION* for *καὶ ὡς κ. τ. λ.—καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασε, καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη αὐτῷ*). Ver. 14 : *καὶ ἐδόθη αὐτῷ ἐξουσία καὶ τιμὴ βασιλική, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς κατὰ γένη, καὶ πᾶσα δόξα αὐτῷ λατρεύουσα, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ, ἐξουσία αἰώνιος, ἣτις οὐ μὴ ἀρθῆ, καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ, ἣτις οὐ μὴ φθαρῆ*. Ver. 26 : *καὶ ἡ κρίσις καθίσεται, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀπολοῦσι κ. τ. λ.* Ver. 27 : *καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὴν μεγαλειότητα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν πασῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν βασιλειῶν ἔδωκε λαῷ ἁγίῳ ὑψίστου, βασιλευῖσαι βασιλείαν αἰώνιον* (more correctly *THEODOTION : καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ βασιλεία αἰώνιος*), *καὶ πᾶσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑποταγήσονται καὶ πειθαρχήσουσιν αὐτῷ*. With these must be compared the following passages from the gospel of Matthew. Chap. x. 23 : *ἕως ἄν ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. xvi. 27 : *μέλλει γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεσθαι ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἁγγέλων αὐτοῦ*. Ver. 28 : *ἕως ἄν ἴδωσι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ*. xix. 28 : *ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ὅτι ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀκολουθήσαντές μοι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν καθίσῃ ὁ υἱὸς τ. α. ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ, καθίσεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ δώδεκα θρόνους, κρίνοντες τὰς δώδεκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ* (compare with the latter, besides the clause *ἡ κρίσις καθίσεται*, also the clause *θρόνοι ἐτέθησαν* in ver. 9.). xxiv. 30 : *καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, καὶ τότε κόψονται πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, καὶ ὄψονται τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ δόξης πολλῆς*. xxv. 31 : *ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄγγελοι μετ' αὐτοῦ, τότε καθίσει ἐπὶ θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ καὶ συναχθήσεται ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη*. xxvi. 64 : *πλὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἀπάρτι*



ὄψεσθε τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθήμενον ἐκ δεξιῶν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐρχόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Comp. besides, John v. 27.—So constant a reference to our book in the exhibition of the most weighty truths, the effort to depart as little as possible from its very words, that the identity of the Messiah of the O. and N. T. might the more distinctly strike the eye, supposes that our Lord reckoned Daniel among the divinely illumined prophets of the O. T.—It has already been several times remarked, that our Lord, in John v. 28, 29, exhibits the doctrine of the resurrection almost in the words of Daniel, xii. 2—καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν καθευδόντων ἐν τῷ πλάτει τῆς γῆς ἀναστήσονται, οἱ μὲν εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον, οἱ δὲ εἰς ὄνειδισμὸν (these last words οἱ δὲ, &c. are probably an interpolation from THEODOTION) οἱ δὲ εἰς διασπορὰν καὶ ἀισχύνην αἰώνιον—the principal passage in the O. T. on the doctrine of the resurrection. Ver 3 (καὶ οἱ συνίεντες φανοῦσιν ὡς φωστῆρες τοῦ οὐρανοῦ) is almost verbally copied Matt. xiii. 43, τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν, ὡς ὁ ἥλιος, ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν.

We pass on now from Christ to the Apostles. To their testimony concerning the divine authority of Daniel we can do no less than ascribe an independent authority. For, even if we should limit all the promises which the Lord made to his Apostles, merely to their freedom from error in the proclamation of divine truth—even if we should maintain the possibility of their being in error as to the explanation of particular passages of the O. T.) although neither of these things, as we think, have any foundation), yet an error, such as that concerning one of the most important, most influential books of the O. T., goes far beyond these arbitrarily imposed limitations. Let us, however, put out of view for a moment this independent importance of the testimony of the Apostles, and still it will certainly be of great weight, inasmuch as it enables us to conclude respecting the judgment of Christ on the book. For, if the Apostles everywhere treat the Book of Daniel with undoubted certainty, how can we help thinking that this, their judgment, rested on the declarations of their Master, who, in the time of his intercourse with them, was the less likely to shrink from distinct declarations concerning our book, the more eagerly, according to the repeated attestations of Josephus, it was studied at that time, and the more highly it was prized ?

One of the most remarkable passages is 1 Pet. i. 10–12, which has hitherto been little pondered with a view to the present question. The Apostle there says that the prophets had asked and inquired, concerning the future salvation, to what time the spirit of Christ in them did point; but that it was revealed to them that the prophecy given by their ministration was destined, not for them, but for those who should be living at the time of its fulfilment. It is most evident that the sentiment here generally expressed stands in an especial relation to the passage, Dan xii. 8, sqq., the only one in which that is expressly related of a prophet which might have taken place in the minds of the other prophets also. All that Peter says of the prophets is here to be found almost word for word. After Daniel has received a revelation respecting the coming of the kingdom of God, and particularly respecting the Messianic times, it is said—“ I heard it, but understood not : and I said, O Lord, when is the end of this ? And he answered : rest, Daniel; for these words are to remain sealed till the time of the end ; none of the wicked will understand it ; but the wise will understand it.” Now, if the reference to Daniel in this passage cannot be denied, it is established that the Apostle reckons him among the prophets, that he ascribes to him the *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ*, that he assigns to him prophecies which were so far from having proceeded from his own will, that they were partially unintelligible to the man himself.

In Paul the whole of the first and second chapters of the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians rests on Daniel. In chap. ii. 3. our book is as good as quoted, for *ἡ ἀποστασία* can be nothing else than the great apostacy which, according to the prophecies of Daniel, was to be expected before the end of the present world, *ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἀμαρτίας* no other than the wicked man predicted by Daniel. The article here points to Daniel just as it does in the *βδέλ. ἐρ.* Here, then, the manner in which Paul refers to Daniel cannot be regarded as a mere allusion, or a borrowing of expressions and figures. The apostle rather uses him as the foundation of his statement of the doctrine of the return of Christ, because he is the main authority for it in the O. T. He proceeds on the ground that everything said in the book of Daniel must necessarily arrive at fulfilment.—Another reference to our book is found in 1 Cor. vi. 2 : *οὐκ οἶδατε, ὅτι οἱ ἄγιοι τὸν*

κόσμον κρινούσι; comp. Dan. vii. 22: ἕως τοῦ ἔλθειν τὸν παλαιὸν ἡμερῶν, καὶ τὴν κρίσιν ἔδωκε τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῦ ὑψίστου, comp. v. 9, 18. Here also Daniel is referred to as the proper source of a doctrine which is found in this distinctness in hardly any other passage of the O. T.—Of less importance is Phil. ii. 9–11, compared with Dan. vii. 13, 14.

In the Epistle to the Hebrews, chap. xi. 33, 34 (ἔφραξαν στόματα λέόντων, ἔσβεσαν δύναμιν πυρὸς), what is here related of Daniel and his companions, is brought forward among the events that occurred to the holy men of faith of the O. T.—On Acts vii. 56, LIGHTFOOT properly observes: “*Stephanus in his verbis allegat illud Danielis, vii. 13.—Eloquitur Protomartyr, se jam videre illud Danielis in Jesu impletum.*” On this assumption it is explained why Christ is here designated by Stephen as ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, this designation being found elsewhere only in the discourses of Christ, never in the discourses of others.

That the whole Apocalypse, finally, is based on Daniel, that its prophetic delineations are only repetitions of those of Daniel, that everywhere there is displayed in it the highest estimation of our book, requires, it is generally allowed, no proof; and we may the rather spare ourselves the trouble, because of the unfavourable judgment which is formed of the Apocalypse, not for any fault in the work, bearing as it does all the marks of genuineness and divinity, and which will certainly last only so long as the present provisional state of theology. Comp. farther the collation of the passages of the Apocalypse and of Daniel in STÄUDLIN, l. c. p. 82.

We have now two more erroneous assertions, in regard to the view which the N. T. gives of our book, to refute. 1. STÄUDLIN maintains, l. c. p. 85, that it seems as if the first six chapters were either unknown to Christ and his Apostles, or were held in suspicion by them. This assertion *might* be plausible, if it could be shewn that these chapters, in the time of Christ, were either not yet united with the prophetic part of the book, or were less valued than the latter. But, since the contrary can be shewn, especially from Josephus,—since the book of Daniel has ever manifestly been of its present extent, and there has never existed among the Jews an unfavourable judgment respecting the first six chapters, the general confirmation of Daniel in the N. T., to say nothing



of the special reference to him in the Epistle to the Hebrews, speaks at the same time for the historical part, whose contents, indeed, are such as perfectly to explain the fact that so little mention is made of it in the N. T. 2. CORRODI (*Freimüthige Versuche*, p. 92) asks, why, if Christ and the Apostles held the book to be inspired, they did not make use of it to prove that Jesus was the Messiah? But for this purpose the Messianic predictions of our book were just as little adapted as those of the first part of Isaiah and Zechariah, and the entire ones of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, because they refer almost always to the second coming of Christ. No evidence, then, could be derived from them in the N. T. for the Messianic dignity of Jesus, but it could only be hinted by reference to them, that this part also of the prophetic announcement would yet find its fulfilment in the future, and we have already shewn that this abundantly happened. The only passage which relates to the first advent of Christ, chap. ix. 24-27, is actually quoted by Christ, and the simple reason why this is done only in reference to one point, the destruction of Jerusalem that was to follow the murder of the Messiah, is that the demonstration of the correspondence of prophecy and fulfilment here required a learned detail, a profusion of historical and chronological demonstrations, such as were neither suitable to the dignity of Christ, nor adapted to his and his Apostles' immediate hearers and readers, and were therefore properly left to a later and more theologically-disciplined age.

SECT. IV.—TRACES OF THE BOOK IN PRE-MACCABEAN TIMES.

To the external arguments for the genuineness belong, lastly, the traces of the existence of our book in the pre-Maccabean times. If those traces are not of such a nature as to suffice alone for a proof of the genuineness, and to have equal weight with really important counter arguments, yet, since such counter arguments are nowhere to be found, they are, in connection with all the other proofs of the genuineness, of no small importance.

*a.* According to Josephus, *Arch.* xi. 8, 5, the Book of Daniel was shewn to Alexander the Great, and that prophecy was referred by him to himself, in which a Greek was announced as the

conqueror of the Persian empire. Now, in order to enfeeble this testimony, attacks have been directed, partly against the whole narrative, partly against this particular point in it.—To judge of the former, we must previously place more exactly before us the contents of the narrative.

During the siege of Tyre, Alexander commanded the Jewish high priest to do him homage, and send him troops and provisions. The high priest, true to the oath which he had taken to the still living Darius, had refused this. Alexander deferred his revenge till the conclusion of the siege of Tyre and Gaza. After that he marched against Jerusalem. The high priest is in great consternation; public prayers and sacrifices are commanded; after these he is tranquillized by God in a dream, and commanded to go himself, with the priests in their official habiliments, and with the rest of the people in white garments, to meet the conqueror. This is done as soon as Alexander approaches the city. The procession meets him at a place where there was a view of the city and temple. Alexander goes immediately to the high priest, embraces him, and testifies his veneration for the name of God on his mitre. To the wondering question of Parmenio, why he, to whom all others testified their veneration, honours the Jewish high priest, Alexander replies, that the homage is not rendered to the high priest, but to his God; for that he had seen him in a vision in this very expedition, when he was yet in Macedonia; that He had promised to undertake the leading of his army, and to give him the Persian dominion; that this coincidence of the dream with the reality gave him a firm hope of victory. He then, attended by the high priest, and surrounded by the priests, marched into the city, sacrificed in the temple, according to the directions of the high priest, and shewed great honour both to him and to the priests. Then they shewed him the Book of Daniel. On his demanding that he should ask some favour for the people, the high priest asked for exemption from tribute in the seventh year, as being the fallow year. Many Jews then, on the command of Alexander, determined to participate in the expedition. The Samaritans, under the pretext that they had affinity with the Jews, tried to obtain a share in the favours imparted to them; but in this they did not succeed.

The truth of this whole account has been assailed, after the

example of V. DALE (*dissert. sup. Aristeam de LXX. interprett.* p. 68 sqq.), by several moderns, on the following grounds:—1. “The circumstance that Alexander, after the conquest of Tyre, marched to Gaza, from thence back to Jerusalem, and from thence to Egypt, is chronologically false. He would then have made a useless circuit of several days. All writers, too, agree that he went immediately from Gaza to Egypt.” Thus PRIDEAUX, l. c. iii. p. 115, and after him, word for word, GRIESINGER, p. 33. But there is no difficulty in discovering the reason why Alexander marched first to Gaza and then to Jerusalem. Gaza would seem to him by far the more important; the brave Persian satrap Betis had hired Arabian mercenaries, and laid up provisions in that strong city for a long siege; the walls were very high, the siege extremely difficult (comp. ARRIAN. *exp. Al.* p. 151, *ed. Blancardi*). Alexander might hope that, if he succeeded in taking this place, the rest, including Jerusalem, would submit to him without drawing his sword, and the result shewed that in this calculation he was not deceived. This advantage was certainly well worth the circuit of a few days.—Moreover, this very representation of the march of Alexander, so improbable at first view, speaks in favour of the trustworthiness of Josephus. Had he not confined himself strictly to his authorities, he would certainly have placed the coming of Alexander to Jerusalem between the siege of Tyre and of Gaza. The statement of the other historical sources, that Alexander marched immediately from Gaza to Egypt, proves nothing; it is a mere *argumentum a silentio*, founded on the omission of a diversion of some days, which is the less surprising considering the abundance of important incidents which the life of Alexander affords. Besides, it affects the opponents in like manner; for Alexander must have been in Jerusalem, as we shall afterwards see; but the ancient writers make him pass just as immediately from Tyre to Gaza, as from Gaza to Egypt. 2. “It is not matter of history, when Josephus makes Parmenio say to Alexander, that all men offered him the προσκύνησις (τί δήποτε, προσκυνούντων αὐτὸν ἀπάντων, αὐτὸς προσκυνήσειε τὸν Ἰουδαίων ἀρχιερέα;). Not till a later period did Alexander think of exalting himself into a god, and demanding the προσκύνησις as an acknowledgment of his divine dignity.” But surely nothing was more natural than for the subjects of the Persian empire to



transfer to him the customary mark of honour, even without his demanding it; and that he assumed it *willingly* may be supposed from his subsequent conduct. 3. "Chaldeans are mentioned in the retinue of the king; yet at that time they were still subject to the Persian king." But what hinders our assuming that, even before the taking of Babylon, Chaldee renegades had deserted to Alexander, as Josephus seems to intimate in express terms? This may the more readily be imagined, as the Babylonians afterwards received Alexander with joy, as the restorer of their worship, to which the Persians had borne an ill will. 4. "The dream of the high priest looks very like a fiction." But if we set aside all supernatural operation, and suppose that the high priest only dreamed what had passed through his waking soul, or that he only gave out that he dreamed it, certainly all in the narrative that concerns the high priest's share in the affair has the highest probability. The whole contrivance was admirably suited to the character of Alexander. It could not have been forgotten by the high priest that, on the capture of Tyre, Alexander had spared all those who had taken refuge in the temple, that he had sacrificed to Hercules, had instituted a great festival in honour of him, and dedicated a Tyrian ship to him (comp. USSHER. *z. J.* 3673.) The measure which he chose, therefore, must have appeared to him the most suitable for mitigating the wrath of Alexander.

Let us now pass on to establish the truth of the narrative by positive arguments, in which, whatever else has been advanced against it will find a sufficient reply.

In several main particulars the narrative is confirmed by express historical testimonies. ARRIAN says that Judea was not mastered by force of arms, but surrendered of its own accord (l. ii. p. 150: *καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας προσκεχωρηκότα ἤδη.*) The personal presence of Alexander in Judea is remarked, apart from Josephus, not only, as SCHLOSSER asserts (*Weltgesch.* i. p. 170), by the Arabian writer MAKRIZI, but also by PLINY (*hist. nat.* xii. 26), who speaks of an observation made in natural history in connection with this event. That Jews served in the army of Alexander is reported by the cotemporary heathen writer HECATÆUS ABDERITA. How great the favour of Alexander must have been towards the Jews, appears from the statement, although a false one, of the same

writer (in *Jos. c. Ap. ii. 4*), that Alexander granted to the Jews the region of Samaria. The genuineness of his book has indeed been called in question by an anonymous author in EICHHORN'S *Bibl. f. bibl. Litt.* Th. 5, p. 432, sqq., who maintains that the writing was forged by some nameless Jew. But the only argument advanced for this assertion, the predilection for the Jews displayed in the fragments of Hecataeus, is, as ZORN has already shewn (*Hecataei Abd. fragmenta. Alton. 1730, ann. p. 5*), certainly not sufficient to establish it. It must be well remembered that those who have preserved to us the fragments of Hecataeus, JOSEPHUS and EUSEBIUS, select only what was favourable to the Jews. It appears from the fragments of HECATÆUS themselves, that he was an enlightened heathen, for whom, therefore, Judaism had some attractions, and who, as was often the case in those times, had a certain leaning towards it. How few external reasons there were for suspecting the book, is clear from the fact that even HERENNIUS PHILO, in ORIGEN *c. Celsum*, l. 1, did not venture decidedly to reject its genuineness, and that JOSEPHUS could dare, in the face of his heathen readers, boldly to appeal to its authority. What, moreover, is decisive against this assertion, is the great want of acquaintance with the older history of the Jews, which the author clearly displays. Neither a Jew nor a Jewish proselyte could relate that the Persians (instead of the Chaldeans) carried away many myriads of Jews to Babylon. So gross an error, also, as that Samaria was granted to the Jews, could hardly have come from a Jew.—But the favour of Alexander towards the Jews is clear from another circumstance. After the founding of Alexandria he not only granted them the free observance of their religion and laws, but guaranteed them the same privileges in that respect as the Macedonians themselves (comp. PRIDEAUX l. c. p. 126.) But if the favour of Alexander towards the Jews is established, we may draw thence a conclusion for the truth of the whole narration. For it is correctly observed by JAHN (*Archäol.* II. i., p. 306), “if this principal point, the favour shewn towards the Jews, be correct, there must have been some great cause for it, corresponding to the character of Alexander; and, since that assigned by Josephus is of such a nature, there is no reason to doubt of it.” We have brought forward this passage, also, that it may be seen how correctly BLEEK has read,

when he maintains, l. c. p. 184, that even JAHN is satisfied to vindicate simply the main fact, the favour shewn to the Jews, as historically true.—Even the special circumstance, that the high priest in full costume, and particularly with the head dress (*ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα τὴν κίδαριν κ. τ. λ.*), went to meet Alexander, is confirmed by a passage of JUSTIN xi. 10—*tunc in Syriam proficiscitur, ubi obvius cum infulis multos Orientis reges habuit. Ex his pro meritis singulorum alios in societatem recepit, aliis regnum ademit, suffectis in loca eorum aliis regibus.*—Finally, the truth of the narrative as a whole is confirmed by other ancient Jewish writers, who agree with Josephus in the essential circumstances; comp. the passages in HESS (*Geschichte der Regenten in d. Exil.* ii. p. 37), who well deserves to be consulted on this incident.

But that which has *no* express historical confirmation is recommended so strongly by its internal truth, that we cannot think of fiction in the matter. For instance, the behaviour of Alexander is so very correspondent with his historical character, that persons have only manifested their ignorance of history in trying from this point in particular to obtain arguments against the truth of the narration. Alexander had a twofold reason for his kindly behaviour towards the Jews. In the then state of things (the Persian empire was indeed weakened, but not for a long while after conquered), it would be to him of no little importance to lay under obligation to him a people who were not insignificant, and in this way to bind them firmly to him; and then the way in which the high priest came to meet him offered him a welcome opportunity of doing it, according to his custom of perverting religion as the means to his ends, and representing himself as a favourite of deity. We maintain, against HESS, l. c., p. 33, that the dream of Alexander in all probability was fabricated by him. Could anything else be expected of a man who, soon afterwards, sent forward persons to bribe the priests in the temple of Jupiter Ammon to declare what he wished?—who, on the expedition against the Scythians, demanded from the seer Aristander, when he foretold misfortune, that he should invent another prophecy promising success (ARRIAN, l. iv., p. 246)?—who, when the Chaldeans cautioned him not to go to Babylon,



expressed his decided disbelief of all prophecy by quoting the verse of Euripides :

*μάντις δ' ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς,*

(ARRIAN, p. 478), and yet constantly inquired of the seers? But how much the character of Alexander inclined him to such a political use of religion, may be shown by many examples. From this tendency of his, various tales originated by which his history, even in his own time, was disfigured. Thus, the account of the two ravens, who, according to the statement of Ptolemy Lagus, led the army on the expedition through the wilderness to the temple of Jupiter and back again; or, according to Callisthenes in Plutarch, even brought back the several stragglers to the army. Men tried by such fables to gain the favour of the king.—Alexander desired nothing more than that, on the expedition to India, certain tribes should receive him as the third son of Jupiter. (PRIDEAUX iii., p. 150.) On his return from India he instituted, in imitation of Bacchus, a procession of three days (PRID. p. 153.) In order to attain this end he submitted to exertions and sacrifices, in comparison of which the favours conferred on the Jews are not deserving of mention. So, in order to procure for himself the advantages which the Persian kings derived from their divine honours, he undertook a tedious, difficult, and dangerous journey to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, on which he and his whole army nearly perished with thirst. He submitted humbly to the demand of the priests, that no one besides himself should enter the temple. At a time when his power was much more established, he had the temple of Belus at Babylon restored at immense cost.—When it is asserted that Alexander would not have condescended to sacrifice in the temple under the direction of the high priest, it seems to be forgotten that he did the very same thing under the direction of the Chaldean priest at Babylon in the temple of Belus; and, indeed, his whole conduct there is very similar, in a religious point of view, to that at Jerusalem. ARRIAN says, p. 196 : *ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τοῖς Χαλδαίοις ἐνέτυχε, καὶ ὅσα ἐδόκει Χαλδαίοις ἀμφὶ τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἔπραξε· τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῷ Βήλῳ καθὰ ἐκείνοι ἐξηγοῦντο, ἔθυσεν.*

Let us now turn specially to the statement of Josephus touch-

ing the prophecies of Daniel. Here also it may be easily shewn how well it was contrived that the prophecies about himself should be laid before Alex., how extremely suitable to Alexander is the behaviour ascribed to him on that occasion. Alexander knew too well the influence which prophecy exercised on the whole world at that time, not to avail himself of this means among others for the establishment of his authority and for the gratification of his vanity. He endeavoured by the voices of the seers of the most diverse nations to get himself declared the favourite of the gods, while in secret he laughed at superstition, certainly at least when the prophecies were not altogether to his mind. Plutarch remarks generally as characteristic of him, that he always prided himself much on having prophecies in his favour (*συμφιλοτιμούμενος ἀεὶ τοῖς μαντεύμασι*). The soothsayer Aristander was constantly in his train; even an ordinary Syrian woman, who passed for a prophetess, was not considered by him too mean to be allowed access to him day and night (compare ARRIAN, p. 269); the priests of Jupiter Ammon must make him out by an oracle to be a son of their god; the Chaldean sages, on his entrance into Babylon, came to meet him in solemn procession, and he found much to transact with them.

The objections which have been raised against the exhibition of the prophecies of Daniel to Alexander need to be hardly more than quoted to show their weakness. "1. How could Alexander read a Hebrew writing? How could he make out the symbolical language? Why did he not feel offended at seeing himself represented as a he-goat, and his great empire as a passing show?" All these objections rest on the false supposition, which has not the least foundation in the text of Josephus, that Alexander himself read the prophecies of Daniel. They were shown to him, and he was told their contents; and the king, careless about what was really contained in the book, caught eagerly at it, because the alleged contents were quite according to his wish, just as the Assyrians (compare GES. *zu Jes.* i., p. 946), without farther inquiry, made use of the Hebrew prophecies in which, as they might have learnt by mere hearsay, an irruption on their side was predicted as a divine judgment. As regards the image of the he-goat, it is judging quite according to our ideas in the present day, when it is asserted that it must have appeared offen-

sive to the king; in the symbolism of the Babylonians and Persians, as we shall hereafter see, the he-goat was a very honourable symbol, and Alexander was surely familiar enough by this time with the symbolical spirit of the east not to take such a thing offensively. And, besides, just that prophecy which of all pointed most distinctly to Alexander, and the one therefore that was probably laid before him, chap. xi. 2, 3, is quite destitute of imagery.—It is true, in the prophecies which foretel Alexander's greatness, there is at the same time predicted the speedy dismemberment of his empire after his death. But who shall say that they did not content themselves with imparting to him only just as much as would dispose him favourably towards the nation? And, supposing any one should, without reason, assume the contrary, have we not other instances in which Alexander, from among prophecies which announced both success and misfortune, joyfully appropriated the former and allowed the others to rest in peace (comp. *ARRIAN*, p. 151)?

2. "In both prophecies (viii. 21, xi. 2, 3) the express command was laid on Daniel to close them up or to seal them, and they are thus declared to be unintelligible. It must therefore be allowed that, in the time of Alexander, no one as yet could understand the meaning of these prophecies." This argument again is peculiar to *BLEEK*. It is sufficient for its refutation to remark that in the passages quoted it is not an absolute obscurity that is spoken of, but that which is only relative and partial. This is clear, if not sufficiently from the nature of the case, at least quite so from a comparison of chapter x. 1 with xii. 8. In the first passage it is said that Daniel obtained an insight into the vision, chap. x. 12; in the second, "I heard it, but understood it not," and Daniel receives the command to seal up the vision, because it was destined for a future period. If a gross contradiction is not meant to be set up here, one is compelled to take the understanding and the non-understanding relatively.—But if this is the case, then there could not have been, at least as to those prophecies which refer to Alexander, especially at the time when they had already begun to be fulfilled, a non-understanding, since they belong to the clearest in the book. That a Greek would some day destroy the Persian empire, is declared in such explicit and direct terms that even a child must understand it,



and nothing farther was said to Alexander by the Jews, even according to Josephus ; the personal reference to himself was his own work. But we will not linger any longer on the refutation of such an argument.

Thus we think we have sufficiently justified the testimony of Josephus to the existence of the book of Daniel in the time of Alexander the Great, and consequently to its genuineness, since the question can only be whether Daniel is genuine or whether composed in the time of Ant. Epiph. Of course, if there existed any decisive grounds against the genuineness, the statement of Josephus alone would not suffice to invalidate them ; but we have already seen that such is not the case. And thus it looks quite gratuitous for BLEEK, p. 185, to suppose that the Jews might easily have appealed to prophecies in relation to Alexander, and that it is merely a fiction of Josephus to say they were the prophecies of Daniel in particular.

We add in conclusion, farther, on the historical character of the whole relation of Josephus, a remark of a modern historian, whose hostile disposition towards revealed religion and towards the chosen people makes him discover in their history in other respects a tissue of lies and fables, and whose testimony therefore, as that of an embittered, blinded enemy, is of peculiar weight. LEO says, in his *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte des Jüd. Volkes*, p. 200: "The entire tale has nothing exactly improbable in itself ; armed resistance on the part of the high priest would have been folly ; he might thus have peaceably gone to meet Alexander. And how readily Alexander allowed the Asiatic world to believe that he stood in near connexion with the gods of the nations which he had subdued, is known from other sources. It has been regarded as improbable that Alexander should not have hastened immediately from Gaza to Egypt ; but to march from Gaza to Egypt by way of Jerusalem was at the most a circuit of only a few days, and Judea no unimportant point in an expedition to Egypt ; this mountain land must on no account be left in the rear, in the hands of enemies."

b. The dying Mattathias, 1 Macc. ii. 59, 60, exhorts his relatives, among other things, to steadfastness, by referring to the example of Daniel and his three companions: "Ananias, Azarias, Misael, by believing, were saved out of the flame. Daniel for

his innocency was delivered from the mouth of lions."\* Now several, as BERTHOLDT, maintain that Mattathias can have had before him here only the several tales in question, circulating independently of each other,—which assumption rests on the demonstrably incorrect hypothesis of a plurality of authors; or that he may refer to oral tradition, which is refuted by the fact that all the other numerous examples adduced by him are borrowed, without exception, from the sacred writings. BLEEK, on the contrary (p. 183), allows that the passage is really to be regarded as a testimony to our book of Daniel, but avers that we have not here Mattathias' own words, but a discourse put into his mouth by the historian. This assertion, it is true, cannot be combated with decided certainty; but it could not be rightly considered as made out, unless we could from other sources prove the spuriousness of Daniel. And, since this is not the case, this testimony deserves always to be alleged among the arguments for the genuineness. Even supposing the correctness of BLEEK'S position, it is at least so far of importance, as it shews how firmly people were persuaded of the genuineness at a time so near the assumed origin of the book of Daniel.—A reference to Daniel is perhaps also found in the words of Mattathias, 1 Macc. ii. 49: "Now is pride established, and rebuke, and the time of destruction, and the wrath of indignation."† Comp. Dan. viii. 19: "Behold I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation; for at the time appointed the end shall be."‡ Mat. appears to intimate that the grievous time pointed at by Daniel is now arrived.

c. The Alexandrine translators have introduced the doctrine of guardian angels of kingdoms, which, in the whole of the O.T. occurs only in Daniel, into two passages in which so small a trace of it is contained, that only a previous acquaintance with this doctrine could have led them to give this translation. In Deut. xxxii. 8, (God has defined the boundaries of the people according to the

---

\* Ἀνανίας, Ἀζυρίας, Μισαήλ πιστεύσαντες ἐσώθησαν ἐκ φλογός. Δανιήλ ἐν τῇ ἀπλότητι αὐτοῦ ἐβρόύθη ἐκ στόματος λεόντων.

† νῦν ἐστηρίχθη ὑπερηφανία καὶ ἐλεγμός καὶ καιρὸς καταστροφῆς καὶ ὀργῆς θυμοῦ.

‡ Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἀπαγγέλλω σοι ἃ ἔσται ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῆς ὀργῆς τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ λαοῦ σου· ἔτι γὰρ εἰς ὥρας καιροῦ συντελείας μινεῖ.

number of the children of Israel,) they translate the words לְמִסְפַּר בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל by, “according to the number of the angels of God;”\* in Is. xxx. 4, the words כִּי בָּרַךְ הָיָה בְּיָמָיו מְלָאכְתָּי וְשָׂרָי by, “For there are in Tanos, as princes, wicked angels.”† It has, on the other hand, been objected that the LXX. might have taken the dogma thus introduced from the popular belief, which originated in their intercourse with heathen nations, and independently of the Scripture. But we saw before, how unfounded the assertion is that the Jews borrowed the doctrine of the tutelary spirits of nations from the Persians, among whom it did not at all exist; and it is to be well observed that this doctrine is by the Jews constantly founded on Daniel (comp. EISENMENGER i., p. 806. *Jo. a Lent. theologia Jud.*, p. 276.) It is true, however, that this argument can only pass for a secondary argument, since it must be allowed possible, although not probable, that the Jews derived this doctrine from gross misunderstanding of some passage of the Bible besides Daniel.

d. More important than the two preceding is the proof now to be adduced of the existence of the book of Daniel previously to the times of the Maccabees. Here we must begin with making good certain presumptions which form the groundwork of it.

1. It is time at length to examine the assertion, which is as generally as confidently made, of a Hebrew or Aramæan original of the first book of the Maccabees, now that we have so long and variously quoted it with its alleged arguments in our favour. This examination naturally cannot be instituted here comprehensively, and so as to exhaust the subject; yet this much, at least, may be briefly shewn, that the arguments hitherto alleged for a non-Greek original are not tenable.—We are reminded that ORIGEN quotes the title of the book in Hebrew (ORIG. in EUS. *H. eccl.* vi. 25: ἔξω δὲ τούτων ἐστὶ τὰ Μακκαβαϊκὰ, ἅπερ ἐπιγράφεται Σαρβῆθ Σαρβανὲ Ἑλ.), which, it is said, supposes, of course, that in his time the whole book was in existence in Hebrew or Aramæan; that Jerome had even seen the Hebrew original (*Prol. gal. : Maccabæorum primum librum Hebraicum reperi.*) But these testimonies shew nothing more than that in

---

\* κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ.

† ὅτι εἰσὶν ἐν Τάνει ἀρχηγοὶ ἄγγελοι πονηροί.



the time of Origen and Jerome the book existed *also* in Hebrew or Aramæan ; if Origen and Jerome regarded this as the original work, that is not at all to the purpose. The Hebrew or Aramæan copy might just as well be a translation, as we possess such translations of most of such apocryphal writings as were written in Greek.—It is farther alleged that in the book many expressions occur which do not receive their full explanation till they are translated back again into Hebrew. But were this argument valid, all the books of the N. T. might, with little difficulty, be proved to have had a Hebrew or Aramæan original. The occurrence of Hebraisms in *this* book, however, assuming its Greek original, is still more conceivable, if we remember that the Greek language was then much more recent and strange to the Jews. And, what is more, the very Hebraisms which have been produced as the most convincing (comp. *e. g.* ΕΙΣΗΠΟΡΝ, *Einl. in die Apokr.* p. 219, sqq.) are found in the LXX., and, as probably taken by the author from them, serve rather for proof that Greek was the language of the original. Thus, *e. g.*, for ἡτοιμάσθη ἡ βασιλεία ἐνώπιον Ἀντιόχου, i. 16, comp. 1 Sam. xx. 30, 1 Kings ii. 12, 1 Chr. xvii. 11 ; for πᾶς ὁ ἐξουσιαζόμενος τῷ νόμῳ, ii. 42, comp. Ezra ii. 68, vii. 15, &c. ; for ἀλλόφυλοι in the sense of Philistines, 1 Kings xiii. 2.—Of more importance would be the proof from *errors in translation*, if the only vouchers that have been adduced for this did not rest on insecure assumptions. Thus in chap. iv. 16, ἔτι πληροῦντος Ἰούδα ταῦτα, “whilst Judas was saying this,” πληρόω is said to be used in a sense quite unusual, and only to be explained from the exchange of פִּלְל and פִּלְל. But here it may first be asked whether πληρόω has really the meaning ascribed to it, *to say*, and not rather that which occurs not rarely in the LXX. and in the N. T., *to complete*, *to do*. In chap. vi. 1, (ἐστὶν Ἐλυμαῖς ἐν τῇ Περσίδι πόλις), we are told, such a sad error in geography as the changing of the province Elymais into a city, can only be explained by supposing that the Greek translator, from ignorance of geography, translated the Hebrew פְּרָסָא, as Aquila does, Dan. viii. 2, by *city*, instead of *province*. This assertion *might* have some plausibility, if there did not occur in the first book of the Macc., in the other accounts relating to foreign geography and history, numerous and almost as great mistakes (vid. *infra*, in

Sec. vi.)—These are all the arguments for a non-Greek original of the book. On the contrary, among other things may be noted the following. We have above shewn that the author of the first book of the Maccabees made use of Daniel; and that he copied, not the original, but the LXX., is shewn by the frequent verbal agreement in the expressions. That the expression *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* is borrowed from the LXX. even BLEEK (p. 181) allows. Now, it might be objected that several of the expressions quoted (although not by any means all; even for *βδέ. τ. ἐρ.* THEODOTION has, chap. xi. 31, *βδέλυγμα ἠφαισμένον*) are translated in the same way by THEODOTION, and that, therefore, the agreement of the first book of the Macc. with the Alexandrine version can only be accidental. But this objection is rendered invalid, if we consider that THEODOTION, not only in general, as Jerome and Epiphanius have already remarked (comp. among the moderns, *e. g.*, DE WETTE, p. 81), but in particular in dealing with Daniel, as the most cursory comparison will prove, did not by any means give a new translation, but only retouched and improved the Alexandrine. Now, if the using of the Alexandrine version in the first book of the Maccabees, as it lies before us, is established, is it at all likely that the alleged Greek translator introduced this agreement? Would he not have independently translated, not merely the book as a whole, but these particular passages that relate to the book of Daniel?—Moreover, Josephus has nowhere made use of a non-Greek original; he rather follows constantly our Greek book, and, indeed, often in its very words. The Syrian translator, too, has translated from the Greek.—Lastly, there is no reason to doubt that the Chaldee copy of the first book of the Maccabees, still existing, and edited by BARTOLOCCI, is the same that Origen and Jerome meant. This, however, may be immediately seen to be a bad and disfigured copy of our first book of the Maccabees.

2. It has been frequently maintained that the first book of the Maccabees could not have been composed till after the death of John Hyrcanus (106 B. C.), because, according to chap. xvi. 23, 24, the memoir of the life and deeds of Hyrcanus already existed as a complete whole at the time of the composition (comp., *e. g.*, EICHHORN, p. 247, BERTHOLDT, p. 1048.) But this passage (*καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ἰωάννου—ἰδὸν ταῦτα*

γέγραπται ἐπὶ βιβλίου ἡμερῶν ἀρχιερωσύνης αὐτοῦ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐγενήθη ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ), on the contrary, shews that the book was composed, although certainly a considerable time after the beginning of the reign of Hyrcanus, yet before the end of it,—otherwise why should the *terminus a quo* be expressly assigned, and not the *terminus ad quem*? We must make the more use of this indication, because we are compelled by the internal complexion of the book to place the time of its composition as early as possible. Ancient and modern scholars are agreed that the book, as far as regards the native accounts, possesses in a high degree the character of trustworthiness and historical fidelity, that it is distinguished in particular by an exact and correct chronology. Now, how can these marks of excellence, which appear in an especially striking light on comparison with the Second Book of the Maccabees, be otherwise explained than on the assumption that the book was written at a time comparatively near the incidents depicted in it, so that the author could write the truth if he really wished to? This assumption is the more necessary, the more numerous were the fictions and exaggerations by which the Jewish national pride by degrees disfigured the history of the Maccabees. We can avoid it only on the hypothesis that there were older written authorities; but this is very improbable, because the author nowhere refers to such sources, not even where, as in chap. ix. 23, we might surely expect such a reference, the more so as the historical books of the O. T., which the author is perpetually copying, are accustomed to quote their authorities. Besides, in the closing verses of the book that are adduced, there seems contained an intimation that beyond the period whose history the author described, no written records existed. For when the author closes his work with the death of Simon, and pronounces the continuation of it unnecessary because the history of Hyrcanus was to be found written elsewhere, it surely seems to follow that from the same reason he would not have written the *earlier* history, if there had already existed trustworthy earlier records respecting it.

3. The Alexandrine version of Daniel, as appears from the foregoing remarks, must have been made before the first book of the Maccabees, and, indeed, probably a considerable time before,



since the way in which the author makes use of it seems to suppose its distribution and reception by the church in Palestine. We have a second testimony to its earlier composition in the prologue to Jesus Sirach, composed about the year 130 B.C., in which, as DE WETTE also (l. c. p. 75) is inclined to assume, the Greek translation of the entire O. T. is supposed complete.—Lastly, an indication of the time of composition is perhaps furnished us by the translation itself. In chap. x. 1, it renders the words  $\text{וְיָבִין וְהִבֵּר}$  by *καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἰσχυρὸν διανοηθήσεται τὸ πρόσταγμα*. By *τὸ πλῆθ. τὸ ἰσχ.* are probably intended the Jews at the time of the Maccabees, as those who, according to chap. xii. 9, 10, will receive a full insight into the vision which was partially closed up at the time it was given. But a very exact definition like this, for which there is not the slightest ground in the text, can only be explained by supposing the author to have lived in the Maccabean time itself, and observed the mighty influence exerted upon it by the prophecies of Daniel.

Now, according to these explanations, the Alexandrine version is in any case separated by only a very small interval of time from the composition of the book itself, if we are to regard it as spurious. According to BLEEK (p. 288), chaps. i.–vi. were composed during the time that the Jewish worship was abolished by Antiochus Epiphanes—very soon after the consecration of the altar of burnt-offering for heathen sacrifices; the prophetic sections probably somewhat later, after the restoration of the Jewish worship by Judas Maccabæus, shortly before, or immediately after, the death of Antiochus Epiphanes; the whole, therefore, within the years 167–163 B.C. But we should certainly expect that a book, whose author and translator are quite cotemporary, or at most separated by only a very small interval of time, would be more correctly translated than all the other far older books of the O. T.; and in like manner, too, that no traces of variation in the translation would occur, which, indeed, in a work only just come to light, are scarcely to be conceived. But now, in the present case, the very contrary is found. The translation of Daniel is the very worst of all, so bad that the ancient church rejected it, a thing that, with their high veneration for the LXX., says much, and substituted the translation of THEODOTIUS; comp. DE WETTE, l. c. p. 76. Gross misunderstandings of the original are so fre-

quent on every hand, that it is not worth while to quote particular instances, especially as MICHAELIS has already, in his dissertation on this version (*Or. bibl.* iv. p. 17 sqq.) collected a sufficient quantity of them. Many times, *e. g.* x. 8, the translator gives mere words without any sense. Perhaps it will be attempted to charge this character of the translation on the Alexandrine origin of it. But, for one thing, this origin is very far from proved, since it does not follow from the composition of most parts of the LXX. at Alexandria, that they were all composed there; for another, it cannot be supposed that, with all the active intercourse between the Jews in Palestine and in Egypt, a proof of which would be furnished by the speedy transmission and immediate translation of the book, the complete understanding of it which the Jews of Palestine must have possessed in the time of the Maccabees, should have been withholden so entirely from the Alexandrines; and, finally, the fact that the Alexandrine version was in Palestine also the received one, as appears from its being taken as the basis in the first book of the Maccabees and in the N. T., shews that Daniel was no better understood there than in Egypt.—Nor is it less true that traces are found of variations, although MICHAELIS (l. c. p. 31 sqq.) has ascribed much to that source, which can be ascribed only to a paraphrastic freedom, or to ignorance of the language, and to mistakes, on the part of the translator. Comp. *e. g.* chap. v. 21 (*πλήρης τῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ ἔνδοξος ἐν γήρει*), chap. xi. 4 (*καὶ ἑτέρους διδάξει ταῦτα*), &c.

SECT. V.—FEATURES OF THE LANGUAGE.

Of the internal arguments, we will first examine that derived from the complexion of the language. Here there are especially two peculiarities which speak for Daniel as the author.

I. The book is written partly in Hebrew and partly in Aramæan, and the employment of the Aramæan begins chap. ii. 4, where the author introduces the Aramæan wise men speaking, and then, in the narratives and prophecies of the author himself, continues to the end of chap. vii. This phenomenon cannot be explained, as is done by BERTHOLDT and EICHHORN, from a plurality of authors. For, to say nothing of the other difficulties which

press on this hypothesis, what can it do when the change of language takes place in the middle of an indivisible section, and the problem is thus not made more or less difficult, whether the Aramæan goes through six chapters or only one? Just as little admissible is another hypothesis set up by KIRMS, l. c. p. 33, according to which the pretended pseudo-Daniel, at least in returning afterwards to the Hebrew, had it in view, by strengthening the illusion, to make his prophecies as similar as possible to those of the other prophets. Had there been such a view, the author would have employed constantly either the Aramæan or the Hebrew, just as the one or the other best suited his purpose; the Aramæan, because Daniel lived among Aramæans, and because the author, if he wrote in this language, might expect to be far more read and understood by his cotemporaries, who were, for the most part, ignorant of Hebrew; the Hebrew, because the delivery of a prophecy in any other than the sacred language was without precedent, and the author in his by no means credulous age would have to avoid whatever might evoke doubts of the genuineness and inspiration of his prophecies. The use of the Hebrew language, at least in the prophecies, in which, even according to the hypothesis of KIRMS, he ought constantly to have employed the Hebrew, whereas chapter vii. is written in Aramæan, would have appeared all the more adapted to further the illusion, since at the time of the Maccabees readiness of expression was rare in it, and that was required in a far higher degree for a prophetic than for a historical and didactic writing; and because, therefore, a prophetic writing composed in this language would have the presumption in its favour that it was composed in the old time to which it laid claim. The ground of the change of language can therefore, with BLEEK (l. c. p. 212) and DE WETTE (p. 367), be sought in nothing but the fact, that the two languages were so familiar to the author, that he could pass unobservantly from the one to the other, on so trifling an occasion as that occurring in chap. ii.; and, at the same time, that he could reckon on such an acquaintance with both languages among a great part of his cotemporaries, for whom his book was immediately intended, that it was indifferent to them whether a work was written in the one or in the other. That such was actually the case in Daniel's time, hardly needs proof, as being generally acknowledged. The Hebrew was



his mother tongue; he had passed by far the greater part of his life among Aramæans. In his readers he might calculate on an equal understanding of both languages. Ezra also, who flourished somewhat later, himself wrote in Hebrew, but inserted into his work an older history, compiled by an eye-witness, of the occurrences before his arrival at Jerusalem, written in the Aramæan language, besides some records, written in Aramæan, which he quoted in the original. But that the same state of things existed in the times of the alleged pseudo-Daniel, we must, in opposition to BLEEK, DE WETTE, &c., decidedly deny.

Shortly after the return from the captivity, the use of the Hebrew language was superseded among the people by the Aramæan; and although at first still known to the more educated, and perhaps in part still spoken, yet it was always an object of learned study. This is clear, although GESENIUS (*Gesch. der hebr. Sprache*, p. 44, sqq.), to whom DE WETTE and BLEEK, without farther examination, appeal, has tried to prove the contrary; for the following reasons:—(a) From Nehemiah viii. 8, it appears that, in the time of Ezra, the people, in order to understand the Pentateuch, needed to have what was read translated into the Aramæan. It is there said—"they (the priests and Levites) read in the book, in the law of God,  $\text{שִׁבְרֵי}$ , distinctly (*i. e.* with the addition of a translation), and gave the sense, and explained what was read." GESENIUS explains  $\text{שִׁבְרֵי}$  here by verbally, or truly, exactly. But even the parallel passage, Ezra iv. 18, to which he appeals for confirmation of this interpretation, proves the correctness of that we have given. The king of Persia says there: the letter which you have sent me  $\text{קָרָא קְרָא קְרָא}$ . Here  $\text{קְרָא}$  manifestly can be understood only of a translation into the Persian; for it has a clear reference to the clause—"the letter was written in the Aramæan language," in ver 7. It is improbable too, that the Persian king understood the Aramæan, and the mere mention, therefore, of a reading word by word is surprising. Against this interpretation of  $\text{שִׁבְרֵי}$  in both passages GESENIUS observes, that it is opposed by the usage of the language, since  $\text{שִׁבְרֵי}$ , even in the Rabbinical dialect, is not used of translations into other languages, for which  $\text{תָּרְגָּם}$  rather is the *terminus technicus*. But at that time  $\text{תָּרְגָּם}$  had not yet the special meaning *to translate*. This is manifest from Ezra iv. 7,

where it occurs in the sense *to express* (comp. J. H. MICHAELIS in the *annott. uberr.* and CLERICUS in loc., BUXTORF'S. v. תרגום). There was no particular expression existing for the notion of translating, and naturally enough, since of course the designation could not be older than the thing. Such words, therefore, were used as, like פָּרַשׁ, denoted in general to *explain*, to *make clear*. Afterwards, תרגום was restricted to translating, פָּרַשׁ to interpreting, and the Talmudists, therefore, quite correctly explain our passage מְפָרְשׁ הָיָה תְּרֻמָּה. (b.) Only on the assumption that even during the captivity the Aramæan had obtained considerable preponderance over the Hebrew, is it to be explained how the Hebrew could be generally suppressed by it. It must have become already so established, that a return to the Hebrew was impossible. For otherwise, would not every means have been tried of effecting it? It is contrary to all historical analogy, that a conquered people should begin to adopt the language of their conquerors when they have been a long time freed from their power. From the Hebrews, this could be the less expected, because, on the one hand, their hatred towards their oppressors was very strong, and, on the other, their enthusiasm for the more splendid times of the past, for everything national, and especially for their holy writings, was intense; and these feelings were not simply the result of original temperament, but were fostered by the external peculiarities of their history. (c.) The fact that the author of the Aramæan narrative in Ezra, a few years after the return, made use of this language, shews that even at that time the writing and understanding of the Aramæan was easier and more common than that of the Hebrew. / d.) To this must be added, lastly, the testimony of the Talmudists, and of other Jewish authors, who all agree, that immediately after the captivity the Hebrew began to be an object of learned pursuit.

The only argument which GESENIUS brings *for* his assertion, that the people, in the time of Nehemiah, still commonly spoke Hebrew, is taken from Nehem. xiii. 24. It is related in this passage, that the children of those Jews who had taken wives from the Philistines, Ammonites, and Moabites, could not speak the Jewish language (יהודית). But RAMBACH and CLERICUS have already remarked on this passage, that the Jewish language is here the language which the Jews then commonly spoke, the Aramæan,

in opposition to the languages of the Philistines, Ammonites, and Moabites; and this explanation is the less open to objection, because the same *usus loquendi* elsewhere demonstrably occurs, since *έβραϊστί*, or *τῆ έβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ*, in all probability even in the prologue to Jesus Sirach, and certainly in the N. T., is used of the Aramæan language then spoken in the country, and also in the Apocrypha and in Josephus it is called *πάτριος γλωσσα, φωνή*, (comp. GES. l. c. p. 9. WINER, *Chald. Gramm.* p. 14.)—Another argument of GESENIUS, which he has failed to make good, is more plausible—the fact that the authors of the books of the O. T. composed after the captivity still employ the Hebrew language. But neither from this can we infer a general readiness in writing and understanding Hebrew. The later sacred writers, leaning generally on the former, hesitated to forsake the language sanctified by them, and therefore, as is particularly observable in Zechariah, acquired rather by earnest study the readiness in it possessed by the earlier exemplars. To the greater difficulty of understanding it they the less needed to pay regard, because the more aged people, who had still preserved the knowledge of Hebrew, and the more educated, who had acquired it, could render the people the same assistance in understanding it as they could in the other books of the O. T.

But if we should grant to the Hebrew language a greater prevalence in the times immediately succeeding the captivity than we are able to assign to it, in any case it is certain that in the time of the Maccabees it was quite superseded in common use among the people, and was only an object of learned acquisition. Nay, by that time the second influence of a people speaking Aramæan had been brought to bear;\* and if in the N. T. we find as the language of Palestine, besides the Greek, only the Aramæan, if even learned Jews, like Josephus, possess only a scholastic knowledge of Hebrew (comp. GES. l. c. p. 80),—from these facts, since no other causes operated in the intermediate period, we may with certainty form our conclusions as to the Maccabæan age,

\* CARPZOV, *crit. sac.* p. 215, “Aliam longe faciem nacta est res Judæorum periodo hujus ætatis secunda, ubi in Syria rerum potiti Seleucidæ sunt, crebrisque præliis cum Lagidis, Aegypti regibus, congressi, de imperio decertarunt, atque imprimis, postquam Antiochus Epiphanes in potestatem redacta Hierosolyma, Syram idolatriam, Syra præsidia, Syra judicia, Syras leges invexit, Syramque linguam pariter usurpare Judæos cogit.”



especially since the patriotic zeal that was then afresh awakened would certainly have been eager for the preservation of what still existed. Here we have GESENIUS himself on our side. He observes, p. 44, that, soon after Alexander, the cessation of the living language formed an obstacle even to a learned Hebrew in the understanding of more difficult passages of older writings; that the domination of the Seleucidæ, and the additional influence of a people speaking Aramæan, seem gradually to have erased the *last traces* of Hebrew. A similar avowal is also found in DE WETTE (*Einkl.* § 34): “After the captivity the Hebrew language disappeared by degrees from the mouth of the people, and remained only as the language of the learned or of literature; and many later productions of the Hebrew literature, *e. g.* Daniel, are owing to this artificial use of it.”\*

The change of language, then, of itself, and the manner in which it occurs, remain an inexplicable problem to those who assume the composition of our book in the time of the Maccabees—the change itself, because it is inconceivable how the alleged pseudo-Daniel, if he did not hesitate to use the Aramæan at all, should, by the use of the Hebrew, have placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the general understanding of the most important part of his book, and just that which was most destined to influence his own times; and we must beg to decline all appeal to analogies, which, as, *e. g.*, the book of Esther, can be adopted only from unfounded suppositions—the mode and fashion of the change, because it shows that the use of the two languages was equally natural to the author, neither of them an object to him of learned acquisition.

II. The Aramæan language of our book is, in a number of peculiarities—almost all of which are found repeated in the section of the book of Esther written in Chaldee—different from the Targums, the older as well as the later. Let us first collect these peculiarities together more completely than they have hitherto been, leaving it to the industry of others to make up what is wanting. Peculiar to Daniel and Ezra is the frequent

---

\* In strange contradiction to this, which, however, may be readily explained from the dilemma in which he was placed, he maintains, p. 367, that the two languages were equally familiar to the author of the book of Daniel.

placing of the Hebrew  $\pi$  instead of the Chaldee  $\varkappa$ ; thus often instead of the Chaldee termination of the feminine,  $\varkappa$ , is found the Hebrew  $\pi$ , &c. (comp. BUXTORF, *Gram. Chald.* p. 14, 58), in Aphel, according to the analogy of the Hebrew Hiphil, often  $\pi$  (BUXTORF, p. 93, 124, 148, 170.) In the oldest Targums there occur only particular and rare examples of this in particular verbs. So likewise in Ethpacl, after the analogy of the Hebrew Hithpacl (B. p. 87.) The verbs  $\varkappa$  often appear as  $\pi$ , as in Hebrew (B. p. 176.) The *stat. emphaticus* also is sometimes formed with  $\pi$  instead of with  $\varkappa$ . The infin. in Pa. not rarely occurs in Daniel and Ezra as  $\pi$  instead of  $\varkappa$  (B. p. 83.) The same thing takes place in the Inf. Hiph. (B. p. 97.)—The  $\omega$ , properly foreign to the Chaldee, is comparatively more frequent in Daniel and Ezra than in the Targums, where, according to the rule, such words occur written with  $\varepsilon$ , although, it is true, in particular cases  $\omega$  also occurs (MICHAELIS, *Gr. Chald.* p. 5.)—Peculiar to Daniel is the resolution of the *Dagesh forte in Nun*, not only in cases where the *Dagesh* really occupies the place of a rejected *Nun*, as  $\pi$  for  $\eta$ , which form also occurs in the Targums, but also in words and forms with which properly *Nun* has nothing to do, as  $\varkappa$  for  $\varkappa$ ,  $\varepsilon$  for  $\varepsilon$  to bring in (comp. BUXT. p. 6, MICHAELIS, p. 15.)—*Pathah furtivum*, properly foreign to Chaldee, is found in particular instances in Daniel and Ezra, comp. e. g.  $\pi$  Dan v. 24, Ezra vii. 14.—The dual, foreign to the Aramæan, is found only in particular instances in Daniel and Ezra; thus  $\varepsilon$  hands, Dan. ii. 34;  $\varepsilon$  two hundred, Ezra vi. 17;  $\varepsilon$  horns, Dan. vii. 7;  $\varepsilon$  feet, Dan. vii. 4. The Targumists, on the contrary, write  $\varepsilon$  &c. (B. p. 33.)—In Daniel and Ezra there is found sometimes, instead of the *status emphaticus*, the  $\pi$  *articuli*.—The segolate forms, peculiar to the Hebrew, are sometimes found also in Daniel and Ezra; thus  $\varepsilon$  (comp. MICHAELIS, p. 12, BUXT. p. 212, WINER, p. 76.)—Instead of  $\varepsilon$  in the Targums, we find in Daniel, after the analogy of the Hebrew,  $\varepsilon$  and  $\varepsilon$ .—Quite peculiar to Daniel and Ezra is a form of the *præteritum passivum*, derived from the *participium passivum* in *Kal*, and following the inflection of the *præteritum activum*, a form whose origin cannot be derived from the Hebrew, comp. e. g. Dan. vii. 11, 12, Ezra v. 14 (BUXT. p. 66, 188.)—Neither can it be ascribed to Hebrew, where such a

thing occurs only as an occasional exception, that Daniel and Ezra very often retain the *characteristica* in *Aphel*, which is elsewhere thrown away, in the participle and the future. Thus *e. g.* מִהִתְחַצֵּץ Dan. ii. 15, מִהִתְחַקֵּה Ezra iv. 15, יִהְיֶה־שָׂרִיִּל Dan. vii. 24, יִהְיֶה־שָׂרִיִּל Ezra iv. 15. Numerous other instances in Buxt. p. 124, 148, 170, 209.—The Hebrew Hophal is not in use with the Chaldee paraphrasts, and is found only in particular instances in Daniel and Ezra, B. p. 99, 110.—On the other hand, not a single example is found in Daniel and Ezra of the Chaldee conjugation Ittaphal, not infrequent in the Targums (comp. the examples in B. p. 110.)—In verbs ס in Chaldee, the ס is regularly changed in the future into א; in Daniel, as in Jerem. x. 11, the form with ס (אֲסַלֵּל), which is found in the Targums in only particular instances, constantly occurs.—In the conjugations Ithpeel and Ithpaal a double form of the verbs ס is in use; that one in which ס is thrown away and compensated by Dagesh, in Syriac also very frequent, occurs in the Targums very often (comp. the examples in Buxt. p. 132), but never in Daniel and Ezra.—The verb פ in Daniel and Ezra has the peculiarity that it is treated as a verb פ, which does not reject its *Nun*, but is inflected after the manner of the regular verb; thus פִּיִּי Dan. ii. 9; פִּיִּיִּי ii. 30, iv. 22, 23, 29, Ezra iv. 15; פִּיִּיִּי, Dan. iv. 14; פִּיִּיִּי, knowledge, Dan. ii. 21, iv. 31, 33, v. 12. From the Targums there has been hitherto adduced only one example of this formation, פִּיִּיִּי, Ruth iv. 4 (B. p. 143); for what Winer besides adduces, Is. iv. 15, is a false citation for Ezra iv. 15.—The participle in Peal of verbs ס has in Daniel the form פִּיִּי, or פִּיִּי; in the Targums, on the contrary, the form פִּיִּי. In the plural in Daniel and Ezra occurs only the form פִּיִּי; in the Targums, likewise, the form פִּיִּי and פִּיִּי (B. p. 180.) The same diversity is found also in the part. pass. (B. p. 182.) The infin. of these verbs in Daniel and Ezra has the form פִּיִּי; in the Targums, on the contrary, more frequently the form פִּיִּי (B. p. 182.) The infin. of the verb ס and of some others, in Daniel and Ezra, when ל comes before it, always loses its ל, פִּיִּי; in the Targums this is not the case, פִּיִּי, or פִּיִּי (B. p. 183.) The 3 fut. Peal is in Daniel פִּיִּי; in the Targums mostly פִּיִּי (B. p. 186.) In like manner the 3 fut. Paal (B. p. 198.)—The suff. of the 3 pers. sing. is in Daniel annexed to the noun without the epenthetic א (פִּיִּי), in the Targums with it (פִּיִּי)



(B. p. 255.) The same thing occurs also in the 3 plur. (B. p. 256.) The plur. noun with the suff. 2 pers. sing. is in Daniel  $\text{דָּנִיִּים}$ , in the Targums generally without  $\text{ו}$ ,  $\text{דָּנִיִּם}$ , so that no difference is found between the sing. and plur. (B. p. 257.) Instead of the suff.  $\text{וֹ}$ , is very often found in Daniel  $\text{וֹ}$ . (B. p. 263.)

Let us now examine somewhat more closely the force of this argument. The only Aramaean document of the time of the genuine Daniel is that already adduced, the history inserted in the book of Ezra. There is sufficient ground for maintaining that this was composed by one immediately cotemporary with Daniel, although younger than he. For Daniel was still alive in the third year of Cyrus; but this author carries on his narrative to the sixth year of Darius Hystaspis, and that he writes as an eye-witness, is clearly apparent from chap. v. 4, and is acknowledged by BERTHOLDT (*Eint.* iii. p. 999), EICHORN, &c. The next ensuing remains of Aramaean writing are the Targums, in regard to which even DE WETTE (l. c. p. 110) observes, that a retreat has justly been made from that immoderate scepticism that was recently common as to their age, and whose existence about the time of Christ BERTHOLDT himself allows. Now, assuming the spuriousness of Daniel, how are we to account for the remarkable fact, that the book has every peculiarity of language in common with a book composed more than three hundred years before, but on the other hand is so distinct in regard to language, as this book is, from the writings composed not more than half of this period later at farthest? How is it to be explained that in the one Chaldee verse of Jeremiah, which, even if it be supposititious, must in any case belong to the Babylonian period, or that immediately bordering on it, we find two forms,  $\text{דָּנִיִּים}$  and  $\text{דָּנִיִּם}$ , which are analogous to those occurring in our book, and distinct from those in the Targums? —It is perfectly evident that, by the observations hitherto made by the opponents of the genuineness, not even a beginning has been made in the solution of this difficult enigma. BERTHOLDT (*Eint.* p. 1526) thinks that the Book of Ezra shews the Chaldee to have been written and spoken impurely by the Jews for a long while; but that the time when they had gone so far as to be able to write the Chaldee free from Hebraisms, cannot be determined. But we are not to take the *long while* too seriously, because, according to B.'s own shewing, the Aramaean portion of the Book of

Ezra was composed by a cotemporary of the events described in it. Moreover, the similarity of Daniel to Ezra, and the difference between him and the Targums, do not consist in the occurrence of Hebraisms in general, but in the fact that just *these* Hebraisms are common to Daniel and Ezra, whilst in the Targums others occur that are quite unusual in *them* (examples may be easily collected from BUXTORF's *Gramm.*, still the best that exists), and that they have other peculiarities which BUXTORF has properly designated Babylonian, to which category certainly, besides those features which cannot by any means be derived from the Hebrew, much belongs that has been commonly taken for Hebraism (comp. WINER *Gramm.* p. 5.) By this reasoning of BERTHOLDT, then, nothing is done towards the solution of the problem. There has not, indeed, been one attempt made to shew how it comes to pass that the Aramæan, as spoken and written by the Hebrews, underwent no change in the long period from Ezra to the pseudo-Daniel, and, on the other hand, changed so amazingly in the much shorter time from the pseudo-Daniel to the Targums; whereas, the causes which might bring about such a change, particularly the influence of a people speaking the other Aramæan dialect, were operating more especially in this first period.

Let us now see whether BLEEK has been more happy in his objections. He observes (l. c. p. 214 sqq.), that the peculiarity in the language of the book is not of such a kind as to suggest to our minds, as its author, a man such as Daniel is described in the book itself; that it rather leads to the opposite view, and is no trifling argument in its favour! for that those Hebraisms appear to be of such a kind as could result only from a mixture of the two dialects in the language of the people; but that if Daniel was instructed in his early youth at the court of Babylon in the language and literature of the Chaldeans (chap. i. 4), such a mixture of the grammatical forms of both dialects could on no account be expected. Here too, BLEEK carries the matter more to the extreme than all the other opponents. BERTHOLDT cannot help calling the peculiarity of Daniel's language a *remarkable phenomenon*. KIRMS, p. 26, remarks, in opposition to BLEEK, that it is not in the least surprising that Daniel, notwithstanding his learned study of the Aramæan, should, from early habitude and

intercourse with his countrymen, who, in the period of the transition from Hebrew to Chaldee, must have written and spoken the latter still more impurely and with a greater mixture of Hebraisms, have retained a comparatively very small number of Hebrew forms. We make the following remarks in reply to BLEEK:—1. It is perfectly clear that the real problem is quite passed over by him, and not at all correctly apprehended. The agreement of Daniel with Ezra is thrown by him quite into the back-ground; he merely asks whether the occurrence of Hebraisms in general can be the more easily explained in Daniel or in the pseudo-Daniel; the other peculiarities besides the Hebraisms are left quite out of the account. What he proposes can only be regarded as a counter-question, which should not have been put unless the real question had been satisfactorily answered. 2. Granting the fact on which this counter-question is based to be correct, yet it would place us in no difficulty whatever. Is it not utterly to mistake the character of that age and the state of Babylonian learning, to assume that Daniel received a learned and grammatically correct indoctrination in the Aramæan, like the instruction in language afforded in a Prussian Royal Gymnasium? And had it been so, is the *will* always involved in the *ability*? Is it probable that, in a writing destined for his countrymen, who themselves spoke an impure Aramæan, and thus in a totally unsuitable place, Daniel would have striven indefatigably after the greatest purity of language? for it would have cost him much trouble, since, in addition to his early habitude and the influence of intercourse with his people, the constant reading of the sacred writings operated as a cause of hindrance. How difficult this was with languages so nearly related, and how foreign to that age was such exertion to secure it, is surely clear enough from the Aramaic tincture of the Hebrew writings of the later period. Why, even the language of the Babylonians exercised a great influence on that of the Chaldeans, of the conquered on that of the conquerors, as appears from the remains of the Pehlvi dialect (comp. GESENIUS on Is. i., 947.)—But farther, the fact at the foundation is demonstrably incorrect. It is said, chap. i. 4, that Daniel and his companions were instructed in the *language of the Chaldeans*. MICHAELIS, however, BERTHOLDT (*Comm.* i. p. 181),



DERESER, WINER (*Chald. Gramm.*, p. 2), have correctly supposed, that we are to understand by this the language of the proper Chaldeans, which belonged to the Semitic family (comp. p. 10.), not the eastern Aramæan. This is probable, if we consider that the author elsewhere makes a distinction between the Chaldeans and the Aramæan inhabitants of Babylon, as will be hereafter shewn. But it is still more manifest from chap. ii. The language in which Daniel and his companions were instructed, to prepare them for serving at court, was without doubt the court language, that spoken by the monarch himself and his attendants. But this could not be the Aramæan; for when it is said, chap. ii. 4, that the Babylonian sages answered the king in Aramæan, it surely follows that the king had addressed them in another language. Had Nebuchadnezzar likewise spoken Aramæan, why did not the author give us his discourse as well as that of the wise men, in the original language?—It need not surprise us that the wise men answered the king in the Aramæan language, since in later times we find a perfectly analogous case. The Persian was naturally, in the Persian kingdom, the court language; and yet the despatches to the court from the western provinces were written in the Aramæan language, as appears from the book of Ezra. The victors tried to incline the conquered to them by the consideration they showed to their language.—Moreover, the exact knowledge of the languages that were prevalent in Daniel's time in Babylon—a thing which in the pseudo-Daniel would be difficult to explain—serves for no despicable proof of the genuineness.

SEC. VI.—EXACT KNOWLEDGE OF HISTORY.

There is found in our book so exact a knowledge of the history of the period in which Daniel lived, that we cannot possibly think of the author as being of the Maccabæan age. For proof of this assertion we must compare the several historical records of the book with those of other writers. The result will prove as important as, supposing the genuineness of Daniel, we can ever expect, with the extreme scantiness and confusion of our information concerning this period; nay, it will even surpass the

expectations of one who knows our sources. Only a few historical circumstances remain for which no confirmation can be adduced.

This is furnished, as to the whole of the first part, by the two passages of Ezekiel already quoted (comp. p. 60. sqq.) In the first, Daniel is produced, with Job and Noah, as a pattern of piety; in the second, as the possessor of the highest wisdom attainable by man. It is these very two points which are particularly conspicuous in the first part. The manner, however, in which Ezekiel speaks of the piety and wisdom of Daniel is perfectly inexplicable, unless they had been displayed in the remarkable degree recorded in our book. In both passages Daniel is supposed to be known to all; the prophet mentions him quite distinct from any purpose, without giving any room for the suspicion of flattery towards a courtier in high favour. In chap. xiv. he speaks of him, although a younger cotemporary, who could hardly at that time have exceeded thirty years of age, along with the most revered examples of piety in preceding ages; in chap. xxviii. 2, 3, he charges the king of Tyre with making himself equal to *God*, with attributing to himself *divine* wisdom, and immediately afterwards, as equivalent to it, with thinking himself wiser than Daniel, and supposing that every secret was disclosed to him. This style of praise surely demands more than that Daniel had shewn himself a wise man in the ordinary way; it demands proofs of a wisdom imparted from above, such as it is represented in our book, revealing secrets to Daniel, and even compelling the heathen king and queen to the acknowledgment that the spirit of the holy gods was in him. Even Solomon, so celebrated for his wisdom, ranks too low in the estimation of Ezekiel, for him not to give the preference to Daniel, when his purpose is to adduce the highest pattern of divine wisdom attainable by men. At the same time, the manner in which Ezekiel brings Daniel forward, proves that he must have been in high and honourable offices, and whilst yet in the youthful period of life. Why should he have instituted a comparison between his wisdom and that of a king, if he had not displayed it in similar relations? These passages of Ezekiel, then, serve for a splendid confirmation of our book in its very chief points.

It is remarkable, farther, that a strong agreement exists between our book and the other records concerning the character of the

kings. We pass over Nebuchadnezzar here, because in his case the agreement may be explained from the careful perusal of the other books of the O. T. by the author, although this explanation is certainly very improbable, considering the fractional character of the accounts that occur, as for instance with regard to the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, Jer. xlii. 11. Only one special feature deserves to be remarked. That the king honoured the Jewish prophets with particular attention, and acknowledged the divinity residing in them, appears from Jer. xxxix. 11. He there, after the conquest of Jerusalem, enjoins it on the captain of the guard to behave kindly towards Jeremiah. But the agreement appears more remarkable in the case of those kings to whom no reference is made elsewhere in the sacred writings, Belshazzar and Darius (Cyxares II.) The last king of Babylon appears in XENOPHON as a debauched, lewd, cruel, and impious monarch. According to *Cyrop.* IV., chap. vi., he killed (ὁ ἀνόσιος) the son of Gobryas, who was related to him, for no other reason than because in the chase he hit an animal which the king had missed; and he manifested not the slightest compunction for this deed; nay, according to L. V., chap. iii., he afterwards declared to Gobryas, that he did not regret having killed his son, but only that he had not killed him too. In L. V., chap. ii., a ὑπερηφανία πολλή τοῦ τρόπου is attributed to him, and it is declared that he had behaved just as shamefully towards many others besides. As an instance, the villany he perpetrated on Gadatas is mentioned. This friend of his he suddenly seized and emasculated at a *drinking bout*, because one of his *concubines* praised him as a handsome man. In L. VII., v. 32, he is again spoken of as ὁ ἀνόσιος. Just so Belshazzar is represented in the fifth chap. In a *drunken fit* he resolves to make sport at the God of Israel; Daniel approaches him very differently from Nebuchadnezzar; he treats him as an abandoned man, giving no hope of reformation. His behaviour according to appearance is in the highest degree characteristic of a *homo impotens*.—Cyxares appears in Xenophon, who it must be confessed seems to have presented only the dark side of his character, in order to place his hero in a more glowing light, as a man much addicted to the pleasures of the table and to women, *Cyrop.* IV., v. 8, 25, 52. (Κυαξάρει ἐξέλετε, ὅποι' ἄν οἴεσθε αὐτῷ μάλιστα χαρί-



ζεσθαι. Καὶ οἱ γελάσαντες εἶπον, ὅτι γυναῖκας καλὰς ἐξαιρετέον ἂν εἶη) V., 45. In our book, chap. vi. 18, it is mentioned as something extraordinary that the king did not sup or allow any concubines (comp. BERTHOLDT in loc., GESEN. and WINER, s. v. פתך) to come in to him.—Xenophon describes Cyaxares as sluggish, indisposed to attend to the affairs of government, of little understanding (*ἀγνώμων*), frivolous moreover in a high degree, effeminate and inclined to tears, and then again in a sudden fit of passion using harsh measures (*ὠμός*), comp. *Cyrop.* IV. v. 9, V. v. 8, sqq. Every single feature in the description can be verified from our book. The government is found in the hands of officials; the king does what they wish him; they impose upon him without any difficulty, and laugh at his folly; the misfortune of Daniel fills him with the most poignant distress; after the rescue he has, not only the men who laid the complaint against him, but also their wives and children, thrown into the den of lions.

Let us now pass on to particulars. It has been already shewn, p. 43, sqq., that for every particular point in chap. i. 1–3 a historical confirmation can be adduced. But from what sources should the pseudo-Daniel, living in the time of the Maccabees, have drawn this exact historical knowledge? In the Scriptures, it is true, all these *data* are contained, but in passages so scattered and so apparently contradictory to one another, that they can only be reconciled by the aid of Berosus, and how greatly even with this help the matter needs an artificial historical combination, is shewn by the example of Josephus, who, although possessing the two sources, has yet so entirely failed, and of so many ancient and modern scholars, BERTHOLDT for instance.

In chap. i. 21 we are specially informed that Daniel survived the first year of Cyrus, as we saw (comp. p. 54.), because this was the year of the deliverance of the Jews. Now here we cannot deny that the *pseudo*-Daniel might have had the knowledge of this *terminus ad quem* of the captivity, because he could have derived it easily from the books of Ezra and Chronicles. But what is remarkable, and tells for the cotemporaneity of the author, is the manner of reference to the history here and in other passages. The author considers it superfluous to describe more precisely the event which distinguished the first

year of Cyrus ; he takes it for granted that all his readers would of themselves remember it. He must therefore have written as a cotemporary for cotemporaries. By the apparent contradiction between chaps. i. and ii. the author is not convicted of any mistake : Nebuchadnezzar is in chap. i. 1 spoken of as already king, and undertakes an expedition, in which Daniel and his companions are carried off as prisoners ; they must have been instructed three years in the wisdom of the Chaldeans, and yet the period of their instruction, according to chap. ii. 1, was at an end in the second year of Nebuchadnezzar (comp. the solution, p. 50.) He adds not a word in explanation, persuaded that his readers would find it out of themselves, and so firmly conscious of his own trustworthiness, that he never thinks of meeting a possible suspicion of it. In chap. v. 30, likewise, the death of king Belshazzar is mentioned, without any statement in detail of the capture of the city by the Medo-Persians, so that BERTHOLDT was induced to entertain the opinion, already refuted p. 98, that the author knew nothing about this capture. In chap. x. Daniel is in the greatest distress on account of a calamity which had befallen the chosen people. This calamity, which by a comparison of the history is found to have really taken place at the very period assigned to it (comp. p. 121. sqq.), is so far from being precisely defined, so fully supposed to be known to the readers, and therefore to require no farther description, that not a few have entirely overlooked or misunderstood the slight intimations.

We have a remarkable confirmation of chap. ii. in the passage of Abydenus already quoted, p. 88.

As in our chapter Nebuchadnezzar receives, in a dream interpreted by Daniel, a disclosure respecting the future, particularly concerning the annihilation of his kingdom by that of the Medo-Persians, so there Nebuchadnezzar expresses his grief that the united Medes and Persians were to become possessed of his power.—The historical confirmations are particularly strong for the declaration of Nebuchadnezzar, chap. iv. 30, “Is not this Babylon the great, which I have built for a residence by my strong power, in honour of my glory?” We first of all shew the incorrectness of the *παρερμηνεία*, by which BERTHOLDT ii. p. 331, tries to fix on this passage a charge of contradicting

history. It is here said, he affirms, that Nebuchadnezzar erected Babylon for his residence; whereas, from the testimony of history, this was rather done by Nebuchadnezzar's father, Nabopolassar. But that it could never enter the mind of the author to assert what BERTHOLDT attributes to him, appears from the simple fact that in chap. i. Nebuchadnezzar, even during Nabopolassar's reign, is described as king of Babylon, and that the vessels of the temple and the prisoners are carried thither. The words "for a residence," לְבַיְתָא מְלִכָא, are rather, therefore, to be explained, with GEIER, &c, "*ut digna sit tanto monarcha sedes.*"—On the designation of Babylon, so fully borne out by history, as "the great" (comp. *e.g.* HEEREN, i. 2, p. 174), we will lay no stress. But it deserves all attention, that here the extension and adornment of Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar are represented as so important, that he might call himself the builder of it. The correctness of the fact is guaranteed by the most certain testimonies. According to BEROSUS and ABYDENUS, ll. cc. (comp. BOCHART, *Phaleg.* iv. 14), Nebuchadnezzar added to the already existing city a new one; he built a splendid new palace besides the ancient one; he surrounded the city with new walls, and adorned it with a great number of new buildings. But the knowledge of this fact is the less to be expected from a writer living in the time of the Maccabees, because it was quite unknown to the far more ancient Greek writers. CTESIAS, following the Assyrian legend, which aimed to throw the Babylonians into the shade, names as the founder of Babylon Semiramis alone, the wife of Ninus (comp. BÄHR z. CTESIAS, p. 397 sqq.) HERODOTUS i. 181, sqq., besides Semiramis, knows only of Nitocris, of whom presently. Even BEROSUS charges the Greek writers with falsely attributing the founding of Babylon and the astonishing edifices in it to the Assyrian Semiramis.—This declaration of Nebuchadnezzar, however, may be historically confirmed from another quarter also. The pride which is conspicuous in it is, in Is. chap. xiv., and indeed with especial reference to Nebuchadnezzar, brought forward as a characteristic feature of the kings of Babylon.

The passages which serve to establish the narrative of the madness of Nebuchadnezzar having already (p. 87.) been ad-



duced,\* we may pass on at once to chap. v., in reference to which the historical confirmations are more numerous and remarkable than in all the others. We select first of all the narrative, ver. 10–12. When Belshazzar and his nobles are in helpless perplexity about the appearance on the wall, the *queen*, who had taken no part in the boisterous pleasures of the table, and who was so called not simply as the wife of the king (comp. p. 39.), but on account of her surpassing dignity and her authority, comes in with wise counsel; whereas the king does not even know Daniel by name, she has the most exact knowledge of his character, his gifts, and merits; she speaks with a consciousness of superiority, and her counsel is regarded by the king as a command, and immediately obeyed. Several older expositors, as GEIER and MICHAELIS, have here referred us to the Nitocris of Herodotus, and a great deal of evidence can actually be adduced to shew that she is identical with our queen. In opposition to HEEREN, who, l. c., p. 169, makes this queen a cotemporary, and probably the wife, of Nebuchadnezzar, the following remarks may be made. 1. Nitocris in HEROD. i. 188, is expressly spoken of as the mother of the last king of Babylon, Labynet. 2. The same buildings which, according to BEROSUS, were finished in the reign of the last king of Babylon, are in Herodotus ascribed to Nitocris. Nor is there anything suitable to the time of Nebuchadnezzar in the motive assigned by Herodotus for undertaking them, namely that the perception of the constantly increasing power and of the important conquests of the Medes induced the queen to prepare in time the necessary means of defence. 3. We cannot suppose that a queen living under Nebuchadnezzar would so have obscured the fame of this great monarch that it did not reach the Greeks, whilst hers did. The latter fact supposes that she flourished under the reign of an inactive ruler. 4. It is true that in other authors, BEROSUS,

---

\* We only refer our readers farther in reference to the view that prevailed in ancient times of the connexion between madness and prophecy, to SCHROEER, *imperium Babylonis et Nini, Frft.*, 1726, p. 367. Cicero says, in a passage there quoted, that according to Aristotle those *qui valetudinis vitio furerent et Melancholici dicerentur*, had *aliquid in animis præsagens atque divinum*. That this view has continued to prevail in the East down to modern times, appears, amongst other things, from SCHULZ, *Leitung en des Höchsten*, Th. iv. p. 287.

DIODORUS ii. 10, ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, in the *Arm. Chron.* of EUSEBIUS, i. 44, and in SYNCCELLUS, the wife of Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned (comp. NIEBUHR, *Kl. Schr.* i. p. 208); but nothing more is related of her, than that she was a Mede by birth, and that Nebuchadnezzar erected the hanging gardens out of love to her, to give her some small compensation amidst the mountainless plain for her mountainous fatherland—nowhere is the praise dealt out to her which Herodotus lavishes on Nitocris; her name, too, is different; in Syncellus she is called Aroite, and, according to the more credible information of Alexander, Amuhia.—We may then justly compare what Herodotus says of Nitocris with that which occurs here of the queen, and it only need be quoted to shew a perfect agreement. Herodotus says expressly that she was wiser than the celebrated Semiramis; he speaks of her as if she was the absolute sovereign of the kingdom, and BEROSUS is so far from contradicting him, that he makes the last king not the proper author of the edifices ascribed by Herodotus to Nitocris, but only asserts that they were completed under his reign (*ἐπὶ τούτου*)—(comp. farther PRIDEAUX, i. 227, EICHHORN, *Weltgesch.* i. 79, JAHN, *Archäol.* II. i. 217.)

Before we turn to the other contents of the chapter, we must premise a remark on that work which affords the most remarkable confirmations of it, the *Cyropædia*. Granting that the historical value of this work is to be rated as low as it is in the extremely one-sided dissertation of ST CROIX (*nouvell. observations s. la. Cyrop.*, published again in the edition of SCHNEIDER, p. 663 sqq.), yet, in the facts which it has in common with our book, the agreement of two writers, between whom we cannot imagine any collusion, would stamp equally on both the seal of trustworthiness. But it may be farther shewn that to the *Cyropædia*, if we except the embellishments, which were part of the aim of the author, a considerable historical value is to be ascribed, a greater than to the parallel accounts of Herodotus. This has been done in the excellent dissertation of VITRINGA, *Comm. z. Jes.* i. 417, sqq., from which GESENIUS, *zu Jes.* i. p. 469, has given an extract with his full approval; comp. also BERTHOLDT, *Comm.* ii. p. 857. After such evidence adduced, it cannot but be matter of astonishment that historians like SCHLOSSER can almost entirely reject the representation of XENOPHON, especially when

HEEREN, i. 2, p. 157, has set a better example.—If, by following out to its legitimate extent the course adopted by the opponents of the Cyropædia, an author is to be denounced altogether, because of some historical errors that can be pointed out, then all the sources of the most ancient history must be rejected. The strict credibility of history always reaches only so far as the national honour is not concerned. This is particularly the case in reference to the authorities for the contents of our chapter. Of BEROSUS and ABYDENUS we have already shewn, p. 85, sqq., by an induction of evidence certainly very considerable compared with the limited extent of the fragments handed down to us, that their accounts, so far as the Chaldeans are concerned, have throughout a laudatory character; so that even the credibility of the exceedingly important BEROSUS here finds its strict limit, whether we suppose, which is more probable, that he found his falsehoods in the Chaldee written or verbal tradition, or that he invented them himself. HERODOTUS and CTESIAS drew only from Persian sources, and therefore, with even the best intentions, could not keep free from these fabrications, which proceeded from national vanity. That the Persians embellished (*σεμνοῦν*) their own adventures, and particularly the history of Cyrus, is confessed by Herodotus himself (i. 95); and although he resolves to follow those who are least chargeable with this, yet it is manifest that his entire history of Cyrus swarms with such embellishments and misrepresentations. In Ctesias, again, we find this Persian mixture of truth and fiction, and his considerable deviations from Herodotus shew that the Persians, in the history of Cyrus, adopted the very same procedure as we find in the historical works of modern Persia, and find in a higher degree.—This complexion of the sources of information, then, gives rise to the rule that, when they are contradictory, we must always be mistrustful of a statement which can be accounted for from the national prejudices of the narrator. We shall repeatedly have occasion in what follows to apply this rule. Let us now pass on to particulars.

According to chap. ~~v~~<sup>vi</sup> ver. 1–4, king Belshazzar, on the night of the conquest of Babylon, holds a luxurious, debauched feast, in which there is much hard drinking; all his nobles are invited to it; that it was a religious feast, appears from the bringing in



of the vessels of the temple and the singing of hymns in honour of the gods. The whole description, apart from any special historical confirmation, has in it the highest probability. The nobles must have been gathered in great numbers in the city besieged by Cyrus, into which all had fled from the provinces, trusting to its impregnable strength. All accounts agree that the Babylonians were a luxurious people, and fond of drinking. CURTIUS says, l. v. cap. 1, *Babylonii maxime in vinum, et quæ ebrietatem sequuntur, effusi sunt.* Isaiah, chap. xiv. 11, makes the king go to the nether world amid the sound of his harps; on which GESENIUS observes, "The harps are intended to shew the luxury of the Babylonian court." But that debauchery was carried to the highest pitch particularly in the religious feasts, appears from the appellation given to one of them, *Sakaen*, from כָּרַעַ to drink, to which some have attributed a Persian origin, but falsely, as the very etymology shews, and as is besides clear from BEROSUS; comp. on it BÄHR, on CTESIAS p. 449, sqq., and especially MÜNTER, *Rel. d. Bab.*, p. 68.—The great consciousness of security displayed in the entire behaviour of the Chaldeans is too characteristic for us not to offer some details in confirmation, in addition to those we have given, p. 99. HERODOTUS says, i. 190, "The Babylonians had laid in provisions for many years; so that the blockade did not at all disturb their tranquillity." This short statement is farther amplified by XENOPHON, vii. 5: "The people within the walls laughed at the siege, having laid in provisions for more than twenty years. On being informed of this, Cyrus divided his army into twelve parts, that each division might keep guard during one month of the year. The Babylonians, on hearing this, were still more diverted, considering that they would be guarded by Phrygians, Lydians, Arabians, and Cappadocians, all of which nations they imagined to be better disposed towards themselves than towards the Persians."\* Comp. NORBERG, *ex-*

---

\* οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τείχει κατεγέλων τῆς πολιορκίας, ὡς ἔχοντες τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πλείον ἢ ἑικοσιν ἐτῶν. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κῦρος τὸ στράτευμα κατένειμε δώδεκα μέρη, ὡς μῆνα τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ἕκαστον τὸ μέρος φυλάξον. Οἱ δ' αὖ Βαβυλώνιοι ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα πολὺ ἔτι μᾶλλον κατεγέλων, ἐννοοῦμενοι, εἰ σφᾶς Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ Ἀρίβιοι καὶ Καππαδόκων φυλάξουσιν, οὓς σφίσι ἐνόμιζον πάντας ἐμμεστέρους εἶναι, ἢ Πέρσους.

*cid. Babylonis a Xenophonte illustr., opuscc. t. iii. p. 224, sqq.*)—Let us now proceed to the special attestations. According to HERODOTUS, l. i., cap. 191, the Babylonians on the day of the capture were celebrating a great feast, in which they gave themselves up entirely to dancing and pleasure, which they continued till the moment when the calamity overtook them. That this was a religious feast may be gathered from the fact, that all the ordinary festivals of the people in the East were only of a religious kind. Then there is the testimony of XENOPHON, according to which Cyrus calculated on this feast in determining on his procedure, from which it may be inferred that the feast was one of annual recurrence. This testimony of XENOPHON, too, is so much the more in our favour, as it confirms the particular circumstance that the nobles were at the feast assembled at the table of the king. He says, vii. 5, 15: “Then Cyrus, when he heard that there was a feast in Babylon at which all the Babylonians gave themselves up the whole night to drinking and debauchery, &c. 24, Do you, said he, Gadatas and Gobryas, shew us the way; and when we have got within the city, lead us the nearest way to the palace. It would be no wonder, said Gobryas, if the gates of the palace were unfastened; for the whole city on this night is in a state of revelry. 27, The troops of Gobryas and Gadatas find the gates of the palace shut; but those who were appointed against the guards, surprise them as they are drinking till the dawn of day, and forthwith assail them. The shouting and confusion being heard within, some of them, at the command of the king, who told them to see what was the matter, open the gates and rush out.”\*—

---

\* ὁ δὲ Κύρος, ἐπεὶ ἐορτὴν τοιαύτην ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἤκουσεν εἶναι, ἐν ἣ πάντες Βαβυλώνιοι ὄλην τὴν νύκτα πίνουσι καὶ κωμάζουσι, κ. τ. λ. 24: ὑμεῖς δ', εἶφη, ὦ Γαδάτα καὶ Γωβρύα, δείκνυτε τὰς ὁδοὺς ὅταν δὲ ἐντὸς γενώμεθα, τὴν ταχίστην ἄγετε ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεία. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφασαν οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γωβρύαν, οὐδὲν ἄν εἴη θαναστών, εἰ καὶ ἄκλειστοι αἱ πύλαι αἱ τοῦ βασιλείου εἴεν ὡς ἐν κώμῳ γὰρ δοκεῖ ἡ πόλις πᾶσα εἶναι τῆδε τῆς νυκτὸς.—27: καὶ οἱ μὲν σὺν τῷ Γωβρύᾳ καὶ Γαδάτῃ τεταγμένοι κεκλεισμένας εὐρίσκουσι τὰς πύλας τοῦ βασιλείου· οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς φύλακας ταχθέντες, ἐπεισπίπτουσιν, αὐτοῖς πίνουσι πρὸς φῶς πολὺ, καὶ εὐθὺς ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο αὐτοῖς. Ὡς δὲ κραυγὴ καὶ κτύπος ἐγίγνετο, ἀισθόμενοι οἱ ἔνδον τοῦ θορύβου κελύσαντες τοῦ βασιλέως σκέψασθαι, τί εἴη τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἐκθέουσι τινες ἀνοίξαντες τὰς πύλας.

This precise agreement of Daniel with Herodotus and Xenophon is acknowledged by MÜNTER, l. c. p. 67, to be *astonishing*, and even GESENIUS, *z. Jes.* 1, p. 655, cannot help calling it *very astonishing*. Farther confirmation is afforded by the remarkable declarations of the prophets.\* According to Is. xxi. 5, the war-cry is heard amidst the pleasures and debaucheries of the table in Babylon; according to Jer. li. 39, the Babylonians are surprised by the divine justice amidst the merriment and intoxication of the table. From these troublesome passages, GESENIUS, l. c. p. 650, tries to rid himself by the assumption, that this feature was naturally suggested in the case of a people addicted to luxury and the joys of the table; just as the taking of the fords and shallows of the Euphrates, predicted by Isaiah and Jeremiah, and so remarkably confirmed by history, is to be considered as only an individual feature selected from the list of stratagems employed in war! It is only strange that the Babylonians, if these things were so easily understood of themselves, were not more on their guard! The feast, if we interrogate *history*, appears, in the manner and extent of its celebration, as something altogether extraordinary; the entrance by the bed of the Euphrates as something so uncommon, that the Babylonians never think of such a thing, even when the enemy is already in the city; had they, observes Herodotus, only closed the gates on the river side, they would have caught all their enemies as in a net. GESENIUS would therefore have acted more wisely, if, after his own very *naïve* explanation ("let this be combined with the statement of Xenophon, —and the later composition and spuriousness of the chapter will follow"), in the face of which it certainly appears ridiculous for him in the preface to GRAMBERG'S *Geschichte der Religionsideen des A. T.* p. viii. to laugh at the charge of dogmatic prepossession, he had, with EICHHORN, maintained the composition of the concurring prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah after the taking of Babylon, especially when he himself, in self-contradiction, allows, on Is. xliv. 27, in a fit of impartiality,† that a distinct reference

---

\* Compare the collection of the prophecies respecting Babylon in NORBERG, l. c. p. 226, sqq.

† A still more remarkable acknowledgment of GES. is found in the *Encycl.* of ERSEN and GRUBER, Th. 16, p. 107. "Of the biblical prophets who lived at this time among the



is contained both in this verse and in Jer. l. 38, li. 36, to the well known stratagem of Cyrus.—As an instance of a similarly arbitrary mode of proceeding, it may be farther mentioned that SCHLOSSER *Übers.* p. 251, supposes the yielding up of the city to have been made *on capitulation*, although he says Herodotus somewhat strangely makes it to be brought about by a drawing off of the Euphrates and by a surprisal. What event of antiquity could be established, if it were allowable to make away with such venerable, numerous, and independent witnesses by simply saying it was “somewhat strange,” a thing, moreover, which cannot for a moment be made out?!

Even in the several particulars of the conquest, our book obtains confirmation from the other sources. The taking of Babylon, according to it, could not have occurred till towards the end of the night. The lights were already kindled when the hand appeared; the summoning of the wise men, their attempts to decipher the writing, the summoning of Daniel—all this together must have consumed the greater portion of the night. In perfect agreement with this Xenophon says, that the enemy did not break into the palace till *πρὸς φῶς πολὺ*.

According to verse 30, the king was killed in the conquest. This had been expressly foretold by Isaiah, chap. xiv. That it occurred, Xenophon distinctly informs us; nor could anything less have been expected, since Gobryas and Gadatas had sworn personal revenge against the king; from the account of Herodotus this follows at least with more probability than the contrary, because he says the city was taken with force. Even GESENIUS therefore observes, l. c. p. 1, p. 449, “the circumstance here predicted, that the king would perish in the slaughter, happened, judging at least from the most authentic statements” (again a welcome avowal opposed to the rationalistic view of the prophecies). On the other side, it is true, there is the Babylonian tradition, preserved by BEROSUS and ABYDENUS. The former relates the matter

---

Jewish exiles in Babylon, we possess several oracles, falsely assigned by the collectors of the canon to the collection of Isaiah's prophecies, in which they depict the coming conquest of the city in colours *so vivid and so correspondent with subsequent historical facts* (compare Is. xxi. 5, with the passages quoted from Herodotus and Xenophon), that it has been thought, though very unjustly, that we must assume their composition *post eventum*.”

thus :—“ The king of Babylon marched against the enemy, but was beaten, and threw himself into Borsippa. Cyrus therefore took Babylon, and then marched against Borsippa. Nabonned surrendered voluntarily, and was treated in a very friendly manner by Cyrus; Carmania was assigned him as his abode, where he spent the rest of his life in peace, and at length died a natural death.” More briefly, yet out-doing BEROSUS as to the honour shewn to the Chaldee king, ABYDENUS relates :—“ Cyrus, having taken Babylon, presents the king with the government of Carmania.”\* Let us here apply the rule before instituted, and we shall have no hesitation in rejecting these statements. The Babylonians could not deny the capture of their city and the fall of their empire; they must therefore be content to lessen the disgrace as far as might be. We can point to another statement which manifestly proceeds from this attempt. According to the combined accounts of Herodotus, cap. i. 188, of Xenophon, of the Persian tradition, and of Daniel, the last king of Babylon was of royal blood. BEROSUS and MEGASTHENES, on the contrary, call him only a *certain* Babylonian, *who was not at all related to the royal race*. Even VOLNEY (*recherches etc. t. 3. p. 162*) has been forced to the conjecture that this statement proceeded from a worthless source. It was wished to roll away the disgrace of being conquered, at least from the royal race, and in particular from that of the celebrated Nebuchadnezzar. A counterpart to this is the statement that the king of Babylon obtained Carmania as his possession. Thus out of the great monarch, at least a small one arose. Nor is this statement favoured by probability, quite apart from the testimonies adduced, wholly independent of one other. Can it be supposed that Cyrus would have granted a province to the king of Babylon for his possession, whom, after the conquest of his city, he could so easily have taken prisoner, since, according to BEROSUS, he had thrown himself into Borsippa with only a very few persons (*φυγῶν ὀλιγοστὸς συνεκλείσθη εἰς τὴν Βορσιππηῶν πόλιν*), he, who even retained Cræsus in his neighbourhood constantly as a private person, although he had won his regard in a high degree?

\* τῷ δὲ Κῦρος, ἐλὼν Βαβυλῶνα, Καρμανίης ἡγεμονίην ἔωρεται.

It is remarkable that our book, whilst on another occasion, as to the extension of Bayblon by Nebuchadnezzar, it agrees with the Chaldee writers against the Greek ones, here takes the side of the latter against the former. It is thus verified as an original fount of history, independent of both. It is remarkable farther, that our book obtains the most surprising confirmations from the Greek historians, as soon as the narrative comes to the period where their accounts of the affairs of the East have a historical character, just as it most exactly corresponds with the accounts of the other books of the O. T. so far as these reached. From this we may infer what confirmations we should have for the intermediate portion, the latter reign of Nebuchadnezzar, if we had something more about it than the paltry fragments of BEROSUS and ABYDENUS.

The statement in chap. vi. 1., that after the conquest of Babylon the kingdom came to Darius of Media, has been already sufficiently established, partly in this treatise (p. 40), partly by BERTHOLDT l. c. We add only a few remarks farther. The silence of Herodotus and Ctesias about a Median king of Babylon can be of but small importance, not only for the reason already adduced, the insignificance of this Median king, but especially also from the general rule above laid down. It is quite natural that the Persians should have tried to obliterate, as far as possible, the remembrance of the short reign of this king, that they might vindicate solely to themselves and their famed Cyrus, the honour of the conquest and possession of Babylon. If then we reflect, that this statement was partially contained in even the Persian accounts, as appears not only from Xenophon, but probably also from Herodotus, who, i. cap. 95, expressly remarks, that besides the way of representing the history of Cyrus which he followed, there were two others,—that two sources of history, in which the intermixture of a national partiality is inconceivable, Abydenus the preserver of the Chaldee tradition, and our book, make a Mede the first king of Babylon,—that, moreover, Isaiah and Jeremiah, in their descriptions of the taking of Babylon, speak of the Medes, sometimes alone, sometimes as the principal people (comp. Is. xiii. xiv. xxi. ; Jer. l. li.)—we think we may regard the existence of Darius, without referring to the doubtful passage in AESCHYLUS (comp. against BERTHOLDT, who lays a



very particular stress on this passage, ii. 852, VITRINGA'S dissertation, which BERTH. has made no use of, *de Dario Medio, obs. sacerr. t. ii. p. 303. sqq.*), as a fully accredited historical fact, which cannot be thrown into doubt by the weak objections of RICHTER (*historia Persarum antiquissima. Lips. 1795. p. 63. sqq.*)\*—But how a writer of the time of the Maccabees could obtain any knowledge of this almost entirely forgotten king, especially such exact knowledge as even to know in what year of his life Darius came to the government of Babylon, it would not be very easy to explain. At any rate the Alexandrine translator, who certainly lived very near these times, if not in them, did not possess it. He translates chap. v. 31: *καὶ Ἀρταξέρξης ὁ τῶν Μήδων παρέλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν*, taking Darius to be identical with Artaxerxes, probably with Artaxerxes Longimanus, which can hardly be surprising, considering the extreme historical ignorance that prevailed at that period.

In chap. vi. 1, it is said, "it pleased Darius to set over the whole kingdom 120 satraps." Almost the very words occur in the *Cyropædia* (comp. p. 40), "When he was at Babylon, it pleased him to send satraps to rule the conquered nations."† It is true, in Xenophon the thing is ascribed merely to Cyrus; but this need give us no trouble, when we consider the correspondence between the source of his information, the Persian tradition, and his own proper object, that of lauding Cyrus. In the Book of Esther 127 satrapies are mentioned, because the kingdom had in the interval considerably increased. Would not the alleged pseudo-Daniel have inadvertently transferred this number, fearing lest a suspicion should be conceived against him from the apparent contradiction, just as the Alexandrine translator, or rather his interpolator—for JEROME says that 120 satraps are given in the

---

\* It is remarkable that the modern Persian tradition also makes Cyrus, not an independent sovereign, but the dependant of Behemen (comp. NORBERG, *reges Persarum stirpis Kijani*, in his *opusce. t. iii. p. 218*), who took the government from the cruel and impious son of Nebuchadnezzar, and sent suitable satraps into the provinces. ("Provinciis deinde viros non peccaturos preponere, regiminis cura hæc proxime erat.") NORBERG (*fides ratic. Dan. xi. impleta, opusce. iii. p. 437*) has recognized the identity of Behemen and Darius.

ἵπτι δ' ἐν Βαβυλῶνι ἦν, ἰδόκει αὐτῷ σατράπας ἤδη πέμπειν ἐπὶ τὰ κατεστραμμένα ἔσση.

LXX —from the same apprehension silently removed the diversity by substituting for the number found in the text that of the Book of Esther ?

A remarkable proof of exact acquaintance with history appears also in the mention of the law of the Medes and Persians, vi. 8, 12, 15. From the time of Cyrus the Persians were always put before the Medes ; in the Book of Esther, the law of the “ Persians and Medes ” is always the phrase. Would the assumed pseudo-Daniel have known how to construct his forgery with such a strict historical regard to the minutest circumstances ?

How the statement, chap. ix. 1, that Darius was the son of Ahasuerus is confirmed by history, we have already seen, p. 42.

The statement, ver. 2, that Daniel, in the first year of Darius, took account of the seventy years of Jeremiah, supposes again the most exact knowledge of the history of the times ; the author, too, has here manifestly in view readers to whom a bare hint would suffice ; he therefore considers it unnecessary to go into more extended explanations.

We entreat the opponents of the genuineness, moreover, not to be satisfied with shewing that an author living at the time of the Maccabees might have known *particular* facts touched upon here. The strength of the argument lies in the totality of these particulars ; that such an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the history of so dark a period is conceivable in an author living in the time of the Maccabees, we must decidedly deny. But that the force of this argument may be more conspicuous, we deem it suitable to our object to offer some special proofs of the ignorance prevailing in the Maccabean age in regard to the geography and history of foreign countries, taken from the first book of the Maccabees, a work so excellent and extremely trustworthy when it confines itself to home and the immediate past. To this book certainly the same exception cannot be taken as could be easily made to the second, namely, that the author came behind the learned of his age in knowledge. We cannot, indeed, here adduce any thing like all that is pertinent, but neither can we content ourselves with one or two instances, because, in a case like this, not a little depends on the mere quantity of instances.

The errors are particularly numerous in the statements about the Romans in chap. viii. ; and this chapter is likewise especially

adapted to our purpose, inasmuch as the accounts contained in it are ascribed to Judas Maccabæus, who was precisely cotemporary with the alleged pseudo-Daniel. In ver. 7 we are told that the Romans took Antiochus the Great prisoner. This is contrary to history; Antiochus certainly was conquered by the Romans, and deprived of a great part of his dominions, but not taken prisoner (comp. MICHAELIS *Ann.* p. 177, WERNSDORF, l. c. p. 45).—In ver. 8, it is said that the Romans took from Antiochus India, Media, and Lydia (χώραν τὴν Ἰνδικήν, καὶ Μήδειαν, καὶ Ἀυδίαν.) This is a monstrous offence against history; it is well known that India and Media were never subject to Antiochus (comp. WERNSDORF, p. 49 sqq.) It is indeed attempted by some (WERNSDORF, p. 57, EICHHORN, *Einkl. z. d. Apokr.* p. 221) to lay the mistake on the translator; but, not to say that the book is probably an original, there is nothing to justify this, simply because the author is caught in such numerous gross errors besides. Besides, if in the case of Media and Mysia a change by the translator can be deemed possible, yet the origin of the name India, which EICHHORN altogether passes by, cannot be explained in this manner. This latter argument opposes, also, the opinion of MICHAELIS, who would place the error to the account of the transcribers. MICHAELIS himself cannot discover any land which may originally have stood for India. Probably the author himself confounded Mysia with Media, and, having so far erred, immediately added India.—In ver. 9, 10, it is related that the Greeks intended to march against Rome and entirely to destroy the Romans; that the Romans, on perceiving this, sent a great general against them, inflicted on them a signal defeat, took their women and children prisoners, destroyed their fortresses, and turned the land into a province. The statement relates, as MICHAELIS in loc. against WERNSDORF (l. c. p. 128) has shewn, to the Aetolian war. But there is exaggeration both in the account of the schemes of the Aetolians against the Romans, although an Aetolian prætor went so far as to declare that he would give the Romans an answer at the Tiber, and also in the account of the undertakings of the Romans against the Aetolians. The entire Aetolian war was finished without much bloodshed, by a voluntary surrender of the Aetolians. No fortresses were destroyed, no women and children taken prisoners, and the Aetolians re-



tained their freedom.—The entire description of the Roman senate in ver. 15 is incorrect; and so too, as every schoolboy knows, is the statement, ver. 16, that one man in Rome was at the head of all its affairs (comp. WERNSDORF, p. 128, MICH. 182), an error which also must not be overlooked in determining the age of the author, since in the later time, in which some place the first book of the Maccabees, its occurrence is hardly conceivable, any more than the remark, ver. 19, that the way to Rome was very long.—All these and many more errors are committed by an author, in other respects an educated man, and as far as regards the affairs of his own people exceedingly well-informed, in the almost cotemporary history of a people to which Judas himself had sent an embassy, and which therefore stood in immediate connexion with the Jews.—What then might we expect of a writer of the Maccabean period, when he ascended to the remote times of the Chaldean and Medo Persian monarchy? What monstrous offences against chronology, history, geography, and antiquities must we there meet with!—We select only a few instances of the remaining historical and geographical errors. In chap. i. 1, it is said that when Alexander had slain Darius, he ruled *in his stead* at first over Greece (ἐβασίλευσεν ἀντ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα). According to this, the author thought, probably misled by a wrong apprehension of Dan. xi. 2, that Darius had ruled over Greece. The harsh interpretation by which MICHAELIS tries to remove this error, “He ruled in his place, having previously reigned over Greece,” if at all admissible, would only be so on the supposition that the author had elsewhere discovered a better knowledge of history.—In v. 6, he relates, contrary to all accredited history (comp. WERNSDORF, p. 40, sqq.), misled perhaps by the false translation of the LXX., Dan. xi. 4 (καὶ ἐτέρους διδάξει ταῦτα), that Alexander in his lifetime divided his empire among his generals collected about him.—In chap. vi. 1, he changes the great province of Elymais into a city of Persia; for there is no foundation whatever for the opinion of MICHAELIS, that there was a city in Elam of a similar name (comp. on the contrary ROSENM., *Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 306).—These proofs will, we hope, suffice to make good our assertion. From them perhaps the exactitude, not only in the history but in the prophecies of our book, will appear

more conceivable if Daniel be regarded as the author, than if the alleged pseudo-Daniel be. On the first supposition, it can be explained from the divine inspiration of the prophet; on the latter, it must be assumed that the author obtained, through human sources that were not at hand, information which was not within reach in his time.

SECT. VII.—KNOWLEDGE OF DANIEL'S TIMES.

Our book exhibits such an accurate knowledge of the institutions, manners, usages, and entire state of things in the times and places in which Daniel is assumed to have lived, as cannot possibly be explained on the supposition that the author lived in Palestine in the times of the Maccabees. Here too we must remind our readers that we do not attribute force to a particular fact as such, but to the aggregate of particulars. Especially worthy of remark is the author's exact knowledge of the institutions of the Babylonian priesthood and of the Chaldean state; but, before we proceed to give evidence of this, we wish to collect together all besides that has offered itself to our notice, persuaded that it will repay the industry of others to give it a farther ample gleanings.

It is remarkable that nowhere in the whole book does the adoration occur, although there were so very many occasions of mentioning it. Assuming Daniel to be the author, the omission is easily explained. The religious adoration of the kings was a custom neither among the Chaldeans nor the Medes. It first came into use when the theory of the representation of Ormuzd by the Persian king was followed out to its results. *ARRIAN*, l. iv. (p. 266, ed. *BLANC*.) expressly says\* that Cyrus was the first to whom the adoration was offered, and that afterwards the custom continued among the Persians and Medes. Is it likely that the alleged pseudo-Daniel should have known this difference between the Chaldeans and Persians? If he had, would he not have mentioned it at least in speaking of Darius

---

\* λέγεται τὸ πρῶτον προσκυνηθῆναι ἀνθρώπων Κύρον, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἰμμεῖναι Περσῶν τε καὶ Μήδοις τὴν τυπεινότητα.

the Mede? Here adoration is represented as the exclusive privilege of the gods; and the charge which Isocrates in his Panegyric brings against the Persians (comp. p. 105,) is not extended to the Chaldeans and Medes, although it comes so near them. The king is approached with a mere standing form of salutation.

In chap. i. 2, the name *Shinar* for Babylonia is so surprising to BERTHOLDT, l. c. 1, p. 59, that he is led by it, according to his hypothesis of a plurality of authors, to maintain the composition of the first chap. in an earlier age, and in Babylonia. The name Shinar is found in historical prose only in the Book of Genesis; in later times, it became quite antiquated among the Hebrews; it occurs again only in prophetic poetry, twice in Isaiah and in Zechariah. Here, however, it is found in simple prose as the common geographical appellation of Babylonia. Assuming Daniel to be the author, this is easily explained. Shinar was the name of the country indigenous to Babylonia itself, of which we find traces not only in classical writers, but in modern travellers (comp. the passages in ROSENM. *Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 44.)

According to chap. i. 5, Nebuchadnezzar commands that the youths selected for his service shall daily receive meat and drink from the royal table. Among the Persians, a number of persons, all the lower attendants of the court, received their support from the king's table. According to CTESIUS, 15,000 persons daily were thus fed; comp. BRISSON, p. 97, HEEREN, i. p. 493, 520. But we can shew that this custom was derived by the Persians from the Babylonians, or at least that they both had it in common. According to Jerem. chap. lii. 33, 34, king Jehoiachin, by the command of Evilmerodach, received his daily sustenance from the royal table.

According to chap. i. 7, Daniel and his companions receive new names on their being selected to be prepared for the royal service. That such a changing of names was a Chaldean custom, appears from 2 Kings xxiv. 17: "And the king of Babylon made Mattaniah king in his place, and changed his name to Zedekiah." In at least two of these names, Belteshazzar and Abednego, the connection with names of Babylonian deities is evident (comp.



iv. 8.) We find the same thing in the majority of Babylonian names elsewhere occurring; comp. the instances in GESEN. *zu Jes.* i. p. 282.

In chap. ii. 1, we find the Babylonian mode of reckoning the years of Nebuchadnezzar's reign (comp. p. 52), which occurs nowhere else in Scripture, and which we can hardly presume to have been known to an author not cotemporary, and not living in Babylon. In just a similar manner Ezekiel, i. 1, counts the years of his continuance in the prophetic office according to the Babylonian era.

In chap. ii. 5, the king threatens the wise men, that, on their failing to satisfy his requirement, their houses shall be turned into *dung-heaps* (comp. iii. 29). BERTHOLDT himself allows, l. c. 1, p. 64, 225, that the most accurate acquaintance is here shewn with the mode of building practised in Babylon, and that the piece must, therefore, have been written in Babylonia. The houses in Babylon were built of earth, burnt or simply dried in the sun. "When a building is totally demolished or converted into a confused heap of rubbish, the entire mass of earth in rainy weather is gradually decomposed, and the place of such a house becomes like a dunghill."

In chap. iii. 1, a vale of Dura, in the land of Babylon, is mentioned. This name is found nowhere else, neither in Scripture, or in profane writers. The author omits to append any more precise geographical definition, and presumes the place to be known to his readers.

The author displays an exact acquaintance with the Chaldee death-punishments. As such, he mentions hewing in pieces, chap. ii. 5, and burning in ovens, chap. iii. 6. Both are quite in accordance with the cruel character of the people, and of both it may be shewn by distinct historical evidence (comp. Ez. xvi. 40, xxiii. 25, Jer. xxix. 29. CH. B. MICHAELIS, *dissert. de pœnis capital. in sac. sc. comm.* § 23), that they were prevalent among the Chaldeans. He describes the latter so fully and exactly, that BERTHOLDT even maintains, p. 69, that we must suppose he had himself seen such an oven, and been present at an execution; in saying this, he at the same time allows that the author must have lived under the reign of the Chaldeans, since

under the Persians, according to their system of religion, this mode of punishment could not continue ; and indeed the author displays the accuracy of his knowledge by the fact also, that in chap. vi. he attributes to the Medo-Persians, not this mode of punishing with death, but one peculiar to themselves, casting into a lions' den.

How surprisingly the description of the image in chap. iii. agrees with what we otherwise know of the taste of the Babylonians, has been already shewn, p. 79. In the description, too, of the strongly-assailed instrumental music at the dedication of it, an exact knowledge of the Babylonian custom is displayed. To what an extent music was loved among the Babylonians, appears from the fact that Isaiah makes the king of Babylon descend to the lower world amid the sound of his harps. Its use especially in religious solemnities, is clear from the words of CURTIUS, v. 3, in his description of the march of Alexander into Babylon : *Magi deinde suo more patrium carmen canentes, post hos Chaldaei, Babyloniorumque non vates modo, sed etiam artifices cum fidibus sui generis ibant, laudes regum canere soliti.*

In chap. iii. 21, the account of the clothes of Daniel's companions agrees strikingly with what we otherwise know, from trustworthy evidence, of the clothing of the Babylonians. According to HEROD. i. 195, the dress of the Babylonians consisted of a linen (or cotton) tunic reaching to the feet, over this a woollen garment, and over this again a white (woollen) mantle ; comp. HEEREN i. 2, p. 182. According to MÜNTER, *Rel. d. Bab.* p. 96, this threefold clothing is found, such as we should not expect in that warm climate, on Babylonian cylinders. In our passage also we meet with it complete, unless we follow the erroneous interpretations of BERTHOLDT and others, which rest on the false assumption (comp. BERTH. i., 280) that the narrator intends to describe the three men in their complete dress, and that therefore the shoes and the hat must necessarily be among the objects specified ; the purpose of the mention of the parts of the dress is only to raise astonishment at the greatness of the miracle, and consequently only those articles of dress which were easily consumed could call for notice. Mention is made of the undergarment, שַׁרְיָט (comp. GESENIUS and WINER, s. v.). of the first

upper garment כִּתְּמֵי (comp. BUXTORF, *lex. Chald. Talm.* and GES. s. v.), of the second upper garment, לְבָשִׁי (comp. BERTHOLDT, p. 280, WINER, s. v.)

According to chap. v. 2, the women are present at the feast and carousal instituted by the king. That this was a custom with the Babylonians, appears from the passage before quoted, *Cyrop.* v. 2, where a concubine of the same king of Babylon, at a drinking party, manifests her complacency in one of the guests. How little the knowledge of this Babylonian custom belonged to later times, is clear from the fact that the Alexandrine translator, following the customs of his own time, has everywhere passed over the women at the feast of Belshazzar.

According to chap. v. 16, it was one of the highest honours among the Babylonians to receive from the king the present of a neck-chain. The very same thing is observed, in reference to the Persians, by BRISSONIUS, l. c. p. 128, by whom the proof passages are adduced: "*Erat et summus apud Persas honor, regis concessu atque munere aureum torquem collo gestare.*"

According to chap. vi. 8, &c., the laws of the Medo-Persians, when once given by the king, are irrevocable. Nothing of the kind occurs in regard to the Chaldeans. The correctness of the fact rests not only on the express account of the book of Esther, the entire contents of which are based upon it, but also upon the entire Medo-Persian view of royalty. From the doctrine of the incarnation of God in the person of the king, resulted with the same necessity his entirely unlimited power in regard to the laws to be given, and the irrevocableness of these when once given.

In chap. vii. 9, when the Lord is about to bring his enemies to judgment, thrones are set up, which rest on wheels (גִּלְגָּלִים), comp. BERTHOLDT in loc. That this imaginary representation must be derived from a custom prevalent among the Chaldean kings and nobles, is clear from the fact that the very same thing is found also in Ezekiel, chaps. i. and x.

We now come to the statements of our book respecting the priest-caste of the Babylonians.\* We first of all bring together

---

\* In reference to all the statements of our book respecting the religion of the Babylonians, MÜNTER, who so excels in his acquaintance with the subject, observes,



the remarkable attestations which the particularly numerous accounts of our book on this head receive from other historical sources, and then proceed to refute what BLEEK, l. c. p. 225, sqq., has adduced against the historical truth of the former.—As the general name of the members of the Babylonico-Chaldean priest-caste, that of  $\text{הכנין}$  appears in our book. We find the same name also in Isaiah xliv. 25, and in Jeremiah l. 35. The presidents of the particular classes bear the name  $\text{כנין}$ ; Daniel, as the grand president of the entire establishment, is called the  $\text{רב כנין}$ . That the name  $\text{כ}$  was actually in use among the Babylonians as the name of presidents of various instituted bodies, appears from BEROSUS in ATHENÆUS xiv. 44, according to whom, in the Babylonish feast Sakea, at which the servants played the part of the masters, their president bore the name  $\zeta\omega\gamma\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta\varsigma$ .—The chief president of the establishment appears here at the same time as invested with important secular power. According to chap. ii. 48, he was at the same time the prince of the province of Babylon, and the business of this office is transferred to his companions only at the urgent request of Daniel. For this, history offers a twofold confirmation. According to DIODORUS SICULUS, ii. 24, Belesys, who wrested Babylon from the Assyrians, was at once chief president of the priest-caste ( $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu \text{ιερέων ἐπισημότατος, οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι καλοῦσι Χαλδαίους}$ ), and captain and governor of Babylon. According to Jeremiah xxxix. 3, 13, the chief president of the priest-caste belonged to the magnates of the kingdom, and was a member of the council of state, and as such even took the field.—Besides the other classes of wise men, the Chaldeans are here represented as a class of themselves. This account is in itself in the highest degree probable. It is quite inconceivable that the priest-caste was first introduced by the Chaldeans. There must have been an order of priests in Babylonia long before their invasion. To this conclusion we are led by the general analogy. No civilized people of antiquity was without an order of priests. Moreover, let the

---

l. c. p. 5, "What the earlier Israelitic prophets contain respecting the Babylonian religion *admirably agrees with the accounts of it in Daniel*, and the traditions preserved by CTESIUS, HERODOTUS, BEROSUS, and DIODORUS, may very readily be combined with it."

statements respecting the age of the astronomy, connected with the astrology of the Babylonians, be ever so extravagant, yet all accounts agree in referring its origin to the most remote antiquity. Thus, *e. g.*, CICERO says, *de Divinatione*, l. 1 : “ *Principio Assyrii* (the Babylonians), *ut ab ultimis auctoribus repetam, propter planitiam magnitudinemque regionum quas incolebant, cum cœlum ex omni parte patens atque apertum intuerentur, trajectiones motusque stellarum observaverunt.*” Even the astronomical observations of the Babylonian sages, mentioned in PTOLEMY, reach back beyond the time of the Chaldean dynasty (comp. BRUCKER, *h. phil.* i. p. 103.) PLINY (H. N. vi. 26) calls Bel the *inventor sideralis scientiæ*. Isaiah, in whose time the Chaldeans had not yet become masters of Babylon, describes that city as the prime seat of the arts of divination.—It is however quite as certain, that the Chaldeans possessed a priest-caste before their invasion of Babylon. Otherwise, how can it be explained that the name of that people was at Babylon the name of the whole priest-caste, and occurs as such in the oldest writers, as Herodotus and Ctesias? And this very fact proves the co-existence of an original Babylonian, and of a Chaldean priest-caste at Babylon. For how else could we explain the origin of the name of Chaldeans for the priest-caste, than from the distinction we have supposed between the Chaldean and Babylonian priesthood? Farther, the chief-president of the priest-caste under Nebuchadnezzar is, in Jeremiah, l. c., called כֹּהֵן. But the name of the Magi is of Persian origin, and altogether peculiar to the Medo-Persian priest-caste, with which the original Babylonian one had nothing in common. It can therefore only designate the priest-caste that came in with the Chaldeans—including of course the Babylonian one combined with it—which, since the Chaldeans were in all probability of Medo-Persian origin (comp. p. 10), was closely connected with the Medo-Persian. We possess, however, a twofold historical testimony besides, from which it appears, that even the combination of the Babylonian and Chaldean order of priests in later times, did not obliterate all distinction between them; precisely as we find it in Daniel, where the Chaldeans appear with the rest of the wise men, but as a particular class. The first of these is furnished by the passage already quoted from CURTIUS, where the Persian Magi, the Chaldeans, and the Baby-

Ionians, appear as so many kinds of wise men in Babylon. The second is found in a passage of LUCRETIUS, l. v.: *Ut Babylonica Chaldeam doctrina refutans—Astrologorum artes contra convincere tendit*. From this passage it appears that the Chaldean and the Babylonian wise men were at variance on certain points, and contended one against the other. Thus the very statement that the Chaldeans formed in Babylon a peculiar class of priesthood, which BLEEK, p. 226, with that neglect of all thorough investigation of history which characterizes his dissertation throughout, adduces as an evidence against the trustworthiness of the statements respecting the Babylonian priest-caste, affords no small attestation to the trustworthiness, and, of course, to the genuineness of our book. How should a Jew in the time of the Maccabees have had this accurate knowledge of the peculiar position of the Babylonian priest-caste, when even the oldest and best informed Greek writers confound the Chaldeans with the entire order (compare *e.g.* HERODOTUS i. 191) ?

According to chap. i., Daniel and his companions, with other distinguished youths, are instructed during three years in the arts and sciences of the Babylonian sages, and at the end of this period brought to the king for examination. With this agree the statements of PLINY (*hist. nat.* vi. 26) and of STRABO (xvi. 1), according to which the priest-caste had educational establishments in certain cities, for instance, in Babylon itself, Borsippa in Babylonia, Hipparene in Mesopotamia.\*

In our book, on all occasions, not particular wise men are consulted, but the whole body of them, but yet, as appears from chap. ii. 12 sqq., only in the persons of their representatives, or of a selection made from them. In perfect agreement with this, DIODORUS informs us (compare GESENIUS *zu Jes.* ii. p. 352) that the observations of the Babylonian wise men were always instituted in company, and by a college (*σύστημα*), and in PTOLEMY *οἱ Χαλδαῖοι* in general are always mentioned, never a single observer.

But particularly worthy of notice is the agreement of our book with the statements of the ancient prophets, and of profane writers,

---

\* Thus much, at any rate, is commonly derived from these two passages, although it is not expressly declared in them.



in reference to the employments of the Babylonian wise men. The most careful and complete collection of the latter statements, is found in BRUCKER, *histor. philos.* t. i. p. 102, *sqq.* (compare besides, VOSSIUS *de theologia gent.* ii. 563, *sqq.*, STANLEY *hist. philos. Orient.* in CLERICI *opp. philos.* t. ii. p. 189, *sqq.*, ed. 3, GENSENIUS l. c. p. 357, *sqq.*) All the employments mentioned in profane writers (the *locus classicus* is DIODORUS SIC. ii. 29–31) we find here again precisely and fully given, and especially in the names of the particular classes of the wise men. These are the following, 1. אֲשֵׁרִים, Exorcists, not, as BERTHOLDT and MÜNTER think, natural philosophers, compare GES. *Thes.* s. v. According to DIODORUS SICULUS, the Babylonian wise men sought to avert misfortune by lustrations, sacrifices, and witchcraft. Isaiah xlvii. 9, 12, derides Babylon by saying that all the *incantations* of their wise men availed not to avert the threatened ruin from her. According to CLAUDIAN, a rain was ascribed to the incantations of the Chaldeans, by which the army of Antoninus was delivered from the threatened destruction. (BRUCKER, l. c. p. 108). According to LAMPRIIDIUS (*Heliogabal.* cap. 9) it was reported that Marcus Antoninus, through the Chaldeans, kept the Marcomanni in subjection to the Roman people, *idque factum carminibus et consecratione.* 2. אֲשֵׁרִים, Wizards, comp. GES. and WINER, s. v., GES. *zu. Jes.* ii. 355. In the passages quoted from Isaiah, besides the incantations, witchcrafts also (כַּשְׁפִּים) are mentioned as very prevalent in Babylon. 3. אֲשֵׁרִים, Definers of fate, אֲשֵׁרִים (comp. GES. *Thes.* s. v. p. 278.) This name is exceedingly significant. The Babylonian or Chaldean fate is extensively celebrated in antiquity, comp. especially the passages in VOSSIUS, l. c. The knowledge of this fate, which it was supposed might be gained from the observation of the stars, formed, according to the numerous testimonies of the ancients, the main object of endeavour with the Babylonian wise men. Isaiah xlvii. 13, mentions the Babylonian dividers of the heavens (the heavens were divided for the purposes of astrology into certain fields), and star-gazers who prognosticate by the new moons. Jeremiah, chap l. 36, mentions these soothsayers under the name of אֲשֵׁרִים, liars; compare also Isaiah xlv. 25. 4. For the אֲשֵׁרִים, probably men skilled in mystic writing, no such distinct evidence, it is true, can be adduced. Their existence, however, among the Babylonians is confirmed at least by

the fact that they are found among the Egyptians, whose religious system stands in the closest historical relation to the Babylonian, compare GESENIUS, l. c. p. 330. The existence, moreover, of a mystic writing in Babylon is supposed also in the entire narration in chap. v. For, how otherwise would the king have thought of calling for the wise men to interpret the writing on the wall? 5. As a chief employment of the Babylonian wise men, the interpretation of dreams occurs in our book, and DIODORUS SICULUS observes the same thing of them.

Let us now examine the objections of BLEEK to the correctness of the accounts respecting the Babylonian wise men. 1. "It is in itself improbable that the wise men of Chaldea should divide themselves in such a manner into different classes, so that each should ply a particular branch of soothsaying or enchantment; at any rate we know nothing of such a thing from any other source." But in what the improbability consists it is difficult to perceive. And even supposing no mention occurred elsewhere of such a division, yet this, considering the scantiness of our sources, would prove nothing. Rather, on the contrary, the numerous confirmations of our statements in other respects would impress on them in this particular also the character of trustworthiness. But there is by no means a lack of other statements respecting this division. There seems to be a most decided reference to it in PLINY l. c., who designates the city of Orchoe, where there was an establishment for the education of wise men, as the seat of the *tertia Chaldaeorum doctrina*. Traces of a rivalry between the different classes are found in STRABO, lib. xvi., from which it appears there were among the Babylonian wise men those who rejected the mode of calculating nativities practised by others. Moreover, it should be well observed, and GESENIUS has correctly remarked it, that the division of the wise men here is not to be conceived of, as if every individual always confined himself to the cultivation of only one particular branch of Babylonian wisdom. The contrary is clear from the fact that, according to chap. i. 17, Daniel's companions were skilled in *all* wisdom; the instruction imparted to them must, therefore, have extended to all branches. The division amounted merely to this, that by rule each should particularly excel in only some one department, as, according to the same passage, Daniel excelled in interpreting dreams, and

hence, when any thing belonging particularly to that department occurred, he was specially asked for, or associated with the number destined for this branch. 2. "It would be very strange that (*e. g.*) for the shewing and interpretation of a dream (chaps. ii. iv.) not simply those persons should be called in, whose duties were particularly connected with this branch, but all classes, and that the others should not once attempt to avert the danger that threatened them for their want of skill, by declaring that the knowledge of these things was no part of their vocation." The force of the objection is sufficiently avoided by the remark last made. The different branches of the Babylonian wisdom, too, were so nearly identified, that it would be difficult previously to determine whether any one of them, in any given instance, would not come into operation. In the case of a dream, *e. g.*, and of mystic writing, it was not sufficient to decipher their meaning, for which purpose, indeed, in the first case, a knowledge of hieroglyphics might have been necessary. If the dream or the writing seemed to import calamity, the stars must likewise be consulted, as to whether this prediction was correct; and if this was found to be the case, the soothsayers and enchanters must exercise their arts to remove the threatened misfortune.—It is then established, that in our book there is found such an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the Babylonian priest-caste, as occurs in no other writer. Now, let it be shewn how this knowledge is to be accounted for in a Jew of Palestine in the time of the Maccabees. The difficulty of such an attempt appears from the simple fact, that even BERTHOLDT, l. c. i. p. 63, despairs of its possibility, and considers the second chapter, in which the most exact statements about the priest-caste occur, to have been written in Upper Asia.

But equally surprising is the exact knowledge displayed of the entire political constitution of the Chaldeans. Here too BERTHOLDT manifests such candour as to maintain, l. c. p. 68, that the third chap., in which the statements respecting the Chaldee political constitution are especially copious, must necessarily have been composed in Upper Asia. BLEEK, on the contrary, l. c. p. 221, sqq., denies to the author any very precise knowledge of the internal character of the Chaldee state. But, as one proof of the flippancy of his reasoning, even GESENIUS could not be induced by it to deny the authenticity of the statements in our book. He



says (*Encycl. von ERSCH und GRUBER* xvi. p. 108) : “ Since the constitution of the Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires had certainly great similarity ; since too the descriptions of the Persian court occurring in the book of Esther always differ essentially from those of the book of Daniel ; and finally, since the incidental, but cotemporary, notices of Jeremiah agree in many points—these statements, which besides have the analogy of the whole East in their favour, are not to be rashly rejected.”

We will here first collect the principal arguments for the authenticity and exactness of the statements. 1. The very designations given to the Chaldee officers of court and state afford evidence in favour. Some of them derive their etymology from the Persian ; thus אַחַשְׁדָּרְפָּן, according to the excellent deduction of DE SACY, in the *Memoires de l'institut, classe d'histoire et de litterat. ancienne*, t. ii., Paris 1815, p. 229, sqq., is derived from *Kschetr*, kingdom, province, and *Ban*, overseer,—although, it is true, this etymology has not been used by modern German authors, not even by GESENIUS in the *Thesaurus*, or ROSEN-MÜLLER in the *Alterthumsk.*, both of whom there give etymologies that have long ago been disproved, the former from the supposed Persian word, which is not to be found, *satrav*, the latter from *achash*, which in Persian never has the meaning ascribed to it by him : dignity, greatness. Perhaps also מְלִצְיָה, which, chap. i. 11, occurs as the official name of the sub-overseer of the royal attendants (an office which could hardly be known to the pseudo-Daniel)—at any rate this word has no Semitic etymology. חֲזַנְיָה, counsellor of state, is doubtful, but probably also not of Semitic etymology. In like manner פְּהֵיָה (comp. WINER, s. v.) and סַבְּתָן. In other names of office the Aramæan etymology is quite clear. Thus אֲדָרְגִימָא, the chief judges, compounded of אֲדָר dignity, and גִּמְרָן judges ; comp. *GES. thes.* s. v ; רִבְיָא, lawyers, whose Semitic root still occurs in the Arab. *phatâ* vi. *edocuit responso judicioque de jure rei*. Other names of office are composed of Aramæan and non-semitic elements ; thus דְּהַבֵּי, promulgator of law, from דָּה law, which, since it occurs in Deut. xxxiii. 2, must be of Semitic origin, and the Persian termination *var*, which serves for the formation of possessives. גְּדַבֵּי, treasurer, from the original Semitic גָּבַי, contr. גָּב (comp. *GES. thes.* p. 296), and the same termination. And this style of the names

of office is just such as we must previously expect in the Chaldean kingdom. We find quite the same appearance in the Babylónico-Chaldean proper names. They receive their explanation, when such a thing is at all possible, partly from the Aramæan, partly from the Persian, to which the Assyrian and Chaldee were nearly related, comp. GES. in the *Enc.* xvi. p. 111. But it is precisely on the character of official names that the Assyrian and Chaldee, as the language of the ruling people, must have exercised a particularly strong influence.

2. We also find most of the Babylónico-Chaldean names of office occurring again in chap. vi. under the Medo-Persian rule. That the Medo-Persians retained essentially the Chaldee form of polity, is what we might previously expect. The constitution of the Median polity was extremely defective; it seems never to have received a fixed organization; the Persians, a rude unorganized mountain people, would feel still less temptation to give a new constitution to the conquered empire, comp. HEEREN i. 1, p. 168, sqq. This is supported by the general analogy of all uncivilized conquerors. Thus, the Chaldeans retained the constitution of the well-regulated and well-administered empire of Assyria; the official names of the Turks offer for the most part an Arabic etymology. But we have distinct historical evidence to shew that the Medo-Persians retained the forms of the Chaldean constitution. We find again in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah the official names which occurred before under the Chaldee rule; thus *e.g.* the כְּנִיזִי, the שְׂרָפָאִים.—There occurs, however, in the sixth chap. a name of office, סִרְבִּי, which is not found under the Chaldee rule, and must therefore be regarded as peculiar to the Medo-Persian, under which this new office was erected. All this proves a very exact knowledge in the author, of the mutual relation of the Chaldee and Medo-Persian polity.—3. The statements in particular instances receive not a few confirmations from history, which guarantee to us the authenticity of those which are not thus sustained. The highest officers of court and state among the Chaldeans, who together probably formed the council of state, are called in our book alternately and promiscuously שְׂרָפָאִים and רִבְרִיבָאִים or רִבְרִיבִים. We find the same in Jeremiah, comp. chap. xxxix. 3. כָּל שְׂרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ ver. 13, כָּל רִבְרֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ; these nobles form in Jeremiah v. 13, a collective body; likewise in Dan. iv. 36, where they restore to

Nebuchadnezzar the government which they had hitherto administered in his name.—Amongst the councillors of state, one held the nearest rank to the king, and discharged the office of Grand Vizier, as appears from chap. v. 7., where king Belshazzar promises to him who shall interpret the mystic writing the *third* dignity in the empire, the next to the Grand Vizier. Such a great officer of the Chaldeans surpassing all others in dignity we find also in BEROSUS. He says that, on the death of Nabopolassar, the government was secured to Nebuchadnezzar by the principal person among them.\* Among the great officers of the Chaldeans, particular mention is made of the רב טבחים, the chief of the royal body-guard, who also executed the capital punishments; of the chief of the eunuchs, רב סריסים; and the chief president of the priest-caste, who was at the same time chief lieutenant of the province of Babylon. The very same persons are mentioned also in Jerem. xxxix. 13, and it is remarkable that the captain of the guard bears a different name in the latter passage from that in our book, whereas the assumed pseudo-Daniel, if he had derived the corresponding statements from Jeremiah, a supposition which is opposed by their unmistakeable independence, would surely also have transferred the name, in order to give an appearance of trustworthiness.—Among the Babylonian provincial officers, mention is made of the סגנים, not only in our book, but also in Jerem. xxi. 23, 57; פדה occurs even under the Assyrian domination, Isa. xxxvi. 4, and 2 Kings xviii. 24, as the official name of the under lieutenants, comp. Ez. xxiii. 6, 12, 23.

After these observations we need not detain ourselves long in disproving the objections of BLEEK, which have been for the most part already met in them. It is a strange assertion, that the author could not have known from personal observation the Babylonian offices in their dignity and mutual relation, for that otherwise he would not have named the פהרים after the סגנים,—whereas in Jerem. and Ezek. they stand before,—nay even, chap. vi. 8. placed the latter before the satraps. Who will dare to say that the author of our book intended to enumerate the officers strictly according to their rank, a thing that had nothing whatever to do

---

\* ὑπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου αὐτῶν.



with his object, which was simply to present fully to view the totality by the separate enumeration of the parts? Who will certify us that Jeremiah and Ezekiel exactly observed the order of rank? How do we know whether *שַׂרְיָס*, which originally had a general meaning, like our President and Director, did not by use become a designation of very diverse, although distinct, offices?—The objection which may be derived from HERODOTUS against the statement in chap. vi., that Darius Medus divided the kingdom into 120 satrapies, whereas, according to him, the Persian kingdom had only twenty satrapies, has been already sufficiently met by ROSENMÜLLER in the *Alterthumsk.* i. 1, p. 360. It is remarkable that, in the book of Esther, 127 provinces are ascribed to the Persian empire. The difference shews the independence of the two statements of one another; it is explained on the ground that after Darius other considerable conquests were added to the Medo-Persian empire. The two statements are related, as might have been previously expected, and mutually confirm each other.

Thus it is proved that the author of our book displays a knowledge of the Chaldean, and in part of the Medo-Persian polity, such as we find in no other writer of antiquity. Now, how are we to explain this knowledge in a Maccabean Jew? Even BERTHOLDT'S assertion, that the author lived in Upper Asia, but in a later time, does not suffice for an explanation. For it is a mere assertion of BERTHOLDT'S, quite opposed to history, that under the Greeks the entire political establishment of the Babylonians remained unchanged. On the contrary, with the occupation of the Greeks every thing took another form; they did not rest until they had græcized the whole state of things. And even granting that the mode of provincial government remained the same, yet most certainly the administration of the court and of the highest offices of State, of which it is that we find in our book the most exact knowledge, became quite different. Whence should a Maccabean Jew have derived the Chaldee names of office, as the *שַׂרְיָס* and *שַׂרְיָס*, of which not the slightest trace is found in any single profane writer? Granting that under the Persian rule even in its later times they had still continued in Babylonia, at what a distance was this removed? Whence should the pseudo-Daniel have obtained the *nomina propria* of the Chaldee State officers, one of which, *שַׂרְיָס*, related to

the other proper names occurring in Scripture, from *ars*, lion, and the Assyrio-Persian termination *ach*, comp. *GES. thes.* s. v., affords a guarantee of their genuineness ?

On the whole, we may hope that the attempt to shew the author's exact acquaintance with the Babylonian customs, institutions, &c., will make no small impression on considerate inquirers. ROSENMÜLLER, for instance, can evade the inference we have drawn from it only by the grossest inconsistency. He remarks, l. c. i. l, p. 376, in reference to the Book of Esther—"It is just as strange that HEEREN declares this book to be indeed a fictitious narrative, but yet a faithful picture of Persian manners, and that he often refers to it as an authority, and even says that the interior of the harem of the Persian kings is most exactly depicted in the history of Esther. But, is it at all probable that a later Jew of Palestine in a fictitious narrative could have given a description of the Persian court, which is proved to be entirely correct on a comparison of other old and even modern accounts?" It is quite clear that the writer of this, if he still persisted in a denial of the genuineness of Daniel, would in these words have uttered sentence against himself.

SECT. VIII.—OTHER ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR.

We will now collect the remaining internal arguments for the genuineness of Daniel.

I. The entire prophetic style and the mode of representation adopted in our book point to a Babylonian origin, and can only be explained on that assumption. On this point, HERDER (*Werke zur Philosophie und Geschichte* i. p. 194, old edition) has offered many excellent hints, not sufficiently noticed by either the advocates or the opponents of the genuineness. The predominance of symbolism was characteristic of the Chaldeans, especially a preference for symbolizing by means of animal forms, which passed from them to the Medo-Persians, as the sculptures at Persepolis attest ; it was also characteristic of them to affect the gigantic and the grotesque. How strongly this peculiarity was impressed, appears from the fact that Ezekiel also could not escape its influence, and that the operation of it is to be seen in Zechariah. "With Ezekiel the king of Babylon is an

eagle, who fetches a twig from Lebanon (chap. xvii.), Judah a lioness in her den (chap. xix.), the Egyptian king a crocodile in the Nile (xxix.—xxxii.); each of these figures he farther amplifies." "In his strains," observes SCHLOSSER, l. c. p. 240, "a Chaldean and Babylonian style is so conspicuous, that it strongly expresses the character of the times in which he lived. This symbolic manner, this thunder-car, these dreadful thunder-steeds yoked to it, this sapphire throne, this arched canopy glowing with the hues of the rainbow, belong to Babylonian temples, to the Babylonian court; and the symbolism is just as much more conspicuous in Ezekiel than in Isaiah, as his poetry is weaker than that of others." In reference to Zechariah, MÜNTER observes, l. c. p. 89, "The prophet Zechariah displays in his visions a style hitherto quite foreign to the Jews, and which consequently can have had its origin only from Chaldea. He speaks of a stone with seven eyes, iii. 9; of a golden candlestick with seven lamps; of the seven eyes of Jehovah, which run through the land, iv. 2, 10; of four chariots, spirits of heaven, which come from the four quarters of the firmament, and stand before the Almighty." Now, this Chaldee complexion, which so distinguishes Ezekiel and Zechariah, that we could be in no doubt about the age in which they flourished even if we had no other arguments at command for determining it, is found in Daniel in a still higher degree. Particularly remarkable is the extended use of animal symbols, the common ones in the symbolic language of these regions to designate hostile powers. And what must surely strike us is, that we find all the animal symbols of our book on the Babylonian cylinders with wedge-shaped inscriptions, on Babylonian tapestries, and on the walls of Persepolis; comp. HERDER, l. c. p. 57, MÜNTER, l. c. p. 89, 98, sqq 112,\* 139. The force of this argument is not enfeebled by saying that the same thing occurs in the Apocalypse (comp. BERTHOLDT, i.

---

\* "Under the star of Bel the row of altars is interrupted by a mythic animal, which reminds us of the history of Daniel. It has the shape of a he-goat, but is covered with a mail of scales, and has two small wings. The horns are large and twisted.—The animal is kneeling on the right fore-foot, but is in the act of rising with the left. [By the latter word full light is shed on the often misunderstood words, chap. vii. 5, *וְלִשְׁתֵּי הַקַּרְנֵי*].—We find the same goat, likewise before an altar, and reclining in the same posture, on the Bab. stone, in the *Fundgruben des Orients* iii. 3, Pl. 2, fig. 3."



p. 19) ; the symbolism of the Apocalypse is borrowed from Ezekiel and Daniel. Our book, on the contrary, appears quite original and independent. Its source, therefore, can only be ascribed to actual intuition. For, as HERDER observes, “if Daniel sees a vision in which animal forms denote kingdoms, symbolic shapes of that kind must have been no strangers to the waking world ; for we dream only of forms which we see when awake, and in our dreams give them new and various combinations.” It is remarkable, farther, that with the Chaldean dominion the animal symbols cease in our book. In the prophecies under the Medo-Persian dominion, chap. ix.—xii., nothing of the kind occurs. The taste, also, which the Babylonians had for the gigantic and grotesque is found throughout our book. Great, high, dreadful to behold, is the figure which appears to Nebuchadnezzar, just as huge as the figure which he in reality sets up ; marked by Babylonian grotesqueness is the description of the royal power, chap. ii. 38—“Wheresoever the children of men dwell, the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the heaven, hath he given into thy hand, and hath made thee ruler over them all ;” and, iv. 10, &c., “Behold, a tree in the midst of the earth, and the height thereof was great ; the tree grew, and was strong, and the height thereof reached unto heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth ; and all flesh was fed of it.” By the very same figure, and quite as hyperbolically, Ezekiel describes the power of the Assyrian king, chap. xxxi. 3, as a high cedar tree, amidst whose branches all the fowls of heaven made their nests, under whose boughs all the beasts of the field brought forth their young, and under whose shadow dwelt all great nations. Nebuchadnezzar commands, chap. iii. 19, to heat the oven *sevenfold* hotter than usual. Grotesque is the description of Nebuchadnezzar’s madness ; he eats grass like oxen ; his hair is like eagles’ feathers ; his nails like birds’ claws.—Everywhere in the book we are met by a contrast between Jehovah and secular power and idols, such as could only have been derived from actuality. The descriptions of Jehovah have constant reference to this contrast. It is *He*, not, as the Chaldean kings in their pride fondly dreamed, human power, that bestows kingdoms, sets up kings and casts them down, and changes times ; *His* kingdom is everlasting ; *His* dominion lasts

for ever ; *He*, not the idols, is the *living* God ; *He*, who gives to the wise their wisdom, and their understanding to the prudent, *He* alone it is that discloses the future, and reveals secret things, whereas the gods of the Chaldeans dwell not among men, and the schemes of their votaries are brought to shame. *He*, not Bel, is the Ancient of Days (comp. MÜNTER, p. 105.—“In Carthage, the sun-god Baal was named The Ancient, and this, no doubt, had reference to that name which is used only in Daniel, and which certainly was derived from Chaldea.”) *He*, not Bel, whom the Chaldeans erroneously took for such, is the Prince of the host of heaven, שֵׁר הַצְּבָאוֹת, chap. viii. 11 (comp. EICH. *Eint.* 4, p. 473) —The prophet, like Ezekiel, receives his visions on the banks of great rivers (comp. Ez. i. 1, 3, Dan. viii. 2, x. 4). This suggests to us the well-watered Babylonia ; how the pretended pseudo-Daniel should have hit on such an embellishment, remains to be explained. The insignificant Jordan could not have led him to it.—Not only does the author of our book, in the historical sections, and in the introductions to the prophecies, give precise chronological *data*, but in the prophecies themselves they occur more frequently and distinctly than in most other prophets. This particular regard to chronology is easily explained on the assumption that the author wrote in Babylon. The Babylonians devoted particular attention to chronology, as closely interwoven with astronomy. The same chronological precision is found in Ezekiel and in the first part of Zechariah, where it is to be explained in the same way. The dates in Daniel, *e. g.* in the narration of the insanity of Nebuchadnezzar and in the prophecy of the seventy weeks, have also in some measure so foreign an appearance, that one is involuntarily led to assume a foreign origin for them.

II. The book contains much that is directly opposed to the spirit of the Maccabean time, and therefore can only be explained on the supposition of its genuineness. A Maccabean Jew would certainly not have put into the mouth of Daniel, chap. iv. 19, so touching an expression of grief for the fate which he had to announce to Nebuchadnezzar, still less the wish that it might please God to avert it from him. Daniel is so overcome with distress, that he stands a long time before the king speechless. He appears here just like one of the older prophets, an Isaiah

for instance, in whom joy for the triumph of the kingdom of God cannot repress sympathy with the calamity of his enemies, the Babylonians, comp. chap. xxi. 3, 4, and whose heart cries out also for Moab, chap. xv. 5.—A Maccabean Jew would surely not have given to Daniel and his companions names compounded from the names of idols; he would at all events have made express mention of their grief on that account.—A Maccabean Jew would certainly never have thought of making Daniel chief president of the Babylonian wise men; if tradition had assigned him such an office, he would have tried in some way to deprive such a fact of its offensiveness, or at least indicated some point of view from which that would disappear. But not the slightest trace is here to be found of any such apologetic attempt.—The entirely independent character of the book throughout is foreign to the Maccabean period, which so wholly depended on the previous times. Let a person only read the still earlier book of Jesus Sirach and the first book of the Maccabees, and he will feel how little such a production as Daniel can be expected from such an age. Not a single great literary work appeared in Palestine during the whole time from the cessation of prophecy till the coming of Christ. Our book would, therefore, be wholly without analogy. For, that the character of independence and greatness belongs to it in a high degree, no one can deny. Justly does FENELON observe (quoted by SACK, l. c. p. 282)—“*lisez Daniel dénonçant à Balthazar la vengeance de Dieu, toute prête à fondre sur lui, et cherchez dans les plus sublimes originaux de l'antiquité quelque chose qu'on puisse comparer à ces endroits là.*”

III. The complexion of the prophecies of Daniel corresponds so exactly with what is related in the historical part respecting the circumstances of his life, that even the most subtle and crafty impostor would not have been able to produce this agreement artificially. Daniel occupied high offices of state; he was witness to great revolutions, and changes of rulers and empires. This circumstance is very significantly impressed on his prophecies. The succession of the various empires of the world forms their principal subject; in the representation of the Messianic idea also, he constantly borrows his colours from his external relations. Throughout there is apparent a *political*, as well as a religious, gift, such as we meet with in no other prophet, (comp. PAREAU



l. c. p. 513.) Even GRIESINGER (p. 14) is forced to allow that the author was well versed in the character of Daniel, and knew how to select with nicety, from his high offices, &c., the colours employed in his fictions. But can there be produced from any forged book an analogous instance of such artifice, far surpassing as it does the powers of the most gifted poet, and how much more those of a pitiful Jewish impostor in the times of the decline?

IV. The last section, chap. x.–xii., was composed, we are told, immediately after the news of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes (comp. BLEEK, p. 293.) But, we observe, the deliverance of the people of God and the resurrection of the dead is immediately connected with this. On the supposition that Daniel was the author, this is fully accounted for from the character of prophecy as developed in the *Christologie*. The advent of the Messianic kingdom is here connected with the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, as in the earlier prophets with the fall of the Assyrians and Babylonians. But, supposing the spuriousness of the book, this phenomenon creates insurmountable difficulty. One of the predicted occurrences has already taken place; the reason, then, of the immediate connexion of the other with it is not to be sought in the nature of prophecy, but in the opinion of the author that the Messianic kingdom would really at once appear. But such a distinct expectation is utterly without analogy in the whole of prophetic literature. As soon as the deliverance from the Assyrians and Babylonians has occurred, these two events are, in the subsequent prophets, severed from one another. How, too, could the author cherish an expectation to which the circumstances of the times afforded so little support? How could he expose himself to the danger of being proved an impostor in a very little time? How could he (although there is not room to substantiate this statement here) in this manner speak in decided contradiction to his former announcement in chap. ix.?

How strong, on the whole, is the evidence for the genuineness of Daniel from internal grounds, appears from the following remarkable passage of SCHLOSSER (l. c. i. p. 242.)—"It is just in that part which was composed, not in Hebrew but in Aramæan, that we meet with something of great importance as bear-

ing on the older Asiatic history, For, in Daniel we think we possess the only remains of the modes of thought and the manners of the Babylonian period, and at the same time, as closely connected with these, the relics of their ancient language, whereas the Greeks have transmitted to us only the Grecian view of things, or at most, BEROSUS for instance, only the Babylonian moulded after the Greek. The entire way and manner of interpreting prodigies and dreams, the organization of the priest-caste, and the whole mode of life practised by the later Babylonian monarchs, as well as some hints respecting the Medo-Persian times, are found in these fragments." That this writer nevertheless declares a considerable portion of the book forged, is nothing to the purpose. He is led to this by the hypothesis of a plurality of authors; and, as this has been proved and admitted to be untenable, the testimony to the highest credibility, and, consequently, genuineness, which he gives to a considerable portion, is due to the whole. What forged book ever possessed such a testimonial from a student of history, of whom every body will allow that, if he was prejudiced at all, it was towards the opposite side? we therefore ascribe such a testimony directly to the force of truth.





THE  
INTEGRITY OF ZECHARIAH.

CHAP. I.—HISTORY OF ATTACKS.

THE first, although comparatively undistinguished, assailants of the genuineness of the second part were several Englishmen, headed by JOSEPH MEDE, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as HAMMOND, KIDDER, NEWCOME, &c. (comp. the litt. in BERTHOLDT, *Einkl.* p. 1707, sqq., KÖSTER, *Meletemata critica et exegetica in Z. prophetæ partem post.* Gött. 1818, p. 10, sqq.) These writers derived their first impulse from the circumstance that in Matt. xxvii. 8. the passage Zech. xi. 12. is quoted under the name of Jeremiah. An admirable reply to all the arguments they adduced was published by BENJ. BLAYNEY, in his valuable work on Zechariah (*Zechariah, a new translation with notes.* Oxford 1797. 4to, p. 35, sqq.)—The first in Germany who doubted the genuineness was FLUGGE, preacher in Hamburg, in an anonymous work entitled, “*The prophecies which have been subjoined to the writings of Zechariah, translated and critically explained.* Hamb. 1784.” Several others concurred with him, without adding anything essential to the arguments propounded by him. There obtains among the assailants of the genuineness this remarkable difference, that several ground their denial of the composition by Zechariah on the assumption that the disputed portions are proved, by positive and clear indications, to belong to an earlier time, others again on the opinion that some of them necessarily suggest a far later period. Among the former, BERTHOLDT (*Einkl.* p. 1701, sqq.) calls for particular notice, who maintains that chaps. ix.—xi. were the work of Zechariah the son of Jeberechiah,

who lived under Abaz, and is mentioned Is. viii. 2; that chaps. xii.—xiv. were appended accidentally, and are the prophecies of an unknown author, composed after Josiah, and before the captivity. DE WETTE (*Einkl.* i. § 250) trod in the footsteps of BERTHOLDT. According to him the second part consists of pieces by different authors, composed at different times, as chaps. ix.—x. in the age of Zephaniah under Josiah, chap. xi. under Abaz, chaps. xii.—xiv. after Josiah, and before the captivity. FÖRBERG's work, one of not much importance, *Commentarii in Z. vaticinia, partic. I. Coburg* 1824, has hitherto reached only to chap. ix.; he assigns this chap. to the age of Uzziah and Jotham, and makes the author a cotemporary of Joel, Amos, and Isaiah. To this class of opponents ROSENMÜLLER has subscribed in the second edition of his *Comm. über die kl. Propheten*, although in the first he defended the genuineness. He differs, however, from the rest, in claiming for the whole second part one and the same author, who, he says, lived under Uzziah.—To the second class of opponents belong EICHHORN (*Hebr. Propheten* iii. p. 415, sqq. and *Einkl. ins A. T.*), who maintains the composition of chap. ix. in Alexander's times, yet assigns some portions also to the period before the captivity; CORRODI (*Beleuchtung des Bibelcanons* i. p. 107), who places chap. xiv. in the times of Antiochus Epiphanes; PAULUS (*Comment. z. N. T.* iii. p. 130, sqq.), according to whom chap. ix. was written after Hyrcanus I. had conquered Idumea and Samaria, in the beginning of his reign.—Among the defenders of the genuineness must be named BECKHAUS (*Integrität der proph. Schriften*, p. 337, sqq.); JAHN in his larger and smaller *Einkl. ins A. T.*; and KÖSTER, in the work quoted, in which many objections are admirably met, whilst others remain unanswered by him, for want of a more profound insight into the nature of prophecy, and from a deficient acquaintance with interpretation; and the force of his arguments has suffered greatly from the intermixture of much that is useless.

How little the hypothesis of the opponents is sustained by sound reasons, is sufficiently clear from the great want of unanimity among its advocates. Of those who have made their investigations independently of others, no two agree as to the time of the composition of the several portions. In several, moreover.

dogmatic prepossessions but too manifestly influence their examination. Thus *e. g.* EICHHORN grounds his entire argument on a mere dogmatic *prejudice*, comp. *Einl.* iv. p. 445, “*if* it be true that all prophecies begin with the present, and that the prophets neither threaten nor promise any thing about a people until that people has appeared on the theatre of action and in connection with their own nation, *then* the poet cannot have spoken of Alexander’s relations with the Jews till after the battle of Issus.” *of fact* He himself allows that all other arguments are unsatisfactory, apart from this dogmatic one, l. c. p. 450, “*These* reasons must make it clear that the second half of Zechariah cannot have had the same author as the first; for the other reasons which might be adduced are not decisive.”\* PAULUS (l. c.) likewise draws his proof merely from dogmatic grounds, setting out with the presumption that the prophets could only prophecy of that which lay in their own time, and was cognizable by their own unaided reason. FORBERG (l. c. p. 8) denies the reference of chap. ix. to the times of Alexander, by which reference all difficulty is done away, remarking that such an opinion deserves no reply, as belonging rather to those times “*quibus orthodoxi grassabantur,*” than to ours.

#### CHAP. II.—ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR.

We first of all give the positive arguments *for* the genuineness of the second part.

I. The external evidence is of especial weight in this case. The compilers of the canon ascribe the second part to Zechariah; and there is not a single ascertained instance in the older prophetic literature, in which pieces by different authors are collected into one book, and ascribed to one and the same author. In Zechariah, moreover, this was far less likely to be the case. With regard to the older prophets it might perhaps be assumed that the collectors received spurious pieces among their prophecies, being misled by a false tradition. But Zechariah lived with the collec-

---

\* On the contrary, BERTHOLDT, l. c. p. 1703, pronounces all the arguments insufficient except those which rest on the assumed marks of an earlier period.



tors of the canon, in the same age. They *could* know how much belonged to him, and could have no immediate occasion knowingly to ascribe to him the second part, if not his, since the contents of the second part are so different from those of the first, and the points of contact between the two do not by any means lie on the surface; nor is it at all more conceivable what their object would be.—The opponents, feeling the force of this argument, have tried in various ways to set it aside. FLÜGGE (l. c. p. 72) supposes, either that these pieces were appended to the Book of Zechariah because he had saved them from perishing, or that they were intended not so much for an addition to his book as for an addition to the entire collection of prophetic writings, of which his book formed the last part, the Book of Malachi not having been yet introduced. According to him, the collectors had no intention to ascribe the second part to Zechariah, in placing it with his prophecies. But the unsatisfactoriness of the first resource is so palpable, that it need not be farther remarked on. The second is grounded on the unproved assumption, that the collection of the minor prophets formerly finished with Zechariah, and that Malachi was added afterwards. But, if Zechariah *had* occupied the last place, even then the assumption would be untenable. For if, as FLÜGGE supposes, the name of the author was unknown, could not a distinct place have been appropriated to *his* prophecies as well as to the rest? Was it not the manifest intention to ascribe them to Zechariah, when they were transcribed along with his prophecies, so as to occasion an error that might so easily have been avoided?—BERTHOLDT (l. c. p. 1721, sqq.) allows these assumptions to be unwarranted, and advances the following hypothesis:—Chaps. ix.–xi. are by the Zechariah mentioned in Is. viii. 2; they were written on a small roll, and afterwards the two other oracles, chaps. xii. 1. to xiii. 6, and xiii. 7. to xiv. 21, which belong to a considerably later time, were combined with them in a larger roll, and this זְכַרְיָהּ, together with its new addition, was read as the prophecies of Zechariah; but the collectors confounded this Zechariah, for want of critical knowledge, with the later one; they threw together the contents of both rolls, in the volume of the twelve minor prophets, under the name of Zechariah the son of Berechiah. GESENIUS (*Comm. z. Jes. i.* p. 327) agrees with this “clever” hypothesis. It rests,

however, on very violent suppositions. It assumes *a.* that the Zechariah mentioned in Isaiah was a prophet, of which there is not the slightest hint in Isaiah,\* and which is very improbable, since Isaiah's object would be to select witnesses who were respected by king and people, and whose trustworthiness might by the unbelieving, to whom "prophet" and "fanatic" were convertible terms (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 296), be held in less suspicion than his own. *b.* It does not take the trouble to show how they came to append the three last chapters belonging to another author, to the prophecies of this older Zechariah in particular. *c.* It lays too great weight on the identity of the name, especially considering the frequent occurrence of this name, when it assumes that the collectors were thereby induced to leave unemployed all the other means so readily at their command for discovering the pieces that really pertained to the later Zechariah. No great refinement of criticism was surely required to distinguish a work composed some centuries before, from one written in the immediate past, especially when the contents and style differ so greatly on the first glance.—The untenableness of all these attempts is acknowledged by ROSENMÜLLER, when he grants (l. c. p. 259) that no probable reason can be assigned why the compilers should have added the prophecies of an ancient seer to those of Zechariah. But by this acknowledgment the whole weight of the external evidence for the genuineness is conceded, and it is granted that the internal arguments which shall invalidate it must be very strong indeed.

II. Notwithstanding the great apparent difference between the two parts, yet on nearer examination there is discovered so close an agreement in many characteristic peculiarities, that we cannot refuse to ascribe them to one author. We first call attention to a fact which has been almost overlooked by the earlier defenders of the genuineness. There is found through the whole book very numerous indications of the most familiar acquaintance with the earlier prophets; to the descriptions of the Messianic times, for instance, parallel passages can be quoted almost throughout, which have the most decided affinity, not merely in subject mat-

---

\* GESENIUS finds one in chap. viii. 16, but only by a false exegesis, comp. *Christol.* ii. 1, p. 101.

ter, which would prove nothing, but in expression, and which, on closer comparison, are clearly seen to be the originals which the prophet imitated (comp. *Christol.* i. 2, p. 20.) We begin with quoting some instances from the first part. An express reference to the writings of the earlier prophets is found in chap. i. 4-6, vii. 7, sqq., and they are used almost throughout in addition to the visions peculiar to Zechariah. In chap. ii. 8, there is an imitation of Is. xlix. 19, 20; in chap. iii. 10, of Micah iv. 4; in chap. iii. 8, and vi. 12, the designation of the Messiah by מָלְכֵנוּ is borrowed from Is. iv. 2, and Jer. xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15, as appears from the circumstance that it occurs in those passages as an appellative, and with the addition (*Branch*) of *Jehovah* or of *David*, but in Zechariah, on the contrary, as a *nomen proprium* and without addition (comp. GESENIUS, *Comm. z. Jes.* i. p. 224.) The fundamental idea in the vision chap. v., that of a roll on which the punishments for the sins of the Israelites are enumerated, is found in Ezek. ii. 9, 10. Both passages have this feature in common, that the roll is written on both sides (Ez. ii. 10 מִלְּפָנָי וּמֵאָחֳרָי, here ver. 3. מִלְּפָנָי וּמֵאָחֳרָי.) Chap. vi. 13, where it is predicted that the Messiah shall unite in his person the dignity of king and of high priest, has a manifest reference to Ps. cx; chap. viii. 4 corresponds with Is. lxxv. 20; and ver. 10, sqq. with Is. lxxv. 22, sqq.; but ver. 20-23 are particularly striking as an amplified and lively imitation of Micah iv. 2, Is. iv. 3, and perhaps also of Jer. xxxi. 6.

In the second part we meet with the same peculiarity just as frequently. Chap. ix. 2, 3, points back to Ez. xxviii. Chap. ix. 5, "Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza also shall see it, and be very sorrowful; and Ekron, for her expectation, shall be ashamed; and the king shall perish from Gaza, and Ashkelon shall not be inhabited; and a bastard shall dwell in Ashdod," is an improvement on Zeph. ii. 4; "Gaza shall be forsaken, and Ashkelon a desolation: they shall drive out Ashdod at the noon-day, and Ekron shall be rooted up." In chap. ix. 10, the words, "and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the ends of the earth," are borrowed from Ps. lxxii. 8. The first part of the verse, "I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off," is founded on the passage, Micah v. 10, "I will cut off, saith



Jehovah, thy horses out of the midst of thee, and I will destroy thy chariots." In chap. x. 11, the words, "he shall pass through the sea with affliction, and shall smite the waves in the sea, and all the deeps of the river shall dry up," are an imitation of Is. xi. 15, as is clear from the fact that the figurative expression is explained by the epexegetis "affliction." In chap. xi. 3, the poetical expression  $\text{יְרֵכֵי הַיַּרְדֵּן}$ , the ornament of the Jordan, referring to its banks covered with foliage, is probably borrowed from Jeremiah, to whom alone it is peculiar, comp. xii. 5; xlix. 19; l. 44; GESEN. *thesaur.* s. v.—The symbolical action in chap. xi. contains not a few coincidences with Jer. xxiii. and Ezek. xxxiv. comp. *e. g.* ver. 3, 4, in Ezek., "ye eat the fat, and ye clothe you with the wool, ye kill them that are fed,—the diseased have ye not strengthened, neither have ye healed that which was sick, neither have ye bound up that which was broken, neither have ye brought again that which was driven away, neither have ye sought that which was lost," with ver. 16, "he shall not visit those that be cut off, neither shall seek the young one, nor heal that which is broken, nor feed that which standeth still; but he shall eat the flesh of the fat, and tear their claws in pieces." Equally striking is the similarity of Jer. l. 6, 7, "my people are lost sheep;—all that find them devour them; and their adversaries say, We offend not," ( $\text{אֵינָם עֲשָׂוִים}$ ) with ver. 4, 5, "the flock of the slaughter, whose possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty ( $\text{אֵינָם עֲשָׂוִים}$ ); and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I enrich myself." In chap. xii. 1, several predicates are appended to the name of Jehovah, in order to awaken confidence in the fulfilment of the promises that follow; the prophet there seems to have several passages of Isaiah in his eye, as xlv. 24; xlv. 12; li. 13. Chap. xii. 6, "I will make the governors of Judah like *an hearth of fire* among the wood, and like *a torch of fire* in a *sheaf*; and they shall *devour* all the people round about on the right hand and on the left," agrees strikingly with Obad. ver. 18, "and the house of Jacob shall be a *fire*, and the house of Joseph a *flame*, and the house of Esau for *stubble*, and they shall kindle in them and *devour* them." Chap. xiii. 2, "in that day I will cut off the names of the idols out of the land, and they shall no more be remembered," is almost a verbal repetition of Hos. ii. 17, "I will take away the

names of Baalim out of her mouth, and they shall no more be remembered by their name;" there is merely a change of so much as in Hosea pertains to the symbolical representation of the people of Israel by a faithless wife—instead of בְּזָרָה here בְּבָרָה, instead of לִי יְהוָה here יְהוָה לִי. In chap. xiii. 8, 9, the words, "in all the land two parts shall be cut off and die; and I will bring the remaining third part through the fire, and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried," are clearly abbreviated from Ezek. v. 12, "A third part of thee shall die with the pestilence, and with famine shall they be consumed in the midst of thee; and a third part shall fall by the sword round about thee; and I will scatter a third part into all the winds, and I will draw out a sword after them." The words יִקְרָא יְהוָה become intelligible only on comparing Ezekiel. Chap. xiii. 9, "I will say, It is my people; and they shall say, The Lord is my God," is almost verbally borrowed from Hos. ii. 23, "I will say to them which were not my people, Thou art my people; and they shall say, Thou art my God;" the only thing omitted is the allusion to the significant name of the prophet's son.—But particularly remarkable are the parallel passages to chap. xiv. Ver. 8 is an abridgment of Ez. xlvii. 1–12, comp. Joel iv. 18. The first part of ver. 10, "all the land shall be turned as a plain from Geba to Rimmon,—and Jerusalem shall be lifted up," has a reference to Is. ii. 2, and Ezek. xl. 2; the second part, with ver. 11, to Jer. xxxi. 38–40. Ver. 16, "and all that are left of all the nations shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of Hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles," reminds us of Is. lxvi. 23, "from new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, shall all flesh come and pray before me, saith Jehovah." Ver. 17–19 are an amplification of Is. lx. 12, comp. Jer. xii. 16; ver. 20 expresses the thought of Ezek. xliii. 12; in ver. 21, the prediction that no Canaanite shall any more be in the house of God, points to Ezek. xlv. 9.—It would not be reasonable to take these passages singly; their force as evidence lies in their totality.—In both parts, also, there occur certain otherwise rare words, characteristic phrases, figures and tropes. The phrase וְהָיָה כִּי יִשָּׁבַע, which occurs only twice elsewhere in the whole of the O. T., Ezek. xxxv. 7, and Exod. xxxii. 27, is here found in both the first and the second part, vii. 14, ix. 8. In both parts, divine

✓ providence is presented figuratively by the eye of God, iii. 9 ; iv. 10 ; ix. 1 ; ix. 8. In both parts we find this peculiarity, that a whole is often described by its parts ; comp. *e. g.* chap. v. 4, where the prophet first says that the curse shall destroy the house of the ungodly, and then adds, the timber and the stones of it ; xiii. 3, “ his father, his mother, his parents” (Heb.). Of the same kind is the constant designation of the whole Jewish people by—the house of Israel and the house of Judah ; or Judah, Israel and Jerusalem ; or Jerusalem and the cities of Judah ; or Jerusalem, Judah and Ephraim ; or, finally, Judah and Joseph. This mode of designation prevails throughout the first and second part, comp. *e. g.* i. 12 ; ii. 2, 16 ; viii. 15 ; x. 14, &c. The only difference, and that not an important one, is, that in the second part sometimes Ephraim and Joseph are put for Israel. In chap. xiii. 1, the entire inhabitants of Jerusalem are called the house of David and the other dwellers there. This peculiarity is the result of a certain diffuseness of style, which is a mark of later times, and which is conspicuous in the second part no less than in the first. Comp. *e. g.* the description chap. viii. 20–23, with the descriptions chap. xii. 11–14 ; xiii. 3–6 ; xiv. 16–19.—There are found in the two parts some perfectly correspondent passages ; as chap. ii. 10, “ sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo, I come, and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith the Lord,” and ix. 9, “ rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion ; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem ; behold, thy King cometh unto thee.” FLÜGGE l. c. p. 75, and BERTHOLDT l. c. p. 1706, try to explain these facts by saying that Zechariah read some of the older oracles, which are now annexed to his prophecies ; but this explanation is at any rate not the most natural one, and nothing but the force of preponderating evidence for the spuriousness could induce us to admit it.

3 In both parts we discover an equally strong imagination. In a prophet, in whom figure so predominates in the first part that the thing intended is not understood by him without the appended interpretation, the very boldest figures need not surprise us in the second part ; as, for instance, when, xi. 13, he compares God to an archer, Judah to a bow, and Ephraim to an arrow laid on the string ; or when, ver. 15, he makes the Israelites become filled with the blood of their foes, like the corners of the altar with the blood



of the sacrifices, and calls their enemies sling-stones which the Israelites tread under foot.—As in the first part the visions are seldom described so fully as to allow us to obtain a complete and realizing view (comp. *e. g.* iv. 12, where the explanation supplies a feature that was left out in the pictorial description), so in the second part the figures frequently are not carried out and do not hold together.

Both parts are equally free from Chaldaisms, which is to be explained from the familiar acquaintance of the author with the writings of the older prophets. In the first part, nothing is found that can with certainty be ascribed to a Chaldee source, unless it be the form מַלְאָכִים chap. vii. 14; in the second, one form at least is decidedly of that character, מַלְאָךְ for מַלְאֲכֵי. The *scriptio defectiva* is found in all writings before the captivity, the *scriptio plena* only in the Chronicles (comp. GESEN. *Lehrg.* p. 51. *Gesch. der hebr. Sp.* p. 30. ELIAS LEVITA, *Massoreth Hammassoreth*, SEMLER p. 119.) We cannot suppose an error in the transcriber, because of the frequent repetition (xii. 7, 8, 10, 12; xiii. 1).

As regards its doctrines, we direct attention only to what it teaches respecting the *Maleach Jehovah*. He occurs very frequently in the first part; on the one hand he is distinguished from Jehovah, on the other identified with him (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 226). In the second part, chap. xii. 9, he is associated with מַלְאָכִים as his equal in dignity and glory; in chap. xi., it is true, the Maleach Jehovah who appears in the Messiah is distinguished from Jehovah, as the sent from the Sender, but is, at the same time, regarded as associated with him in a higher union, comp. *e. g.* ver. 13. In chap. xii. 10, referring to his being pierced, Jehovah calls himself pierced, and chap. xiii. 7, he designates him the man that is his fellow. In no book, of the principal or the minor prophets, is the doctrine of the Maleach Jehovah brought forward so repeatedly and constantly.

III. Most of the opponents of the genuineness assume, that the second part consists of different pieces composed at different times. But this assumption is without foundation; already have others, and at length ROSENMÜLLER (l. c. p. 257), remarked that the prevailing figurative designation of the people as a flock, of their leaders as its shepherds, of Jehovah as the Great Shepherd, compels us to suppose one and the same author, comp. ix. 16,

x. 2, 3, the whole of chap. xi., xiii. 7, 8; and we may farther observe, that the *repeated* and *constant* use of this description is a mark of the later period, and is not found in the older prophets. There is, moreover, the constant reference of the several pieces to one another, for a full apprehension of which we need such an explanation as will be afforded in the second volume of the *Christologie*. Thus in chap. xiii. 7, and xii. 10, just as in chap. xi., the Messiah appears as the Shepherd of Jehovah, who is connected with him in an ineffable relation, and sent for the deliverance of the people, but rejected by them. The latter passage, which represents the Jews as bewailing the pierced Messiah, is quite unintelligible apart from the preparatory passage chap. ix., where their contumacy is described. Chap. xiii. 7, has a special reference to xi. 11. The "little ones" are the same as the "poor of the flock that waited upon me" in the latter passage. On the whole, the section xiii. 7-9, may be regarded as a compendium of chap. xi. Ver. 8, 9, are a repetition of that which is predicted xi. 9, 14, and 15-17, concerning the fate of the obstinate and unbelieving part of the people. There are, besides, some other peculiarities constantly occurring, *e.g.* the circumlocutory description of the Jewish people by its parts; the frequent use of the earlier prophets. Now, if the entire second part is the work of one author, it cannot possibly have been composed till the period shortly before the captivity. For in chap. xii. 11, the lamentation for the death of the Messiah is compared with the lamentation for king Josiah, who was killed in the valley of Megiddo, with many of his people, by king Pharaoh Necho.\* If this be true, then it is at once proved that a considerable portion of the arguments against the genuineness, and just those on which the opponents principally rely, must rest on false interpretation. For at that time the kingdom of Israel, which they tell us is here represented as still standing, had long ago been destroyed, and so had the kingdoms of Damascus and Assyria.

4 IV. In the prophets before the captivity the promise of the

---

\* The necessity of referring the passage to this event is acknowledged even by the opponents; comp. BERTHOLDT l. c. p. 1717.

Messiah is always connected with the threatening of the invasion of the Assyrians and Babylonians, and the higher blessings of the Messianic times are usually combined with the inferior ones that were to be expected after these events. In Zechariah, on the contrary, in the second part as well as the first, there is nothing of the kind. The prediction of the Messianic times is connected, sometimes with the prediction of the Divine protection of the chosen people amidst the victories of Alexander, which were so destructive to the neighbouring nations, sometimes with the description of the Maccabean times and their joyous events. The threatened punishments are not to come till after the rejection of the Messiah; and, as they are to be called forth by that rejection, so are they to be removed by a faithful adherence to him. Here, then, we stand upon ground that did not exist among the prophets till after the captivity; the previous foreground has disappeared, just as in Haggai and Malachi, the latter of whom likewise makes the divine punishment of the Jews to be inflicted by the Messiah.

V. If the second part belonged to a time before the captivity, we might surely expect some mention of a king. But this never occurs. The discourse is always of rulers of the people in general. It is true, the family of David is mentioned xii. 7, 8, 12, xiii. 1, but not as a ruling family, only as one that shall in the future be again raised to dominion. Had the second part been composed before the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, one might surely have looked for some hint respecting its existence, especially as the eye of the author is usually directed at the same time to the Ten Tribes. But no passage occurs where the kingdom of Israel, or its king, or its capital, is mentioned.

VI. We advert, lastly, to the passages from later prophets, which it cannot be denied were used by Zechariah, and which have already been quoted for another purpose.

#### CHAP. III.—REPLY TO OBJECTIONS.

We now proceed to reply to the objections of those opponents of the genuineness of the second part, who maintain the composition of it long before Zechariah.



I. The external arguments which have been adduced by the older opponents of the genuineness, and lastly by FLÜGGE, are so feeble, that the modern opponents have quite given them up. We are referred to the fact that our prophecies are nowhere in the N. T. quoted under the name of Zechariah, but that, on the contrary, the passage chap. xi. 12, 13. is in Matt. xxvii. 9 expressly ascribed to Jeremiah. But no conclusion can be drawn from either fact, simply because the canon in the times of Christ and the apostles was demonstrably and confessedly just what it now is. Besides, the mention of any of the twelve minor prophets by name is altogether much more rare than that of the rest, because it was early the custom to regard their writings as a whole, from their being combined into one collection. Among the various opinions respecting the quotation of Matthew, perhaps the most probable is this, that Matthew substituted the name Jeremiah for that of Zechariah, not from any error of memory, which is not conceivable in a prophecy so famous and so graphic, and therefore not easily to be confounded with others, but by a mere *error calami*.—The assertion of FLÜGGE (l. c. p. 70), that several Fathers of the first centuries deny these pieces to be Zechariah's, is just as unfounded as it would be inconclusive; and the fact that in a single manuscript of KENNICOTT the two divisions are separated from each other by a small space (FLÜGGE l. c. p. 72), is sufficiently explained from the diversity of their contents and subjects.

II. Among the internal arguments, the opponents ascribe very great force to that which is derived from the alleged mention of several circumstances, which could not have been mentioned in the period after the captivity. If this argument can be satisfactorily met, the others, according to their own confession, can lay no claim to decisive weight. But it can be sufficiently shewn that all that is here alleged is erroneously produced.—It is maintained that the family of David is represented as still in possession of the government. But we have already seen that the family of David does indeed appear as still existing, and in the first part Zerubbabel is mentioned in the most honourable manner, but by no means as still reigning. But why should we be surprised if the prophet, in those predictions also that relate to the Messianic period, represents the family of David as still

✓ existing, when all the prophets announce that the Messiah shall spring from David? It is true that in chap. xi. 6. a king is spoken of; but it must be remembered that this occurs in a prophecy relating to the distant future, and that there is no reason for referring it to a native king of the family of David, rather than to a foreign ruler, to whom the people should be in subjection at the time of the fulfilment of the prophecy. With just as little propriety does BERTHOLDT, l. c. p. 1718, appeal to the fact that in chap. xiv. 10. the king's wine-presses in Jerusalem are mentioned. For, what objection is there to our supposing that ✓ the place retained its former name, even long after the presses were destroyed and the royal power extinguished? BERTHOLDT'S assertion that a theocratic king occurs, chap. xiii. 7, rests on false interpretation. The Great Shepherd of Jehovah there named is the Messiah.—It is maintained that the kingdom of Israel appears as still existing, because Judah and Israel, or Ephraim, are put in contradistinction to each other. But, if there were any force in this argument, the composition of the ✓ first part also before the captivity must be maintained. For there also, chap. viii. 13, mention is made of the house of Israel and the house of Judah, and in chap. ii. 2. of Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem. Of course also Jeremiah, who prophesied long after ✓ the destruction of the kingdom of Israel, could not speak of Judah and Israel, comp. xxiii. 6, l. 20. Malachi, too, must not ✓ designate the entire people, as in chap. ii. 11, by Judah, Israel, and Jerusalem. The comparison of these passages shews, that even after the destruction of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, and after the captivity, the designation Judah and Israel continued to be applied to those who remained from the two kingdoms. The citizens of the Ten Tribes also, according to the predictions of the prophets, were one day to return from captivity (comp. *e.g.* Ezek. xxxvii. 15, sqq.), and have a share in the succeeding happy events, and finally in the blessings of Messiah's kingdom; comp. on the fulfilment, JAHN, *Archäologie* ii. 1, p. 236, sqq. It cannot therefore be surprising, if in chap. ix. 12, x. 6, sqq., it is represented that Ephraim shall in the future share in the victories of Judah over her enemies, or in chap. xi. 14, that the renewed brotherhood of Judah and Israel shall one day be again dissolved. The kingdom of Israel nowhere appears in Zecha-

rial as still existing ; on the contrary, according to chap. x. 7. sqq., its members are in exile, and shall not be delivered and restored to prosperity till some future time. Throughout his writings we discover only the two parts of the nation, which indeed at that time really existed.—It is said that the composition of the second part in a far later time results with certainty from the fact that, besides Assyria and Egypt, Damascus also, and Phœnicia and Philistia, are brought forward as kingdoms enjoying an independent position, flourishing, and dangerous to the Israelites. But all these kingdoms are, it is true, brought forward as still existing, which they really were in the times of Zechariah, but not as independent and flourishing. Egypt and Assyria are mentioned chap. x. 10 and ver. 12. In the former passage it is promised that the Ten Tribes shall one day be gathered from Egypt and Assyria and restored to their own land. These countries are here named, not as the only ones in question, but by way of specimen, in accordance with the custom usual with the prophets, to individualize everything. In the second passage it is announced that the power of Egypt and Assyria and their tyranny shall have an end. Here, likewise, Assyria and Egypt stand by way of specimen for all powerful neighbouring states that had formerly been destructive to the kingdom of Israel ; these should not be able to execute any farther enterprise against the people favoured by Jehovah. Zechariah might have been led by passages of earlier prophets to connect just these two countries in particular ; comp. Hos. xiv. 4, Is. lii. 4, Jer. ii. 18, 36. It must not be overlooked that, likewise in the first part, there are contained numerous threatenings against those enemies of the Israelites who were at that time already in subjection to the Persians and deprived of their power ; this is done to secure them from all fear that these enemies would thrive again at some future time ; comp. *e.g.* ii. 1–4. 12, vi. 1, sqq. Damascus, Phœnicia, and Philistia occur chap. ix. 1–8. The asserted independency of these states has some show of probability from the fact, that a king of Gaza is mentioned, ver. 5 ; but the term *king* here may very well be taken in a wider sense, and designate the Persian satrap or viceroy, who was over the city both in the times of Zechariah and at the period of the fulfilment. That these officers bore the name of *king*, appears from



the fact that the Chaldean and Persian monarchs were called *kings of kings*; comp. Dan. ii. 36, 37, Ezra vii. 12.—In a somewhat different manner FORBERG (l. c. p. 6, sqq.), whom ROSENMÜLLER follows, infers from this passage the composition of the second part before the time of Zechariah. He says: “If we assume Zechariah to be the author, no reasonable object can be conceived for the utterance of this prophecy. Why should Zechariah with such vehemence threaten the Tyrians, the Damascenes, the Philistines, whose power had long ago been broken, who, as well as the Jews, were in subjection to the Persian dominion, and were not at all dangerous to the Jews?” But the object of this prophecy is clear enough. The Tyrians, Damascenes, and Philistines are not represented as enemies of the Israelites. Their calamity is rather predicted merely in order (comp. v. 8) to connect with it the prophecy, that, amidst these great afflictions that should happen to the neighbouring nations, Jerusalem through the divine protection should remain unscathed, from which topic the prophet passes on to announce the still higher deliverance by the Messiah.—BERTHOLDT (l. c. p. 1718) refers to the fact that, according to chap. ix. 7, descendants of the Jebusites were still to be met with in Jerusalem, which could no longer have been the case after the captivity. But it is not expressed in the passage, that at the time of its composition the descendants of the ancient Jebusites were still in Jerusalem, separated from the other inhabitants. The sense rather is—as formerly the Jebusites, so hereafter the Philistines shall be incorporated into the theocracy.—It is still less to the purpose when BERTHOLDT (l. c. p. 1704) maintains, that the oracle chap. xii. 1. to xiii. 6. cannot possibly have been written in the Persian period, for that Jerusalem, according to xii. 6, was not yet destroyed; there is no reference here to the past; it is merely promised that the inhabitants of Jerusalem in the future invasion of their enemies shall be victorious: or when (l. c. p. 1718) he insists that according to chap. xiv. 2. none of the citizens of the kingdom of Judah had yet been carried into captivity; for how can the prediction of a future deportation prove that none had ever taken place previously?—FLÜGGE (l. c. p. 80) maintains that Zechariah would not have ventured, as in chap. ix. 10, to promise to his countrymen a powerful king, to whom a part of

the state should be in subjection, who had just given them their freedom. But the great king is expressly designated as the Prince of Peace, who will not found his dominion by force of arms ; the Messianic pictures in the first part are still more glowing, comp. *e. g.* chap. 8. ; it contains, at the same time, the clearest announcement of Divine judgments on the nations hitherto hostile and destructive to the Israelites, and now subject to the Persians ; comp. *e. g.* chap. ii. 1-4. 12, &c. This view, moreover, rests altogether on a false view of the prophets, who, without any human calculations of consequences announced what the Holy Ghost imparted to them. Jeremiah, chap. xlv., prophecies in Egypt itself the destruction of its king ; Ezekiel, xvii. 24, in Babylonia, the downfall of the Babylonian empire and the glorious erection of the theocracy ; Haggai ii. 22, the overthrow of the most powerful heathen kingdoms, and of course of the Persian.—FLUGGE (1. c. p. 85.) derives another argument from the threatening contents of several prophecies of the second part. Threatenings, he thinks, were not at all in place in the time of Zechariah, when the object was to raise the fallen courage of the people, and inspire them with zeal for the building of the temple,—as is the case in the first part, where everything is directed to the purpose of instilling courage into the people. But neither is the first part without threatenings ; comp. chaps. v. and viii., where it is constantly repeated, that the promised blessings shall be granted to the people only in case they continue in fidelity and obedience to the Lord. That the threatenings are more prominently insisted on in the second part, may be explained by supposing its composition at a time when the main object of the first part—the furthering of the building of the temple—was already attained. Had they not been called for, they would not occur also in Malachi, chap. iii. 19.—It is maintained that the prophet's complaint of the false prophets and of idolatry, is inconceivable after the captivity, because no trace of either is to be found at that period ; comp. Neh. vi. 14. But this argument may be easily answered from the peculiarity of prophetic representation (comp. *Christol.* i. 1. p. 314.) As the prophets usually represent the future under the image of the past, and call it by that name, so Zechariah describes the doings of the future that shall be opposed to the revealed will of God, by things that have been opposed to it in the past. When it is said

chap. x. 2, "for the teraphim have spoken vainty, and the diviners have seen a lie, and have told false dreams; they comfort in vain: therefore they went their way as a flock, they were troubled because there was no shepherded;" this is nothing more than Zechariah's usual mode of depicting the one main idea—*the people are led astray by deceivers, who draw them away from the source of all truth, the revealed will of God.* When in chap. xiii. 2, 6, the abolishment of idolatry and of false prophets is assigned as a consequence of faithful adherence to the Messiah, this expresses by individualisation the thought, that the people shall then be purified and delivered from all that previously disturbed their connection with the Lord and brought the Divine judgments upon them. That the prophet complains of idolatry and false prophets as existing in his time, is quite incorrect. He nowhere attributes to those sources, as the older prophets do, the Divine judgments which he threatens; he rather gives as the reason of them, the rejection of the Messiah, and announces the cessation of them along with the faithful adherence of the people to the Crucified One. A strong proof, certainly, of the genuineness of the second part.

III. It seems that an important argument against the identity of authorship in the first and second parts can be derived from the diversity between the Messianic announcements in the two. In the first part the Messiah appears to us only in glory; to the people of the covenant rich blessings are promised from his appearing. In the second part, on the contrary, the Messiah appears in abasement, ix. 9; he is rejected by the greater part of the people, v. 11; he is put to death, xii. 10, xiii. 7; the people of the covenant, in punishment of their unbelief, are visited with the most fearful Divine judgments, and only after protracted sufferings do the remnant repent and return to their former gracious relation to the Lord, xii. 10, sqq. xiii. 7. But this diversity can prove nothing, unless it contain a proper contradiction. But this is by no means the case. The contents of the second part are hinted at also in the first, when the office of high priest is ascribed to the Messiah, comp. iii. 8–10., vi. 9–15; and the Messiah in humiliation of the second part shall, according to chap. ix. 10, rule over all nations from one end of the earth to the other. In the first part, moreover, we have an intimation of the rejection of a



great part of the people, which is distinctly and in detail predicted in the second ; it is there repeatedly hinted that the promises of blessing are only conditional ; comp. *e. g.* viii. 16, 17, 19. The difference then consists merely in the fact, that in the first part certain phases of the Messianic idea retreat more into the back-ground, which in the second are developed with much particularity. In the first part the prophet leaves out of view the suffering Messiah and the rejection of the Jewish people, for nearly the same reason as Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and other prophets present the Messiah to us merely in his glory. The prophets, having a work to do in the present, always gave prominence to those aspects of the Messianic prediction which were adapted to effect that present work. But the main object of Zechariah in the first part was to stir up the people, whose courage had failed them because of the small beginnings of the new colony, and who were therefore negligent in carrying forward the building of the temple ; he wished to act on the mass, rather than on certain individuals of particular sensibility. In the second part, on the contrary, his former object having been attained, and when all special reference to his cotemporaries and the circumstances of his time ceased, he was able to present more completely to view the Messianic idea. We perceive the very same thing in Isaiah too (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 203, sqq.)

IV. We are referred to the greater obscurity of the second part. But this was necessarily founded in the difference of subject and aim. Zechariah, in the second part, describes the distant and most remote fortunes of the kingdom of God, from the victories of Alexander till the end of the present dispensation of our world. All these events appear to him in his inner contemplation without distinction of time. A certain obscurity was, therefore, inseparably connected with his subject. In the first part, intended as it was for the cotemporaries of the prophet, this obscurity would have been a blemish ; not so in the second part, which was principally designed for after ages, who could of themselves, by a comparison of the fulfilments, place each particular in its proper order of time. If we take this explanation, the clearing up of the obscurity is not very difficult ; the second part, in point of contents, not in point of language, is about as intelligible to us as the first was to the cotemporaries of the prophet. The excessive complaints of the moderns about the obscurity is occasioned only by

the fact that, through their neglecting to compare the fulfilment with the prophecy, they have retreated to the point of view occupied by the cotemporaries of the prophet.

V. There is more plausibility in the appeal to difference of style in the first and second part. It is maintained that in the latter the style is far purer, more forcible, more elevated, more figurative, more lively; the first and second parts also have each their several peculiarities of expression and phraseology; the first part gives, in various superscriptions, the time at which the prophecies were uttered, and mentions the name of Zechariah, which last takes place also in the midst of the discourse, or the prophet is introduced speaking; in the second part there is nothing of the kind. But all these differences, including the greater purity of language asserted without foundation to exist in the second part, may be granted without any thing thence resulting as to a difference of authorship. As regards, first of all, the difference of style, this may be well enough explained from the difference of subject and aim. The first part consists principally of visions. Here the author would be required by the nature of the case to employ pure prose. The describer of a vision must act exactly like the describer of a painting. The more simple the description, the better is it adapted to produce a lively representation and renewal in the mind of the hearer or reader; poetical colouring would here be quite out of place. That the mode of representation adopted in this part can afford no ground for denying the identity of the author, appears with all the more certainty from a comparison of the section chap. xi. 4–15 in the second part. The description there of a symbolical action is no less purely prosaic, than the description of the visions in the first part. Moreover, the first part contains some admonitory discourses; here again poetic elevation would be just as little in place; if the prophet meant to speak impressively, his main object must be to be understood; admonition and reproof can never be such elevating and inspiring topics, as the views into the remotest future which prevail in the second part.—It only remains, therefore, for us to compare those passages of the first part, which likewise have to do with views into the future, and that apart from vision, for instance chap. <sup>1</sup>ii. 14–17 and chap. viii. But in these the style is sensibly raised, and they fall but

little short of the most exalted descriptions in the second part. For an explanation of the difference yet remaining, on which FORBERG (l. c. p. 13) lays peculiar stress, we have a twofold method at command. 1. The poetic elevation of the prophet was here also necessarily restrained in some degree by his discourse being directed to particular persons (comp. chap. vii. 1-3), whose subjective power of apprehension he is obliged to keep in view, whereas in the second part he can give himself up unchecked to the flight of his spirit; and, 2. there is nothing to oppose the assumption of BLAYNEY (l. c. p. 12, sqq. and p. 37), that the first and second parts are separated from each other by a considerable space of time. It is rather favoured by the passage chap. ii. 4, according to which Zechariah composed the first part, in which the prophecies are divided only by a space of a few years, whilst yet a *young man*.\* Now, even if we should not lay any special stress, either on the statement of the unsafe pseudo-Epiphanius (*de vit. proph.* c. 21), or on the equally unsafe Jewish tradition, which make Zechariah to have lived to an advanced age, yet, apart from these, it cannot be denied that our supposition has some justification. But why should not Zechariah in his riper age have adopted a more correct and worthy style, and have discarded, for instance, unnecessary repetitions, if such were really to be found in the first part?—The difference between the expressions in the two parts, if indeed it deserve any notice at all, is likewise explained from the difference in subject and design. The only circumstance of any moment is, that the oft-repeated *אֲנִי* of the first part is not found in the second. But this is perfectly natural, because in the first part various persons are introduced speaking, the prophet, the Angel of Jehovah, &c., whereas in the second part Jehovah, or the prophet in his name, alone speaks.—As regards, lastly, the absence of dates and names in the second part, this is easily explained by shewing that there it would have been well nigh useless, because everything relates to the future, and neither the

---

\* The account therefore of the pseudo-Epiphanius (*de vit. proph.*, cap. 21) is false, to which BERTHOLDT l. c. p. 1699 is disposed to assent, that Zechariah was an old man when he returned from exile; and improbable, to say the least, is the conjecture of JAHN, that the second part was composed *before* the first.



personality of the prophet nor a year earlier or later were matters of any consequence. In the first part, on the contrary, these were by no means superfluous, because the prophet must name himself in order to gain currency for his admonitions, and because the mention of the time was unavoidably necessary for the understanding of his declarations referring to certain circumstances of the times. We find just the same phenomenon also in Isaiah. The first part, referring principally to the present, has frequent superscriptions; the second is destitute of them.

VI. An argument is drawn from the fact that the first part, almost throughout, employs the drapery of visions and symbolical actions, which is wanting in the second; and that in the first part the Chaldee angelology prevails, of which no trace is found in the second. But one can hardly see what the former is to prove. That the second contains no visions, is accounted for on the simple ground that Zechariah, or whoever else made up the collection of his prophecies, wished to put all his visions together. It was also a sufficient reason why he should not separate them, that, by oneness of time, of aim, and of reference, they are connected with one another, and in a manner form a whole. A symbolical action is found in the second part, chap. xi., as well as in the first, chap. vi.—The reason why the angels retreat from view in the second part is, that even in the first part they are in place only in the presentation of visions. As soon as the visions cease, the angels disappear, even in the first part. That the Chaldee angelology predominates in the first part, is an unfounded assertion. The doctrine of angels is found in the same form in the Pentateuch. That the doctrine, for instance, of the מלאכים, which occupies so prominent a place in the first part, is originally a Hebrew one, has been already shewn in another place (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 219; as also that the derivation of the doctrine of Satan from the Chaldeans is incorrect (comp. *Christol.* i. 1, p. 35, sqq.)

VII. It is maintained that the description of the Jewish people as one ruined by wicked rulers, of the destruction of Jerusalem, &c., cannot refer to any other time than that of the invasion of the Chaldeans, and that the prophet must therefore have lived before that. But this assertion could not be justified, unless as in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the Chaldeans were

named, or certain special circumstances mentioned which had their fulfilment in the Chaldean invasion. But in this respect it has not the least appearance of truth. With the same propriety it might be concluded, that the first part also was composed before the Babylonian captivity. For in that, chap. v., a future deportation of the people is predicted. It will be shewn, in the interpretation of the second part in the continuation of the *Christologie*, that the descriptions of the second part refer wholly to events which in the time of Zechariah were yet future.

VIII. In imitation of FLÜGGE (l. c. p. 79), FORBERG argues against the genuineness of the second part from the difference between its topics and those of the first part and of the cotemporary prophets, Haggai and Malachi. But there is no discovering why Zechariah should continue to handle the very same topics, when he had sufficiently treated of them in the first part, and when its main topic, the rebuilding of the temple, was rendered unnecessary by the completion of that object. But indeed the main topic of the second part, the blessings of Messiah's reign, it has in common with the first, and with Haggai and Malachi; and the judgment threatened to a great part of the Jews is referred to in the first part also, and by Malachi is distinctly predicted.

So much for the arguments for the composition of Zechariah at an earlier period. In replying to those who maintain its composition after the times of Zechariah, we need not stay long. Their arguments are purely dogmatic, and rest on the supposition that the prophets could describe only that which lay before their bodily eye. This hypothesis contradicts both the history of the canon (even those who assign the closing of it to the latest possible time, yet grant the closing of the collection of the prophets long before Alexander), and the history of the Hebrew poetry and language. Such a hypothesis has only this advantage, that it affords an unwilling testimony to the untenableness of the modern view of prophecy, since its defenders prove the reference of the prophecies to events, which Zechariah could not possibly have foreseen by his own sagacity.

NOTE to p. 106.—“The *Ferver*, or *spiritual prototype* of the king, which, according to the Zendavesta, always hovers near him,” &c.—“Their (the Persian kings’) *Ferver*, or *second self*, &c.” SIR ROBERT KER PORTER’S *Travels in Georgia, Persia, &c.* London, 1821. Vol. i. pp. 657, 8.

Porter’s work also affords evidence that superhuman attributes were ascribed to the Persian kings. This evidence is in some of the instances the more striking, as he does not agree with our author in his explanations of the monuments, and had no religious purpose to serve. *Plate 48.* (i. p. 656,) represents the king walking, with attendants. The figure referred to hovers above him. Porter’s statement is, “Another block of smaller dimensions surmounts it, on which is seen a figure whose dress and outline of form resemble those of the personage below. The only difference is, that his left hand holds a ring, and his right is raised and open. He issues from a circle, whence diverge two floating forms, something like serpents with their heads hidden behind the figure. A pair of immense wings spread themselves on each side of the circle; in that differing from the radiated vehicle so often seen on the tombs of Nakshi-Roustam. If this be the *Ferver*, . . . its wings may be attributes of the duties of a living monarch—activity and fostering care of his people; while the Intelligence, whom we see on the tombs, supported by clouds and sunbeams, shews that the prince, who was his divided self, has now nothing more to do with the business of earth but to appear once in the glorified essence, into the substance of which his shade is absorbed, to his royal successor while performing the established rites at his tomb. . . . Perhaps this doctrine of Zoroaster may be more clearly seen in an extract from the *Desatir*, a work of the old Pehlvi, and which among other subjects attempts an explanation of the above mystery. ‘Verse 35. Whatever is on earth is the resemblance and shadow of something that is in the sphere. 36. While that resplendent thing [the prototype] remaineth in good condition, it is well also with its shadow. 37. When that resplendent thing removeth far from its shadow, life fadeth away. 38. Again, that resplendent object is the shadow of a light more resplendent than itself. 39. And so on, up to Mez [Ormuzd], who is the light of lights.’ *Desatir, Book of Zerdusht* [Zoroaster]. With the exception of the figure in the centre, the symbol of the wings and circle is precisely that which so often occurs over almost all the ancient temples of the East, designating Providence, and which is worshipped in Egypt under the name of the god Cneph. The circle of entwined serpents bespeaks Eternity and Wisdom; and the expanded wings, Ubiquity and Protective Goodness. Doubtless, the pride of many Persian monarchs would be flattered by the association of such lofty attributes of divinity with their *Ferver* or *second self*; and, believing themselves already half gods, they would disdain their duties as men. But there were others, who would read a salutary lesson in this divine emblem,” &c. *Pl. 50.* represents the first sculpture to which our author refers. Porter says, p. 668, “The aerial figure surmounts the whole. . . . But that ideas of divine or angelic attributes have been connected from the earliest times with these emblematical wings, circles, and radiated ethereal cars, we find in the most ancient of all books, divine in its origin,” &c. He does not give either of the two sepulchral monuments at Persepolis, to which Dr. Hengstenberg refers; but *Pl. 17.* is a drawing of a sculpture on one of the four tombs at Nakshi-Roustam, which is very similar to the second of the two former. He differs here from our author in almost every point, except in the likeness between the terrestrial being and the floating aerial form. But perhaps his interpretation is materially influenced by the opinion, that the lower figure is not the king, but the Archimagus or High Priest, for which he does not appear to find any reason in the figure itself, but only in the attendant circumstances, which he knew not how else to account for. “On this plane stands a figure, elevated on a pedestal of three steps. He is dressed in an ample robe flowing to his ancles; in his left hand he holds a strung bow; his right arm is stretched half out, with the hand quite open; bracelets are round the wrists; his head is bare, the hair busily behind, and neatly curled; his beard falls to



the breast. Opposite to him rises another pedestal of three steps; this is surmounted by an altar, evidently charged with the sacred fire, a large flame of it appearing at the top; high over it to the right, we see a globular shape, *doubtless intended for the sun*, of which the fire below was the offspring and the emblem. These altars always stood towards the East, that the worshipper might face the point whence the great source of light ascended; and we here find the orb in the same direction. Another figure floats aloft in the air, between the altar and the *Archimagus* or High Priest (for such, it is probable, we may regard the man in the robe), appearing as if it had issued from the sun; it approaches the man from that point. This aerial personage, or rather perhaps Divine Intelligence, seems supported by something like a collection of sunbeams, thickly carved in waving horizontal and perpendicular lines, interspersed with several divisions of narrow cloud-shaped masses of stone. \* \* \* \* *It is habited in a robe similar to that of the man on the pedestal, with the hair and beard in the same fashion; but the head is covered with a fluted crown: the left hand holds a large and massy ring; the right is elevated and open, as if in the act of admonition, &c.*" Which of the two explanations of these very similar, if indeed not identical, sculptures is the more probable, let the reader decide. It might have been more easy to do this, if Porter had also explained the sculpture in which the half-figure is moving up from the *Archimagus* to the circular body; or if he had tried to account for the appearance of a *priest* on the tomb. *Pl. 23.* (p. 549.) is probably the sculpture which our author speaks of (p. 107.) as representing a royal consecration. According to Porter, DE SACY gives the following translation of the inscription on the shoulder of the horse that bears the person who *receives* the circlet—"C'est ici la figure du serviturd' Ormuzd, du dieu Ardashiir, roi des rois d' Iran, de la race des dieux; fils du dieu Babec, roi;" and of the inscription on the shoulder of the horse bearing the person who *bestows* the circlet, he gives the following translation—"C'est ici la figure du dieu Jupiter." Jupiter is put, no doubt, for Ormuzd; and the fact may perhaps be explained by the circumstance, that the inscriptions are both in Pehlvi and in Greek, from the latter of which the translation is made, and where we might expect to find the name of Ζεὺς, as corresponding to the Persian Supreme Deity.—*Pl. 28.* represents a similar scene, and the inscription on the breast of the horse bearing the king, is rendered in a similar way by De Sacy, the name of the king here being Sapor (Shapoor?)—To mention only one case more, Porter, speaking of a long sculptured royal procession at the "palace of forty pillars" at Persepolis, says (i. 627.), "Almost every one in this procession holds in his hand a figure like a *lotus*. This flower was full of meaning to the ancients. The early Persians attached peculiar sanctity to it. As the sovereigns of the East have always been revered, according to a tradition of their being the express vicegerents of the Deity, it is not surprising to see the same emblematic flower carried in procession to their honour." The reader may find other matter to the same purpose in the work we have quoted.—TRANSL.



I N D E X.





## I. INDEX OF SUBJECTS AND AUTHORS.

Abydenus, as a historian, .. .. .	Page 85, 259
Alexander, his kingdom does not appear in the book of Daniel separate from that of his successors, .. .. .	164
....., his presence at Jerusalem, .. .. .	224
Alexandrine translation of the O. T., the use it makes of the book of Daniel,	235
Alexandrine translation of the book of Daniel, made use of in the First Book of Maccabees, .. .. .	237
....., composed before that book, .. .. .	238
....., its character, .. .. .	239
Angels, doctrine of, among the Babylonians, .. .. .	130
....., Hebrew doctrine of, in the book of Daniel, .. .. .	132
....., names of, .. .. .	138
Antiochus Epiphanes, had no similarity to Nebuchadnezzar, .. .. .	70, 72
....., to Darius Medus, .. .. .	111
....., never erected a statue of Jupiter Olympus in the temple at Jerusalem,	71
....., whether he made use of music at the dedication of the altar, .. .. .	72
....., cannot be meant in Dan. iv. .. .. .	97
....., did not profane the sacred vessels of the Jews, .. .. .	101
....., a type of Antichrist, .. .. .	173
Apostles, their testimony to the book of Daniel, .. .. .	221
Astyages, the name equivalent to Cyaxares, Ahasuerus, Xerxes, .. .. .	42
Babylonians, their arts, and their taste in them, .. .. .	79
....., their wealth, .. .. .	81
....., character of their historians, .. .. .	85
....., their tradition, its relation to the statements of the Holy Scriptures,	88
....., conquest of their city, .. .. .	98
....., their recklessness at that time, .. .. .	99, 260
....., their notions of the incarnation of their kings, .. .. .	109
....., theogonic doctrines among them, .. .. .	130
....., their doctrines respecting the <i>ἑοὶ βουλαῖοι</i> , .. .. .	132
....., their luxury, .. .. .	260
....., their clothing, .. .. .	273
....., their priests and soothsayers, .. .. .	274
....., constitution of their state, .. .. .	280
Beausobre, ascribes only the last six chapters of Daniel to him, .. .. .	3
Beckhaus, .. .. .	294
Belshazzar, not spoken of in Daniel as the son of Nebuchadnezzar, .. .. .	39
....., the difference in his name (Nabonned), .. .. .	39
....., his conduct towards Daniel, .. .. .	100
....., his character, .. .. .	253
....., he perished at the conquest of Babylon, .. .. .	263
....., his descent, .. .. .	264
Berosus, as a historian, .. .. .	85, 259

Blayney, .. .. .	Page 293
Canon of the H. Scriptures, its origin in general, .. .. .	20, 192
Captivity, its seventy years' duration, .. .. .	146
....., position of Daniel in it, .. .. .	23
....., not pieces by different authors combined as a whole in it, .. .. .	295
Chaldeans, their language, .. .. .	250
....., as a caste of priests, .. .. .	275
Characteristica in Aphel, retained in the part. and fut. in Dan. and Ezra,	247
Christ, his testimonies to the book of Daniel, .. .. .	209
Corrodi, .. .. .	294
Ctesias, as a historian, .. .. .	259
Cyaxares II. See Darius Medus.	
Cyrus, his motives for liberating the Jews, .. .. .	32
Dagesh forte resolved into Nnn in Daniel and Ezra, .. .. .	246
Daniel, whether a historical or poetical person, .. .. .	62
....., no mention of him in chap. iii., .. .. .	81
....., his rescue from the lions' den, .. .. .	110
....., difference between his prophecies and those of the other prophets,	158
....., they reach beyond the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, .. .. .	169
....., his accounts respecting himself, .. .. .	179
....., wishes to be regarded as the author of the book of Daniel, .. .. .	183
Darics, derive their name from Darius Medus, not from Dar. Hystaspis,	42
Darius Medus, meaning of the name Darius, .. .. .	41
....., identical with Cyaxares II., .. .. .	42
....., the surname <i>Medus</i> not an <i>epitheton perpetuum</i> , .. .. .	98
....., his command for his own deification, .. .. .	102, 108
....., his character, .. .. .	253
....., evidence that he ruled over Babylon, .. .. .	265
....., divided his kingdom into 120 satrapies, .. .. .	266
Dual, in the Chaldee of Dan. and Ezra, .. .. .	246
Egypt, its Domestic History, .. .. .	86
Eichhorn, .. .. .	294-5
Elam, was conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, .. .. .	34
....., stands for Persia generally, .. .. .	35
....., not a city in Persia, .. .. .	269
Esarhaddon, identity of the name with Asnapper, .. .. .	145
....., carried away the remnant of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, .. .. .	145
Evangelists, never borrowed their own interposed remarks from one another,	210
Ezekiel, his mention of Daniel, .. .. .	58
....., his symbolism, .. .. .	285
Ezra, employed in making up the Canon, .. .. .	205
Fasting, whether the Book of Daniel ascribes to it meritoriousness, or the effectuation of Divine Revelations, .. .. .	119
Flügge, .. .. .	293
Food and wine from heathen tables were unclean to the Jews, .. .. .	63
Forberg, .. .. .	294
Furnaces, used in Babylon, .. .. .	76
....., kindled before the execution, .. .. .	77
Gabriel .. .. .	138



Gods, sons of the, among the Babylonians, .. .. .	Page 130
Greek words in the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	11
Guardian angels, doctrine of, in the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	140
....., is not found among the Babylonians and Persians, .. .. .	140
....., among the later Jews, .. .. .	235
Hammond, .. .. .	293
Hebrew Language, when it fell into desuetude, .. .. .	242
Hecataeus, genuineness of his fragments, .. .. .	228
Herodotus, as a historian, .. .. .	258
Historical Errors, assumed in the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	34
Hobbes, .. .. .	4
Hophal, in Daniel and Ezra, .. .. .	247
Isaiah, predicts the distinct time of a multitude of events, .. .. .	149
Isidorus Hispalensis, had no doubt of the genuineness of the book of Daniel	3
Jehovah, appears in the Book of Daniel constantly in opposition to the idols,	287
Jeremiah, had a considerable collection of the Sacred Writings, .. .. .	28
Jews, the Talmudistic, do not assert the spuriousness of Daniel, .. .. .	2
....., whether they set but a light estimate upon it, .. .. .	26
Josephus, his view of the closing of the Canon, .. .. .	198
....., his opinion of the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	208
Justice, the appropriate virtue of kings, .. .. .	118
Kidder, .. .. .	293
King, title of, given to the Satraps, .. .. .	307
Kings of the Medes and Persians, regarded as representatives of Ormuzd,	103
....., in their edicts acknowledged Jehovah to be the true God, .. .. .	109
Köster, .. .. .	294
Language, of the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	16, 240
....., of Zechariah, .. .. .	300
Laws of the Medo-Persians irrevocable, .. .. .	274
Lion-dens, their nature, .. .. .	38
Lüderwald, .. .. .	8
Maccabees, first book of, its affinity to and imitation of the Book of Daniel, 176, 214	
....., supposes the Book of Daniel already in existence, .. .. .	233
....., was originally written in Greek, .. .. .	235
....., composed before the death of John Hyrcanus, .. .. .	237
....., its historical errors, .. .. .	267
Maccabees, second book of, its character and credibility, .. .. .	196
Maccabean times, their consciousness of being forsaken by the Divine Spirit,	206
....., their dissimilarity to those described in the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	206
Madness and prophecy, .. .. .	88, 257
Magicians, their great influence in the East, .. .. .	112
Mede, J. .. .. .	293
Medes and Persians, .. .. .	267
....., their kings, .. .. .	103
....., intimate connection of their kingdoms, .. .. .	162
Messiah, doctrine of the, in the book of Daniel, .. .. .	125
....., as Maleach Jehovah, .. .. .	302
....., appears attended by other angels in the O. T., .. .. .	135

Messiah, announcement of him in Zechariah, .. .. .	Page 302, 310
Michael, who is meant, .. .. .	135
Michaelis, J. D., .. .. .	5
Miracles in the Book of Daniel, not profusely lavished, .. .. .	29
....., served to confirm the exiles, .. .. .	112
....., object of that related Dan. iii. .. .. .	77
....., .. .. . v. .. .. .	101
....., their effect on the heathens, .. .. .	331
Monarchies, the four great, which they were, .. .. .	161
Moral tendency of the Book of Daniel, .. .. .	177
Names of the Eastern kings, rather appellatives than proper names, .. .. .	41
..... different in the same person, .. .. .	40, 145
Nebuchadnezzar, his deportation of the Jews in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, .. .. .	43
....., how he is represented in the second and third chaps. of Daniel, .. .. .	57
....., his cruelty, .. .. .	65
....., intended (Dan. chap. ii.) only to put the Magicians to the test, .. .. .	66
....., instituted no religious persecution of the Jews, (Dan. chap. iii.), .. .. .	69
....., does not trench too closely on the religion of his ancestors, .. .. .	78
....., lost his reason shortly before his end, .. .. .	87
....., in what his madness consisted, .. .. .	91
....., its duration, .. .. .	93
....., reasons why he himself openly confessed that he had been in such a state, .. .. .	94
....., what writers mention him, .. .. .	83
....., his mixture of religions, .. .. .	95
....., features of his character, .. .. .	253
....., his decoration of Babylon, .. .. .	25
Newcome, .. .. .	293
Newton, .. .. .	3
Nitocris, .. .. .	257
....., not the wife of Belshazzar, .. .. .	39
Old Testament, whether referred to in Daniel as already complete, .. .. .	27
Parseeism, its relation to the Hebrew system, .. .. .	127
Pathach furtivum in Dan., .. .. .	246
Persian words, among the Babylonians, .. .. .	10
....., in the H. Sc., .. .. .	9
Person, interchange of the First and Third, .. .. .	96, 184
Porphyry, .. .. .	4
Prayer, was offered with the face turned towards Jerusalem, .. .. .	114
....., similar custom among other nations, .. .. .	114
....., was offered in the upper room, .. .. .	117
....., at three different times of the day, .. .. .	117
Prophetic office, to be distinguished from the prophetic gift, .. .. .	23
....., how far of importance in Daniel, .. .. .	157
Prophets, weakened by external means the mere natural life, .. .. .	120
....., their prophecies inexplicable apart from their divine illumination, .. .. .	141
....., predict definite times, .. .. .	143
....., and the fortunes of kingdoms that were not yet in existence in their time, .. .. .	149
....., received divine disclosures only up to a definite time, .. .. .	159
....., the later ones assign more precisely the time of the utterance of their prophecies, .. .. .	190

Prophets, peculiar symbolism of those who lived in the captivity, .. .. .	Page 285
....., received their revelations on the banks of rivers, .. .. .	288
Punishments among the Babylonians and Persians, .. .. .	272
Resurrection, doctrine of, among the Hebrews, proof-passages for it, and its origin, 126	
Sriptio plena and defectiva, .. .. .	302
Sealing up of prophecies, .. .. .	175
Segolate forms in Daniel and Ezra, .. .. .	246
Semler, .. .. .	5
Seraphim, their meaning, .. .. .	133
Serpent, whether a symbol of the healing power among the Hebrews, ..	133
Shinar, .. .. .	271
Sirach, chapter xlix., does not mention Daniel, .. .. .	17
Solomon, his character, .. .. .	115
Spinoza, .. .. .	4
Statues, among the Babylonians, .. .. .	79
....., were hollow within, .. .. .	81
Stäudlin, .. .. .	8
Style of Zechariah, whether different in the two parts, .. .. .	312
Suffixes in Daniel and Ezra, .. .. .	247
Susa, had a palace before Dar. Hystaspis, .. .. .	37
....., not built by Dar. Hystaspis, .. .. .	37
....., whence the name originated, .. .. .	37
Symbolism among the later prophets, .. .. .	285
Wine of the heathens, why the Jews avoided it, .. .. .	63
Wells, Edw., .. .. .	3
Writing, the, mentioned in Daniel v., .. .. .	100
Xenophon's Cyrop., its historical value, .. .. .	258
Zechariah, his symbolism, .. .. .	285
Zendavesta, its origin, .. .. .	133
....., his use of the earlier prophets, .. .. .	297
....., is fond of describing a whole by its parts, .. .. .	301
....., has a diffuseness of style, .. .. .	301
....., his imagination, .. .. .	301



## II. INDEX OF WORDS.

## a. HEBREW AND ARAMÆAN WORDS.

אבל	-	-	-	122	נבזזה	-	-	-	11
אזל and אזד	-	-	-	66	נביא	-	-	-	22
אחשדרפן	-	-	-	281					
איוק	-	-	-	284	סבכא	-	-	-	12
אשפים	-	-	-	278	סגן	-	-	275, 282, 283	
					סומציניה	-	-	-	11
בוא	-	-	-	50	סכות בנות	-	-	-	131
בורה	-	-	-	36	הספרים	-	-	-	27
					סרכין	-	-	-	282
גזרין	-	-	-	278					
					עד	-	-	-	55
דתבר	-	-	-	281	עדן	-	-	-	93
					עוררן	-	-	-	132
ה for א	-	-	-	246	עלמה, עולם, עלם	-	-	-	246
היה for היה	-	-	-	55					
					אפ, verbs of this conjugation,				247
הבלי המשיח	-	-	-	125	פחה	-	-	-	283
הוות	-	-	-	176	פטיש	-	-	-	11
חרטום	-	-	-	278	פסנטר	-	-	-	13
					פיש	-	-	-	212
יה	-	-	-	124					
ידע	-	-	-	247	צדקה	-	-	-	118
					צלם	-	-	-	79
כתב	-	-	-	2	צמח	-	-	-	298
כתובים, כתוב	-	-	-	20, 24	צפוניא (Syr.)	-	-	-	12
כרוזא, כרז	-	-	-	11					
					קותרס	-	-	-	13
לא, verbs of this conjugation,	-	-	-	247					
					רברבנין	-	-	-	98, 282
מחן עניים	-	-	-	118					
מכשפים	-	-	-	278	ש in Chaldee,	-	-	-	246
מלצר	-	-	-	281	שרפים	-	-	-	133
מפיש	-	-	-	242					
					שאגה	-	-	-	132
					תרגם	-	-	-	242

## b. GREEK WORDS.

βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως,	213, 215, 237	πληρώω,	-	-	-	236
νοεῖν,	-	προφήτης.	-	-	-	216
ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν, ἀκούετω,	212	χαρεῖν,	-	-	-	219

## III. INDEX OF PASSAGES EXPLAINED.

Abydenus, in Euseb. præp. Ev.		Old Testament, Isaiah vii. 8,	Page 144
ix. 41, - - - - -	Page 88	.. ..	Chaps. xxiv-
Apocrypha, Sirach xxxix. 4-11,	203	.. ..	xxvii., 128
.. 1 Macc. i. 1, -	269	.. ..	Chap. xxxix., 151
.. .. i. 6,	166, 269	.. ..	Ixvi. 24, 127
.. .. i. 23, -	101	.. ..	Jerm. i. 3, 56
.. .. i. 47,	72	.. ..	xxxvi. 9, 49
.. .. i. 55, -	71	.. ..	Chaps. 1., li., 142
.. .. ii. 49,	234	.. ..	Ezek. xiv. 14-20, 58, 252
.. .. vi. 1,	269	.. ..	xxviii. 3, 58, 252
.. .. viii. 7, 8, 9, 10,	268	.. ..	xxxvii. 1-14, 126
.. .. viii. 15, 16,	269	.. ..	Micah, chap. iv., 151
.. .. xvi. 23, 24,	237	.. ..	Zechariah vii. 14, 302
.. 2 Macc. ii. 13, -	194, 201	.. ..	ix. 1-8, 143
		.. ..	ix. 7, 308
Berosus, in Jos. Arch. x. 11, 1,		.. ..	ix. 13, 135
45, 48, 50, 51		.. ..	xi. 6, 306
.. in Jos. c. Ap. 1, 21,	87	.. ..	xii. 11, 303
		.. ..	xiii. 7, 306
Josephus, Arch. x. 6, 1, -	47	.. ..	xiv. 10, 306
.. .. x. 10, 4, -	169	.. ..	Job xxxiii. 23, 134
.. .. x. 11, 7, -	215	.. ..	Daniel, chap. i.
.. .. xi. 8, 5, -	224	.. ..	i. 1, 43
.. c. Ap. 1, 8, -	198	.. ..	i. 2, 271
.. de Bell. Jnd. iv. 6, 3,	215	.. ..	i. 4, 250
		.. ..	i. 5, 271
New Testament, Matt. xix. 12,	212	.. ..	i. 7, 271
.. .. xxiv. 15,	209	.. ..	i. 11, 281
.. .. xxvii. 9,	305	.. ..	i. 19, 20, 181
.. Mark xiii. 14,	209	.. ..	i. 21, 54, 254
.. Luke xxi. 20,	217	.. ..	chap. ii. 161, 255
.. Acts vii. 56,	223	.. ..	ii. 1, 50
.. 1 Cor. vi. 2,	222	.. ..	ii. 5, 65
.. 2 Thess. ii. 3,	222	.. ..	ii. 12, 277
.. 2 Tim. ii. 7,	211	.. ..	ii. 39, 163
.. Heb. xi. 33, 34,	223	.. ..	ii. 47, 57
.. 1 Pet. i. 10-12,	222	.. ..	ii. 48, 49, 56
Old Testament, Ex. xxxii. 34,	135	.. ..	chap. iii. 273
.. Numb. xxi. 8,	134	.. ..	iii. 6, 272
.. .. xxiv. 24,	150	.. ..	iii. 14, 57
.. 1 Kings viii.,	114	.. ..	iii. 16, 74
.. 2 Kings xvii. 24,	144	.. ..	iii. 21, 273
.. .. xvii. 29,	131	.. ..	iii. 25, 130
.. .. xxiv. 1,	48	.. ..	iv. 14, 131

Old Testament, Daniel	iv. 16,	288	Old Testament, Daniel	ix. 23,	181
..	.. iv. 24,	118	..	.. ix. 23, 25,	211
..	.. iv. 27,	255	..	.. ix. 27,	215
..	.. iv. 30,	91	..	.. chap. x.	120
..	.. iv. 33,	92	..	.. x. 1,	54, 239
..	.. v. 1-4,	259	..	.. x. 4,	288
..	.. v. 2,	274	..	.. x. 4, 7,	54
..	.. v. 7,	283	..	.. x. 5, 6,	135
..	.. v. 10, 12,	257	..	.. x. 10,	136
..	.. v. 11, 12,	181	..	.. x. 11,	181
..	.. v. 14,	56	..	.. x. 13,	135
..	.. v. 29,	99	..	.. xi. 31,	237
..	.. v. 30,	263	..	.. xii. 1,	126
..	.. vi. 4,	181	..	.. xii. 7,	123
..	.. vi. 8.	274	..	.. xii. 8,	222
..	.. chap. vii.	161	..	.. xii. 11,	213
..	.. vii. 5,	286	..	Ezra iv. 18,	242
..	.. vii. 8,	139	..	Nehem. chaps. viii.-x.	193
..	.. vii. 9,	274	..	.. viii. 8,	242
..	.. viii. 1,	34	..	.. xiii. 24,	243
..	.. viii. 2,	288	..	2 Chron. xxxvi. 6,	48
..	.. viii. 27,	36	Origen, c. Cels. vii. 7, 5,		3
..	.. chap. ix.	160	Talmud, Baba Batra, fol. 15,		2
..	.. ix. 7,	123			



THE HISTORY  
OF  
BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.

BY

DR E. W. HENGSTENBERG,

*Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin.*

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN BY

J. E. RYLAND.



## ADVERTISEMENT.

---

THE Translation of this Dissertation was undertaken at the suggestion of the Author, as forming a suitable supplement to his Dissertations on the Pentateuch. It was begun by my friend the Rev. J. J. BROWN, now of Reading, who had proceeded as far as p. 404, when unexpected engagements and a change of residence rendered it impracticable for him to complete it, without occasioning a very inconvenient delay in the publication of the volume of which it forms a part.

Several erroneous references in the original have been corrected ; and I have added a list of Hebrew words, which may be useful to the Biblical student.

J. E. RYLAND.

NORTHAMPTON, *December 2, 1817.*





## CONTENTS.

---

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS, .. .. .	Page 337
THE CHARACTER OF BALAAM, .. .. .	340
NUMBERS xxii. 1, ... .. .	356
NUMBERS xxii. 2-21, .. .. .	358
NUMBERS xxii. 22-35, .. .. .	373
NUMBERS xxii. 36-41 ; xxxiii. 1-7, .. .. .	388
NUMBERS xxiii. 7-10, (The First Prophecy), .. .. .	400
NUMBERS xxiii. 11-17, .. .. .	419
NUMBERS xxiii. 18-24, (The Second Prophecy), .. .. .	422
NUMBERS xxiii. 25 ; xxiv. 2, .. .. .	441
NUMBERS xxiv. 3-9, (The Third Prophecy), .. .. .	444
NUMBERS xxiv. 10-14, .. .. .	464
NUMBERS xxiv. 15-24, (The Fourth Prophecy), .. .. .	467
NUMBERS xxiv. 25, .. .. .	507
<hr/>	
GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS, .. .. .	515
AGE AND GENUINENESS OF THE HISTORY, .. .. .	540
ON MISTAKES IN REFERENCE TO THE MANNA, .. .. .	561





## HEBREW WORDS AND PHRASES ILLUSTRATED.

אבד	-	-	-	491	מספר	-	-	410
אהלים	-	-	-	455	מראה	-	-	378
אולי	-	-	-	388	משל	-	-	399
אין	-	-	-	427		-	-	
אהרית	-	-	-	413	נאם	-	-	445
אהרות הימים	-	-	-	465	נמין	-	-	454
אל	-	-	-	497	נפל	-	-	451
	אלה	-	-	-		-	-	
אקב	-	-	-	404	סתם	-	-	447
אראני	-	-	-	470		-	-	
ארה	-	-	-	402	עבר	-	-	504
אשרני	-	-	-	470	עדימה	-	-	495
	-	-	-	406	עמל	-	-	427
בדד	-	-	-	406	ערבה	-	-	524
בטה	-	-	-	447	עריבות מואב	-	-	515
בנו	-	-	-	476	עשה היל	-	-	487
בני שת	-	-	-	352		-	-	
בלעם	-	-	-	495	פתורה	-	-	364
בער	-	-	-	419	ציום כהים	-	-	500
ביבת בוך	-	-	-	367		-	-	
בשיה	-	-	-	455	קבה	-	-	402
	-	-	-	401	קוץ	-	-	360
דליו	-	-	-	426	קין	-	-	493
הירוקקדם	-	-	-	402	קני	-	-	343
השיב	-	-	-	378	קסם	-	-	460, 490
	-	-	-	368	קסם	-	-	511
זעם	-	-	-	462	רשרת גיום	-	-	488
	-	-	-	498	רגלים	-	-	508
הזון	-	-	-	415	רדה	-	-	494
הטאת	-	-	-	443	שום	-	-	420
הציו	-	-	-	499	שיר	-	-	397
	-	-	-	517	שני	-	-	447
יד	-	-	-	498	שתם	-	-	43
ושירום	-	-	-	415	תבל	-	-	43
ושרון	-	-	-	443	תודה	-	-	43
	-	-	-	499	תועפות	-	-	43
כפעם בפעם	-	-	-	499	תוצאה	-	-	43
כתום	-	-	-	517	תורה	-	-	43
כתיום	-	-	-	433	תשובה	-	-	411
לבן	-	-	-	411		-	-	
מרצואם	-	-	-	411		-	-	
מנה	-	-	-	411		-	-	

337  
251  
248

## CORRECTIONS.

---

- Page 352, line 19, for "the public spirit," read "patriotism," (*i. e.* Balaam did not feel as an Israelite.)
- ... .. 364, line 27, for "וריה," read "פרהוריה."
- .... . 365, line 2, for "the language can only here be of," read "this amounts to no more than."
- ..... 367, line 3, for "the discourse cannot be," read "we cannot speak of."
- ..... 391, line 1, for "שלת," read "שלה."
- ..... 412, line 13, for "use," read "rise."
- ..... 423, line 31, for "what hath God wrought," read "what God doth."
- ..... 447, line 5, for "took them only from striving," read "traced them simply to an effort."
- ..... 481, line 23, for "ἀστέρω," read ἀστέρα."
- ..... 485, line 30, for "do valiantly," read "acquire power."
- ..... 487, line 18, for "bearing," read "hearing."

THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES.

---

AFTER the giving of the law and the concluding of the covenant at Sinai, the Israelites set out in order to take possession of the land of promise. But it soon appeared that for this possession, which could only become the portion of the *people of God*, they were not yet ripe. The infection which had so deeply penetrated their nature, through their mode of life in Egypt, had certainly for the moment been *repressed* by the inspiration of their first love, but had not been entirely *rooted out*; and a thorough regeneration could only be expected after the dying away of the Egyptian generation.

For the very purpose that this might appear, had the departure been arranged by God. The trials which the journey presented were designed to reveal the hardness of heart of the Israelites. It was plainly to come to light that the delay in the fulfilment of the promise had its foundation, not in God, but in the people.

On the journey through the solitary desert, the unbelief and carnal disposition of the Israelites very soon appeared. In the judgments which followed upon the manifestation of these, there appears already an indication of that severity which at last produced the decree of rejection upon the Egyptian generation. This took place when, on their arrival at Kadesh, at the foot of the chain of mountains forming the southern boundary of Palestine, their unbelief broke out into open rebellion.



For eight and thirty years were the people compelled to wander in the wilderness. This time passed away sorrowfully amidst the gradual dying away of the people, who were groaning under the divine excommunication. \* That erroneous conceptions, in many respects, have been formed of the condition of the Israelites during this period, that it is, for instance, assumed without reason, that the only nourishment they had was manna, the appendix shows.

In the first month of the fortieth year, the people arrived again at Kadesh.† There they were to experience that the time of punishment, even if it had almost, yet had not, as they imagined, entirely elapsed; and that the divine decree which determined the extinction of the entire generation which had been fully imbued with Egyptian habits and feelings should be strictly fulfilled even to the very letter. At the same time the new generation, by a repeated delay of the fulfilment of the promises, and by the renewed hardships of the march, when they supposed themselves already at its termination, were to be subjected to trial, and purified.

Since it was deemed impossible to penetrate into Canaan over the steep southern range of mountains, a passage through his territory was sought from the king of Edom, on whose western borders Kadesh lay, in order that they might break into Canaan from the East. But this friendly and modest request he refused. The application of force was doubtful, for upon this side the

---

\* In confirmation of the account of the Pentateuch, regarding the extinction, within the specified period, of the entire generation which had arrived at maturity at the departure from Egypt, we may cite what RÜPPEL says, *Reise durch das Petr. Arabien*, &c., p. 186. "The climate of Arabia Petræa is exceedingly salubrious; nothing is known of fever or dysentery; and yet I observed that there were but few really aged people. This fact has certainly its foundation in the universally scanty and weak aliment of the people, whereas their wandering mode of life requires great expenditure of energy. The body, weakened by years, and but poorly clad, is no longer fitted to withstand the great changes of temperature. In the mountainous districts it is very cold in the winter nights; sometimes the water in the garden of the monastery at St. Catherine freezes even in February; and, on the contrary, in the summer months the sun pours down his rays burning hot from heaven, and in reflexions from the naked rocky precipices, into the sandy valleys. I had on my journey from Akaba in May, 34 deg. Reaum. in the shade."

† Comp. Num. xx. 1. The *day* is not indicated. That it was on the *first* has been assumed without sufficient reason by RANKE, *Untersuchungen über den Pent.*, part 1, p. 33.

Edomitish range of mountains, rising steeply, stood as a strong bulwark opposite, and it would be easy to hinder a passage through the few valleys by which they were intersected. And then, the Israelites were strictly forbidden to engage in war with the Edomites, as their brethren. So they saw themselves obliged to seek an entrance into the land of promise by a wide circuitous route. They at first marched again southward, through the Ghôr running down from the Dead Sea to the Ælanitic Gulf, into the very neighbourhood of this gulf. Thence they cut through, or went round, the mountain range of Seir at its southern point; and having arrived at its eastern boundary, they took their march along that line, and afterwards along the Moabitish borders, towards the north, through the wilderness, until, after they had passed the Arnon near its sources, they arrived at the frontiers of the kingdom of Sihon, the Amorite, which indeed fell within the limits of the territory adjudicated to them. After the power of Sihon had been broken in battle, and his land taken, the Israelites encamped in the valley before Nebo. Thence an expedition was undertaken against the second Amoritish king of the trans-Jordanic country, Og, the king of Bashan. After the return of this, the Israelites broke up from their head quarters, and encamped in the so-called Arboth Moab, the debouchure of the Jordan, opposite Jericho.

There, on the very threshold of the real land of promise, they were yet to receive many important lessons before they trod its soil. A rich supply of wealth was there furnished by God for the journey. As the second giving of the law, and the renewing of the covenant formed at Sinai, with which were closely united impressive exhortations, warnings, and threatenings, constitute a worthy conclusion of these facts, so is the series of them opened in a suitable manner with the section with which we are here especially concerned, and with the narrative which is closely connected with it, of the seduction of the Israelites to apostacy through the Midianites, and the punishment which followed it. The kernel of our narrative, which GESENIUS, on Isaiah, p. 504, calls a "genuine epic composition, worthy of the greatest poets of all times," is the blessing which a foreign seer, sent for in hostile intention, and inclined to curse, is obliged, being subdued by the divine power, to pronounce upon the people of Jehovah; thus esta-

blishing what had sounded over from the remote antiquity of patriarchal times, and what Moses had announced in the name of God. The Israelites were thus to be confirmed in the belief of their being the chosen people, and in the unconditional faithfulness of their God ; it was to be impressed upon their minds that nothing in the world could separate them from the love of God, a truth which, in the circumstances in which they were then placed, was of the greatest importance to them, since they were just preparing to undertake a conflict, for which nothing but implicit confidence in the divine choice could afford the requisite courage. With *this* doctrine is then connected, in the following section, one of equal importance, and necessary to constitute it complete. If the contents of our section brought home in a lively manner to the consciousness of the Israelites, the truth, “if God be for us who can be against us ?” the contents of the following one clearly exhorted them thus—“work out your own salvation with fear and trembling ;” the election can in no wise be invalidated from *without*, but may indeed by the apostacy of the people ; that man is foolish who *despairs* of the grace of God, he is foolish also who turns it into lasciviousness.

#### ON BALAAM.

In reference to the *character of Balaam*, two opinions directly opposite to each other were entertained in ancient times. According to one view, Balaam was a false prophet and an enchanter; standing in no relation whatever to the true religion, but devoted to idolatry ; whose disposition had no connexion at all with the prophecies, announcing blessings to Israel, which he delivered, but which were elicited from him entirely without his concurrence, and even contrary to his will, much in the same manner as the words of the ass, according to the opinion generally received in former times of an external event. Thus PHILO, AMBROSE, AUGUSTINE, GREGORY OF NYSSA, THEODORET, and many theologians of the Romish, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches. (Comp. the references in WITSIUS *Misc. S. t. i. l. i. c. 16, § 33* ; DEYLING, *Obs. Ss. iii. p. 8, sqq.* ; BUDDEUS, *H. Eccl. i. p. 752.*) According to the other view, Balaam was at



first a thoroughly pious man, and a true prophet, but afterwards apostatized, seduced by covetousness. Thus *e.g.* TERTULLIAN, JEROME, BUDDEUS, who, l. c. p. 753, calls him *horrendum apostatas exemplum*, DEYLING, BENZEL, *De Bileamo divino propheta*, in t. 2, *Synt. Dissert.* p. 44.

Both these opinions, in their strict acceptation and opposition to each other, are erroneous, and may be met by decisive counter-arguments.

Against those who deny to Balaam all fear of God, the following is decisive. That Balaam had the reputation of a near relation to the God of Israel, which could only rest upon his own confession, is attested by the fact that Balak could only be induced by this to address himself in particular to him, who dwelt in so distant a country. That he himself claimed such a relation, appears clear from Num. xxii. 8, et sqq. ; from which it follows that it was customary with him in difficult circumstances to address himself to Jehovah, and to seek and obtain from him revelation and counsel. Had Balaam been destitute of piety, he would have gone at once at the request of Balak ; or, if even for the sake of appearance, he should consult his God, a favourable reply would have been feigned. Without piety, he would not on the second mission, when Balak sent "princes, more, and more honourable than they," and promised him, "I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me," have said, "I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more." Without piety, he would not have perceived the warning which the angel of the Lord gave him upon the journey, at least would not have taken it to heart. But the principal point is, that the *prophecies* of Balaam cannot at all be explained upon the supposition, that in regard to religion he was entirely untaught and a common impostor. Without at least a partial concurrence in divine truth, an advance towards it, and a consent on the part of the subject, the operation of the Spirit of God is not conceivable. The Spirit can cause the better element to be solely predominant for the moment, even where the worse element is, in the ordinary state of the mind, mingled with it, nay even where the worse element preponderates ; but he cannot do this where he finds nothing at all in the inner man to concur in his operations. If we are

referred for proof of the contrary to the wicked Saul and his servants, 1 Sam. xix. 20, 24, in this case also, without proof, their wickedness is set down as total. That it was not so is made certain by this very circumstance.\* That the necessity laid upon Balaam was not a physical but a moral one, supposing a certain degree of the fear of God in his mind, is shewn by his defence to Balak, chap. xxiii. 12, "Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth?" The exclamation, "Let me die the death of the righteous, and let my last end be like his!" chap. xxiii. 10, is, in its subjective acceptation, inconsistent with the view which supposes in Balaam an absolute hostility to the divine will which he announced. Finally, according to the view in question, there will be found a direct and irreconcilable opposition between the prophecies of Balaam preserved to us and all his previous declarations. But the passages, chap. xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16, are decisive to the contrary, where Balaam, in words which, according to the explanation of the author of the Pentateuch, he spoke after the Spirit had come upon him (comp. ver. 2), and which accordingly the author acknowledges as true, expresses the consciousness that not merely *now*, but *generally*, he is participant of divine revelations and communications.

On the other hand, against those who maintain that Balaam was a thoroughly pious man and a true prophet, even the appel-

---

\* In a crude manner AMERSE understands the operation of God on the mind of Balaam, who puts the words in his mouth: *quasi cymbalum tinniens sonum reddo*. CALVIN is at least to be preferred to him, since he in general clearly recognizes, and distinctly declares, the dependence of prophecy on *subjective* conditions, and in this case supposes only an exception to the rule: *Neque enim fingendus est nobis ἐνθουσιασμός, quo abripi putarunt suos divinos profani homines: ita ut coelestis afflatus eos ecstáticos vel attonitos redderet. Quin potius in illis completum fuit, quod David de se praedicat: credidi, propterea loquar; et eorum sensus illuminavit deus antequam linguas regeret. Diversa autem fuit ratio Balaam, qui mente alienatus voces orì suo inditas reddidit*. Against such notions older authors have declared themselves, e.g. LORINUS in MARK, *Comm. in Pent.* p. 453, and MARK himself on chap. xxiii. 12. Clericus observes on chap. xxiv. 1, against PHILO, JOSEPHUS, and others. *qui spiritum dei ita volunt super Balaam fuisse, ut per eum vel invitum prorsus vel et plane inscium verba sua protulerit: verum affectio animi vatis hujus verius describetur, si dicatur phrasi Homericâ ἐκὼν ἀέκοντί γε Δυμῶν haec prolucutus esse; nam voluisset quidem gratificari Balako, ut praemium ab eo auferret, sed subjecta sibi a deo non audebat subdicere aut iis contraria proferre.*

lation **הַקֹּסֵם**, *soothsayer*, which is given to him in Josh. xiii. 22, plainly decides. Against this, those who maintain the opinion in question avail themselves of a twofold, but equally inadmissible shift. They maintain either that the designation of him as soothsayer refers only to the period after the fall of Balaam, when he had lost the prophetic gift and the prophetic office, (thus *e.g.* BENZEL, l. c. p. 46,) or they affirm that the word **קֹסֵם** appears also in a good sense, and should be so taken here. But even if the word **קֹסֵם** were so found elsewhere, yet it cannot be thus taken *here*, on account of the obvious connection in which the designation of Balaam as a *soothsayer* stands with the circumstance mentioned in his history, that he used *augury*, closely allied to soothsaying, in order to discover the will of Jehovah. But on a close examination of the passages from which it is attempted to prove that **קֹסֵם** may also stand in a good sense, it appears, moreover, that they have no demonstrative force at all. In Isaiah iii. 2, where it is threatened that the Lord, among other supports of the state, will take away even the **נְבִיאִים** and the **קֹסֵם**, the **קֹסֵם** is plainly not *synonymous* with **נְבִיאִים**, but it forms the *opposition* to it: the prophet threatens the removal of the *real* and of the *imaginary* supports of the state, of those who were so, but which were willingly abandoned, since they were not acknowledged as such, and of those who were only deemed to be such. In Prov. xvi. 10, "A divine sentence (**קֹסֵם**) is in the lips of the king; his mouth transgresseth not judgment," **קֹסֵם** stands in a figurative sense, or by a shortened comparison, for sagacity or penetration, as being that quality of which soothsayers boast; and this poetic employment of the word cannot be made use of to fix its precise signification, which in an historic book, and in this connexion, can alone have a place. As absolutely blameable is the performance of the **קֹסֵם** pointed out, and consequently the good sense of the word excluded, in Deut. xviii. 10: "There shall not be found among you . . . . any one that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch;" (comp. ver. 12,) "for all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord." As a heinous sin appears the **קֹסֵם** in 1 Sam. xv. 23, Ezek. xiii. 23, 2 Kings xvii. 17; as belonging to the false prophets, in Ezek. xiii. 9, xxii. 28, and Jer. xiv. 14. Balaam himself, in chap. xxiii. 23, places the **קֹסֵם** together with



enchantment (נִחֵשׁ), in contrast to the true prophecy, as it is only found among Israel.\*

Further, how little advanced Balaam was in the life of God, and how unlike to the true servants of God, appears in this, that he, seduced by covetousness and ambition, did not immediately send back the messengers of Balak, notwithstanding his conviction that the Israelites were the people of God; that on the second

\* The proper signification of קָסַם, קִסְּמָה, and קָסָם, appears clear by comparison with the Arabic. There <sup>قَسَمَ</sup> according to FREYTAG, means: *divisit in partes rem, mensura sua modoque debito definivit, ita expendit disposuitque et instituit negotium,* <sup>قسمة</sup> *divisio, consilium, prudentia, conjectura, et opinio, quae non fallitur.*

All the meanings of the root <sup>قَسَمَ</sup> may be traced to that of *dividing*. For that even the <sup>قَسَمَ</sup> *pulcher fuit*, may be reduced to it, even WILLMET acknowledges, *Lex. p.*

141: *putem tamen illum sign. pulcher fuit in verbo esse denominativam a <sup>قسمة</sup> quod e generali partiendi notione est modo definito dispositum et institutum, et deinde pulchrum.* Only a derivative of <sup>قَسَمَ</sup>, which Kamus expressly compares, is

<sup>قَسَمَ</sup> *fregit rem, ut separentur partes.* Also in Aramaic the words derived from the root may be traced back to the signification of *dividing*. In Chaldaic is קִרְסָם, *festuca, fragmen parvum ligni*; קִרְסָם, *regula lignea, norma, lignum longum et rectum fabrorum lignariorum*, measuring rod, evidently from to divide. In Syriac, קִרְסָם means legumen minutum, libum, meta, terminus. Accordingly, קִרְסָם קִרְסָם means properly to divide divisions, to give definitions, and then קִרְסָם alone to divide, to fix. In the usage of language, קִרְסָם with נִחֵשׁ augury, denotes soothsaying, (comp. on the difference of the two, *Nügelsbach, Homer. Theol. p. 194.* In chap. xxiii. 23, נִחֵשׁ and קִרְסָם are united with one another as the two ways, of which the heathen availed themselves for the investigation of the future, the determining from the observation of signs, and from supposed internal divine communication. קִרְסָם is specially the equivalent of *prophecy* among Israel, not formally distinguished from it. The meaning to *soothsay* is especially plain in 1 Sam. xxviii. 8, "Divine unto me by a familiar spirit." Comp. also 1 Sam. vi. 2, where reference to augury likewise is not to be thought of. Erroneous is the meaning assigned to קִרְסָם after SCHULTENS, *Cl. Dial. p. 293*; by DE GEER, *De Bil. p. 18*: *verbum קִרְסָם coll. Arab. قَسَمَ est sagittis sortibusque diremit ac βελομαντείαν significat.* The <sup>قَسَمَ</sup> signifies certainly in the X., according to FREYTAG: *voluit ut partitio fieret suamque petiit portionem, sagittarum jactu, quo uti Arabes solebant.* But the *sagittarum jactu*, which moreover has nothing to do with βελομαντεία, lies not in the word, but rests only upon the fact that this was the usual way of division.

mission he *enquired* again, when he had already received the precise command from God, whose immutability he knew: "Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people, for they are blessed;" that he immediately *availed* himself of the permission of God to go with the Moabites, which he could only do with the secret purpose to avoid the condition which had been thereby imposed on him, to speak only that which the Lord spoke to him; that the angel of the Lord was obliged to appear with a drawn sword to *warn* him; and that he, blinded by his passion, observes not the nearness of the angel of the Lord for some time, clearly as this was notified to him.—That Balaam's religious station, and especially his *prophetic*, was a *low* one, is attested by this, that he dealt in augury, and that this appears as the usual way which he was accustomed to employ in order to investigate secret things, and above the use of which he was only in this case raised by an extraordinary divine inspiration. Comp. observations on chap. xxiii. 3, "I will go; peradventure the Lord will come to meet me;" and ver. 15, and the statement in chap. xxiv. 1, "He went not, as at other times, to seek enchantments." That he should avail himself of enchantment, of a means in the highest degree uncertain, whose insufficiency paganism itself acknowledged, (comp. NÄGELSBACH, A. A. O. p. 154, et sqq.), and which no true prophet ever brought into use, only explains itself from the weakness of the influence exercised by the Spirit of God. In whomsoever the Spirit works *powerfully*, he needs not to look around into nature in order to be certain respecting the will of God.

Finally, by the use of the *names of God*, the author points out how erroneous is the opinion which places Balaam without any ceremony, on an equality with the prophets, and how distant his relation was to God, compare the proof in *Genuineness of the Pent.* v. i. p. 385, et sqq.

Since we have shewn these two opinions to be untenable,—on the one hand that which regards Balaam as a decidedly godless man and a false prophet, and on the other, that which pronounces him a man of deep piety and a true prophet—then only a view between these two extremes can be correct. There were certainly in Balaam the elements of the knowledge and fear of the Lord, but he had stopped with the elements,—it had never come to a

fundamental conversion with him ; there certainly were conferred upon him single clear flashes of light by the Spirit of God ; but this prophetic gift appears throughout not as a comprehensive and certain one, so that we dare not number him among the prophets.\*

There arises now the enquiry, whence had Balaam obtained what he possessed of the knowledge and fear of God ? There are two opinions in reference to this. According to the one, the religious state of Balaam is to be regarded as one excited and developed on heathen soil, by the traditions from monotheistic antiquity, and indeed by isolated sounds from the revelations to the patriarchs, which had resounded into the heathen world, and there had not entirely died away. This opinion is the generally current one. It is proposed among the *ancients*, for instance, by BUDDEUS, p. 752, and by BENZEL, who appeals to Job, and to the family of Laban, and to the effect of Jacob's sojourn in the country between the two streams ; among the *moderns* by THOLUCK in *Verm. Schriften, Th. i. p. 408*, who draws a parallel between Balaam and Melchisedek, and observes, "appearances such as these serve to confirm the belief that a purer worship preceded idolatry and natural religion with all nations, but which was already at the time of Abraham extinguished among the greater part of mankind." According to the other opinion, Balaam's acknowledgment of God, on the contrary, had been derived from the knowledge of the God of Israel, which had been widely diffused in the Mosaic age, from the covenanted people, among the surrounding heathen nations.

This latter opinion is without doubt the correct one, as has been already shown in the *Gen. of the Pent.* vol. i. p. 386-8. In favour of it may be urged, 1. The name Jehovah in the mouth of Balaam. The name Jehovah never appears with those who stand beyond connection with divine revelation ; comp. the proofs in *Gen. of the Pent.* vol. i. p. 231 et. sqq. Melchisedek, with all the purity of his knowledge of God, and with all the strictness of his monotheism, knows nothing of Jehovah ; Abraham places this name before him as proof that, besides all their agreement in oppo-

\* CALVIN: *longe diversa fuit ratio Balaam et similium, qui non nisi particulari dono praediti fuerunt, ut quaedam vere praedicerent, in aliis hallucinarentur.*



sition to idolators, they had yet one *more* point of agreement in the knowledge of God. *Comp. Gen. of the Pent.* v. i. p. 337. But the derivation of Balaam's knowledge of this name, from the effect of Jacob's sojourn in Messopotamia, ascribes to the heathen world an inclination to receive and preserve the single sounds of revelation, which have once been perceived in the midst of them, which they never manifested. 2. Balaam knows not merely, like Melchisedek, the one God, the Lord of heaven and earth, but he knows also the God of *Israel*, knows what this God has already done for his people, (*comp.* xxiii. 22) and what he will do in future. Whence otherwise could he have this knowledge, but from the midst of Israel himself? 3. Balaam's prophecies rest throughout upon the fundamental promises which Genesis has communicated to us: *comp.* chap. xxiii. 10, with Gen. xiii. 16, chap. xxiii. 24, and xxiv. 9, with Gen. xlix. 9, chap. xxiv. 17, with Gen. xlix. 10. Whence could Balaam have got the knowledge of these promises otherwise than from the people with whom they were preserved? 4. In favour of this view speaks what is said in Ex. xv. 14, and Josh. v. 1, of the powerful sensation which the great acts of Jehovah created among all surrounding nations, but most especially the analogy of Jethro and Rahab, who attained the knowledge of the true God in the same way. Of Jethro it is said in Ex. xviii. 1, et sqq., "Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses' father-in-law, heard of all that God had done for Moses, and for Israel his people, and that the Lord had brought Israel out of Egypt.—And Jethro came to Moses.—And Moses told his father-in-law all that the Lord had done unto Pharaoh and to the Egyptians.—And Jethro said, Blessed be the Lord who hath delivered you out of the hand of the Egyptians and out of the hand of Pharaoh.—Now I know that the Lord is greater than all gods." Of Rahab it is said in Josh. ii. 9, et sqq., "And she said unto the men, I know that the Lord hath given you the land, and that your terror is fallen upon us, and that all the inhabitants of the land faint because of you. For we have heard how the Lord dried up the water of the Red Sea for you, when ye came out of Egypt; and what ye did unto the two kings of the Amorites, that were on the other side Jordan, Sihon and Og, whom ye utterly destroyed. And as soon as we heard these things, our hearts did melt, neither did there remain any more courage in any man be

cause of you: for the Lord your God, he is a God in heaven above and in earth beneath."

Balaam had originally, without doubt, exercised the business of a common heathen soothsayer and augur among his people, received as it appears even from his father, under the influence of the passions of avarice and ambition, which ruled over him. By painful experience he must have perceived the uncertainty and looseness of his art. Then the knowledge of the illustrious deeds of the Lord for Israel spread abroad. Balaam received it with the greatest attention, and did all that lay in his power to obtain a closer knowledge of God and of his revelations. In the hope to be able in this way to participate in the new powers conferred upon the human race, he determined to consecrate himself to him. Henceforth he called Jehovah his God, and stood up in his name as a prophet. God did not leave himself unwitnessed to him, and his repeated utterances, confirmed by the event, procured for him great reputation, as appears from the fact of the mission of Balak and the words which he addressed to him (chap. xxii. 6.) That God had already afforded him some remarkable glances into secret things, happened especially in reference to the prophecies preserved to us, for which he intended in this manner to prepare the occasion. Although Balaam, for the most part under the influence of his selfishness, had sought the true God, and held firmly to him, yet the deeper necessities of his heart had not been without a share in his researches, and the closer knowledge of God which he acquired from his revelations, and the continual reference to him, had not failed to exercise a moral influence upon his heart. Yet when he would not give his heart *entirely* to God, then just that which would have served for his salvation,—the reference to the true God, which never can be without decisive consequences,—turned to his *destruction*; Jehovah proved himself *his God*, as he was fond of calling him, by the very fact that he gave him to destruction.

A remarkable resemblance to Balaam, his New Testament counterpart, Simon Magus, presents. The new powers which were by it conferred upon mankind, drew him also away to Christianity, and, dissatisfied with the past results of his art, he hoped to participate in these; comp. Acts viii. 13, *θεωρῶν τε σημεῖα καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας γενομένας ἐξίστατο*, and the notion which

he attached to the apostles. What these say of him, according to ver 21, οὐκ ἔστι σοι μερίς οὐδὲ κλήρος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ ἢ γὰρ καρδία σου οὐκ ἔστιν εὐθεία ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ, the same holds good also of *him*. Yet even his heart was not *entirely* without a share, and the judgment of DR NEANDER in the *Apost. Zeitalter*: “the proclamation of the gospel had made no impression on his heart,” requires limitation. This is shown by the statement, “and he also *believed*,” in Acts viii. 13, and the fact of his baptism by the apostles, which without is not explicable. Then, also, those are to be compared as New Testament analogies, who, according to Luke ix. 49, cast out devils in the name of Jesus, without having come into the circle of his disciples. The history of modern missions also presents analogies.\*

---

\* One of the most remarkable is found in a missionary report from the kingdom of Burmah, in the Basle Magazine, 1837, p. 335, et sqq. “The Karayans have a class of people among them, whom they call enchanters, but who sustain a kind of prophetic office among the people. It is singular that all these persons, every one in his way, declare to the people that God has arisen to redeem his people. A great number of prophetic scholars follows each of these prophets everywhere. In addition, there is an ancient (?) prophetic song generally known among them, and frequently sung. Its purport is:—

“Jehovah returns again at the time of wheat-harvest,  
Build him a house!  
Jehovah returns again yet this year,  
Prepare for Jehovah a place of rest!”

Every one of these prophets has his own *zayat*, in which he assembles his scholars around him every night. When he has prayed with them, then he sings to them one of the songs which he himself has composed, and his community sings the same after him, with an accompaniment of musical instruments.—Although the morals of these persons are generally very good, yet they exercise no good influence upon the people. In mysterious language they know how to make good the assertion that they are sent by God as his messengers; and although some of them are favourable to the doctrine of Christ, yet only few have embraced it with sincere hearts.—Such a prophetess arrived in our Christian village to-day. After the morning devotions, I called her to me. She entered into the *zayat*, cast herself down to the earth, praying, and immediately began to sing ‘I wander with the silver staff of God,’ &c. &c. Scarcely had she sung this hymn, in a pathetic tone, when she went away. In the course of the day, I met her again, and addressed her; immediately she began again to sing:—

“At Mergui I live; I came hither  
Where our good Lord reveals himself;  
At Mergui I live; I came hither,  
I have received a word from my Lord.

She was quietly present in our congregation in the evening, but in the midst of the discourse she began to sing:—

“Porter, open to me the gate of heaven;  
Singing I come, praising Jehovah.’



There is yet the question to be answered, How are these prophecies of Balaam to be regarded?—whether as the result of a natural inspiration, or as the product of a supernatural divine influence? The latter was, in ancient times, the view absolutely prevalent; and the diversity already observed in the judgment formed respecting the character of Balaam did not disturb in any way the unanimity in this result. But in modern times, among the defenders of the genuineness of Balaam's utterances, who alone come into notice here, STEUDEL has declared himself for the former opinion, carried away, as it seems, by the endeavour to be able to meet the opponents of the genuineness entirely upon natural grounds. He says, in the *Tübing. Zeitschrift*, 1831, p. 87, "It cannot escape the attentive observer, how entirely general the prophetic utterances of Balaam are presented. They contain nothing in the foundation but what, placed before us with vivacity and in poetic diction, appearance would calculate upon for the future." He speaks, p. 88, of the "solemn arrogance with which Balaam describes himself as possessed by the Spirit of God," and asks, "does a prophet ever, by such pompous praise of himself, instead of giving the honour to God, prepare the way for the communication of his utterances?"

---

Even the man, who earlier brought the English hymn-book to brother Boardman, is such a prophet, and now desires nothing so much as to be received into the Christian Church; but although he possesses more ability than many other inhabitants of this Bushland, and even his external conduct is honourable, yet he appears to be still very far from the kingdom of God.—In my presence, he appears as a humble Christian, but if he comes among the people, then he maintains that the eternal God dwells in him, and that his former prophetic songs are full of this gospel, and witnesses that the Spirit of God spake by him. He grieves us in his songs about baptism, and he is withal an excellent singer.—After our evening worship, he sang, evidently extempore, several verses, as his feelings suggested them to him. He sang, among others:

“ Our former righteousness is for ever gone;  
 Overcome is it by the righteousness of Christ.  
 Our former righteousness is gone for ever;  
 The true righteousness has appeared to us.  
 The old robe is torn and cast away.  
 Jesus Christ, the holy Son of God,  
 He has the true salvation brought!  
 Act justly! become holy! said he.  
 Whoever does well, and is holy,  
 He shall dwell in the great city which shines with silver;  
 He shall dwell in the great city, which sparkles with golden gates.”

The incorrectness of this opinion may be easily proved by *external argument*. Against it witnesses even the fact of the reception of the history of Balaam and his prophecies into the book which formed the primary record of revealed religion. This rests upon the supposition that *God* spake by Balaam, whose arbitrary poetic productions were otherwise without any religious interest. Against it witnesses Deut. xxiii. 5, where, as the *punctum saliens* of the whole occurrence, that which gives it *edifying* significance for the whole Church of God, it is indicated that Balaam was not able to speak what he willingly would, but must serve as the organ of the Lord: "Nevertheless the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam; but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee." Against it Num. xxiii. 5, speaks, according to which the Lord placed the word in the mouth of Balaam, and chap. xxiv. 2, according to which the Spirit of God came upon him; passages, of which STEUDEL could only get rid by the unnatural, and yet to be shown false, opinion, that the whole account had been composed by Balaam, and had been taken into his work by the author of the Pentateuch just as he received it, whence then these passages come into like relation with those in which Balaam himself vindicates his divine inspiration.

But the incorrectness of this view may also be proved from *internal evidence*, according to which the contest for the genuineness of the prophecies of Balaam loses all interest. There are, in the first place, several special predictions in the prophecies of Balaam. The most important among these are crowded together at the close of the last prophecy; the carrying away of the Israelites by the Assyrians, presupposing that these would appear as conquerors in western Asia; the intimation that to the Assyrians another people on the other side of the Euphrates, or *other* peoples, would succeed in the sovereignty of western Asia; the prediction of a power, which, coming in ships from Cyprus, would subdue Assyria and the transenphratic country. Moreover, there is perhaps yet the precise foresight of the erection of the kingship in Israel to be mentioned, comp. chap. xxiv. 7, and 17-19. But the proof of the divine co-operation is not limited to these single special prophecies, but is founded much more upon the entire contents of the prophecies of Balaam. With the exception of the passages already adduced, it rests certainly upon the idea, and is only an individualising

of it, applying it to the circumstances in question, and moreover, such a one in part, as had been made in predictions even before Balaam, which perhaps were not unknown to him; comp. what concerns Edom, Gen. xxvii. 29, 40, and what respects Amalek, Ex. xvii. 14. He who had grasped the idea of Israel's election, could not otherwise than perceive in the historical hostility of the Amalekites, Moabites, and Edomites against Israel, lying before him, a harbinger of their impending overthrow. But just the lively, energetic comprehension of the idea, the triumphant confidence with which it was made good, is under the circumstances in question a surer proof of the assertion: "The Spirit of God came upon him;" and of his deeper insight a yet more certain proof, than that which is founded upon those single predictions. If Balaam, powerfully allured by his passions, withstands all enticements to consent to the desires of Balak, if he continually casts down his hopes anew, if he makes the election of Israel unconditionally the principle of the history, without either yielding or wavering; if he, the pagan, who had not been entrusted with this idea from his youth up, whose consciousness was not supported by the public spirit, who had not given his heart completely and undivided to Jehovah, who stands to him only in a very distant personal relation, perceives in the hostility against Israel, the certain token of the impending ruin, which no power and strength can ward off, then must every psychological deduction, every attempt to prove what *he* denies, (comp. chap. xxiv. 13) that he has spoken from his heart, necessarily be frustrated. What would have followed, if a supernatural influence had not taken possession of him, his later act sufficiently shows.

To close the section, we shall yet give a discussion on the *name* of Balaam. We derive it with SIMONIS in *On.* p. 459, from בָּלָא, destruction, and אָמ, people, and we suppose that Balaam bore this name as a dreaded charmer and conjuror, whether it were that he, descending from a family in which this business was handed down, received it immediately on his birth, and that he afterwards was really, in public opinion, what the name-giving hoped from him and wished him to be, or whether the name, according to oriental custom, was given to him for the first time at a later period, when the fact indicated by it came into existence. This derivation is perfectly conformable to the laws of speech. The



expulsion of the one  $\nu$  forms no difficulty. "For," observes EWALD, *Kl. Gr.*, § 348, "two words, forming a proper name, are frequently so closely connected, that the first with the loss of the word's accent is even considerably shortened in the utterance." Analogous are for instance  $\text{יְרוּשָׁלַם}$ , from  $\text{יְרוּשָׁ}$  and  $\text{שָׁלַם}$ , peaceful possession, and  $\text{יָשָׂא טַבָּר}$  from  $\text{יָשָׂא}$  and  $\text{טַבָּר}$ , he brings wages, in which the  $\nu$  is rejected in the pronunciation, and only retained in the writing. In favour of this derivation the following reasons may be adduced. 1. There is no other admissible derivation at command. Against that sought by GESENIUS from  $\text{בַּל}$  and  $\text{עַם}$ , *non populus, i.e., peregrinus*, it may be said that  $\text{בַּל}$ , which only occurs in poetry (comp. EWALD, *Kl. Gr.* § 575), is a later abbreviation of  $\text{בְּלִי}$ , and is not yet to be found in the Pentateuch, and then that the not-people cannot possibly stand for: he who belongs not to the people. 2. The name thus explained is in the highest degree suitable. Similar Greek and Roman names, as Andronicus, Nicodemus, Nicolas, as well as German names, SIMONIS *a. a. o.* brings forward in the note. How exactly the name and the thing harmonize, ch. xxii. 6, especially shows. What Balak there says to Balaam, "Come, now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people, for they are too mighty for me: peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land," may be viewed as a commentary on the name. 3. With this derivation it is explained how the town having the same name in 1 Chron. vi. 55, can appear elsewhere, Josh. xvii. 11; Judg. i. 27; 2 Kings ix. 27, under the name Ibleam, being compounded from the future of  $\text{בִּלַע}$  and  $\text{עַם}$ . 4. The name of the son agrees then in signification with that of the *father*. Balaam is called son of Beor.\*  $\text{בְּעוֹר}$  from  $\text{בָּעַר}$ , *absumsit, depavit*, means destruction. Comp. SIMONIS p. 88. The father was so called on account of the destructive power ascribed to his anathemas. 5. By this derivation the name comes into connexion with the name  $\text{בְּלִי}$  (on which comp. SIMONIS, p. 142), which ought to be so much the more maintained, since Bela, one of those who appear under this name, the first king of the Edomites, Gen. xxxvi. 32, was likewise a son of a Beor; whence it seems to follow, that this pair of names, Bela

\* Comp. on Bosor, which is used instead of Beor in 2 Pet. ii. 15, VITRINGA, *Obs.* Ss. p. 1001, and LÖSCHER, *de causis ling. Hebr.* p. 246.

or Balaam, and Beor, in families which placed their honour in producing powerful men, either in a corporeal or in a spiritual respect, (comp. in reference to the connection of the two, 1 Kings xix. 17), was at that time very popular. How well, with the derivation of Balaam approved of by us, and the explanation of Beor, all harmonizes, even SIMONIS reminds us—*Singuli ergo et filii et patres ab absumendo et absorbendo nomen habuerunt.*

The explanation here given of the name, John also followed in the Apocalypse, who translates Balaam by *Νικόλαος*, and by the name of the Nicolaitanes indicates false teachers, who, after the pattern of Balaam, (whose name shows itself also in the misery which befel Israel, in consequence of the seduction advised by him), seduced the Church to heathen festivals, and to participate in the excesses connected with them. In the letter to the Church at Ephesus, it is said in ch. ii. 6: *ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἔχεις, ὅτι μισεῖς τὰ ἔργα τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν, ἃ καὶ γὰρ μισῶ*, with reference to chap. ii. 2, where the same persons who are here called Nicolaitanes, the false teachers, are designated as the “evil:” *οἶδα τὰ ἔργα σου, καὶ τὸν κόπον σου, καὶ τὴν ὑπομονήν σου, καὶ ὅτι οὐ δύνῃ βαστάσαι κακοῦς· καὶ ἐπέειρασας τοὺς λέγοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀποστόλους καὶ εὗρες αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς.* Whilst in the Epistle to the Ephesians, praise is bestowed upon them because they had exterminated the doctrines of the modern Balaamites, and these themselves, from the midst of them; in the letter to the Pergamites, they are reprovèd because they suffered these modern Balaamites among them, ch. ii. 14, 15: *ἀλλ’ ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ ὀλίγα, ὅτι ἔχεις ἐκεῖ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν βαλαὰμ ὃς ἐδίδασκεν τῷ Βαλακ βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ, φαγεῖν εἰδωλόθυτα καὶ πορνεῦσαι· οὕτως ἔχεις καὶ συ κρατοῦντας τὴν διδαχὴν τῶν Νικολαϊτῶν ὁμοίως.* This latter passage is especially important, since it shews what was to the author the *point of comparison* between the false teachers of the present period and Balaam, on account of which he called them Nicolaitanes, that is, Balaamites, conquerors or destroyers of the people. It is a doctrine destructive to the Church, calling down upon it the anger of God, that the Christian, without prejudice to his state of grace, may participate in pagan modes of life, in heathen sacrificial festivals, and even in the excesses connected with them, resting

upon a diabolical misconstruction of the doctrine of Christian liberty, comp. 2 Pet. ii. 19. As Balaam, so also the false teachers of the present time, proved themselves *destroyers* of the people, and not that alone, they also brought upon the Church, by the same means, the anger of God.

That the name of the Nicolaitanes in the Apocalypse is a *mystical* one, VITRINGA has already affirmed, with full confidence, in *Obs. Ss.* iv. c. 9, t. 2, p. 1002 (*Nicolaitarum nomen non proprie, sed αἰνιγματωδῶς adhiberi et quidem cum respectu ad Hebr. בעל, dominus populi*), and in *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, and he only errs in this respect, that he supposes Balaam to be compounded from בעל and עם, the lord of the people, instead of from בעל and עם; that the author of the Apocalypse followed the latter derivation, the phrase βαλεῖν σκάνδαλον ἐνώπιον τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ shews, by which he explains the name Balaam. Against those who understand the name of the Nicolaitanes historically, and derive it from Nicolas, the head of a sect (Dr NEANDER, in *Apost. Zeitalter*, Th. 2, p. 320, 1st ed. still leaves it undecided whether the Nicolaitanes were the followers of a Nicolas, whose name occasioned the comparison, or whether the name was formed for the designation of the essential likeness to Balaam), we remark, 1. That it is improbable, from the whole style of the Apocalypse, that the author should designate the false teachers by their historic name. 2. Especially the parallel passage in the letter to the angel of the Church in Thyatira, ch. ii. 20: ἄλλ' ἔχω κατὰ σοῦ, ὅτι ἀφεῖς τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζαβὴλ, ἣ λέγουσα ἑαυτὴν προφήτην, καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμούς δούλους πορνεῦσαι καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα φαγεῖν. With the same reason with which the Nicolaitanes are referred to Nicolas, the chief of a sect, it might also be concluded from this passage, that in the Apostolic times a woman whose name was Jezebel existed, who, just as her namesake in olden time, sought to seduce the people of God to participate in heathenish practices; as indeed several, in consistent application of the false literal interpretation, have really explained the passage *de potente et luxuriosa aliqua femina*, with no greater error certainly than that, according to which one labours to refer, 1 Pet. v. 13, to the proper Babylon and the wife of Peter, instead of the spiritual Babylon, Rome, and the Church there. As every sensible person must concede that



the name Jezebel here is to be understood mystically, so with the undeniable relation of the passages under consideration, he cannot avoid this acknowledgment also with regard to the Nicolaitanes. 3. Were Nicolas to be thought the chief of a sect, then would the writer, in ch. ii, 15, where the parallelising so much invites to it, have spoken, instead of the *Nicolaitanes*, of *him*. But he knows no Nicolas at all, but only Nicolaitanes. Even in ver. 2, the discourse is not concerning *one* false apostle, but of several.

The existence of a later gnostic sect of the Nicolaitanes cannot, indeed, perhaps be denied, comp. Dr NEANDER *Kirchengesh.* 1, 2, p. 774. Yet from the existence of this sect, we cannot infer the existence of a Nicolas. The orthodox fathers of the Church, through a misunderstanding, derive the Nicolaitanes from a false teacher, Nicolas; they find him again in the Nicolas of the apostolic history, ch. vi. 5. Those false teachers, then, whose glory was in their shame, took the man reviled by the orthodox fathers for their patron, and invented a history worthy of such a one for him. And thereby the false historic apprehension of the Apocalypse got confirmed among the orthodox fathers, and the prejudice against the poor deacon Nicolas arose, who was equally undeserving of the disgrace and of the honour.

#### NUMBERS XXII. 1.

“And the children of Israel set forward, and pitched in the plains of Moab, on this side Jordan by Jericho.”

The first question which occurs here is, whence did the children of Israel set out? Immediately before we are informed of the capture of Bashan, and, according to the general opinion, the children of Israel are supposed to have marched *thence* into the Arboth Moab. But Num. xxxiii. 48, appears to be in irreconcilable opposition to this, where to the place of encampment in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo, thus opposite Jericho, that in the plains of Moab immediately succeeds: “And they departed from the mountains of Abarim, and pitched in the plains of Moab, by Jordan, near Jericho.” Indeed, this passage necessitates the conclusion that the whole of the Israelites were not engaged in the expedition into upper Gilead and against Bashan, but rather that the capture of these countries was effected by single

bodies of troops sent out. For it is scarcely to be conceived, if all Israel marched against Og, that no single stage out of this long expedition should have been mentioned in the catalogue of stations. Elsewhere this is expressly told us. The sons of Machir, according to Num. xxxii. 39, 40, captured *Northern Gilead*: "And the children of Machir, the son of Manasseh, went to Gilead and took it, and dispossessed the Amorite which was in it. And Moses gave Gilead to Machir." That *Bashan* was taken by Jair, and by Nobah serving under his command, on which account also Jair, and under him Nobah, got this country assigned to them, appears clear from Num. xxxii. 41, 42; Deut. iii. 14, 15. Compare on these passages *Gen. of the Pent.* vol. ii. p. 221, et seq. Gad and Reuben, according to Num. xxxii., had no claims upon the lowest part of the transjordanic country, conquered by the whole community of Israel. They founded their request merely upon this, that they possessed a numerous stock of cattle. They had evidently not contributed more to the conquest than the rest, comp. ver. 4, 5. It was otherwise with the half tribe of Manasseh. They had *claims*. There was only that land given to them which they had conquered with their sword and bow. If we consider the matter more closely, we shall find it even intimated in the principal narrative, that in the capture of the northern part of the transjordanic country, the whole people did not take part. It is said, for instance, in chap. xxi. 31, "Thus Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites;" a passage with which is closely connected Num. xxxiii. 47, "And they pitched in the mountains of Abarim, before Nebo." Thence were bodies of troops sent out, first against Jaazer and its neighbourhood, then against Bashan, vers. 32-35. According to this the phrase, "and the children of Israel set forward," is to be referred either simply to chap. xxi. 31, or likewise to the expedition sent against Bashan, for which see vers. 32-35, and to the *head quarters*, see ver. 31: "and they set forward," namely from the different places at which they had before encamped.

We will give the discussion respecting the plains of Moab in the *geographical* section.

The difficulty that the phrase *נִעְבְּרָה לַיַּרְדֵּן*, here and in other passages of the Pentateuch, appears of parts, which from the point of view of the author, lie on this side Jordan, has already been

removed by the information in the *Gen. of the Pent.* vol. ii. p. 256, that עבר, בעבר, and מעבר, everywhere and without exception mean *the other side*; but that *this side*, and *the other side*, may be used from a two-fold point-of-view, either that of the individual speaker or writer, or that of general and standing geographical designations; and that the latter phraseology is every where employed, where בעבר or עבר הירדן appears to have the signification of this side Jordan, or even has given rise to the opinion that the author of the Pentateuch had forgotten his part.\*

CHAP. XXII. 2-21.

Balak, the king of Moab, in conjunction with the elders of Midian, seeks to ward off the danger supposed to threaten him from the Israelites. Despairing of the power of his gods to render him aid, he sends an embassy to Balaam, whose fame was widely spread through the deeds which he performed in the name of Jehovah, the same God from whom Israel derived all his greatness and his successes, with the request that he would curse Israel, and so rob him of the protection of his God. Balaam was certainly so

\* This solution indeed presents itself in MARK, *Comm. in Pent.* p. 357: Moses, cum Israele adhuc trans Jardenem haerens, optime terram huic fluvio adjacentem ab oriente appellare potuit, non respectu suae mansionis praesentis, sed veri situs terrae praecipuae Cananaeae, cujus ratione non tantum erat hic locus trans Jardenem, sed et ita passim appellatus fuisse videtur ab aevo, aequae ac dein Peraea et Transamnicia, etiam ab iis, qui illic vel erant, vel habitabant; haud aliter quam nos hodie Hollandiae praecipuae respectu eos, qui in Hollandia aut Brabantia ultra illum fluvium habitant, non tantum haec sed et ab illa ipsa parte solemus appellare Trans Mosanos. Lately has WELTE declared himself against the view established in the *Gen. of the Pent.* (Pretended) *Post-Mosaic Traces in the Pent. Examined.* Karlsr. 1841, p. 178. "Even the remarkable appearance—he observes—that in the book of Joshua, (v. 1, ix. 1, xii. 7, xxii. 7) the eijordanic country is repeatedly called עבר הירדן cannot be explained." To that it may be replied: Even the remarkable fact that עבר הירדן appears only in the book of Joshua besides the Pentateuch, refutes the opinion approved by WELTE that עבר may denote as well this side as that side of a river. Were this so, then there appears no reason at all why בעבר הירדן should not appear also of the eijordanic country in the remaining books. But the usage of בעבר הירדן in the book of Joshua is explained upon our opinion from this, that, until the complete conquest, the country already subdued on the other side of the Jordan was the proper home of the Israelites. Whether a contemporary is the author of the book or not, makes in this respect no difference. Even a later writer might use the designation, when he placed himself in the relations which existed at the time of Joshua. Until the complete conquest, the Israelites were regarded as the inhabitants of the land, and this was to the Israelites *the other side*.



far seduced by avarice and ambition that he did not immediately reject the proposal of the king, as he ought to have done ; but he had yet so much of the fear of God, that he did so after the Lord had expressly forbidden him to respond to the offer. A *second* embassy of the king he meets with the decided declaration, that he will never speak anything else than what the Lord commanded ; yet his passion seduced him the second time to enquire of the Lord whether he might not comply with the desires of the king. Hereupon permission is given him for the journey, yet subject to a condition, which, as he would have immediately perceived, had he not been blinded by his passion, made it entirely objectless and impracticable. But Balaam eagerly accepts the permission without examination, and sets off with the princes of Moab.

---

Ver. 2. “ And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites. 3. And Moab was sore afraid of the people, because they were many ; and Moab was distressed because of the children of Israel. 4. And Moab said unto the elders of Midian, Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field. And Balak the son of Zippor was king of the Moabites at that time. 5. He sent messengers therefore unto Balaam the son of Beor, to Pethor, which is by the river of the land of the children of his people, to call him, saying, Behold, there is a people come out from Egypt : behold, they cover the face of the earth, and they abide over against me : 6. Come now, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people ; for they are too mighty for me : peradventure I shall prevail, that we may smite them, and that I may drive them out of the land : for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed. 7. And the elders of Moab and the elders of Midian departed, with the rewards of divination in their hand ; and they came unto Balaam, and spake unto him the words of Balak. 8. And he said unto them, Lodge here this night, and I will bring you word again, as the Lord shall speak unto me : and the princes of Moab abode with Balaam.

“ 9. And God came unto Balaam, and said, What men are these with thee ? 10. And Balaam said unto God, Balak the

son of Zippor, king of Moab, hath sent unto me, saying, 11. Behold there is a people come out of Egypt, which covereth the face of the earth: come now, curse me them; peradventure I shall be able to overcome them and drive them out. 12. And God said unto Balaam, Thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people: for they are blessed.

“13. And Balaam rose up in the morning, and said unto the princes of Balak, Get you into your land: for the Lord refuseth to give me leave to go with you. 14. And the princes of Moab rose up, and they went unto Balak, and said, Balaam refuseth to come with us.

“15. And Balak sent yet again princes, more, and more honourable than they. 16. And they came to Balaam, and said to him, Thus saith Balak the son of Zippor, let nothing, I pray thee, hinder thee from coming unto me: 17. For I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me: come, therefore, I pray thee, curse me this people. 18. And Balaam answered and said unto the servants of Balak, If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the word of the Lord my God, to do less or more. 19. Now, therefore, I pray you, tarry ye also here this night, that I may know what the Lord will say unto me more.

“20. And God came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the men come to call thee, rise up and go with them; but yet the word that I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.

“21. And Balaam rose up in the morning, and saddled his ass, and went with the princes of Moab.”

---

Ver. 2. What Israel had done to the Amorites, the overthrow which they had brought upon the Amoritish kings, Sihon and Og, and the conquest of their land, has been related in the foregoing chap., comp. also Deut. ii. 30, iii. 1-8.

Ver. 3. The word קָקַץ, fastidire, appears in prose, except in 1 Kings xi. 25, only in the Pentateuch; even in poetry, in the later books, but seldom; on the contrary, קָיַץ is never found in the Pentateuch. According to the received opinion, קָקַץ here, as in Ex. i. 12: “But the more they afflicted them, the more they multiplied and grew,” וַיִּקְרַץ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, and in Isaiah vii. 16,

should be taken, not in the sense of *to loathe*, but in the signification of *to be afraid*, comp. especially GESENIUS on Is. i. p. 279. But since the sense of *to loathe* is acknowledged by all as certain (MICHAELIS, *Suppl.* p. 2176, observes: “*duobus locis Gen. xxvii. 46, Num. xxi. 5, taedii fastidiique notio ita apta ut verecundia subeat eam negandi*”), and since קִי is joined with מִי just in this meaning in Gen. xxvii. 46 also, so we could at all events be induced to give it up in a single passage only by constraining reasons. Add to this, that the signification *to be afraid* is not suitable either here or in Ex. i. 12. Here it appears, as soon as ever it is received, a bare tautology; in Ex. i. 12, the discourse cannot be of a *fear* felt by the powerful Egyptians on account of the impotent Israelites, but only of the dissatisfaction which the inefficacy of their measures excited in their minds; in the following, how they treated them *afresh*. The truth is that קִי with ב is construed of the cause, or person affected with the feeling of loathing, with מִי of those from whom it proceeds, by whom it is excited. Where the object with קִי is not expressed, then is only the state of mind of loathing, dissatisfaction, feeling ill at ease, intended to be expressed. The loathing, the feeling ill, is *here*, as indeed the future with Vav conversive would lead us to conclude, a *consequence* of the fear entertained.—That the Moabites had no *reason* to fear the Israelites, appears clear from Deut. ii. 9, where, in reference to the time when the Israelites came into the neighbourhood of Moab, it is said, “And the Lord said unto me, Distress not the Moabites, nor contend with them in battle: for I will not give thee of their land for a possession, because I have given Ar unto the children of Lot for a possession;” and yet more so from the behaviour of the Israelites, who, with anxious solicitude, had avoided the least injury of the borders of the Moabites.\* But the Moab-

---

\* Israel had not marched through the country of the Moabites, but through the wilderness which bounded Moab on the east, apparently upon the present caravan line, comp. VON RAUMER, *Pal.* p. 261.—In this march along their eastern borders, the Moabites furnished the Israelites, for money, with bread and water, comp. Deut. ii. 28. That they at that time did not deem it necessary to adopt measures against the Israelites, must appear very natural. They hoped that their formidable conqueror Sihon would with little trouble drive them back into the wilderness whence they had come. As soon as this hope is demolished, they arouse themselves, yet without venturing to meet in open conflict the conquerors of their conqueror.



ites estimated the Israelites according to their own character, with whom the will for conquest went just as far as the power, and who acknowledged no boundaries which were set by love or justice. The position which the Israelites occupied towards the Moabites and Amorites, the conscientious sparing of their property, and the fact that they did not deem themselves justified, even by their unfriendly conduct, in engaging in hostilities against them, confirms the opinion that the divine right in the single instance in which it was maintained, rested not upon imagination but upon reality.

Ver. 4. The words with which the Moabites here express their anxieties to the Midianites, had, without doubt, this request in their consequence, that they should join with them in seeking means of deliverance from the common dangerous foe; and to this request the Midianites responded, while they gave the advice to call Balaam, who had become known to them as a trading people, to curse Israel.\* That the Midianites took part in the embassy which was sent to Balaam, is clear from ver. 7. The Midianites *here* mentioned are indeed to be distinguished from the Midianites between the Ælanitic Gulf and Mount Sinai, with whom Moses lived, comp. Ex. ii. 15, 16; iii. 1; Num. x. 29, 30; although, without doubt, they belonged to the same race with them. These Midianites dwelt in the east of the Moabitish, and of the Moabitico-Amoritish territory. That they had dwelt already a long period in that neighbourhood, appears plain from Gen. xxxvi. 35, according to which even the *fourth* king of the Edomites (the *eighth* belonged to the Mosaic time), “smote Midian in the field of Moab.” Comp. the geographical section on the field of Moab. That these Midianites were not a very warlike people in ancient times, appears even from this passage, according to which they were conquered by the Edomites; then from Josh. xiii. 21, according to which Sihon, the king of the Amorites, who tore away from the Moabites the greatest part of their territory, likewise made them tributary,† a dependence from which they were only delivered by the conquest of Sihon, and the overthrow

---

\* That the Midianites, even in the time of the patriarchs, undertook distant commercial journeys, is evident from Gen. xxxvii. 28.

† The princes of Midian are there called the *vassals of Sihon*, “And all the king-

of the Amoritish kingdom by the Israelites; finally, from the measures which they adopted against the Israelites, with whom they would not venture to engage in honourable conflict, and from the ease with which they were conquered in the war of revenge which was undertaken against them. But in the *period of the Judges* their roving bands, in alliance with Amalek and the sons of the East, were formidable to the Israelites, comp. Judg. vi. 7, 8. Since the time of *Gideon* these Eastern Midianites, who, according to the nevertheless doubtful acceptation of the name, had a capital, Midian,\* (*towns* they had at all events, comp. Num. xxxi. 10, where "all their cities and their shepherds' villages" are mentioned), disappear from history. While the writer speaks *here* only of the *elders* of Midian, in Num. xxxi. 8, five *kings* of the Midianites are brought forward by name, who in the war of revenge are slain. In Josh. xiii. 21, the same persons are designated princes, נְשִׂאֵי־אֵם. The "*elder*" is the *general* designation of the Midianitish chiefs, who evidently, as the Israelites, had a patriarchal constitution. The most powerful among the chiefs of the single divisions of the tribe, who jointly formed the council of the people, were distinguished by the title of princes or kings. The words with which the king of Moab drew the attention of the elders of Midian to the greatness of the danger which threatened them—"Now shall this company lick up all that are round about us, as the ox licketh up the grass of the field," are in the highest degree fitting in the mouth of a *shepherd* prince, and remind us powerfully of the sensitive perceptions which characterize the language of uncivilized people. The clause, "And Balak, the son of Zippor, was king of the Moabites at that time," was occasioned by this, that the author had just spoken of Balak, the son of Zippor, and then of Moab, without indicating more closely the

---

dom of Sihon, king of the Amorites, which reigned in Heshbon, whom Moses smote with the princes of Midian, Evi, and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, which were dukes (נְסִיכֵי, vassals), of Sihon, dwelling in the country," (in opposition to the Amorites who had pressed in); even this opposition shows that the Midianites were settled already a long time in that neighbourhood. This incidental notice, concerning a foregoing relation, and bearing in itself the warrant of its truth, is in researches concerning the credibility of the Book of Joshua to be well observed.

\* Sed alia civitas est ὀμῶντιμος ejus (the town Madian on the Red Sea) juxta Arnonem et Areopolin, ejus nunc ruinae tantummodo demonstrantur. Comp. Vox RAUMER, *Pal.* p. 276.

relation in which both stood to one another. For his contemporaries, of whom the author in writing thought first, such an indication was unnecessary. But the author added it by way of supplement, since he recollected that he likewise writes for *posterity*, who could only know so much of the relation of Balak and Moab to one another as he told them.—That next to the Moabites and Midianites, the *Ammonites* also took part in the league against Israel, does not follow, as is frequently supposed, from Deut. xxiii. 4, 5, “An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, . . . because they met you not with bread and with water in the way, when ye came forth out of Egypt, and because they hired (״זָּז) against thee Balaam,” &c. Rather is the misdeed committed by a *part* there attributed to the *whole*, on account of the unity of the races, just as in Judg. xi. the king of the Amorites treats the cause which properly concerns the Moabites as the common cause of the race—“Israel has taken *my* land.” That the children of Ammon took *no part* in the transaction, leads rather to this conclusion, that ״זָּז refers to the *whole* people in opposition to ״זָּז, which refers to the *part*. That the fact that the Ammonites took no part in the sending for Balaam was an *accidental* circumstance, and that the consideration of the guilt as common was legitimate, follows from this, that in the *first* fault mentioned, the Ammonites did really take part, and thereby showed that the unbrotherly, loveless disposition of which the plan of Moab was a developement, belonged also to them.

Ver. 5. The expression ״זָּז, which evidently is the name of the place where Balaam dwelt, with the ״ locale, the Vulgate took as an appellation, and as a designation of Balaam, and translated it by *ariolum*. Perhaps we may maintain as correct the derivation from the verb ״זָּז, which appears in Gen. xli. 8, of the interpretation of dreams (comp. the ״זָּז in xl. 8, 11, xli. 11), and suppose that the dwelling place of Balaam bore its name from the possessors of a secret art, who there had a principal seat. That in later times the Babylonish magi concentrated themselves in single towns, almost after the manner of the Egyptian and Israelitish priests' towns, appears clear from PLIN. *H. N.*, vi. 25, STRABO, xvi. 1; comp. MÜNTER, *Rel. der Babyl.*, p. 86. That Balaam, as conjuror and soothsayer, did not stand alone in his place, seems to



be plain from the name of his *father*, comp. p. 353. But naturally the language can here only be of an uncertain *conjecture*, against which may be yet asserted, that to the Hebrew פֶּתֶר corresponds in Aramaic פֶּתֶר.—That even in ancient times intercourse existed between the country on the Euphrates and the Arabian desert which bordered it on the other side, is evident, among other places, from Gen. xxxvi. 37, according to which one of the Edomitish kings was from Rehoboth on the Euphrates. The addition, “the land of the children of his people,” should remind us that Balaam dwelt in Aram not perhaps after the manner of Jacob, but rather was an Aramean by birth and descent. This seems, moreover, to elevate the signification of his utterances—the fact that he blessed Israel appears in so much more wonderful light.

Ver. 6. How foolish was the expectation which Balak had placed upon Balaam, the hope which he founded upon him, is strikingly developed by CALVIN. He says, “*Cupit Balak divinitus liberari a periculo: modum comminiscitur, si exorcismos redimat a mercenario propheta. Atqui hoc modo deum suis figmentis obstringit ac subjicit.—Deum a se ipso separat. Sciscitari primo oportuerat, quatenam esset dei voluntas et ad eum placandum sincera fide preces concipere, quod praeceptum omit- tens, tantum venali benedictione contentus est.*” But Balak stands by no means *alone* in his false belief; rather was the opinion widely spread throughout heathenism of a power which those standing nigh to the deity exercised over him by means of charms and exorcisms. Classical, in reference to this, is the passage in PLINY, *Hist. Nat.* xxxviii. 3, et sqq. (comp. HARTUNG, *Rel. der Römer*, i. p. 103, et sqq.), “There is a great and still undecided question, whether the words and language of enchantment have any effect. Certainly the personal conviction of all sensible persons rejects the supposition, but in general the practice of every period continues to have respect to the belief. With regard to this entire controversy, our ancestors have always cherished only this persuasion, and even have held the most difficult not to be impossible, namely, to draw away the flashes of lightning, as has been shown by us in its place. LUCIUS PISO mentions, in the first book of his *Annals*, that king Tullius Hostilius had attempted, according to Numa’s prescription, to draw down Jupiter from heaven by the same ceremonies as these; but since he overlooked something

in the rites, he was smitten by lightning; many others mention that by words the destiny of powerful states, and the signification of the augury concerning them, might be changed.—VERRIUS FLACCUS brings forward credible witnesses for this, that at the assaulting of towns it was customary, by means of the Roman priests, first of all to supplicate the tutelary deities, and to promise to them the same, or even more considerable service, than to those at Rome. (The form, HARTUNG observes in the note, is found preserved by MACROBIS *Sat.* 3, 9. LIVY gives an example, v. 21, et sqq.) And this ceremony is yet retained in the discipline of the augurs; it is even known that on this account the tutelary deity of Rome is kept secret, in order that a similar thing should not be done by their enemies.”—PLUTARCH, in the *Life of Crassus*, p. 553, says, after he has informed us of the curses which the tribune of the people, Ateius Capito, lays upon Crassus, when he would go out to war against the Parthians:—“The Romans ascribe such power to these mysterious and ancient imprecations, that no one escapes upon whom they have been invoked;” comp. on Enchantment and Conjuring among the *Greeks*, CREUZER, *Die Mythol.* pt. i. p. 180. Several, for instance, MARK on the passage, have thought that the question here is not concerning a vain delusion, but that the curse of Balaam spoken against Israel would have been powerfully effective; or else the turning away of this curse could not be pronounced as a great favour shown to Israel, as it is in Deut. xxiii. 5: “Nevertheless the Lord thy God would not hearken unto Balaam, but the Lord thy God turned the curse into a blessing unto thee, because the Lord thy God loved thee.” Josh. xxiv. 10: “But I would not hearken unto Balaam; therefore he blessed you still: so I delivered you out of his hand.” See Mich. vi. 5; Neh. xiii. 2. But this argument is of no force; even the turning away of a curse inoperative in itself remains a favour, when that curse, by the superstition of those who heard it, not less of Israel than of his pagan foes, must receive a significance which it had not in itself, and must exercise an animating influence upon the enemies, and produce a dispiriting effect upon the Israelites. Add to this, that the divine action did not stop with warding off the curse by Balaam, but also compelled him to *bless*, and that the blessing out of his mouth was a strong proof

of the election of Israel. But *against* this view decides the idea of Jehovah already uttered in the name: in his, the absolutely independent province, the discourse cannot be of *force* and *compulsion*; his servants are, in blessing and cursing, unconditionally dependent on him; the significance of their utterances is conditional only in this respect—that they, as true interpreters, announce his will, which to know clearly forms their sole prerogative. Only in this sense, for instance, Noah cursed Ham, and Isaac blessed Jacob. Just because paganism was wanting in the knowledge of a real absolute God, is the reason of the origin of that false belief. Gods of human invention can never deny their origin, never entirely withdraw themselves from dependence upon those who have produced them. But Balaam himself decidedly obviates this opinion. He declares, repeatedly and emphatically, that in blessing and cursing he was absolutely dependent upon Jehovah, whose will no mortal was able to change; comp. xxii. 18; xxiii. 8, 12, and, more especially, xxiii. 19, 20. How firmly he was convinced that he could do nothing without God, his later counsel for the seduction of Israel furnishes proof, which is a declining, founded upon fact, of the power ascribed to him by Balak, of being able to effect a change in God. The expression, “*peradventure* we shall smite them,” has appeared to many as irreconcilable with the following—an unconditional confidence expressed in the magical power of Balaam: “for I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed,” and they have therefore assigned a different meaning to וַיִּשְׁמַע. But even if Balak had the absolute conviction of the efficacy of Balaam’s curse, yet he might still doubt whether this curse would bring down Israel so low, that he, with his power so much weakened by the Amorites, might overcome them; and it was indeed confidence enough in the performance of Balaam, when he could excite in his mind even *hope* in reference to this result, since, apart from the operation of the curse, he could not even for a moment think of measuring himself with Israel.

Ver. 7. The word וְשֹׁמְרֵי properly means soothsaying, then the reward for the soothsaying, and what was connected with it, conjuring and cursing; as וְשֹׁמְרֵי properly signifies joyful intelligence: then, in 2 Sam. iv. 10, like the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*, the wages for



the good news; חַסְדִּים, sin, then the equivalent for sin, the sin-offering. What the messengers brought with them to Balaam was only the *earnest money*; comp. ver. 17.

Ver. 8. While several modern writers have allowed themselves to be deceived by the pious appearance which Balaam assumes in this first answer, and in the following up to ver. 21, and then know not how to deal with the section, ver. 22-35,\* older writers have clearly perceived the impiety concealed under this appearance. Thus for instance, CALVIN observes:—“*Primo intuitu sanctum obedientiæ studium præ se fert, dum nihil tentare audet nisi dei permissu et recusat pedem movere donec responsum acceperit. Sed eum sollicitat occulta cupiditas, ut quod rectum non esse sentit, a deo tamen quasi licitando impetret.*” Balaam knew the choice of Israel. The contents of his prophecies show this, especially the resting of them upon the promises to the patriarchs, which he must frequently have revolved in his mind. He knew also without enquiring of Jehovah, what answer to return to the messengers, and if he yet enquires, this can only be explained upon the supposition, that his *inclination* darkens his otherwise clear knowledge, exhibits to him that as possible and attainable by entreaties, the impossibility of which he well knew. But so far reaches yet his fear of God, that he, if the Lord decides *unfavourably* to his inclination, will not follow his disposition, but will submit to God. Opinions, such as those of DE GEER, that he, determined to follow his inclinations, merely pretended that he would consult Jehovah, in order that he might acquire greater authority and honour, originate in a want of insight into the character of Balaam. The phrase, “Lodge here this night,” in our passage, and in ver. 19, as well as the declaration, “and God came unto Balaam at night,” in ver. 20, show that Balaam was generally made a partaker of divine communications by night. But it

---

\* Thus, for example, HOFFMAN observes, in the *Encycl. von Ersch and Gruber* pt. 10. p. 184. “In the whole relation, Num. xxii. et sqq. he is represented as a true and obedient prophet, who has no regard to gain, who says nothing of himself, but merely utters the divine inspirations; it is therefore remarkable that Jehovah is angry with him, and on this account should have placed an angel in the way on his journey to the king of Moab. Num. xxii. 22-35. Several attempts have been made to solve this contradiction; the whole section, ver. 22-35, is indeed to be regarded, even if not with WINER, as an interpolation occasioned by Num. xxxi. 16, yet as a passage borrowed from another source.”

does not thence follow, that God revealed himself to Balaam in *dreams*, as he did to Abimelech, according to Gen. xx. 3, and to Laban, according to Gen. xxxi. 24 ; against which seems to speak the fact, that here the communication from God was confidently expected, which does not appear to be suitable to the dream, since in that case it follows entirely unexpectedly. Even for the *second* mode of divine manifestation to the prophets, by visions, (comp. Num. xii. 6), the night, with its darkness and silence checking the impression of the external world, was especially fitted. How very much the intercourse of Balaam with God was dependant upon these external conditions, as proof of his low standing point, which did not allow him to shut himself from the world in a purely subjective manner, appears clear from chap. xxiv. 3. 15. Comp. on those passages

Ver. 9. The vision must have appeared to Balaam as really divine, otherwise he would not have attended to it contrary to his inclination. The enquiry, "what men are these," serves not merely to open the discourse, but would, by the severe and threatening tone in which, without doubt, it was pronounced, serve to awaken his slumbering conscience, to lead him to reflection upon the proposal of these men, and to break the power of his sinful inclination, which had brought him into a false position with regard to that proposal. CALVIN : *interrogando, qui sint viri illi, per-versum ejus affectum oblique castigat.*

Ver. 15. It did not apparently escape the observation of the first messengers of Balak, that Balaam had only dismissed them with a reluctant disposition ; and they had at the same time perceived the passions which inclined him to their proposition—his ambition and his avarice. Upon these passions the *second* embassy reckoned, in its composition of "princes, more, and more honourable, than they," and in its alluring proposals. In this manner Balak hoped easily to overcome his former reluctance, whether it were, that he traced it, as he apparently did, to the remains of weak fear of God, or regarded it only as an artifice, by which he would obtain better conditions. CALVIN : *flexiloqua sua excusatione visus est accendere desiderium stulti regis, quo pluris suam maledictionem venderet.*

Ver. 17. The promise, "I will promote thee unto very great honour," CLERICUS would refer merely to the gifts, presents, the

fee. But as little as these are to be excluded, as the answer of Balaam shows, so too the expression, "princes, more, and more honourable than they," in ver. 15, and the circumstance that Balak goes to meet him even to the very borders of his territory in chap. xxii. 36, show that the *honour* did not consist *merely* in the gifts.

Ver. 18. The first part of the answer of Balaam, contained in this verse, cannot be separated from the second, in the following, containing the request to the messengers, that they should remain, in order that he might hear what the Lord would further say to him. CALVIN: *etsi autem videtur impostor in hoc secundo responso longe animosior, quam prius mox tamen detecto fuco prodit duplicem animum.* With justice CALVIN observes, in reference to this second part: *huc tendit conatus Bileami, ut deus retractando se ipsum abnegit*, which purpose he designates as *plus quam sacrilegia impietas*. He ventures not to act directly against God, but, in sinful and foolish blindness, hopes that God, from favour to his passion, will change his will, and consequently deny his essence, upon which his will rests. Moreover, the words, "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold," show that already the offers of the king had made a deep impression on Balaam, and that he would willingly be at his service if he only dared. The expression "I cannot," indicates not a physical but a moral inability, resting upon moral awe of God and fear of his punishment. The phrase, "go beyond the mouth of the Lord," is explained by 1 Sam. xv. 24: "And Saul said to Samuel, I have sinned, for I have transgressed, עברתי, the commandments (mouth) of the Lord, and thy words." Compare the parallel passage: to despise the word of the Lord, in ver. 23, and the opposite passage: to hear the voice of the Lord, in ver. 22. According to this, to "go beyond the mouth of the Lord," is to transgress his *command*; comp. the expression, to "transgress the covenant of the Lord," in Deut. xvii. 2; Josh. xxiii. 16. In the phrase, "to do less or more," the *doing* refers not to the act in a narrow sense, but to the word which he was to speak, as appears clear from the nature of the case—the acting which was desired from Balaam, was indeed a discourse—from the comparison of the passage, "yet the word which I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do," ver. 20, and especially from chap. xxiv. 13,



where the declaration, "I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord, to do either good or bad of my own mind," is explained by that which immediately follows, "what the Lord saith, that will I speak."

Ver. 20. How the permission of God for the journey here given is to be harmonised with the previous refusal to let Balaam go, and with the following, "God's anger was kindled because he went," and this latter again with the new instruction to go with the Moabitish princes, has been shown in *Gen. of the Pent.* vol. ii. p. 385. Since this explanation is not of small importance for the understanding of the history of Balaam, for the sake of those who may not have the *Gen. of the Pent.* at hand, we shall give it in the note.\* Here we shall only remark, that

---

\* "God the unchangeable," HARTMAN remarks (p. 499,) "to-day forbids Balaam to go with the messengers, ver. 12; and the next day, as if he had altered his mind, he commands him to undertake the journey in their company, ver. 20. And when he was now upon the road, according to ver. 22, the anger of Jehovah was kindled against him. When now Balaam, confounded by this inexplicable appearance, is disposed to return, (*now, therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again*), he all at once receives the order, "*Go with the men,*" ver. 35.

We may feel assured that this statement is founded on a misunderstanding. The name JEHOVAH is a pledge that it could never enter the thoughts of any Israelite to attribute such childish fickleness to God. And, moreover, Balaam himself says,

GOD is not a man, that he should lie;  
Neither the son of man that he should repent:  
Hath he said it, and shall he not do it?  
Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good?

NUM. xxiii. 19.

He, and the author who introduces him speaking thus, had, therefore, the clearest knowledge of the unchangeableness of God.

In vers. 6-17, the mention of the journey is always in close connection with the cursing. Ver. 6, "*Come now, therefore, curse me this people;*" ver. 11, "*Come now, curse me them;*" ver. 12, "*And God said unto Balaam, thou shalt not go with them; thou shalt not curse the people.*" *To go* is here so absolutely tantamount to *curse*, that the *copula* is omitted; vers. 14, 16, 17. How could this be otherwise? Neither Balak nor Balaam would have gained anything by the mere going of the latter. Neither Balak's striving for the destruction of the Israelites, nor Balaam's avarice and ambition, could have found their account in that.

In ver. 20, this connection is removed by a limiting clause, "*And God came unto Balaam at night, and said unto him, If the men come to call thee, rise up and go with them; but yet the word that I shall say unto thee, that shalt thou do.*" The former injunction had been given against the going *in concreto*, with a specific design, but here only the going *in abstracto* is permitted; so that nothing is here permitted to Balaam which was before forbidden him. On the contrary, the former prohibition is expressly repeated in the clause that is appended to the permission.

The words, "*Rise up and go with them,*" can be considered only as permissive on account of the clause, "*but yet the word that I shall say unto thee,*" which is also

the expression, "if the men come to call thee," is only in the prevailing intention of Balaam, a reason suggested by his sinful inclination; such honour and such gain are not yet to be rejected. Precisely because the reason is only a subjective one, can the "go with them" be also understood only permissively, and the anger of God is justly excited against Balaam, "because he"—according to LÜDERWALD'S expression—"preferred the lesser permission to the more powerful and positive first prohibition," he had decided against his conscience in the case committed to his conscience. In ver. 35, although the words are pretty much the same as those in this, the circumstances are yet essentially different. Balaam had now once given his word to the Moabitish messengers. He might now accompany them, with the simple intention to fulfil it, whilst before, when it was in his power to say yea or nay, it was an offence to go with them. It may be observed also, as a punishment to Balaam,

---

evident from the words, "*if the men come to call thee.*" If thou thinkest that thou canst not absolutely refuse the invitation, why, so let it be! thou mayest go.

As we have already remarked, the prohibition against the going *in concreto* was directed at the same time against the going altogether, since, apart from what was forbidden, it would have no rational object. That the two are here separated from one another—that the one is forbidden and the other permitted—takes place only in reference to Balaam's sinful inclination. It was from the beginning agreeable to God's will that Balaam should go. God meant to employ him as an instrument for *his* purpose. But this could not happen till Balaam's inclination had prompted him to make God an instrument for his own purpose. At first, therefore, his welfare is consulted, by simply forbidding the going, which would lead him to destruction; afterwards, as a punishment for his sinful inclination, the going is permitted.

There is no necessity with DE GEER (*de Bileamo, Utrecht, 1816, p. 39*), and others, to torture the twenty-second verse by forced interpretations. The meaning of the clause, "*And God's anger was kindled because he went,*" is evident from the preceding remarks. It was unnecessary to add, "In order to curse Israel," or something of the kind, as the Arabic translation correctly translates, according to the matter of fact, *ideo quod lucri cupiditate ductus abierat*. For, if Balaam had not had an evil design, running counter to God's command, he would not have gone. He thought to himself to have (to begin with), got leave to go; everything else will be sure to follow.

Since God's anger was directed against Balaam's going *with a definite intention*, it involves no contradiction, when afterwards his going was permitted. The וַיֵּלֶךְ in ver. 32, "*because thy way is perverse before me,*" was erroneously interpreted by Balaam of the journey *in abstracto*; and very naturally, for he was going only to do what he ought not to do. In ver. 35, he is taught that the journey *in concreto* was intended.—*Ryland's Translation.*

that now he was not merely permitted to go with them, but was commanded to do so. The journey which he at first undertook in the service of his sinful inclination, he must now, after every hope of satisfying it had disappeared, continue in the service of God.

## CHAP. XXII. 22-35.

The opinion of DE GEER, that the occurrence here narrated took place nearly in the neighbourhood of the land of Moab, is founded entirely upon psychological grounds. The nearer Balaam approached to the end of his journey, the more powerfully did the honours and the possessions which awaited him there attract him. It was only gradually that the passion could so blind his heart, that he had no longer open eyes to perceive that which lay before him. In the very presence of the temptation, the powerful warning was at last especially well applied.

The ambition and avarice, which had before been powerfully excited in Balaam, increased rapidly on the journey, and threatened to choke the very last remains of the fear of God. If he was left to himself, it was to be expected that, in compliance with the desire of Balak, he would curse Israel. This curse would certainly in itself have been destitute of meaning. But for the consciousness of Israel, and that of his enemies, it had great significance. With the great reputation which preceded him, it must have operated to dispirit the Israelites, and to encourage their foes, and this so much the more since Balaam represented himself as the servant of the God of Israel. If, on the contrary, he uttered a blessing instead of the desired curse, this would have exerted a still more powerful influence; since in this respect he acted against his own interest, which, as was generally known, lay very near his heart. A divine influence pervading the natural development was, in this circumstance, sufficiently indicated. The disposition which he exhibited, situated as he was at first to the divine manifestation, shows how far matters had proceeded with him, and how necessary this interposition was if the curse was to be averted. The



appearance of the angel of the Lord, which is visible even to the ass, shuns his eye, darkened by sin. *Cum magno prophetae dedecore*, observes CALVIN, *patefacta fuit prius asine angeli gloria. . . Visiones extraordinarias ante jactabat, nunc quod bestiae oculis expositum est, eum fugit. Unde haec tanta caecitas, nisi ex avaritia, qua sic fuerat obstupefactus, ut turpe lucrum sanctae dei vocationi praeferret.* The resistance of the ass, occasioned by the threatening appearance of the angel of the Lord, and appointed to bring him to himself in a way which would put him to shame, he at first traces to blameable refractoriness, and his anger turns against her, instead of being directed against himself. Yet, when this misapprehension is removed by the words which the ass addresses to him, referring to the true obedience which she had rendered to him before, then he repents, the power of sin is broken, and, thus prepared, God can open his eyes, so that he should see the angel with a drawn sword standing in the way before him. The serious warning and threatening which the angel addresses to him finds a hearing. He acknowledges that he has sinned, and prays to be allowed to return. But, since it was the design of God, not merely that he should not curse, but that he should *ble*ss, he receives the instruction to continue his journey; only he should speak nothing else than what God should say to him.

---

Ver. 22. "And God's anger was kindled because he went; and the angel of the Lord stood in the way for an adversary against him. Now he was riding upon his ass, and his two servants were with him. 23. And the ass saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand; and the ass turned aside out of the way, and went into the field; and Balaam smote the ass to turn her into the way. 24. But the angel of the Lord stood in a path of the vineyards, a wall being on this side, and a wall on that side. 25. And when the ass saw the angel of the Lord, she thrust herself unto the wall, and crushed Balaam's foot against the wall; and he smote her again. 26. And the angel of the Lord went further, and stood in a narrow place, where was no way to turn either to the right hand or to the left. 27. And when the ass saw the angel

of the Lord, she fell down under Balaam ; and Balaam's anger was kindled, and he smote the ass with a staff. 28. And the Lord opened the mouth of the ass ; and she said unto Balaam, What have I done unto thee, that thou hast smitten me these three times ? 29. And Balaam said unto the ass, because thou hast mocked me : I would there were a sword in mine hand, for now would I kill thee. 30. And the ass said unto Balaam, Am not I thine ass, upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day ? was I ever wont to do so unto thee ? And he said, Nay. 31. Then the Lord opened the eyes of Balaam, and he saw the angel of the Lord standing in the way, and his sword drawn in his hand ; and he bowed down his head, and fell flat on his face. 32. And the angel of the Lord said unto him, Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times ? Behold, I went out to withstand thee, because thy way is perverse before me. 33. And the ass saw me, and turned from me these three times : unless she had turned from me, surely now also I had slain thee, and saved her alive. 34. And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, I have sinned ; for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me ; now, therefore, if it displease thee, I will get me back again. 35. And the angel of the Lord said unto Balaam, Go with the men ; but only the word that I shall speak unto thee, that thou shalt speak. So Balaam went with the princes of Balak."

---

The principal inquiry which presents itself in this section, is, whether the speech of the ass is to be understood as a subjective or as an objective occurrence ; whether the words which are ascribed to the ass, really proceeded from her, and were audible to the external ears of Balaam and of his companions, or whether the discourse existed only for the mental perception of Balaam, he understanding the words in the look of the ass. Before we answer this inquiry, we must observe that the two views are not so far distant from each other as might at first appear. Upon the supposition that it was an internal incident, there remain still all the essentials of language—what the ass speaks ; she speaks nothing but what her look says to the seer ; she it is that rebukes the prophet, the voice lent to her is only her interpreter. According to the external conception, the speaking in substance belongs

not the less to God than upon the internal notion ; from him proceeds not merely the thought, which alone makes the word to be properly a word (BOCHART, although firmly holding the external view, is yet compelled to observe—*non tamen hic verus fuit asinae sermo : sermo enim est imago mentis. Et τὸν λόγον προφορικὸν praecedit ὁ ἐνδιάθετος. At in asina nihil fuit tale. Non capiebat animo voces, quas ore suo proferebat*), but even the word itself, for the production of which all the main conditions were wanting in her organization. Only in appearance, then, even according to this apprehension of the occurrence, did the discourse proceed from the ass. The inquiry therefore presents itself thus : Did God cause the ass to speak to Balaam internally or externally—did he make her essential speech intelligible to Balaam, so that the word from the mouth of the ass, which at all events belonged to God alone, reached his outward, or so that it reached his inward ear ? It is obvious at once, that as far as the case is concerned, both views are perfectly the same ; the difference is purely *formal*. The distinction only becomes *essential* if the contrast of the internal and the external is changed into that of the real and the unreal, if the imagination is substituted for the vision.

In favour of the external character of the incident, then, its advocates, who have not always distinctly enough perceived the difference between that and the *reality* of the occurrence, have adduced the following reasons. 1. In an historical book, and in a narrative bearing an historical character, the subjectiveness of an incident ought not to be arbitrarily assumed, if this is not expressly stated. But, in opposition to this argument, it is easy to cite a large number of cases from the sacred writings, where, in historical narrations concerning internal occurrences, there is no express intimation that they are to be understood subjectively ; a fact which is thus explained, that the distinction between the internal and the external, as being a more formal one, comes but little into consideration with the writers ; and therefore even in those cases where they notice either the one or the other, they do this only very briefly and incidentally. As it is certain, that, according to the opinion of the sacred writers, appearances in visions and dreams had the same reality as those in waking circumstances (and this is made clear even by Numb. xii. 6 alone,



where visions and dreams are pointed out as the ordinary ways of imparting the knowledge of God to the prophets), so also it is certain that it was not absolutely necessary to note exactly where the one and where the other had a place; this necessity only exists for modern consciousness, to which vision and dream border upon the imagination, and are regarded as belonging entirely to subjectivity. Yet we will adduce a number of examples of internal occurrences, which are not expressly indicated as such. That Abraham received, in a night vision, the command to offer up his son as a burnt-offering, is nowhere expressly stated, and yet it is pre-supposed in the expression, "And Abraham rose up early in the morning," in Gen. xxii. 3. Just so it is also with the command of God to Abraham in Gen. xxi. 12, 13, that he, consenting to the request of Sarah, should send away Ishmael and Hagar; where also, in ver. 14, it follows, "And Abraham rose up early in the morning." In Gen. xv., only the word of God to Abraham, mentioned immediately at the beginning, is indicated by a single term, as addressed to him internally ("the word of the Lord came unto Abraham in a *vision*," ver. 1); and yet it cannot be doubted that the *following* circumstances also belong to the vision. In favour of this supposition may be urged, besides the analogy, the nature of the thing narrated. According to ver. 5, Abraham is led into the open air, and pointed to the stars of heaven; on the contrary, according to ver. 12, the sun is only near setting. Then, in the *day*, Abraham saw the stars of heaven, which is only possible in vision. To a subjective apprehension of the occurrence, the contents of ver. 11 also conduct, which, upon the supposition of its external character, are incomprehensible. The two prophetic conditions mentioned in Numb. xii. appear united in this chapter. By day, Abraham had a *vision*, vers. 1-11; at the going down of the sun, he fell into a prophetic *sleep*, and the revelation which Abraham received in *this* state, and which is closely connected with that which he received in the vision, is narrated in vers. 12-21.—The appearance of the angels with which, according to Gen xxxii. 2, Jacob was favoured at Mahanaim, on his *return* from Messopotamia, must have been a mental one, according to the analogy of that which exactly corresponded to it, which Jacob received when he *went* to Messopo-

tamia, Gen. xxviii. 12, of which it is expressly remarked that it took place in a dream. And yet there is not a word to intimate that the incident was a mental one. Subjectively, also, even according to the analogy of the fact immediately preceding it, is the struggle of Jacob to be understood, although, even with respect to this, there is no express notice of the author pointing to its internal character. To its subjectiveness, also, the passage Hos. xii. 4 refers, "Yea, he had power over the angel, and prevailed: he wept and made supplication unto him," for in an external conflict and struggle we do not prevail by prayer and tears. MICH.: "*Modus et medium significatur, quo praevaluit Jacobus, quod ex verbis historiae in Genesi facile colligi et concludi potest et ex inspiratione divina habuit Hoseas.*"—The bush which burned with fire, and yet was not consumed, Moses saw in vision, at least according to the opinion of *Stephen*. For *ὄραμα*, by which he, according to Acts vii. 31, designates the thing seen (*ὁ δὲ Μωσῆς ἰδὼν ἐθαύμασε τὸ ὄραμα*), is used in the New Testament always, and especially in the Acts of the Apostles very frequently, of visions of internal contemplation, comp. Acts ix. 10, x. 3, 17, 19, xi. 5, xii. 9, 11, xviii. 9, Matt. xvii. 9. In 1 Sam. iii. 1, et sqq., the voice which Samuel hears is not otherwise spoken of than if it were an external voice; that Samuel himself deemed it such follows from this, that he thought Eli called him. And yet it is clear that the author regarded the voice as an internal one, from the accompanying words in ver. 1: "And the word of the Lord was precious in those days; there was no open vision;" according to which the occurrence must have the character of a vision *הִרְאָה*; then also from ver. 15, "And Samuel feared to show Eli the vision," *יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה*. The word *יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה* is always used of internal visions, sights. When the indirect and incidental references to the subjective character of the incident cannot come into notice, then it is certain that the author, without further observation, narrates internal incidents in the series of the external, and we are justified, when reasons lead to it, in assuming this in other passages, where those indirect and incidental references are wanting. In the New Testament, John xii. 28, 29, is especially instructive. In that passage the Apostle speaks of a voice which came from heaven, in a manner in which we would only speak of an external perfectly audible voice (*ἤλθεν οὖν φωνὴ*

ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ : καὶ ἐδόξασα καὶ πάλιν δοξάσω) ; and yet it is plain from what follows that it belonged in substance to the province of the inner sense, and that it only seemed to the outward sense as a hollow noise. Only the spiritually developed understand the precise words ; the less advanced certainly observe that something was spoken, but not what ; the multitude hear merely a noise (ὁ οὖν ὄχλος ὁ ἐστὼς καὶ ἀκούσας, ἔλεγε βροντὴν γεγενῆσθαι ἄλλοι ἔλεγον ἄγγελος αὐτῷ λελάληκεν.) Similar appears to be the case also in the history of Paul's conversion. Here there is not a word in the narrative itself to indicate that the incident is to be understood as an internal one, and yet it appears from Acts ix. 7, οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ συνοδεύοντες αὐτῷ εἰστήκεισαν ἐννεοὶ, ἀκούοντες μὲν τῆς φωνῆς, μηδένα δὲ θεωροῦντες ; and Acts xxii. 9, οἱ δὲ σὺν ἐμοὶ ὄντες, τὸ μὲν φῶς ἐθεάσαντο καὶ ἔμβοβοι ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν οὐκ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λαλοῦντός μοι, that in substance it must be regarded as such. Only with its very extremity did the vision reach into the province of the external sense. By Paul only, whose inward sense was opened, was the form of the speaker seen, and by him alone were his words understood. Those with him saw only a bright light, and heard only a noise.

We have already shown that the principal reason why in Scripture the things seen and heard in vision are so faintly distinguished from those perceived by the outward sense, is, that the distinction is by no means an essential, but only a purely formal one. In the next place, it may be established that the internal perception does not form a pure opposition to the external, but presents itself as the product of the same power, to which also the external belongs, so that even the person perceiving, in many cases, can only distinguish the internal from the external by reflection. If the external and the internal perception be regarded as purely opposed to each other, then the instances already adduced can hardly be explained, in which the spiritually developed have the advantage over the untaught only in the *extent* of the seeing and hearing. Then the passage 2 Cor. xii. 2-4, points to a near relation between the internal and the external perception, where Paul confesses that he does not know whether his being "caught up" into heaven was a purely internal, or at the same time an external incident (εἴτε ἐν σώματι, εἴτε ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος οὐκ οἶδα



ὁ θεὸς οἶδεν.) If GÖTTE, in the well-known passage in his life, vol. iii., p. 84, says, "I saw not with the eyes of the body, but of the mind, myself on horseback coming back to meet me along the same way, and certainly in a dress such as I had never worn; it was iron-grey with somewhat of gold," then does the expression, "not with the —— but of the mind," belong evidently to reflection upon the circumstance. In the form of the seeing itself there was nothing by which it might be distinguished from bodily perception.\*

2. The advocates of the external understanding of the incident maintain that it cannot at all be determined where the vision begins and where it ends—what is to be taken as having occurred internally and what externally. But this distinction is not at all difficult. As long and as far as the narrative moves entirely in the usual province,—when it informs us how Balaam saddles his ass, departs with the princes of Moab, takes with him his two servants,—farther, how the ass turns aside from the way, jams him against the wall, and at last sinks down under him,—only external occurrences are to be thought of; and

---

\* Observations on the connection of the internal and external perception may be found in PASSAVANT *Untersuchungen über den Lebensmagnetismus und das Hellsehen, zweite Aufl. Frankfurt, 1837.* Thus it is said, p. 27, "Where once a nervous system exists, it is, at least in a healthy state, the sole substratum of sensation, and the only exciter of animal motion. *But the nervous activity may operate beyond its organ.* Instead of its operation being confined to the nervous extremity, where sensation arises, it oversteps these limits, and exercises directly an influence upon nearer and farther objects." Further, at p. 50, "It follows from the foregoing representation of the organic powers, that the organism may, of its spontaneous principles, subordinate the general powers of nature to itself, and besides its action upon the external world, by means of the interposing organ, it may also exercise an immediate dynamic operation upon it. Thus arose our conception of magnetic, magical acting. In a similar manner it is with the *perception of external objects.* As the vital principle of the animal organism forms all organs, so also those by which the soul perceives the external world, and is sensible of it—forms the organs of sense. The existence of the eye and the ear is not the final cause of seeing and hearing, but the impulse operating on the living germ of the animal coming into contact with the shining and sounding world, which certainly unconsciously, yet actively towards its purpose, forms the eye and the ear.—But if the nervous power, which causes sensation in the organs of sense, is surely united in its general condition to these organs, then the various appearances of ecstasy favour the opinion that the nervous activity can reach even beyond its accustomed limits; and thus the outer pole of sensation is not necessarily limited by the periphery of the body. If we take the different activities of the senses as modifications of a central sense, then it may just as well be conceived an intensive as an extensive operation of this central sense as such a one of the special sense—a perception through the original sense, and through the peculiarly modified senses."

opinions, such as those of STEUDEL, who could commence the (supposed) dream even in ver. 21 or 22, must be regarded as entirely adventurous. With the same justice, the entire history of Balaam might be explained as a dream. Only with regard to those facts, which at least belong just as much to the form of the internal senses as to that of the external, such as the appearance of the angel with the drawn sword, and the speech of the ass, arises the enquiry, whether they are to be understood as having taken place externally or internally, and this enquiry must be answered upon sure grounds, as we will hereafter attempt to do.

3. The expression, "God opened the mouth of the ass," favours an external occurrence. These words certainly decide against those who conceive of a mere *fancy* of Balaam. They represent, as STEUDEL justly observes, the speech of the ass as something entirely extraordinary, called forth by the power of Jehovah himself. But how this speech ensues, whether for the internal or the external sense, nothing at all is said, as this even to the author, with whom every thing in the case depended upon divine causality, was something entirely indifferent.

4. It is maintained, that Peter, at least, according to 2 Pet. ii. 15, 16, has regarded the incident as an external one: ἐπλανήθησαν ἑξακολουθήσαντες τῇ ὁδοῦ τοῦ Βαλαὰμ τοῦ βοσδὸρ, ὃς μισθὸν ἀδικίας ἠγάπησεν, ἔλεγε δὲ ἔσχευ ἰδίας παρανομίας ὑποστύγιον ἄφωνον, ἐν ἀνθρώπου φωνῇ φθειγξάμενον ἐκώλυσε τὴν τοῦ προφήτου παραφροσίαν. But we have before shown that the speech cannot be considered as the proper speech of the ass, even if the incident be understood as an external one. The passage retains its full meaning even upon the internal interpretation. Whether the speech of the ass was understood internally or externally—whether God formed the sound in the mouth of the ass or in the ear of Balaam,—that which Peter observes concerning the meaning of the occurrence, and that which CALVIN, more fully developing his thoughts, remarks, remains always true: "*Poterat statim angeli verbis ipsum castigare sed quia absque gravi ignominia non satis severa fuisset objurgatio, bestiam ei constituit magistrum. Accedit quidem postea vox angeli: sed quia tam indocilis fuerat, pro merito tractatur, ut quum profecerit in schola asinae, deum audire incipiat.—Negat se prius fuisse refractariam. Ergo si qua in misero*

*scintilla intelligentiae fuisset, reputare debuit quidnam sibi vellet illa novitas et subita mutatio. Sic a veterno expergefactus fuit, quo attentius loquentem deinde angelum audiret."*

That which was properly a cause of shame to Balaam was the *seeing* of the ass, and her conduct arising from it. He is so stupified and hardened by his avaricious and ambitious thoughts, that he has no presentiment of the presence of the angel, although this was so plainly made known, that even the ass received an obscure impression of it, and that he himself is not brought to reflection by the behaviour of the ass plainly showing this impression. The *speaking* of the ass, however it may be understood,—of the opinion of an external incident even AUGUSTINE *qu. 50 in Num.* is obliged to remark: "*Cum deus utique non asinae animam in naturam rationalem vertisset, sed quod illi placuerat, ex illa sonare fecisset, ad illius vesaniam cohibendam*—comes into notice at all events only as a means of shaming Balaam, which consisted in her seeing and acting. (MARK: "*Ut per asinae dicta convinceretur, qui ad ejus facta noluerat decenter attendere.*") The erroneous explanation of her conduct, which Balaam in his blindness had formed, is rejected, and she prepares him in this way for the acknowledgment of the true cause. What the *speechless* animal *spoke* with human voice, served only to excite the attention of Balaam to that which the *irrational* animal had *seen*, but which he, the rational being, and what is still more, the *seer*, had *overlooked*. If the ass had not *seen*, then her speech, which in any case does not properly belong to her, would have had no significance; and one does not see why the shaming does not proceed directly from the angel of the Lord. The speech of the ass is not the less an interposition for the shaming of Balaam, which consisted in her seeing, whether the incident be regarded as an internal or an external one.

Having thus obviated the reasons for the opinion of an external occurrence, we must yet state the positive reasons which favour the subjectivity of the incident. 1. Visions and dreams are pointed out in Num. xii. 6, as the ordinary ways of divine communication to the prophets, and since Balaam belonged to the prophets, and the speaking of the ass to communications from God, of whom it is expressly said, that he opened the mouth of the ass, we must assume even from this general reason, if nothing opposes it, and



that nothing does we have already seen, that the incident was a subjective one.

2. Balaam, in the introduction to his third and fourth prophecies, chap. xxiv. 3, 4, 15, 16, designates himself as the man with closed bodily eyes, who hears the words of God, sees the visions of the Almighty, whose eyes are opened if he falls into the prophetic ecstasy. What such a man, a seer by profession, sees and hears in his proper province, has so decidedly the presumption of subjectiveness in its favour, that the contrary must be established by unanswerable arguments. Further, that Balaam knew no other mode of revelation, than that of mental communication, is plain from chap. xxii. 8, 19, where he invites the Moabitish messengers to pass the *night* with him, the season of prophetic visions (comp. Zech. i. 8, et sqq.), and dreams (comp. Dan. vii. i. 2), in order that he might receive divine communications. Finally, it cannot be doubted that the appearance of the angel immediately preceding the speaking of the ass, had an internal character, although this is just as little observed in regard to the former as it is with respect to the latter. But if the appearance of the angel was designed for the spiritual eye of Balaam, then also in all probability the voice of the ass was intended for his spiritual ear. But that the appearance of the angel had an internal character, the following reasons shew. In the *first* place, Balaam sees not the angel at first. This is not conceivable, if the appearance came within the gross, material province, but is easily explained, if the appearance had an internal character. For then the declaration in 2 Cor. iii. 15, *κάλυμμα ἐπὶ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτῶν κεῖται*, finds here its application. His inward eye, inflexibly fixed upon the expected wealth and honour, sees not what lies before his eyes. Only as a shift is that to be regarded by which the advocates of the external view attempt to explain the fact that Balaam did not see the angel at first; as, for instance, MARK observes: *Sive obtusiori semper fuerit visu, sive oculi scotomate nunc essent percussi, sive aliorum spectaverit, sive mens in alia omnia fuerit magis intenta*. Besides, those views, according to which his not seeing appears either as something wrought by God, or as a purely accidental circumstance, entirely destroy the meaning of the incident. This necessarily requires that Balaam's not seeing was a culpable act. Otherwise, the occur-

rence with the ass is indeed meaningless. How can her seeing tend to his confusion, if his not seeing was innocent? That it was not so, ver. 34 also proves. Balaam's "I have sinned," can refer, not to the ill-treatment of the animal in itself, but only to this, that he ill-used the animal *under these circumstances*. But, if the not seeing were *innocent*, then also the confession, "I have sinned," is without a cause. The confession, "I have sinned," is there grounded upon this: "for I knew not that thou stoodest in the way against me." If his not knowing were innocent, were not the sinful reason of his sinning, then ought it rather to be said, "I have *not* sinned." That from the subsequent declaration: "God opened the eyes of Balaam," it cannot be concluded that Balaam's not seeing had no blame attaching to it, such passages as Deut. xxix. 4, prove: "The Lord hath not given you a heart to perceive, and eyes to see, and ears to hear, unto this day;" on which MICHAELIS remarks: *nempe deus non dedit, quia vos nolulistis*, Matt. xxiii. 37, Coll. xxv. 29: τῷ γὰρ ἔχουσι παντὶ δοθήσεται. That which God has not given, he ardently desires to be able to bestow upon them — comp. Deut. v. 29: "O that there were such a heart in them, that they would fear me and keep all my commandments!"—appears here as an object of severe *complaint* against Israel. So would he also here immediately have opened the eyes of Balaam, if this had not been impossible through his guilt. This incident with the ass was necessary previously to startle him, to put him to shame, to dissipate the mist of his passions, and to open his soul to the impression of the divine. *Secondly*, the declaration, "And God opened the eyes of Balaam," points to the subjectiveness of the occurrence. The covered eye, which the Lord opened, can here only be the *spiritual*, comp. 2 Cor. iii. 15: ἡνίκα δ' ἂν ἐπιστρέψῃ πρὸς κύριον περιαιρείται τὸ κάλυμμα. This has been denied, appealing to such passages as Gen. xxi. 19, 2 Kings vi. 20, where the opening of the eyes occurs in reference to objects which are seen with the *bodily* eyes. But these passages are not analogous. The object which Hagar sees in consequence of the opening of her eyes, the well, is plainly before a *concealed* one, to which now, by the influence of God, her eyes are directed. Here it is entirely different. If the appearance of the

angel were a gross material one, if the angel could be discerned by the bodily eyes, then Balaam must have seen him long before. The angel stood before him in the way everywhere, comp. especially ver. 24. In the *second* passage, the opening of the eyes refers to the smiting with blindness mentioned in ver. 18: "And Elisha prayed unto the Lord, and said, Smite this people, I pray thee, with blindness. And he smote them with blindness, according to the word of Elisha." But *here* there is not a word concerning a physical blindness sent upon Balaam by God, and the narrative forbids us to think of such a thing, because there is no reason at all to conceive of such an infliction of blindness, and because in that case Balaam's not seeing cannot be regarded as criminal. *Here*, therefore, only such passages as 2 Kings vi. 17, can be compared: "And Elisha prayed, and said, Lord, I pray thee, open his eyes, that he may see. And the Lord opened the eyes of the young man; and he saw: and, behold, the mountain was full of horses and chariots of fire round about Elisha;" and in the main point also Ps. cxix. 18: "Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold wondrous things out of thy law."—In favour of the objectiveness of the occurrence, only *one* point can be made good—that the ass sees the angel of the Lord. But that this seeing is not to be conceived of as a clear and precise perception, the words of the ass show, in which only the cause of her behaviour assumed by Balaam is rejected, and of course the existence of another pointed out. If the angel had been clearly perceived by the ass, whose words form a commentary upon her seeing and acting, then would she also have spoken precisely of it. Evidently she had only the obscure feeling of the presence of something formidable and terrible. There is no reason to conclude from this upon the externality of the occurrence. Even animals have a *soul*, and even if, with regard to them, the expression, "God opened their eyes," cannot occur, since they are incapable of a clear perception of the divine, yet an undefined terror before it is still conceivable, with regard to them; \* conceivable

---

\* Very remarkable, and of significance for our case, is what *Martin*, in *PASSAVANT*, p. 316, remarks concerning the participation even of animals in the so-called *second sight*: "Children, horses, and cows, see the second sight, as well as men and women advanced in age. That *children* see it appears from this, that in the same instant in which a corpse or any other vision appears to an ordinary seer, they cry out



also is it that they experience it when the human being, entirely ruled by his sinful passion, has no presentiment at all of the existence of a divine manifestation. The formidable power of sin, which may degrade man below the beast, is in this narrative instructively brought before our view.

3. The wonder that the ass spoke would be perfectly *meaningless*. It was not to the fact that she spoke, but to what she spoke, that the astonishment was directed. Only the latter, not the speaking in itself, serves to shame Balaam. But the *contents* of the speech remain, even if the incident be understood as an internal one.

4. The advocates of the external view have always been greatly perplexed, because Balaam expresses no *astonishment* at all at the speech of the ass. JOSEPHUS arbitrarily inserts *ταράττεισθαι* in the narrative of Balaam. AUGUSTINE, *qu. 48, in Num.* says: *Nihil hic sane mirabilius videtur quam quod loquente āsina territus non est, sed insuper ei, velut talibus monstris assuetus, ira perseverante respondit.* It may be truly observed that the question is not concerning an *argumentum e silentio* merely. That would have signified little. Rather is astonishment entirely *excluded* by the first answer of Balaam in ver. 29. This shows that the speech of the ass in itself makes no impression at all upon him. Only *what* the ass says to him in ver. 32, brings him to himself, and leads him to repentance.

5. In the company of Balaam were his *two servants*, ver. 22, and likewise the *Moabitish messengers*, ver. 20, 21, 35, which latter verse refers to the time after the speech of the ass, and thus excludes the supposition of DE GEER, that the Moabitish messengers were not present at this occurrence, but had hastened forward. Now, if the appearance of the angel, and the speech of the angel and of the ass had been external, then the former must

---

loudly. (Facts.)—That *horses* see, it appears likewise from their impetuous and rapid motion, if the rider or co-seer has a vision of any kind, by day or by night. With regard to the horse, it may farther be remarked, that it will not go forward in this way, until it has been led round about, and then it is in an entire sweat. (Facts.)—That *cows* see the second sight, follows from this: if a woman milks a cow, and incidentally has a second sight, then the cow immediately runs away in great terror, and cannot for a long time be quieted again."

have been seen by the attendants of Balaam, and the latter must have been heard. But it is remarkable, that the feeling of the advocates of the external view, is decidedly aroused against this, even without having acknowledged the reason which makes this opinion impossible—that the Moabitish messengers very possibly surmised nothing of these occurrences. They attempt by every kind of shift to liberate themselves from the burdensome presence of the attendants. Thus MARK thinks, p. 407, that perhaps the attendants were somewhat *distant*, or God perhaps stopped their eyes and ears that they should see and hear nothing. How much more natural is it to suppose, that that which was designed only for Balaam, was communicated to him in a manner which made it intelligible only to him, which besides is a mode so common in Scripture, that MAIMONIDES in *Moreh Neb.* ii. c. 47, p. 307, could make the certainly exaggerated assertion (against which, comp. Gen. xviii.): *De quocunque scriptum occurrit, quod angelus cum eo locutus aut quod aliquid ipsi a deo revelatum est, id nullo alio modo, quam in somnio aut visione prophetica factum esse noveris.*

6. The speaking of the ass, when transferred into the province of external reality, appears to derange the eternal boundaries, which are placed in Gen. i., between the human and the animal creation. We content ourselves with merely indicating this argument, since those already adduced are perfectly sufficient for proof. The parallels from paganism, which GROTIUS, BOCHART, and others, have brought forward, lose all their significance, just because they are from *paganism*.\*

Having thus discussed the principal question, there only remains a single matter of detail in the section to be settled. אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁמָה in ver 33, is generally, and for example even by GESENIUS in *Thes.*, explained: “unless she had turned from my face, I would

---

\* Appeal is especially made to *Xanthus*, the noble horse of Achilles, which addressed his master, announced to him his destiny, and to which an answer was returned. *Il.* xix. 404 et sqq. But even LÜDERWALD *Die Gesch. Bileam's erkl., Helmst.* 1781, p. 15, has pointed out the essential difference between this case and ours. “So rare a horse, which the harpy Podarge bore to Zephyr, II. xvi. 140, 150, but especially as being the gift of the goddess Juno, must certainly be able to boast so much to his Achilles. Here, on the contrary, are no traces of such an idea, as everything moves upon customary ground, so the question is concerning an ordinary ass,” &c.

have slain thee." But, on the contrary, it may be remarked, 1. That  $\text{כִּי־אִם}$  never has the sense of *nisi*, rather has always the meaning of *perhaps*, even in Hos. viii. 7, where, according to the general opinion, it should mean *si forte*. This argument has been already urged by TYMPE in NOLDIUS, p. 5, *suspecta merito videtur significatio, quae locis aliis omnibus et ipsi etymo opponitur, ex unico loco probata*. 2. That to  $\text{כִּי־אִם}$  a meaning is *thus* assigned, in which it never occurs. If it is acknowledged as certain that both words must be taken in their common and ascertained meaning, then only one comprehension of the passage seems to be possible—the supposition of an aposiopesis. The reason why the ass perhaps had turned aside, namely, from affection to her master, and from an obscure feeling of a danger threatening him, the angel of the Lord does not expressly say; he leaves it to Balaam to express what he had merely indicated, in order that his confusion might be all the greater: perhaps she turned aside from me . . . ; for else I would have slain thee, and have kept her alive. 'From affection to me, her ungrateful master,' is supposed then to sound into the soul of Balaam. What he would have to supply could not be doubtful to him, from the connection and from the opposition to what he has spoken in ver. 29. If any one should charge this interpretation with difficulty, then let him attempt to give an easier one.

CHAP. XXII. 36-41. XXIII. 1-7.

Balaam was received, on his arrival, with great honour by Balak; but he immediately met the confident expectations of the king of Moab, by declaring that he would only speak that which the Lord communicated to him, and could not answer in any respect for an auspicious issue. Balak takes him to the summit of a mountain called Bamoth-Baal (*the heights of Baal*), from which he could survey a part of the Israelitish camp, which seemed essential to the success of the undertaking. There, in the first place, according to the instructions of Balaam, altars were erected, and sacrifices offered, in order to supplicate the favour of Jehovah, and to render him propitious to the enterprise. Then Balaam repairs to a bare height in order to await a manifestation of Jeho-



vah, and a communication of his will with reference to the matter now before him. This he receives, and he returns to Balak to communicate the divine answer.

---

“xxii. 36. And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he went out to meet him unto a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon, which is in the utmost coasts. 37. And Balak said unto Balaam, Did I not earnestly send unto thee to call thee? Wherefore earnest thou not unto me? am I not able indeed to promote thee to honour? 38. And Balaam said unto Balak, Lo, I am come unto thee: have I now any power at all to say anything? the word that God putteth in my mouth, that shall I speak.

“39. And Balaam went with Balak, and they came to Kirjath-huzoth. 40. And Balak offered oxen and sheep, and sent to Balaam, and to the princes that were with him.

“41. And it came to pass on the morrow, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might see the utmost part of the people. xxiii. 1. And Balaam said to Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven oxen and seven rams. 2. And Balak did as Balaam had spoken; and Balak and Balaam offered on every altar a bullock and a ram. 3. And Balaam said unto Balak, Stand by thy burnt-offering, and I will go; peradventure the Lord will come to meet me; and whatever he sheweth me, I will tell thee. And he went to a high place. 4. And God met Balaam: and he said unto him, I have prepared seven altars, and I have offered up on every altar a bullock and a ram. 5. And the Lord put a word in Balaam's mouth, and said, Return unto Balak, and this thou shalt speak. 6. And he returned unto him, and, lo, he stood by his burnt sacrifice, he, and all the princes of Moab. 7. And he took up his parable, and said:”

---

Ver. 36. With regard to the *city of Moab*, which here means the capital, identical with Ar in chap. xxi. 15-28, and with the later Areopolis, comp. the geographical section. The city comes

into notice here, not as the *capital*, but as the *border city*. This it had become not long before; Sihon, the Amorite, having captured the country even to the Arnon, from the former kings of Moab; comp. chap. xxi. 26. It may be observed how exactly informed the author appears in this passage. How natural it was for a later writer to have represented Balak, who still survived Sihon, as victorious. The city of Moab had, at an earlier period, been situated in the centre of the country. Since the capital of the country certainly was not at first situated immediately on the borders, we perceive a real confirmation of the account of the Pentateuch of the losses which the Moabites suffered through the Amorites.—The border of the *Arnon*, the northern boundary, is here placed in opposition to the other boundaries; for instance, the border of the wilderness, or the Eastern; the border of the Red Sea, or the Western. That ~~was~~ refers to the Arnon, “which is in the utmost coast,” for, “which forms the extreme boundary of Moab,” appears plain from the parallel passage, chap. xxi. 13: “For Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites;” comp. Judg. xi. 18: “For Arnon is the border of Moab.” This addition seems not to have a purely *geographical* significance. It points to this, that the honour which Balak rendered to Balaam was so great that he went to meet him even to the very utmost border of his territory, and received him immediately on the threshold of his land. This mark of honour shown to him towards the close of his journey would certainly have given the last blow to the already nearly extinct conscience of Balaam, if it had not shortly before been awakened to new life by the divine warning. CALVIN has placed in a conspicuous light the contradiction in which the heathen religious conceptions appear here, as everywhere else, to be involved: *pseudoprophetis suis sunt supplices, sordide illis blandiuntur ac tantum non adorant, ut vix quicquam fingi queat humilius: fovent tamen intus superbiam quæ illis minime cogitantibus rumpit. Egreditur rex officii et honoris causa in adventum prophetæ.—Mox tamen detegitur æmulatione, dum expostulans cum Balaam copias suas et opes jactat, quibus eum possit munerari. Hoc vero tantundem valet, ac si mercedi subjiceret munus propheticum et suis divitiis imperium vindicaret in raticinia.*

Ver. 37. The prefixed Infin. Absol.  $\text{חָלַף}$  places the action, and also the verbal conception, very prominent; and indicates the stress of the action, which we express merely by the tone, comp. EWALD, *Gr. Gr.*, 560-61: have I not sent to thee? The king places in a conspicuous point of view the importance which was attached to his sending, and expresses his astonishment that his *sending* had not for its result the immediate coming of Balaam, unless he deemed him unable to fulfil his promise to honour him, which had been given in connexion with his sending.

Ver. 38. Balaam seeks even here to moderate somewhat previously the expectations of Balak, who, from his willingness to *come*, drew the very natural conclusion that he would willingly *curse*. He opposes to the opinion of Balak, that he was master of his own words, the declaration that his tongue is in the service of a higher being, and thereby declines to give any security for the result.

Ver. 39. Kirjath-huzoth, *the city of Streets*, (*Strassburg*,) does not occur elsewhere. But its position cannot be doubtful, after that Ar, whence they set out, and Bamoth Baal, whether they repaired on the second morning, have been determined. It must have been situated within the Amoritico-Moabitish territory, probably at the foot of Bamoth Baal.

Ver. 40. That the offerings are not so much *thank-offerings* for Balaam's happy arrival as *precatory offerings* for the success of the enterprise in hand,\* appears clear from the place and time of their being presented, not at the place where Balak first met Balaam, and just on the eve of the great act. Undoubtedly, the offerings were presented not to the Moabitish deity—with which in the whole transaction we have nothing to do—but to Jehovah, whom Balak, in conjunction with Balaam, would render unfavourable to Israel, and propitious to Moab. If Balak had

---

\* Comp. NÄGELSBACH, *Hom. Theol.*, p. 181: "When the conviction exists that the gods are needed in all the events of life, in every action and enterprise, then sacrificial rites, the burnt offering, or the more compendious drink offering, pervade the whole life, and are, as it were, a prayer clothed in an action. We find, therefore, not only thank-offerings for a danger happily averted, and for a victory achieved, but also offerings before departure, before a battle, &c. Ulysses' repeated  $\sigma\pi\omicron\nu\delta\eta$  in the hall of Alcinoüs, with the song of Demodocus, is a powerful prayer for future favour, just as Penelope, at the request of Telemachus, by a vow of a hecatomb, is said to have brought the vengeance of Zeus upon the suitors."



confidence in the power of his god to protect his people against Israel, then he would not have deemed the cursing of Israel at all necessary, and would not have sent to Balaam; for what the god of *Moab* was able to accomplish, that might be attained even without the application of such means. That Balak should send of the flesh of the victims to *Balaam*, as well as to his princes, was a fulfilment of the promise: "I will promote thee unto very great honour." CALVIN: *ut ei puderet regi tam magnifico et a quo non modo amice sed liberaliter tractatus erat, quidquam negare.*

Ver. 41. The morning here is the morning of the day which followed the day of the sacrifice, and of the sacrificial feast held in the evening. •Bamoth Baal, (on which consult the geographical section,) comes into notice here, not as a place consecrated to Baal, but simply as the first height on the way, from which at least a part of the Israelitish camp could be seen; comp. the following: "And he saw thence the utmost part of the people." Balak went upon the supposition that Balaam must necessarily have Israel before his eyes, if his curse was to be effective.

Chap. xxiii. 1, 2. As the offering of sacrifice among the ancients generally preceded all important enterprises (comp. NÄGELSBACH, *a. a. o.*), so were *conjurations* especially introduced by sacrifice. DIODORUS SICULUS says, ii. 29, that the Chaldeans, to whom Balaam stands in the closest relation, sought by *sacrifice* and *conjuration* to avert calamity and to produce prosperity. So, according to HIEROCLES, *de providentia et fato*, p. 240, threatening destinies were sought to be averted by *conjuration and sacrifice* (ἐπωδαῖς καὶ θυσίαις τὴν γένεσιν παρατρεπεσθαι). According to NEMESIUS, *de Nat. Hom.* p. 294, *ed. Matth.*, the wise men of the Egyptians maintained that, by prayers and *propitiatory sacrifice*, unhappy destinies might be averted.\* Balaam did everything which,

---

\* πρὸς δὲ τοὺς σοφοὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, λέγοντας ἀληθεύσθαι μὲν τὴν διὰ τῶν ἀστρῶν εἰμαρμένην, τρέπεσθαι δὲ αὐτὴν εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοῖς· εἶναι γὰρ τινὰς καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν τῶν ἀστέρων θεραπείας, τὰς ἐκμειλισσομένας αὐτοῦς, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὑπερκειμένας δυνάμεις τὰς τρέπειν αἰτούς δυναμένας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θεραπείας τῶν θεῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμοὺς ἐπιμενοῦσθαι.

according to his own religious conceptions, was necessary for the success of Balak's undertaking, so that, in the event of failure, the cause could not be sought in a defect in the form. That the altars were erected to *Jehovah*, and the sacrifices offered to him, cannot be doubtful even from what has been already observed, and appears especially clear from this, that the request for the erection of altars and the offering of sacrifices proceeds from Balaam, who throughout acknowledges *Jehovah* as his God, that Balaam, after the offering of the sacrifice, expects an answer from *Jehovah*, and, when *Jehovah* appears to him, he finds his claim to such an answer upon the erection of the altars and the offering of the sacrifices. The *number seven* of the altars and the sacrifices is explained as significant, because the number seven, upon the ground of a just or erroneous opinion, that important relations are determined by it,\* is regarded as pleasing and holy to the Deity. Comp. on the significance of the number seven among the Greeks and Romans, IDELER, *Chronologie*, pt. i. p. 89; RITTER, *Gesch. der Phil.* i. p. 405; and LOMMATZSCH, *die Weisheit des Empedokles*, p. 246. Upon this *heathenish* dignity of the number seven rests, in many cases, the *Israelitish*: in all those where the number seven does not refer to the creation of the world, finished in seven days, as especially in the fixing of the time of the Sabbatical and Jubilee years, the manumission of the Hebrew servants, and probably also of the feast of unleavened bread, and of the feast of tabernacles, and of the interval between Passover and Pentecost. The number seven was the signature of the oath everywhere (comp. Gen. xxi. 28, et sqq.,) and especially of the covenant relation between God and Israel (comp. BÄHR, *Symb.* i. p. 193), not on account of an intrinsic relation of the oath and covenant to it, but only because oath and covenant appeared most holy to the Israelites; but the number

---

\* PASSAVANT says, p. 105: "The number seven is frequently found in nature as a period of successive degrees of development. Periods of sickness frequently follow according of seven. The time of the development of the teeth, of manhood, as well as the retrograde changes into old age, especially with women, and the sicknesses occasioned thereby, frequently follow conformably to periods of seven years." But the sacredness of the number seven most especially refers to the planets, of which the ancients only knew seven.

seven, with them, as with the surrounding nations, was deemed sacred, and consequently especially suitable to holy things, whereby, upon the grounds of the value thus attached to it, nothing at all further was regarded. Against BÄHR, who derives the significance of the number seven among Israel, from the nature of the number itself, because the number *three*, the pretended signature of *God*, and the number *four*, the pretended signature of the *world*, are united in it, so that this seven was the signature of the connexion of God with the world, the religious and covenantal number (*Symbol.* i. p. 187), the following arguments are decisive. 1. That the assertion made at p. 115, that *three* is in the Mosaic writings the signature number of the divine existence, and of everything which stands at any time in an immediate relation to him, is destitute of all solid proof—against the appeal to the form of blessing, Num. vi. 22, the only plausible argument even, the reference to Jer. vii. 4, xxii. 29, and Ez. xxi. 32, is quite sufficient—and that, in like manner, every conclusive proof for the assertion, that *four* is the signature of the world, is wanting. 2. That nowhere is the slightest hint to be found that the sacredness of the number seven rests upon the union of three and four in it. 3. That nowhere in Paganism is there any trace to be found of this meaning of the number seven, or of a derivation of its sacredness from this reason, but it appears improbable that the similar holiness of the number should rest upon entirely different grounds. 4. That this opinion contradicts all analogy, since no single number can be pointed out in the Old Testament which owes its sacredness to a speculative mode of consideration. That this is incorrectly maintained by BÄHR, with regard to three and four, we have already remarked.—With this, too, falls to the ground what is observed by him with regard to the number twelve, p. 207: “On account of its similar elements, namely, the three and four, the number twelve must next also have a like meaning, and be thus the number of the covenant.” What concerns the number twelve can only be arrived at by explaining the number twelve of the Israelitish tribes. For that the twelve, where it occurs besides in significant reference as the signature of the covenant people, rests upon the number twelve of the tribes, is plain, and is even acknowledged by BÄHR, p. 205. Now, that the number twelve of



the Israelitish tribes is not to be explained solely from the fact that the sons of Jacob were just twelve, is *correctly* maintained by BÄHR. After the recognition of Ephraim and Manasseh as separate tribes, there were properly thirteen tribes, and yet they were always reckoned only twelve tribes. Against the accidental origin of the number twelve, the analogy of the twelve princes of the tribes of the Ishmaelites, Gen. xvii. 20, and xxv. 16, and of the twelve sons of Nahor, Gen. xxii. 20-24, may be cited. But that the number twelve of the Israelitish tribes is probably not to be explained, with BÄHR, from a profound, peculiarly Israelitish idea, is shown even by the number twelve with the kindred tribes of the Nahorites and Ishmaelites, and with so many other people of antiquity, and by the circumstances that the number twelve of the Israelitish tribes rests throughout upon no divine command, but evidently arose in a natural manner—that nowhere is there any stress laid upon it, and that nowhere is there any deeper reference even intimated. The correct view is the following: Upon the ground of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and of the twelve months, the number twelve rose into such significance in antiquity, that, where it could be done without great difficulty, the division of the people was determined according to it. The Israelites found twelve to be a favourite number in this respect, and they, without enquiring upon what reason the number owed its significance, regulated also their own relations according to it, and and so much the more, as it so very easily suited them. The objection which BÄHR raises, p. 206: “Nowhere, either in the Pentateuch, or elsewhere in the Old Testament writings, is the Zodiac mentioned, much less rendered prominent, which necessarily must have been the case, if it formed the groundwork of the Israelitish constitution,” disappears of itself after what has been observed.—What part *Balak*, and what *Balaam* took in the offering of the sacrifice, cannot be determined. It is more probable from the expression, “Balak and Balaam offered,” that Balak himself, with the assistance of Balaam, offered the sacrifice, than that Balaam alone performed the priestly functions. MARK, “*Balak victimas offerendas conferens, et Bileam sacerdotis functionem sustinens tanquam divinator.*” “In the interests of the commonwealth,” observes NAGELSBACH, p. 180, “the prince may

not merely regulate the sacred rites, but, without the assistance of priests, without the temple and grove, may himself administer them." (Examples.)  $\text{בֶּשֶׂר׃ אֶבְרָא}$  does not mean, *a* bullock and *a* ram, but bullock and ram, and  $\text{אֶלְטָרִים$  is not the single altar, but the altar according to the conception of the species. It is not said how many animals, upon how many altars were offered, but only that always bullock and ram were together. The rest follows from the earlier account, that seven altars existed, and seven oxen and seven rams. According to that, a bullock and a ram was offered upon each of the seven altars.

Ver. 3. What Balaam wished to express in the words, "Peradventure the Lord will come to meet me," what kind of manifestation of God it was that he expected, appears clear from the language in chap. xxiv. 1: "he went not as at other times to seek enchantments" (auguries.) From which we perceive that the question here is concerning a manifestation in significant *phenomena of nature*. The relation of Balaam to the God of Israel is not, according to his own consciousness, sufficiently intimate for him to reckon with certainty upon a manifestation of his will merely in the inner man; only this much he thought he might hope for, that Jehovah would appear to him in significant *signs*, and would give him the ability to interpret them. In a characteristic manner, and one which bears witness to the genuinely historical character of the representation, do we meet here with the mixture of Israelitish and heathenish religious conceptions, just as they must necessarily have been found with such a man as Balaam. The following quotations may be useful for the clearer understanding of the nature of pagan auspices. NÄGELSBACH, p. 145, et sqq. says: "The concurrence of a divinely-wrought phenomenon, proceeding from heaven, with an earthly condition, in which message from heaven an *αγγελος Διός*, *Il. w.* 296, is welcome, constitutes the indicated phenomena, in consequence of the confidence reposed in the gods, that they would send such message, to be full of significance, expressing the thoughts of the deity in signs, *τερασι*; (especially such as involve, as it were, a reference to heaven and earth, as thunder and lightning, the rainbow, and the powerful flight of the eagle.)—When the Achæans embarked for Troy, when Hector distressed the fleet, it lightened on the right hand, and both

times, it is known, a favourable omen, *ἐναίσιμον*, or *ἐνδέξιον σῆμα*, was thereby given to the party which was at that moment in vigorous action.—But, then, the meaning of the *τέρας* does not in many cases follow of itself, but must be found out; the art of the diviner comes in, who explains the *τέρας* according to rules; and only in extraordinary cases, powerful immediate inspiration is exercised by uninitiated individuals.—Calchas is called *οἰωνοπόλος*, *θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστής*, as well as *μαντις*.—HARTUNG, *Rel. der Romer.*, *Th.* i. p. 96, observes: “Since the gods did not exist beyond the world, and separate from it, but the things of space and time themselves were filled by their essence, so it was quite consistent that the tokens of their presence should be sought and acknowledged in all visible and audible occurrences of animate, as well as of inanimate nature. All the phenomena in elements and in creatures, falling anywhere within the province of the senses, could accordingly serve as the medium of revelation, whether they were motions or sounds, natural productions, or occurrences of a mechanical or physical, arbitrary or involuntary kind.” The same writer says, p. 98: “The sign is of no force in itself, if it be not observed. Therefore it is necessary that God and man should *meet*, and the sign not simply be given, but also be received.” This observation is especially useful to explain the clause, “peradventure the Lord will come to meet me,” in this passage, and the remark in chap. xxiv. 1: “he went not, as at other times, to seek enchantments.”—The concluding words of the verse have been very differently explained. But the only correct interpretation is, “and he went to a bare hill.” The connexion of verbs of seeing with the accusative is very frequent, comp. EWALD, *Kl. Gr.* § 507. That *רָצַח* means a bare hill, may be established, 1. By comparison of the verb *רָצַח*, the primary signification of which is *radere*, *abradere*, *scalpere*, *limare*. \* 2. By Job xxxiii. 21: “His flesh is consumed away that it cannot be seen; and his bones that were not seen stick out;” (*רָצַח* is the reading of the text, and the true one, the marginal reading is *רָצַח* the Pual.) The

---

\* This sense is found in the Rabbinical writings, comp. BUXTORF, as well in Syriac, according to CASTELL; *רָצַח* means *scalpsit*, *scabit*, *רָצַח*, *limavit*. The meanings *aequavit*, *complanav*, and *purificavit*, *sincerum reddidit*, are only derived from them.



sense of *bareness* is here the only suitable one. For  $\text{בָּרָא}$  forms the opposition to that which before was not seen. WINER'S "*Contrita sunt ossa ejus,*" destroys the whole thought: the flesh has become invisible: on the contrary, the bones which before were unseen, are now visible, being denuded of flesh. 3. By Isa. xiii. 2,  $\text{בָּרָא בְּיָמֵינוּ}$ , ROSENMÜLLER, *in loco*, observes, *omnino est vertendum mons rarus, modus, nullis arboribus aut fruticibus consitus, unde signa aut vexilla in ejus fastigio erecta eminus prospici possunt, ut infra, xli. 18, xlix. 19.* Thus also GESENIUS and HITZIG explain it. The sense received by WINER, *mons planus*, is unsuitable. 4. By the connexion in the passage under consideration. On a hill (MARK and others,) Balaam now was; and a valley (LE CLERC and others,) was not fit for making observations. How suitable a naked hill was for Balaam's object appears plain from what HARTUNG, *Th* i. p. 118, says of the place which was selected for the auspices by the Romans: "An elevated spot with a clear prospect was always fixed upon for this purpose. In towns, this was generally the citadel; and here the pitching of a tent seems to have been unnecessary, since the citadel was a place once for all erected and consecrated to this purpose, which therefore was called *augurcaulum*. In the country, *desert, projecting mountain summits, seldom frequented by man*, were selected, which, on account of the distant prospect, were called *tesca*, from *tueri*." The ceremony which Balaam observed, having reached the naked hill, was probably not very different from that of the Roman augurs, which is thus described by HARTUNG, p. 118: "The augur covered his head, held a crook without knots in his right hand, and turned his face to the east. Then, fixing his eye upon the town and neighbourhood, he prayed to the gods, and marked out the limits of the neighbourhood from east to west, while from an object visible in the horizon just opposite to him—perhaps a tree—he drew a line to himself. What lay to the north of this line he called the left side, what lay to the south he called the right side. Then he prayed to Jupiter, that he, so far as the matter in hand was approved of by him, would cause the appointed signs, which the augur named, to appear within the prescribed boundary."

Ver. 1. The expression, "and God met Balaam," in its rela-

tion to “peradventure the Lord will come to meet me,” renders it probable that God made himself known to Balaam in the manner he expected, by natural occurrences. But the principal thing was not this communication, but the word, which the Lord put at the same time into Balaam’s mouth, the interpretation of his revelation given by himself, whereby all scope was denied for indulgence of Balaam’s sinful inclination.

Ver 7. “And he took up his parable and said.” In the verb **קָשַׁל** the sense of likening and comparing is settled as its primary meaning, by the harmony of all dialects, and consequently, also, as the root of the sense to *rule*, which does not occur in the other Semitic languages. The connexion of these meanings is most easily understood thus: **קָשַׁל** means to compare also in the sense of to arrange, and this then answers to ruling, since an essential part of the ruler’s functions consists in arranging differences among his subjects, and in removing the evils which the opposition of conflicting elements and interests brings with it. Comp. Isa. ii. 4. The noun **קָשַׁל**, *originally* means likeness, comparison, and properly maintains this sense *always*. When it is used of sentences, proverbs, and songs, then it denotes these not as such, but only so far as the idea of likeness, comparison, prevails in them. The formula, “And he took up his parable,” uniformly repeated before the utterances of Balaam, which GESENIUS, *Thes.* s. v. **קָשַׁל** refers, without reason, to the *parallelismus membrorum*, points to an essential distinction between the prophetic discourse of Balaam and that of all other prophets, which is never denoted by **קָשַׁל**, which everywhere else occurs only in properly poetic literature, comp., for example, Isa. xiv. 14, where **קָשַׁל** occurs in reference to an inserted song: “Thou shalt take up this proverb against the king of Babylon;” Psal. xlix. 5; lxxviii. 2; Job xxvii. 1; xxix. 1. There is the decided perception of the imagination, and consequently the poetic character; for the figurative style is peculiarly the language of poetry; comp. STEINBECK, *der Dichter ein Seher*, p. 282, et sqq. Corresponding peculiarities are these: the use of unusual forms, by which poetic language is distinguished from prose, and which prophetic language little affects, for instance, **קָשַׁל** in chap. xxiv. 3, 15, comp. EWALD, *Propheten*, i. p. 47; the exact parallelism, the movement of the discourse in short,

pointed sentences, while the prophetic style appears but little connected, and unfolds itself in long periods, comp. EWALD, p. 50 ; finally, the fact that in chaps. xxiii. 7, xxiv. 3, 4, 14-16, even the prologue has a poetic character, while the prophets commence their declarations in a prosaic style. All this, by which Balaam is distinguished from the prophets, proceeds from a common source, the circumstance that Balaam has only the *donum* and not the *munus propheticum*, that he has no *community* about him, and is not animated by the endeavour to act upon it ; comp. the derivation of the distinction between the prophetic and the poetic diction from the relation of the prophet to the community, in EWALD, p. 46, 50. In Balaam we perceive throughout that his spiritual eye is only directed to that which he sees, and he utters it again without regard to the impression which it ought to have on the hearer. In Balaam all these peculiarities are throughout natural : *cessante causa cessat effectus*. But who at a later period would have been able to have placed himself thus in his position ? Certainly an Israelite in later times, who prophesied in his name, would have given nothing else than a faint copy of the common prophetic style.

THE FIRST PROPHECY. CHAP. XXIII. 7-10.

I am required to *curse* Israel, says Balaam, but how *can* I, when God the true author and sole lord of blessing and cursing, does not curse, but blesses him. That this is the case, I learn from the appearance of Israel, a happy nation, which God protects from every injury to its national integrity, and which enjoys heavenly protection more than all the nations of the earth. To an innumerable multitude it has increased, and it still increases, through the blessing of the Lord. Oh, that my end might be as that of these good, and, therefore, blessed ones ! Oh, that I might die like them in the enjoyment of the mercy of the Lord, refreshed by the recollection of a long blissful past, joyful in the hope of a futurity.

Verse 7. "From Aram Balak hath brought me,  
The king of Moab from the mountains of the East ;  
Come, curse me Jacob,  
And come, defy Israel.



8. How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed?  
Or how shall I threaten, whom Jehovah hath not threatened?
9. For from the tops of the rocks I see him,  
And from the hills I behold him;  
Behold, he is a people that dwelleth alone,  
And does not reckon itself among the heathen.
10. Who can count the dust of Jacob,  
And the number of the fourth part of Israel?  
Let me die the death of the righteous,  
And let my end be like his."

---

Ver. 7. The laws of the parallelism so very strictly observed by Balaam, require that we should not, with most interpreters, regard the expression, 'the king of Moab,' as in apposition to 'Balak : ' "from Aram Balak hath brought me, the king of Moab, from the mountains of the East ;" but rather after the words 'king of Moab,' we should supply 'hath brought me!' 'Balak' and the 'king of Moab' stand in the same relation to each other as 'Balak' and the 'Son of Zippor' in the prologue to the second prophecy in chap. xxiii. 18, as 'Jacob' and 'Israel,' as 'El' and 'Jehovah.' The words are designedly so placed that the beginning of the second member may take up again the conclusion of the first ;\* just as in chap. xxiii. 18 :

" Rise up, Balak, and hear ;  
Hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor."

That by the words הַרְיִיִקָּיִם in this passage is not meant, perhaps, as in Deut. xxxiii. 15, Hab. iii. 6, the mountains of *antiquity*, the old mountains, but the mountains of the *East*, (comp. the expression אֶרֶץ־קֵיִן, Gen. xxv. 6 ; and especially "land of the people of the East," of Mesopotamia, in Gen. xxix. 1,) appears clear from the parallelism with Aramea, which lay eastward from Moab, by which, according to chap. xxii. 5, Deut. xxiii. 5, is to be understood Aram of the two rivers, Mesopotamia. The *old* mountains would also be here entirely without meaning. MARK,

---

\* Comp. SWAVING, *Comm. in Vatic. Bileami*, in *Symbol. Hag.* t. i. p. 8: Non negligenda est ea verborum dispositio, qua totius prioris distichi initialia et extrema verba sic ponuntur, ut prius hemistichium claudatur ab eo subjecto, a quo incipi secundum, posterius autem claudatur ab eo, a quo incipit prius.

*Comm. in Pent. in loco*, has rightly understood the reason why Balaam thought, in this connexion, of the mountains of his home: “*Post mentionem Syriæ illa montium Orientis adjecta, cum relatione quadam ad montes Moabiticos in quibus nunc consistebat divinaturus,*” comp. ver. 4. The words which Balaam puts into the mouth of Balak, differ from those of the message sent by him in chap. xxii. 6, only as poetry differs from prose. On the form  $\text{אֹרַח}$ , *Orah*, as well as  $\text{אֹרַחַת}$ , in chap. xxii. 11, 17, comp. EWALD, *Gram.* § 294. The word  $\text{אֹרַחַת}$  is also the imper. Kal, comp. GESENIUS, *Lehrgeb.* p. 170. The verb  $\text{אָרַח}$ , which, as well as the noun  $\text{אֹרַח}$ , belongs exclusively to poetical language,\* stands always for violent anger, and has never the sense of cursing, which has been arbitrarily assigned to it here. In Micah vi. 19, which, besides, is adduced in favour of this meaning, the sense of to be angry is the only suitable one: “the scant ephah is regarded with anger,” namely by God, as indeed the noun  $\text{אֹרַח}$  is often used, without any addition, to express the anger of *God*. The expression  $\text{אֹרַחַת יְהוָה}$  in Prov. xxii. 14, and also, “Divers weights are an abomination to the Lord,” may be compared. Just as suitable is the meaning of being angry in Prov. xxiv. 24: “He that saith unto the wicked, Thou art righteous, him shall the people curse, nations shall abhor  $\text{יִרְצְמוּ}$  him.” In the passage under consideration, the sense of *being angry* will appear quite appropriate, if it be considered that the curse can only be the result of the most violent inward excitement against the object of it, and that any one would strive, before pronouncing it, to arouse himself to rage in every way, upon the intensity of which the efficacy of the curse depended. A slight alteration in the sense is certainly demanded here, as in Prov. xxiv. 24, by the construction with the accusative; comp. on such constructions of the intransitive and reflexive verb with the accusative instead of with prepositions, in which *poets* especially have great license, EWALD, *Gram.* § 482.  $\text{אָרַח}$  with prepositions, *to be angry with* any one, or *at* anything; with the accusative, *to vent anger on* any one.

---

\* The primary signification, adopted by SCHULTENS, GESENIUS, and others, *to foam*, is altogether uncertain, and appears only to rest upon a misunderstood passage of the *Kamus*. In Hebrew, likewise, no trace of it is found.

Ver. 8. Balak supposed that blessing and cursing were dependent on Balaam, that his God must follow whither he led him. "I wot," he says, "that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed," ch. xxii. 6. Balaam did not decidedly oppose this view in general, though he did so in reference to the concrete case, to which it was applied. Here Jehovah curses not, but blesses; and, since he is the absolute Lord of blessing and of cursing—since his servants only *announce* his determination either to bless or to curse, but can neither *fix* nor *alter* it—how then could *he* curse? of what use would it be? what could induce him to venture it? The difference between Balaam and Balak, we may suppose, consisted not in this, that the latter was desirous that Balaam should curse in spite of the divine decree, which even he regarded as fixed: what he wanted was an *efficient* curse, and such a one Balaam could pronounce only when his will was in harmony with the will of God. The difference consisted rather in this, that Balak acknowledged no absolute, unalterable decree of God; he fancied that Balaam could treat his God compulsorily, as being absolutely dependent on himself in reference to blessing and cursing,—that it depended only on the energetic will of Balaam to curse, so that the divine curse would follow his curse by direct consequence. In opposition to this false notion, Balaam presents the absolute and unalterable decree of God, not to curse, but to bless, Israel. This is the view taken by CALVIN: *Interea se potentia illa abdicat, qua ipsum excellere persuasus fuerat Balaam. Verba enim ejus prius retulit Moses; scio maledictum fore quem tu maledixeris; ac si translata in eum esset dei virtus, ut eum pro libidine huc illuc versaret. Quid autem id aliud erat, quam deo abrogare suum imperium? Hoc igitur abominabile figmentum refellitur ore Balaam; dum uni deo jus benedicendi asserit.* This knowledge of the determination of God, not to curse, but to bless Israel, Balaam had acquired in the first instance from extraneous sources, namely from the revelations made to the patriarchs, to which he refers on every occasion, with the palpable intention of indicating that they formed the basis of his own predictions. The knowledge thus obtained from without had already become, through the influence of God's



Spirit, an internal conviction, and this conviction, by a peculiarly powerful operation of the same divine agent, had risen to an absolute and triumphant assurance. (Compare the expression in ver. 5, “*And the Lord put a word in Balaam’s mouth.*”) The clause, “*How shall I curse whom God hath not cursed?*” probably does not mean, “How can I curse *any* whom God has not cursed?” as if Balaam merely laid down a general proposition, and left Balak to apply it to the case in hand; but the suffix in  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  is to be referred specifically to Israel. “How can I curse *him* whom God hath not cursed?” The omission of the suffix in  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  is probably to be explained thus: that Balaam would not allow himself in the bold construction of using the verb twice with the accusative; this absence of the suffix is against the opinion of those who would assign to  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  the meaning *to curse*. The word  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  occurs in prose only a few times in the history of Balaam, chap. xxii. 17; xxiii. 11, and nowhere else in the Pentateuch, from which it follows, that even at that time it was beginning to disappear from current use. From this root is to be derived not only  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$ , but also  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$ . The incorrectness of the common opinion, which makes  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  the future of  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  (though lately maintained by GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus*, p. 908), is not only to be inferred from this passage, in which a change of the verbs would be unsuitable, but also from the fact, that the verb  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$ , where it occurs in the Preterite, active and passive Participle, and Imperative, never has the meaning *to curse*, not even in Niphal and its derivatives; the proof that  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  in Lev. xxiv. 11, 16, has not the meaning *to curse*, but *to express*—in which meaning  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  occurs only in the Pentateuch, and in passages derived from it—is given in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 245. The forms which seem to require a derivation from  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$ , occur only in the Future, and they are here rather to be explained from a leaning in form of  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  on  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$ , with which it has otherwise no connection, since verbs in  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  generally incline in the Future to verbs in  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  (see EWALD’S *Larger Grammar*, p. 473), and since  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  would otherwise have no Future at all, for no other form of it occurs elsewhere.

Ver. 9. It is evident that we are not to consider (with perhaps most critics) the  $\text{׀}^{\text{׀}}$  as superfluous (the Vulgate omits it), nor, as others take it, which amounts nearly to the same thing,

as employed to give emphasis; neither has it the sense of *quando*. These are only makeshifts. At all events, the  $\text{ו}$  must announce the confirmation of the position laid down in the preceding verse. "God curses him not, and Jehovah is not wroth with him." Such a confirmation may be pointed out in what follows in a twofold manner. We may either place a colon after the words—

"From the tops of the rocks I see him,  
And from the hills I behold him:"

so that the confirmation is not contained in these words alone, but in their connection with the sequel; "for from the tops of the rocks I behold him as a people that dwells alone," &c.; or we may place after the words "I behold him," a full stop, and consider the sequel as a further extension and more exact determination of the thought. That the clause "from the tops of the rocks I see him, and from the hills I behold him," is in itself adapted to be a confirmation of the position "God curses him not," cannot be doubted, if we only consider, that Balaam's ecstatic vision was throughout not merely corporeal, that with the seeing of the bodily eye there was combined at the same time the penetration of the spiritual eye into the depths that are concealed from the bodily which rests only on the surface, even into the inward essence of things. This is shown most plainly in the third Prophecy, in chap xxiv. 5. The man with open eyes there depicts the loveliness of the tents of Israel, in a manner which shows that the outward beholding is introduced only as the basis of the inward. Now, if Balaam's beholding was of this kind, the view itself of the Israelitish encampment would furnish him with evidence to justify such expressions as  $\text{לֹא יִרְאֶה וְלֹא יִבְרַח}$  and  $\text{לֹא יִרְאֶה וְלֹא יִבְרַח}$ . In this manner COCCEIUS expounds the passage. *Non execrari deum Israelitas demonstrat ex re manifesta. Rem manifestam indicat dum dicit se Israelem videre de capite petrarum et ex collibus contemplari. Nempe talem ut in eo nullum exstet divinae irae vestigium, sed potius benedictionis.* A remark of CALVIN'S furnishes a canon for the interpretation of the following clause: "Behold, it is a people that dwelleth alone, and numbereth not itself among the heathen." *Non de virtute populi, sed tantum de benedictione Dei agitur.* What we are to under-

stand by *dwelling alone*, may be best gathered from the parallel passages, of which Deut. xxxiii. 28 is the most important.

וַיִּשְׁכֵּן יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּטָח  
בְּדָר עִין יַעֲקֹב

“ And Israel dwelleth in *safety*  
*Alone* is the fountain of Jacob.”

בְּדָר, *alone*, here stands in parallelism with בְּטָח, *in safety*. It is said in the preceding verse, “*He driveth out the enemy before thee, and saith, Destroy!*” Moreover, there appears to be an allusion to the passage before us, and that in Deuteronomy, in Micah vii. 14.

“ Feed thy people with thy rod,  
The flock of thine heritage,  
Which dwell solitary in the wood,  
in the midst of Carmel.”

the sense of which is correctly given by EWALD. “*May Jehovah, as the good Shepherd, lead his people, his own congregation, never again to be separated from him, a quiet, protected, little company, as a flock in the forest of the beautiful Carmel.*” Also Jerem. xlix. 31.

Arise, get you up to the nation that is at ease,  
That dwelleth *securely* (לְבִטָּחָה), saith Jehovah;  
Which have neither gates nor bars,  
Dwelling *alone* (בְּדָר).

According to these parallel passages, the exposition of COCCEIUS and others, which refers “*the dwelling alone*” to the special laws and institutions by which God distinguished and separated Israel from all other nations, must be rejected. As a comment on the phrase, “*dwelling alone*,” we may also consider the passage in Judges xviii. 7, describing the inhabitants of Laish as “*a people who dwelt securely* (לְבִטָּחָה), . . . quiet and secure (בְּטָח) . . . and had no business with any man.” The *dwelling alone* denotes a quiet and protected retirement. No one interfered with the affairs of Israel—no one came near them, injured them in their privileges; they kept their own concerns to themselves; to the world at large it was the same as if no such



people existed. By the wall of the divine protection they were separated from the world—they were exempted from those great catastrophes by which the whole aspect of the world is changed. It is self-evident that Israel would enjoy the great prerogatives which are here assigned to it, only as long as it was really Israel. The *internal* “dwelling alone” formed the indispensable condition of the *external* “dwelling alone.” The outward separation from the heathen world lasted only as long as Israel maintained a separation from it, in reference to morals and religion. No sooner did the influence of the world affect Israel internally, than its external power also gained the ascendancy. That this *conditionality* in the promise, which was founded on the *holiness* of God, and the *covenant relation* in which he stood to Israel, was clearly understood by Balaam, is shown by the epithet, “*righteous,*” applied to Israel in ver. 10, and his foreseeing the threatened captivity of the people in chap. xxiv. 22, which could depend only on the violation of a subjective condition, since God, according to Balaam’s declaration, was not a man, that he should lie, nor the son of man, that he should repent; it is also shown by the counsel which Balaam afterwards gave to the Moabites and Midianites, that by seducing Israel into sin, they might neutralise and annul the blessing of God. But it must not be kept out of sight, that, in reference to the internal separation from the world, which formed the necessary condition of the outward, Israel, was not altogether left to itself, in which case the promise would have been mere mockery; but God bountifully afforded means for this purpose. By his law he gave Israel *instructions* respecting this separation. Compare Deut. iv. 8, “*And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments, so righteous as all this law, which I set before you this day?*” By his servants the prophets, whom he raised up in succession, he gave powerful *incitements* to obey it; and by his Spirit, whose agency formed the distinguishing characteristic of the covenant-people (Isaiah lxiii. 11), and who, in being the instrument of the closest connection with God, the Holy One, brought about the separation from the profane world, he imparted the *power* to perform it. There were times when the people, notwithstanding these means of separation, that were so abundantly furnished by the Lord, pulled down with impious hands the wall of separation

which divided them from the heathen world. But the promise, "*Behold the people shall dwell alone,*" never lost its significance. The punishment which ensued, in consequence of the neglect of the internal separation, was always at the same time the means of establishing it afresh; and, in connection with the powerful agency of the Spirit that accompanied it, could not fail of its object. And as soon as the regeneration of the people was effected, the declaration, "*Behold there is a people that dwelleth alone,*" once more became a fact. This is shown in a multitude of instances, recorded in the Book of Judges. But the promise is not limited merely to the times of the old covenant. According to the scriptural view, there is only one Israel under the two economies. The Church of the New Covenant, of which the Israelitish *ἐκλογὴ* formed the basis, with a separation of those who constituted only an Israel in appearance (*Scheinisrael*), is to be considered as the direct continuation of Israel. With *it* the promise abides through all ages, and is constantly in a process of fulfilment. As soon as it separates itself inwardly from the profane world, and in proportion as it does so, it is also separated outwardly from the world, protected against its attacks and influences, and raised to a powerful self-subsistence. This declaration is a pledge to the Church that she can never be brought into outward bondage to the world, if she is not spiritually enslaved by it, and, therefore, furnishes her with the most powerful motive to emancipate herself from spiritual bondage, and to be on her guard against it. In this reference it is said in the last clause, of Israel, "*it does not reckon itself with the heathen,*" *יִתְחַשֵּׁב* in accordance with the usual force of Hithpabel, is to be translated "*reckons itself,*" and not "*it is reckoned,*" which is determined most certainly by the parallelism "*dwelleth alone,*" of which the sense has been established by the parallel passages. Hence it is evident Israel is here described as not reckoning itself with the heathen in reference to its condition; in a different manner from the heathen, Israel is secured by the protection of the Lord from foreign pressure, foreign intermixture, and foreign usurpation. Israel is the only people that has a real protection in heaven. Hence we infer that not, as many expositors suppose, such a passage as Deut. iv. 8, is to be considered parallel, where the laws and institutions by which Israel was distinguished above

all nations, are celebrated ("for what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them as the Lord our God is in all things that we call upon him for"), but more particularly Deut. xxxiii. 29, which is connected with ver. 28, as the clause before us to the verse that precedes it: "*Happy art thou, O Israel: who is like unto thee, O people saved by the Lord, the shield of thy help, and who is the sword of thy excellency! and thine enemies shall be found liars unto thee; and thou shalt tread upon their high places.*" Compare also 2 Sam. vii. 13. Here also the defect of Israel from its ideal as the chosen people, occasions the fulfilment of the prophecy to be presented as incomplete, but even in this incompleteness it is exceedingly rich. How truly Balaam said that Israel "*did not reckon itself with the heathen,*" appears from the fact, that while all the powerful empires of the ancient world, the Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, and others, have utterly perished, Israel, which even under the Old Covenant was rescued from so many dangers that threatened its entire destruction, particularly in being brought back from exile, flourishes anew in the Church of the New Covenant, and continues also to exist in that part of it which, though at present rejected, is destined to restoration at a future period.

Ver. 10. In this verse Israel is first of all celebrated for the countless multitude to which it had encreased; and then the seer, as is suitable to the close, reverts to more general topics, especially the enviable lot of the people. The expression, "*Who can count the dust of Jacob?*" which is equivalent to saying, "*Jacob is like the dust for its countless multitude,*" alludes to the promise in Gen. xiii. 16, "*And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth: so that if a man can number the dust of the earth, then shall thy seed also be numbered;*" and the reference to this passage cannot be considered as an accidental reminiscence, but like all the similar predictions of Balaam, arises from an endeavour to connect the revelation made to him with the earlier fundamental revelations, and thus to legitimate it as truly divine. This endeavour to rest the later revelations on the earlier, runs through the whole prophetic system, and is found in the most original and independent prophets. The phrase *מִי יִמְנָה* means, "*Who has determined it? who has ever done it?*" But this is presented as a position which has a reality not merely for the



present, but for the future. Neither now nor in the future, can the question *Who hath determined?* be answered in the affirmative. But that we are not to think merely of the future, is shown, not only by the use of the Preterite, but by the second clause, where the mention of the fourth part of Israel stands in relation to the circumstances of the present; likewise by the passage it Deut. x. 22, where the promise formerly made to the Patriarchs of a numerous posterity, appears as already fulfilled, "*Thy fathers went down into Egypt with three score and ten persons; and now the Lord thy God hath made thee as the stars of heaven for multitude.*" In the words, "*and the number of the fourth part of Israel,*" there is a reference to the mode in which the Israelites were encamped. They were in four divisions, each consisting of three tribes, around the Tabernacle, which was placed in the centre, in the immediate neighbourhood of which were its ministers, the Levites. Compare Numb. ii. and x. This slight and artless reference to an arrangement which reached its termination with the Mosaic age, and existed only during the march through the desert, contradicts the opinion of those who regard the prophecies of Balaam as the productions of a later period. A later writer, if it had occurred to him to allude to this arrangement, would not have satisfied himself with so slight an allusion.

The word מִסְפָּר has given expositors much trouble. The attempts to alter the reading—VENEMA on Mal. i. 13, with whom SCHROEDER and DE GEER agree, proposes for מִסְפָּר to read מִי סָפַר *who hath counted?*—and several forced and ungrammatical explanations, such as that according to which the noun stands instead of the verb, or the ׀ is taken as the sign of the genitive—and this, *quis numerum, quis quartam partem Israelis*—have arisen on the one hand, from not recognising the accusative which serves for the completion of the verbal idea by specifying the kind and manner—see EWALD'S *Smaller Grammar*, § 515. "Who hath determined *according to number* (even only) the fourth part of Israel,"—the fourth part in contrast to the whole; and, on the other hand, from a misapprehension of the meaning of מִסְפָּר. If with all the expositors we give it the meaning *to number*, then to add, *according to number*, seems superfluous and confusing. But since מִסְפָּר shows that this cannot be the correct meaning, a wider meaning is required which is capable of being

restricted by מִסָּפֵר, and to such a one we are led by the first clause as well as by the passage on which this is founded in Gen. xiii. 16. The phrase, *Who counts?* can only be used respecting objects, which, abstractly considered, are numerable (*zählbar*), but which by their multitude preclude numeration (*unzählig*). This does not apply to the dust. Even of the sand of the sea, Jeremiah uses the term *measure*, xxxiii. 22: "As the host of heaven cannot be numbered (יִסְפֹּר), neither the sand of the sea (יָמַד) *measured*." And yet sand is far more suited for numbering than dust. Of an object really numerable in the parallel passage, Genesis xv. 5, not מִנְּיָה but סָפֵר is used. This necessity for a more general meaning of מִנְּיָה, which is founded on the passage before us, is corroborated by the fact that the fundamental meaning of the verb in Arabic, and of Piel and the derivative nouns, and in Isaiah lxxv. 12, is that of *determining, fixing, destining*. And on closer examination, we find that this is the only meaning of the word in the Pentateuch, that that of *numbering* is quite unknown to it: so that GESENIUS is quite in error when he says of the latter meaning, in his *Thesaurus: Quæ significatio in antiquiore Hebraismo usitator est licet illa (that of determining) origine prior esse videatur. To number* is in the Pentateuch always סָפֵר, which occurs no less than twelve times in this sense, Gen. xli. 49, Lev. xv. 13, 28, Deut. xvi. 9. In later times סָפֵר fell into disuse in this sense in the language of common life, in which מִנְּיָה took its place, and was restricted to higher composition, and especially to poetry. Not a single passage can be adduced to prove, that סָפֵר in later times still belonged to the current language of common life. The passages in 1 Chron. xxiii. 3, 2 Chron. ii. 1, 16, Ezra i. 8, furnish no proof for this purpose, since the writers after the Captivity, who had acquired the language, as scholars, from its ancient monuments, and showed a special preference for the phraseology of the Pentateuch, can never be considered as witnesses of the current language of later times. The passages in 1 Kings iii. 8, where it is said in Solomon's prayer, "And thy servant is in the midst of thy people whom thou hast chosen, a numerous people, אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִמְנָה וְלֹא יִסְפֹּר מִרְבּוֹ," proves neither for nor against it. For here is almost an express reference to the Pentateuch, from which both מִנְּיָה and יִסְפֹּר are borrowed, and the words must be regarded as if they

had marks of quotation. Exactly analogous also are the passages in Gen. xvi. 10: "And I will multiply thy seed exceedingly, that it shall not be numbered for multitude," רָבָה יִסְפָּר יִמְיָב, and Gen. xxxii. 13 (12), "and make thy seed as the sand of the sea, which cannot be numbered for multitude." The same remark applies also to some passages in the Books of Kings, in which סָפַר still occurs in the sense of *to number*, 1 Kings viii. 3. Exactly the same words occur there, but in a different application, which is a proof how current the expression contained in the Pentateuch was among the people. Lastly, the word סָפַר in the sense of *to number* is also found in 2 Sam. xxiv. 10, but not exactly in a common narrative, but in a passage where the tone begins to use and assume the character of poetry: "*And David's heart smote him* (וַיִּדָּבֶר לִבֵּי דָוִד), quite a poetical expression) *after that he had numbered the people.*" We have obtained in this manner, at the same time, a contribution of some importance to the inquiries respecting the phraseology of the Pentateuch in relation to that of the other books of the Old Testament. The coincidence cannot be regarded as purely accidental. Such a notion is contradicted by the frequency of סָפַר in the Pentateuch, and also in poetry—by the non-occurrence of נִסְפַּר in the Pentateuch in the sense of *numbering*, combined with the non-occurrence of סָפַר in the later books—by the fact, that the only two passages in the Books of Kings where סָפַר occurs are referable to the Pentateuch; and, lastly, it is altogether the most natural course that the original general meaning of נִסְפַּר should occur alone in the oldest books, and the secondary and special meaning in the later ones.

In reference to the fulfilment of the promise contained in these two first clauses, CALVIN remarks: *Tenendum est, quamvis populi scelere ad exiguum numerum redacta fuerit illa multitudo, non tamen frustra hoc fuisse pronuntiatum: quia paucitas illa tandem exundavit, ut totum mundum expleret.* In these words the final fulfilment is placed, with perfect correctness, in the times of the Messiah. If, even under the Old Covenant, individuals belonging to other nations, provided they submitted to circumcision, were incorporated with the Covenant people, and if this happened demonstrably in all ages,—if, therefore, bodily descent from Jacob was not a necessary condition of



belonging to Israel,—we may conclude that the immense increase which Israel received in the time of Christ from the heathen, is comprehended under this prophecy. Its fulfilment is constantly progressive. It is a pledge to us of a continually increasing extension of the Church, a constant addition to the number of its members; and gives us the assurance, that, even if, through the Church's criminality, a diminution should take place, it can only be temporary—that, after it, God will only utter more powerfully to the Church his command, “*Be fruitful and multiply.*”

In the second half of the verse, the word אֶת־יְהוָה *end*, is determined by the parallelism to mean *the end of life*. כִּי־יָמֵהוּ *like him*, for *like his end*, is sufficient, since it has already been plainly expressed in what respect Balaam wished to be like Israel. Here, first of all, it is doubtful in what sense Balaam wished to be like Israel in death. The older expositors have generally found here an allusion to that happy immortality which awaits the members of the Church of God. Even the cautious and unprejudiced CALVIN favours this view. *Unde sequitur*, he says, *gratiam dei fines hujus caducæ vitæ excedere. Quare hæc vox insigne continent testimonium futuræ immortalitatis.* J. D. MICHAELIS also adopted this interpretation. Yet, since the blessing of Balaam relates otherwise to this world only, and likewise the original promises contained in Genesis on which it rests—since the curse desired by Balak of which this blessing formed the opposite, referred not to Israel's well-being in the future state, but solely and alone to the present world—since the future state is generally in the Pentateuch kept very much in the background for reasons which have been stated in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 460-473, and so distinct an allusion to the future happiness of the chosen people of God, as according to such an interpretation would exist here occurs nowhere else in it—we could only venture to adopt such an explanation, if there were no other within our reach. But this is manifestly not the case. Balaam could wish to die the death of the chosen in another respect than with a view to a happy immortality. To be convinced of this, let any one compare the death that Balaam actually died, punished by Israel's avenging sword (Num. xxxi. 8), and tortured by the consciousness of

the loss of God's favour, with that of Abraham to whom it was promised, "*Thou shalt go to thy fathers in peace, thou shalt be buried in a good old age,*" (Gen. xv. 15,) and of whose death, when it occurred, it is said, in Gen. xxv. 8, "*Abraham died in a good old age, an old man and full of years, and was gathered to his people;*" or compare it with it that of Isaac, Jacob, or Moses. Three points are here to be considered, which distinguished the death of the chosen and made it so desirable. Their death was happy in reference to the Present, the Past, and the Future. (i.) They died in the enjoyment of God's favour, in the consciousness of his love. (ii.) Abundant satisfaction was afforded them in a review of the past. Wherever their eye turned, the traces appeared of God's favour, blessing, forgiving, rescuing, and saving them; their prayers had been answered—protection had been granted against their enemies—and their lives had been prolonged through every vicissitude to the final stage, and then was not abruptly or violently cut off, but gently expired. This particular is alone brought forward by STEUDEL, (p. 76,) who gives as the sense of the passage, "Balaam wishes to be able, at the close of life, to look back on the past with the same satisfaction as his citizens." (iii.) The chosen were cheered in their death by bright anticipations of the future destiny of their people and race. That this consideration is far too important to be omitted, is shown by the blessing which Jacob uttered on his death-bed to his sons, and that of Moses shortly before his death, to the assembled tribes. The more individuals at that time identified their life with that of the whole body, and the patriarch regarded his posterity as the continuation of his own existence, so much the more must the Future, rich in blessings for which the divine promise was a pledge, have occupied the thoughts of the departing saint, and taken the bitterness of death away. This is remarkably apparent in the words of the dying Jacob, "*I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord!*" (Gen. xlix. 18,) which are exactly suited to illustrate the language of Balaam. LE CLERC observes on this passage, *Videtur Balaamus scivisse, divinitus se immaturo fato moriturum fuisse, atque eo hic respicere*, and it would really seem that such a presentiment had seized his mind, of which a consciousness of his own impurity formed the basis—that impurity which, though for

a season it was repressed by the mighty operation of God's Spirit, soon revived with fearful energy, led to the frustration of the wish here expressed, and prepared for him an awful end.

It now only remains to determine the meaning of יְשָׁרִים. The absence of the article, though the term refers not to *Jesharim* generally, but to *specific Jesharim*, the children of Israel as *Jesharim*, is to be explained not only on the general ground that the article in poetry is often omitted, but also that here *Jesharim* assumes the nature of a proper name corresponding to *Jeshurun*, which requires to be noticed along with it. The Israelites are the only *Jesharim* (considered in reference to other nations), so that the article is unnecessary for the purpose of defining and pointing out the peculiar reference. In the Title כִּסֵּף הַיְשָׁרִים the latter word is equivalent to, *the Israelite*.

As to the meaning of יְשָׁרִים that of *the fortunate* (*glückliche*) which is adopted by DE GEER and others, must be rejected as quite arbitrary. Where the Hebrew *usus loquendi* is so well established as in the case of יָשָׁר that it invariably has the meaning of *rectitude* and *probity*, nothing is gained by an appeal to the Arabic. The assertion that Balaam had no concern with the uprightness of the Israelites, but with their prosperity, is set aside by observing that Balaam, when he designated the Israelites as *the upright*, makes an allusion to the ground of the difference of their lot from that of all other nations, and traces it to its moral necessity. That such an allusion is unsuitable, no one would venture to maintain. As little also can CALVIN'S opinion be approved of, who, though he explains יְשָׁרִים by *upright* or *righteous*, understands by this term not an inherent, but an imputed righteousness. *Recti vocantur Israelitae sicut aliis locis, non propria rectitudine sed dei beneplacito, qui eos dignatus fuerat segregare ab immundis gentibus.* The word יָשָׁר which so often occurs in the Psalms, stands always for inherent righteousness, and to this also *Jeshurun* relates, which corresponds exactly to *Jesharim*.

The term *Jeshurun*, as it corresponds so closely to *Jesharim*, we wish to examine a little more closely. The common opinion is that *Jeshurun* is a diminutive of *Jasher*, and means, *the righteous little people*. (See GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, and EWALD'S *Grammar*, § 346, NICHOLSON'S *translation*, p. 219.)



But we cannot accede to this assertion. For (i.) the notion that the termination *un* has a diminutive force rests on no foundation. It is found in Syriac with this meaning, but there, in all probability, it was borrowed from the Greek. (Compare CH. B. MICHAELIS in POTT'S *Sylloge*, t. i. p. 233, J. D. MICHAELIS' *Gr. Syr.* p. 15, HOFFMAN'S *Gr. Syr.* p. 251.) In Hebrew no case occurs where this meaning of the termination is absolutely required, or even where it is peculiarly suitable. In one among the few words in which it occurs—*Zebulon*, it does *not* suit. It is decisive against the opinion of a diminutive meaning of the termination, that it occurs only in proper names, in which diminutive endings are far more rare than in appellatives. Even of the termination *on* the diminutive meaning is very doubtful. The only word which has been adduced with any show of reason for it, יָדָא, *apple of the eye*, according to the common interpretation, *the little man*, may very well be regarded as the usual adjectival form, (see EWALD § 341, p. 213, *Transl.*) the manly part of the eye, *id quod virum refert*. (ii.) The diminutive meaning is unsuitable in the original passage where *Jeshurun* occurs, Deut. xxxii. 15. A term of endearment (*appellatio blanda et charitativa*) does not suit the awful punitive character of the passage :—

But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked :  
 Thou art waxen fat ; thou art grown thick ;  
 Thou art covered with fatness :  
 Then he forsook God which made him,  
 And lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation.

Also in Deut. xxxiii. 5, the *appellatio blanda et charitativa* is not very suitable : “ And he was king in *Jeshurun*.” “ No one is like the God of *Jeshurun*.”

The fact that the *un* occurs only in proper names, may be most easily accounted for, by regarding it as nothing more than an ending for words of that class. If this be admitted, *Jeshurun* is brought still nearer *Jesharim* ; it is distinguished from the latter only in this point, that it represents the quality which marks the *Jesharim* as belonging most essentially to the character of Israel by coining it into a *nomen proprium*.

The meaning of *Jeschurun*, and at the same time that of

*Jeshurun*, is determined by what is said of God in Deut. xxxii. 4 :

A God of truth, and without iniquity,  
Just and *right* (יָשָׁר) is He ;

and which, according to *right*, ought to be true of the other contracting party in the Covenant, of Israel. The meaning also may be inferred from what is said, in ver. 5, of the conduct manifested by Israel in contradiction to his ideal: "*They are a perverse and crooked generation.*" The allusion to his ideal and proper destiny in ver. 15 is quite suitable, since here the contrast between the reality and the ideal is set forth.

But now the question arises, how can the predicate of uprightness and righteousness be applied to all Israel? Such a designation seems to stand in opposition to their history, which presents proofs in abundance of the departure of the people from the path of uprightness and righteousness. The answer is: Notwithstanding these examples of the contrary, still uprightness and righteousness were the standing ideal and destiny of the people, and whatever truly bore this character;—on the other hand, the reality can never form an unconditional opposite, it had an office appointed by God himself, notwithstanding all that fell short of the standard through the prevalence of sin; it always contained in itself a pledge of its realization; and though only a few traces of it appeared on the surface, others always existed at a greater depth; and if there were seasons in which it retrograded, yet they were always succeeded by times in which it manifested its vigour. A more attentive contemplation of the history of Israel enables us to discern, even in the most abandoned times, the existence of an *ἐκλογὴ*, to whom the predicate of uprightness and righteousness was perfectly applicable; for the existence of such a body, the best evidence is given us by the condemnation of the waywardness and unrighteousness of the people, which has proceeded in all ages out of their own midst. Where can such a reacting moral power be found in heathen nations? Moreover, their history shews that the times of gross immorality in which uprightness and righteousness took refuge in a small remnant, were always succeeded by times of reformation in which uprightness and righteousness were more or less diffused throughout the

national life. The period of the Judges will alone furnish abundant proofs of this fact. Thus it may be asserted that the predicate *Jesharim* may with perfect right be applied to Israel on the whole, and particularly in relation to the heathen world; while it must naturally be observed, that here uprightness and righteousness are spoken of first of all in their relation to God. The fulfilment of the promise which here is traced back to righteousness as its basis, and is only vouchsafed to that characteristic, went exactly as far as that, and even when the people fell far short of their ideal, times intervened in which their lot was yet an enviable one.

A question further arises, How can the prosperity of Israel be grounded here, not on God's choice and favour, but on the subjective character of the chosen? We answer;—this subjective character does not form an opposite to the choice and favour, but is the first form of their realization, which is followed by the second in the actual state of the people. The Israelites did not first become *Jesharim* by their own efforts, and then were blessed by God with prosperity, but their righteousness is a product of the economy under which he placed them, of the revelation of his holy will which he gave them in his law, of the forgiveness of sins which he annexed to the presentation of sacrifices, and of the impartation of his Spirit, which always is living and operating in his Church, and only in it. But those persons who think that the salvation of God could be grounded on choice and favour, in *opposition* to righteousness, know not what they say. The declaration, "*I am holy,*" has the command, "*be ye holy,*" as its necessary consequence; and the "*I am holy*" would become untrue, as soon as God, instead of punishing, should grant salvation or prosperity to those who scorned to use the means which he freely offered them for realizing the "*Be ye holy.*" God abides holy only as long as he acknowledges no one for his own without holiness. It is alike to be reprobated, if men ground salvation on a subjective character, to be attained by their own powers, or if they consider the possession of such a character as superfluous.



## CHAPTER XXIII. 11-17.

Balak charges Balaam with *perfidy* for blessing Israel instead of cursing it. But Balaam repels the charge by appealing to the will of the Lord, to which he was bound to render implicit obedience. Balak now determines to try whether this will is unalterable, whether he may not succeed in gaining, under other circumstances, a more favourable result. Possibly, he thinks, the cause of the failure lies in Balaam's having indistinctly seen from a great distance only a small part of the people he was to curse. He therefore takes him to a mountain from which a great part of the Israelitish camp might be distinctly seen. The favour of Jehovah having been there again invoked by sacrifices, Balaam retires to enquire respecting his will. He then returns to Balak, and delivers his second prophecy.

---

Ver. 11. "And Balak said unto Balaam, What hast thou done unto me? I took thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast blessed them altogether. 12. And he answered and said, Must I not take heed to speak that which the Lord hath put in my mouth? 13. And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me unto another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence. 14. And he brought him into the field of Zophim (or *the Watchers*), to the top of Pisgah (or *the hill*), and built seven altars, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar. 15. And he said unto Balak, Stand here by thy burnt-offering, while I will meet [the Lord] yonder. 16. And the Lord met Balaam, and put a word in his mouth, and said, Go again unto Balak, and say thus. 17. And when he came to him, behold, he stood by his burnt-offering, and the princes of Moab were with him. And Balak said unto him, What hath the Lord spoken?"

---

Ver. 11. "Thou hast blessed altogether." A. Vers. בְּרַכְתָּ בְּרָכָה  
 Heb. (*Thou hast blessed blessing.*) The addition of the Infini-

tive בָּרַךְ intimates that out of Balaam's mouth had proceeded blessing, and nothing but blessing, blessing in the fullest sense on those whom, according to Balak's opinion, he was bound to curse. (See EWALD'S *Gram.* § 541. Trans. p. 340.)

Ver. 12. Here it is doubtful whether שָׁמַר is, *to take heed*, or is it to be explained, Am I not to pay attention to this so as to speak it? By the first supposition אֵי is dependent on בָּרַךְ, by the second on שָׁמַר. The first is supported by 2 Kings x. 31: "But Jehu *took no heed* לֹא שָׁמַר to walk in the Law of the Lord;" the second, by the numerous passages, even in the Pentateuch, where שָׁמַר is used with the Accusative respecting attention to God's word and the observance of his commands.

Ver. 13. Balak having been referred to God, as the proper author of the unfavourable communication that had been made to him, supposes, that the disfavour shown may be founded on the locality, and that God would be more propitious to him in a different situation, and look more graciously on fresh sacrifices. *Facit Balak*, says CALVIN, *quod solent fere omnes superstitiosi, nam quia nihil illis certum est vel firmum, per varias speculationes circumaguntur, nunc hoc, nunc illud tentant.* How far Heathenism was from a belief in the unchangeableness of the divine will which Balaam in ver. 19 urges so forcibly against Balak's fond conceit, is shown by what HARTUNG says (p. 101): "If the will of the Deity announced itself by omens to be unfavourable, they might hope by continued offerings, prayers, and expiations (without which things the interrogation of that will was never undertaken,) to influence, especially in a sacred place."

Much perplexity has been felt by expositors in explaining the words, "Come with me, I pray thee, to another place, from whence thou mayest see them: thou shalt see *but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all,*" compared with chap. xxii. 41: "And Balak took Balaam, and brought him up into the high places of Baal, that thence he might *see the utmost part of the people.*" That the reference in both passages must be to a *different* locality for the purpose of seeing Israel, is quite evident, especially if we compare them with the words, "*And he saw Israel abiding in his tents according to their tribes,*" which occur in chap. xxiv. 2, in reference to the third place of observation. But in what the difference consists, does not immediately strike us; it rather ap-

pears as if seeing only "*the utmost part*" of the people in distinction from the whole, was common to the two passages. Several critics, as MARK and DE GEER, try to point out the difference between what is apparently so similar by explaining the words in chap. xxii. 41 ("*he saw from thence the utmost part of the people*") as if they meant the people from one end to the other or to their extreme limit. But this explanation is opposed by the verse before us. If "*seeing the utmost part*" stands *here* in opposition to seeing the whole, it cannot be imagined that the same writer would use exactly the same phrase in a contrary sense a little before, and in a passage which has a relation to this. The position of the places also is against it—from Bamoth Baal it was impossible to see the whole Israelitish camp. (See *the Geographical Observations*); likewise the intimation given in the prophecy Balaam there uttered, of only a partial view. Others, in trying to attain the same object, instead of taking the clause *here* to mean, "thou shalt see but the utmost part of them," render it, "thou hast seen only the utmost part," (as yet, from Bamoth Baal) "and hast not seen the whole of them." Against this interpretation is to be urged not perhaps the Future in itself—it might be taken as a Present, since they were still in the place where they first beheld the Israelites—but the analogy of the preceding וְרָאָה and the absence of *now*. Moreover the word וְרָאָה, immediately following the clause, "from whence thou mayest see them," and without a preceding וְ, too clearly announces a limitation of it. Finally, if Balaam already saw the whole from this spot, we cannot imagine what object Balak could have in further taking him to Peor, and it is also from the situation of the place inconceivable that Balaam could see the whole from the top of Pisgah. Nothing remains, then, but for us to assume that "*the utmost part*" is here used in a more comprehensive sense than before, and we are led to this by a careful examination of the expression itself. *There*, he saw the utmost part of the people; *here*, the people, yet not the whole, but only the utmost part; therefore, first of all the people, and then comes the limitation. In the very fact, that the people is first of all mentioned, it is intimated that by "*the utmost part*" is not to be understood the extreme end. And with this supposition, the situation of the place precisely agrees. From Bamoth Baal, which was at a con-



siderable distance, Balaam could see only the most extreme part of the Israelitish camp, and that very indistinctly; a far more comprehensive view must have been presented to him from the heights of Pisgah; but it was from Peor that he could first behold the whole camp of Israel, that mountain rising immediately out of the Vale of the Jordan. (See *the Geographical Observations*.)

Ver. 15. This verse is properly translated, “Do thou remain *thus* standing by thy burnt-offering, and I will go *thus* to meet [Jehovah], *as* thou art standing and *as* I show thee.” The meaning *here* which the lexicographers, (even GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus*, p. 651,) give in several passages to נִהַ, is everywhere arbitrarily assumed. Exod. ii. 12 is, *thus and thus, in one way and another*. The “*going to meet*” is here a technical term of a prophet or diviner, which is explained in chap. xxiv. 1, by הִלַּךְ לְקִרְיַת נְהֻשִׁים. We must supply, as verse 16 shows, אֶל יְהוָה.

THE SECOND PROPHECY. CHAP. XXIII. 18–24.

Balaam repels Balak's requisition that he should withdraw the blessing he had before uttered, and, instead of that, curse Israel, by appealing to the truth and unchangeableness of God, from whom he obtained the blessing. But he does not satisfy himself with not doing what Balak wishes, he also does what Balak does not wish. After refusing to curse, he blesses afresh. Israel is protected against the malice of all their enemies, and against the suffering they prepared for them (therefore also against Balak's futile attempt); for the Lord their God, to whom injustice exercised against his people, and their suffering arising from it, are intolerable, is with them, and in their midst exultation is always felt for so glorious a king. Who can injure them? Who can maintain the unequal combat with them, since God has led them out of Egypt, and since Israel, under his guidance, advances with the vigorous strength of a buffalo towards his object, and overturns everything which would check him in his course. The fact that God led them out of Egypt, and that they in consequence are furnished with inexhaustible resources, is incontrovertibly established; it is not a deceptive imagination to which Israel abandons himself; for in reference to discovering the divine

will, he is not left to the illusory and deceptive methods of soothsaying and augury, of which the heathen made use, but God clearly reveals at all times what he intends to do, and what in conformity to that, he has to do ; and so, in this case, he had made known that he would bring him out of Egypt, and lead him safely to his destination. Dost thou think to be a match for him, or to be able to throw him down in his course to his appointed aim ? Behold, it is a people which destroys its enemies with the strength of a lion. Wherefore get out of his path, lest such a lot should be thine. He who contends against Israel on earth, contends at the same time against God in Heaven.

- Ver. 18. And he took up his parable, and said—  
Stand up, Balak, and hear!  
Hearken unto me, son of Zippor!
- Ver. 19. Not a man is God, that he should lie,  
Nor a son of man, that he should repent.  
Hath he said, and shall he not do it ?  
Or hath he spoken, and shall he not make it good ?
- Ver. 20. Behold, to bless I have received [commandment,]  
And he hath blessed, and I cannot reverse it.
- Ver. 21. He beholdeth not wickedness in Jacob,  
Neither doth he see suffering in Israel :  
Jehovah his God is with him,  
And the shout of a king in his midst.
- Ver. 22. God brought them out of Egypt :  
His vigour is like that of a buffalo.
- Ver. 23. Surely there is no enchantment in Jacob,  
Nor divination in Israel :  
In his time it shall be said to Jacob  
And to Israel, What hath God wrought !
- Ver. 24. Behold, the people shall rise up like a lioness,  
And like a lion shall lift himself up :  
He shall not lie down till he hath eaten of the prey,  
And drank of the blood of the slain.

---

Ver. 18. All the four prophecies of Balaam are introduced by the phrase, “ *And he took up his parable.*” Compare this verse and chapter xxiii. 7, xxiv. 3, 15. In the fourth prophecy, besides the beginning, it occurs in three other places. This agreement in number is certainly not accidental ; a fourfold division of the whole, and a fourfold division of the last and most important part. “ *Stand up*” (קַמ) cannot refer to the bodily posi-

tion, for, according to ver. 17, Balaam already was standing by his burnt-offering. He calls upon the king to rise mentally, as the importance of the prophecy he was about to utter demanded. The *Age*, by which LE CLERC renders it, is much too tame. This “*Rise up*” is applicable not to Balak only, but to all who approach the holy Scripture. Whoever would understand God’s Word, must free himself from his natural sloth and mental dissipation—must gird himself up, and collect his mental powers. On the form שָׁמַעַע, see EWALD’S *Gram.* § 169. The construction of האזין with ער, which appears harsh to J. D. MICHAELIS, who would alter the reading, is found also in Job xxxii. 11, אָזַן עַד-הַבַּיְתָּה הַיְקִימָם, compare וְעַד-יָכֵם אֶת-בֵּיתְךָ in ver. 12. האזין with ער is not as EWALD assumes, § 527, *to hear continuously*, but *to hear with attention*. A hearing which is not merely external, but also internal—(J. H. MICHAELIS, *ita ut mentem meam assequaris*)—advances towards the speaker, and is sharp and accurate. הָאֲזִינָה עָרִי corresponds therefore not merely to שָׁמַעַע, but likewise to קָיָם.

Ver. 19. Balak transferred human falsehood and human changeableness to God. He hoped to prevail upon God to retract the blessing that had been already pronounced on Israel, and to give his servant Balaam authority to curse. This delusive notion Balaam here shatters with a powerful blow. The practical importance of the sentiment, even for us, is admirably set forth by CALVIN. *Quodsi conductitio pseudo-prophetæ hæc vox fuit extorta, quam inexcusabilis secordia nostra erit, si in amplexando dei verbo varient atque alternent mentes nostræ, acsi ipse esset varius.* We are made acquainted with a very ancient application of it in 1 Sam. xv. 29, where Samuel, when Saul sought by his entreaties to effect a reversal of the sentence pronounced upon him, says, “*The Strength of Israel will not lie nor repent; for he is not a man, that he should repent.*” That here is a reference to the language of Balaam, appears not only from the verbal agreement, but from the similarity of the circumstances. Saul, like Balak, desired to reverse a divine decree. What, therefore, could be more natural than that Samuel should check him, with the very words by which, in ancient times, a servant of God had exposed to his predecessor the folly of his desire. This reference is important, inasmuch as it furnishes evidence for the recognition of Balaam as a true prophet. That the doctrine here expressed of



the unchangeableness of God, and the stability of his councils, belongs to those truths which from the first were distinctly apprehended by the Israelites, we have a pledge in the name JEHOVAH (properly *Jahveh*), THE BEING, and consequently *The Unchangeable*. (See *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i., p. 244, &c.) How firmly the *παρ' ᾧ οὐκ ἔνι παραλλαγὴ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα* (James. i. 17), which this name loudly proclaimed, and which is deduced from it in Exod. iii. 13-16 (see also Malachi iii. 6), was impressed on the Israelitish mind, is testified by the unembarrassed manner in which repentance of a certain kind is ascribed to God, in Gen. vi. 7, and other passages. (See on that passage the remarks in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 372).

The second half of the verse is properly to be translated, "Hath he said, and shall he not do (it); hath he spoken, and shall he not accomplish it?" MACK gives the sense very properly; only he brings in a reference foreign to the passage, respecting the almightiness of God overcoming all obstacles to the fulfilment of his purposes. *Nec per temporis progressum, nec per loci mutationem, nec per repetitos conatus tuos quidquam obtinebis a deo, quando hic bona fide praedicta de hoc populo non revocabat unquam nec in iis praestandis impediatur usque a quoquam, unde certus sis priora dicta mea amplissime fore implenda in Israele.* The Preterites *וַיֹּאמֶר* and *וַיִּבְרַח* show that this is spoken not of God's declarations in general, but of a *specific* declaration. What that may be, is doubtful. Many suppose it to be, the promises made to the patriarchs. Thus JONATHAN; *Dominus dixit se multiplicaturum populum hunc sicut stellas coelorum et in haereditatem illis daturum terram Cananaeorum, an fieri potest quod dixit ut non faciat?* Others again consider the reference to be to what God had spoken by Balaam in his first prophecy. This latter view is the right one. This is evident (i.) from the plain reference to the expectation of Balak and the efforts he made to effect a change in the divine counsels as announced by Balaam. (J. H. MICHAELIS: *ob sacrificia tua mentem non mutabit.*) (ii.) From the following verse, according to which the words of God can only be understood to mean the blessing pronounced by Balaam.

Ver. 20. That the attempts to alter the reading in this verse are

perfectly needless, the mere statement of its import might show. God has given me a commission to bless, and not, as you desire, to curse; (the emphasis rests on בִּרְכָה) and since he has *blessed*, I cannot recall the blessing. In vain, therefore, you turn to me with your reproaches and requests. *Acsi diceret* (says CALVIN); *nonnisi unius dei est decernere qualis sit hominum conditio. Benedictionis suae me praeconem esse voluit: eam igitur evertere, vel retractare meum non est.* The Infinitive בִּרְכָה and the Preterite בִּרְכָה are each perfectly suitable in their place. הִשִּׁיב in the sense of *to make retrograde, to hinder*, occurs also in Isaiah xliii. 13. The hindering that Balak desired consisted in Baalam's prevailing on God to alter his counsel, that thus, instead of the former blessing, he might pronounce a curse. Balaam declares himself incompetent to accomplish this, since it was impossible to move the Unchangeable Being to alter his determination. The connection shows that nothing here said relates to hindering the execution of the divine determination, but only to altering the determination itself; so that such passages as that in Isaiah xiv. 27, "*For the Lord of Hosts hath purposed, and who shall disannul it? and his hand is stretched out, and who shall turn it back?*" are really not parallel. The sentiment expressed by Balaam is a pledge to us not of God's *omnipotence*, in virtue of which he overturns with infinite ease everything which stands in the way of the fulfilment of his promises, but of *his faithfulness to his promises, the unchangeableness of his will*, according to which he will never retract the determination to bless that he has once made and announced. The proverb, "*Ein mann ein wort*," "*A man, a word*,"\* is deceitful, for a man is still only a human being who lies, and a son of man who repents; but "God, a word" is perfectly infallible. He speaks only words that will not return, Isa. xlv. 23, ver 21. Balaam's discourse divides itself into two parts, as is indicated in ver. 25. (i.) He repels Balak's demand to substitute a curse for the blessing already pronounced, by referring him to the unchangeableness of God, and (consequently) of his word and blessing. (ii.) He

---

\* A German proverb signifying that an honest man keeps his word. V. HEYSE *Handwörterbuch*. s. v. *Mann*. [T.R.]

takes up the former blessing and amplifies it. The second part begins with this verse. Think not, he exclaims to Balak, of practising wickedness against Israel, and inflicting suffering upon them; for God endures not the suffering of his people, or the wickedness of their oppressors. What canst thou, what can the whole world, effect against a people with whom the Lord their God is, and who have a heavenly King in their midst. Several critics explain  $\text{לֹא יִרְאוּ וְלֹא יִרְאוּ}$  and  $\text{לֹא יִרְאוּ}$  after the LXX. (*οὐκ ἔσται μοχθος ἐν Ἰακώβ, οὐδὲ ὀφθήσεται πόνος ἐν Ἰσραήλ*) by “Men do not behold and do not see,” &c. But this interpretation gives a spiritless meaning; and since God is spoken of in vers. 19, 20, and even in the second part of this verse, it is most natural that he should be the subject here. This interpretation is also proved by two parallel passages in Habakkuk to be correct, especially since it cannot be denied that Habakkuk had in his eye the passage under our consideration, so that they may be most justly regarded as the oldest commentary on it. In chap. i. 3, it is said, “Wherefore dost thou let me see wickedness ( $\text{רָעָה}$ ) and showest me grievance ( $\text{צָרָה}$ )? and spoiling and violence are before me.” In chap. i. 13, “Thou art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and canst not look on grievance ( $\text{צָרָה}$ ): wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and art silent when the wicked devoureth the man who is more righteous than he?” In the first passage the *seeing* in the second clause, and in the second passage in both clauses, belongs to God. This parallel passage also shows how the *not seeing* and the *not beholding* are to be understood. To God the sight of wickedness and of suffering in Israel is intolerable, so that he must forthwith put them out of the way. Then it is necessary to determine the meaning of  $\text{רָעָה}$  and  $\text{צָרָה}$ . Expositors mostly proceed on the notion that these words are in the leading idea synonymous. Several give both words the meaning of *unrighteousness, wickedness*; thus under various modifications, CALVIN: *Non conspici iniquitalem in Jacob, ut censeantur inter gentes violentiæ et sceleribus deditas, deo gratiam esse populum, quia cum sanctificaverit*; MARK, who herein differs from CALVIN, that he refers the words, not to sanctification, but the forgiveness of sins; DE GEER, who considers the unrighteousness to proceed, not from Israel, but from his enemies: *non ridet (lubenter) iniquitatem adversus Jacobum, neque*



*injuriam tolerat adversus Israellem.* Others, again, give both words, after the example of the LXX., the meaning of *suffering*. We, on the contrary, maintain that אָן and עִמַּל are essentially different. The former denotes *wickedness*, the latter the suffering which is its product: God cannot endure the *wickedness* of the enemies of his Church, and *its* sufferings; the *wickedness* which is exercised against his people, and the *suffering* which they endure. In favour of this view, there are the following reasons. (i.) That אָן denotes *wickedness*, is shown by the parallel passages in Habakkuk. In chap. i. 3, הַמַּס, immediately following, corresponds to it; just as אָן and עִמַּל, so שָׂדֶה and הַמַּס form a pair. In chap. i. 13, רָע, *evil*, stands for אָן. (ii.) That עִמַּל means nothing else than suffering, by which the interpretations of CALVIN, MARK, and DE GEER, are at once set aside, we need not spend time in proving, since GESENIUS, in his *Thesaurus*, gives עִמַּל the meaning of *labor, molestia, aerumna*, and rejects that of *culpa, iniquitas*. (iii.) But we may not spare ourselves the proofs for the assertion that אָן never means *misfortune, suffering*, since this meaning finds itself in undisputed possession, and since recently GESENIUS, in his *Thesaurus*, has brought forward a number of passages for it. We wish to begin with those which require this meaning most evidently. In Gen. xxxv. 18, Rachel calls the son whose birth cost her life, *Benoni*, which, according to the current interpretation, should mean, *son of my sorrow*. But, although this interpretation gives a very suitable meaning, yet it is not necessarily required; and, since the ascertained meaning of אָן is sufficient, no one would venture, simply on the ground of this passage, to affix a new meaning to the word. This must rather be attempted by means of other passages, to which the common meaning is quite unsuitable. According to the Israelitish view, which (with perfect right) regarded every suffering as a punishment of sin, every *son of sorrow* was at the same time *a son of sin*, Rachel called her son the child of her transgression, because in the sufferings which its birth occasioned her she beheld a punishment of her sins. Further, in Habakkuk iii. 7, it is said: "I beheld the tents of Cushan (בְּתֵי אֲוֵן) under *Aven*." But here RÜCKERT has already departed from the common interpretation, "under affliction," and rendered the words, "under *guilt*." The transgres-

sion of the new Cushan, which, like the old, (see Judges iii. 8,) had risen insultingly against Jehovah and his people, comes *over* it; the prophet sees it in its punishment, pressing upon Cushan as a heavy burden. In Deut. xxvi. 14, we read: "I have not eaten thereof  $\text{בְּאִיִּי}$ , neither have I taken away ought for any unclean use."  $\text{בְּאִיִּי}$  is here commonly translated, "in my *mourning*." But the correct version is "in my *transgression*," that is, in my unclean state; see Lev. vii. 20. Thus also  $\text{לֶחֶם אֵיִיִּים}$  in Hosea ix. 4, is not, "bread of *mourning*," (*mourners*, Eng. A. Vers.) but, "bread of *transgressions*:" "their offerings are not pleasing to him, as the bread of *Onim* to them, all that eat thereof shall be polluted." The meaning, "bread of *sins*," is here more suitable: *instar panis abominationis*—JONATHAN. The subject here is the unclean and defiling food of those who had defiled themselves by a dead body. The use of the plural favours also the meaning, "bread of *sins*;" compare Prov. xi. 7. That in Jeremiah iv. 15,  $\text{אָוֶן}$  has not the meaning of *suffering*, but of *transgression*, *sin*, is plain from comparing ver. 14, to which ver. 15 stands in the closest relation. Ver. 14: "O Jerusalem, wash thy heart from wickedness, that thou mayest be saved: how long shall the thoughts of thy *Aven* lodge within thee?" Ver. 15: "For a voice declareth from Dan, and publisheth *Aven* from Mount Ephraim." That is, "Cease from thy transgression, for already it comes upon thee in its punishment." The other passages, in which the meaning of *sorrow* has been given to  $\text{אָוֶן}$ , are those in which it occurs in connection with  $\text{עֲמָל}$ , and will be noticed under the next head. (iv.) Where  $\text{עֲמָל}$  and  $\text{אָוֶן}$  are joined together, their interpretation by *sorrow* and wickedness is in all cases suitable. Thus in Job v. 6, 7: "Although *Aven* (*iniquity*, Eng. Marg. R.) cometh not forth of the dust, neither doth *Amal* spring out of the ground. But man is born to *Amal*, as the sparks fly upwards." This is equivalent to saying: "Sin, and therefore suffering, does not come accidentally to man, but forms an essential peculiarity of human nature." In Psalm xc. 10, where human life is described as  $\text{עֲמָל}$  and  $\text{אָוֶן}$ , it may be either supposed that sin is adduced as the most deplorable thing belonging to human existence, comparing it with the foregoing bitter lamentations over transgressions and the wrath of God; or  $\text{אָוֶן}$  may be referred to that which a man has to suffer from

the wickedness of others ; or, lastly, both may be connected with one another—sin everywhere, wherever we turn our eyes—sin within and sin without, and, following it, a long train of woes. In Ps. lv. 10, 11, (9, 10), “ I have seen violence and strife in the city. Day and night they go about it upon the walls thereof ; *Aven* also and *Amal* (*mischief* also and *sorrow*, *E. Au. V.*) are in the midst of it.” *Aven* cannot be understood to mean *suffering* ; the phrases, “ upon the walls ” and “ in their midst,” are only varied modes of expression for “ in the city.” *Aven* must therefore correspond to “ violence and strife ;” and *Amal* can only be the product of *Aven*. In Isaiah lix. 4, “ they conceive *Amal* and bring forth *Aven*,” *Amal* is the suffering which others endure, and *Aven* the wickedness which they practise. So Is. x. 1 ; Job iv. 8 ; Ps. x. 7. If it cannot be denied that פס and מל in Hab. i. 3, signify *injustice* and *suffering*, then it is antecedently improbable that this standing combination should occur in a different sense elsewhere.

We conclude, then, that the correct translation is, “ *He beholdeth not wickedness in Jacob, and seeth not suffering in Israel.*” As to the sentiment, it is self-evident that the declaration could be only so long and so far true, as Israel continued to be really Israel. This promise, like all others, is given only to the *Jesharim*, the upright ones ; (see chap. xxii. 12.) The existence of this ethical basis is also recognised by Habakkuk, in chap. i. 13, where, expostulating with God, he complains, “ *Wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy tongue when the wicked devoureth the man that is more righteous than he.*” But the thought probably loses nothing thereby of its consolatory meaning ; for what they *were* not, they might *become* at any moment by repentance, to which God opened the way for them, and furnish the means in abundance. The declaration in Balaam’s prophecy is a pledge to Israel, is a pledge to the Church of the New Covenant, which is its direct continuation, that there is no other enemy of their salvation but their sins—that God is impelled by the deepest necessity of his nature, which makes his people’s sufferings intolerable to him, to keep his Church, to deliver them from all the hostile attempts of the world. As the basis of this necessity, their election is to be considered. In being destined to be the people of God, is involved the being destined



to salvation, to victory over the world ; and as certainly as God is God, must he ward off everything which is opposed to this destiny.

The references already noticed in Habakkuk to the passage before us, demand still closer consideration. That the allusions to it are accidental, no one will be disposed to maintain ; the agreement in thought and word is too great ; and, besides, it is to be noted that Habakkuk very frequently, in other places, refers to expressions in the earlier Scriptures, especially the Pentateuch ; compare, for example, chap. iii. 3 :

God came from Teman,  
And the Holy One from Mount Paran ;  
His glory covered the heavens,  
And the earth was full of his praise.

with Deuteronomy xxxiii. 2,

The Lord came from Sinai,  
And rose up from Seir unto them ;  
He shined forth from Mount Paran,  
And he came with ten thousands of saints :  
From his right hand went a fiery law for them.

Compare chap. iii. 5,

Before him went the pestilence,  
And burning coals (רָשָׁף) went forth at his feet.

with Deuteronomy xxxii. 24,

They shall be burnt with hunger,  
And devoured with burning heat (רָשָׁף)

Compare chap. iii. 6,

He stood, and measured the earth :  
He beheld, and drove asunder the nations ;  
And the everlasting mountains were scattered,  
The perpetual hills did bow :  
His ways are everlasting.

with Genesis xlix. 26,

The blessings of thy father have prevailed  
Above the blessings of the *everlasting mountains*,\*  
Unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills.

This reference of Habakkuk, like Samuel's, to Balaam's pro-

\* Pro vulgari הַיְיָרֵי עֵדֵי *parentes mei* (part. verb הִרְדָּה) *usque ad, legimus הַיְיָרֵי עֵדֵי montes aeternatis* (הַיְיָרֵי forma antiquior pro הַיְיָרֵי) ita postulante atque adeo flagitante membrorum paralelismo eff. etiam loce. parall. Deut. xxxiii. 15, Hab. iii. 6." MAURER, *Comm. in Vet. Test.* vol. i. p. 26. See also BOHLEN'S *Genesis*, p. 481. [TR.]

phcey, also implies, that he considered what Balaam uttered to be the word of God. For the essential point of the reference consists in this, that, in pleading with God, he makes use of his own words, and calls upon him to remove the apparent contradiction between them and the existing state of things. "Why, in opposition to thy word, and totally at variance with thy promises, dost thou shew me iniquity, and beholdest suffering," &c. First of all, by appealing to this language, he calls upon him to put a stop to the iniquity and suffering which had been inflicted by the Israel in appearance, on the true Israel, by the corrupt mass of the people on the *ἐκλογὴ*; this is an application of internal relations, which shews how fully the prophet recognised, that, for a participation in the promise, not the name, but the thing, gives the right—not the *seeming*, but the *being*; and from which it likewise results that *בִּישְׂרָאֵל, בִּיעֲקָב*, cannot be translated, (as they have been by several critics) "*against Jacob*," "*against Israel*," which also is opposed by *עַל* rightly understood. For if this had been the correct interpretation, the words could not have been applied to internal relations. Habakkuk employs the same language in expostulating with God a second time, when iniquity and suffering proceed from heathen oppressors.

In the second half of the verse, the words, "*The shout of a King is in his midst*," stand in parallelism with "*The Lord his God is with him*." That the King, to whom the shout belongs, is the Lord, scarcely requires to be observed. "*The shout of a King*" is the shout on account of the presence of so glorious a King—a King who is at the same time God, and proves himself to be such in the government of his people, whose shout is only the echo of his mighty acts, and only as such comes here under consideration. The following passages will serve for illustration. Joshua vi. 5, 20, "*And when ye hear the sound of the trumpet, all the people shall shout with a great shout, and the wall of the city shall fall down flat*." 1 Sam. iv. 5, "*And when the ark of the covenant of the Lord came into the camp, all Israel shouted with a great shout, so that the earth rang again*." 2 Sam. vi. 15, "*So David, and all the house of Israel, brought up the ark of the Lord with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet*."

Ver. 22. According to chap. xxii. 5, Balak sent word to

Balaam, “Behold there is a people come out from Egypt.” With a literal allusion to this message, Balaam says, “God brought them out of Egypt.” If it be a fact that they were not brought out by their own hand, but that God brought them out, it is equally certain, that it is vain, as Balak wished, to oppose them on their march, that to contend against them is at the same time to contend against God—it is to engage in a foolish conflict of weakness against omnipotence. The use of the Participle, which implies that the being brought forth was still going on—it lasted till their entrance into Canaan—(see EWALD § 350. *Eng. trans.* p. 222, on the Participle as expressive of continuous action), shows that here only the fact of being brought out was in the speaker’s mind, and not the manner *how*, and therefore interpolations such as *regione potentissima* and *maximis patris miraculis*, is to introduce an element foreign to the passage. Thus much it tells us, that God brought them out, and therefore went along with them at their head. The use of the Participle, also, is inconsistent with CALVIN’S interpretation, according to which the being brought out of Egypt, considered as already effected, is referred to as a pledge of future deliverances: *argumentur a continua beneficiorum dei serie ductum; nam quia ex fonte inexhausto manant, perennem habent cursum. Merito colligit Bileamus, quia deus semel populum redemit, perpetuum fore salutis praesidem.* The fruitlessness of his undertakings against Israel is here proved to Balak, not from the fact that God had brought them out of Egypt, but that he is bringing them out. The idea is, whoever has God for a leader and companion on his way, the world with all its power can do nothing against him. For מִיִּצְרָאֵל many critics wish to read מִיִּצְרָאֵל. But the reasons they adduce for it, that the singular suffix precedes and follows, and that מִיִּצְרָאֵל stands in the verbally agreeing parallel passage, chap. xxiv. 8, directly favour the originality of מִיִּצְרָאֵל, which has, moreover, all the external authorities for it, except one manuscript in Kennicott. For since the singular precedes and follows, there was no inducement to substitute it for the plural, and in repetitions of the same propositions it is not unusual to introduce some, though perhaps very slight alteration, in order to take away from the repetition the character of a



standing formula, and to indicate that the matter so repeated has flowed fresh and living from the mind of the speaker, so that we should beforehand expect some kind of variation.

The second member is related to the first as a conclusion to the premises. God leads Israel out of Egypt; then they must be armed with vigorous, invincible power. Respecting רָעָם we refer our readers to the Lexicons. That *Reem* is the buffalo, has long ago been shown by valid arguments; but we cannot satisfy ourselves with such a reference as to תִּיעֲצוּת. Preceding investigations have led to no satisfactory result, and particularly in the passage before us, not one of the manifold explanations has been able to maintain its ground against the rest. We here give תִּיעֲצוּת the meaning of *exertions, manifestations of power, efforts*; for which there are the following reasons. (i.) The etymology. The word is a noun derived from the third person, feminine future in Hiphil, just like תִּיִצֵּא *a going forth*. תִּירָה *doctrine*, תִּירָה *praise*, strictly *that which leads out, which teaches, which praises*. The feminine, in these nouns, and in the far more numerous ones which are derived from the third feminine future in Kall, takes the place of the neuter; for example, תִּשָּׁבֶה *that which returns = an answer*, תִּשָּׁבֵל *that which bears = the earth*. As these nouns are derived from the 3 fem. fut., so are others from the 3 masc. The meaning of the form is misapprehended by EWALD in his *Grammar*, § 340, *Eng. Trans.* p. 212. According to this, תִּיעֲצוּת from יָצָה, *to be weary*, can only mean, *that which makes weary, strains, an exertion*. The meaning prefixed by several, *a swift running*, is more remote from the truth. רָעָם in Dan. ix. 21, is not *swift running*, but *exertion*. (ii.) The suitability of this interpretation in the two other passages where תִּיעֲצוּת occurs. In Ps. xciv. 4, the תִּיעֲצוּת הַהָרִים, *the exertions or strivings of the hills*, are put in parallelism with בְּתֵקְרֵי אֲרָצָה, *the investigations (deep places, E. Au. V.) of the earth*, a poetical designation for the highest points, which are gained only by strenuous efforts. In Job xxii. 25, בְּקָה תִיעֲצוּת, *silver of exertions*, = *silver obtained by hard labour*. *Swiftness* is not a meaning suited to these passages; as little also is the meaning *power*, which several have adopted from the Vulgate (iii.) A comparison of other passages in the Old Testament, in which *Reem* occurs.

Everywhere the *Reem* appears as a fierce, unmanageable beast. Compare Job xxxix. 9-11, Isaiah xxxiv. 7, particularly as one to be dreaded on account of its horns ; Deut. xxxiii. 17,

The horns of a *Reem* are his horns,  
With them he shall push the people  
Together to the ends of the earth.

Psalm xxii. 22 (21), Psalm xcii. 11 (10). According to our interpretation, the passage before us is in full harmony with these parallel passages. The capability of making exertions, depend on the abundance of power. On the contrary, this passage becomes isolated if we explain רַעַמָּוּתָהּ by *swiftness*, or even with BOCHART by *height*, or with the LXX. by δόξα. Especially the passage is then dis severed from Deut. xxxiii. 17, which so closely resembles it, that it may be considered as a commentary upon it. (iv.) The Plural, which is decisive not merely against the interpretation *cursus velox*, but against all others, with the exception of the perfectly arbitrary one, *leaps*. The Plural which is more to be noticed, since it is found in all the three passages, requires that the word should mean something composed of individual acts. (v.) The passage in chap. xxiv. 8, where what immediately follows—

He shall eat up the nations his enemies,  
And shall break their bones,  
And pierce them through with his arrows,

suggests rather the idea of *uncontrollable power* than of *swiftness*. (vi.) The meaning of *swiftness* lately adopted by GÉSENUIS in the passage before us, does not at all suit the connection. We do not expect to see *it* brought forward, but *power*. The reference of יְיָ to God instead of the people, adopted by several expositors after the example of JONATHAN, is so palpably false, that it is not worth the trouble of attempting to refute it.

Ver. 23. But by what is the great fact confirmed, that God leads Israel out of Egypt, and that, in consequence, they are armed with a power inexhaustible and invincible, capable of any efforts? The question is answered in this verse, which by the initial יְיָ, shows it to be the confirmation of the preceding. Israel's leading out of Egypt by God is not a delusion—their invincibility is not imaginary ; *for* Israel is not directed to acquire

a knowledge of the divine councils and will, by the deceitful means of soothsaying and augury ; but God clearly reveals to them at all times, what he does, and what, accordingly, his people are to do ; and thus, in the existing circumstances, he has informed them that he will lead them out of Egypt in safety to their destination. In the interpretation of the first half of the verse, expositors have been under a twofold mistake. According to a great number, the meaning is, Nothing will be gained against Israel by those secret arts which Balaam had been accustomed to employ ; by the protection of God, their influence would be entirely lost. Thus, for example, CALVIN : *Quid adversus eos valeant incantamenta artiumque magicarum vis?* Also MARK : *incantationem et divinationem contra Israelitas ad arcendas dei benedictiones non valere etiamsi tentaretur, hinc a se nunc quoque nequaquam esse expectandam.* But it is decisive against this interpretation that the words  $\text{שִׁבְעָה}$  and  $\text{מִסְפָּק}$  have not the meaning it requires of witchcraft and enchantment, but only of augury and divination ; correctly according to the LXX. *οἰωνισμὸς* and *μαντεία* ; the Vulgate, *augurium* and *divinatio*.\* This at once decides the incorrectness of the translation *adversus Israelem* ; for augury and divination are not like witchcraft and enchantment, weapons which may be employed to injure any one, but simply means for gaining a knowledge of the future. GESENIUS, indeed, has ventured to give  $\text{שִׁבְעָה}$  the meaning of *conjuratio* (Beschwörung.) But that this cannot be justified, may be shown very clearly from his own words.  $\text{שִׁבְעָה}$  according to him should signify (i.) *incantatio*. For this meaning only the passage before us is quoted. (ii.) *Augurium, omen quod quis captat.* Num. xxiv. 1, cf. xxiii. 3, 15. Every one sees directly that it is arbitrary to take  $\text{שִׁבְעָה}$  in another sense than that in which it confessedly occurs in chap. xxiv. 1. That it also here maintains this sense is shown by its

---

\* On the difference of these two and yet their usual junction in practice, how, for example, Calebas is called *οἰωνοπόλος, θεοπρόπος οἰωνιστής*, and at the same time *μάντις*, see NÄGELSÄCH, *Hom. Theol.* p. 145. Manticism (ἡ μαντική) depended purely on supposed internal Revelations ; to the Augur, the divine designs were manifested outwardly by a *τέρας*, yet in such a manner that he still had an inward suggestion to understand this Revelation, by which the difference receives an important limitation, and the exercise of these two functions by the same person is rendered conceivable.



conjunction with קָסַם. The verb נָחַשׁ occurs everywhere, and especially in the Pentateuch, only in the sense of *auguria captavit, divinavit*; see Gen. xliv. 5, 15, xxx. 27; Deut. xviii. 10; Lev. xix. 26. BOCHART'S derivation, moreover, of the *omen ex serpentibus petitum* is justly to be maintained against that of GESENIUS; *a carmine magico quod leni susurro proferri solet*, even while the verb denotes augury and not conjuration. The "susuration" finds no application in the augury. The analogy of עִנָּן from עָנַן, *a cloud*, assists us; strictly, *to foretel from the movement of the clouds*; then, moreover, the Greek οἰωνίζομαι, and the Latin, *auguror*. It favours the derivation from נָחַשׁ, *a serpent*, that the verb occurs only in Piel; now the same reason requires the derivation of עִנָּן from עָנַן, *a cloud*; see on *verbs in Piel* derived from *nouns*, EWALD'S *Grammar*, § 232, Eng. Transl. p. 116. נָחַשׁ properly means *to occupy oneself with serpents*; עִנָּן *to occupy oneself with clouds*.

Another ground for rejecting this interpretation is, the inadmissibility of rendering בִּיעֲקֹב and בִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל, *against Jacob* and *against Israel*. The preposition ב is indeed "very often used in a hostile sense, as the Latin *in* with an accusative to express the hostile disposition directed against the inward part (the mind of the party attacked)." EWALD'S *Grammar*, § 521, Eng. Transl. 330. But here בִּיעֲקֹב and בִּי־יִשְׂרָאֵל cannot be otherwise rendered than in ver. 21.

Lastly, a comparison with the second half of the verse is decisive against this interpretation. If this, as will afterwards be shown, can only be translated, "*At the time it is told to Jacob and to Israel, what God doth!*" then also the first half of the verse can only be translated, "*For there is no augury in Jacob and no soothsaying in Israel.*" In the first half the false methods of enquiring into the future destinies of Israel are condemned; in the second, the true method is promised him. The second false explanation takes the words, indeed, in their right meaning—its advocates translate as we do—"For no augury is in Jacob, and no soothsaying in Israel;" but for the correct reason of this, *quod nēpe illis non indigeret*, they substitute the incorrect one, *quod nēpe illi non indulgeret*. According to it, Israel's faithful dependance on God is here given as the reason of their invincible strength celebrated in the preceding verse. Thus,

for example, BONFRERIUS: *laus populi Isr. quod ea non usurpet, in quibus tacita quaedam idololatria et pactum cum daemone, auguria scil. et divinationes, quibus mire dediti erant gentiles, sed quod in suis rebus recurrat ad deum per suos prophetas vel summos sacerdotes eumque in rebus dubiis consulat.* See also COCCEIUS and LE CLERC. In this interpretation, it first of all strikes us that here precisely augury and soothsaying are named, although these, according to it, are never noticed again, like all the other (in some respects) far greater manifestations of impiety. Then we are necessitated to adapt it to the second member, by paraphrase and interpretation. The *recurrat* is arbitrarily introduced into it. If it is certain that, in the second member only, God's free gift, and not Israel's fidelity in making use of it, is spoken of, then also in the first, "*there is no augury, &c.*," we must find not a eulogy on Israel, but only the praise of God's grace, which had superseded the use of such a miserable expedient for ascertaining his will.

That to Balaam the name *Israel* was not perfectly equivalent to that of *Jacob*, but was rather regarded as the essential name of the covenant people, in the use of which there was an allusion to the ground of that exalted pre-eminence which he ascribed to Israel, while Jacob simply denoted the bearer of that pre-eminence, is evident from this circumstance, that he invariably puts Israel in the second place. It is further to be remarked, that Balaam here, as a proof how powerfully the Spirit of the Lord had laid hold of him, depreciates the means of enquiring into the Future, which he himself had been wont to use, and which, immediately before, he believed it was necessary to use. Compare chap. xxiv. 1.\*

---

\* NÄGELSBACH (Hom. Theol. p. 154, &c.) has shown in a striking manner how the nullity of the means made use of for gaining a knowledge of the future became apparent even within the bounds of heathenism itself. Augury fell into disrepute by the never excluded possibility of the influence of accident in the flight of birds, and by the ambiguity and contradiction in which its results were involved by higher moral considerations. Even Homer makes Hector say—

εἰς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος, ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς.

IL. xii. 243.

. . . Omens abound,  
But the best omen is our country's cause.

COWPER.

The soothsaying that rested on supposed internal revelations of the Divinity had

We now turn to the second half of the verse.  $\text{בְּזֶמַן}$  can only mean, “*at the time*” But the (fixed) time may be either the Present (thus  $\text{כֵּן}$  in Judges xiii. 23, so also in the frequent phrase  $\text{בְּזֶמַן קִדְרָה}$ , *hoc tempore eras = to-morrow*), and we must according to that translate it, “*Immediately it is said to Jacob,*” or the time which is suitable for what is spoken of, = *in its time, at the right time*; LXX. *κατὰ καιρὸν*. BONFRERIUS, *eum res exiget et negotie magnitudo postulabit*. This latter construction gives a more suitable sense.  $\text{בְּזֶמַן}$  is correctly rendered by LE CLERC, *dici solet*. On this use of the Future, see EWALD’s *Grammar*, § 264, *Eng. Trans.*, p. 137. As to  $\text{בְּזֶמַן}$ , the Preterite is often used respecting God’s future acts, “*whose will is equivalent to the deed,*” EWALD, § 262. *Eng. Trans.*, p. 136. Thus here, in the *decree to do*, the *doing* is already contained in its essence.

We have a parallel passage which strikingly accords with this in Deut. xviii. 9. After a cogent dehortation from soothsaying, augury, witchcraft, and conjuration, which are described as “*the abominations of the heathen,*” it is said (ver. 13), “*Thou shalt be upright (or sincere) with the Lord thy God.* (ver. 14), *For these nations which thou shalt possess hearkened unto observers of times, and unto diviners, but thou—not so—the Lord thy God hath given thee*  $\text{וַתַּתֵּן לָם יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ}$  (namely, that which they seek in vain by their soothsayers and diviners, MICHAELIS : *quid dederit Israelitis exponitur*, ver. 15-19.) (Ver. 15), “*The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye*

---

likewise a dissolving and destructive element within itself, since those who pretended to be the organs of the Deity, by making a trade of their soothsaying, and in addition, by the obscurity and ambiguity of their oracles, and lastly, by the disgrace which the event often brought upon them, opened the way, and created the justification for unbelief. Priam and Telemachus avow this incredulity in IL. *ω*. 220. OD. *α*. 415. A fragment considered by several critics to be HESIOD’S, says— $\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\iota\varsigma\ \delta\prime\ \omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\text{-}\tau\omega\ \epsilon\pi\iota\chi\theta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\omega\nu\ \alpha\nu\theta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu$ ,  $\upsilon\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\nu\ \epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta\ \text{Ζητῶς}\ \nu\omicron\omicron\nu\ \alpha\iota\gamma\iota\acute{\omicron}\chi\omicron\iota\omicron$ . But for all that, men could not give up the use of this means for inquiring into the will of the Deity. “*Omnes reges,*” says CICERO, “*populi, nationes utuntur auspiciis.*” DIVINAT. ii. 39. From this we may see how necessary it was that, in the Mosaic economy, this superstition should be opposed, not by a mere prohibition, which would have effected nothing against such a strongly felt want, but rather by one that was based on the promise of really satisfying what was by this means sought for in vain.



*shall hearken.*" That Israel was not to busy himself with diviners and soothsayers, is founded on this, that it was not necessary; that God had made a better provision among his people, for the want which drove the heathen to soothsayers and diviners, by raising up a prophet who should announce to them what God would do. The thought is in both passages exactly the same, only here the hortatory element is wanting, and agreeably to the connection, only what God did for Israel is brought forward.

The general proposition that "*at the proper time it is told to Israel what God does,*" is here, as the connection with the preceding verse shows, announced with a distinct reference to the revelations which God had made to the Israelites before their departure from Egypt, whereby he made known to them that he would now lead them out, and therefore that it was time for them to march. Compare, first of all, Exod. iv. 30, 31, according to which Aaron told to the people all the words which the Lord spake to Moses (Exod. iii. 7, &c.), and performed signs in the sight of the people. "*And the people believed; and when they heard that the Lord had visited the children of Israel, and that he had looked upon their affliction, then they bowed their heads and worshipped.*" No example is better suited than this to represent to us the meaning of the expression—"in its time it is told Israel what God doth."

The current interpretation is that which Luther gives in his translation—"In his time will they say of Jacob and of Israel, what wonders God doth;" and thus CALVIN: *deum praeclara opera exinde editurum pro defensione populi sui, quae cum admiratione narrentur.* But against this interpretation may be objected; (i.) The comparison with Deut. chap. xviii. (ii.) The comparison with the first half of the verse. If the sense of that be rightly determined, it stands in no connection with the second half of the verse thus understood, while the connection according to our interpretation is very suitable and intimate. (iii.) *כִּי* will then not be to the purpose, as appears from the fact, that the advocates of this interpretation are not agreed about its meaning, and give it in some measure meanings altogether arbitrary, as that of *always* (MARK), or, *according to this time* (TYMPE in NOLDIUS.) *At this time*, and, *at the right time*, both appear incongruous. (iv.) *וְכֵן*

with <sup>b</sup> means in general *to speak to any one*, and very seldom *to speak of any one*.

What is here said of Israel is applicable to the Church in all ages, and also to individual believers. The Church of God knows from his own Word what God does, and accordingly what she has to do. Augury and divination are like the wisdom of this world, which the Church of God, in possession of his Word, requires not, and which carries away its friends to perdition, since it does not enable them to understand the will of God. To know this with clear certainty, is the great privilege which the Church of God enjoys.

Ver. 24. The close of the prophecy, which, by its exhibition of Israel's terrible, invincible, and crushing force, prostrated all Balak's vain hopes of victory, has an intentional, and for the close, a most suitable, reference to Gen. xlix. 9, where Jacob says of Judah, the leading tribe of Israel,

Judah is a young lion:  
 (From the prey, my son, thou art gone up!)  
 He stooped down, he couched as a lion,  
 And as a lioness, who shall rouse him up?

Compare the verbal reference in chap. xxiv. 9.

#### CHAPTER XXIII. 25—XXIV. 2.

Balak's reproach that if he could not *curse* Israel, at least he needed not to have *blessed* it, is met by Balaam with the remark that from the beginning he had declared himself to be a person, whose language was not in his own power, but in Jehovah's. But Balak wishes to make a third trial whether he cannot yet succeed in obtaining a curse instead of a blessing from Jehovah, and Balaam follows him readily to the place which he selected for the purpose, on the summit of Peor, which commanded a comprehensive view of the Israelitish camp. There Balak seeks, by the presentation of the sacrifices presented by Balaam, to gain afresh the favour of Jehovah. But Balaam, now convinced beforehand that it was Jehovah's will to bless Israel, goes not again to the observation of the signs by which he had before attempted to enquire into the unascertained will of Jehovah, but

turns his face immediately towards the wilderness where Israel was encamped, awaiting the new benedictions which God would put in his mouth, and the divine afflatus is imparted to him, after his feelings had been powerfully excited by the striking spectacle that presented itself before him.

---

Chap. xxiii. 25. "And Balak said unto Balaam, Neither curse them at all, nor bless them at all. 26. But Balaam answered and said unto Balak, Told not I thee, saying, All that the Lord speaketh that must I do? 27. And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee unto another place; peradventure it will please God that thou mayest curse me them from thence. 28. And Balak brought Balaam unto the top of Peor, that looketh toward Jeshimon (the wilderness.) 29. And Balaam said unto Balak, Build me here seven altars, and prepare me here seven bullocks and seven rams. 30. And Balak did as Balaam had said, and offered a bullock and a ram on every altar. Chap. xxiv. 1. And when Balaam said that it pleased the Lord to bless Israel, he went not as at other times to seek for enchantments (signs), but he set his face toward the wilderness. 2. And Balaam lifted up his eyes, and he saw Israel encamped according to their tribes, and the Spirit of God came upon him."

---

Ver. 25. Compare, "*Thou shalt not curse him, but also thou shalt not bless him,*" with Exod. xx. 9-10, "*Six days shalt thou labour,*" (I will permit thee to do this) *and on the seventh day is the Sabbath,—in it thou shalt not do any work.*" Against the interpretation, "*Thou cursest him not; so also thou shalt not bless,*" the repeated  $\text{וְ$  is decisive.

Ver. 26. The ground-work of Balak's reproach was the consideration that Balaam, by his very coming, had laid himself under an obligation, at least to do nothing against the interest of the person who had sent for him. On the other hand Balaam fully appeals to the declaration, by which, on his arrival, he had combated such a consideration. Compare chap. xxii. 38.

Ver. 28. "*That looketh toward the desert,*"  $\text{הַיַּשְׁמִינִן}$  That this is not a mere geographical designation—that it rather refers to the



design for which Balak choose exactly this locality, is evident from the clause in chap. xxiv. 1, "*He set his face towards the wilderness.*" From a comparison with chap. xxiv. 1-2, it is also evident "*the desert*" is identical with the Arboth Moab, where, according to chap. xxii. 1, the Israelites were encamped. This is also certain on other grounds. See the GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS.

Chap. xxiv. 1. The source of Balaam's conviction that Jehovah would bless Israel, must have been, in the opinion of several critics, the earlier communications of the Lord (thus the VULGATE, *quumque vidisset Balaam*); according to others, it was a divine illumination which was now imparted to him, and made him internally certain of the former communications. Both indeed are to be joined. Since Balaam, therefore, was perfectly certain of the divine will, he made no further use of the former means for discovering it; he went no more "*to meet the signs,*" (as he had done still at the second place, since from the state of inspiration he soon relapsed into his ordinary state, in which every thing was uncertain to him), but waited with confidence for the new divine afflatus which would confirm the election of Israel. The phrase כִּפְעָם כִּפְעָם is to be interpreted, *as time by time, i.e.* as he did at former times; compare שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, in 1 Sam. vii. 7-16. הַחֹדֶשׁ בְּהַחֹדֶשׁ *new moon to new moon*. כִּפְעָם כִּפְעָם can only mean as before, when the same act has preceded more than once. The phrase *as time by time*, also *can mean as usual*; compare 1 Sam. xx. 25. But here it manifestly relates only to the present transaction, and points to chap. xxiii. 3 and 15. Why Balaam "*set his face toward the wilderness,*" namely, because Israel, whom he had to bless, was encamped there, is plain from ver. 2. The wilderness or desert is not, as the Chaldee translators supposed, the Arabian, (ONKELOS: *et posuit faciem suam ad vitulum, quem fecerant filii Israel in deserto*; similarly also JONATHAN and the JERUSALEM TARGUM, which latter adds, *cupiens maledicere Israeli*), but the wilderness of the Jordan.

Ver. 2. "*And the Spirit of God came upon him.*" This clause is manifestly connected with the preceding—"and Balaam lifted up his eyes and he saw Israel encamped according to their tribes," in which the circumstantiality in the description of the act (the phrase, "*He lifted up his eyes,*" is never used in relation to in-

significant and indifferent objects), indicates the depth of the impression which the spectacle made on Balaam. The *seeing* was a preparative for the inspiration,—not the seeing simply considered, but seeing with the previous living conviction that Israel was the people blessed by the Lord.

THE THIRD PROPHECY. CHAP. XXIV. 3–9.

After an introduction in which Balaam intimates the high importance which attached to his declarations, because the Spirit of God spoke by him, he first of all celebrates Israel's prosperity and abundance of blessings, comparing her tents to beautiful well-watered vallies, to gardens by the side of streams, to aromatic trees which the Lord had planted, to cedars beside the river, describing the overflow of its waters as proceeding from the divine blessing, and that the posterity of Israel should enjoy the like abundance; then particularly his might, the power rooted in God and therefore terrible, with which he crushes all his enemies, and returning to more general views, closes with the emphatic expression founded on the promises made to Abraham,

“Blessed is he that blesseth thee,  
And cursed is he that curseth thee.”

thereby signifying to Balak, that the curse which he sought to bring upon Israel, would fall back on himself and his people.

- 
- Ver. 3. And he took up his parable, and said,  
Balaam the son of Beor prophesieth,  
The man with closed eyes prophesieth;  
Ver. 4. The hearer of the words of God prophesieth;  
Who seeth the vision of the Almighty,  
Falling down, and his eyes open.  
Ver. 5. How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob!  
And thy tabernacles, O Israel!  
Ver. 6. Like vallies are they spread forth,  
Like gardens by the stream,  
Like ling-aloes which Jehovah hath planted,  
Like cedar trees beside the waters.  
Ver. 7. Water will flow from his buckets,  
And his seed is in many waters.  
And his king shall be more exalted than Agag,  
And his kingdom shall be exalted.

- Ver. 8. God leadeth him out from Egypt ;  
 His vigour is as that of a buffalo ;  
 He shall devour the heathen, his foes,  
 And grind in pieces their bones,  
 And with his arrows he shall pierce them.
- Ver. 9. He coucheth, he lieth down like a lion ;  
 And like a lioness, who shall stir him up ?  
 Blessed they, that bless thee !  
 Cursed they, that curse thee !

Ver. 3. Balaam begins with a simple personal designation of himself, and then gives in the following clauses a description of those qualities which are most prominent on this occasion, and which serve for the confirmation of the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  placed at the beginning, and afterwards repeated twice. Quite arbitrarily many would find a deep meaning in the denomination "Balaam the son of Beor." Since  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  always denotes a divine utterance, a Revelation, it can only be so far attributed to Balaam, as the word was received and communicated by him. This has been noticed by MARK, *non aliter se spectat tamen, quam ut dictorum ministrum, quae ipsi aliunde inspirarentur.*  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  stands with the genitive of the human author, besides this passage, only in Prov. xxx. 1, and in the last words of David, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1 ; and this unusual coincidenee has been adduced as a proof, in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 349, that those two passages are imitations of this—that the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  which EWALD (*Compos. der Gen.* p. 74) has denied to the Pentateuch, but which occurs in it besides this passage in, Gen. xxii. 16, and Num. xiv. 28, really belongs to it. "The original passage and the two imitations are the only ones in which  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  stands with a genitive of the human author. This also is a proof of the borrowing, and at the same time of the genuineness and originality of the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  in Balaam's prophecy. In later times, the  $\text{בְּנֵי יְהוָה}$  was so current and established, that a deviation from it is only conceivable on the ground of a model, belonging to an age in which the use of the word was less frequent, and therefore less fixed." It is in favour of the dependance of both passages on this, that in them, as well as here,  $\text{בְּנֵי}$  commences the discourse. This occurs besides only in Ps. cx. 1. For in the passages which GESENIUS has quoted in his *Thesaurus*, s. v., 1 Sam. ii. 30, and Is. i. 24, the  $\text{בְּנֵי}$   $\text{יְהוָה}$  is parenthetical. Finally, in the last words of David the imitation is strikingly palpable.



נָאֵם הַדָּבָר כְּדֹשֵׁן  
וְנָאֵם הַגִּבּוֹר הַקָּמָה עַל

correspond *mutatis mutandis* exactly to

נָאֵם בְּלִבְךָ בְּנֵי בֵּלְרָה  
וְנָאֵם הַגִּבּוֹר שְׂתֵם הַדָּבָר

only that the archaism *בני* is changed into *בן*. The great agreement forbids our supposing that the two passages are independent of one another, and the supposition that 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, is the original passage, is negatived by that slight variation; the use of the archaic form proves this passage to be the more ancient. The result that David copied Balaam (which is the more certain, since the spirit of David is so strongly impressed on the whole composition in 2 Sam. xxiii., that no one will venture to attribute it to a later age) is important in a threefold respect. (i.) It shows that Balaam's prophecies must have been extant in David's time; and still farther, that they were considered at that time as the production of Balaam, and therefore belonging to the Mosaic age. For only on this supposition could David feel impelled by imitating to connect himself with them. To form such a connection with a later production, no reason existed. It rested on the supposition that Balaam's expressions were divinely inspired, but they could not have been so, unless they had proceeded from him. And since there is no trace that Balaam's expressions were extant, except in the Pentateuch, the testimony which testifies directly only of the antiquity and genuineness of these expressions, speaks indirectly at the same time for the antiquity and genuineness of the whole Pentateuch. (ii.) From David's copying Balaam, it is evident that he held him to be a divinely inspired seer, and that he was at that time universally esteemed as such. For had he been regarded by David and by general opinion as a juggler and deceiver, David could not possibly have connected himself with him by using words in which he announced himself to be a divinely inspired seer. By thus connecting himself, he declared that the person who had in ancient times spoken thus of himself was a divine seer. In the words, "*God spake by David the son of Jesse,*" were implied, "*as*

he spoke before by Balaam, the son of Beor." (iii.) That David thus connected himself with the introductory words of Balaam, shows, that they are not to be looked upon, as many have supposed, as an effusion of boastful vanity. David at least considered them only as belonging to the subject, and took them only from striving to turn off the attention from the human author, and fix them on the heavenly.  $\text{כִּי}$  is to be numbered among the grammatical proofs for the antiquity and genuineness of Balaam's prophecies, and therefore of the Pentateuch. The original marks of the *Status Constructus*, by  $\text{ו}$  and  $\text{ו}$  (on which see EWALD'S *Grammar*, § 406, 407, Eng. Trans. p. 255), occur in prose only in the Pentateuch, and even there very rarely; the mark also by  $\text{ו}$ , even in poetry, only in the  $\text{וְיָרֵה}$  borrowed from the Pentateuch, besides  $\text{וְיָרֵה}$  in Psalm cxiv. 8, but where the  $\text{ו}$  erroneously used, not as a mark of the *Status Constructus* in the same verse, shows that the author had not drawn from the living *usus loquendi*. That the  $\text{ו}$  had in David's time fallen completely into disuse, is evident from his omission of it in the passage we have already noticed. Probably the  $\text{ו}$  also is in all cases borrowed from the Pentateuch. For (i.) It occurs for the most part only in later productions (besides Isaiah i. 21, and xxii. 16), belonging to an age in which the endeavour to copy the phraseology of the Pentateuch was very prevalent. (ii.) The nature of it is frequently mistaken, since it is used in other connections than that of the *Status Constructus*, which is never done in the Pentateuch.

The verb  $\text{סָם}$  is by many expositors interpreted by, *to close*, but by far the greater number by, *to open*; so probably the LXX.  $\phi\eta\sigma\iota\nu$   $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\delta$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$ ; and ONKELOS, *vir pulchre videns*. But the meaning, *to open*, is, on etymological ground, extremely doubtful; the meaning, *to close*, is the only tenable one. The meaning, *to open*, has nothing on its behalf in the Hebrew *usus loquendi*; it rests only on the Chaldee  $\text{סָם}$  *perforavit*, but for which BUXTORF has only adduced some passages from the Mishnah. This dialectic authority for the meaning *to open*, is at all events greatly overbalanced by the very current Arabic word  $\text{سَم}$ , *to close*. But the principal evidence for the meaning *to close* is the Hebrew itself. In the sense of, *to stop up*, *to close*, the word  $\text{סָם}$  is of frequent occurrence, and its affi-

nity to שָׂהֵם is rendered more evident by its being once written with שׁ in Lament. iii. 8. That the verb is here written with שׁ, is of so much the less consequence, since we have here to do with the Pentateuch, in which the ancient forms of the language may be looked for. According to EWALD (*Grammar*, § 107, *Eng. Trans.* p. 38), the stronger sibilants which occur most in the Pentateuch change themselves in the course of time to a considerable extent, into the weaker ones; שׁ for instance into שׂ. According to § 170, *Eng. Trans.*, p. 72, שׁ is, in every case, the שׂ softened. If this be correct, we have in the passage where שָׂהֵם occurs the proof that the word was originally pronounced שָׂהֵם, and the softening into שָׂהֵם took place at a later period. That שָׂהֵם, according to the only certain meaning, belongs to the proofs of the ancient *usus loquendi* of the Pentateuch, in the prose of which שָׂהֵם is found, we remark only in passing. Besides, the reasons founded on the language against the interpretation—"the man with *opened* eyes," it may be also urged, (i.) That it produces a tautology, since then שָׂהֵם הָיָה עֵינָיו עֲנִיּוּם. That then the second member of the tripartite prologue entirely coincides with the third, and every reason for the repetition of the נָסַח, which divides the members, vanishes. Those critics who take the correct view of שָׂהֵם philologically, have nevertheless in their subsequent determination of the meaning, been quite beside the mark, and so have helped to bring this interpretation into disfavour. According to CALVIN'S far-fetched interpretation, *closed* or *concealed* eyes are such as see into hidden things, *sécret* eyes; *absconditos sibi esse oculos dicet quia arcana inspectione pollent supra humanum modum*. When *closing* of the eyes is spoken of, one does not naturally think of a *disclosing*, but only of a *closing up*. LE CLERC finds here an allusion to Balaam's not seeing the angel on his journey; but such an allusion does not belong to this connection, to which only that is suited which serves to recommend Balaam and his following discourse. According to MUNTINGHE, Balaam meant to say, that his (mental) eyes had hitherto been closed in reference to the Israelites and their destinies; according to DE GEER, in reference to future events in general. But against such interpretations, there is the objection, that the clause must have an independent and definitive meaning, which may serve for the recommendation of the following



prophecy. The correct view is,—Balaam describes himself as a man with closed eyes, in reference to the ecstasy in which the closing up of the *outward* senses goes hand in hand with the opening of the *inward*. STEINBECK has some interesting observations on this subject in his work entitled, *der Dichter ein Seher (The Poet a Seer)*, Leip. 1836, p. 121. He marks as the first step in the development of the mental and bodily condition of the seer and poet, “a turning away from the outward world, an entering into self, an impulse for solitude.” “It is altogether natural,” he says, “for the soul, in the noisy whirlpool of the outward world, to be too much distracted and held back from the consideration of higher things. The soul, active in a life of sense, stands in direct opposition to the spirit, which, by the activity of the senses, is beclouded and pressed back, and comes forward into free activity when the senses sleep or are unemployed. Therefore, when we wish to reflect closely upon any thing, we withdraw into solitude and close our eyes and ears. This is the first means in order to gain the presence of the spirit (*Geistesgegenwart*), not what the French call *présence d’esprit*, but *imperturbabilité*. This is a thoughtfulness which sets aside all impressions through the senses, in order not to disturb the clearness of the soul. The ancients called this the sleeping and waking of the spirit; and PHILO says that the awaking of the senses brings on the sleep of the spirit, and inversely by the waking of the spirit the senses become inoperative. (*Οὐκοῦν ἢ τε τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἐγρήγορσις ὕπνος ἐστὶ νοῦ, ἢ τε τοῦ νοῦ ἐγρήγορσις ἀπραξία τῶν αἰσθήσεων.* *Leg. Alleg.* ed. Mang. p. 72, ed. Richter. vol. i. p. 99.) As at the rising of the sun the stars disappear, but at its setting reappear, so the waking spirit obscures the perceptions of the senses,—its sleep or retiring allows the senses to come forward, when also all the affections which during the supremacy of the spirit were powerless, again obtain and exert their full power and activity. . . . The greater the rest and withdrawal from the world are, in which the soul continues, so much clearer becomes the vision of the seer, so much more inward and pure the flame of the poet, as the butterfly expands more beautifully her wings adorned with coloured dust, the greater the stillness and loneliness which surrounds her chrysalis.” In those who have reached the highest stage of in-

ward advancement, a state of spiritual activity (*Eingeistung*) can exist without an outward closing of the senses; the sensitive faculty is in them so refined, and the spirit so powerful, that no disturbing impression is to be apprehended from the former. But in men like Balaam, who stand on a lower stage of the inner life, and who was raised above it only momentarily by the inworking of the spirit, the closing up of the eyes formed a necessary basis for the opening of the spirit. The spirit could only open when he powerfully rescued it from the impressions of the lower world, and their impure defiling influences, and thus introduced it into the orbit of the higher world. According to this passage we have to represent to ourselves Balaam in the utterance of all his prophecies with closed eyes, but without venturing from such a state as his to infer one perfectly similar in an Isaiah.\*

---

\* In ecstatic states within the bounds of Christendom, the closing of the eyes, or their unsusceptibility to outward impressions, is quite usual. Thus in "second sight," according to MARTIN in PASSAVANT, p. 312, the vision makes such a lively impression on the seer, that as long as it lasts he sees and thinks of nothing else besides this sight. The eyelids of the seer are stretched open, and the eyes are fixed till the vision vanishes." Yet this rule is not without exceptions. In some persons the inner sense is so living and powerful, that the activity of the outward sense goes on along with it unchecked without injuring it. Thus Saint Heldegard says of herself in PASSAVANT, p. 179, 180: "But these things I do not see with the outward eyes, nor hear with the outward ears, nor by the thoughts of my heart, nor by any comparison of my five senses, but only in my soul with *open eyes*, without falling into an ecstasy, for I saw them while awake day and night. . . . Then I wondered at myself, that while I inwardly saw in the spirit, I also had an outward power of seeing, and as I never heard this of other persons, I concealed the vision I had in my soul as much as I could." We do not hesitate to compare this state with the strictly prophetic. For the freeing of the soul from the disturbing impressions of the outward world, and the energy of the inner sense, is common to both, and the distinction of the latter from the former rises first on the ground common to all these ecstatic states, the purest and the impurest. The vivacity of the inner sense can be produced in a purely natural way; it can originate under divine and under demoniacal influences. The activity of the inner sense is not the *essence* but the form of prophecy. Its essence consists in this, that the awakening of the inner sense proceeds from the Spirit of God, and that he imparts to it his revelations. Only with a reference to this producing cause of it, does Balaam claim authority for his words on the ground of his ecstasy. In and for itself the ecstasy was perfectly an indifferent thing; the man who was in it might be equally either worse or better than in his usual state. Where it obtains in a depraved man, in a natural way, or under demoniacal influence, the depravity will come forth with fearful augmentation. "A deeper concentration of the soul," says PASSAVANT, p. 163, "may be expected in a depraved direction of the spirit. The being released from outward nature is not always a being free from it; a being snatched from it is not always a being raised above it; and it is indeed conceivable that in the state of ecstasy an evil will can be active. If to us a pure ecstasy appears as an anticipation of a future higher

Ver. 4. That the hearing and seeing are to be taken spiritually and inwardly is self-evident. SCHEID would insert, from ver. 16, after the clause, “*Who heard the words of God,*” וַיֵּדַע רַעַיָה עֲלֵיָיו, “*and knew the knowledge of the Most High,*” and also strike out the וַיִּשְׁמַע which is wanting there. But such attempts only show how little their authors have made themselves acquainted with the character of the repetitions in the Old Testament, which for reasons before mentioned are almost never *verbatim*.

The word וַיִּפֹּל *falling*, indicates the force of the afflatus, which, like an armed man, comes upon the seer and strikes him down. We find a parallel in 1 Sam. xix. 24, where it is said of Saul, “*and he stripped off his clothes also, and fell down naked (וַיִּפֹּל גָּזְיוֹ) all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the Prophets?*” Remarks like that of MICHAELIS, who, on “*he stripped of his clothes,*” says, “*exiit vestes consuetas et induit sacras pauciores et leviores,*” and on the words “*he fell,*”—“*humilis ut reliqui Samuelis discipuli,*” may be found also among later expositors, as for example in HENDEWERK on Isaiah, in the Introduction, and show how little these writers can enter into the nature of such states. Moreover, the גִּבְהוֹיָם, in reference to which KIMCHI has remarked, *hoc infert etiam reliquos prophetantes ita fecisse*, and the expression, “*is Saul also,*” prove that the “*stripping off the clothes,*” and “*falling down,*” was common to Saul with the prophetic scholars. The afflatus assumed such a violent character, prostrating both soul and body, only where it found an unripe state. The falling down is mentioned only of such a class of persons as Balaam, Saul, and the prophetic scholars. In a SAMUEL, we can hardly imagine such violent appearances. The more the mind in its ordinary consciousness is penetrated by the spirit, the less necessary is it for the spirit to set itself against it in a hostile

---

state of the soul, so must such an impure ecstasy be regarded as an anticipation of a possible deeper form through guilt of a future existence.” The same writer remarks, p. 171: “It is self-evident that in this new form of life, the spirit of man can be active in the most different ways. The idiosyncrasy and inner capacity of the man will determine the direction which the soul takes in these states. Under all circumstances, man attracts what resembles himself. Hence the more fully the soul is active, so much the more will it attract from the different circles of the world what is homogeneous to itself, and in its turn will be imbibing influences from these circles.”



position, by its extraordinary manifestations; it then only comes to its own, to what is homogeneous.

The following passages, which are commonly adduced as parallel, are *not so*: Gen. xv. 12; Ezek. i. 28, iii. 23, xliii. 3; Dan. viii. 17, 18, x. 15; Revel. i. 17. For in all these instances, the falling down did not proceed from the influence of the Spirit forcibly pressing down the natural life, but from an overpowering impression of the glory of the person beheld, an impression of terror and reverence. It was an embodied *ἐλέησόν με κύριε!*

That the "*falling down*" is to be placed in close connection with what follows, "*whose eyes were opened*," is recognised in the Vulgate, where the whole passage is thus translated:—*dixit auditor sermonum dei, qui visionem Omnipotentis institutus est, qui cadit et sic aperiuntur oculi ipsius.*

Those critics who make a broad distinction between the ordinary state of the prophet, and that which he now experienced, and who suppose that the former soothsayer and juggler became all on a sudden a prophet, have been not a little perplexed by this prologue of Balaam's, since he appears in it to attribute to himself a permanent prophetic gift. How they attempt to escape from it, the following words of MARK may serve to show: *Quae commendatio sui amplissima non debet referri ad id quod semper Bileamo contingebat, ut hinc probetur ipsam veri nominis prophetam divinum jam ante hanc vocationem fuisse, id enim ex his verbis elici nequit, sed optime intelligitur de eo quod in Mesopotamia, in via, et in Moabitide nuper plus quam semel contigerat ipsi, et vel maxime de eo, quod nunc ipsi contingebat.* That this is an inadmissible make-shift is very clear. The qualities which Balaam attributed to himself do not refer to an isolated event, but describe a fixed position, and on this fixed position is the authority grounded which he claims for this special declaration. He is a Prophet of God—and therefore the words he is about to utter are not the words of man but of God. This announcement on the part of Balaam, is of greater weight, because the author, by the expression immediately preceding, "*and the spirit of God came upon him*," takes it away from the department of subjectivity. That Balaam here claims for himself in general the prophetic gift, and the author grants it to him, does not, of course,

exclude his being raised on this occasion far above himself, which indeed is expressly intimated in ver. 1. But this much is certain, that the difference of his present from his former state, although so great, was still only one of *degree*.

But those persons depart still more widely from the truth who see in the introductory words of Balaam the expression of boastful vanity. That the sacred historian formed a totally different judgment, is shown by his saying, "*the spirit of God came upon him,*" which precedes the introductory words, while according to that view it must have followed them. That this expression applies to Balaam's prophesying, appears from the next clause, "*and he took up his parable,*" with which the prophesying itself is always introduced. But as to their substance, Balaam's words contain nothing which was not contained in the constantly repeated נְבִיאִים of the prophets; as MARK observes, *non dissimilia iis quae Davidi de se tribuuntur*, 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, 2; *ut taceam de apostolicis Pauli proemiis epistolicis aliisque dictis*, Gal. i. 11; 2 Cor. xi., etc. and their peculiarity of *form*, the abundance of designations, is a simple result of the preponderating poetical character which all Balaam's expressions wear. The correct view is stated by CALVIN, only he ought to have rejected the opposite view still more decidedly: *Non alio tendit tota praefatio, nisi ut se verum dei prophetam esse probet et benedictionem quam proferet se habere ex coelesti oraculo. Et vera quidem gloriatio fuit quoad hunc specialem actum, fieri tamen potest, ut eum ad jactandum impulerit fastus et ambitio. Quamquam probabile est impulsu spiritus sic fuisse praefatum, quo plus fidei suis dictis assereret. Ceterum ex hoc concilio licet sensum verborum colligere. Elogiis se ornat Balaam, quibus propheticum munus sibi arroget. Ergo quaecunque de se praedicat sciendum est competere in veros dei prophetas quoniam notas et insignia mutuatur.*

Ver. 5. Balaam beholds the tents of Israel, whose glory he celebrates, with *opened* eyes. The immediately preceding bodily beholding (*now* his bodily eye is closed, compare ver. 3) forms for him only a substratum, on which the spiritual beholding develops itself. The glory which he beholds, is an eternal, hidden one, which discloses itself only to the eye of the spirit. Balak participated with him in the outward view, and yet he broke not out

into the exclamation, “*How goodly are thy tents, O Jacob,*” &c. ISRAEL as the sacred name, the name which denoted the people in their higher characteristics, in their relation to God, and bearing the same relation to JACOB, as “*the man whose eyes are closed,*” &c., bears to “*Balaam the son of Beor,*” contains also here the ground of the declaration, and leads us back to the necessity existing in the nature of the case. Several critics falsely assume (DE GEER, for instance: *videre sibi videtur Balaam Israelitas jam in regione Canan. habitantes et fortunatissimam eorum sedem*) that the picture here drawn and in ver. 6, relates not to the *present*, but only to the *future*. But the mention of the “*tents*” shows that the annunciation concerned the present first of all: this is also evident from the expression, “*and his seed,*” in ver. 7. Even now is the abundant blessing poured out upon Israel, as certainly as already it is now Israel. Not that it is necessary, to *confine* this language, “*How goodly are thy tents,*” &c., to the present. While true of the present, it was also true for all subsequent ages.

Ver. 6. The sentiment contained in “*How goodly are thy tents,*” is here further developed; the loveliness of the tents of Israel is exhibited in a succession of comparisons. First of all, “*they are spread forth like the vallies.*” נַחַל denotes first of all a brook; then a valley through which a brook flows. That here the latter meaning is intended (in assuming the former as the meaning, Isaiah lviii. 11, is to be compared where Israel is likened to “*a spring of water, whose waters fail not*”), is probable from the analogy of the following comparisons. The tents of Israel are there not compared to waters, but to objects by the side of waters, such as gardens, cedars. Also, in ver. 7, Israel is not = water, but enjoys abundance of water—his buckets flow over with water—his seed is in many waters.

The word מִצְּרָיִם from צָרַע in the meaning *to extend, to stretch out* (see GESENIUS, *s. v.*), is referred by most expositors to the *vallies*, since they supply מִצְּרָיִם as in the following words מִצְּרָיִם מְרִיבֵי, “*like vallies which are stretched out,*” or “*like extended vallies.*” But it is preferable to refer מִצְּרָיִם to *the tents*; “*they are stretched out like vallies*” The point of comparison must, according to ver. 5, and likewise according to the analogy of the following images, be the peculiar excellency or good quality. Now, if



we refer  $\text{יָצַד}$  to the  $\text{יָצַדִּים}$ , then the idea of *extension* is prominently brought forward, which is not appropriate in this connection, since extension contributes nothing to the loveliness.

With the clause, "*as gardens by the river side,*" compare Isaiah lviii. 11. "*And thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not.*" The ungodly in Isaiah i. 30, are said to be "*as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that hath no water.*"

On the  $\text{יָצַדִּים}$  see GESENIUS s. v. "*Trees which the Lord hath planted*" are those which, owing to a favourable locality, grow and thrive in a remarkable manner; compare Psalm civ. 16, "*The trees of the Lord are saturated, (full of sap, Eng. A. V.) (with the rain that he sends), the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted.*" The clause "*which the Lord hath planted,*" corresponds in fact with "*by the river side*" and "*by the waters*" of the foregoing and following clauses. The comparison with the *Ahalim* serves to carry out the idea "*How goodly.*" For the *Ahalim*, so highly valued for their aromatic quality, are like the cedars, noble trees; but the comparison is made still stronger by the addition, "*which the Lord hath planted,*" which represents them as being the noblest of the noble. "*Dicuntur,*" says CALVIN, "*arbores a Deo plantatae, quae ob singularem praestantiam excedunt communem naturae modum.*"

Ver. 7. From the *tents* of Israel, the seer turns to Israel himself. He attributes to him, in the first half of the verse, a fulness of prosperity and blessing, and in the second half speaks of the powerful aggrandisement of the kingdom to be established by him. "*The water shall overflow his buckets,*"  $\text{יָצַדִּים}$  is the Dual with the Suffix; the Dual which "denotes the whole divided into two halves, and expresses the idea of a thing which is in double or in pairs" (EWALD, § 362, *Eng. Trans.* p. 232), is used here on account of the connection of the two buckets of the water-carrier. Also, since the Dual in such words is retained, when a multitude is spoken of, we may also here imagine a multitude of buckets. But this is not necessary; it rather appears more suitable, to suppose the people personified as an individual carrying two buckets. He whose buckets overflow with water must be abundantly supplied. We consider the water as a figurative term for blessing

and salvation, in which sense it often occurs ; compare, for instance, Isaiah xlv. 3 :

For I will pour water upon the thirsty,  
And floods upon the dry ground.  
I will pour my Spirit on thy seed,  
And my blessing upon thy offspring.

Where the “*water*” is directly explained to mean “*blessing*,” and with this the pouring out of the Spirit is associated as the most distinguished blessing. In agreement with this view we also understand the “*many waters*” in the second clause. מַיִם we take as a designation of *posterity*. That this “*seed*” is “*in many waters*,” also indicates that the fulness of blessing will not be transitory, but abiding ; compare Isaiah xlv. 4, “*And they shall spring up among the grass as willows by the water-courses.*” We have an exact analogy in Isaiah lxx. 23, “*They are the seed of the blessed of the Lord, and their offspring with them.*” According to the current interpretation, a numerous posterity is denoted by the “*water overflowing his buckets.*” Thus, for instance, GESENIUS, in his *Thesaurus*, s. v. מַיִם *i. e. larga erit posteritas ejus, metaphora ab aqua de situla destillante ad semen virile translata.* Opposed to this meaning are the following considerations. (i.) The comparison of the foregoing verse. In its last words *water* appears as a means of joyful thriving, as an image of blessing and salvation. (ii.) The parallel clause, “*and his seed is in many waters*,” which can be referred to a numerous increase only by a very forced construction ; and only by entirely losing sight of the reference, in which water is spoken of in the first clause, as also in ver. 6 ; thus, for instance, MARK understands by many waters, numerous and powerful nations: *Quod non tantum posteritatem instar aquarum sit emissurus et diffusurus, sed etiam posteritas illa tanta foret, ut inter numerosissimos et potentissimos populos suo merito habentur.* (iii.) The idea of a numerous posterity does not so well suit the second member as salvation and blessing, which bears the same relation to “*the king being higher than Agag*,” and to “*his kingdom being exalted*,” as the general to the particular, or the cause to the effect. (iv.) *Water* as an image of

blessing is very frequent; it never is used as a designation of *semen virile*, not even in Isaiah xlvi. 1, where in the words, “*which are come forth out of the waters of Judah*,” יַרְמָזִי יְהוּדָה יַרְמָזִי, the progenitor is figuratively represented as a fountain, and his posterity as the stream formed by it; compare Psalm. lxxviii. 27 (26), “*Bless the Lord from the fountain of Israel*,” יְהוּדָה יַרְמָזִי. Others understand both clauses literally of the abundant supply of water in Israel. Thus COCCEIUS explains the first clause, *cisternae et putei ipsis copiosam aquam praebebunt ad potandos greges*; in the second clause he takes יַרְמָזִי in the sense of *seed-corn*, and explains, “*is in many waters*,” to mean *tempestivis plurius irrigatur*. This is illustrated by Deut. viii. 7, “*For the Lord thy God bringeth thee unto a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of vallies and hills*;” also xi. 10, “*a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven*.” Also, according to our view, an abundance of water is included in the annunciation. The blessing, represented under the image of water must also make itself known in a plentiful supply of water. That this occupies a principal place among the blessings, appears from water being used as an image of salvation, and likewise from the passages in Deuteronomy just quoted, in which abundance of water is promised as a great blessing. But that we must not refer the annunciation directly and exclusively to the copious supply of water, is evident from the figurative use of water in ver. 6—from the second half of the verse, which then will not suitably connect itself with the first, and from the unsuitable mention of so special a blessing in the course of a prophecy which confines itself throughout to generals, particularly a blessing which stands in no direct relation to the occasion of it, the wish of Balak to destroy Israel. Lastly, the phrase יַרְמָזִי יְהוּדָה is so standing a designation of *the posterity* of Israel, that on that account alone we could not understand it of the *seed-corn* of Israel.

In the second half of the verse יְהוּדָה, agreeably to the usual meaning of the form, is so much the rather to be taken as *Optative*, since this is the peculiar form for a benediction. But the wish, since it is expressed in spirit, includes the prophecy in itself, so that it is not exactly necessary, on account of the יְהוּדָה, to take יַרְמָזִי also optatively. But it appears that יְהוּדָה is designedly



chosen to mark the reference to the Future, and to distinguish it from the  $\text{לְעֵת}$ , which is to be taken in the sense of the Present. By the foregoing apocopated Future, the meaning of the Future is secured to the following common one. The clause, "*this king shall be higher than Agag,*" referring to the Future, joins itself very suitably to the one immediately preceding, "*and his seed is in many waters,*" which denotes the continuance of salvation and blessing, as opposed to their limitation to the present generation, to which, as these words show, the first clause must refer.

That *Agag* is not to be taken as the *nomen proprium* of an individual Amalekite king, of him whom Saul conquered, but as the common name of all the Amalekite kings, has been shown already in another work. (*Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 250.) An individual reference has already been shown to be quite unsuitable to the immediate connection. The most general description of the salvation that Israel enjoyed goes before. Now, in the representation of the strength that resulted from it, how could the author, without having premised anything general, at once turn to the exhibition of a special historical fact. It would have been something different if this fact concerned that people whose king was endeavouring to gain the ascendancy over Israel, and whose proud imaginings Balaam's predictions were primarily intended to confound—namely, the Moabites. The introduction of such a special feature would be in some degree conceivable, though yet unexpected. Moreover, since in reference to the *Conqueror* Israel, nothing is said of a royal individual, but only his kings in general are mentioned, and the kingdom to be established under them, it is still less to be supposed that in reference to the *conquered*, the name of an individual king would be specified. Still further, if we look at the context in general, such a reference appears unsuitable. The structure of Balaam's prophecies is throughout ideal. Nowhere in them is an individual named, or even noticed. All that is said of the relation of Israel to the neighbouring nations, proceeds not on particular historical facts, but comprises a continuous series of historical fulfilments. What specially concerns Amalek, in the last prophecy, which forms the crowning point, is far more determinate and individual than all the rest, in ver. 20, but only an-

nounces the destruction which awaited Amalek by means of Israel, without any minute references to the historical circumstances under which it would take place. The passage before us manifestly forms only the transition to that last prophecy. It forms the link which connects the three first prophecies with the fourth. The difference is this, that in the three first prophecies the idea of Israel's superiority over the heathen world, over all his enemies, is generally represented, but in the fourth with an individual application to particular hostile nations by whom Israel was surrounded. Preparation for this comprehensive special application is here made by the naming of that people who were the most powerful in the vicinity of Israel. But immediately the annunciation, (since nothing more than a preparation was intended,) returns to generals. But here in the preparation, where the Amalekites are only touched upon in passing as the representatives of Israel's mighty enemies, how should greater definiteness prevail than in the last prophecy in which the seer occupies himself *ex professo* with the relations of Israel to particular enemies? And what is still more, how should what is here said of Amalek be expressed with incomparably greater definiteness than what occurs in that last prophecy which is devoted to individual application, respecting that people with whom Balaam (as the words in ver. 14 declare, "*I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days,*") had primarily and principally to do, the Moabites, of whom only it is expressed in general that the Israelitish kingdom would bring destruction upon them? Add to this, that the supposition that Agag is a *nomen dig.* of all the Amalekite kings, has a number of analogies in its favour which are adduced in *the Dissertations* (Pharaoh among the Egyptians, Abimelech among the Philistines, Melchizedek or Adonizebek among the Jebusites, Jabin among the kings of Hazor), names with which that of Agag may be classed with so much greater propriety since it, like them, has an appellative meaning, and one which is very suitable for the Amalekite king, Agag meaning in Arabic, *the fiery one*. Also, as has been already remarked in *the Dissertations*, in 1 Sam. xv., the proper name of the Amalekite king conquered by Saul which we do not know, is designedly not given, but only his title. The information respecting the fulfilment differs as little as possible from the prophecy. The depend-

ance of the narrative in 1 Sam. xv. on the Pentateuch, there pointed out, serves to confirm this view.

It is therefore settled that the words, "*his king shall be higher than Agag,*" only announce the victory of the Israelitish kingdom over the Amalekitish, or the victory of Israel, after the regal power had been fully established in it, over Amalek. While therefore no evidence can be derived from the naming of Agag for the late composition of these prophecies, what is here said of the Amalekites, furnishes evidence of their composition in the Mosaic age. The reason that here, in the first attempt at individualising the prediction of the victory of Israel over his enemies, the Amalekites are named and they only, can only be, that at the time when the words were spoken, the Amalekites were the most powerful of all the nations hostile to Israel, so that in his exaltation over them, the exaltation over all the rest was expressed. This has been acknowledged by CALVIN, according to whom the prophet named the Amalekites—*quia tunc celeberrimae erunt eorum opes*, and also by LE CLERC, who remarks—*oportuisse Hameleketarum res eo tempore floruisse, quandoquidem quasi eximium quid Israelitarum rex major Hamelekitarum rege futurus dicitur*. Had it been only of consequence, without reference to this ground, to bring forward some one from the nations hostile to Israel, the seer would rather have named Moab. That only this reason occasioned the naming of Amalek is favoured by the designation given to that people in ver. 20, רֵאשִׁיטָה גִּזְיָם, *the beginning of nations, i. e.* the most powerful of them. Now, in the Mosaic age the Amalekites were really the most powerful and warlike of the enemies of Israel. This appears from the simple fact that, according to Exod. xviii., they attacked Israel without hesitation in open combat, as soon as they approached their country, while the Edomites confined themselves to putting garrisons on their western boundary, which was strongly fortified by nature, and from a sense of their weakness did not venture to obstruct the march of the Israelites along their weak eastern border—and while the king of Moab, notwithstanding his league with the Midianites, did not think himself strong enough to give battle to Israel, and, in the consciousness of his weakness, called Balaam to his aid; compare the embassy of Balak to Balaam in chap. xxii. 6. But in later times, the Amalekites did not assume so



important a position. As a company of marauders they often gave Israel much trouble, but never ventured to engage in the open battle-field against Israel, as they are described in Exod. xvii. as having done with (for a long time) a doubtful issue. Compare vers. 11, 12. How easily Saul conquered the Amalekites! Even in his time, and still more in David's, it would not have been much to say, that Israel's "*king was higher than Agag*," for that would have been no pledge of victory over the world at large.

That the regal power in Israel was a *future* event to the seer, appears from the expression, "*shall be higher*," and from the preceding mention of posterity, and is expressly said in ver. 17. CALVIN has correctly stated the reason why the kingdom is here referred to: *Etsi autem longo post tempore in Israele nemo regnavit, non absurdum est tam regis et regni nomine publicum statim designari; praesertim quia deus solidam gratiae suae perfectionem in tempus usque regni distulerat.* Under the kings and through their instrumentality, the indwelling power of Israel was first to be completely developed. The reference here made to the erection of the kingdom in Israel is founded on the promises to the patriarchs, in which it is noted as necessarily entering into the course of the national development. Compare for instance, Gen. xvii. 6, xxxv. 11. The natural foundations for foreseeing the erection of the kingdom in Israel have been already represented in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 167. How foolish it is for persons, on account of this reference to this kingdom, to transpose the prophecies of Balaam to the time of the Kings, may be shown by facts, taken from another department than of strict prophecy. Out of a great multitude to adduce only one: SCHILLER, in the year 1794, said, "The French Revolution will as quickly cease as it arose; the republic constitution will pass over to a kind of anarchy, and, sooner or later, some able, powerful man will appear, come from what quarter he may, who will make himself master not only of France, but of a part of Europe." (See STEINBECK'S *Der Dichter ein Seher* p. 597.) But if we measure these prophecies by their proper standard, how can it be supposed that the reference to the kingdom renders it necessary to assume a *vaticinium post eventum*, since the mention of ships which come from Chittim and afflict Eber, renders every such interpretation ridiculous. If we must

here grant the seer a real knowledge of futurity, we certainly cannot refuse to do this in reference to the erection of the kingdom, since the pre-announcement of this event has far more a national foundation.

In the last words, the TARGUM of JERUSALEM substitutes for *his* kingdom, the kingdom *of the Messiah*; as a matter of fact with perfect correctness. For as Israel, according to Balaam's prediction, first attained the full realization of its ideal by the erection of the kingdom, so would the kingdom first attain its full destiny at the appearance of the Messiah, first in him would Israel's king be truly raised higher than Agag, the representative of the hostile power of this world, and his kingdom be exalted. Jacob expressed a presentiment of this in Genesis xlix. 10, which was raised to perfect clearness by the prophets.

Ver. 8. The words,

God leadeth him forth from Egypt,  
His vigour is like that of a buffalo,

are repeated from chap. xxiii. 22, and then in the second half of the verse is further amplified, showing how God's leading and Israel's vigorous power, which was an effect of it, are evinced in the victories which they gain over their enemies; and thus an appeal is at the same time made to Balak, to halt in the dangerous path in which he was treading. Several critics refer the suffix in יָצָא to Israel (JONATHAN: *sagittas plagae vindictae suae mittet in eos.* LXX. *καὶ ταῖς βολέσιw αὐτοῦ κατατοξεύσει.* VULG. *et perforabunt sagittis*); others refer it to his enemies, "*and he will pierce through his darts.*" The first interpretation is, as far as the language is concerned, quite admissible. יָצָא according to his darts, for, *with* his darts, belongs to the category of the Accusative, of which EWALD (§ 482, *Eng. Trans.* p. 308) says, "an idea is described and explained merely as to its purport and nature by means of the free subordination of a noun, so that both are not related to each other as cause and effect, but as general and particular." It is favourable to this interpretation that in the whole verse, Israel is spoken of in the singular, and the enemies are mentioned in the plural, then—that according to the analogy of the preceding יָצָא and יָצָא it is probable that יָצָא relates to the enemies, in reference to whom יָצָא very often occurs, but never in

reference to weapons. The crushing and shattering in pieces of darts would be also unsuitable. GESENIUS, in the *Thesaurus*, p. 783, is not well satisfied with either interpretation, and rejects them as giving a flat sense. He is disposed to admit, with J. D. MICHAELIS, that הַצִּיָּים here means *loins*, or for הַצִּיָּי to substitute הַלְצִיָּי. But nothing can justify such forced assumptions. The apparent flatness is removed, if it is considered, יָגִיר and יָגִירָם, a bold and figurative expression, required an explanation which would direct the attention to its actual meaning, that of warlike and conquering power, and prevent the erroneous reference to a rude barbarity. The omission of the object in יִמְדָּךְ is not without emphasis.

Ver. 9. The first half of the verse we have already remarked (ch. xxiii. 24) is founded on Gen. xlix. 9. In the preceding verse it was shown how Israel's terrible power gave him the victory in battle; *here* it is shown how, after the conflict was over, he so awed his enemies that they did not venture to disturb his peace. As the contents of the preceding verse were verified under David, so the announcement in this received its fulfilment under Solomon. The *close* of the prediction reverts to the *beginning*, not only as to its *subject-matter*, inasmuch as in both the thought that on Israel the fulness of the divine blessing rests, is expressed in all its universality, but also in *form*, since in both the address is directed *to* Israel—while in the middle Israel is spoken of. The language is founded on Gen. xxvii. 29; compare also Gen. xii. 3. The connection of the subject in the plural, with the predicate in the singular, is explained by considering those who are blessed and cursed as comprehended in a unity—they are blessed and cursed as one man. In reference to the thought CALVIN remarks: *Haec loquendi formula significat, ea lege electos a deo fuisse Israelitas, ut sibi impensum referat quidquid illis vel injuriae illatum, vel beneficii callatum fuerit. Hinc autem docemur quaecunque locantur ecclesiae officia, locari apud ipsum deum, qui fidelis erit remunerator; et simul non posse laedi fideles, quin ultionem suscipiat; sicuti dicit qui tangit vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei.* Just as the hatred, in which the cursing against Israel originated, is to be considered as directed against God through him, so the love towards Israel which prompted the blessing is to be regarded as a consequence of an



affinity with the Israelitish principle, of a tendency towards the God of Israel, such as was presented in Balaam. Viewing the matter in this light, the blessing and the cursing appear to be fully accounted for.

CHAPTER XXIV., 10-14.

Balak, in a paroxysm of anger, orders Balaam to flee away in haste that he may not lay hands upon him. Balaam first vindicates himself against him, and then declares that he is ready to obey his bidding; but he must first impart warning and advice to him, and announce what Israel would do to his people if they persisted in their enmity.

---

“Ver. 19. And Balak’s anger was kindled against Balaam, and he smote his hands together. And Balak said unto Balaam, I called thee to curse mine enemies, and, behold, thou hast altogether blessed them these three times. 11. Therefore now flee thou to thy place. I thought to promote thee to great honour, but, lo, the Lord hath kept thee back from honour. 12. And Balaam said unto Balak, Spake I not also to thy messengers which thou sentest unto me saying, 13. If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold, I cannot go beyond the commandment of the Lord to do either good or bad of my own mind; what the Lord saith that will I speak. 14. And now, behold, I go unto my people. Come, and I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people in the latter days.”

---

Ver. 10. The commentary on the clause, “*he smote his hands together*” (which has been correctly conceived by CALVIN: *contumeliose Balaam, cui antehac blanditus fuerat, rejicit et exturbat e suo conspectu*) is the command, “*flee thou*” in ver. 11. In general, as an expression of anger, (compare for instance GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 966,) the clapping of hands occurs neither among the Hebrews nor among any other nation. A parallel passage is in Job xxvii. 23. “*He (God) clappeth*

against them (the ungodly) with his hands,"—this is preceded by, "he would fain flee out of his hand," and is followed by "he shall hiss him out of his place." 11. PHILO thus paraphrases "flee thou," φεύγε δὴ θάπτου, ὃξὺ πάθος ἐστὶ θύμος· μήτι καὶ νεώτερον ἐργάσασθαι βιασθῶ. In the words, "Jehovah hath kept thee back from honour," that unbelief breaks forth violently, which always exists in heathenism, though it may be hidden and kept in the back ground; as if he had said, "Jehovah who will scarcely make thee, fool as thou art, an indemnification for what thou hast lost."

Ver. 14. נִנְיָ is here taken by most expositors in the sense of *announcing, predicting*. But this meaning cannot be justified. GESENIUS appeals for it, besides this passage, to Isaiah xli. 28; but the common meaning, *to counsel*, is there quite suitable; "for I beheld, and there was no man even amongst them, and there was no counsellor," i. e. their idols left their votaries without counsel and consolation, which the God of Israel insured to his people by disclosures respecting the Future. And here, by a slight modification, we obtain the usual meaning, *to counsel*, = *to make known by way of counsel*. Thus COCCEIUS: *Consulam tibi quod faciet. Revera pertinebat ad bonum Balak, scire quid factururus esset populus Israel ipsius populo. Nihil enim teutasset contra populum Isr. etc.* By the words, "what this people shall do to thy people," the subject of this last discourse is marked as a different one from the three former. Israel's victorious power in relation to his enemies was indeed touched upon in the preceding discourses, but only as a single feature in the description of his glory. But nothing had yet been said of what would be specially done to Moab. "Interim tamen," says CALVIN, "videmus quid tumultuando profecerit Balak, nam qui hactenus audierat tantum populum benedici, cogitur audire quod tristius est, de populi sui ruina."

The phrase בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים is explained by many, *in the following times, in the future*; see, for instance, GESENIUS, *Theo. s. v.* The correct interpretation which the LXX. have given here (ἐπ' ἐσχάτου τῶν ἡμερῶν), and the CHALDEE Paraphr., who commonly renders it by בְּסוֹף יוֹמָא—*is, at the end of the days*. The reasons for adopting it are the following. (i.) אַחֲרֵית has no other meaning than that of *the end*, and must therefore be so taken in this

phrase. For the meaning, *following times, the future*, GESENIUS appeals to Isaiah xlv. 10. But there גְּהֵרִית forms the opposite of גְּאֲשִׁית, “*Declaring the end from the beginning*,” *i. e.* “*declaring at the first beginnings of the historical developments their final end.*” The meaning *posteritas, posteri*, also disappears on a nearer consideration of it, from the passage in Jerem. xxxi. 17, “*And there is hope לְאַחֲרֵיתָא of thy Acharith, saith Jehovah*,” which MICHAELIS interprets,—*spes extremo tui, habes spem certam finis boni*, and in proof of the correctness of this interpretation, adduces the parallel passage in chap. xxix. 11, “*For I know the thoughts that I think toward you, saith Jehovah, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you end and hope, אֲחֵרֵיתָא וְהֶקֶדָה*. By this passage also Psalm cix. 13 is explained, “*Let his end be for destruction*,” יְהַרְגֵם אַחֲרֵיתָא, “*Let his posterity be cut off*,” Eng. Auth. Vers. In Amos. ix. 1, the clause, “*I will slay their Acharith with the sword*,” is explained by what follows, “*he that fleeth of them shall not flee away, and he that escapeth of them shall not be delivered*,” “*their end*,” = their last. אֲחֵרֵיתָא in chap. iv. 2, is also to be explained of *the end, the last remainder*. (ii.) Only on the supposition that בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים means *at the end of the days*, can the fact be explained that it never stands in connection with events respecting which any further is announced in the same passage, but only such as lie at the end of the development which the speaker is surveying. (iii.) The meaning, “*in futurity*,” is not suited to several passages, but that of “*the end of the days*,” is necessarily required. Thus in Deuteronomy iv. 30, “*in the Acharith of the days, if thou turn to the Lord thy God, and shall be obedient to thy voice*.” To futurity a long period belonged of apostacy and punishment, which must precede conversion and grace. In this passage it is designed to intimate that the return to the Lord would be the *End* of the whole process. So Hosea understood the passage, who refers to it in chap. iii. 5. He has אַחֲרֵי, *after that*, besides the בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים. In Ezekiel xxxviii. 16, “*And thou shalt come up against my people of Israel as a cloud to cover the land, it shall be in the Acharith of the days*,”—in futurity would be flat and idle. The passage treats of the last fearful attack of the powers of this world on the Church of God. (iv.) That *here*, “*in the Acharith of the days*,” denotes, not the



Future generally, but the *distant* Future, is shown by the words “*not now*,” and “*not nigh*,” in ver. 17. What at first sight appears to favour the meaning, “*in the Future*,” is set aside by the twofold remark, first of all, that the end need not be precisely the last end of all, but only the end of the precise developments which the speaker has in view; and, secondly, that it depends upon the arbitrary decision of the speaker. to what extent he will determine the beginning, and to what extent he will determine the end. Thus, in Deut. xxxi. 29, he assigns *evil* to the *end*, while in Deut. iv. 30, *repentance* belongs to it.—Of the fixed character which the phrase has in the prophets, its almost exclusive reference to the final development of the kingdoms of God, no trace is found in the Pentateuch. In Genesis xlix. 2, every thing is considered as belonging to the “*end of the days*,” which would happen in the times after the Israelites had possession of the Promised Land; *here* the victories of Israel over the neighbouring nations belong to “*the end of the days*.” The phraseology of the prophets, as the comparison of Hosea iii. 5 shows, developed itself on the ground of Deut. iv. 30.

THE FOURTH PROPHECY. CHAP. XXIV. 15-24.

This prophecy is distinguished from the preceding ones in a twofold respect. First of all, Israel's ascendancy over his enemies, which formed there only a single component part of the blessing and salvation, though certainly the most prominent, becomes here the sole subject of prophecy. Then this idea is not, as it was there (with the single exception of chap. xxiv. 7, a passage which may be considered as a preliminary to this prophecy) set forth in its generality, but in a concrete application to specific nations who were hostile to Israel. The Moabites must occupy the first place among these, since their attempt to reduce Israel under their power, first called forth Balaam's announcement of Israel's ascendancy over his enemies. Balaam says, in announcing his prophecy, “*Come, I will advertise thee what this people shall do unto thy people at the end of the days*.” Yet he does not confine himself to the Moabites, but announces also how the idea will be realized in other nations, who either at that time

were already hostile to Israel (these are fully enumerated), or who would in future come into a hostile relation to him (out of the number of these only one is conspicuously named, and another hinted at.) But since the description is not confined simply to the Moabites, we are not warranted to assume that the words, "I will advertise thee what this people will do to thy people," are merely to be regarded as a designation of the contents of the prophecy *a potiori*. As certainly as the whole prophecy was designed first of all for Balak, the king of the Moabites, would that which is said of other people beside Moab serve indirectly for the same object for which the announcement of the fate of the Moabites, with which the whole opens, serves directly. What is expressed respecting Israel's victory over other nations, lends force and emphasis to what refers to the Moabites, since it frees it from its aspect of fortuitousness, and causes it to appear as an individual manifestation of an universal and eternal law, and therefore as unalterable. An invisible burden of the song, "Take care, therefore, of thyself, Moab!" resounds through the whole.

Balaam, in ver. 15 and 16, introduces his last prophecy almost with the same words, of which he had made use in the introduction to the preceding, pointing also here to the dignity of his person, which secured to his expressions a more than human authority, and has for its necessary consequence the "*Rise up, Balak, and hear—hearken unto me, thou son of Zippor,*" which he uttered in ch. xxiii. 18. The deviations, though only slight from ver. 3 and ver. 4, suffice to take from this introduction the character of a standing formula, and to mark the words as proceeding afresh from the subject. Then he first of all describes how Israel's victorious power would be verified to MOAB. Rapt by the Spirit into the distant future, he beholds a Star coming forth out of Jacob, and a Sceptre rising out of Israel, both symbols of the kingdom which should flourish in Israel, and this sceptre dashing Moab in pieces, and bringing destruction on that restless and martial people. From MOAB\* he turns his eye to their southern

---

\* It is worthy of notice that the Midianites, who, if the prophet had taken account of them, would have been named after Moab, are altogether omitted. This may be explained from the relations of the Mosaic age, and the weakness at that time of the Midianites, who seem to have been only a sort of supplement to the Moabites. Prophecy and history here agree, and by this agreement give testimony to one another.

neighbour EDOM, whose enmity against Israel, prefigured in his progenitor, had begun even at that time to strike its roots downward, and to send upward shoots and branches. Edom is subdued, while Israel attains to power and glory. For the sovereignty arising out of Jacob verifies itself in the destruction of all hostile powers. After Edom the seer beholds AMALEK, a branch of the Edomites which had already risen to independent importance and great power, and in whom the hatred against Israel, which animated the whole stock, had attained to an early maturity. The end of Amalek, who now excelled in power all the other enemies of Israel, in spite of his present splendour, would be destruction. The KENITES, a race of mountaineers, follow in natural order the Amalekites, since present enemies fairly take the precedence of future ones, as representatives of the Canaanites, inhabiting among their tribes the theatre of the events, and situated nearest the last named enemies of Israel. However difficult of access their dwelling place might be, still devastation awaited them. Through a slight allusion to Israel's misfortune, by which the course of his victory would be interrupted, joined to the announcement of the conquest of the Kenites, and therefore marked as only temporary (the overthrow of the Kenites would continue until the carrying away of its author, Israel, into captivity by Ashur), the prediction of a fresh victory of the kingdom of God over his enemies is ushered in. Balaam introduces it with a piteous exclamation on the fearful greatness of the catastrophe which would burst upon the sons of his own people in consequence of the injustice with which they treated the people of God. The distant West will be armed by the God of Israel against the sinful East; ships from the region of Chittim come and oppress Ashur, the oppressor of Israel—they oppress also the land beyond the Euphrates, of which the ruling power—this is presupposed—trod in the footsteps of Ashur in enmity against Israel, and destruction falls upon these enemies of the future, as well as on those of the present.

---

Ver. 15. And he took up his parable, and said,  
 Balaam the son of Beor prophesieth,  
 And the man with closed eyes prophesieth.

Ver. 16. He prophesieth, who hath heard the words of God,  
 And knoweth the knowledge of the Most High,



- Who seeth the vision of the Almighty  
Falling down, but having his eyes open.
- Ver. 17. I see him, but not now;  
I behold him, but not nigh:  
A Star proceedeth from Jacob,  
And a Sceptre exalteth itself out of Israel,  
And smiteth the corners of Moab,  
And destroyeth all the sons of tumult.
- Veri 18. And Edom is taken,  
Scir also is taken—his enemies;  
And Israel getteth power.
- Ver. 19. And a Ruler shall come out of Jacob,  
And destroy whoever is left out of the city.
- Ver. 20. And he saw Amalek, and took up his parable and said,  
The beginning of the nations is Amalek,  
But his end is destruction.
- Ver. 21. And he saw the Kenites, and took up his parable and said,  
Strong is thy dwelling-place,  
And thy nest is built upon a rock.
- Ver. 22. Yet Kain shall be for devastation,  
Until Ashur shall carry thee away captive.
- Ver. 23. And he took up his parable, and said,  
Woe! who shall live, when God doth thus?
- Ver. 24. And ships come from the side of Chittim,  
And oppress Ashur, and oppress Eber,  
And he also perisheth.

Ver. 17. The suffix in וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל is referred by most critics to the objects mentioned in the latter part of the verse, the Star and the Sceptre; by others to Israel; others, lastly, think that it denotes the *neut.* This last interpretation is at once to be rejected. In that case the feminine would rather be used (see EWALD, § 364, *Eng. Trans.* p. 233), so much the more since the reference to the following וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל is close at hand. It is more difficult to decide between the two other interpretations. But fortunately this decision is not of importance. For if Israel be the object seen, it is Israel as exalted to the full height of his destiny by the appearance of the Star and the Sceptre; what follows, as the more minute description of the condition in which the seer beholds Israel, rendered illustrious by the Sceptre and Star, is then to be strictly connected with these first words. VERSCHUIR has exhausted every thing which can be said for the reference to Israel in his *Dissert. de or. Bileam. Num.* xxiv. 17–20, in the *Dissert. phil. cæg. Leovardicæ*, 1773, p. 35. (i.) *Bileamus, quotiescunque oraculum protulit, ascendit in locum celsum ut populum Israeliticum ex eo intueri et contemplari posset*, c. xxii. 41, xxiii. 13, 14. *Populus ergo Israeliticus ejus oculis obversaba-*

*tur et eum digito quasi monstrabat. Sic quoque Amalekitas contemplabatur de his vaticinaturus, c. xxiv. 20, et Kenaeos, v. 21. (ii.) In omnibus vaticiniis Bileami objectum, de quo loquitur est populus Israeliticus, c. xxiii. 7, 8, 9, ubi v. 9, dicit: e vertice rupium aspicio illum et e collibus intueor eum. Sic statim cum hic res non procederet ex Balaki voto, Bileamum duxit in alium locum celsum, ex quo videret eum, procul dubio populum Israeliticum, v. 13 et 14, rursus v. 28 et c. xxiv. 2. Praeterea objectum sermonis est populus Israeliticus, v. 21-25, c. xxiv. 5-10, ergo et in nostro oraculo, si nihil obstat. (iii.) Eo magis, quod iisdem hisce verbis in eadem forma de populo Israelitico plus una vice usus fuerit, cap. xxiii. 9, אֲנִי אֲשִׁירָה v. 13, הִרְאֵנִי, etc. (iv.) Ipse Bileamus claris verbis objectum de quo dicturus erat et argumentum vaticinii designat, c. xxiv. 14, his verbis quid faciat populus hicce populo tuo sequente tempore. But these grounds, though certainly plausible, are not decisive. (i.) The passage in which Israel's being seen by Balaam is spoken of are not perfectly analogous, because in them the reference is to the *Present*, here it is to the *Future*. (ii.) In the reference to the Star and the Sceptre Israel remains, in a certain measure, always the object. For the Star and the Sceptre are spoken of, only so far as Israel is thereby rendered illustrious. But as the exclusive direct object of all Balaam's prophecies, Israel cannot on that account only be considered, since in what immediately follows the Star and the Sceptre are mentioned as proceeding from him, as well as in ver. 19, the Ruler out of his midst. (iii.) The use of the same mood of the same verbs in reference to Israel cannot be considered as purely accidental. (iv.) The contents of the prophecy announced in ch. xxiv. 11, remain the same even in reference to the Star and Sceptre. For what the Star and Sceptre that came forth from Israel did to Moab, that Israel equally did. On the other hand, against the reference to Israel and in favour of the reference to the Star and Sceptre, to both of which the suffixes may be so much more easily referred, since they denote the same subject, there are the following reasons:—(i.) A rising star is so natural and suitable an object of contemplation, that we must be disposed to refer to *it* the verbs אֲשִׁירָה and הִרְאֵנִי if practicable. How natural it would be that Balaam, when he beheld this glorious Star with the eye of the*

spirit, seized with joyful astonishment, should exclaim, before he expressly named it, pointing to it, and as it were forgetting his hearers, “*I see it!*” and then becoming calmer, should name more exactly what he saw. (ii.) There is no parallel passage in which the suffix refers at once to Israel without the name having preceded. Only compare ch. xxiii. 9, where the suffix refers to ver. 7; also ch. xxiii. 25, which is preceded by the mention of the people, ver. 24, yet this forms not a perfect substitute for Israel. (iii.) He whom Balaam sees here cannot well be any other than he whose glorious deeds are depicted in the sequel. For “*there shall come out, &c.*,” is a description of what he had seen. But as the sequel treats primarily not of Israel, but of the Star out of Israel, it is most natural to refer the suffix also to this. (iv.) The object seen is here expressly described as *future*. If we refer the suffix to Israel, we must assume that this description relates not to the *existence* but to the *quality*, as it is specified in “*there shall come a Star out,*” &c. But this assumption is rather forced. According to a simpler conception, the words mark the object seen *itself* as future, and not merely its qualities. That the two futures here describe the present would scarcely need to be remarked if there had not been an ancient misunderstanding (LXX. *δέξω αὐτῶ καὶ οὐχί νῦν*; AQUILA, *ὄψομαι αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ νῦν*; LUTHER, *Ich werde ihn sehen, ich werde ihn schauen*), which completely obscures the sense. Without giving a forced meaning, we can scarcely explain it otherwise than thus: “*I see him, and (I see him) not now; I behold him, and (I behold him) not nigh.*” He sees him not (*now*) for he is wrapt in spirit out of the present into the future, to “*the end of the days,*” and *there* he sees him; (compare the *בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים* in ver. 14.) He beholds him not *nigh*, for a great distance lies between the *seer* and the *seen*, who will not appear till “*the end of the days.*” In the first clause the prophet looks back from the position of the ideal present to the actual; in the second he points from the position of the actual present to the future.

The more minute description of the object beheld begins with the words, “*A Star comes forth out of Jacob.*” The *star* is such a natural image and symbol of regal power and splendour, that the use of it exists amongst almost all nations. From the naturalness of this image and symbol, we may account for the



belief of the ancient world that the birth and accession of great kings was announced by the appearance of stars, JUSTIN (xxxvii. 2) says of Methridates,—*hujus futuram magnitudinem etiam coelestia portenta praedixerant, nam et eo quo genitus est anno et eo quo regnare primum coepit, stella cometes per utrumque tempus septuaginta diebus ita luxit, ut coelum omne flagrare rideretur.* Of Augustus, who also appropriated a star to himself, PLINY says (*Hist. Nat.* ii. 23), *interiore gaudio illum sibi natum seque in eo nasci interpretatus est.* Compare also SUETONIUS *Jul. Caes.* c. 78, DIO CASSIUS, xlv. p. 273. The clause, “*a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel,*” is founded, as it appears, on Gen. xlix. 10, “*the Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, and a Lawgiver from between his feet,*” where the sceptre, the ensign of royalty, marks it as it does here. The literal meaning of the two figurative expressions, which bear the same relation to one another, as Jacob and Israel, is given briefly (ver. 19) in the words, “*out of Jacob shall come a Ruler;*” just as the clause, “*he shall destroy him that remaineth of the city,*” corresponds to, “*he shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy all the sons of tumult;*” only that it is more briefly expressed, and divested of an individual reference.

Of the effects which would proceed from the Star that would come out of Jacob, and the Sceptre that would rise out of Israel, with the appearance of which the people would first attain their destiny—(*Felicitatem populi,* says CALVIN, *locat in regno, unde colligimus statum ejus non aliter fuisse perfectum quam ubi per manum regis gubernari coepit*)—the seer, in accordance with his confined and special object (which he himself expresses in the words, “*I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people*”), brings forward only one, the victorious power, and destructive force which they would exhibit in relation to the enemies of Israel, first of all to those who were here peculiarly concerned, the Moabites. וְיִשְׂרָאֵל and וְיִשְׂרָאֵל refer in *form* only to the *Sceptre*, for the idea of smiting and destroying does not suit a *Star*; compare Ps. ii. 9, “*Thou shalt break them with a sceptre of iron.*” But as to matter of *fact*, it refers to both, for by the twofold image of the Star and the Sceptre the same fact is denoted, as appears from this, that only in reference to the Sceptre the effects proceeding from it are stated; the Star, if isolated from the

Sceptre, would stand there without a description of any effect produced by it and related to the object in view, and would be therefore idle. That it is unnecessary, on account of the *crushing* and *destroying* here attributed to the **שֵׁבֶט**, to give it the meaning of *Rod* instead of *Sceptre*, by which the connection with the Star here, with sovereignty in ver. 19, and with Gen. xlix. 10, would be taken away, has been already acknowledged by MIEG: *Hisciptrum, alii baculum. Prius retinebimus, et habebimus utrumque. Namque sceptrum priscorum virgae fuerunt. Et quaecunque sceptrum, quia summae et armatae potestatis indicia, virgae dici possunt, facinorosorum et inimicorum respectu.* The royal sceptre is a double symbol; on the one hand pointing to the shepherd's staff, and on the other to the rod of the taskmaster; the latter is here brought under our notice.

**פָּאָרַי** is the Dual from **פָּאָרַי** a corner, a side, compare Exod. xxvi. 18, xx. 36, xxiii. 25, where mention is made of the **פָּאָרַי צִיּוֹן** and the **פָּאָרַי נֹבֶחַה תְּרִיזֵנֶיהָ**, the northern and southern sides of the Tabernacle, Numbers xxv. 5, where we read of the **פָּאָרַי** towards the east, the **פָּאָרַי** towards the south, the **פָּאָרַי** towards the west, and the **פָּאָרַי** towards the north; Exod. xxv. 26, where we read of the form **פָּאָרַי**, or corners of the four feet of the table of shew-bread. The dashing in pieces the sides or corners of Moab, denotes the destruction of the territory in its inhabitants, throughout its whole extent. "*Percutere terminos,*" says VERSCHUIR, "*regionis idem valet ac totam regionem qua late patet terminis suis inclusam.*" Compare Nehem. ix. 22, "Moreover thou gavest them kingdoms and nations, and didst divide them, **לְפָאָרַי.**" MICHAELIS; *distribuisti eos per omnes Cananaeae angulos.* The use of the Dual is accounted for by observing that two opposite sides form a natural pair. We ought not perhaps to translate it *the two sides*, but consider the Dual as used here instead of the Plural; *all* the sides are intended; see EWALD, § 362, *Eng. Trans.* p. 232.

The word **פָּאָרַי** occurs (the passage in Neh. ix. 22 excepted, which, on account of the dependent form of the language in the books written after the captivity, cannot be taken into consideration), in *prose* only in the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua, and besides only in poetry, which prefers archaic words, strictly only in Amos iii. 12, since the section in Ezekiel, chap. xl., in which it is found

several times, stands in close dependence on the Pentateuch, and since the passage in Jerem. xlvi. 45, is to be regarded only as a repetition of the one before us—which must so less be attributed to *accident*, the oftener the word is found in the Pentateuch, and the more frequently in the later books the object is mentioned which it denotes.

The meaning of *קרקר* is *to destroy*, although the derivation remains doubtful, yet this sense is confirmed by the parallel *מדחץ*, by the following clauses, “*Edom shall be a possession,*” and, “*he destroyeth him that remaineth,*” and by Isaiah xxii. 5, *בְּקִרְבָּהּ* *קָרַע* “*breaking down the wall,*” where this meaning alone suits. According to the analogy of *בְּקִרְבָּהּ יִנְבֵּב, קָרַע, יִשְׁרֹט* it is probably *denominat.* from *קיר* *a wall*, and originally meant *to unwall* (*entmauern*). By appealing to Jerem. xlvi. 45, where, in the repetition of our prophecy it is said,

But a fire shall come forth out of Heshbon,  
And a flame from the midst of Sihon,  
And shall devour the corner of Moab,  
And the *crown of the head* (*קֶדְקֵד*) of the sons of tumult.

several critics would here substitute *קֶדְקֵד* for *בְּקִרְבָּהּ*. But this attempt arises from ignorance of Jeremiah's method, who is always fond of substituting words similarly pronounced, or written for those of his original. See KÜPER, *Jeremias librorum sacrorum interpres atque vindex*, p. xiv., especially on the reading *קֶדְקֵד* p. 43, where also the assertion is refuted that Jeremiah had drawn his materials not from the Book of Numbers, but from some other quarter.

In reference to the *בְּנֵי יִשָּׂה* who are marked as an object of destruction by the Sceptre, many of the older expositors have altogether missed their way by taking, after the example of ONKELOS (*omnes filios hominis*) *שה* to be a proper name, and to designate the son of Adam. Thus, for instance, BONFRERIUS: *melius meo judicio nomine filiorum Seth intelligas omnes omnino homines, qui omnes quotquot a diluvio extiterunt a Seth Adami filio fuerunt oriundi*. On the other hand, it has been observed by MARK that one does not see how it should occur to the speaker to name men not after Adam, their first progenitor, or Noah, their second, but after Seth, who stands between the two—that *omnes omnino homines* is not suitable in the middle between Moab and



Edom—and that, after the analogy of Jacob and Israel, Edom and Seir, בְּנֵי שֵׂר, must be identical with Moab. To VERSCHUIR belongs the credit of having ably established the correct interpretation, (see p. 17 of the treatise before quoted.) According to him, שֵׂר is contracted from שָׁרָה, which occurs in Lam. iii. 47, in parallelism with שִׁבְרָה *destruction breaking in pieces*, is derived from שָׁרָה, and is synonymous with שִׁבְרָה *tumult; designantur tumultuosi, irrequieti, quorum consuetudo est continuis incursionibus, certaminibus et vexationibus aliis creare molestiam. Qui titulus optime convenit in Moabitas, Ammonitas, Idumaeos aliosque populos vicinos* (but he here assigns it טַלְמִי to the Moabites) *Israelitis semper molestos.* It is a confirmation of this interpretation, that Jeremiah, in chap. xlvi. 45, where he imitates this passage, places in parallelism with Moab, instead of *B'ne Sheth*, בְּנֵי שֵׂר. Additional support is given by the allusion to this passage in Amos ii. 2.

But I will send a fire upon Moab,  
 And it shall devour the palaces of Kirioth,  
 And Moab shall die *with tumult.*  
 (מִיתַת בְּשִׁבְרָה מִשֵּׂר) *the war-cry, the sound of the trumpet.*

“*Ipsi illi,*” says VERSCHUIR, “*qui dicuntur filii tumultus, per talem etiam interirent tumultum eadem voce designatum.*” See the remarks of the relation of this passage to that under consideration, in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 138. (Edin. 1847.)

The question still remains to be answered, whether by the *Star* and *Sceptre* which would “crush Moab and destroy the sons of tumult,” we are to understand an individual Israelitish king such as DAVID, whom, after the example of GROTIUS (*David designatur, illustris inter reges, qui Moabitas partim interfecit, partum sibi subiecit.* 2 Sam. viii. 2, *cf.* Ps. lx. 8, *et* cviii. 9), most modern expositors fix upon, and then infer from this passage that Balaam’s prophecies could not, at all events, have been composed before David’s time—or whether these are symbols of an ideal person, *the personified Israelitish regal government.* In favour of this latter view, there are the following reasons. (i.) The reference to an individual Israelitish king is contrary to the analogy of the other prophecies of the Pentateuch. A single

person, especially an individual king of the Future, is never named in them, with the exception of the Messiah, whose annunciation is essentially different from that of David. Whereas the establishment of a regal government in Israel was foretold even in the promises to the Patriarchs. Only to such an event can the words, "*A Star shall come out of Jacob, and a Sceptre arise out of Israel,*" refer, according to the analogy of Gen. xvii. 6, "*Kings shall come out of thee,*" ver. 16, "*She shall become nations; kings of people shall come out of her;*" xxxv. 11, "*Kings shall come out of thy loins.*" (ii.) The reference to an individual king has the analogy of Balaam's prophecies against it, which never refer to a single individual. (iii.) מִצֶּדֶן, considered in itself, does not lead us to think of an individual, since it denotes not a ruler, but dominion in general; and the reference to an individual is not favoured by the comparison of the original passage in Gen. xlix. 10, "*the Sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet,*" in which is promised to Judah, and in him to all Israel, not a single ruler, but the *regal government* which at last would be consummated in Shiloh. (iv.) The general view is favoured by ver. 19, "*and dominion shall come out of Jacob,*" which must be regarded as precisely a commentary on "*a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel.*" Also ver. 7, "*His King shall be higher than Agag,*" where the king of Israel is an *ideal* person, the personification of *royalty*.

What has been adduced to confirm the interpretation of the Jewish regal government, decides at the same time against the Messianic interpretation, as far as it claims to be *exclusive*, in which form it is of ancient date among the Jews; all the Chaldee paraphrasts have it; ONKELOS: מְלָכָה מִלְּקַח מִיִּזְרְעֵל מִשִּׁיחָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל (see the quotations in reference to the Messianic interpretation in the *Christologie*, I. i. p. 78); in the age of the Christian Fathers it was always current; see the passages from the Fathers in *Calov*, although even then, as is evident from THEODORET, *qu. 44 in Num.* (ἰστέον μέντοι, ὡς τισὶν ἔδοξε μηδὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν προειρηκέναι.) opposition was raised, not only against the *exclusive*, but against *every* Messianic reference—and also among the expositors since the Reformation to the middle of the eighteenth century, when it first found a zealous and able advo-

cate in VERSCHUIR—which at last has been renewed in our times by ROSENMÜLLER and BAUMGARTEN CRUSIUS.

But as the argument for the reference to the regal government in Israel rejects the *exclusive* Messianic interpretation—against which also it is decisive, that it involves the monstrous assumption, that what happened under David and other Israelitish kings had nothing to do with, nor was at all included under “*the smiting the corners of Moab, and destroying the sons of tumult*”—yet at the same time it protests against those who deny any Messianic reference whatever. Israelitish royalty first attained in and with the Messiah the full height of its destiny, and that this would come to pass was foretold in the original passage, Gen. xlix. 10. Without the Messiah, Israelitish royalty would be a headless trunk. The idea here lying at the basis, the victory of the Church of God over the heathen world, was realized by what distinguished individual kings effected before the Messiah, only in types and preludes, and our faith in the idea itself would be shaken if we were pointed only to these imperfect realizations of it. Thus the conquest of the Moabites by David was quite temporary, while the prophecy speaks of an enduring one; for in later times the Moabites perfectly recovered themselves, and began afresh the object of the prophetic threatening. Whether Balaam himself clearly recognized the final reference of his declarations to the Messiah, may appear doubtful, though the language in Gen. xlix. 10, on which his own expressions were founded, would lead him to it. But for the main point this is perfectly indifferent. This is certain, that what he announces respecting the regal government in Israel is so glorious, that it transcends whatever feeble men could realize, so that at all events, from what he says of royalty in general, to the recognition of him who is emphatically the king of Israel, there is only a single step, in whose times Isaiah, in ch. xi, expressly places what is here foretold, the final victory over Moab. The arguments *against* the Messianic interpretation which have been also stated in the *Christologie*, I. i. p. 80, after they have been so modified, may be disposed of without difficulty. When it is said that though the Messiah is in other passages represented as a severe judge of his enemies, yet this character is never exhibited in so one-sided a manner, it is altogether forgotten



that *here* this side could only be treated of. The natural theme of Balaam's discourses, since they formed his answer to Balak's message, "*Come now, I pray thee, curse me this people . . . that we may smite them, and drive them out of the land,*" was *Israel in relation to his enemies*; and that he wished to handle this theme, Balaam expressly said in the words with which he introduced his last discourse in ver. 14. Balaam had to do with an enemy of Israel—to shew him the fruitlessness of his hostile efforts, was his immediate object; the one-sidedness lies therefore in the nature of the case, and could excite a suspicion against the final Messianic reference, only if the other side had not been merely untouched, but denied. But that cannot be thought of for an instant. "*Blessed are they that bless thee,*" in ver. 9, points distinctly to the other side of the Messiah's character.

Then, again, it is asserted that there is no reason for going so far onward as the times of the Messiah; that the fulfilment may be shown to have been completed in the pre-Messianic times, namely, those of David. But we have already remarked that the temporary conquest of the Moabites by David, which was followed only too soon by a weakening of Israel, and a strengthening of the Moabites, cannot be considered as the final fulfilment of the prophecy. But supposing that the Moabites were completely destroyed by David, still such an event could not be spoken of as a perfect fulfilment of the prophecy. What is here said of the Moabites, is only an individual application of the idea; the Moabites are only to be regarded as a part of the great whole of the enemies of the Church of God. To imagine that the disappearance of the Moabites in their historical individuality would suffice for the fulfilment of the prophecy, that it would be a matter of indifference whether their essential character prolonged its existence in other powerful enemies—is not to acknowledge the difference between *prophesying*, which never has to do merely with the *drapery*, the exterior (and to which always the "*mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*" applies)—and *soothsaying*. Only by the complete and enduring conquest of the enemies of the kingdom of God *in general*, can the fulfilment of the prophecy be regarded as consummated. Where enemies of the Church still exist, there are Moabites still,—there the word uttered by Balaam must be in process of fulfilment. With this latter obser-

vation the *third* objection against the Messianic reference is also disposed of, namely, that the Moabites, at the time of the Messiah's appearance, had already vanished from the field of history. This would, at all events, be true of the Moabites only in reference to the *body*, not in reference to their *soul*, their quality as enemies of the Church of God, which here alone is to be considered. If the prophecy, as long as the Moabites existed in a narrower sense, was fulfilled respecting them not as Moabites, but as the enemies of God's people, then the limits of their existence cannot be the limits of *its* fulfilment. The Messianic reference could only be denied, if it could be shown that, at the time of the Messiah's appearance, the Moabites in a *wider* sense, the enemies of the kingdom of God, were already annihilated, which no one will maintain.

When, lastly, THOLUCK (*Verm. Schriften*, vol. i. p. 417) urges against the Messianic reference, that "one expects that the vision of such a seer as Balaam should not extend beyond the horizon of earthly events"—on the one hand, too much weight is attached to the subjective peculiarity of Balaam, who, in these hallowed moments, as he himself testifies in his introductory words, and also the sacred historian in the words, "*the Spirit of God came upon him*," chap. xxiv. 2, was elevated far beyond himself; and on the other hand, it is not perceived, that even the victory of the Messiah over the enemies of her kingdom, comes within "the horizon of earthly events."

If the Messianic reference of the prophecy be settled, then also the internal relation between the Star of Balaam and the Star of the Wise Men from the East cannot be unacknowledged. Balaam's Star is an image of the ruling power which would arise in Israel; the Star of the Magi was a symbol of the Ruler in whom this ruling power is visibly concentrated. The appearance of the Star, incorporating the image of the prophet, showed that the last and highest fulfilment of his prophecy had commenced. This relation of the Star of Balaam to the Star of the Magi, can so much less escape our notice, since the Magi present an unquestionable likeness to Balaam. Like Balaam, they, as their name *μάγοι* shows, were possessors of a secret science and art;—like Balaam, they could not remain content with what they had investigated by these means, but their unsatisfied minds sought for

deeper disclosures where alone they could be found among the people of Revelation. It cannot indeed be doubted that they had met with Balaam's prophecy of the Star out of Jacob in the course of their enquiries, which would bring them so much more easily to the object of their search, since members of the Covenant people were at that time scattered through the world, just as Balaam had met with the promises made to and through the Patriarchs. They had so much greater reason for giving the fullest reception to this prophecy, since it was uttered by one who stood in similar relations to their own. What the heathen prophet, the *μάγος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν*, spoke—the only one indeed belonging to the prophetic choir—must have appeared worthy of peculiar attention to the heathen, the *μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν*. On the basis of this traditionary knowledge, the supernatural illumination was founded, which, without such a basis, as we have pointed out in the case of Balaam, *never* occurs. To their hearts filled with longings after "*the Star out of Jacob*" announced by Balaam, God revealed the meaning of the Star which announced to them the fulfilment of Balaam's prophecy, revealed to them that it announced the birth of "*the King of the Jews.*" As Balaam could joyfully exclaim, "*I see him, and I behold him,*" so could they also now say, *εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀστέρω*. Matt. ii. 2.

It is as undeniable as the existence of an internal relation between Balaam's Star and that of the Magi, that that evangelist, who gives an account of the Star of the Magi, acknowledged this relation. That Matthew, in the whole history of the early life of Jesus, had not, like Luke, the design of imparting historical knowledge to his readers—that the historical, which in this part he might presume was already known to his immediate readers, only so far came under his consideration as it served for the confirmation of the Old Testament prophecies—that he touched upon every historical circumstance, when the mention of it might serve for the attainment of that object, and just as far as this was the case—has been already proved in the *Christologie* iii. p. 317, in a dissertation extending to every particular which we cannot here transcribe, and which is not capable of any abridgment. In the section, ch. ii. 1-12, two Old Testament references present themselves, that to the prophecy of Micah respecting the birth of the



Messiah at Bethlehem, and that to the passages in Ps. lxxii. 10, "*The kings of Seba and Sheba shall offer gifts,*" and Isaiah lx. 6, "*All they from Sheba shall come; they shall bring gold and incense; and they shall shew forth the praises of the Lord,*" (see the discussion of these references in the *Christologie* iii. p. 322). But these references do not exhaust the contents of the section. One prominent point still remains, the Star, which the Magi saw, and that this is precisely the principal point appears from the fact that it is referred to throughout the whole section. Compare ver. 1, 2, 7, 9, 10. If on this point no Old Testament reference existed, Matthew would have forgotten the object which he pursues through his whole representation so strictly and invariably. But if an Old Testament reference existed, no other can be thought of than the prophecy of Balaam. The often-repeated objection, that Matthew, if he had admitted a connection between this event and Balaam's prophecy, would not have failed to *cite* the latter expressly, rests upon a defective apprehension of Matthew's method, who very frequently satisfies himself with mere allusions in such a connection, in conformity with the familiar acquaintance with the Old Testament possessed by his first readers, for whom such hints were abundantly sufficient. So also, on two other points in this section he has not given an express quotation; for in ver. 6 he gives only the words of the members of the Sanhedrim. Ver. 19 and 20 ("*But when Herod was dead, behold an angel of the Lord appeared in a dream to Joseph in Egypt, saying, Arise, and take the young child and his mother, and go into the land of Israel, for they are dead which sought the young child's life*") have for their central point the passage in Exod. iv. 19, ("*And Jehovah said unto Moses in Midian, Go, return into Egypt, for all the men are dead which sought thy life,*") and yet this is not expressly quoted. But, besides the reasons already adduced, the personal designation of the persons who saw the Star favours the existence of a reference to Balaam's prophecies. That the expression *μάγοι ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν παρεγένοντο* points back to Balaam, and especially to Num. xxiii. 7, where he says, "*Balak, the king of Moab, hath brought me from Aram out of the mountains of the East,*" can hardly fail to be observed. So likewise the *εἶδομεν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἄστέρα* in ver. 2 can only be separated by violence from Balaam's

“*I see him, and I behold him.*” Balaam’s “*I see,*” would be true afresh in them, or rather it would obtain first in them its full truth. “*Quem vidisse,*” says CALOV—“*Bileam in posteris suis dici potest, nempe in magis ex oriente ad praesepe domini perductis.*” Besides this passage there is probably an allusion to the Messianic reference in Revel. xxii. 16, where Jesus says, ἔγώ εἰμι ἡ ῥίζα καὶ τὸ γένος δαβίδ, ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός. An Old Testament reference to the designation of Christ as “*the bright Star,*” is probable from the analogy of the preceding designation as “*the root and offspring of David.*” In the whole Old Testament no other passage can be found in which the Messiah is described as a *Star*.

Still it is to be remarked that the prediction, “*he shall smite the corners of Moab, and destroy the sons of tumult,*” when referred to the Messiah, found and finds its fulfilment only in such a victory over the enemies of the kingdom as brings destruction and not salvation. For in the whole prophecy the enemies of the Church of God are spoken of only as such, and to them the mournful consequences of their sinful enmity are announced. The erroneous view on this point is adopted by LE CLERC, who, like all the Arminians, was destitute of the true idea of the divine righteousness, and hence was incapable of recognizing the fulfilment of this prophecy within its proper limits. “*Victoriae autem,*” he says, “*quas David rex . . . de idololatris retulit adumbrarunt sed obscure victorias vere deo dignas, quas Christus de gentilibus reportavit, non occisis idololatris, ut fecerat David, sed ad veri dei cultum vitamque hominibus dignam revocatis, haec demum conveniens deo, hoc est parenti in liberas pugnanti victoria est, ob quam victori gratias agunt victi.*” If the principle here laid down were correct, then a great part of the world’s *history*, that in which it appears as the world’s *judgment*, must be disconnected from its relation to God; that “*mit Gott*” (*with God*), which was the watchword of Germany in the War of Freedom in its conflict with the bearers of the evil principle, would have been blasphemy, the iron cross would have been a mockery of the cross of Christ; watchword and symbol would be stolen from missionaries. On the other hand, MARK takes the right view. *Id praeterea monendum putamus, quod horum Moabitarum cum Seiritis subactio per Messiam futura non*

*debeat plane opposito, sed simili sensu accipi quam eadem habuit apud Moabitas et Idumaeos veteres per Davidem; sic nempe ut non ad benedictionem Israeli propriam, sed ad maledictionem pertineat, adeo que non conversionem salutarem eorum, qua ea Israelem adoptentur sed contritionem poenalem actualemque perditionem duat.* He properly compares with Balaam's prophecy Psalm ii. and cx.

Ver. 18. In the announcement of the destruction which, by means of the Star and Sceptre out of Israel, would fall upon his enemies, Moab is followed by his southern neighbour, EDOM. Towards this nation a friendly and brotherly deportment was prescribed to Israel. See Num. xx. 14–21; Deut. ii. 4, 5,—“*meddle not with them, for I will not give you of their land, no, not so much as a foot breadth, because I have given Mount Seir unto Esau for a possession,*” &c. Deut. xxiii. 8, “*Thou shalt not abhor an Edomite, for he is thy brother.*” The key for harmonising this prescription with Balaam's prophecy which announces the future conquest of the Edomitish territory by the Israelites, is to be found in the phrase, “*his enemies.*” The stiff-necked hostility of the Edomites, of which the germ had already appeared, (see Num. xx. 20), and which subsequently ripened into bitter hatred, tore asunder the bond of love which was sacred to Israel. Without some kind of reciprocity such a relation as that prescribed in the Pentateuch to the Israelites towards Edom could not be maintained. EDOM is the *people*; the parallel to it, SEIR is the *land*; see Gen. xxxii. 4 (3) “*And Jacob sent messengers before him to Esau his brother unto the land of Seir, the country of Edom.*”) The latter name is therefore the most suitable here, since *taking possession of*, properly applies to the country and not to the people. The opinion of several critics that *Seir* denotes the ancient inhabitants of the land, who had been amalgamated into one nation with the Edomites, rests upon an unhistorical supposition. The earlier inhabitants were exterminated by the Edomites, who, in the Mosaic age, had long been the only possessors of the country; see *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 230. The suffix in סִירָא is by many expositors referred to Seir; and the meaning then is, Seir becomes a possession of his enemies; by others, on the contrary, (following the LXX. ἡσαυ ὁ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ) to *Israel*. The latter



construction is grammatically the most obvious, (the phrase גִּיְרֵי אֱדוֹם in ver. 28 is quite analogous), and at the same time most agreeable to the matter of fact. If we refer the suffix to *Seir*, the term אֱדוֹם stands almost idle—but if it be referred to *Israel*, it indicates an important fact, that the hostility proceeds not from Israel, but from Edom, not from the Church of God, but from the World ; as in the case which occasioned the prophecy, Moab was indeed the enemy of Israel : (compare Balak's language in ver. 10, “ *I called thee to curse mine enemies*”), but not the reverse. The interpretation, “ *his enemies*,” is also supported by the contrast to Israel in the following verses. Israel's enemies, who wished to effect his downfall, are themselves brought down, and precisely for this their hostility, but “ *Israel getteth power.*” Lastly, in all the parallel passages the hostility is marked as proceeding from Edom ; see, for instance, Amos i. 11.

Thus saith the Lord,  
 For three transgressions of Edom,  
 And for four, I will not turn away the punishment thereof ;  
*Because he did pursue his brother with the sword,*  
*And did cast off all pity,*  
*And his anger did tear perpetually,*  
*And he kept his wrath for ever.*

By whom Edom would be taken possession of, is not here expressly said. According to ver. 14, where Balaam presents his theme in general terms,—according to the foregoing verse, where the Star and Sceptre out of Jacob are spoken of, which would destroy the Moabites,—according to the following verse, which speaks of a ruler out of Jacob who should “ *destroy him that remaineth of the city*,”—and according to the contrast in this verse, “ *And Israel shall do valiantly*,”—there can be no doubt on the subject, though the seer does not expressly say it, because his immediate design was to contrast the lot of Edom and Israel ; Edom possessed, Israel powerful and victorious. To have specified by whom Edom would be possessed, would in this connection have been only distracting the attention from the main object. That with respect to the fulfilment, we cannot stop at the times of David, who subdued the Edomites (see 2 Sam. viii. 14 ; 1 Kings xi. 15, 16 ; 1 Chron. xviii. 12, 13), is apparent from the fact, that the prophets after the times of David have, in language bor-

rowed directly from this prophecy, announced new realizations of it. Thus Amos says, in chap. ix. 12, that “*the Lord will raise up the tabernacle of David that is fallen, . . . that they may possess the remnant of Edom,*” לְיָמֵינוּ יִרְשֵׁנוּ אֶת-שְׂאֵרֵי אֶדְוִם. Consequently the prediction of Balaam applies not to a single event, or to a single ruler, but to the whole succession of events, the Israelitish royal race. In reference to Obadiah, VERSCHUIR says, (l. c. p. 32) *Obadias domum Jacobi comparat cum igne, Josephi cum flamma, et Esavi cum stipula, quae ab igne et flamma ita combureretur, ut non amplius esset שְׂרִיר לְבֵית עֲשָׂו, quod eodem fere modo dixerat Bileam (v. 19) וְהָאֲחִירֵי שְׂרִיר מֵעִיר. Deinde rursus (Obad.), ver. 19, וְיִרְשֵׁנוּ הַתְּנִיב אֶרֶץ-עֲשָׂו,* “*and they shall possess the south country (the inhabitants of the parts of Edom lying nearest to Judah), the mountain of Esau.*” An accidental coincidence cannot here be supposed, since Obadiah, at the beginning in ver. 3 and 4, unquestionably refers to Balaam’s prophecy: see the remarks on ver. 21. In its final reference this prediction also, like that respecting the Moabites, is Messianic, so that here also it is to be noted that what is said in reference to a single people, is only an individualising the idea of the victory of the kingdom of God over the hostile powers of the world; as MARK has observed, the prophecy applies not only to the Edomites but also to *eorum imitatores in impietate et hostilibus contra verum Israellem animis et moliminibus*. Since Edom here is only to be considered as the representation of the powers of the world hostile to the kingdom of God, and Israel continues to exist in the Church of the New Testament, so the consummation of the fulfilment is to be looked for in the times when the conflict of the kingdom of God with the world will be completed by the victory of the former.

The phrase עָשָׂה יָדָיו, according to GESENIUS, must have a twofold meaning; first of all, *fortem se praestitit*; for which, besides this passage, he quotes Ps. lx. 14; Ps. cviii. 14, cxviii. 15, 16; next, *opes sibi comparare*, Deut. viii. 17, 18; Ruth iv. 11; Prov. xxxi. 29; Ezek. xxviii. 4. But of this we may be sure, that nothing but *necessity* can justify the admission of a twofold meaning. Before we grant this, therefore, let us see whether one of the two meanings will not suit all the passages in which the phrase occurs. With the meaning *to show himself valiant*, we

cannot be satisfied in any case; the meaning, *to acquire power, strength, wealth*, is necessarily required by Deut. viii. 17, 18, "And thou say in thy heart, My power, and the might of my hand, hath gotten me this wealth; but thou shalt remember the Lord thy God, for it is he that giveth thee power to get wealth." Ruth iv. 11, "Get thee riches or power in Ephratah;" and Ezek. xxviii. 4, "With thy wisdom and thy understanding thou hast gotten thee riches, and has gotten gold and silver into thy treasures." The question then arises, whether this meaning, *to acquire or prepare strength, power, or wealth*, will not also suit these passages which have been quoted for the other meaning. Undeniably this is the case, first of all, with Psalm lx. 14 (12). *In God עֲשֶׂה ה'־יָלֵד, and he shall tread down our enemies.*" That is, "in God we shall gain power, through him we shall become mighty," suits this passage better than "we shall show ourselves valiant," in parallelism with "he shall tread down our enemies." The prayer precedes, "Give us help from trouble, for vain is the help of man," the bearing of which is here announced. The remark will apply to Ps. cviii. 14. In Psalm cxviii. 15, 16,

The voice of rejoicing and salvation is in the tabernacles of the righteous.

The right hand of Jehovah עֲשֶׂה-יָד ה' maketh power.

The right hand of Jehovah רִיבְמָה is exalted.

The right hand of Jehovah עֲשֶׂה ה'־יָלֵד maketh power.

the parallelism with הִיבִיחַ *exalted*, shows that the meaning of עֲשֶׂה ה' is *to make, or confer power*. Lastly, in the passage under consideration, *to acquire power* (ONKELOS: יַגְלִיחַ בְּנַפְשׁוֹ *prosperabitur in opibus*. JONATHAN: *praeralebunt in opibus et possidebunt eos*), in contrast to Edom's being taken as a possession, is evidently more suitable; and the mention of Israel's bravery belongs not to this place. It is remarkable that the peculiar phrase עֲשֶׂה ה'־יָלֵד, in three out of the eight times in which it occurs besides this passage, is used three times in reference to the same people who are named by Balaam. This certainly cannot be accidental. It rather shews that this passage in Num. xxiv. 18, is the original one from which the other three passages have been copied. In Psalm lx. "we shall acquire strength," exactly like this, "Israel acquireth strength," is expressed in reference to



Edom, in a Psalm of David, which was occasioned by a victory over Edom, and expresses the hope of further happy successes over it. We may suppose written in a parenthesis (“*as Balaam prophesied.*”) The impression of the reference is heightened, by its occurring at the close. The same is true of the second passage, Psalm cviii. 14. But particularly is the third passage, 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48, to be noticed, “*So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and whithersoever he turned himself, he vexed them, and he made (or acquired) power וַיִּשָׁחֵק הַיָּל and smote Amalek.*” The phrase וַיִּשָׁחֵק הַיָּל occurs here exactly as in Balaam’s prophecy, after the mention of the victory over Moab and Edom, and before the mention of the victory over Amalek. Moab, Edom, Amalek, come here in the account of the fulfilment of the prophecy exactly in the same order in which they appear in it. The nations whom Saul conquered, who are *not* mentioned in the prophecy, the children of Ammon, who, on account of their relationship, were probably connected with the Moabites, the Philistines and the kings of Zobah, are inserted between the others. The supposition that the Books of Samuel here refer to the Pentateuch, is rendered more probable, because such a reference demonstrably exists in ch. xv.: see the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 254, where also an undeniable reference in this passage to the Pentateuch, Deut. xxv. 19, is noticed, p. 253.

Ver. 19. The thought which in ver. 17 and 18 was expressed with a special application to Moab and Edom, the conquering power which Israel, by means of the regal government erected in their midst, would exert over their enemies, here assumes again a more general form. וַיִּשָׁחֵק is not *to govern*, but, *to have the mastery over*. The objects of the mastery are the עַמֵּי (see Psalm lxxii. 8), especially the Edomites—(that these were to be first thought of, is recognized by Obadiah, ver. 19)—yet by no means these alone, for had only the mastery over them, the destruction of those who were left in their cities, been intended, this would have been more distinctly stated. וַיִּשָׁחֵק is used designedly without any definite subject, in order to suggest that not an individual, but a whole race was intended, not a single king, but a succession of kings, a regal government. On the clause, “*he shall destroy him*

*that remaineth of the city,*" CALVIN remarks, *nempe quoscunque reperiet deploratos hostes*, שָׂרִיד occurs in prose independently only in the Pentateuch (three times) and in the Book of Joshua, for in 2 Kings x. 11, שָׂרִיד בְּלִי הַשָּׂאִיר לוֹ שָׂרִיד is borrowed word for word from the Pentateuch; compare Num. xxi. 35; Deut. ii. 34, iii. 3. How the author would express the same meaning independently is shewn in ver. 14, וְלֹא הָשָׂאִיר אִישׁ מֵהֶם. In poetry, שָׂרִיד occurs very often.

Ver 20. The "*looking on*" the Amalekites is here to be understood *mentally*. Balaam saw the Amalekites, as he saw the Star out of Jacob, *with opened eyes* (comp. ver. 16), while his bodily eye was closed (comp. ver. 15), and the forced hypothesis by which ROSENMÜLLER and others (comp. BACHENE, *Geogr.* i. 2, § 242) have endeavoured to prove an outward beholding of the Amalekites possible, is destitute of all probability. The supposition that a body of Amalekites had settled eastward of Moab, in the desert, is inadmissible on account of the order of the prophecy, which, beginning in the east, advances towards the south. Edom could not then stand between Moab and Amalek. That הַרְשִׁיית here means *the beginning*, can admit of no doubt. For this meaning of the word is generally the only one; and is in this place specially supported by the contrast of אֲחֵרִית, *end*, which, at the same time, excludes all other interpretations of this latter word, since הַרְשִׁיית and אֲחֵרִית are standing terms for *beginning* and *end*; compare Deut. xi. 12; such interpretations are also excluded by the phrase בְּאַחֲרֵית הַיָּמִים, *the end of the days*, in ver. 14. But now the question arises, in what respect is Amalek here described as "*the beginning of the (heathen) nations.*" According to several expositors, Amalek is here stiled "*the beginning of nations,*" as being the most ancient. But against this opinion it is decisive that, according to the accounts of the Pentateuch itself, the Amalekites were a people of comparatively late origin, a branch of the Edomites. According to others, this designation, "*the beginning of nations,*" must be founded on the circumstance, that the Amalekites stood first in the ranks of the enemies of Israel, see Exod. ch. 17. But against this interpretation, which is approved in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 248, it is objected that the special reference, in which, according to it, Amalek must be "*the beginning of the nations,*"

should be more exactly marked. Although גוֹיִם certainly does not mean *nations* generally, but *heathen nations* (compare ch. xxiii. 9, “Behold! it is a people that dwelleth alone, and does not number itself among the Gojim”), yet the idea of enmity against Israel contained in it, which is the main point here, is not distinctly expressed. This is shown in ch. xxiv. 8, “He consumeth the Gojim, his enemies,” where the more determinate word גוֹיִי would be unnecessary, if the גוֹיִם itself distinctly conveyed the idea of enmity. The גוֹיִם were all ἀπηλλωτριωμένοι τῆς πολιτείας τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ ξένοι τῶν διαθηκῶν, but among them were many who had no communication whatever with Israel, and therefore stood in no hostile relation. Others, lastly, assume that Amalek was here called “the beginning of the nations,” as the most distinguished of them, that which took the lead. The admissibility of this interpretation no one can dispute. That רֵאשִׁית, *beginning*, can stand poetically for *the most distinguished*, as far it precedes, stands first in the ranks, is incontrovertibly clear from Amos vi. 1, where *Israel*, which, in point of *antiquity*, was nothing less than the beginning of the nations, is designated רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם, and from ver. 6, where רֵאשִׁית שְׁמָנִים, “the beginning (or most distinguished) of ointments,” is spoken of; compare also 1 Sam. xv. 21. Besides the reasons which may be urged against the two other interpretations, this is supported by the following:—(i.) The passage in Amos, which very plainly alludes to it, and may be regarded as the oldest comment upon it. The רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם there, may be supposed to have had the marks of quotation omitted. (ii.) The passage in ver. 7, when it is said, in order to express the pre-eminence of Israel over the heathen, that “his king shall be higher than Agag,” it is evident from that, that among all the heathen nations in their vicinity Amalek was the most powerful, so that the exaltation over Amalek, denoted by implication, the exaltation over all the heathen. The characteristic of Amalek, which is there presupposed, is here distinctly notified by the phrase רֵאשִׁית הַגּוֹיִם as soon as it is interpreted, *the most distinguished of the nations*.

Amalek's disgraceful *end* forms the contrast to his glorious *Present*. All his power cannot shield him from that ruin which he had prepared for himself by his hostility to the people of the Lord. Although this prediction was literally brought very near



its fulfilment by Saul and David, yet also here, whoever will attend not only to the letter but to the spirit, the idea which animates the special prediction, will feel himself compelled to pass beyond the limits of the Old Testament, and to carry his views onward to Christ, in whom alone an enduring and complete victory of the kingdom of God over its enemies is to be found. *Ut nobis constet solida veritas, says CALVIN, ad Christum venire necesse est, cujus regnum aeternus est omnium improborum interitus.* To גֵּזֵיִם GESENIUS gives arbitrarily, without any further proof and against its form, the meaning *destruction*. The version of JUNIUS and TREMELLIUS is correct—*ita fine suo ad pereuntem pertinet.* *The perishing one* was, as it were, an ideal person, to whom, or to whose condition, the end of Amalek reached.

Ver. 21. There is mention in the Old Testament of a twofold people by the name of Kenites. The Kenites first appear in Gen. xv. 19, among the Canaanitish nations, whose country the Lord promised to Abraham's posterity. At the conquest of the land these Canaanitish Kenites are no more mentioned. Then, again, the name of Kenites is given to the posterity of Jethro, who, with his family, had accompanied Israel in the march to Canaan. These Kenites are mentioned for the first time in Judges i. 16, "*And the sons of the Kenite יִזְרְיָהוּ, Moses' father-in-law, went up out of the city of Palm-trees with the children of Judah, into the wilderness of Judah.*" Next, in Judges iv. 11, "*Now Heber the Kenite (הִזְרְיָהוּ) had separated himself from Kain (יִזְרְיָהוּ) from the sons of Hobab, the father-in-law of Moses,*" Heber had settled in North Palestine, while his clansmen dwelt in the extreme south of Canaan. Lastly, the Kenites are mentioned in 1 Sam. xxx. 29, where we are told that David sent presents of the booty taken from the Amalekites to the elders of the cities of Judah, and to the elders of the cities of the Kenites; who had already appeared in 1 Sam. xv. 6, "*And Saul said unto the Kenites, Go, depart, get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them, for ye showed kindness to all the children of Israel, when they came up out of Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites.*" It cannot admit of a doubt, that in the prophecy of Balaam, not the Midianitish but the *Canaanitish* Kenites are spoken of. For

(i.) The Kenites rank here with the enemies of Israel, and the wretched lot which their hostility would bring upon them is here foretold. The *Midianitish* Kenites, on the contrary, always appear as on friendly terms with Israel, as a peaceable little tribe, of whom Israel always remained mindful, on account of the services which their progenitor rendered in the march through the wilderness; compare Num. x. 29–32, and, besides the passages already quoted from the Books of Judges and Samuel, 1 Sam. xxvii. 10, from which it appears that the Midianitish Kenites who were friendly to Israel dwelt in the south. (ii.) It would be strange if Balaam, among the enemies of Israel, had made no mention whatever of the Canaanites, which would be the case if by the Kenites we are to understand not the Canaanitish but the Midianitish tribe; and so much the more surprising since the conflict with the Canaanites was not merely *future*, for Israel had not only conquered the transjordanic Canaanites, but had also engaged in close combat with the cisjordanic. In the chapter immediately preceding, xxi. 1–3, it is narrated how the Canaanitish king of Arad, who dwelt in the south, had “*fought against Israel, and taken some of them prisoners,*” but was afterwards defeated by Israel. Ver. 3, “*And the Lord hearkened unto the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites, and they utterly destroyed them and their cities.*” This is probably the historical basis of the prediction, ver. 22, “*And Kain shall be for destruction.*” According to Numbers xiv. 25, 43, 45, the Canaanites dwelt together with the Amalekites in the mountain range which formed the southern boundary of Canaan. These were probably the Kenites in particular, who are described as inhabiting a very rocky district. Balaam would probably be induced to name them as the representatives of the Canaanites from their being the first to meet the Israelites in a hostile manner, and also from their dwelling in the immediate vicinity of the Amalekites, so that the transition of the one to the other was very natural. The order in which the nations are mentioned is determined by the position of their residence. Balaam begins with the eastern enemies of Israel, the Moabites, since he was now in direct intercourse with their king; from them he turns his eye to the eastern portion of the southern enemies, the Edomites; then he goes forward to the western portion of the southern enemies, the Amalekites and the Kenite

Canaanites who inhabited with them the mountain district. Compare, besides the passages already quoted, Deut. i. 45. His eye that had hitherto been directed to objects in the immediate vicinity of Israel, now gazed on the distant horizon. From the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates, he beholds a new and formidable enemy rising up against Israel, and foretells how the Lord was preparing, by means of a people whom he would lead from the distant west, that ruin for *them* which they would inflict on his people. In estimating the proof for our assertion that by the Kenites here, the Canaanitish tribe is to be understood (MICHAELIS remarks briefly, but to the purpose, *de quibus*, Gen. xv. 19, *non* Jud. i. 16; iv. 11. Compare also BACHIENE i. 2, § 219), it cannot be deemed important that the Medianitish Kenites in Jud. iv. 11, as well as the Kenites *here*, are designated by קַיִן, *Kain*, particularly since, if two tribes had the name of Kenites in common, two progenitors of the name of Kain must have existed; קַיִן can only be the *nomen gentile* from קָיָן; nor is it more so, that as here the Kenites immediately follow the Amalekites, so in 1 Sam. xv. 6, xxx. 29, the *Midianitish* Kenites appear as neighbours of the Amalekites. It must be regarded as the mere play of accident, that the Midianitish Kenites settled almost in the same spot in which the Canaanitish had their ancient residence. Many attempts have been made to prove that the Midianitish and Canaanitish Kenites are substantially one and the same people; compare, for instance, HAMELSVELD, *bibl. Geogr.* iii. p. 6. It is assumed that a part of the Canaanitish Kenites took refuge among the Midianites. But the assertion that it is improbable that two different tribes should have the same name, forms only a weak support for this hypothesis, which has, indeed, no other; and the contrary seems supported by Judges i. 16, where the father-in-law of Moses is called קַיִן without the article, and occupying the place of the *nomen propr.*, which seems to imply that all the Kenites were descended from him; so also Judges iv. 11, where “*from Kain*,” is explained by “*from the sons of Hobab*, the father-in-law of Moses. If the Kenites (or Kain) and the sons of Hobab were absolutely the same, then must Kain have been one of the ancestors of Hobab, who, besides him, had no other descendants. According to this, it appears inadmissible to consider the Midianitish Kenites as a branch of the Canaanitish.



The Kenites believed that, owing to their high and scarcely accessible dwelling-place, they were secure from every danger. The seer here grants them the distinction of which they boast, but says in the following verse, that it would not be sufficient to ward off that punishment from them, which their hostility against Israel, the people of the Lord, would bring upon them. שׂים is the Infinitive which here takes the place of the finite verb, *to place* for, *they place, it is placed*; see on this use of the Infinitive, EWALD, § 355, *Eng. Trans.* p. 227, *Ausf. Lehrb.* § 240, p. 449. DE GEER, EWALD, on Obadiah, ver. 4 (see his *Gramm.* § 354, § 245, *Eng. Trans.* p. 226, 128), would take שׂים as *part. pass.* But the quotation from Obadiah is decisive against this, which so nearly coincides with the passage before us that in the interpretation it cannot be separated from it. *If thou makest high תִּבְרִימֵהּ as the eagle, and if thy nest lie among the stars.* שׂים is there evidently the Infinitive which receives its more precise meaning from the preceding תִּבְרִימֵהּ. The Participle would not suit there, since קָנִי still belongs to תִּבְרִימֵהּ, with which it is immediately connected by Jeremiah, ch. xlix. 16, and therefore must stand in the accusative. HITZIG, who considers the שׂים there as a Participle, does this in contradiction to himself, since he acknowledges that the קָנִי still belongs to the תִּבְרִימֵהּ. EWALD interprets it consequentially, “*And also if thou goest aloft like the eagle.*” But this interpretation is against the *original* passage before us (the clause, “*When thou makest high as the eagle thy nest,*” corresponds to “*thou puttest thy nest in the rock,*” to which the prophet joins as a climax, “*Though thou settest it among the stars,*”) and equally against the passage copied from it in Jeremiah. The agreement of Obadiah, ver. 4, with Balaam’s prediction, cannot moreover be accidental on account of the שׂים; and that the latter is the original passage is decided by the reference of קָנִי in it to the name קָנִי, which is omitted in Obadiah.

Ver. 22, אֲנִי יָאֵם according to GESENIUS, THESAURUS, p. 682, should here signify *sed tamen*. The fixed meaning *but* (*sondern* Ger.)—see EWALD, § 625, *Eng. Trans.* p. 383, is here very suitable, if we only look at the meaning of the preceding expression, and not merely at the letter of it: “*Thy enduring position helps thee not* (אֲנִי יָאֵם has no other meaning than that of

*enduring*), thou art not safe in thy proud nest. *בֵּן* is here neither *to eat up* nor *to burn*, but is to be taken in its primary meaning, *to annihilate, to destroy*, in which it occurs in the Pentateuch, especially in the phrase *בְּזַרְיָהּ הָרַע יִקְרָבָהּ*, *Thou shalt put the evil away from the midst of thee*, Eng. A. Vers. Deut. xiii. 5 ; xvii. 7, 12, &c. That Israel is to be regarded as the author of the destruction which would come upon the Kenites, is evident from the analogy that obtains in the nations previously named, and still more distinctly from the second part of the verse, according to which the carrying away of Israel and the exile would form the *terminus ad quem* of the destruction, which is only intelligible on the supposition that the destruction proceeded from Israel. Many expositors indeed assume that these last words, literally, “till what *Ashur shall carry thee away captive*,” for “till the time when *Ashur shall carry thee away captive*”—do not speak of the captivity of Israel, but of the Kenites ; “Kain will be destroyed (by the Israelites), until at last Ashur will carry it (Kain) away captive,” or according to another, though very forced, construction of *יִדָּמָה*, “Kain will be destroyed. Till when? Ashur shall carry thee away captive.” But for referring the carrying away to Israel, there are the following reasons. (i.) Immediately before Kain was spoken of in the third person, Israel is addressed by Balaam elsewhere, especially at the beginning and end of the second prophecy. That the address is directed to Israel, the seer notifies by giving up in the first half of ver. 22, the address to the Kenites which he had employed in ver. 21, and which he would otherwise have retained. (ii.) The carrying away captive can hardly be referred to the Kenites, because their destruction was the heavier calamity. A *destroyed* people cannot be carried away captive. (iii.) But the principal point is—if we refer the words, “till *Asher shall carry thee away captive*” to the Kenites, we cannot tell what to do with the sequel ; the relation in which it stands to the leading thought of the prophecy is there not at all indicated. The overthrow of Ashur, according to ver. 14, is only brought forward here, as far as he is the enemy of Israel. But unless the words in question apply to Israel, he is not marked as such, while, according to our view, they point out the injury done to Israel, of which the punishment is foretold in what follows. Nor let it be objected that in the case of the Amalekites and Ken-

ites, their enmity towards the Covenant people is not expressly stated. They were already, at the present time, enemies of Israel, and their enmity might be presumed to be known, while Ashur as yet stood in no relation whatever to Israel. The correct view has been taken by CALVIN, who remarks—*Certe consilium spiritus fuit, per modum correctionis docere felicitatem, cujus autea facta fuit mentio, permixtam fore gravibus miseriis, acerba enim res est servitus, tristius etiam exilium, hinc colligimus ecclesiam ita benedici a deo, ut variis tamen aerumnis obnoxia esse non desinat.* It accords with the object of the whole prophecy that the disasters of Israel should be only slightly mentioned—brought, as it were, parenthetically into an address which was in the main an announcement of Israel's prosperity, and only briefly indicated, just so far as was necessary to render intelligible that prediction of the overthrow of their oppressors, which is in perfect harmony with the leading thought of the prophecy. If we notice the later account of the advice which Balaam gave the Moabites and Medianites, to seduce Israel and thereby to occasion the forfeiture of the divine blessing then resting upon them, it cannot be doubtful that the cause recognized by Balaam himself of the temporary disasters of Israel, which are here hinted at, was their apostacy from their ideal and destiny, their worldly-mindedness, in consequence of which, they were punished by God through the instrumentality of the world. From ver. 24 we perceive that Ashur here represents the Asiatic kingdoms in general. In the announcement of the punishment for the offence here indicated, Eber is associated with him. But the punishment cannot go beyond the offence; the wider extension of the *afflictio passiva*, presupposes the wider extension of the *afflictio activa*. But Ashur is named individually, because he would take the lead in the succession of the transeuphratean oppressors of the people of God. "*Asher shall carry thee away captive,*" was historically verified in the carrying away of the Ten Tribes by the Assyrians, of Judah by the Chaldeans, and in the continuation of their domination by the Persians, under whom the Israelites remained bondsmen in their own land, and were obliged to pay tribute to the kings whom the Lord had set over them, (see Nehem. ix. 36, 39) and therefore were not in truth restored to their own possessions. In the prediction that the Kenites would be given up to



destruction by the Israelites, till Ashur should carry the latter away captives it probably is not implied that the Kenites, and therefore the Canaanites, would hereafter recover themselves, for, as we have said, destruction admits of no recovery, but it is only affirmed that before this period the Kenites would not succeed in withdrawing themselves from the destructive power of Israel which, by treading them down, had long before completed its work.

Ver. 23. Before announcing the judgments which the God of Israel would inflict on Ashur and Eber, in return for the injury they had done to his people, the seer utters a cry of lamentation on account of its awfulness, which pierced his heart the deeper because the objects of punishment were the sons of his own people, (see chap. xxii. 5) whose ruin he himself, who had been sent for to curse Israel, must foretell.  $\text{מִי יִחְיֶה}$  is best taken in the sense of the Future, “*Who will live?*” *i. e.* “*Who amidst the impending general destruction will preserve his life?*” Compare Matt. xxiv. 21, 22, ἔσται γὰρ τότε θλίψις μεγάλη, οἷα οὐ γέγονεν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς κόσμου ἕως τοῦ νῦν, οὐδ’ οὐ μὴ γένηται· καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐκολοβώθησαν αἱ ἡμέραι ἐκεῖναι, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθη πᾶσα σὰρξ. Others interpret it, “*Who would (wish to) live?*” and illustrate it by Rev. ix. 6, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις ζητήσουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸν θάνατον καὶ οὐ μὴ εὕρῃσουσιν αὐτόν καὶ ἐπιθυμήσουσιν ἀποθανεῖν. The first interpretation is favoured by the *destruction* or *ruin* in ver. 24, that corresponds to the *not living*. The  $\text{מִי}$  in  $\text{מִי יִחְיֶה}$  may either denote the *time*—“*When God doth this?*” (LXX. τίς ζήσεται ὅταν θεῶ ταῦτα ὁ θεός; VULGATE, *Quis victurus est, quando faciet ista deus?*) or the *cause*—“*since God doth this?*” The suffix in  $\text{וְיָחִי}$  relates to what follows, which may be considered as separated from this verse by a colon. Several critics refer the suffix in  $\text{וְיָחִי}$  to God, and take the  $\text{לֵךְ}$  for an apocopated form of the demonstrative Pronoun, “*Who will live when He doth this?*” But apart from everything else, it is sufficient to set aside this interpretation that the  $\text{לֵךְ}$  for  $\text{לְךָ}$ , which occurs eight times in the Pentateuch, and only once elsewhere, viz., 1 Chron. xx. 8, (consult on this passage GESENIUS, *Thesaurus* p. 94) excepting this last passage, always has the Article. The author of the Chronicles, who did not take this form from the living language, but borrowed it from the Pentateuch, has made a mistake in reference to it. It can never

stand without the Article. Evidently אֲשׁוּר is the *ground-form*, and the shortening into אֲשׁוּ is only occasioned by prefixing the Article, as appears from our finding the Article in the Pentateuch always so placed, which certainly cannot be accidental.

Ver. 24. The introductory words are followed by the prediction itself. A Power which comes from the West in ships, oppresses the oppressor of God's people, Ashur; oppresses especially the transeuphratean land, and effects a destruction not less than on Amalek, which falls on these powerful States as a retribution for what they had inflicted on the people of God. This announcement differs so far from the preceding ones, that the retribution announced in it will not be inflicted by the Covenant people themselves, but by another people whom God arms for the purpose. But this difference is not essential. Since the ruin foretold is the punishment of injustice which was exercised against Israel, and since it was determined by God, even this announcement is included in the words, "*I will advertise thee what this people shall do to thy people,*" (and those who are like them). In that which God does for his kingdom, even this re-acts against its oppressors.

That אֲשׁוּ *Chittim* originally means Cyprus, as it is now generally admitted, needs no proof, especially since GESENIUS has fully stated the ground of this opinion. But still it is a question whether this *original* meaning is likewise the *only* one which occurs in the writings of the Old Testament; or whether this designation is also taken in a wider sense, and has been transferred to all the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, especially the northern, and therefore to the islands and coasts of Greece and Italy, as GESENIUS and most modern critics maintain. We must declare ourselves against this extension of the meaning. It is antecedently improbable, since Cyprus lies detached, and no proof holds good from the Old Testament passages which have been adduced for establishing it. An appeal is made first of all to the passage before us; it is urged that Cyprus alone would be of too little importance for the oppression of Ashur and Eber to be expected from such a quarter. But it is to be observed that the Power which would oppress Ashur and Eber, comes to the prophet not *from* or *out of* Cyprus, but only *from the side* of Cyprus, (אֲשׁוּ in the sense of *side* in Ex. ii. 5; Deut. ii. 37; see GESENIUS, p.

568) which makes the supposition of a wider meaning of Chittim not only unnecessary, but improbable. For admitting this, the seer would describe the ships as coming not from the side of Chittim, but absolutely from it. As Cyprus, "by its natural position, was the chief station for the Phœnician navigation to the West," (see TUCK *on Genesis*, p. 215) so must the fleets which sailed from the West to the East take the direction of Cyprus, which also in Isaiah xxiii. 1, appears as the common rendezvous for the East and West; the ships of Tarshish heard there of the overthrow of Tyre.\* The seer therefore expresses the thought *fore ut valesceret Occidens*, which he wishes to represent in its widest universality, without naming the western nations from whom the invasion would proceed—this lay beyond his horizon—therefore he describes the hostile vessels as coming from that station which every fleet must touch in sailing from the West to the East. The *second* passage which has been thought to support the wider meaning, is Jerem. ii. 10, "Pass over to אֲרֵי כְּדָרִים and see, and send unto Kedar, and consider diligently." Just as well as GESENIUS, in Ezek. xxvii. 6, translates אֲרֵי כְּדָרִים by *orae Cypriorum*, can it be done here, and especially since in the parallel member only a single people (Kedar) is named; compare also the אֲרֵי אֶלְיָשָׁה the *coasts of Elisha* in Ezek. xxvii. 7, and on אֲרֵי in the sense of *coast*, GESENIUS, *s. v.* The third and last passage is Dan. xi. 30. For אֲרֵי כְּדָרִים shall come against him. We cannot venture to translate these words with GESENIUS, *Cithæan ships*. כְּדָרִים always denotes the country. GESENIUS has totally overlooked the difference between אֲרֵי כְּדָרִים and כְּדָרִים, on which Is. xxiii. 1, compared with ver. 12, throws much light. The relation of אֲרֵי כְּדָרִים to כְּדָרִים is illustrated by a remark of EWALD, *Gr. Gr.* p. 627. "In certain connexions the close connection of two nouns by the *Stat. Constr.* is altogether lost, so that the nouns stand separate beside

---

\* On Cyprus as the common point of intercourse between Greece and Phœnicia, consult PLESS *Vor- und Urgeschichte der Hellenen*, vol. ii. p. 451. These Cyprian cities, notwithstanding all their quarrels with the Phœnicians, were the principal intermediate places for peaceful intercourse, both of nations that harassed one another from national hatred, and of those who on account of traffic and industry approached one another in a more friendly manner. They themselves, according to all appearance, though at the beginning most inconsiderable, owed their prosperity to this position, and received from the Greeks of Lesser Asia, as well as from the Phœnicians, many settlers, and thus a double impression was made on their character.



one another. The ground of this lies in the looser connection, either on account of the idea, or because the noun gradually loses its substantive power." (The latter is never doné in the case of כְּתִיִּים.) Accordingly the compound phrase כְּתִיִּים כְּתִיִּים can only denote a distant relation between the ships and the inhabitants of Chittim. *Ships of Chittim* cannot be meant—this would be denoted by כְּתִיִּים כְּתִיִּים or כְּתִיִּים כְּתִיִּים, but only ships from the neighbourhood of Chittim; so that כְּתִיִּים כְּתִיִּים is exactly the same as the כְּתִיִּים כְּתִיִּים in the passage under consideration, which we may more readily admit, since this is evidently the original which Daniel had before his eyes when he announced a new realization of the prediction contained in it. כְּתִיִּים is so seldom used, (only four times in all) that simply its connection with כְּתִיִּים does not allow us to doubt that the author of the Book of Daniel alluded to this passage. Nor did Daniel any more than Balaam precisely mark the country whence the vessels would come. He satisfied himself with indicating that Balaam's prediction of the mastery of the West over the East was proved afresh. The untimely comparison with history (the LXX. bring in *the Romans*) has also here done great injury to the interpretation of prophecy.

That in the times after the close of the Old Testament, *Chittim* was used in a wider sense, there can certainly be no doubt. JOSEPHUS says this expressly (*Ant.* i. 6, § 1.) Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν Χεθίμ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται. In 1 Macc. i. 1, it is said that Alexander came ἐκ τῆς γῆς Χεττιεῖμ. In the same book, ch. viii. 5, Perseus is called Κιτιεῶν βασιλεὺς. But we should very much err, if from this later use we attempted to draw a conclusion respecting the earlier. It manifestly arose from a false historical exposition of Balaam's words and Dan. xi. 30, so that if this use of the terms had occurred in the book of Daniel, it would form one count against its genuineness. This origination of the later meaning of the phrase is very evident in 1 Macc. i. 1, where it is said of Alexander ὃς ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς Χεττιεῖμ καὶ ἐπάταξε τὸν Δαρεῖον Βασιλέα Περσῶν καὶ Μηδῶν. Evidently the author here wished to draw attention to the fact that Balaam's prophecy was fulfilled in Alexander's expedition. This supposition is in unison with his whole character as a writer, and is favoured by the form Χεττιεῖμ, which

is an exact imitation of the Hebrew, and instead of which, the author in the *second* passage, where he had no such reference in view, uses the common form. Moreover, this second passage, in which no prophetic reference is conceivable, seems to show that the author of the first book of Maccabees was not perhaps, as WINER *lex. s. v.* assumes (who alone among all the moderns has taken the right view on the main point), the first who gave an erroneous extension to the name Chittim on the ground of an erroneous exposition, but that it was tolerably current in his time in this incorrect sense.

The announcement of the future conquests of the Asiatics by nations from Europe, as it was historically realised by the Asiatic dominations of the Greeks and Romans, lies so entirely beyond the bounds of the natural knowledge which was at the author's command—whether Balaam be considered as such or another person living later, which in this respect is perfectly equal—that those who limit the Israelitish prophets only to natural knowledge are involved by it in not a little perplexity. The attempt which HITZIG, (*Begriff der Critik*, p. 54, &c.), with the approbation of VON BOHLEN (*Genesis*, p. cxxxv.), who speaks of the “*admirable explanation* of HITZIG who has here first unfolded the truth,” has made to rescue himself and those who think with him, from this perplexity, can only serve to manifest its greatness and the impossibility of being rescued from it. HITZIG, on the hypothesis of the composition of Balaam's prophecies in the time of the kings, refers the passage before us, as well as Psalm xlvi. 8. to an irruption of the Greeks into Asia in the time of Sennacherib, of which ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, probably from BERO-SUS, in the *Armenian Chronicle* of EUSEBIUS i. p. 21. *ed. Ven.* gives the following account. *Quum autem ille fama accepisset Graccos in Cilicam belli movendi causa pervenisse, ad eos contendit; aciem contra aciem instruxit, ac plurimis quidem de suo exercitu cæsis, hostes (tamen) debellat, atque in victoriae monumentum imaginem suam in eo loco erectam reliquit, Chaldaicisque literis fortitudinem ac virtutem suam ad futuri temporis memoriam incidi jussit;* compare the shorter notice which ABYDENUS gives of the same event in that work: *ad litus maris Ciliciae Graecorum classem profligatam depressit.* “No other reference,” says HITZIG, “is conceivable.” If there-

fore we prove that the reference which from his point-of-view is the only conceivable one, is inadmissible, we shall at the same time prove that his point-of-view is untenable. This can be done without much trouble or prolixity. The introductory words, "*Who will live?*" point to the fearfulness of the catastrophe which the seer here had in view; they indicate a great and general overthrow; moreover the words, "*they shall oppress Ashur and oppress Eber,*" and lastly, "*the end is destruction,*" announce that by the conquerors from the west the mighty Asiatic kingdoms would meet with their downfall. That the Greek invasion did not bear such a character in the slightest degree, that by means of it no such effect were produced nor could be expected, we prove on the following grounds. (i.) Had this event been of such importance as HITZIG assumes, and had it made such an impression on the Israelites, as to call forth this prophecy, we should expect references to it in other parts of the Old Testament. But nothing of the kind is to be found. The supposition of a reference to this event in the 48th Psalm has been given up (and very properly) by HITZIG himself, in his *Die Psalmen historisch krit unters.* Heidelb. 1836, p. 42. (ii.) If we admit that the account of ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR is perfectly correct, and not too highly coloured in the oriental style, and the enemies made more terrible, that the victory over them may appear more splendid, yet it by no means describes such a hostile invasion as that the most timorous could expect from it the ruin of Asia. The Greeks never advanced farther than the coast, and a single battle sufficed for their complete expulsion. (iii.) The supposition of an expedition from Greece on a large scale against Asia, in the time of Sennacherib, stands in glaring contradiction to the historical relations of that age, which will not allow us to think of an expedition for conquest, but, only of a predatory or free-booting invasion, or, at most, an attempt at planting a colony. This has been remarked by NIEBUHR, who first of all drew attention to that account of ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR, and received it with some prepossession in its favour, (*Hist. Gewinn aus der Armen. Chronik. der Eusebius, kl. Schriften* i. 205). "The state at that time of Greece forbids our thinking of an united expedition, like the Trojan War." PLAS, in his *Vor-und Urgeschichte der Hellenen* ii. 5, 6, says of the condition of Greece in the period 1100—500 before Christ,



“At this period, the Grecian History, taken as a whole, is meagre; there is no abundance of materials; the collective people for six centuries had not been attacked by foreign enemies, and they were all too little united, or any considerable number of the separate parts, to arouse any renown by their exploits. We need not on this point the express testimony of the well-informed Thucydides (i. 15); the total silence of all the writers on such expeditions must satisfy us. . . . The Hellenic tribes enjoyed a rare felicity during these centuries, for it was precisely at the time when they were occupied with their internal cultivation, that they remained quite free from outward attacks. But it was impossible to project an attack on foreign nations; for they were sufficiently occupied with themselves and their own formation, as well as so parcelled out into tribes, and these again into small states, that unless by a pressure from without, a confederation of all, or even of many, for a common undertaking, could not be brought about.”

Of not less importance is it, how we are to understand *Eber* in the clause, “*they shall oppress Ashur, and oppress Eber.*” The ancient translators on this point differ from one another. The LXX., καὶ κακώσουσιν Ἀσσοῦρ καὶ κακώσουσιν Ἑβραῖους; ) and the VULGATE (*venient in trieribus de Italia, superabunt Assyrios vastabuntque Hebraeos*) both understand the *Hebrews* by *Eber*; ONKELOS, on the contrary, the *Trans-euphratean nations*. And this difference has continued even to the present day. ROSENMÜLLER, for instance, decides in favour of the *Transeuphratean nations*; THOLUCK and HITZIG for the *Hebrews*. We shall endeavour to set this question at rest, and to establish the reference to the *Transeuphratean* nations, as the only correct one. (i.) On the ground of language, this is the only possible one. To understand the word עֲבָרִים of the *Hebrews*, rests on the pre-supposition that the Israelites stood in close relation to the individual called *Eber* in Gen. x. 24, and were named after him. But this supposition is erroneous. It is antecedently improbable that the patriarch *Eber* should be placed in close connection with the Israelites, since he forms only an intermediate link in the genealogy, and nothing extraordinary is recorded of him—nothing by which he would be more appropriated to the Israelites than to the other nations who had their natural descent from him in common with the Israelites. How

very different is the state of the case in this respect with Abraham! From him, besides the Israelites, the Ishmaelites also, and other Arabian tribes, with the Idumeans, were descended; yet, nevertheless, he belonged to the Israelites in a peculiar manner as the Father of the Faithful; and only in Isaac was his seed called; see Genesis xxi. 12. Of Eber's faith, on the contrary, of his walk with God, of any covenant relation into which God entered with him, history is totally silent; he is mentioned only in reference to natural descent; and in this respect he belonged just as much to the other kindred tribes of his posterity as to the Israelites. We therefore approach the passages adduced to prove that the Israelites must claim him specially as their own, with a feeling of distrust beforehand against the correctness of this view, and this mistrust, on a closer examination, proves to be well-founded. Amongst these passages, that in Gen. x. 21 holds the first rank. "*Unto Shem also, the father of all the children of Eber, even to him were born.*" By "*the children (or sons) of Eber,*" to understand the Israelites, as has been done recently by BOHLEN and TUCK, the latter of whom observes that Shem by this clause is marked as the grandsire of the עֲבֵרִים, every consideration forbids. The reference to the Transeuphratean nations is so much more likely, because the enumeration of the Canaanitish tribes immediately precedes, and by the contrast to Canaan, situated on *this* side the Euphrates, עֲבֵרִים is more clearly determined. By this contrast, the designation of Shem as the father of all the Transcuphratean nations is justified as appropriate, while, in reference to the patriarch Eber, HYDE, in his *Hist. Relig. Persarum*, p. 47, has justly remarked: *cur istius scriptor anticiparet mentionem nulla sane ratio datur*, and adds, *scopus loci plane alium postulat sensum, qui spectet habitationes filiorum Eber eorumque sedes per terram*. We must accordingly consider it as purely accidental that, some verses afterwards, a man of the name of Eber occur. Then an appeal is made to the name עֲבֵרִים. But in the form of this name lies no ground for deducing it from the name of an individual Eber—there is nothing to forbid our taking עֲבֵרִים in the sense of *persons on the other side*, as the Alexandrian translators have rendered עֲבֵרִים by περάτης. HESYCHIUS remarks; ὁ Ἑβραῖος, περάτης; and EUSEBIUS, Ἑβραῖοι οἱ περάται ἐρμηνεύονται, διαπερά-

σαντος Ἐυφράτην Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ οὐχ ὡς οἴονται τινες ἀπὸ Ἐβέρ. (See HYDE, p. 51.) “For adjectives ending in ך,” according to EWALD (*Gr. Gr.* p. 259), “are deduced from common nouns, in order to point out descent or occupation.” But that this derivation is the only correct one, appears also from the fact that the name is used principally by foreigners, and in relation to them (see EWALD *Gr. Eng. Trans.*, p. 2, or *Ausf. Lehrbuch.* Leipzig 1844, p. 19), a fact which is only to be explained on the ground that the name had an entirely outward character, that it specially proceeded from the Canaanites, and denoted immigrants in relation to *them*. This appears very plainly from the first passage where the name occurs in Gen. xiv. 13, “And there came one that had escaped, and told Abram ׀׀׀׀׀,” where, by retaining the designation which the fugitives made use of, it is intimated in what manner the natives sought protection and help from the immigrants. *Perpendamus*, HYDE remarks, — *eos qui Abrahamo hunc titulum dederunt fuisse Cananitas et an putabimus eos novisse Abrahami prosapiam s. genealogiam tam longe remotam eamve consuluisse?* Thus, then, it appears that there is nothing to warrant our understanding by “*the sons of Eber*,” in this prediction, the Israelites as descendants of the patriarch Eber. On the other hand, no one can deny that to understand by the phrase, the Transeuphratean nations, is perfectly admissible. The objection that ׀׀׀ could not stand without some addition for the country, is already refuted by Gen. x. 21. It is besides a simple consequence of the fact, that to the Hebrews and the surrounding nations the Euphrates was *the river* κατ'ἔξοχὴν. But while this is a sufficient reason for the use of the term Eber by itself, it will not allow us, with HYDE, p. 53, and MICHAELIS, *suppl.* p. 1822, to understand by Eber the country on the other side the *Tigris*. Moreover, the supposition that *Eber* here denotes the country on the other side the Euphrates, is so much less difficult, since it is more exactly determined by the preceding Ashur, as well as in Genesis x. 21, by the contrast with Canaan. (ii.) The name ׀׀׀, *Eber*, = ׀׀׀׀, *Ibrim*, since it is the most *foreign* name of the people, would be unsuitable in Balaam's mouth. He always calls the people Jacob and Israel (strictly speaking only Israel; for Jacob is introduced only by the law of parallelism, and that Is-



rael always stands last, shows that it was in Balaam's opinion the peculiar and appropriate name), and was obliged to do so. It would be very strange if Balaam, after he had so often used the distinguishing name, should just at the end use the most foreign of all. (iii.) Balaam's lamentation in ch. xxii. 5, shows that the disaster to be foretold would affect the land of the sons of his own people. This would be true, if by Eber we understand the Trans-euphratean region, from he came from Aram Naharaim, *i.e.*, Aram or Syria of the two rivers = Mesopotamia. On the contrary, he would not have been sensibly touched by the misfortunes of Ashur and the Israelites. (iv.) But the principal point, and which alone is quite decisive, is, that if by Eber we understand the Hebrews, we obtain an accidental prediction which is regulated by no leading idea, in opposition to ver. 14, where Balaam marks the whole of his prophecy as governed by one idea. It would then be no longer a discourse on the judgment that would fall on Israel's enemies. By the connection with Hebrews, Ashur would obtain quite another position. The prophesying would end at last in soothsaying. If, on the contrary, by Eber we understand the Transeuphratean nations, then all is in order, and the leading idea expressed by Balaam governs the prophecy to the very end. Ashur had carried away captive the people of God. God arms against him, and against the whole Transeuphratean region which had been a partner in his guilt, the distant West, and visits those with ruin who had appeared to bring ruin on the kingdom of God. With that the prophecy breaks off, The further developments were hidden from the eyes of the seer.

That Eber is not a second land which is named besides Ashur, but rather a general denomination which includes Ashur under it ("and they shall oppress Ashur and oppress (generally) the Transeuphratean land,") is plain from Gen. x. 21, where Shem is designated the father of all the sons of Eber, among whom Ashur also is named. In Isaiah vii. 20, the king of Ashur is described as a hired razor, אֲשׁוּרִי כְּחַרְטוֹמֵי חֵרֶץ, therefore also the Assyrians are included.

The last words, "*and he also shall perish for ever,*" are referred by many expositors to the conquerors who came "*from the side of Chittim,*" by others, to Ashur and Eber. The latter view is proved to be correct by the relation in which the words at the

close, “*he shall perish,*” stand to these at the beginning, “*Who will live?*” We may add that the הֵי suits better the אֲשֶׁר and עַבְד than the מִי בְּהֵימָן—that the “*also*” stand more suitably in allusion to Amalek, if Ashur and Eber were spoken of (rather than their conquerors), whose destruction would rather be compared with theirs; and lastly, that the prediction of the destruction that would fall on the conqueror from the West, is here destitute of the necessary foundation, since nothing is said of a hostile disposition in this conqueror towards Israel, which alone could be a reason for such a prediction; but he is exhibited only as an instrument of God for the punishment of his people’s enemies.

## CHAPTER XXIV. VER. 25.

“And Balaam rose up, and went and returned to his place; and Balak also went his way.” There is an apparent contradiction between this passage, which seems to say that Balaam, after fulfilling his divine mission, immediately, and without staying on the road, returned and reached his home in safety—and between Num. xxxi. 8, 16 (compare also Josh. xiii. 22), according to which Balaam was killed by the Israelites in their war of vengeance which they undertook against the Midianites, a righteous punishment for the counsel which he gave the Midianites to lead Israel into sin. In Num. xxxi. 8, it is said, “And they slew the kings of Midian, beside the rest of them that were slain, Evi and Rekem, and Zur, and Hur, and Reba, five kings of Midian; Balaam also, the son of Beor, they slew with the sword,” and in Joshua xiii. 22, “Balaam also, the son of Beor, the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword, among them that were slain by them;” in Num. xxxi. 16, Moses grounds the reproof which he addresses to the commanders of the troops he sent out against the Midianites, for allowing the women to live, thus, “Behold these caused the children of Israel, through the counsel\* of Balaam, to commit treachery against the

---

MICHAELIS correctly renders בְּדַבָּר by *pro verbo, i. e., prout dixerat s. jusserat*; ONKELOS et JONATHAN, *ex consilio*; comp בְּדַבָּר שֶׁפָּתַח in Ps. xvii. 4.

*Lord,\* in the matter of Beor, and then came punishment on the congregation of the Lord."*

This contradiction has been long ago remarked, and many attempts have been made to obviate it. Several critics, from SEVERUS—in the Greek Catena, to STEUDEL (p. 83), by Balaam's "*place*," would understand not his home in the country beyond the Euphrates, but the place in which he was immediately before staying. But this explanation is not much better than another very absurd one, according to which Balaam's "*place*" was *hell* (compare Acts i. 25.) It is sufficient for its rejection to compare Balak's command to Balaam in ch. xxiv. 11, "*Flee thou to thy place*," with the prophet's reply in ver. 14, "*Behold I go unto my people*." Others supposed that Balaam returned home, but made a second journey to the Midianites, though they cannot find out sufficient time for such a double journey. Others endeavour to obviate the difficulty by the remark, that the words "*he returned*," that the verbs often have an *inchoative* meaning. But modern criticism, rejecting all these solutions, confidently produces the apparent contradiction as proof of the fragmentary character of the Pentateuch.

All these suppositions are set aside by the simple remark, that שׁוּב properly means, *to turn (himself) from, then, to turn (himself) back*; (see WINER'S *Lexicon*, s. v.), the reaching of the object of the turning back is not included in the word itself. There is therefore no ground for saying that the verb here stands in an inchoative sense, as little has the verb הִרְגֵם, which means, *to go up*, not *to reach the summit*, in Num. xiv. 40, an inchoative meaning, since, from ver. 44, according to which the Amalekites came down from the mountain, it appears that the Israelites came not to the top of the mountain, much less is there reason for imagining a second journey by Balaam, or to maintain that a contradiction exists between this passage and chap. xxxi. Compare Genesis xviii. 33, "*And Jehovah went away as soon as he had left communing with Abraham*, and Abraham returned לְמִקְדָּשׁוֹ, lit. *to*

\* GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus*, p. 809, takes unnecessary trouble with מִצְרַיִם, which occurs in Num. xxxv. 5, 16, and nowhere else. The meaning *tradidit*, ascertained by the Chaldee, is in both passages perfectly suitable. The point is completely settled by the simple marginal remarks of J. H. MICHAELIS, on ver. 5, *traditi igitur v. suppeditati sunt*; (the troops according to ver. 3 and 4, required by Moses from the congregation were delivered), and on ver. 16, *ad tradendum s. ut docerent*.



*his own place.*" Even here it is manifest that not the *arrival* is meant, but the *direction*; he set out on his return. They parted, each one his way. So also here the parallelism leads us to suppose that not the *end*, but the *direction*, is intended.

Still it may be said that the historian, in stating that Balaam set out on his journey back, intimated that he actually reached his own place, inasmuch as he has not expressly asserted the contrary. But this assertion would only carry weight with it, if the author had been writing a history of Balaam, or only a history of the relation in which Balaam stood to Israel. But since he only undertook to represent how Balaam, when he would have cursed the people of God, was obliged to bless them—that this is the design and central point of the narrative, is clear as day, and is expressly asserted in the Pentateuch itself in Deut. xxiii. 5, 6—the remark loses all its importance. Whether Balaam reached the end of his journey or not, was for *this* object perfectly indifferent. The historian could let him journey without troubling himself how it fared with him, and what he did farther. Only in the sequel he intimates it quite incidentally. He had begun with telling how Balak had sent for him, in order to destroy Israel, and he closes his narrative with telling how he parted from Balaam without having attained this object.

If what we have remarked in reference to the historian's position towards Balaam be properly kept in view, another difficulty will also at once vanish, which STEUDEL has raised, and which he thinks he can only lessen by supposing that Numbers xxii.—xxiv. are a memoir composed by Balaam himself, which the compiler of the Pentateuch has introduced where the order of time required it—namely, the circumstance that in the narrative in Num. xxv., Balaam is not mentioned, though, according to Num. xxxi., the plan of seducing Israel into sin proceeded from him. "If the following section," says STEUDEL, "was not *originally* connected with the preceding, the appearance they present may be accounted for. It is otherwise, if both sections are parts of a connected continuous history. It must really strike us as a contradiction against the latter circumstance stated in chap. xxxi. 8, 16, concerning Balaam, if, after he had been spoken of, and had been introduced into the narrative, yet that, in connection with an event so important in the history of the

Israelites as their seduction into Moabitish idolatry, the person just mentioned, although he was the cause of it, should be altogether unnoticed." But if the author had introduced Balaam into the history for an entirely specific object, he was under no sort of obligation to give a report of his later doings and fortunes. He stood to him in no other relation than if he had made no mention of him before. It was left open to his consideration whether he would mention Balaam at all, and how far, in reference to that event. Looking from the author's point of view, the part which Balaam acted in the business was entirely subordinate, so that it was enough if he only mentioned him in an incidental manner. The main object which might contribute to the edification of the congregation, was the manifestation of Israel's sin, and of the Lord's righteousness in the punishment of the seduced and the seducer.

But we wish to take this opportunity of subjecting STEUDEL'S hypothesis of the composition of the section containing chap. xxii.—xxiv. by Balaam to a thorough examination. What he has besides introduced in its support, that the narrative is altogether so composed as we might expect, it would be by one who did not wish, like Balak, to destroy the Israelites, but yet to turn things to his own advantage, is of such a quality that it is unnecessary to enter further into it. Chap. xxiv. 10 is sufficient to refute it. While, therefore, there is nothing in favour of the authorship by Balaam, it must be rejected for the following reasons. (i.) The use of the Divine names is throughout inexplicable, if Balaam is regarded as the author; this requires the composition to be not merely by an Israelite, but specially by the author of the Pentateuch. The proof of this has been already adduced in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i., p. 385—390, Eng. Transl. (ii.) How should Balaam have succeeded in writing Hebrew so well? (iii.) The section agrees with the Pentateuch in characteristic expressions and phrases. The otherwise unusual phrase, עַיִן אֲרֶצְךָ, *Eye of the earth*, (*face of the earth*, Eng. A. V.), for its *surface*, in chap. xxii. 5 and 11, is found also in Exod. x. 5, 15, The expression, הַיַּשְׁקָה עַל-בְּנֵי הַיַּשְׁרָיִן in chap. xxxiii. 28, strikingly agrees with הַיַּשְׁקָה עַל-בְּנֵי הַיַּשְׁרָיִן in chap. xxi. 20. In the same manner, chap. xxii. 36, "a city of Moab, which is in the border of Arnon, which is in the

*utmost coast,*" agrees with chap. xxi. 13, "*Arnon is the border of Moab, between Moab and the Amorites.*" The word רָגִלִים, in the sense of *times*, in chap. xxii. 28, xxxii. 33, occurs in Ex. xxiii. 14, but nowhere else. מִיְיֻדָּה עַד-תַּיִם הַיָּם in chap. xxii. 30, has only a parallel passage in Gen. xlviii. 15 ; מִעַד is found nowhere else. The phrase בְּעִרְבֹת מִצְרַיִם עַל-יַרְדֵּן הַנָּהָר, or sometimes מִצְרַיִם לְיַרְדֵּן, is peculiar to the Book of Numbers. But the latter is found in chap. xxii. 1, at the beginning of the whole section, which describes the events in the parts of the Arabah that formerly belonged to the Moabites to the time of the Deuteronomial giving of the Law, and with design as the most definite ; מִעַד is once for all used to be understood as the more general term עַל. As at the beginning of the connected section, so the same phrase is found at the end of it, which is also the close of the whole book in chap. xxxvi. 13. It also occurs in the middle,—namely, whenever a smaller section in the greater whole is begun or ended ; see *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 328. (iv.) Like the whole Pentateuch, this account is written with a reference to posterity, while a *Promemoria* of Balaam would be only suited to Moses and his contemporaries ; compare the expression, *Balak the son of Zippor was king of Moab at this time,*" in chap. xxii. 4. The expression זָרָז בְּיַד-עַמִּי would also not be suitable for Balaam in chap. xxii. 5. (v.) The language at the beginning of the section in chap. xxii. 2, "*And Balak the son of Zippor saw all that Israel had done to the Amorites,*" connects itself exactly with the contents of chap. xxi. 21–35, in which there is an account of what the Israelites did to the Amorites. The 25th chapter presupposes the narrative in chap. xxii.—xxiv. What it narrates of the seduction of the Israelites by the Moabitish and Midianitish women, would be unintelligible without what is there said of the alarm caused by the Israelites to the Moabites and Midianites, and their former attempt to injure them. The relation of the Moabites and Midianites to one another in that transaction is involved in obscurity, unless we add the notice in chap. xxii. 4, according to which the Moabites sent to the Midianites, and invited them to take common measures against the enemy. The mention of Baal-Peor in chap. xxiv. 3 is elucidated by chap. xxi. 28, where Peor is mentioned as overlooking the wilderness in which the Israelites were then encamped.



Let us now attempt, as far as our sources of information will allow, to follow Balaam on his way. His ambition and avarice sought the satisfaction which, by God's providence, was denied on the part of the Moabites, among the Israelites, on whose gratitude he believed that he had just claims. He betook himself first of all to the Israelitish camp, which was at an inconsiderable distance from the place where he parted from Balak. But there he did not meet with the reception he expected. Moses, who saw into his heart, that it was not right before the Lord, perceived that no thanks were due to *him*, who had done his utmost to gratify the wish of the Moabitish king (compare the expression, "*Jehovah thy God would not hearken unto Balaam,*" in Deut. xxiii. 6), but to *the Lord*, and treated him coldly; and thus it was natural that his ruling passion, which was continually recalling to his remembrance Balak's saying, "*I will promote thee unto very great honour, and I will do whatsoever thou sayest unto me,*" impelled him to seek out a new method of gratifying it. That Balaam visited the Israelitish camp is indeed not expressly asserted, yet it has not a little psychological probability—it is scarcely conceivable that he would allow an opportunity apparently so favourable for gratifying his ruling passion to pass by unimproved—and it is almost as strong a proof as an express assertion would be, that the contents of Numb. xxii.—xxiv. could only be obtained from communications which he made to the elders of Israel. That they could not be derived from any other human sources, the elder critics have acknowledged. Thus MARK, p. 592, sets up the hypothesis untenable and contradicting all analogy, that Moses had the whole from divine revelation, giving as a reason, that it could not be supposed that he obtained such exact information from the Moabites and Midianites. Modern critics urge this inadequacy of sources of information against the genuineness of the prophecies of Balaam, as it is pledged by their internal character, and, the genuineness of the Pentateuch being presupposed, by the authority of Moses. Thus BLEEK remarks, p. 34, "Whence could any one gain so accurate a knowledge of them, though even a contemporary Jewish writer?" Compare also JAHN in BENGEL'S *Archiv*. III. iii. p. 573.

Against the supposition that Balaam visited the Israelites, which removes every difficulty, only one objection can be made, that the author would not have omitted to give express information of the

fact. But this objection betrays a total misconception of the literary character of the Pentateuch, which everywhere shows itself exceedingly sparing in communicating such circumstances as do not immediately serve its object; which are only matter of curiosity, or of general historical information. How far this parsimoniousness goes, we wish to make evident by a few examples. In Exod. iv. 20, it is narrated that Moses, when he returned from Midian to Egypt, took with him his wife and sons, because it was necessary to know this in order to understand an occurrence (in ch. iv. 25, 26) which was extremely important for the main design of the Pentateuch. Since the author only, on this account, mentioned the journeying of Moses' family with him, so he omitted to give an account of their being sent back—the cause of which—the anxiety of Moses lest his family should be a hindrance to him in his calling, we know from that event with probability. The sending back is mentioned only incidentally in ch. xviii. 2. To give another example: The death of Deborah, Rebekkah's nurse, is narrated in Gen. xxxv. 8, with reference to the place of halting, where her tomb presented for Israel so edifying and blessed a recollection of the Patriarchial times. How Deborah came to Jacob not a word is said, since that was perfectly indifferent for the object of the author.

Balaam, when he could not obtain the hoped for satisfaction of his desires among the Israelites, turned again to their enemies, incapable of renouncing this satisfaction and of making up his mind to return back as empty as he came. But it appears, that he did not venture to approach again the king of the Moabites, who had dismissed him so angrily, but addressed his proposals to the Midianites. This people evidently acted the principal part in the seduction of the Israelites. The daughters of Moab are only named in ch. xxv. 1. The seducer mentioned in ver. 6 and 15 was a Midianitish woman; in ver. 16–18 Moses issued orders to attack the Midianites “*on account of their wiles with which they beguiled Israel in the matter of Peor.*” The seduction is again attributed to the Midianitish women in ch. xxxi. 16. The Moabites remained not only spared from the vengeance of the Israelites—the war of vengeance was undertaken only against the Midianites—but also there is no mention made of this transgression in the enumeration of their offences against Israel in

Deut. xxiii. 5, although it was there of importance to give the strongest reasons possible for the prohibition of their reception into the congregation of the Lord. According to this, the participation of the Moabitish women, as far as it really existed, must have been isolated and individual, while the seduction practised by the Midianites was planned and carried out *publicâ auctoritate*. At all events, the Midianites alone, *as a people*, were concerned in this transaction, and hence they alone contracted national guilt. That notwithstanding, in ch. xxv. 1, the daughters of Moab are mentioned, is on this ground, that the Moabites were the principal people in the confederacy, so that in a wider scope Moab comprehended the Midianites. The confederates were denominated *a potiori*. The tribe of the Midianites had their principal seat in the region between the Arabian gulf and Sinai; only a single weak division of them had settled in the region on the other side Jordan.\*

The device by which the Midianites sought to bring destruction on Israel is so artful, pre-supposes such a deep insight into the relation of Israel to Jehovah, that without the express statement in Num. xxxi. we must have considered it very probable that it proceeded from Balaam. Scarcely any person but himself could have detected the only point in which Israel was vulnerable. The Moabites and Midianites had directed their attack against the absolutely *strong* side of the relation, and had been obliged to retire with shame and disgrace. Balaam betrayed to them the *weak* side, and how craftily his plan was formed is shown by its great success at first. But at last, his hopes and those of the Midianites were blasted. From the midst of the people arose—a prelude of those scenes which have been renewed in all ages of the kingdom of God—a powerful reaction against the corruption; and after punishment had swept away the guilty, the favour of the Lord returned once more to his congregation. Vengeance

---

\* In reference to the relation of these two divisions of the Midianites to each other, LABORDE remarks, (*Travels*, p. 268 of the Eng. Transl.) “In the same manner, even at the present day, some considerable tribes, whether in consequence of divisions in the succession of the authority of the Scheick, or by reason of scarcity of food in the country, have separated, and dwell at great distances from each other, alien tribes being interposed between them. But they preserve their name and their alliance, which secure to them the rights of hospitality.”



turned itself against the seducers, and in their midst the originator of the diabolical contrivance found his death, whom, without doubt, his endeavours to obtain from them the reward of his sins, had detained among them.

---

## GEOGRAPHICAL OBSERVATIONS.

We have reserved the notices on the geographical references in this portion of Sacred History for a separate section; as the points to be determined stand in a close relation to one another, to treat them separately would be productive of serious inconvenience.

The place where the Israelites fixed their encampment after the conquest of the two Amoritish kings on the other side Jordan, is called in ch. xxii. 1, "*the plains of Moab*," עֲרַבוֹת מוֹאָב. During the sojourn of the Israelites there, not merely the events connected with Balaam occurred, but also all that is afterwards narrated in the Book of Numbers, and in the whole of Deuteronomy. We find a fuller description of the locality in the introduction to the account of the principal event which belongs to this locality, the second giving of the Law, the counterpart to the first on Sinai; and we find ourselves compelled to examine more closely this description, since it has hitherto found no satisfactory explanation, and the chief points, indeed, have been left in great obscurity.

It is said in Deut. i. 1-5, "*These be the words which Moses spake unto all Israel on the other side Jordan in the wilderness, in the plain (Arabah) over against Zuph, between Paran, and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Dizahab. There are eleven days' journey from Horeb, by the way of Mount Seir, unto Kadesh Barnea. . . . On the other side Jordan, in the land of Moab, began Moses to declare this law, saying.*"

We begin with determining the localities named in ver. 1, after "*in the wilderness, in the plain (Arabah).*" By *Zuph* (a reed) we can only understand the sea of reeds, *i. e.* the Red Sea, which

in ch. i. 40, and ii. 1, is called פְּרָאן; this agrees with the LXX. (*πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης*); with AQUILA (*ἐν τῇ ὁμαλῇ τῆς ἐρυθρας θαλασσης*); with SYMMACHUS (either the same, or *ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι τῆς ἐρυθρας θαλάσσης*; compare MONTFAUCON Hexap. on the passage), and the VULGATE (*in solitudine campestri contra mare rubrum.*) That this means specially the *sinus Aelaniticus*, or the gulf of Akaba, is a matter of course. With still greater certainty the second point, *Pharan*, may be determined. The old Testament knows of only one Pharan, and all the passages where Pharan occurs, and especially those in the Pentateuch, lead us to conclude that the wilderness of Pharan, in which Kadesh lay—(compare “*the wilderness of Paran, at Kadesh*,” in Num. xiii. 26, and Deut. i. 19, &c., according to which the spies, who, according to Num. xiii. 3, were sent from the wilderness of Paran, were sent out from Kadesh Barnea)—is to be sought for in the northern border of Arabia Petraea towards Palestine. This only Pharan of the Old Testament is also spoken of in Num. x. 12, “*And the children of Israel took their journies out of the wilderness of Sinai, and the cloud rested in the wilderness of Paran.*” The wilderness of Pharan, wherein was Kadesh, where the children of Israel, according to Deut. i. 46, “*abode many days*,” is here only named as the first place where they remained for a length of time after their sojourn at Sinai. After the statement of the *terminus a quo* and of the *terminus ad quem*, follows the account of their journies. They came first, after three days’ journey (compare x. 33), to Tabera (xi. 1), from thence to Kebroth-hattaavah (*the graves of lust*), xi. 34, from thence to Hazeroth, and from Hazeroth to the wilderness of Paran, xii. 16. At this passage the enumeration of journies, which begins at x. 12, is completed. Von RAUMER (*Der Zug der Isr.* p. 38) by misunderstanding the relation of Num. x. 12, to the enumeration that follows, has involved himself in inextricable difficulties, and even doubts whether it be possible to find out a Pharan that will suit all the passages of Scripture. Moreover, Num. xxxiii. 16–30, where a long catalogue of stations from Sinai to Bene-Jaakan, (see *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 355), shows, that in the historical enumeration conformably to their destination, the stations on the way from Sinai to Pharan are not completely enumerated, but only

those are introduced at which something remarkable occurred. In the passage before us, to think of another Pharan than that to which all the other passages of the Old Testament refer, which some have seized upon as a forlorn hope, is forbidden by the circumstance that the common Pharan in Num. xii. 16, occurs just as it does here, with Hazeroth in one and the same verse; “*And afterwards the people removed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.*”

TOPHEL (תֹּפֶל), which forms the third point, and which hitherto has puzzled the commentators, we find again in *Tufleh*, on the eastern side of the Edomitish mountain range, about the same height as Kadesh on the western side, a place containing about 600 houses, the principal place of Dshebal. SEETZEN (in VON SACH, *Mon. Corr.* Nov. 1808, p. 390) gives an account of this place after JUSSUF EL MILKI. “About four hours on the western side of the mountain Dshebal lies the village *El Tophila*, in a valley so well watered that it is asserted it contains 101 fountains. It produces pomegranates, olives, and figs, but little barley and wheat, so that bread is scarce.” BURCKHARDT says (p. 677 of the German Translation), “In one hour and a half we came from Agme in a south-west direction to Tufleh, on the declivity of a mountain, at the foot of which is the Wady Tufleh. This name reminds one in some degree (?) of Phunon or Phynon, which, according to Eusebius, lay between Petra and Zora. . . . Numerous fountains and brooks, according to the account of the Arabians, ninety-nine of which the streams unite and *flow into the Ghor*, make the environs of the town very pleasant. It is surrounded with large orchards. Apples, apricots, figs, pomegranates, olives, peaches, of a very large kind, are cultivated in abundance.” The inhabitants of Tufleh (the same traveller reports, p. 680) furnish the Syrian caravans of pilgrims with large supplies of provisions, which they sell to them at the castle El-Ahsy.

The fourth point, LABAN (לָבָן), is in all probability identical with *Libnah* (לִבְנָה), which in Numbers xxxiii. 20, occurs as the fifth station from Sinai, the third from Hazeroth. The identity can so much the less be doubted, since Laban here, just as Libnah there, is placed in the middle between Hazeroth and Pharan. Pharan, Laban, Hazeroth, follow one another in the same order in which, in the Book of Numbers, Pharan, Lebna,\* Hazeroth,



are found. This permits us neither to separate Laban from Libnah, nor Pharan and Hazeroth *here*, from those in the Book of Numbers. Libnah must, moreover, have been situated nearly parallel with the northern extremity of the Aelanitic Gulf.

The fifth point, Hazeroth (הַזְרֹתַי), occupies, in Num. xxxiii. 17, the second place among the stations between Sinai and Bene-Jaakan, or Kadesh; first of all Kibroth-hattaavah (*the graves of lust*), then Hazeroth. There Aaron's and Miriam's pride excited their strife with Moses. It has lately been attempted to find Hazeroth again in the fountain el-Hudhera. VON RAUMER (p. 39) remarks, in reference to it, "Near the road mentioned from Sinai to Hebron, is situated, about six miles in a direct line from Sinai, the fountain el-Hudhera, near which are date trees, and remains of walls which formerly enclosed plantations." BURCKHARDT supposes that this Hudhera, with its dismantled walls, might have been Hazeroth (*i. e. loca septa circumdata.*) This opinion is favoured by, (i.) The agreement of the names; (ii.) the congruity of the situation. In the vicinity of Hudhera (according to VON RAUMER, six (German) miles from Sinai; according to ROBINSON'S more accurate statement (*Biblical Researches*, i. 223, London, 1841), eighteen hours exactly in the direction which the Israelites took), we must, even if we had no clue to the name, necessarily place Hazeroth as the second station of the Israelites on their march from Mount Sinai, from which it was probably distant four days' journey; to the first station, according to Num. x. 33, was three days' journey. "The identity of the Arabic and Hebrew names is apparent," says Dr ROBINSON, "each containing the corresponding radical letters, and the distance of eighteen hours from Sinai accords well enough with the hypothesis."

The sixth and last point, DI ZAHAB (זֵהָבָה), appears no where else in the Sacred Scriptures. The name denotes *possessor of gold, a place where gold is found*; LXX. *καταχρύσεια*; compare GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 1075. For a long time this Di Zahab has been identified with *Mina el Dsahab*, or simply *Dsahab*, a place on the Aelanitic Gulf, exactly parallel with Sinai. In reference to it BUSCHING (*Erdbeschr.* xi. 621) remarks, after Montague, Clayton, and Shaw, "Mina el Dsahab, that is, the gold-haven, in Deut. i. 1. Disahab, *i. e.* a place where gold is, a

haven which is safe and good, and larger than the preceding, but not environed, as that is, with hills. Here is a very ancient fountain with good water, and an Arab encampment. Either at this place, or some where about the middle of the way between it and Mount Sinai, considerable ruins of a former city, it is said, are to be seen." BURCKHARDT says (p. 847), in describing the journey to the Gulf of Akabah, "In one hour and a half we found at Dahab the greatest number of date trees I had hitherto seen on this coast. Dahab is probably the Disahab mentioned in Deut. i. 1." Besides the perfect similarity of the names, the correctness of this opinion is supported by the relation to the preceding stations. Hadhra and Dahab follow one another, as Hazeroth and Di Zahab; if we identify these two points, then Pharan, Laban, Hazeroth, and Di Zahab, lie in regular succession from north to south; lastly, there is the circumstance that Dsahab lies exactly parallel with Sinai, the importance of which will be shown in the sequel.

According to the determination of the localities given above, it appears quite impossible to admit with most expositors that the words "*over against the Red Sea between Paran and Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di Zahab,*" contain a more exact designation of the locality of the second giving of the law, co-ordinate with the more general one, in the words "*on the other side Jordan in the wilderness, in the Arabah.*" The *Arboth Moab* lay not over against the Red Sea, the Arabian Gulf, but rather fronting the Dead Sea; they lay not between Pharan and Tophel, both of which lie lower than the southern extremity of the Dead Sea, the one westward of the mountains of Seir, the other eastward, while the *Arboth Moab* begin at the northern end of the Dead Sea; with Laban, Hazeroth, and Di Zahab, which take us far from the *Arboth Moab*, we know not, according to this view, what to do.

On the contrary, all difficulty vanishes, as soon as with the LXX., AQUILA, SYMMACHUS, and the VULGATE, we take the phrase "*over against the Red Sea,*" as a more exact designation of the Arabah (or plain); in the Arabah which lies over against the Red Sea, between Pharan and between Tophel, and Laban, and Hazeroth, and Di Zahab.

The depression northward and southward from the Dead Sea,

has so decidedly a similar character, that notwithstanding the interruption of the Dead Sea, which, according to the account in Genesis, must not be regarded as originally a sea, it has repeatedly been regarded as a whole, and designated by the same name. Thus EBN BEITAR in DE SACY'S *Abdollatiph*. p. 274, says of the Dead Sea, *Ce lac est entre les deux Gour ou vallées, la vallée de Segor et celle de Jericho*; and the unity is still more distinctly asserted by IBN HAUKEL, in *Abulfeda tab. Syriae*, p. 9, ed. Kochler. "The Ghôr begins at the lake of Gennesereth, whence it extends to Beisân, and so to Zoghai and Jericho, even to the Dead Sea; *and thence to Ailah*.\* That the Arboth Moab of the Pentateuch was only regarded by the author as a single part of the Arabah, which stretches itself from far above the Dead Sea, even to the Aelanitic Gulf, is incontrovertibly evident from Deut. ii. 8, where the way from Kadesh even to Elath and Ezrongeber, along the Edomitish mountain range, is called the way of the Arabah. To this comprehensive meaning of Arabah, we are led by the designation of the Dead Sea as *the sea of Arabah* (אֲרָבָה יַם הַיָּבֵשׁ), in Deut. iv. 49, iii. 17, which appears as more suitable if the Dead Sea was enclosed by the Arabah, if this, as it were, belonged to it, as then at an earlier period the pasture land of the Jordan really formed a part of it, than if the Arabah terminated there.

The Arabah, taken in this extensive sense, was, as it were, the *heart* of the territory on which the Israelites moved during the whole of their forty years' march—the line of connection between the place of the first giving of the law and of the second. On account of its importance in this respect it will appear quite suitable that the author should here give a more exact description of it, with the definite intentions of drawing a line which would connect the two givings of the law with one another.

The Arabah is "*over against the Red Sea*," for it comes down directly upon it. If we disregard the interruption caused by the Dead Sea, then Pharan and Tophil, the most northern points on their two sides, would be nearest to the Arboth Moab, whose

---

\* The Arabian geographers generally allow the Ghôr to reach only to the southern extremity of the Dead Sea; compare the *Index Geograph.* in SCHULTEN'S *Vita Salad.* s. v. *Algorum*.



connection with the continuation of the Arabah on the other side the Dead Sea was to be here indicated. Laban lay strictly parallel to the southern end, for it lay at the south end of the Aelaniatic Gulf, over against which, according to the author's own statement, was the Arabah. But the author takes in addition Hazeroth and Di Zahab as points, by which the Arabah is bounded on its southern extremity, in order to connect the place of the second giving of the law with the first. This design of extending the line to the first giving of the law, we assume with so much greater right, since, in ver. 2, there is undeniably a visible endeavour to connect the place of the first giving of the law with the second. As in ver. 1, Pharan and Di Zahab stand opposite one another, so in the second, do Horeb and Kadesh-barnea. Moreover, such a prolongation is more readily admissible, since the Gulf of Akaba, by its natural character, announces itself in some measure to be a continuation of the Arabah. "The appearance of this gulf," says Burckhardt (p. 847), "together with the mountains that enclose it on two sides, reminded me of the Sea of Tiberias and the Dead Sea."

After the author, therefore, in ver. 1, had connected locally the second giving of the law with the first, he gives in the second verse the distance between the two points which were connected with one another by means of the Arabah. "*There are eleven days' journey from Horeb by the way of Mount Seir unto Kadesh-barnea.*" Kadesh was in the direct road, not far distant from the Arboth Moab, only the length of the Dead Sea. Hence, by determining the distance of Horeb from Kadesh, the distance of the place of the second giving of the law from that of the first, was at the same time tolerably determined. Beyond Kadesh the determination of the distance could not be proved, for then immediately followed the Dead Sea. From Kadesh to the Arboth Moab, therefore, no more days' journeys are given.

As in these two verses, the two givings of the law are parallelised with one another, the same thing is also done in ch. xxviii. 69 (xxix. 1, Eng. A. Vers.) "*These are the words of the covenant which the Lord commanded Moses to make with the children of Israel, in the land of Moab, beside the covenant which he made with them in Horeb.*"

The expression, "*on the other side Jordan,*" (בְּיַרְדֵּן הַיְמָנִית) in

Dent. i. 5, which had already been used in ver. 1, is only repeated in order to join to it the next clause, “*the land of Moab,*” which was still wanting for determining the locality. This expression “*in the land of Moab,*” taken with “*in the Arabah*” in ver. 1, corresponds to the *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן* by which this locality is commonly designated in the Book of Numbers. Compare on the relation of the designations of places in the Book of Numbers to those in Deuteronomy, *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 327.

That part of the Arabah which lay nearest the north side of the Dead Sea, was called, on its western side, *the Arboth Jericho*, (*the plains of Jericho*, Eng. Au. Vers.) Josh. iv. 13, ver. 10, &c., and on its eastern, *the Arboth Moab*, (“*the plains of Moab*, E. A. Vers.) But that the Arabah extended farther, and that the remaining part of the valley, as far as the Sea of Tiberias, was comprehended under that name, is evident from Josh. xii. 3, 8.

The region which bore the name of Arboth Moab, was in the possession of the Amorites when the Israelites arrived there, and was wrested from Sihon, king of that people, by the Israelites. At an earlier period it had belonged to the Moabites, who had been deprived of a large portion of their territory by the Amorites. That this event happened shortly before the arrival of the Israelites, is evident from Num. xxi. 26–30, which informs us that Sihon himself took the country from the Moabites as far as the Arnon. With this recency of the Amorite conquest, the name, still referring to its former possessors, admirably agrees. This name, by its peculiar character, leads us to the Mosaic age. It is antecedently improbable that it would be retained in use much beyond that period. And what the peculiarity of the name itself suggests to us, is confirmed by an investigation of its actual use. Except in the Pentateuch, it occurs only in a single passage, Joshua xiii. 32, and there not independently, but borrowed from the Pentateuch, so that we can draw no conclusion from that instance, that the name continued to be used in Joshua’s time. It is used respecting an event recorded in the Pentateuch, the division of the Transjordanic land between the two tribes and a half, and the author makes use of a phraseology that is constantly recurring in the Book of Numbers, *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן*, *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן*, so that he furnishes no instance of the independent use of the phrase *בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן*. Hence we are fully justified in re-

garding the use of the name *Arboth Moab*, as a proof that the Pentateuch was composed contemporaneously with the events it narrates.

We wish here to investigate the derivation and meaning of the name *Arabah*. It is evident that there is reason for attempting to strike out a new path on this subject. For the current opinion, (lately advocated by GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus*) that אֲרָבָה originally meant *a desert, a waste*, and then with the Article was used to designate a particular desert, has a very weak support, on which alone it rests, in a comparison with the Ethiopic אֲרָבָה *sterilis fuit*, since the Ethiopic of all the Semetic dialects is most remote from the Hebrew, and moreover even in that, not אֲרָבָה, but אֲרָבָה, has the required meaning. As soon as ever any derivation offers which is founded on the Hebrew *usus loquendi*, the other loses all claim on our attention. The new derivation proposed by CREDNER in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1832, p. 798, has been rejected by GESENIUS for sufficient reasons. The ground, therefore, that we shall attempt to occupy, may be regarded as vacant.

When we speak of the derivation about to be proposed as *new*, it is to be so considered only in relation to those that are now in vogue. We only design to revive one of the most ancient of all the explanations. The LXX., who are followed by THEODOTION, give in the passage before us ἐπὶ δυσμῶν Μωάβ, in Deut. i. 1, πρὸς δυσμαῖς πλησίον τῆς ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης, and elsewhere, thirteen passages in all, twelve in the Pentateuch, and once in the Psalms, they render אֲרָבָה by δυσμαῖ; and in 1 Sam. xxiii. 24, by ἑσπέρα. They brought it therefore into connection with אֲרָבָה, *sun-set, evening*, and אֲרָבָה, *occidens, regio occidentalis*. Following this derivation, it must be admitted that אֲרָבָה originally denoted a distinct region, and was afterwards transferred to such as agreed with it in its chief characteristics; (LABORDE, *Journey through Arabia, Petraea, &c.* London, 1846, says, "Wady Araba, a long plain of sand, descends from the Dead to the Red Sea, in a regular and continued direction") while it has in itself neither the meaning of *flatness* nor of *barrenness*. Now for *the Arabah*, both in its subordinate and principal parts—that especially which in the Pentateuch appears as such, in which there is no reference to an extension of the Arabah over the *Arboth Moab*, the desig-



nation so explained is highly suitable. The Arabian desert, (from inhabitants of which the name must have proceeded, and not from the Israelites, as is evident from its being still in use among the inhabitants of the desert) is divided by the Edomitish mountain range into two halves, and it is natural that that part which lies close to this range on the west should obtain the name of *the West country*.

This derivation is confirmed by observing that the kindred names of Arabia and the Arabians, אַרְבֵּי and אֲרָבִי, are most naturally derived from אָרַב *sunset*. Against the derivation attempted by GESENIUS and others from אָרַב, supposed to mean *sterilis fuit*, the same objections apply which we already made against the derivation of אֲרָבִי from the same verb. Add to this, that neither with respect to this, nor all the other derivations besides our own, can the fact that these derivations are not found in the most ancient writings, namely, in the Pentateuch, (a circumstance which creates no small difficulty to those who maintain its late composition) be referred to any adequate ground. By our derivation the fact may be easily explained. The name Arabia, *the West country*, which is first found in Isaiah, could not come into vogue till after the rise of the great Asiatic kingdom, in the territories of which it must have originated, and the rank of which made it available. In favour of this origination, it may be observed, that the name in the Old Testament never denotes Arabia in its whole extent, but only that part of it which formed the immediate western environs of that Asiatic kingdom. To this must be added the analogy of other denominations of the Arabians, which are also taken from some quarter of the heavens. Exactly analogous, but with this difference only, that here the point-of-view from which the name is given, is in Palestine—is the designation of Arabia (and indeed exactly the same Arabia which at a later period was called by the Arabs *the West country*), by the term *East country*, אֲרָבִי אֲרָבִי, Gen. xxv. 6, and of its inhabitants by *sons of the East*, Gen. xxix. 1; Judg. vi. 3, 33; vii. 12; viii. 10, 11. The latter designation of what was at an earlier period called the *East country*, by the term *the West country*, even by those eastward of whom the country was situated, and by whom it was at first called the East country, cannot be more strange than the application of the phrase אֲרָבִי אֲרָבִי, "on the other side the

*river*," to the region which, from the writer's point of-view, was on *this* side Jordan, as we find in the Book of Ezra (compare *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 256–264), while *before* the ascendancy of the Asiatic kingdoms, the region which in respect of Palestine, lay on the *other* side the Euphrates, was described as עֵבֶר הַנְּהָר ; compare Joshua xxiv. 2, 3 ; Isaiah, vii. 20. GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 986. From the quarter of the heavens the later name of the Arabians is taken—Saracens, or *Eastern men* ; see POCOCKE, *Specimen*, p. 35. Quite analogous to the name of the Arabians according to our derivation, is the Arabic name of the inhabitants of Mauritania, *Mogrebines* = *Western people*. See POCOCKE. The objection that may be raised against our explanation that the name is in use among the Arabians themselves, is of no importance. The name *Hebrews* has become current among the Israelites themselves, though it proceeded originally from the Canaanites. Nor will any one venture to object that the name of the Arabians is written in Arabic with the letter  $\epsilon$  *Ain*, and the word for *sunset* with a  $\xi$  *Ghain* ; for the difference between  $\epsilon$  and  $\xi$  is not original ; see EWALD, *Gr. Arab.* i. p. 27. Moreover, HUET, *de citu Paradisi*, c. 3, § 7, has maintained that the name *Arabia* is taken *a situ occidentalis*.

So much on *the Arboth Moab* at the beginning of the section. Let us now turn to the geographical references that occur in other parts of it.

The first point to be determined is, the city of Moab, mentioned in ch. xxii. 36. "*And when Balak heard that Balaam was come, he went out to meet him, to the city of Moab which is in the border of Arnon, which (Arnon) is in the utmost coast.*"

That the city of Moab here is identical with the *Ar* that occurs elsewhere without further addition, *Ar Moab*, and later *Areopolis*, does not admit of a doubt, and will be universally received ; see GESENIUS, *Thes.* s. v.

From the passage before us, we see that this city lay close on the borders of the Moabitish territory, on the northern boundary formed by the Arnon, now known by the name of *Wady Mójib*. This is also evident from Deut. ii. 36, "*From Aroer which is on the margin (רֵזֶז) of the Vale of Arnon, (brink of the river of*

Arnon, *Eng. A. Vers*), and the city that is in the vale (אֲרֹנִים בְּעֵמֶק) even unto Gilead, there was not one city too strong for us; the Lord our God delivered all unto us." The city which was situated immediately on the Arnon, in the vale through which it ran, is here distinguished from Aroer, in the vicinity of the Arnon. The city in the Vale of Arnon can be here no other than that, which every one would think of as long as it was called a city. That Ar lay immediately on the Moabitish borders is not only plain from its being described as situated in the Vale of the Arnon, which always appears as the Moabite-Amoritish and Israelitish boundary (compare especially Deut. iii. 16, "and unto the Reubenites and the Gadites I gave from Gilead even unto the Vale of the Arnon, to the middle of the vale, which forms the boundary," on אֲרֹנִים, see GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 394, —according to which the northern half of the Vale of Arnon, the northern shore of the Arnon, belonged then to the Amorite-Israelitish territory); but also because this city is always described as the *terminus a quo* of the Israelitish conquests, which implies that it lay close on the borders. To the same result we are led by Josh. xiii. 9–16,—"From Aroer, which is on the margin of the Vale of Arnon, and the city which is in the midst of the Vale" (בְּתוֹךְ עֵמֶק אֲרֹנִים). Here also Ar, as the *exclusive terminus a quo* of the Israelitish possessions, is contrasted with Aroer, the *inclusive* one.

The passage in Num. xxi. 14, gives us more exact information respecting the locality. "Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord—

Vaheb (Jehovah took) in a storm,  
 And the streams of Arnon;  
 And the pouring forth of the streams, (*i. e.* the places from which they descend)  
 [Loca humiliora, quo torrentes e montibus feruntur, GESENIUS.]  
 Which turn to the dwellings of Ar,  
 And incline to the border of Moab.

(See the justification of this translation in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 183). According to this, Ar was situated, (i) on the northern border of the Moabitish territory. For to the country on the other side of this, the Amoritish territory, belonged the conquests of the children of Israel, of which mention is made in this passage; (ii.) more precisely where the Arnon received the waters of several other streams. This latter



mark enables us to determine the exact site of the city of Moab. It must have been at the confluence of the Arnon or Mòjib, and the Nahaliel or Ledjum; the proof for the identity of both will be given in the sequel. By the streams of the Arnon, the region of which reaches to Ar, only the Lejùm with its tributaries can be understood; compare BURCKHARDT, (p. 635 of the German translation). The principal source of the Mòjib is not far from Katrane. . . . About an hour eastward from the bridge it receives the waters of the Lejùm, which flow from the N.E. in a deep channel. The Lejùm receives the small brook Seil el Mekhreys, and then the Balua." Further eastward such a junction of streams is not to be found. Moreover, in the sequel the Nahaliel or Lejùm is expressly named. The Israelites, after they had reached the north side of the Arnon, marched first of all to Beor, thence, leaving the desert, to Matthanah, probably Tedun, near the source of the Lejùm; then they came to Lejùm or Nahaliel itself, and so the country of the streams of Arnon was taken by them.

According to this statement, the city of Moab was certainly on the spot which Burckhardt describes, (p. 636) and where, though doubtfully, he seeks for Areopolis. "At the confluence of the Lejùm and the Mòjib is to be seen a beautiful tract of meadowland, in the middle of which stands a hill with some ruins. As we ascended the southern elevation which rises from the Mòjib, we came to a level tract, about five minutes from the bridge, and past the ruins of a little fortress, of which only the foundations are left. . . . Not far from the ruins is a reservoir which is filled from the Lejùm by a canal. Perhaps this is the spot where the ancient Areopolis was situated."

Num. xxi. 28 also agrees with this position, where Ar stands in parallelism with "*the high places of Arnon.*" The description which EUSEBIUS and JEROME, according to whom Areopolis formed the boundary of Moab, give of a rocky valley to the north of this town, (s. v. Ἀρνῶν) δείκνυται εἰς ἔτι νῦν τόπος φαραγωγώδης σφόδρα χαλεπὸς ὁ Ἀρνῶν ὀνομαζόμενος παρατείνων ἐπὶ τὰ βόρεια τῆς Ἀρεοπόλεως, ἐν ᾧ καὶ φρούρια πανταχοθεν φυλάττει στρατιωτικὰ διὰ φοβερὸν τοῦ τόπου, (see RELAND, *Palæstina* i. p. 358-495) entirely suits the "fearfully wild and deep rocky valley, through which the Mòjib flows in a narrow bed;

which SEETZEN (p. 432) reached on his journey from Dhîbân southward, which therefore must have lain due north from the spot to which we have assigned Areopolis.

The site we have specified for the city of Moab appears more suitable, since here, near the place where the Arnon is generally crossed, is an important military position. "Is it to be wondered at," says RITTER, (*Erdk.* ii. p. 369 of 1st ed.) if such a military position as that of the Arnon was regarded from ancient times as very important? Under the Roman and Grecian generals, Roman *castra* were distributed on all sides. . . . The neglect of these prepared the way for the first victories of the hosts of Mohammed and his successors; and what trouble did it not give the hosts of the crusaders to erect here new castles and fortresses."

It is scarcely conceivable, how so careful a writer as VON RAUMER (*Palestina*, p. 263) could say, "Ar, Ar Moab, Rabbath Moab—near the Arnon—Later Areopolis—now Rabba—BURCKHARDT." The present Rabba does not lie "*near the Arnon*," but is at least six hours distant from it, between the Arnon (Môjib) and Kerrak; compare BURCKHARDT, p. 640. If, after the example of SEETZEN, BURCKHARDT identified Rabba with Rabbath Moab, in doing this, he distinguished Rabbath Moab from Areopolis, with what correctness, we will not here examine. As soon as Areopolis and Rabbath Moab are identified, the present Rabba must be altogether given up. The same attempt to unite what is irreconcilable is made by GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus*, p. 1005, and in the map to ROBINSON'S Travels.

The second point to be determined is, (since nothing can be made out respecting *Kirjath-huzoth* in ch. xxii. 39,) *Bamoth Baal*; ch. xxii. 41, "And it came to pass on the morrow, that Balak took Balaam, and brought him up to Bamoth Baal, (to the high places of Baal,) that thence he might see the utmost part of the people." The exact determination of Bamoth Baal must be obtained from Num. xxi. 21, where the *Bamoth* which is no doubt identical with it, appears as a station of the Israelites on their march from the eastern wilderness to the Arboth Moab. But this passage can only be properly made use of, when the correct view of the whole section to which it belongs has been established.

In Num. xxi. 18–20, a survey is first of all taken of the stations of the Israelites on their march through the desert to the

Arboth Moab. Then follows in ver. 21–31, a historical filling up of the details. That this narrative is to be considered in this light and not as a *continuation* of ver. 18–20, appears (i.) from the clause, “*from the wilderness to Mattanah*,” in ver. 18; this shows us that the very first among the stations mentioned in ver. 18–20 was not in the wilderness, but in the cultivated region. But from the *wilderness* Israel sent messengers to Sihon the king of the Amorites, in order to obtain from him a peaceable thoroughfare, before entering his territories, ver. 21; compare also Deut. ii. 26, “*And I sent messengers out of the wilderness of Kedemoth unto Sihon.*” In the wilderness, according to ver. 32, Sihon gave battle to Israel at Jahaz. Moreover, the words, “*from the wilderness to Mattanah*,” form a contrast to the preceding; compare ver. 11, “*Ije-abarim in the wilderness*,” ver. 13, “*On the other side Arnon, which is in the wilderness.*” (ii.) The stations named are demonstrably situated in part in the Amoritish territory; that *Nahaliel* cannot be situated in the wilderness, the very name shows. Beyond a doubt the same is the case with the valley “*that is in the country of Moab to the top of Pisgah, which looketh Jeshimon* (or the wilderness, E. Mar. R.)

In ver 31, “*Then Israel dwelt in the land of the Amorites*,” the narrative is resumed, after it had been interrupted in ver. 20 by a more circumstantial account.

According to this, the view to be taken of the march of the Israelites is as follows: after the power of Sihon had been broken in the pitched battle, the Israelites shifted their head-quarters, leaving the wilderness and marching westward over Mattanah, Nahaliel, and Bamoth, to the valley which is in the country of Moab, &c., towards Jaazer and its environs, ver. 32. From these fixed quarters of the Israelites the expedition against Og was undertaken. After the return of the forces the Israelites broke up their encampment at Mount Pisgah and pitched in the Arboth Moab.

Thus much is placed beyond a doubt by the preceding remarks, that Bamoth or Bamoth Baal was situated in the Amorite-Moabitish territory, the kingdom of Sihon, to which indeed all the stations mentioned in ver. 18–20 belonged. A more exact determination is obtained from the fact, that Bamoth is placed between Nahaliel and the valley which is in the country of



Moab, &c. But to gain this with certainty we must endeavour to determine the two points between which Bamoth is situated.

*Nahaliel, the stream of God*, is identified by BURCKHARDT (p. 632) with the Wâleh. But to this it may be objected, not only, as Burckhardt himself remarks, that this name is unknown to the Arabians, but that the situation does not suit. The Israelites came from Nahaliel to Bamoth; Bamoth lies, as will be shown presently, in the region of Dibon; but the Wâleh flows northward of Dibon, so that the Israelites must have come to Dibon, before they could reach the Wâleh. Nahaliel is manifestly the Lejûm.\* In favour of this opinion, there is (i.) the *Name*. It has retained this to the present time. BURCKHARDT says, (p. 635,) "About an hour eastward of the bridge, it (the Modjeb) receives the waters of the Lejûm, which flow from the north with a deep current. The Lejûm receives the small brook Seil el Mekhreys, then the Balua, and is now called *النكيلة*." (ii.) The *situation*, if we identify Nahaliel with the Lejûm, then the Israelites would proceed from Jahaz† or Beer Elim in exactly a north-western direction to the Arboth Moab. Their route was from Beer to Mattanah—perhaps the Tedun‡ mentioned by Burckhardt (p. 635, "near the source of the Lejûm is a place in ruins called Tedun,")—then to Nahaliel or Lejûm, thence to Dimon and Bamoth, then to Almon Diblataim, then to Nebo, and lastly, Arboth Moab.

The second point to be determined, in order to settle the position of Bamoth Baal, is "*The valley that is in the field of Moab, above Pisgah, and looking down upon the wilderness.*" "*The field of Moab*" is the high plain or table-land which RAUMER describes (p. 70), "Southwards of Rabboth Ammon, as far as the Arnon, is mostly a high plain, which in part, as for instance in the neighbourhood of Elale, is barren far and

---

\* In ROBINSON'S Map of Palestine, we find (*Biblical Researches*, vol. ii.) W. (Wady) Enkheileh or *Legûm*.—[TR.]

† Jahaz in Grimm's map is placed too far north. The route of the Israelites thence to the Arboth Moab cannot be made out according to such a location. It can only have been a little higher than the Beer Elim in Grimm's map.

‡ According to the account of EUSEBIUS (compare RELAND, p. 495) Mattanah was situated in the Vale of Arnon, twelve milliaria east of Medebah. These two locations contradict one another. It would seem that *east* is set down by an oversight for *south*. Then the two accounts would tally.

wide, but covered with the ruins of destroyed cities. Eastward this plain stretches into the desert of Arabia, and westward declines towards the Jordan." It is identical with "*the plain of Medebah unto Dibon,*" in Josh. xiii. 9; compare "*all the plain by Medebah*" in ver. 16, "*all the cities of the plain,*" in ver. 21, and "*all the cities of the plain,*" in Deut. iii. 10. It is characteristic of the Pentateuch, that this "*plain*" is called in it "*the field of Moab,*" which carries us to a time in which the remembrance of the former occupiers had not been lost. That "*the valley*" described as being in "*the field of Moab,*" which GESENIUS, in his *Thesaurus* (p. 28), very erroneously would identify with the valley opposite, Bethpeor, \* is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Hesbon, and westward of it, will be shown in the following investigations. We are led to a more exact determination of the position which Bamoth Baal occupied between the two points before named, by Josh. xiii. 17, where, among the cities of Reuben, Bamoth Baal is named in immediate connection with Dibon, to which the circumstance must be added, that, in Num. xxxiii., Bamoth Baal is *left out*, but Dibon is named.† But the position of Dibon has been exactly determined by modern travellers. SEETZEN, p. 431, says, "On the following day we passed the little rivulet or brook Alvale, which flows in a rocky bed, and empties itself into the Dead Sea. Two and a half hours farther (to the south), we reached the ruins of Diban. A noble plain surrounds the former town." BURCKHARDT (p. 632), "In six hours and a half (two hours from the mountain to the south side of the Wâleh) we reached the banks of the Wady Môjeb, the

---

\* The valley opposite Bethpeor lay in the Arboth Moab; for there was the place of the second law-giving; compare Deut. iv. 46. In the valley we are now speaking of, the Israelites were encamped *before* they reached the field of Moab; compare Num. xxi. 20 with xxii. 1. The phrase, "*in the field of Moab,*" in contradistinction from "*the Arboth Moab,*" is also against the identification.

† The catalogue of stations in Num. xxxiii. is here very brief, just because the author, in chap. xxi., had been already, in reference to the stations, more exact in proportion than in the former parts. Beer, Mattanah, and Nahaliel, are left out. Instead of Bamoth, Dibon is named more exactly, just as the same station which at one time is called Mizerah, situated in the desert, at another time is called Mount Hor. See *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 353. Between Bamoth-Dibon and the encampment upon Pisgah, before Nebo, a station is supplied in Num. xxxiii., Ahnon Diblathaim, which in Grimm's map is most erroneously placed east of Dibon.

Arnon of the Holy Scriptures. When I was yet about an hour from the Môteb, they showed me to the north-east, in the low plain of Kura, the ruins of Diban, the ancient Dibon.\*

That Bamoth Baal was situated in the neighbourhood of Diban, is also confirmed by Isaiah xv. 2.

He is gone up to Habbaith and to Dibon, on the heights (הַבְּמִיתָ) to weep,—  
Moab shall howl over Nebo and over Medeba.

The simple and natural translation of the first half of the verse, and the supposition that *Habbaith* (הַבְּמִיתָ), = *Beth Baal Meon*, and *Habbamoth* = Bamoth Baal, is confirmed by Joshua xiii. 17, where the three places appears joined together, Dimon, and Bamoth Baal, and Beth Baal Meon.

Bamoth Baal is in all probability, the mountain already mentioned on the south side of the Wâleh, distant about one hour from Diban, and on the summit of which is a very beautiful plain; compare BURCKHARDT, p. 632.

With this location of Bamoth Baal the account of the ONOM. also agrees, which states that it was situated in the region of Arnon: *civitas Amorrhæorum in Arnona, quam possederunt filii Ruben.*

The third point to be determined in the History of Balaam is “*the Field of the Watchers,*” above Pisgah. Ch. xxiii. 13, 14. “*And Balak said unto him, Come, I pray thee, with me into another place, from whence thou mayest see them; thou shalt see but the utmost part of them, and shalt not see them all: and curse me them from thence. And he brought him into*

---

\* Diban is mentioned in Num. xxi. 30, as a town in the Amoritish territory, taken by the Israelites. The Diban Gad mentioned in Num. xxxiii. 45 as a station of the Israelites, is in the *Onomasticon* erroneously distinguished from the Diban which, according to Num. xxxii. 34, was fortified by the Gadites. *Dibon in solitudine, castra filiorum Israel. Est autem et alia Dibon prægrandis juxta Arnonem, quæ in partem venit tribus Gad.* From the fortifying, the *Onom.* draws a false inference respecting the possession. Evidently Diban Gad in Num. xxxiii. is the same as Diban, which in the preceding chapter is spoken of as fortified by the Gadites. Moreover the appellation Diban Gad is characteristic of the Mosaic age. At a later period it would be inexplicable. As a possession Diban fell to the lot, not of the Gadites, but of the Reubenites; compare Josh. xiii. 9–17. Aroer also, according to Num. xxxii. 34, was fortified by the Gadites, although it was situated in the territories of the children of Reuben, in its most southern part.



*the Field of the Watchers (Zophim, E. Au. V.) above Pisgah."*

"*The field of the Watchers, above Pisgah,*" manifestly corresponds in the main to "*the valley that is in the field of Moab, above Pisgah, and looks over the wilderness,*" which in Num. xxi. 20 is named as the last station of the Israelites before the Arboth Moab, as well as to the encampment "*in the mountains of Abarim before Nebo,*" which in Num. xxxiii. 47 occurs as the last before that in the Arboth Moab. For Mount Nebo in Deut. xxxiv. 1 ("*And Moses went up from the Arboth Moab unto the Mountain of Nebo, to the top of Pisgah, that is over against Jericho*"), is pointed out as a single part of the mountain ridge of Pisgah, and indeed its highest point, which again is a part of the Abarim range.

Every thing therefore depends on our determining the position of Mount Nebo. For if "*the Field of the Watchers*" is not to be found exactly upon it,—for the expression, "*upon Pisgah,*" need not mean exactly its highest summit—yet it must have been situated in its vicinity.

The moderns, following SEETZEN (p. 431) and BURCKHARDT, are almost unanimous\* in identifying Nebo with the Jebel Attarus, in the vicinity of the Brook Zerka Main, nearly half way between the Arnon (the Môjeb) and the northern extremity of the Dead Sea.

This opinion, when we look at it more closely, has nothing to support it, but is perfectly gratuitous. For as to what BURCKHARDT asserts, that this is the highest point in the vicinity, it appears important only on the unfounded presumption, that at all events Nebo must be sought for somewhere in this district.

But so considerable a number of almost decisive reasons pre-

\* This traveller says (p. 632), after we had passed through the river, (Zerka Main) we ascended the steep side of a hill Humah, on the top of which we could see the summit of Jebel Attarus, about half an hour farther to our right. This is the highest point of the surrounding country, and appears to be the Mount Nebo, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. On the top is a heap of stones, overshadowed by a very large wild pistachio tree.

Only VON RAUMER, in the *add. et corr.* of the second ed. of his work, has briefly hinted a doubt. Attarus is perhaps erroneously taken by Burckhardt for Mount Nebo, —the latter mountain is over against Jericho, but not Attarus.

sent themselves to the contrary, that we can scarcely conceive how so palpably false an assumption could have gained general credit. (i.) The name Attarus is against it. This is manifestly the Attaroth of the Holy Scriptures. But this is never placed in such a near relation to Nebo as is assumed by GESENIUS in BURCKHARDT, p. 1063, "perhaps the name is taken from the town situated there, עַטְרוֹת, Num. xxxii. 3." In that passage Attaroth rather appears connected with Dibon, and separated from Nebo by six names. In ver. 34, Attaroth is likewise connected with Dibon, among the towns which the children of God built; on the other hand, Nebo is mentioned in ver. 38, among the places which the Reubenites fortified.\* It is certain, therefore, that in Attarus we have found Attaroth—Attarus and Dibon agree together like Attaroth and Dibon; as certain also is it that Attarus has nothing to do with Nebo. (ii.) According to Deut. xxxii. 49, "*Get thee up into this mountain Abarim, unto Mount Nebo, which is in the land of Moab, that is over against Jericho (עִלֵּי-פְנֵי יְרִיחוֹ), and behold the land of Canaan which I give unto the children of Israel for a possession;*" and xxxiv. 1, *Nebo was situated in sight of Jericho.* This by no means suits Mount Attarus, which lies far more to the south than Jericho. (iii.) In Num. xxxii. 3, the children of Reuben and Gad, in enumerating several principal places in the conquered Amorite-Moabitish territory, name them in the following order:—"Attaroth, and Dibon, and Jazer, and Nimrah, and Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Shebam, and Nebo, and Beon." In Num. xxxii. 34-38, it is said, "*And the children of Gad built (i. e. fortified) Dibon, and Ataroth, and Aroer. And Atroth, Shopan, and Jaazer, and Jogbeah, and Beth-nimrah, and Beth-haran. . . . And the children of Reuben built Heshbon, and Elealeh, and Kirjathaim, and Nebo, and Bael-meon, and Shibmah.*" (a.) First of all, it is striking to observe, that the places in the midst of which Nebo stands, in both passages, are all grouped within a short distance (the farthest is an hour and a quarter) about Heshbon, which opens the series. It cannot be supposed that Nebo alone stands out of this circle, which must be the case if it be identified

---

\* A town Nebo is not to be proved from this passage, as GESENIUS in his *Thesaurus* thinks.

with Attarus. In reference to Elealeh, VON RAUMER remarks (p. 254), "El Ale M. p. from Heshbon. ONOM. now El Al (according to SEETZEN and BURCKHARDT half an hour from Heshbon), that is, *Height*, because it is situated on a height which overlooks the whole southern Belka." In reference to Shebam, or Sibmah, the same writer says (p. 258) "Sebma, 500 paces from Heshbon; JEROME on Isaiah xvi. 8." Beon is probably identical with Baal-Meo, which, in the second passage, immediately follows Nebo. Compare VON RAUMER, p. 250; and in reference to it BURKHARDT observes, "About three quarters of an hour S.E. from Heshbon are the ruins of Myun, the ancient Baal-Meon;" (it is to be distinguished from Macin in the vicinity of Attarus.) Lastly, in reference to Kirjathaim, which, in the ONOM. is falsely identified with Kirioth, the same writer says, "About half an hour westward of Medebah (therefore about an hour and a quarter from Heshbon) are the ruins of El Teym, perhaps the Kirjathaim of the Holy Scriptures." (b.) The less the first passage permits us to separate Nebo from the other places in the neighbourhood, the plainer it is that the places mentioned in it are enumerated according to a definite arrangement, so that it cannot be accidental that Nebo appears exactly in the middle of the places which form the vicinage of Heshbon. The places named form three divisions; first, *two* places in the south of the conquered Amoritish territory, Ataroth and Dibon; then *two* places near the northern border, Jazer (compare VON RAUMER, p. 254) and Nimrah; (VON RAUMER, 249) lastly, a group of towns which are situated in the middle of the territory, the chief town and its vicinage. This manifestly intentional arrangement is destroyed if Nebo and Attarus are identified. (c.) The *second* passage is illustrated by remarking that the children of Gad built the frontier fortresses on the south and north (Aroer is Aroer on the Arnon, which is also marked in Deut. ii. 36, iii. 12, iv. 48, as the southern frontier town of the Israelite-Amoritish territory, while the northern Aroer does not occur in the Pentateuch); the Reubenites, on the other hand, erected a system of defences about the capital of the country. If Nebo and Attarus are identified, then the labours of the two tribes are confounded with one another. We cannot then see how the Gadites came to fortify Dibon, Ataroth, and Aroer, towns situated in the territory of the tribe of



Reuben, which can only be explained on the ground that the defence of the frontiers against their common enemies belonged not less to them than to the Reubenites. If, for the reason just stated, they fortified Ataroth, they must also, according to the view we have combated, have fortified Nebo, that lay in its immediate vicinity. (iv.) According to EUSEBIUS, s. v. *Αβαρειμ*, Mount Nebo lay *ἀντικρὺ Ἰεριχῶ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰορδάνην, ἐπὶ κορυφῇν Φασγῶ καὶ δείκνυται ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Λιβιάδος ἐπὶ Ἐσεβοῦν, τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον, πλησίον τοῦ Φόγωρ ὄρους, οὕτω καὶ εἰς δεῦρο χρηματίζοντος, ἔνθα καὶ ἡ χώρα εἰς ἔτι νῦν ὀνομάζεται Φασγῶ.* According to this account, Nebo lay (i.) over against Jericho, which, from what has been already remarked, we perceive does not suit Attarus. (ii.) On the way between Livias, in the valley of the Jordan, almost facing Jericho and Heshbon. (iii.) Near Mount Peor. But this, according to the ONOM., was situated in the Araboth Moab, opposite Jericho, on the way from Livias to Heshbon; according to the ONOM., (s. v. *Bethphogor*) six Roman miles beyond Livias; according to the same authority (of which the statements have here so much greater weight, since, though occurring in passages most widely apart, they perfectly agree with one another) Danaba, situated on Mount Peor, was seven Roman miles from Heshbon, to which Nebo, that was at a far greater distance from Livias, must have been still nearer.

The evidence we have hitherto adduced, not merely serves to destroy the notion of the identity of Nebo and Attarus, but also to fix the true position of Nebo. It has shewn us that it must be sought for between the Jordan near Jericho and Heshbon, somewhere about an hour westward from the latter town. A more exact determination of the locality is at present not attainable from the circumstance that no traveller has recently taken the route from Jericho to Heshbon. But this much is certain, that in general the locality just described admirably suits what is said in Holy Scripture of Nebo. The vicinity of Heshbon affords distant prospects, such as scarcely any other does, of the territory that was conquered by the Israelites in the time of Moses. “The town of Khuzbhan,” says BUCKINGHAM, in his travels through Syria and Palestine, ii. p. 106 (*Germ. Trans.*) “lies in so commanding a situation, that the view from it stretches to at least thirty miles on all sides: indeed, towards the south the view per-

haps extends to sixty miles. . . . The view from this commanding position is beautiful and extensive. Towards the west is a deep valley, but yet the valley of the Jordan is much deeper, and perhaps in a straight line between six and ten miles distant. Jerusalem can be seen from this point exactly in the west, and Bethlehem still plainer. The western side of the Dead Sea is also visible, and on the east and south the prospect is unbounded."

The fourth geographical point to be determined in the section, is MOUNT PEOR, ch. xxiii. 27, 28. "And Balak said unto Balaam, Come, I pray thee, I will bring thee to another place, peradventure it will please God that thou mayst curse me them from thence, and Balak brought *Balaam to the top of Peor, that looketh toward the wilderness* (Jeshimon.)" The wilderness (יְשִׁימוֹן) according to ch. xxiv. 1, compared with ver. 2, is the wilderness at the northern extremity of the Dead Sea, elsewhere called Arboth Moab. We are also led to this conclusion by the clause, "that looketh toward the wilderness," since it manifestly is not a general geographical remark, but indicates the suitability of the place for Balak's object. That this wilderness is moreover designated יְשִׁימוֹן, is clear from our finding that a place situated in it, to which the Israelitish camp reached from Gilgal, bore the name Beth-jesimoth, compare Num. xxiii. 48, 49.

Let it be settled that Jeshimon denotes the Arabah of the northern extremity of the Red Sea, then by the clause, "*that looketh toward the wilderness,*" the position of Peor is determined with tolerable exactness. Peor must have stood in the East over the Arboth. We are led to the same result by Deut. iii. 29, "*So we abode in the valley over against Beth-peor,*" and iv. 45, 46. "These are the testimonies, &c. . . . which Moses spake unto the children of Israel . . . on the other side Jordan, in the valley over against Beth-peor," from which it appears that when the Israelites were encamped in the Arboth, Beth-peor was immediately above them.

With the results agree also the statements of the ONOMASTICON in the various passages relating to Peor. And these at the same time assist in determining the spot with still greater exactness. According to EUSEBIUS (s. v. *φογῶρ*), Peor rose above Livias, which was situated in the valley of the Jordan. *Φογῶρ καὶ*

*Βεθφογὼρ ορος Μωὰβ, ἐν ᾧ τον Βαλαὰμ ἤγαγεν ὁ Βαλάκ· ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς νῦν Λιβιάδος καλουμένης,* which last words Jerome renders by—*in supercilio Liriadis*. Under *Araboth Moab* it is said: *ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατὰ Ἱεριχώ· καὶ ἔστι τόπος εἰς δεῦρο δεικνύμενος παρὰ τῷ ὄρει Φογὼρ, ὃ παράκειται ἀνιόντων ἀπὸ Λιβιάδος ἐπὶ Ἐσσεβούς* (compare RELAND, i. p. 496,) *τῆς Ἀραβίας ἀντικρὺ Ἱεριχώ.* According to this Peor was situated close on the Arboth Moab, facing Jericho on the way from Levias to Heshbon. Peor was distant from the last-mentioned town, according to the statement, s. v. *Δαναβά*, about seven Roman miles. Lastly, according to the article *Βεθφογορ*, the town Bethphogor was situated near the mountain Peor, facing Jericho, six miles higher, that is, to the east (compare the *ἀνιόντων*, under Araboth Moab) than Livias; (*ἀνωτέρω Λιβιάδος σημειοῖς ἕξ.*)

We must also direct the attention of the reader to the striking agreement of the stations of Balak and Balaam with the stations of Israel. Balak first of all led Balaam to Bamoth Baal, then to the top of Pisgah, from whence Balaam surveyed a considerable part of the Israelitish host encamped in the wilderness, and lastly to the top of Peor, which looks towards the wilderness. According to Num. xxi. 19, 20, the children of Israel first of all came to Bamoth, then from Bamoth to the valley, that is, to the high plain which is situated in the country of Moab, upon Pisgah and looks over the wilderness. Lastly, they came unto "*the valley over against Beth-peor.*" Deut. iii. 29; iv. 46.

Then we have still to point out, that what is said respecting the survey which Balaam took at each of the places named of the Israelitish camp, exactly agrees with the position of these places, and their distance from the encampment of the Israelites. From Bamoth, which is separated from the Arboth Moab by a considerable distance, and a whole range of hills, Balaam sees only the *end* of the people according to ch. xxii. 41. To this it seems he refers, when he exclaims, "*Who can number the fourth part of Israel!*" So much, perhaps, of Israel he might be able to see. Also from the second spot, on the far nearer top of Pisgah, he saw not the whole, but only the end, though to a greater extent. A considerable part of the camp must have been concealed by Peor, which lay between. It was only from this last position, which immediately



looked down upon the wilderness, that Balaam obtained a sight of the whole. There he saw "*Israel abiding according to their tribes,*" chap. xxiv. 2.

Balak from the first had presupposed, that Balaam, in order to be able to comply with his wishes, must see in a general way the camp of Israel. But he at first believed that his object would be gained by Balaam's seeing only a part. But when he could not attain his end at the more remote spots, he attempted it in another way; he led Balaam nearer and nearer to the camp of the Israelites, until he beheld it spread out before him in all its extent.

Those who assert the mythical character of this section of sacred history, will do well to consider whether the geographical accuracy (which carries more weight with it from the undeniable absence of design on the author's part in his references of this kind) agrees with their view or not.

An objection against the credibility of the section has been raised from the circumstance that Balak, without hesitation, advances with Balaam far into the district conquered by the Israelites north of the Arnon. But it serves to answer this objection, that, according to Num. xxxii. 16, 17, ("*We will build sheep-folds here for our cattle, and cities for our little ones . . . and our little ones shall dwell in the fenced cities because of the inhabitants of the land,*") the Reubenites and Gadites had deferred taking possession of the whole country till the return of their men who could bear arms, and declared themselves satisfied with only retaining some fortified points. At the time of Balak and Balaam's journey, the main force of the Israelites was already encamped in the Arboth Moab. Balak and Balaam could easily avoid the few fortified places in which they had left any garrisons. It is to be observed, that among the places of which the fortifications were afterwards strengthened by the Reubenites and Gadites, none of the places occur which were visited by Balak and Balaam. The clear distinction between the conquest and settled possession of the country is shown by the fact, that, according to Num. xxv., the Midianites, without being hindered by the Israelites, wandered into the immediate neighbourhood of their encampment in the Arabah.

AGE AND GENUINENESS  
OF THE  
HISTORY OF BALAAM AND HIS PROPHECIES,  
CONTAINED IN NUMBERS XXII.—XXIV.

WE shall here abstain from discussing the general arguments which establish the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, and consequently the age and genuineness of this particular portion of it; and only bring those under review which apply directly and specially to the latter.

Not among the least important arguments on this question are :

I. The references to this section of the Pentateuch in the post-Mosaic Scriptures. We shall merely bring together here a collection of these references, the fuller discussion of them having been already given in the body of the work. That the Prophecies of Balaam were extant in the time of Jeremiah, and, more than that, were already regarded as divine oracles which presupposes their genuineness, appears from Jer. xlvi. 45, compared with Num. xxiv. 17. The allusion to Num. xxiii. 20 in Hab. i. 3, 13, equally shows that not only Balaam's Prophecies were known to the prophets who lived before the Chaldean invasion, but were regarded as the Word of God, so that we have in these passages what amounts to an express testimony to the genuineness of Balaam's Prophecies. That MICAH, in ch. vi. 5, where he says,

O my people, remember now what Balak king of Moab consulted,  
And what Balaam the son of Beor answered  
From Shittim unto Gilgal,  
That ye may know the righteousness of the Lord,

presupposed that the contents of the section before us were known, is acknowledged by TUCH himself, *Genesis, Einl.* p. 89. Against those persons who in this and similar cases deny what it would be inconvenient to admit, this writer observes, p. 90: "Were it not so, then the undeniable connection of the passages requires that the other alternative must be taken; the Pentateuch must, contrary to its literary character, have plundered the prophets, and taken its colouring from them; and we ask, which is most readily

to be admitted?—that the prophets, at different times and places, referred to one book of the law known to all of them, or the reverse, that this was formed by making use of *them*.” But here we shall do more than merely prove the existence of Balaam’s Prophecies in the time of the prophets. The answer of Balaam is reckoned by Micah among the *בְּרָקִים יְהוָה*, the proofs of the covenant faithfulness of the Lord, which is only possible on the supposition of the divine inspiration of the predictions, and thus of their genuineness. The whole reference to the history of Balaam rests on the conviction of the prophet, as well as of the people of his divine inspiration. In reminding the people of Balaam’s expressions, a beneficial effect could be expected only from regarding them as proceeding originally from Jehovah.

Obadiah alludes in ver. 4 to Numbers xxiv. 21, and announces in ver. 17–19 a new realization of the prediction in ver. 18 and 19, and in so doing recognises its prophetic character.\* Amos

---

\* We confidently assign that place to Obadiah, which he occupies between Amos and Micah, and for the following reasons: (i.) Since the collection of the minor prophets is undeniably arranged in chronological order, we have in the place assigned to him an indirect testimony respecting his age, which is quite equivalent to an express one, and which we cannot lightly overlook, particularly when we possess sure data for determining the age of the minor prophets, which, by the position, prove themselves to be founded on the express statements of the collector. (ii.) The contents of Obadiah do not go beyond what is more summarily contained in Amos ix. 11, 12. Jeremiah, in ch. xxvii. 2, (compare also ch. xxv.) distinctly names the *Babylonians* as the people who, under Nebuchadnezzar’s command, would bring distress on the Idumeans. Here, on the contrary, the enemies are neither named, nor in any other way distinguished. Nor are those who would bring calamity on Judah, more plainly characterized. The prophecy throughout wears a *general* character, which is scarcely conceivable, if the prophet, according to the current opinion, occupied himself merely with what was before his eyes. What is at first glance special in the prediction, proves on closer inspection to be only the effect of vivid presentation and poetical colouring. (iii.) That the prophet prophesied before the destruction of Jerusalem, is evident from ver. 12–14, where he admonishes the Idumeans not to rejoice in the misfortunes of others, and not to co-operate for the destruction of Jerusalem, since otherwise they would meet with the deserved retribution for such outrage on those who were their brethren and the people of the covenant. According to this, the prophet, in ver. 11, where he speaks of the destruction of Jerusalem as having already happened, and of the malicious joy which the children of Edom manifested at that event, can only be explained *prophetically*, and must be referred to an ideal past. (iv.) That Jeremiah, in ch. xlix. 14, has made use of Obadiah is certain, because otherwise this prophecy of Jeremiah would be destitute of the ancient foundation which he prophecies against foreign nations almost always have; because the words with which Obadiah begins, “*We have heard a rumour from the Lord,*” &c., are much more suited in his prophecy to stand at the *beginning*, which manifestly was their original position, than in Jeremiah in the *middle*; because the more difficult *שִׁבְעֵינִי* which Obadiah has, is mani-



does the same in ch. ix. 12; who also borrows in ch. vi. 1 a very characteristic expression, that nowhere else occurs, from Numbers xxiv. 20.

To the words with which Balaam closes his last prophecy there is an allusion in Proverbs xxx. 1, and in a most remarkable manner in the last words of David in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1. The reference shows, as we have already proved, not only that Balaam's Prophecies were already existing in David's time, but that they were then regarded as divinely inspired, and, consequently, as belonging to the Mosaic age, thus presenting an insurmountable objection to the results of modern criticism. To the same conclusion we are led also by the following passages: Ps. lx. 14 (12), cviii. 14 (13), and 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48, compared with Num. xxiv. 18. That already in Samuel's time Balaam's predictions were known and considered as real prophecies, as *the words of God*, is shown by 1 Sam. xv. 29, compared with Num. xxiii. 19. In Jephthah's message to the king of the Ammonites (in Judges xi. 25), it is mentioned, as a fact generally known, that Balak, the son of Zipphor, the king of Moab, entered into no war with Israel, agreeably to Num. xxii. 2, &c.

II. The language of this section contains several archaisms, which are evidence against its composition in the post-Mosaic age. To this head belongs the ׀ as an external sign of the *status constructus*; compare on ch. xxiv. 3, EWALD'S *Grammar*, § 406, *Eng. Trans.*, p. 255, *Ausführ. Lehrbuch*, § 211, b. 2, p. 395, Leipz. 1844. Moreover, שָׁהָם for the later שָׁהוּ, and סָהָם, ch.

---

festly the original, and the שְׂמַעְתָּי of Jeremiah an easy alteration, and the latter also wears the character of such an alteration, in speaking of a messenger sent from the Lord, with the omission of נְקִימָה; and lastly, because the discourse of Obadiah, to use Schmurrer's expression, *in summa elatione castigatior et rotundior est*. Now the prediction of Jeremiah, which presupposes the existence of Obadiah's, belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, or at least was not uttered earlier. The 25th chapter, which is expressly put into this eventful year, forms the introduction—the collection of prophecies against foreign nations in the 46th ch. is the further expansion of it; the first of these prophecies in ch. xlvi. is expressly marked as belonging to the fourth year of Jehoiakim. Consequently, if it is certain that Obadiah prophesied before the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and therefore some time before the destruction of Jerusalem; and if this must be at all events admitted, that the prophet only beheld this destruction in *spirit* as having already taken place, then there are no other grounds for taking him out of the first period of written prophecy, and wresting him from the position assigned by the testimony of the collector, between Amos and Micha.

xxiv. 3. Then the designation of the country on the east side of the Jordan, facing Jericho, by the term Arboth Moab, which, when the Israelites invaded it, had been wrested from its earlier possessors, the Moabites, by the Amorites. This designation occurs only once out of the Pentateuch, in Josh. xiii. 32, and that in reference to the narrative in the Pentateuch. Thus also the phrase אַרְבוֹת מוֹאָב, in the land of Moab, occurs only in the Pentateuch in reference to this district; compare Deut. i. 5, xxviii. 69, (xxix. 1) xxxii. 49. But the later non-occurrence of these designations is of so much greater importance, because the reason of it may be shown to lie in the facts of the case. That the designation was still current in the Mosaic age, must appear as very natural. That district had been wrested by the Amorites from the Moabites only a short time before the invasion of the Israelites, so that the remembrance of its former possessors was still fresh. But in the course of time the designation would vanish away with the remembrance of the fact. But supposing that it had lasted till the time of the Judges, it would certainly be dropped after a war had arisen in it, on the ground of the earlier Moabitish possession. In the Book of Judges xi. 12, &c., in the detail of the negotiations respecting this district, between Jephthah and the king of the Ammonites, not a trace is found of it. The land is only called the land of the Amorites. Lastly, of some importance is the orthography of יְרֵדִי in chap. xxii. 1. This mode of writing the word occurs throughout the Pentateuch; while in the Book of Joshua we constantly find it written יְרִידִי, a proof of the different authorship of the two books; compare, for example, Josh. ii. 1, 2, 3; iv. 13; v. 10, 13; vi. 1, 2, 25, 26; xiii. 32; xvi. 1, 7; xviii. 12, 21. In the writings after the captivity we find it as constantly written יְרֵדִי, Jer. xxxix. 5, lii. 8; Ezra ii. 34; Neh. iii. 2; vii. 36. In the books between the Pentateuch and the captivity, we find it written thus only once, 2 Sam. x. 5. יְרֵדִי was the old and original form, which, having almost gone out of use after the time of Moses, became again current in the times succeeding the captivity, the phraseology of which was formed on the model of the Pentateuch. The occurrence of this form (of which the middle literature presents only a solitary instance) in ch. xxii. 1, forms an argument against those who would transfer the composition of this section to the middle period.

III. Balaam's Prophecies rest entirely on the basis of the relations which existed in the Mosaic age, and their peculiar character is inexplicable on the hypothesis of their composition in a later age. The enemies of Israel, whose destruction is threatened in ch. xxiv. 17, 21, are all together such as, at the time when Balaam makes his appearance, had manifested their hostility against Israel; the prophecy begins with the Moabites in the East; then follows the eastern portion of the enemies in the South, the Edomites; and next those to the West, the Amalekites and Kenites; compare ch. xxiv. 21. But not merely all the nations here named are such as had *shewn* themselves hostile, but all the nations are fully enumerated who were then hostile to Israel. But let the genuineness of these prophecies be denied, and their composition be placed in a later age, as it has been, then it will be difficult to give a reason why these, and only these, are named. The relations, for instance, in the times of Saul and David, between Israel and other nations, were very different. The enemies with whom Saul had to do are summarily enumerated in 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48—“*So Saul took the kingdom over Israel, and fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab, and against the children of Ammon, and against Edom, and against the kings of Zobah, and against the Philistines; and whithersoever he turned himself he vexed them. And he gathered an host, and smote the Amalekites, and delivered Israel out of the hands of them that spoiled them.*” The author appears to have mentioned the inconsiderable successes of Saul over Moab and Edom—(that they were inconsiderable appears from the author's contenting himself with the slightest possible notice of them)—only in reference to the prophecies which, as we have proved in chap. xxiv. 18, he had distinctly before his eyes. None of the nations mentioned in Balaam's Prophecies appear (here) as important and dangerous, and of the really dangerous enemies of that age not a word is said in *them*.

The Philistines, by the end of the period of the Judges, had become more dangerous to the Israelites than all their other enemies. The description of Saul's conflicts against them fills two whole chapters in the 1st book of Samuel, the 13th and 14th. With this struggle Saul began, and it continued through his whole reign; compare chap. xiv. 52. “*And there was sore war*



against the Philistines all the days of Saul." Saul lost his life in a battle against the Philistines. They were also the first enemies with whom David had to do, 2 Sam. v. 17. But if it would be inexplicable to find among the nations hostile to Israel in Saul's time, the Moabites, Edomites, Amalekites, and Kenites, particularly named, and only these, much more so would it be in David's time. David's most dangerous conflicts were against the Aramaic kingdoms, with which hostilities had begun even in Saul's time; and over them his greatest victories were achieved. How he conquered the king of Zobah, a very powerful chieftain, is told in 2 Sam. viii. 3, 4; we are informed respecting his victory over "*the Syrians of Damascus*," who had come in great force to the help of the king of Zobah, but who were completely subjugated by David, in ver. 5 and 6 of the same chapter. How David gained a splendid victory over several confederate Syrian powers is narrated in 2 Sam. x. 6, &c. Next to the Syrians, the Amorites in David's time are the most conspicuous, who, towards the close of the period of the Judges, had made themselves formidable to the Israelites, and against whom Saul also had to combat; compare the account of their great overthrow in 2 Sam. xii. 26. All the enemies *here* mentioned, acted in David's time only a subordinate part, and their subjugation is only recorded very briefly. Moab's, in chap. viii. 2; Edom's, viii. 14; Amalek's very slightly in ver. 12; the Kenites are not mentioned at all. On the other hand, none of those nations are named (in Balaam's Prophecies) with whom David was involved in tedious and dangerous wars. If we add to this, that the Amalekites here appear armed with a power, to which in David's time they could not make the slightest pretensions, we may consider as fully proved that the prophecy could not be explained from the historical relations of David's time, that it must have sprung out of the soil of a much earlier age. It suits no relations but those of the Mosaic age, in which all the people named had already come into collision with the Israelites, and none besides. In our remarks on chap. xxiv. 7, we have shown how decidedly the hypothesis of a later composition is contradicted by what is said of the Amalekites, who here appear as the most powerful of all the nations hostile to Israel, while in the post-Mosaic times they always occupy a very subordinate position. That ver. 17-21 do not contain a *vaticini-*

*num post eventum*, as those maintain and must maintain, who would place the composition in a period long after Moses, is evident from the perfect ideal style of the prophecy. It discovers itself to be, throughout, the simple product of the application of the idea of Israel's election to the already existing hostile relations of these nations to Israel. The appearance of an individual relation, of a special prediction, whatever there may be of the kind, vanishes on a closer inspection. That the 17th verse does not refer to David, but to an ideal person, the personified Israelitish regal government, has been already evinced. What is briefly intimated in ver. 22, of Israel's being carried away captive by Ashur, is not so destitute as it may appear to be, of a historical basis in the Mosaic age. That in very early times a powerful Assyrian kingdom existed, is attested by the accounts of classical writers. On their testimony, BECK says, (*Weltgesch* I. i. p. 191) "Niniveh, at first a small state, soon rose above the rest on the Tigris, swallowed them up, and thereby was strengthened to enter on a victorious conflict with other kingdoms both far and near. According to the Hebrew historians, the Assyrians, till David's time, were inconsiderable, and after that first became conquerors; yet other accounts of the early conquests of the Assyrians do not appear to be entirely fictitious, for before David's time the Assyrian power might have suffered a declension." HEEREN, in his *Ideen* i. 2, p 151, remarks, "The historical mythology of this people appear to have revolved entirely about the names of a Semiramis, a Ninus, and a Belus, which, however much they may have been embellished and interwoven with astronomical ideas, make it in the highest degree probable, that long before the rise of the Babylonish-Chaldee empire, great conquerors had arisen in these parts of Asia, who were founders of both kingdoms, of which only the memorial has been preserved under the general name of an Assyrian monarchy." The testimony of the national traditions of the Assyrians which have come down to us through the medium of the classical writers, is also confirmed to us by the important evidence of the Egyptian monuments. By the Shari, who, under the reign of Osirei, and his son the great Raemses, appear as engaged in war with the Egyptians, in all probability, we are to understand the Assyrians, who, according to this, had already made conquests at a very early period; compare *Aegypten und*

*die Bucher Moses*, p. 209. But what is most important, and puts an end to all doubts, Ashur appears in the Pentateuch as already an Asiatic kingdom. According to Genesis ii. 14, the Tigris flows eastward of Ashur; see TUCH *on Genesis*, p. 78. This implies that in the times of the author, an Assyrian monarchy already existed, the territory of which, to the westward of the Tigris, was so considerable, that what lay to the eastward was not taken into account. But of Assyria Proper, the Tigris, is not to the East but the West. How certain and ancient the accounts given in Genesis are on this head, is evident from the fact that *Resen*, a city of which to all antiquity besides even the name is unknown, of which not merely the power but the memory has been lost in the later greatness of Ninivch, (see TUCK, p. 240) is mentioned in Gen. x. 12, as the greatest among the Assyrian cities there named, greater even than Niniveh, afterwards the Queen of the World, but of whose greatness at that time the author gives no intimation. But if the Assyrians were in so early an age a powerful kingdom, it is antecedently probable that already at that time it showed the tendency to conquest in the West, which in later times was so strongly developed, (Gen. xiv. contains account of an expedition of kings from the interior of Asia to countries near the coast, in very ancient times); and that by this tendency it was early involved in hostile relations to Egypt, which was already powerful, and which, in all ages, has been the natural rival of the kingdoms about the Euphrates and the Tigris. This is still expressly testified by the Egyptian monuments. In these conflicts Palestine must have had then the same importance which it again obtained from the time of the second flourishing of the Assyrian monarchy; in reference to which SCHLOSSER remarks (*Universalhist. Übers.* i. p. 213), "From this time Palestine became the scene of action for the two hostile powers, who marched to the conflict with immense hosts from the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Nile. Whoever possessed Palestine was secure of his retreat; all marches were necessarily through it." Now if Balaam had the discernment to perceive that the apostacy of the people of Israel from their God, would in after time dissolve the victorious power that was involved in their idea as the chosen people, that their God would give them up to hostile subjugation as a punishment—(indeed



his plan for seducing them into impurity and idolatry shows that he understood how the blessing imparted to Israel rested entirely on the supposition of their fidelity to the Covenant;)—when he surveyed the nations who might serve as instruments of the divine vengeance, there was not one who would more readily occur to his thoughts than that under whose government he himself lived, whose power and tendency to conquest in the West lay before his eyes. What has been remarked will suffice to show that already in the Mosaic age the prediction of the future captivity of Israel by the Assyrians, and especially by those who dwelt beyond the Euphrates, has a natural foundation. We are far from wishing to explain this prediction as arising simply from the knowledge of existing relations. Limited to the combinations of human foresight, the seer would not have spoken so confidently, and it would have been a strange coincidence if the reality had corresponded centuries after to a conjecture that rested upon very uncertain grounds. But the existence of a natural foundation is, however, the highest postulate which we can venture for the predictions of holy writ. That which in these declarations of the oppression of Israel by Ashur and Eber transcended this natural foundation is justified as real prophecy, on the following grounds. *First*, So many other things were concealed from the view of the seer; he had no presentiment of the most important catastrophies and developments in the Israelitish history; thus, for example, in the prophecies there, as little as in the rest of the Pentateuch, is the slightest allusion made to the separation of Israel and Judah, an event which so deeply affected the national life, that traces of it could not fail to occur in a national work composed after it had taken place. This fragmentary quality of knowledge is peculiar to real prophecy (compare the Apostle's ἐκ μέρους προφητεύομεν in 1 Cor. xiii. 9) and distinguishes it from history in the garb of prophecy. *Secondly*, That what is said of Israel's oppression by Ashur and Eber is to be taken as real prophecy, is clear from the analogy of the oppression of Ashur and Eber by “*Ships from the side of Chittim.*” This must be considered as prophecy, since to whatever period we assign its composition, this event always represents itself as belonging to the Future, so that it can be imputed only to wilfulness or stupidity, when the acknowledgment of a prophetic character in these ex-

pressions is withheld. It is a strange thing about a *vaticinium post eventum*, that it should terminate in a real prophecy, thus exhibiting the reverse of the Horatian painting,

. . . . . ut turpiter atrum  
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne.

*Fourthly*, The lamentable exclamation on the awfulness of the sufferings which would fall on the children of his people, which Balaam utters before their announcement, by its artless and inimitable naturalness, points to Balaam as the real author of the prophecies attributed to him. *Fifthly*, The prediction with which Balaam's Prophecies close, that a power from the West in ships would invade and oppress the oppressor of God's people, Ashur, and especially the region beyond the Euphrates—the prediction of the sovereignty of the European nations in Asia as it first of all would be realized by Alexander, renders every explanation on natural grounds absurd, to however recent a period the composition of these prophecies may be assigned. We have already shown that they lie not less beyond the bounds of natural knowledge, if their composition be dated in the time of Saul or David, or even if the Assyrian ascendancy be left undisturbed as belonging to the Mosaic age. (See the remarks on chap. xxiv. 24.) But this *one* real prophecy secures the *whole* from the suspicion of deceitful fabrication. God could not thus legitimate a deceiver. *Sixthly*, The genuineness of the section is supported by the peculiar intermingling of Israelitish and heathenish religious views, such as we perceive in Balaam (see p. 396); by the characteristic difference between Balaam's Prophecies and those of the prophets (see p. 400); by the correctness of the geographical notices in the historical part (see p. 535); by the easy and unsought for reference to a state of things which could only exist at the time of the march through the wilderness in chap. xxiii. 10, (see p. 410); by the agreement of the prophecy with history in reference to the Midianites (see p. 469); and by the different use of the phrase באדרייה הימים (see p. 466).

After stating the positive grounds for the genuineness of the section, let us now turn to examine the attacks which have been made upon it. Here the first thing that strikes us is, that the opposers of its genuineness are so at variance among

themselves in determining the time to which they assign the section. No one opinion has yet succeeded in gaining the ascendancy, so as to suppress the rest. This circumstance awakens a just suspicion against the denial of the genuineness. A fabrication of a later age could not conceal its origin; it would divulge certain marks of its real date. But such marks must here be wanting; otherwise our opponents would easily attain to unanimity in reference to the composition.

After the unimportant attacks of VATER, the first considerable attempt to impugn this section was made by DE WETTE, in his *Kritik der Israelitischen Geschichte*, p. 362. He endeavours first of all to prove, that the section is an unconnected fragment, "a whole, shut up within itself, distinct from the other accounts." Could this be proved, the ground of its genuineness would be taken away, which this single part receives from its connection with the whole of the Pentateuch. The investigation would be confined to the argument for and against, which the section itself furnishes. But what DE WETTE brings forward, has either no importance, or it amounts only to this, that the section in the midst of the whole to which it belongs, is, from its peculiar character, a part complete in itself. (i.) DE WETTE appeals in the first place to the language. This has several peculiarities, especially the interchange of the divine names Jehovah and Elohim, and "not, as we might imagine, that Balaam would use the name Elohim as one who was not an Israelite, but mingles the two names together." But that the language, excepting the peculiar use of the divine names, has peculiarities which so distinguish the section from the context, as to render the unity of the authorship doubtful, is only asserted, not proved by adducing specific instances, and what is said in reference to the divine names in a very obscure and perplexed manner, has been fully disposed of in the *Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. i. p. 385. It is there shown that the use of the divine names in this section rests entirely on the same basis as in the rest of the Pentateuch, and that the agreement in this respect is so characteristic, that this alone excludes the supposition that the section is an isolated fragment. How suitable the name JEHOVAH is in Balaam's mouth, is evident from the remarks there made on the personality of Balaam, which we have already adduced. (ii.) DE WETTE next urges certain con-



traditions which in his opinion exist between this section and other parts of the Pentateuch. First of all, the narrative (he asserts) stands in contradiction to Num. xxxi. 8-16. "If Balaam, according to those statements, gave such pernicious counsel to the enemies of the Israelites, and was slain by the Israelites, this does not agree with his having been so favourable to them in his prophesyings." But it is apparent that a point of connection for that later account exists in the preceding narrative, so that the behaviour and proceedings of Balaam cannot appear throughout as unexpected or psychologically impossible. If Balaam was so enticed by the promises of the king of the Moabites, that he could enquire of God, as if it were a doubtful thing respecting that which, to a person not blinded by inclination, would have been perfectly certain;—if he set out with the king's messengers without reflecting that the conditional permission was to be considered equivalent to a prohibition;—if he needed the threatening appearance of the angel of the Lord to restrain from following the corrupt inclination of his own heart, and cursing Israel;—if passion had so blinded his mind that he did not perceive this appearance, though it powerfully forced itself upon him;—what could be more natural than that he, when the impression of the divine warning was weakened by time, and when he was left to himself, since now the object was attained, for which a powerful counteraction of his natural development had been requisite—should be completely carried away by the force of his ruling passion, and seeks its gratification where alone it was to be hoped for? That Balaam did not curse, but bless Israel, is traced back both in this narrative and in Deut. xxiii. 5, 6, (according to which he asked permission of God to curse Israel), solely and alone to a divine causality. The disposition which, simply as a man, he felt to injure Israel, was at that time in existence, though checked in its manifestation, and determined his subsequent conduct and proceedings, when the time was come to give it free course, that it might meet with its just retribution. Moreover, there is so much less reason for asserting a contradiction between this narrative and Num. xxxi. 8-16, since the later passages evidently presuppose the former, and speak of Balaam, whom they regard as already known to the reader in a manner so short and abrupt, that they are only intelligible from

comparing the two sets of passages together. When it is maintained that the prophecy of the destruction of the Edomites, stands in contradiction to Deut. ii. 2-5 and other such passages, the difference between a prediction and a command is lost sight of, and the conditional nature of the latter; compare what is said on the selection of this contradiction in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 239.

(iii.) In the third place, DE WETTE appeals to the style of representation, as being very different from that of the other narratives; "it is, throughout, poetic; both the narrative and the language have such a rhythmical elevation, that the difference strikes us very perceptibly as soon as we have read the preceding context." And lastly, (iv.) he remarks, the section is unlinked with the context, and rounded off. But the difference of the representation, as far as it really exists, is simply and easily explained from the difference of *the subject* by the sublimity of which the representation could not possibly remain altogether unaffected; see an admirable refutation of this objection in RANKE ii., p. 236. That the narrative is rounded off, and unlinked with the context, is perfectly natural, since it has to do with a peculiar and separate event, the character of which is copied in the representation.

The positive evidence to prove that this section does not form a solitary unconnected fragment, but originally a constituent part of the Pentateuch, has been already adduced; that it agrees with the rest of the Pentateuch in its characteristic expressions and phrases; that it is closely connected with the preceding context, and that the sequel has a relation to it. Nothing can be plainer than that the summary, as it is given in a short compass, in Deut. xxiii. 5, (a passage which, like Num. xxxi. 8, 16, contains what is equivalent to an express reference to this narrative,) is well suited to a work of which the leading theme is Israel's election, so that the author, if he knew the event, could not pass it over in silence.

DE WETTE attempts, moreover, to prove, that this section contains not *history*, as on the admission of its Mosaic authorship must be the case, but *fiction*. But in this argument he has no better success than in the former, as will be shown by a simple exposition of his reasons. He remarks, *first*, that ch. xxiv. 7 implies that Israel had a king, and alludes to the victory over the Amalekites, by Saul; and ver. 17 and 18 to the times of

David. But it is evident that what it says of a regal government in Israel, could not be sufficient to found a charge of its being a *vaticinium post eventum*, even if the author had drawn only on the resources of his natural knowledge; compare what has been remarked on the natural grounds for anticipating the establishment of a regal government in Israel in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 165. This anticipation is in nowise exclusively peculiar to the Prophecies of Balaam. The Pentateuch, in other parts, contemplates the erection of the regal government, as involved unalterably in the destinies of the people. The regal government, among their descendants, forms a leading topic of the promises to the Patriarchs, Gen. xvii. 6, 16; xxxv. 11; xlix. 10. But Balaam's Prophecies do not go beyond the anticipation of the erection of the regal government in Israel; that there are no references to individual Israelitish kings, either in ch. xxiv. 7, or in xxiv. 17-20, has already been proved in our exposition. Thus Balaam's Prophecies would be always understood in Israel; 1 Sam. xiv. 47, 48, a fulfilment of ver. 17-20 occurred in Saul's time; in Ps. lx. 14, and Ps. cviii. 14 in David's time; the hope of victory over Edom is founded on ver. 18; Amos and Obadiah announce new realizations of the prophecy against Edom; compare ch. xxiv. 18. The appearance of a special reference to the times of Saul and David only arises from the circumstance that, under those monarchs, the idea which the prophecy expressed, then showed itself with living power as an existing historical fact. We shall find that the language under consideration, if we examine it more closely, contains nothing more than an application of this idea, the election of Israel, to relations already existing in the Mosaic age. That the nations whose overthrow is announced, had already, in the Mosaic age, assumed a hostile position towards Israel, we have already proved. But the idea cannot be denied to belong to the Mosaic age, as long as the Pentateuch is acknowledged to be a source of historical information. The election of Israel forms even, even in the history of the Patriarchs, the key-note, and in the predictions made to them the conquest over their enemies is alluded to as resulting from it. The author himself intimates this: Balaam's predictions in ch. xxiii. 24; xxiv. 9, 17, revert to Genesis xlix. 9, 10, as their basis. The Pentateuch gives full information of



the realization of this idea in the victories over Egypt, Amalek, and the Canaanites. It is expressed in the divine declaration originally made to Moses, Exod. xix. 3, and following verses: “*And Moses went up to God, and Jehovah called unto him out of the mountain, saying, Thus shalt thou say to the house of Jacob, and tell the children of Israel, ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles’ wings, and brought you unto myself. Now, therefore, if ye will obey my voice indeed, and keep my covenant, then ye shall be a peculiar treasure unto me above all people, for all the earth is mine. And ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and an holy nation.*” How deeply this idea, even in Moses’ time, had taken root among the people, is shown by its being made use of by Korah and his accomplices in their rebellion, Num. xvi. 3; compare RANKE, i. p. 128. The genuineness of the poetical pieces in Num. xxi. is acknowledged after the evidence adduced by BLEEK in ROSENMÜLLER’S *Repert.* i. 3, even by those who take the greatest liberties in the criticism of the Pentateuch. That the leading thought in ver. 14, “*Wherefore it is said in the book of the wars of the Lord, He took Vaheb in a storm, and the streams of Arnon; and the lowlands of the streams, which turn to the dwellings of Ar, and incline to the border of Moab,*” is no other than this: ‘Under the leadership of Jehovah, his congregation incessantly press forward; whatever opposes them, he overturns it’—has been shown in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 183.

*Secondly*, “To represent Balaam as a prophet of Jehovah, the God of the Israelites—as pious and inspired like a Hebrew prophet, deprives the narrative of all historical truth. What could the foreign seer know of Jehovah and the Israelitish religion? and as little could he prophecy so favourably of a foreign hostile people.” This objection is divested of all its force by what has been already remarked on the personal character of Balaam, p. 340–348.

*Thirdly*, “The patience and forbearance with which Balak is represented as having treated the seer, who not only did not curse, as he was desired to do, the Israelites, but even blessed them—is altogether improbable.” But only let the high opinion which Balak entertained of Balaam (as expressed in the words,

“*I wot that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed,*”) be taken into account, and it will appear perfectly natural that, for a long time, the king would be restrained from harsher sentiments, by the hope of obtaining a more favourable declaration, and that, even when this hope had vanished, fear would still moderate his anger. Moreover, the words with which the king (ch. xxiv. 10, 11) dismisses the seer, show very slight traces indeed of patience and forbearance.

*Fourthly*, Another evidence of its purely poetical character is “the structure and composition of the whole, in which a kind of climax is observable, from Balaam’s first refusal, to the last and highest effusion of his prophetic inspiration.” From this are we to infer, that whenever history wears a poetic character, it cannot be history!

On such paltry grounds DE WETTE founds his conclusion; “This section is a historic, prophetic fiction, for the glorification of the Israelitish people.”

BERTHOLDT also treats this section in the most wanton manner. *Einleitung*, p. 792, 793. According to him the whole piece, chap. xxiv. 14–24, is an interpolation of the time after Alexander; the rest bears no trace of so late an age, but could not be set farther back than the times of Saul. As BERTHOLDT grounds this latter result only on what has been already brought forward by DE WETTE, we wish only to examine the arguments by which he attempts to prove that the part just mentioned is an interpolation. *First*, In chap. xxiv. 22, it is asserted we are to understand by Ashur, the Babylonish-Chaldee Kingdom; but it was not common till the times after Alexander for the Jews to designate by the term Ashur all the great kingdoms that were gradually formed in Upper Asia. But that the author knew how to distinguish between Ashur and the other Asiatic kingdoms, ver. 24 shows, where *Eber* is named besides. *Secondly*, In ver. 24 the subjugation of the Persian empire, which is also called Ashur by the Macedonians, is described. This argument explains to us the occasion and object of the whole hypothesis. It is one of the manifold attempts to avoid the troublesome admission of a real prophecy, which ver. 24 demands of our opponents. From the same source springs DE WETTE’s hypothesis in the first edition of his *Einleitung*, p. 184, which only going just as far as

necessity requires, confines itself to maintaining the interpolation of a single verse: "Ver. 24 appears to be founded on Alexander's expedition, and *consequently* (!) to be an interpolation;" so also DE WETTE's remark in a later edition (the 3d, p. 342): "Ver. 23 and 24 appear as if they must be taken as a real prophecy, in which a certain correct presentiment is mingled with mistakes," where "the mistakes," which are only imagined through perplexity, are left without proof; lastly, HITZIG and VON BOHLEN's unfortunate attempt to refer ver. 24 to the invasion of the Greeks into Cilicia, in the time of Sennacherib. The forced quality of these attempts, and their variety, ought to bring our opponents to the perception that the presupposition which has brought them into so woful a plight is a false one. *Thirdly*, "The great and strange *varietas lectionis* which pervades ver. 17-24 is decisive of an interpolation." But the truth is, that in ver. 17-24 there is not a single various reading which is worth being quoted, or which is anything more than a mere error of the transcriber!

We do not wish to adduce here the general arguments which refute this groundless hypothesis, but shall content ourselves with stating two special reasons against it. (i.) Balaam's prophecies are comprised in *four*, and the last is divided again into *four Meshalim*, so that the whole contains *seven Meshalim*, in unison with the *seven altars*, which Balaam erected, and the *seven bullocks* and the *seven rams* which he offered. All this arrangement is lost upon BERTHOLDT, who had no perception of it—a point of so much more importance when it is recollected what significance is attached to *number* in the Pentateuch. We might just as well take one or more out of the Ten Commandments, as pronounce the passage in question to be an interpolation. The arrangement imperatively requires that we should distribute the whole as actually is done. (ii.) In favour of the passage thus attached are the testimonies (contained in the reference to it) of Jeremiah, Obadiah, Amos, the author of Ps. lx. and Ps. cviii. and of the Books of Samuel.

BLEEK, in ROSENMULLER'S *Bibl. ex. Repert.* i., p. 34, maintains that the composition of Balaam's Prophecies, as far as chap. xxiv. 21, must be placed in the age of Saul. He urges that chap. xxiv. 7 could not be written before Saul's time, not only



on account of the mention of Agag, but also because here (compare also ver. 17-19) there is beyond all doubt mention of a kingdom and a king of the Israelites, and that it could not be written *later*, "for how would any one at a later period, in order to express the greatness of the Israelitish king, fix precisely on this comparison with Agag." Also from the words in ver. 17, it might be inferred that the king in this passage must be the first king that arose in Israel. On the other hand, ver. 22-24 of chap. xxiv. are a later addition, and belong to the Assyrian age. Ver. 24 is not to be taken as a *vaticinium post eventum*, "but properly as a general prophecy that Ashur would at some future period be humbled, and Chittim is a name used to denote the nations of the distant West in general."

Against this hypothesis we offer the following reasons. *First*, Although BLEEK limits the later addition to the three last verses, yet in doing so, he too loses sight of the numerical arrangement. The fourfold and the sevenfold division are alike injured. BLEEK leaves only *six Meshalim* for the whole, and only *three* for the last. *Secondly*, The nullity of the grounds on which the composition of part in the time of Saul, and of part in the Assyrian age is based, is evident from the observations that have been already made. The mention of Agag is in favour of the time of Saul, only on the false assumption that it refers to an individual king, while it rather refers to the ideal person of the king of Israel, the regal government personified. That what is said of Ashur does require us to go beyond the Mosaic age, has been already shown. *Thirdly*, But not merely is there no ground for placing the predictions as far as chap. xxiv. 21, in the time of Saul, and ver. 22-24 in the Assyrian age; but it may be shown, on sure grounds, to be quite inadmissible. Of Saul *too much* would be said on the one hand, and *too little* on the other. The designation of "*a Star out of Jacob*," is far too splendid for Saul, and the expressions that follow—

17. He shall smite the corners of Moab,  
And destroy all the sons of tumult:

18. And Edom shall be a possession—

19. He shall destroy him that remaineth out of the city, &c.

are very little suited to the unimportant successes of Saul over

the Edomites and Moabites (mentioned by the author of the Books of Samuel in a single verse), and which were not followed by a conquest. David found the strength of these nations entirely unimpaired. On the other hand, *too little* is said. We have already pointed out, that precisely the mightiest and most dangerous enemies whom Saul conquered, those over whom he won the greatest victories, are here passed over in silence. The expedient that BLEEK lays hold of, that the author wrote at a time when hostilities with these nations were not actually existing, but the hostile relation with those here named was more prominent, is inadmissible, for the conflict against the Philistines especially, continued from the beginning of Saul's reign to the end of it; compare 1 Sam. xiv. 52, "*And there was sore war against the Philistines all the days of Saul.*" A *vaticinium post eventum*, relating to Saul's reign, could not possibly differ so much from Saul's history, in which the conflict against the Philistines always occupied the fore-ground, the same place as that occupied in the *prophecy*, by the conflict against Moab and Edom. Ver. 22-24<sup>r</sup> could not be applied to the Assyrian empire. For it is an arbitrary proceeding to regard the contents of this verse in part as a *vaticinium post eventum*, and in part as an actual prediction. If we set out with determining the age of the prophecy, from a comparison with history, then must the verses in question have been composed. (i.) *After the founding of the Chaldean-Babylonish monarchy.* For ver. 24, where the author joins Eber with Ashur in the retribution for the injustice exercised towards the people of God, shews that the author knew, or had an obscure presentiment of, another monarchy besides the Assyrian, which originated in the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris. BLEEK and others avoid this conclusion only by attaching a meaning to Eber, which we have already proved to be false. (ii.) *After the establishment of Alexander's Asiatic dominion;* for the prophecy of the ships that should come from Chittim, and oppress Ashur and Eber, obtained its first verification through him. Those who cannot resolve to consent to those hazardous consequences, which the hypothesis of a *vaticinium post eventum* brings with it, would do better to give up this hypothesis altogether, than expose their embarrassment by such pitiable makeshifts.

GRAMBERG, in his *Religions gesch. der A. T.* ii. p. 348, sup-

poses this section to be composed by an unknown prophet, a contemporary of Isaiah, with the exception of the passage in ch. xxii. 22-35, which the author of the Book of Numbers had added. But we have already shown that the supposition of an original, independent existence of the section, is inadmissible. What GRAMBERG adduces in proof of its belonging to the Assyrian age is quite uncertain ; the close, he thinks, gives sure proof that the poet wrote, "as if the Assyrians already, but not yet the Chaldeans, were to be feared," without reflecting that besides Ashur in ver. 24, Eber is named ; that therefore if the scheme of adopting it to history be followed, it cannot be placed in the Assyrian age. How very much the supposition of its being composed at that time, militates against the admission that ch. xxiv. 17-21, contains a real prediction, namely, a Messianic one, by which GRAMBERG distinguishes himself, to his credit, from the other opponents of the genuineness, has escaped his notice ; in the Assyrian age Amalek could not possibly be distinguished as "*the beginning of nations*," nor the exaltation of Israel's king above him be presented as the highest evidence of his greatness ; compare ch. xxiv. 7. GRAMBERG's special reasons against the composition of the section in the Mosaic age, and its genuineness, are exceedingly weak. He remarks, *first*, that in ch. xxiii. 7-10, the poet, by the allusion to the dwellings in the fastnesses, does injury to the circumstances sketched by himself of the supposed present. But this assertion rests merely on a misunderstanding of, "*Behold, it is a people that dwell alone ;*" in ch. xxiii. 9, which describes a quiet and protected retirement, which Israel at that time enjoyed. *Secondly*, The designation of Jehovah, as "*not a man*," and "*not the son of man*," is found in no poet earlier than Isaiah, and in him in ch. xxxi. 8, just as it is here. But the expression of Samuel in 1 Sam. xv. 19, in which not only the phrase אֶשׁוּר אֶשׁוּר occurs, but also the *thought* agrees, is much nearer the expression in ch. xxiii. 19, than Isaiah xxxi. 8.

Then shall Ashur fall by the sword, אֶשׁוּר אֶשׁוּר,  
And the sword, אֶשׁוּר-אֶשׁוּר, shall devour him.

That this expression of Samuel's rests on Balaam's, and is a pledge of its genuineness has been already proved. *Thirdly*, That "*the shout of a king*" shows that Israel at that time was



under regal government. But it is obvious that by the “king” in this passage Jehovah is intended.

According to HARTMANN (*Unters. über die BB. Mose's*, p. 718) the section could not have been composed before the death of Samuel, because the Agag conquered by Saul is mentioned in it, and not before David's time, because the hatred against the Edomites began to show itself; on the first “because” we need not further enlarge; hatred against the Edomites manifests itself here as little as in the rest of the Pentateuch; their hostile disposition against Israel had already displayed itself in the Mosaic age; compare Num. xx. 18, 20. The theological objections which HARTMANN (p. 499) raises against the historical truth of the section are founded entirely on misapprehensions, and have been in part already refuted (p. 371.) Besides what has been already animadverted upon, he says, “Jehovah, the Holy One, must have revealed himself to a faithless juggler; Jehovah the Omniscient must have asked Balaam inquisitively, ‘*What men are these with thee?*’” But with what propriety Balaam can be called “*a faithless juggler*” is evident from our observations on the personal character of Balaam. We have there shown, that in Balaam a better element existed which formed the prerequisite of the extraordinary operation of God upon him, which was imparted to him for the advantage of the people of God, and, therefore, for the purposes of the divine holiness, which involved fidelity to the Covenant. The question, “*What men are these?*” was evidently not for gaining information, but as an introduction to the conference; at the same time, by the earnest and warning tone in which it was spoken, it must have served to arouse Balaam's conscience, which had already begun to slumber; compare a similar question in Gen. iv. 9.

When HARTMANN, lastly, urges, why did the Israelites remain so long at rest to give an opportunity of being cursed? he overlooks that the Israelites knew nothing of all the transactions of the king of the Moabites with Balaam, and obtained their first information of the event when the Lord had already turned it to their advantage. By trivialities like these must the Sacred History be assailed; while those who propound them are regarded by themselves and others as critics!

VON BOHLEN (*Einkl. z. Gen.* p. 153) agrees with HITZIG in

referring the close of the Prophecy to the irruption of the Greeks into Cilicia in the time of Sennacherib, and on the ground of this hypothesis, which has been already proved perfectly untenable, would determine the date of its composition.

TUCH (*z. Gen. Einl.* p. 95) urges against the genuineness the common argument, that the author knew of Saul's victory over the Amalekites, and David's victories over the Moabites and Edomites, but fixes on the time of Solomon for its composition, while to meet the argument for a later period from the mention of Ashur, he asks, "Why should it not have been considerable at an earlier period than when Phul crossed the Euphrates and extended his power; why should it not have been known earlier to the Hebrews than when the conquering power of the Assyrians interfered with their relations?" According to his view Balaam's expressions appear as a strange *mixtum et compositum* of history in a prophetic garb, and of real prophecy; to the former exactly that is attributed which may be explained most easily from the anti-supernaturalist point-of-view as prediction; to the latter, that which, from the same point-of-view, is *least* explicable as prediction.

For the defenders of the truth it is consolatory to see how little error has the power of consolidating itself, how its abettors evince their incapacity in little things as well as in great ones, to bring it into harmony—how the later ones pull down what the earlier had built up—how, century after century, they wander about, sometimes forwards, sometimes backwards, and never find a secure and abiding place for that which they have wrested from its true position.

---

## SUPPLEMENTARY REMARKS

ON

### MISTAKES IN REFERENCE TO THE MANNA (p. 338.)

I. According to the current view the Israelites not merely were supplied with manna during their sojourn in the Sinaitic Peninsula, but also in the country beyond Jordan, and even at the beginning of their residence in Canaan Proper. Thus VON RAU-

MER still maintains, in his work *Der Zug der Israeliten aus Aegypten nach Kanaan* (the March of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan), Leipz. 1837, p. 27, that the Israelites ate manna "till they came to Edrei, in the neighbourhood of Damascus, and when they returned back to the country about Jericho."

But by this assumption the position of the manna is altogether deranged. The country beyond Jordan presented at that time such abundant supplies of food, that the *need* of the manna altogether ceased, and yet *need* had called forth its bestowment. A continuance of the manna in a cultivated country would have been just as if the Israelites, on the banks of the Jordan, had been supplied with water from the rock. The Israelites would never have eaten it. They were tired of it in the Desert. For what purpose bestow a gift, which the receivers could not make use of, and their disgust at which might be foreseen? Such a waste of it would have answered no end but to weaken the gratitude for its former impartation in a time of need.

Further, that in the case of the manna the supernatural was founded on the natural, as with the miracles in Egypt, and the supply of quails, is evident not only in general from the fact that the manna is even now to be met with in the Sinaitic Peninsula, but specially from the place and time of the first impartation of the manna, compared with that of the ordinary kind. As to the locality, VON RAUMER finds himself obliged, although he maintains an irreconcilable opposition between "*the bread from heaven*," "*the angels' food*," and "*the Lausproduct* (the manna of the *Coccus manniparus*\*) of the naturalist," to make the remark, "It will always be striking that the manna of the Tamarisk is found exactly in the region of the Sinaitic Peninsula, where the manna from heaven probably first fell on the camp of the Israelites. From ancient times this was acknowledged. While modern writers are disposed to see in the Israelitish manna nothing but the Tamarisk manna, JOSEPHUS, on the contrary, says that "even

---

\* "It is found in the form of shining drops on the twigs and branches (not upon the leaves) of the Túrfa, *Tamarix Gallica mannifera* of EHRENBURG, from which it exudes in consequence of the puncture of an insect of the coccus kind, *Coccus manniparus* of the same naturalist," ROBINSON'S *Biblical Researches*, vol. i. p. 170, see also Note xiv.—[Tr.]



now manna falls in that whole district, (*ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔεται πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος*), as when God sent it down in answer to the prayer of Moses." (*Antiq. Jud. Lib. iii. cap. i. § 6*). The same view is taken by travellers; BREIDENBACH reports, "the bread from heaven is still found in the vallies around Mount Sinai: it falls in the morning like dew, and is collected by the Arabs and Monks." The *time* also when the Israelites first received the manna, agrees remarkably with that during which it is most commonly found, in June and July; compare SEETZEN in VON RAUMER, p. 25. If on these grounds it is ascertained that the manna had originally a natural foundation, then certainly for nothing short of the most stringent reasons should we accede to an opinion by which this connection of the supernatural with the natural is dissolved, since Canaan produces no manna, and particularly since the comparison with the signs and wonders in Egypt, (in all of which such a natural foundation existed), shows that the existence of such a connection must rest on no shallow grounds. See the statements in the work entitled *Aegypten und die Bücher Moses*, p. 93. (*Egypt and the Books of Moses*, by DR HENGSTENBERG, transl. by ROBBINS, &c.)

Yet the considerations that have been suggested against the opinion of the continuance of the supply of manna to the Israelites till their arrival in Canaan, though unquestionably important, must be at once given up, if plain and express testimony in favour of the opinion can be brought from Holy Writ. Such certainly at first sight appears to be contained in one passage, Josh. v. 11, 12, which alone has given rise to the opinion. "*And they did eat of the old corn of the land on the morrow after the Passover, unleavened cakes and parched corn on the selfsame day. And the manna ceased on the morrow after they had eaten of the old corn of the land, neither had the children of Israel manna any more, but they did eat of the fruit of the land of Canaan that year.*" But by the *ceasing* here *may* properly be meant a definitive ceasing—an indication that now the period of manna made way definitively for the period of bread, and that the passage *must* be so understood, we are led to believe from Josh. i. 11, "*Prepare you victuals, for within three days ye shall pass over this Jordan*"—which is unintelligible, if it be admitted that the manna followed the Israelites over the Jordan, and that

they began to eat bread precisely on the day after the Passover, which to admit would be quite absurd. But still more decidedly we are led to the same result by the passage in Exod. xvi. 35, which we may with more confidence use as a commentary, since it is certain that the author of the Book of Joshua always had the Pentateuch before his eyes. According to this passage, the Israelites “ate manna until they came to a land inhabited, until they came to the borders of the land of Canaan.” Here “the inhabited land,” (אֶרֶץ נְשֻׁבִים) appears as the natural limit of the manna as *the food of the wilderness*, and that by “Canaan” we can only understand Canaan in a wider sense, including the country beyond Jordan, is shown by the parallel expression, “the inhabited land.” The attempt made in *the Dissertations on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii., p. 171, to construe the וְ, until, not exclusively, in order to favour the common interpretation of the passage in Joshua, of the incorrectness of which the author was not then satisfied, is inadmissible, since by the phrase, “unto the inhabited land,” the ground of the ceasing is indicated, *i. e.* till they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, where the manna ceased; for now “the inhabited land” presented its supplies, so that the manna was superfluous. Moreover, the manna is plainly spoken of in this passage, as something already past and gone.

The latter also is the case in Deut. vii. 2, 3, where the manna and the wilderness appear as inseparably united, and the former is represented as a temporary relief, which presupposed the hunger of Israel. So also in chap. viii. 16, where the manna is connected with the water from the rock.

It appears therefore certain that the manna did not follow the Israelites into Canaan. But we must regard it as very probable that the manna was not granted them beyond the Sinaitic Peninsula. The passage in Exod. xvi. 35 is not decisive of its accompanying them further. For the fixing here may be properly understood to be on the whole and in the gross. The last distinct mention of the manna in Num. xxi. 5, belongs to a time at which the Israelites were still in the Peninsula of Sinai, to the west of the Edomitish mountains. But as to the main point, the passage in Deut. ii. 6, “Ye shall buy meat of them (the Edomites) for money, that ye may eat, and ye shall buy water

*of them for money, that ye may drink,*" does not sound as if the manna had followed the Israelites in their march along the eastern border of the Edomitish territory. It is implied that the only choice left for them was between *taking* and *buying*. How irreconcilable this passage is with the view, according to which the manna was continued uninterruptedly for forty years, and accompanied the Israelites even into the land of Canaan, is shown by the various attempts of its advocates to harmonize the one with the other, which may be seen in JO. GERHARD, *Comm. in Deut.* p. 77. Several take the clause interrogatively: *Num cibum emetis ab eo?*

II. According to the commonly received opinion, the manna (apart from the quails, which were only granted transiently) must have been, during the whole forty years of the sojourn in the wilderness, the only food of the Israelites, and consequently imparted to them uninterruptedly, and always in equal abundance. Thus, for instance, VON RAUMER says (p. 26), "The Bible says that the Israelites, for forty years long, collected the manna *day by day*, with the exception of the Sabbath;" and, p. 27, "The Holy Scriptures say that the Israelites collected so much manna that every one had daily a homer of manna." But on a nearer examination of the passages on which this view is founded, it appears that they do not support it. The "*day by day*" is nowhere to be found. In Exod. xvi. 35, it is only said that the eating of the manna was carried on through the whole forty years, by which language interruptions are not excluded. The statement of *quantity* in Exod. xvi. 16 refers only to the first time. Of the quantity afterwards nothing is said, and nothing in this passage forbids our supposing that it varied according to the variety of the situations and the wants of the Israelites. That the passage in Deut. xxix. 5 (6), "*Ye have not eaten bread, neither have ye drunk wine or strong drink, that ye might know that I am Jehovah your God,*" does not deny the use of natural provisions, but only expresses their absolute insufficiency, has been long ago remarked by AUGUSTIN,\* with a reference to Ex. xxxii.

---

\* *Quaest.* 51. *in Deut.*: Hinc apparet tantum vini in suis impedimentis potuisse portare Israelitas, quando exierunt de Ægypto quod possent cito consumere. Nam si omnino nihil secum tulissent, unde esset illud de quo dictum est (Ex. xxxii. 5.) Sed et populus manducare et bibere et surrexerunt ludere. Non enim hoc de aqua dice-



6, 18, according to which the Israelites drank wine at the feast of the golden calf.

The positive evidence that the Israelites in the wilderness were not merely dependent on the manna for their sustenance, but had other resources at command, we shall first of all adduce from intimations in the Pentateuch itself. VITRINGA\* has brought proof that the descriptions of the wilderness in such passages as Deut. viii. 15, "*Who led thee through that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery serpents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no water; who brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint;*" Deut. i. 19, "*And when we departed from Horeb, we went through all that great and terrible wilderness which ye saw,*" xxxii. 10, although quite true, are yet one-sided, from the fact that this wilderness, according to the accounts of the Pentateuch itself, was the abode of various tribes, to whom the advantage of the natural resources which it presented, furnished support—the Ishmaelites according to Gen. xxi. 22, xxv. 18,† the Amalekites, the Midianites who, as the history of Moses shows, fed their flocks in the neighbourhood of Mount Sinai. The same resources which these tribes enjoyed, must have been at the command of the Israelites. Moreover, the Israelites brought numerous herds and flocks with them out of Egypt; compare Ex. xii. 38, xvii. 3, which they would not have done if the wilderness had furnished no sustenance for them. That these possessions of cattle were still existing in the later times of their march, such passages will show as Ex. xxxiv. 3, "*Neither let the flocks and herds feed before that Mount,*" Num. xx. 19, where Israel says to Edom, "*We will go by the highway; and if I and my cattle drink of thy water, then will I pay for it,*" &c.; and Num. xxxii. where Reuben and Gad, the tribes who

---

retur, cum et ipsius Mosis manifestissima verba sint, non fuisse illam vocem principium belli, sed principium vini. (Ex. xxxii. 18).

\* In his essay, *De deserto Arabiae Petraeae*. Obs. ss. ii. 197.

† In reference to this latter passage, VITRINGA remarks: Vult dicere scriptor sacer Ismaelis posteros implese prima desertum inter Judaeum et Aegyptum medium ab Havilah (Havilah, VITRINGA remarks, hic est nomen loci illo tempore noti ad austrum Canaanæ). This is very evident from 1 Sam. xv. 7) ad Sur; inde autem cum illud ipsos non euperet desertum latius excurisse in Arabiam illum desertum, quæ in Assyriam tendit.

probably in Egypt remained most faithful to the nomadic life of their progenitors, found their suit for assigning to them the land beyond Jordan on their large possessions of cattle. These herds must have been a considerable source of support for the Israelites, and districts which furnished nourishment for *cattle* could not be without productions which were adapted for human food. In *one* place at least such productions are expressly mentioned, in Ex. xv. 17, where we are told that at Elim there were seventy palm-trees. Lastly, the Israelites brought considerable wealth from Egypt, and even in the wilderness opportunities were not wanting for traffic. Therefore, when an opportunity presented itself for intercourse with other nations, they could procure provisions for money. Therefore it was expressly enjoined them on their march along the eastern border of Edom, Deut. ii. 6, 7, "*Ye shall buy meat of them, for money that ye may eat; and ye shall also buy water of them that ye may drink. For Jehovah thy God hath blessed thee in all the works of thy hands.*" MICHAELIS, *ut satis tibi sit ad emenda illa necessaria*. What is here expressly said in reference to the march along the eastern border (and only for this reason, that there was the temptation of *taking by force* instead of *purchasing*, on this side where the country was open and exposed), the Israelites had certainly done on their march along the strong western border. Probably for these reasons the Israelites kept as much as possible in its neighbourhood. The Israelites at least appear to have had their headquarters during the whole thirty-eight years of the curse, in the district of Mount Seir, in the Arabah, and never to have returned to the neighbourhood of Sinai. For in Num. xxxiii. the farthest of the stations towards the south is on their return from Kadesh—Eziongeber, on the northern extremity of the Gulf of Acaba in ver. 35. Hence when the period of their punishment had nearly expired, they marched a second time to Kadesh. But by this they were not excluded from obtaining by their foraging parties all the remaining productions of the country.\* But not only the

---

\* According to Deut. i. 46, it might seem, that the head quarters of the Israelites, during a considerable part of the period of their punishment, were in Kadesh itself: "*So ye abode in Kadesh many days, according to the days that ye abode there.*" But the "*many days*" must belong to the time before the divine decree of exclusion from the promised land, and embrace the time which they had spent at Kadesh, before the spies were sent out, as well as the forty days employed by the spies. For that the

statements of the Pentateuch itself, the accounts also of modern travellers testify that the Desert of Arabia presented many means of support to the Israelites. These accounts have been collected with much industry by HUG, in his review of RÜPPEL'S Travels in Nubia, Kordofan, and Arabia Petraea, in the fourth part of the *Zeitschrift für die Geistlichkeit der Erzbisthums Freiburg*. (Journal for the clergy of the Archbishopric of Freiburg.) The greatest number of these means are found in the vicinity of Mount Sinai. "This Mount Sinai," RAUMER remarks, "where the air is cool and pure, where no pernicious simoom blows, where fountains flow in abundance, vegetation is luxuriant, where rich fruits, apricots, and oranges, &c., flourish, and the scene is animated by game of various kinds—this Mount was suited for a long sojourn of the Israelites at the time of the giving of the law." But also the region in which the Israelites encamped during the longest part of their march, the Arabah, is not even now destitute of these means of sustenance. "This long flat valley," says VON RAUMER, p. 7, appears, according to BURCKHARDT, like a wide sea of sand, of which the flatness is interrupted by innumerable drifts of sand and small hills. Yet here and there are found in it green oases, shrubs, and palm trees, and ruins of decayed places." But many traces lead us to infer that the resources of the Arabian Desert were much more abundant than they are now. We will

---

Israelites marched back after the rejection is said plainly enough. In Num. xiv. 25 it is said, "*To-morrow, turn you, and get you into the wilderness by the way of the Red Sea,*" and according to ver. 40, they made, on the following morning, an attempt to penetrate into Canaan, but were driven back and chased to Hoomah, therefore beyond Kadesh. Also, Deut. ch. ii. 14 shows that there was no sojourn at Kadesh after the rejection. For, according to this passage, thirty-eight years elapsed between leaving that place and the passage over the brook Zered. The phrase "*many days*" here, and in ch. ii. 1, "*and we compassed Mount Seir many days,*" accordingly denotes periods of very different lengths; in Kadesh the Israelites abode, at the utmost, half a year; on the other hand, in compassing Mount Seir, they spent thirty-eight years. But this can only appear strange, if we pay no attention to the difference of the historical statements in Deuteronomy (in which the history is brought in only as a foundation for *exhortation*), from those in the Book of Numbers. As little can the Future with *Vau conv.* וַיֵּשְׁבוּ prove that, in ver. 46, the stay at Kadesh there mentioned, followed directly after the rejection which is spoken of in the preceding verse. Since the Fut. with *Vau conv.* denotes not merely the sequence of *time*, but of *sense*, so the passage might be explained as it has been by several—"And so ye abode," or we may suppose that the progress, as is often the case, lies not in the first Future with *Vau conv.*, but in both taken together; "*and after ye abode in Kadesh many days, we turned and took our journey,*" &c.



only adduce a few facts which RÜPPEL has brought forward on this subject. "In most vallies," we read, p. 190, "are found some thick-stemmed acacia trees, which once must have been far more frequent, but which are daily diminishing on account of the traffic of the Arabians in charcoal." Further, p. 201, "The gradual destruction of trees in the mountain vallies, has certainly contributed very much to the desolation of the country." He makes the same remark respecting Wady Firan, Wady Tor, and Hegibel, "The few date trees which are found there could, with little trouble, be very much increased, not only here, but also in the vicinity of most fountains, which would furnish the inhabitants with abundant and wholesome nourishment." In p. 256, of Wady Salaka, he says, "Only a few scattered naka trees are found here. Their strength and beautiful growth are a pledge that with some industry this valley also might be profitable; to all appearance all these vallies were once well wooded."

But thus much is certain; let all the natural resources be brought into account which the wilderness presents, and to this add that in that climate the need of food is proportionably very small; (compare BURCKHARDT on the little sustenance required by the Arabs;) yet there must have been times and places in which the maintenance of such an immense multitude of men necessarily required extraordinary divine aid, if the people were not to perish. That the narrative records such aid, does not take from it the character of credibility, but rather establishes it, especially since what is extraordinary here, as in the wonders and signs in Egypt is closely connected with the ordinary. If in some passages the extraordinary alone is brought forward, it must be for a reason which VON RAUMER, for instance, has neglected to consider—that conformably to the aim of the author who wrote primarily not for curiosity, but for faith, the natural must retire into the background, and can only be slightly adverted to. Philosophical enquiry may not strive (while allowing their just claim to the intimations of the Pentateuch, of which the existence withstands every charge of intentional deception, or of a fabulous quality) to render prominent those points which are comparatively unimportant to a believer.







Date Due

RESERVE

(Hard) I.T.  
Hermeticis

RESERVE

~~PAID~~

~~PAID~~

~~SEP 2 70~~

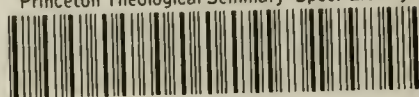
~~JUL 21 1995~~





BS1555.4 .H514  
Dissertations on the genuineness of

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00075 6546