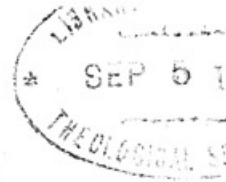


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THE INFLUENCE OF DANIEL

A large part of the difficulty which confronts us when we consider the origin of a writer's ideas meets us also when we try to trace the influence of these ideas upon succeeding literary productions. The seeming traces may have come from some other source than the one supposed, or they may be original in the mind of the later writer without any real, or at least conscious, knowledge of the work of the preceding author. If the two works be from approximately the same period of time, or if the circumstances of the two periods of time were substantially the same, the same or similar *Zeitgeist*, or spirit of the times, would naturally produce the same or similar thoughts and expressions of thought. For example, the ennui, the *Weltschmerz*, the disgust with the world and its gifts, and the despairing flight of the soul to its refuge in God, which are manifest in the book of Ecclesiastes, may have been equally characteristic of any period of outward natural prosperity, coincident with moral and spiritual decay. The moralists of the old Egyptians of the Fifth Dynasty, such as Ptahhotep and Imhotep, as well as the Roman satirists, such as Juvenal and Seneca, bear witness to the fact that the soul of man can not be satisfied with mere earthly grandeur and material success. The Aramaic fragments of Achikar as well as the Jewish proverbs of Solomon, Hezekiah, Ben Sira, and Wisdom, exhibit in like manner the vanity of earthly greatness and the transitoriness of human friendship, wealth and happiness. How much, if anything, the Greek philosophers may have derived from the Egyptians, Babylonians, Hindoos, and Hebrews, we may never



be able to determine. The Greeks assert that Pythagoras, Plato, and Aesop, were all influenced by oriental savants. In the case of Aesop, this assertion is confirmed by the recent find of the Aramaic fragments of Achikar. In view of the fact that Herodotus, Xenophon, and many other Greek historians, made known to the Greeks much of the history of the oriental nations and that this knowledge was increased by contributions to national history such as those of Berossus, Manetho, Nicolaus of Damascus, Diodorus of Tyre, Menander and Josephus, it is most probable that the philosophical ideas combined with the proverbs and the wisdom literature of the Hebrews, Arameans, Egyptians and others would also have been communicated to the Greeks by hearsay if not by writing. Since scarcely one in a thousand of the writings of the Greeks and hardly any of those of the orientals have come down to our day, it is impossible for us to judge of all the literary influences which may have shaped the thoughts and forms of expression of the few writers who are known to us.

So, in like manner, to attempt to show the influence exerted by a given writer upon his successors from the scanty literary material which we possess is futile. It is doomed to failure because of the paucity of the material at our disposal. And the failure is more sure in the case of the literature of the Egyptians, Persians, Arameans, Phoenicians and Hebrews than it is in the case of the Greeks and Romans, because in the case of the former, the content and extent of the literature known to us is much less and in some instances almost nil.

When we come to investigate the influence of Daniel upon succeeding generations we must remember, then, that there are in our possession from the period between 550 and 150 B. C. but a very few Hebrew works at most which could possibly have been subjected to this influence and that for a long period of time there is not known to us a single literary production of any kind in which such influence could pos-

sibly be found, or at least, be justly expected to be found. Before going further into the discussion of this subject, let us first state the objections made to the early date of the book of Daniel on the ground that the influence of its ideas cannot be traced in the literature of the Hebrews which precedes the time of the Maccabees.

OBJECTIONS OF THE CRITICS

Dr. Cornell says: "If Daniel has been composed by a contemporary of Cyrus, we should necessarily have expected that so peculiar and highly important a work would have shown some evidence of its being known and used. When one sees how echoes and reminiscences of Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah, are traceable in all the literary productions that were written after them, the same results would be looked for from Daniel. But nothing of this is to be discovered."¹

Professor Bevan holds that, "On the supposition that the narrative of Daniel is historical, it is marvelous that it should be passed over in utter silence by all extant Jewish writers down to the latter half of the second century B. C., that it should leave no trace in any of the later prophetic books, in Ezra, Chronicles, or Ecclesiasticus."² And he adds, "In order to realize the true state of the case we should consider how easy it would be to refute, from Jewish literature, anyone who asserted that the book of Isaiah or that of Jeremiah was composed entirely in the Maccabean period."³

According to Dr. Driver, "... it is undeniable that the doctrines of the Messiah, of angels, of the resurrection, and of a judgment of the world, are taught with greater distinctness, and in a more direct form, than elsewhere in the Old Testament and with features approximating to (though not identi-

¹ *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, p. 386 b.

² *The Book of Daniel*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

cal with) those met with in the early parts of the Book of Enoch, c. 100 B.C."⁴

It was the view of Farrar that, "Admitting that the pinnacle (of eminence, assigned to Daniel of which the Dean has just spoken in the preceding context) may have been due to the peculiar splendor of Daniel's career, it becomes less easy to account for the total silence respecting him in all the books of the Old Testament, with the Prophets that were contemporary with the Exile and its close, like Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi; and with the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which give us the details of the Return."⁵

ASSUMPTIONS

These objections are all based upon the following *assumptions*:

I. That if there were no traces of the influence of Daniel found in pre-Christian literature till 165 B. C., the book of Daniel could not have been written till then.

II. That, as a matter of fact, there is no trace of the influence of Daniel in pre-Christian literature till 165 B. C., the implication being that after that date the influence is much more marked.

III. That this literature is of such a character that we would have expected to find traces of this influence, provided that Daniel had written as early as the latter part of the sixth century B. C.

IV. That the same measure of influence would be expected from Daniel as from other books, especially Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah.

V. That because the ideas of Daniel and those of the First Section of Enoch approximate, they must have been from the same time.

⁴ *Introduction to Literature of the Old Testament* (abbrev. LOT), p. 508.

⁵ *The Book of Daniel* (Expositors' Commentary), p. 11.

ANSWERS TO ASSUMPTIONS.

We will discuss these assumptions under the following heads: (1) the alleged silence of the pre-Maccabean literature; (2) the traces of the influence of Daniel up to 200 B. C.; (3) the traces of the influence of Daniel from 200 B. C. to 135 A. D.; (4) a comparative study of Daniel's influence; (5) the approximation of Daniel and Enoch.

I. THE ARGUMENT FROM SILENCE

In answer to the first of these assumptions, let it be said that it would not be necessary to admit that Daniel could not have been written in the sixth century B. C., even if no trace of it were to be found in the pre-Christian literature before 165 B. C. No one knows enough about the history and literature of that time to be able to make any such assertion upon the basis of evidence. We can gather from the contents of the book itself that it was most probably written at or near Babylon. This conclusion is rendered almost certainly conclusive by the character of the language in which the book is written.⁶ What convincing reason have we, then, for supposing that a book written at Babylon about 535 B. C. *must* have been known to Zechariah and Haggai writing at Jerusalem about 520 B. C. in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (Hag. i. 1, Zech. i. 1)? It was not the age of printing presses, nor of the rapid multiplying of copies. Besides, we can see good reasons why Daniel, the trusted servant of Cyrus, might not have desired to publish a work which predicted—in unmistakable terms—the eventual overthrow of the kingdom of Persia. Such a publication would certainly have done no good, either to Daniel or to the people of Israel.

Further, Daniel was commanded by the angel to shut up and seal the book until the time of the end (Dan. xii. 4, 9). Whatever these words mean, they would certainly indicate

⁶ See article on "The Aramaic of Daniel" in *Biblical and Theological Studies*, by the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1912.

that the book of Daniel was not intended so much to meet the immediate religious needs of the Israelites, as to serve the wants of future generations. According to the book itself (ix. 24, 25) the vision and prophecy were to be sealed until Messiah-Prince should come. It is possible therefore that the book was preserved in secret until the time of the Maccabees when it was thought that in some prince of the Asmonean line the predicted Messiah had at last come unto his own. If it be said in reply to this, that we have no record of any such publication in the time of the Maccabees, a sufficient answer is, neither have we any record of the existence of the pseudo-Daniel of the critics nor of the publication of his work at that time.

It will be seen from the above that we are not prepared to admit that the book of Daniel was not written in the sixth century B. C., even though it may not have been known to the Jewish Palestinian writers of the time from 535 down to 165 B. C. But, we go further and affirm that it is not necessary to suppose that they were not acquainted with the work because they have not cited from it, nor shown any traceable influence of it. There are few citations in any of these works from any of the works preceding them. There are few traces of previous authors to be found in any of the literature of these times, Ecclesiasticus alone excepted. They were too full of the important matter which they were describing and of the messages from God which they had to deliver, to be pre-occupied with the thoughts and messages of the prophets and holy men that had preceded them.

II. TRACES OF DANIEL'S INFLUENCE ON HEBREW LITERATURE UP TO 200 B. C.

Having thus repudiated at the start any presupposition of the critics with regard to the date of Daniel based upon the possible absence of traces of Daniel's influence on the pre-Christian writings, let us now examine whether after all there are traces of the influence of the ideas of Daniel in any

part of this pre-Christian literature; and if in some parts of it there are no traces, how we are to account for this fact.

And first, let us ask what are these pre-Christian books to which the critics appeal? It will be admitted by all that they embrace the books of Zechariah, Haggai, Malachi, Esther, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Chronicles. To these, some of the critics would add Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, and some of the Psalms; while others would also add Joel, Jeremiah, and many parts of other books, such as the priestly part of the Pentateuch, commonly denoted by P, the larger part of the book of Proverbs, parts of Isaiah and Nahum, the larger part of the Psalter, and even Job.

1. Taking up first of all the works which are admittedly from the period between 538 and 200 B. C., let us inquire whether any trace of the ideas of Daniel can be found in them; and if not, why not. In treating of this subject we shall confine ourselves to the four marks of influence the lack of which is said by Dr. Driver to show that Daniel was not written till the middle of the second century B. C., i.e., angels, resurrection, judgment, and the Messiah.

a. Beginning with Haggai, we observe that this short book of two chapters is taken up entirely with the affairs connected with the rebuilding of the temple, and that it contains several messages from Jehovah directed to Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah, to Joshua the High Priest, and to the rest of the people urging them to build the house of the Lord. Yet even here we find in chapter ii. 7, 9, 22, 23 statements concerning the overthrow of the kingdoms of the nations and the establishment of the peace of Jehovah in his temple at Jerusalem. This overthrow of the kingdoms of the nations may be compared with Dan. ii. 44 where it says that the Lord God shall set up a kingdom which shall break in pieces and consume all the kingdoms of the earth. Since Haggai does not speak of the resurrection, nor of the judgment, nor of angels, no one can tell what his ideas on these subjects may have been. Certainly it is not fair to say that they must have been differ-

ent from those of Daniel. Haggai says that the word of the Lord came unto him and that he had a message (*mal'ekhuth*) from Him. He calls himself also, an angel or messenger (*mal'ak*) of Jehovah, a phrase peculiar to himself, putting us in mind of the *mar shipri* of the Babylonians just as the word for message recalls the *shipru* with which the gods of Babylonia communicated their will to men.⁷

b. In Zechariah, however, we find the use of the vision method which characterizes Daniel (as in i. 8, 18, ii. 1, iii. 1, iv. 1, v. 1, 6, vi. 1); but he says that the word of Jehovah came unto him (as in i. 1, vii. 1, 4, 8, viii. 1, 18) and speaks of the burden (*massa'*) of Jehovah (ix. 1, xii. 1). He makes frequent mention of the Messiah and of his kingdom, (vi. 12, ix. 9, xiii. 1) and speaks of the angel who was talking with him and of another angel who went out to meet him (ii. 3). He speaks also of Satan and of the angel of Jehovah (iii. 1), and of the holy ones (xiv. 5). He speaks of a judgment of Jehovah and his saints upon the nations and of the establishment of the kingdom of God over all the earth. Of the specific doctrines of Daniel of which Dr. Driver speaks, all but the resurrection are mentioned in Zechariah. On angels and the Messiah the statements of Zechariah are even more explicit than those of Daniel. Of the doctrines mentioned by both Zechariah and Daniel the latter is more explicit on the judgment alone.

c. Malachi does not mention the resurrection; nor does he speak of angels, unless Malachi itself means "my angel." He does speak, however, of the Messiah as the messenger or angel (*mal'ak*) of the covenant (iii. 1) and as the Sun of righteousness who should arise with healing in his wings (iii. 20 AV, iv. 2 in the MT); and of the judgment in chapter three.

d. The books of Ezra and Nehemiah are taken up with genealogical and historical matter connected with the build-

⁷ Haggai mentions no proverbs; does this prove that there were no proverbs before Haggai?

ing of the wall of Jerusalem and with the reforms of religion in Israel. Being filled with the accounts of such earthly matters, they say nothing about resurrection, angels, judgment, or Messiah. What the author, or authors, may have thought on these subjects, is not even hinted at. This does not imply that they had no thoughts on these subjects, nor, if they had thoughts, that they did not agree with Daniel. Nor does the fact that they do not mention Daniel imply that they did not know about him any more than the fact that they do not mention Isaiah, Hosea, and the other prophets, implies that they did not know about them.

e. The books of Chronicles, however late they may have been written, do not, except in the last four verses, bring down the history of Israel later than the time of the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. In a history such as this there was never any occasion for the author's speaking of the resurrection, nor of the judgment, nor of the Messiah. Incidentally, he mentions Satan as having stood up against Israel and tempted David to number Israel (1 Chr. xxi. 1).

f. Esther treats of but one subject, the origin of the feast of Purim. The writer of this book never mentions the name of God. We might as well infer from this omission that he did not know about God as to infer from his omission of all reference to the resurrection, angels, etc. that he had no opinion on these matters. It seems wonderful, that if the author of Daniel lived in Palestine, as the critics say, at about the same time that the author of Esther did, he should have been so influenced by the Persian religion as to adopt from them his ideas about resurrection, judgment, angels, and Messiah; whereas a writer that knows so much about Persia, as it is admitted that the author of Esther did,⁸ should never have referred to any of those ideas at all. In view of the frequency with which the Behistun and other Persian inscriptions mention the name of God, it is remarkable also that this Jewish writer should never refer to him. Evidently, the

⁸ Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, I, 774.

influence of the Persian conquerors upon the religion of their subjects was not so great as some would have us imagine.

It thus appears that of the books (Chron. Ezra-Neh. Esther, Zech. Haggai, and Mal.) which according to the traditional view were written after 538 B. C., Chronicles, Zechariah, and Malachi, mention angels; Zechariah, Haggai and Malachi refer to the Messianic times, and to the judgment.

2. According to the critics, Joel, Jonah, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, the document P, most of the Psalms, Job, parts of Isaiah, Hosea, Amos, Micah, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Nahum, and Proverbs, were also written in post-exilic times. Of these the following mention one or more of the four subjects under discussion:

- (1) Messiah, or his Kingdom—Joel, Psalms, Micah.
- (2) The judgment—Joel, Psalms, Obadiah, Isaiah.
- (3) The Resurrection—Job, Psalms, Isaiah.
- (4) Angels—Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs.

The following mention none of the four subjects:

- (1) The passages, or parts, of Nahum, Hosea, Amos and Zephaniah alleged to be post-exilic.
- (2) The books alleged to be entirely post-exilic, such as Jonah, Joel, Canticles and P.

It is obvious, that if the failure of these documents to mention any one of these four subjects proves that Daniel did not exist, it proves also that JE and Isaiah did not exist; for both JE and Isaiah mention angels and Isaiah certainly refers to the Messiah. That documents say nothing about a certain subject proves nothing as to the ideas of the author of the document upon the subject not spoken of by him. An author cannot say all he knows in every book he writes.

a. Taking up the books and parts of books which some critics claim to have been written between 538 and 200 B. C. (such as Jonah, Joel, and parts of Isaiah), the general remarks may be made with regard to them that: (1) As respects angels, it is true that no influence of Daniel can be dis-

cerned in them. For they never mention them at all. But if this failure to mention angels proves that they did not know about the book of Daniel (i.e., supposing it could be shown that they were written in the period between 538 and 300 B. C.), it would prove also that their authors were ignorant of J and E, of the first part of Isaiah and Ezekiel and Zechariah, all of which mention angels. In other words, it would prove too much; the critics themselves being judges. For none of them would place J and E and Zechariah and Isaiah vi. after their alleged dates for Jonah, Joel and Isaiah xxiv-xxvii. It would be remarkable, also, that the Persian doctrine of angels should be accepted in the second century under Greek rule rather than under Cyrus. (2) As to the resurrection, neither Jonah nor Joel alludes to it. What they may have thought about it or whether they thought of it at all, they do not state and we cannot possibly know. Consequently, it is evident, that we cannot make a comparison between their view of the resurrection and that of Daniel. All we can say is that in the small fragments of their works that have come down to us, they do not talk upon this subject. A large part of the literature written about the Old Testament would never have been written, if the critics had only remembered, that we have no way of judging from the few chapters which most of the Old Testament writers have handed down to us, what their views were upon the countless subjects which they never treat. But let us examine the subject more in detail.

b. If we place, as many of the critics (e.g. Budde) do, the book of Jonah in this period we find that Jonah makes no reference to any of the four doctrines which Dr. Driver propounds as characteristic of Daniel. Neither resurrection, angels, general judgment, nor the Messiah, is even remotely referred to in the whole work. The only judgment hinted at is an earthly one, consisting of a threatened destruction of Nineveh. Sheol is mentioned in chapter two, but only figuratively in describing the descent of Jonah into the depths of the sea. If it could be proven that Jonah was

not written till post-captivity times, his silence with regard to Daniel might possibly have some significance. But that remains to be proven. Moreover, even if it could be proven that Jonah was later than 500 B. C., an argument as to whether Daniel was earlier or later than Jonah could not be made on the basis of these four doctrines, since Jonah has made no allusions to them.

c. In Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii. we find an apocalypse which Dr. Driver refers to the early post-exilic period:⁹ (1) because, he says, modern critics are generally agreed that it lacks a suitable occasion in Isaiah's age, (2) because in literary treatment it is in many respects unlike Isaiah and (3) because the thoughts are different from Isaiah.

Before calling attention to the teachings of this passage on the four subjects which, Dr. Driver says, were developed by Daniel, I cannot refrain from remarking upon the kind of evidence put forth by the critics and accepted by Dr. Driver as sufficient to form their conclusions. "*Modern critics are agreed*" forsooth! But on what grounds are they agreed? Does anyone of them know enough about the age of Isaiah to say that this passage was not suitable to his times? Where do they get their information? There is none, except what is contained in the Old Testament itself and in the few references to the Jewish history of that period that are contained in the Assyrian and Egyptian documents.¹⁰

⁹ LOT, p. 221.

¹⁰ Duhm limits the genuine prophecies of Isaiah to i. 2-26, 29, 31, ii. 2-4, 6-19, 21, iii. 1-9, 12-15, iv. 1, v. 1-14, 17-29, vi. 1-13, vii. 2, 8a, 8-14, 16, 18-20, viii. 1-18, 21, 22, ix. 2-7, 8-14, 17, x. 4, 5-9, 13, 14, xi. 1-8, xiv. 24, 25a, 26, 27, xvii. 1-6, 9-14, xviii. 1-6, xx. 1, 3-6, xxi. 16, 17, xxii. 1-9a, 11b-14, 15a, 16-18, xxviii. 1-4, 7-29, xxix. 1-4a, 5-7, 9-10, 13-15, xxx. 1-7a, 8-17, 27-32, xxxi. 1-4, 5, 8a, 9b, xxxii. 1-5, 9-18, 20. Cheyne limits the genuine parts of Isaiah to i. 5-26, 29-31, ii. 6-21, iii. 1-4, 5, 8, 9, 12-17, 24, 41, v. 1-14, 17-25b, vi. 1-13, vii. 2-8a, 9-14, 16, 18-20, viii. 1-18, 20b-22, ix. 8-13, 16, x. 4, 5-9, 13, 14, 27-32, xiv. 24, 25a, 26, 27, 29-32, xvi. 14 (from *within*), xvii. 1-6, 9-14, xviii. 1-6, xx. 1, 3-6, xxi. 16, 17, xxii. 1-9a, 11b-14, 15a, 16-18, xxiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6-12, 14, xxviii. 1-4, 7-19, 21, 22, xxix. 1-4, 6, 9, 10, 13-15; xxx. 1-7a, 8-17; xxxi. 1-5a (to *birds*): all that remains consist of editors' additions or post-exilic insertions. That is, out of the 1295

According to Cheyne and Duhm, the genuine verses of Isaiah, 269 to 307½ in number, cover the period from 740 to 701 B. C. From the earlier part of this period, we have the prophecies of Hosea 746-734 B. C., several passages of which are held by certain critics to be later additions, partly on the ground that in their opinion they express thoughts alien to Hosea's position, partly because they are supposed to interrupt the connection of thought. From the later years of Isaiah we have the prophecies of Micah. Here, again, the critics find that much material has been interpolated, such as part, or all, of chapters iv and v. These interpolations, or additions, are alleged on the ground that to the critics they seem to be "inconsistent," "not to harmonize," or "difficult to reconcile" with the portions they admit to be genuine. Chapters xv-xx of 2 Kings treat, also, of the times of Isaiah. But, since large portions of these chapters are supposed to be "the work of a prophet writing in the subsequent generation,"¹¹ it is left to the judgment of each critic to determine how much of them is reliable history. The books of Chronicles, so far as they contain matter additional to that of Kings, need not, in the opinion of the critics, be considered, inasmuch as "it does not seem possible to treat them as strictly and literally historical."¹²

Having thus rejected more than half of the records attributed by the sources to the period from 740 to 700 B. C., because it does not seem to them to be consistent with what they think to be genuine, the critics proceed to give us their view of what Isaiah and his contemporaries thought. The amusing thing about this method of procedure is, that those using it do not seem to see how absurd it is. The serious

verses attributed to Isaiah by the Massorettes, Duhm accounts 307½ and Cheyne 269 to be genuine. They deliberately throw out from three-quarters to four-fifths of the entire book without any documentary or even circumstantial evidence except that which is to be derived from their own precarious theories or opinions of what Isaiah ought to, or might have, written.

¹¹ LOT, 197.

¹² *Ibid*, 532.

thing about it is, that they do not see how wicked it is. To change a document for a purpose is not permissible in the ordinary transactions of life, nor in the editing of letters and other literary documents. In legal phraseology, it is called falsification, that is, "the intentional alteration of a record, or of any document so as to render it untrue," or different from what the original writers wrote.

In all this, I am not intending to cast a slur upon any well directed attempt to arrive by means of manuscripts and versions, or even by means of established principles of textual criticism, at the correct original of the Scriptures, nor to reflect upon any sincere endeavor to get at the right meaning of them; but I do intend to protest against the tacit claim on the part of some, without any superhuman knowledge, who pretend to be able to interpret the Mene-mene-tekelp-harsins of ancient history. Before any one has the right to deny that Isaiah xxiv-xxvii had a "suitable occasion" in the age of Hezekiah, he must know thoroughly the history of the period in which Isaiah lived. No one knows thoroughly that history. Therefore, no one has the right to deny that these chapters may have been written by Isaiah.

Again, it is said, that the literary treatment is unlike that of Isaiah's. Of course, the critics mean by this statement, that the literary treatment of chapters xxiv-xxvii is unlike that of the parts of Isaiah which they recognize as genuine. Here, once more, a caveat must be made. For even at the risk of appearing to reflect on the literary judgment of the eminent critics who make this assertion, I am constrained to express the opinion, that they do not know enough of the literary possibilities of a writer of the imagination and versatility of Isaiah to affirm that he could not have employed styles differing as much as are claimed to appear in various parts of the works bearing his name. Of the style of Ezekiel, or of Jeremiah, we might form a correct judgment because of general sameness. But a gifted genius like Isaiah transcends all ordinary canons. He must be compared, not to

Johnson, or Macaulay, with their stereotyped and stilted style; but rather with him "whose soul was like a star, and dwelt apart" who had "a voice whose sound was like the sea," now moving in majestic numbers as he narrates the speech of Satan to his marshalled hosts of embattled angels, now swelling in joyful paeans to the heaven-born Redeemer, now sounding in reverberating denunciations the doom of Waldensian persecutors, now booming in the grandiloquent prose of the Areopagitica in praise of that liberty that he loved so well; but, again, moving along in his *History of England* with scarcely a break to the monotony, or sinking to the almost frozen stiffness of the Common Place Book. Milton's Note Book shows that he wrote some of his lines five times before he published them. Macaulay says that he put three whole years upon the production of his *Lays of Ancient Rome*, writing and re-writing until they had reached the highest degree of perfection to which he could bring them. May not Isaiah have elaborated some of his works with more assiduity than others? May he not have cultivated, as we know that Robert Louis Stevenson did, a variety of styles sufficient to express most appropriately his varied ideas? May he not intentionally have put into the sections including chapters xxiv-xxvii the "synonymous clauses," "the alliterations and word-plays" the "many unusual expressions" and all the other features, "which though they may be found occasionally [elsewhere] in Isaiah, are never aggregated in his writings as they are here"? Who knows? The critics think they do. How do they know? How can they know? Have they sufficient evidence to show that they know? We think not.

Lastly, the critics assert that the thought of chapters xxiv-xxvii is different from Isaiah's. There are "points of contact" which show that the author of these chapters "was familiar with Isaiah's writings"; but there are features "which seem to spring out of a different (and later) vein of thought from

Isaiah's."¹³ "Veins of thought" forsooth! and "different veins of thought"! and "later veins of thought"! Beautiful phrases! Empty phrases! Unjustifiable phrases! For by what method of psychological analysis, or historical investigation, have the critics arrived at the conclusion, that Isaiah may not have had different veins of thought at different periods of his life? Who of us has not had in the course of forty years, or less, many new veins of thought, a new philosophy of life, perhaps an altered view of the universe and God? Who of us does not know of many men, who in a score of years or less, have apparently changed their whole attitude toward the scheme of things? That these changes have taken place, we know; but whence and how they came, we cannot always tell. We do not know all the influences that shape and change our own lives, much less the lives of others. But, as to those who have long since been dead, and of whose outer and inner life little information has come down to us, it is, and must be, impossible for us to determine the number, variety, and causes, of their changes of thought, and of the frequency and extent of these changes. How, then, when we go back twenty-five hundred years to the time of Isaiah, can we expect to tell what veins of thought he may have had, and whence and how they may have originated? How can we measure the periphery of the circle of his ideas? How can we sound the depths of his researches, or soar to the heights of his imagination? How can we determine, that he may have discovered certain "veins of thought," but that certain others must have been unknown to him?

And yet, this is just what the critics of Isaiah claim the capacity for doing. They claim to have the ability to distinguish from the thoughts expressed the parts of the present book of Isaiah that were composed about 700 B. C., the parts that are alleged to have been written from 550 to 500 B. C., and the parts that, they say, must have been writ-

¹³ LOT, 220.

ten as late as 400, or even 175 B. C. On the face of it, this claim has the appearance of a hypersensitized egoism.

For, says Dr. Driver, "it is true," that in these chapters, "the author follows Isaiah more than the other prophets"; but, at the same time, "his prophecy contains similarly reminiscences from other prophets," such as Hosea, Amos, Micah, Nahum, and Jeremiah.¹⁴ Dr. Driver fails to inform us, how he knows that Nahum and Jeremiah were not influenced by the writer of these chapters, rather than the opposite, or that all three may not have been influenced by some earlier unknown prophet whose works have been lost. In the case of Nahum ii. 11, and Isa. xxiv. 1-4, the reminiscence (*sic!*) seems to have been confined to the use of the one root *buq*, or *baqaq*,—a very slender support for a literary reminiscence, especially since Hosea and Jeremiah, also, use the same word. Must every one who speaks of the sound of a voice have a reminiscence of Wordsworth's sonnet to Milton, or of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*?

Again, Dr. Driver says, that "the absence of *distinct* historical allusions" makes the question as to what period the prophecy is to be assigned a difficult one to answer.¹⁵ "The unnamed city is most probably Babylon." Yet he adds, "it is doubtful, however, whether the literal Babylon is intended by the author. The lineaments of the city which he depicts are so indistinct and unsubstantial that the picture seems rather to be an ideal one: Babylon becomes a type of the powers of heathenism, which the prophet imagines as entrenched behind the walls of a great city, strongly fortified, indeed, but destined in God's good time to be overthrown." And yet, on the ground of this imaginary picture, the critics attempt to fix the date of these chapters; some placing it as late as about 334 B. C. This could be, says Dr. Driver, because Babylon "remained an important city till the close of the Persian empire . . ." While this is true, yet it was even more true in

¹⁴ LOT, 220.

¹⁵ LOT, 221.

the times of Hammurabi, of Merodach-Baladan (during whose reign Isaiah the son of Amos prophesied) and of Nebuchadnezzar. Always, from the time of Hammurabi to that of Alexander, Babylon the Great was the center of Semitic heathenism. To Isaiah and his contemporaries, it was not merely a type; it was the real, living, Jehovah-defying, centralized and radiating, power of this world. According to the prophecies expressly assigned to Isaiah in the book that bears his name, a large part of his thoughts and predictions were taken up with the future relations of Israel with this crowning city of heathendom. In chapter xxxix. he predicts that Hezekiah's descendents should be taken captive thither; in xl-lxvi, he comforts the people with the assurance of the faithfulness and power of Jehovah and of their eventual return from exile; in xiii-xiv, the ultimate complete destruction of Babylon is predicted. If we believe in predictive prophecy, the whole of the book of Isaiah may confidently be attributed to him. But, granting for the sake of argument all that the critics claim as to the date of Isa. xxiv-xxvii, what effect would this have upon the theory of the absence of the influence of ideas of Daniel on post-exilic literature? If with Dr. Driver, we were to refer these chapters "most plausibly to the early post-exilic period," we might mark the influence of Daniel in regard to angels, the judgment, and the Messianic kingdom. For in xxiv. 21-23, we read that "It shall come to pass in that day, that the LORD shall punish the host of the high ones that are on high—i.e., the angels,—and the kings of the earth upon the earth. And they shall be gathered together as prisoners are gathered in the pit, and shall be shut up in prison, and after many days shall they be visited."¹⁶ The moon shall be confounded and the sun ashamed when the Lord of hosts shall reign in mount Zion and in Jerusalem, and before his ancients gloriously."¹⁷ Again touching the resurrection, we read in xxvi. 19: "Thy dead men

¹⁶ i.e., in judgment. See also xxvi. 21, xxvii. 1.

¹⁷ i.e., in the Messianic kingdom. See also xxvii. 6.

shall live, together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for the dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Surely if we were to place the composition of Daniel at about 535 B. C., and that of Isa. xxiv-xxvii at 525, or after, it would be difficult to escape the conclusion that the latter was influenced by the former.

d. As to the *Priests' Codex* which is put by the critics from 400 to 300 B. C., it will be admitted by all that it contains no intimation of a resurrection, angels, of a judgment following death, nor even of a Messiah. It is noteworthy, however, if the author of this part of the Pentateuch wrote at so late a date (for he is put in the Persian times), that he should have said nothing about a Messiah or about angels, even if he be silent as to a resurrection and an after judgment. The critics may satisfy themselves as to the absence of reference to the latter by supposing that they were first suggested by a Daniel living in the second century B. C., but how on their own principle that the influence of the ideas of preceding authors should be traceable in later ones, will they explain the absence of all reference to the Messiah, and to angels in this great P document? If the absence of all reference to two of the doctrines proves that Daniel did not exist before P was written, the absence of all of them would prove that Isaiah and Zechariah did not exist.

e. The Proverbs of Solomon mention no future judgment, no Messiah, no kingdom, and no resurrection. The word for angel occurs in xvi. 14 where the wrath of a king is said to be as angels of death, and in xvii. 11, "An evil man seeketh rebellion only and a cruel angel shall be sent against him."

f. With regard to Joel, the case is different. It makes no mention of the resurrection or of angels. The Messianic times, however, are described in iii. 28-30 and iv. 18-20, though the Messiah himself is not referred to. The great day of Jehovah (ii. 2) is the main theme of the book. On this

day, the Lord will bring the nations down to the valley of Jehoshaphat and will judge them there. Thither, also, according to iv. 12, the nations, having been awakened, shall come up, when Jehovah shall sit there to judge all the nations round about.

g. At whatever date the critics place the composition of the Song of Songs, it would be preposterous to expect to find in a poetical work of its character, any reference to any one of the four subjects that are said to characterize the book of Daniel. Whatever its symbolical interpretation may be, its strict adherence to the theme of an earthly love that is stronger than death, excludes the expectation of finding any allusion in it, to any of the higher matters which are the theme of Daniel's discourse. This is not a matter of date and influence, but one of subject matter and literary consistency.¹⁸

3. The Apocryphal and other Extra-Canonical Writings of the Hebrews probably antedating the alleged date of Daniel in 164 B. C., are, Tobit, Ecclesiasticus, Achikar, the Aramaic Egyptian papyri, and the Letter of Aristeas. As to the four subjects under discussion, the following traces are to be found in them:

a. *Tobit*¹⁹ says nothing about resurrection, judgment, Messiah or kingdom; but has a great deal to say about angels. Thus in iii. 17 he names *Raphael* who is the *deus ex machina* sent by God to direct the whole plan of God's providence with reference to Tobit and Sara. The belief in guardian angels is expressed in v. 17, 22 and holy angels in xi. 14. Raphael (xii. 15) is called one of the seven holy angels who stand and enter before the glory of the Lord. *Asmodeus*, an evil demon, is mentioned by name (iii. 8 and elsewhere).

b. *Ecclesiasticus* mentions (1) angels (xxix. 28, xli. 2,

¹⁸ For a discussion of the Psalms assigned by critics to this period, see below.

¹⁹ Dating from 350 to 170 B. C. according to Simpson in *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the O. T.*, ed. by Charles. Vol. I, p. 183.

xlvi. 21, and (2) resurrection (xlvi. 12, xlvi. 20, xlviii. 5, xlix. 10).

c. *Achikar* (500-400 B.C.) is silent on all four subjects and displays no knowledge of the law or of the prophets, nor even of the history of Israel.

d. The other *Aramaic Documents* from Elephantine are equally silent on these four subjects.

e. *Aristeas* (200 B.C.) is silent on all four subjects.

III. TRACES OF DANIEL'S INFLUENCE FROM 200 B. C. TO 135 A. D.

For convenience of discussion we shall sub-divide this long period into three divisions: the period from 200-100 B. C., that from 100 B. C. to 1 A. D., and the third from 1-135 A. D.

1. Taking up the Post-Captivity Literature that was, or is thought to have been, written between 200 and 100 B. C., let us see whether the ideas which characterize Daniel are to be found, also, in them.

a. And first, let us consider the Canonical Books or parts of books, that are said by certain critics to have been composed in the second century B. C.

(1) Fifty-seven of the Psalms are alleged by Driver, Cheyne, Reuss, or Robertson Smith, to have been written in the time of the Maccabees. In these psalms, there is no mention of the resurrection, nor of the final judgment. Psalm cxliv. 2 alone speaks of angels; and only cx. 1 and cxviii. 29 refer clearly to the Messiah. In the three psalms (xliv, lxxiv and lxxix) which Dr. Driver puts in these times, there is no reference to any one of the four subjects that, in discussing Daniel, he alleges to be indicative of the Maccabean period, the distinguishing mark of its *Zeitgeist*. Strange, indeed, is it that those who make so much of the spirit of the times, of Persian ideas and Grecian philosophy, in the consideration of Ecclesiastes and Daniel, should be blind to the absence of Persian and Greek influences from the psalms! Think

of it! In none of these fifty-six psalms is Persia, or Greece once mentioned. No king of Persia, or Greece, is named. No Persian, or Greek, word is employed. The phalanx and the elephant, those mighty and almost invincible weapons of Seleucid warfare, are passed over in silence.

But, the absence of all direct and indisputable evidence of the Maccabean origin of these psalms might in a measure be considered negligible, if the critics were unanimous in their conclusions as to what were Maccabean. But, we find that in their conclusions, no two of them are agreed. Cheyne assigns 30 psalms to this period and Reuss 31; but they agree only as to eight of them. Perowne and Delitzsch put Pss. xlv, lxxiv, and lxxix, in Maccabean times; but Cheyne agrees with them only as to Ps. xlv, assigning Ps. lxxiv and lxxix to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus, while Reuss assigns no one of the three to the time of Maccabees. In the midst of such glaring, and, if we follow the subjective methods of their sponsors, such inevitable disagreements, as to the dates of these poetic compositions, one may be pardoned for judging that their methods are inconclusive and their opinions unreliable.

(2) Ecclesiastes, the date of whose composition is placed by Plumptre, Cornill, and Driver, at about 200 B. C., mentions neither the Messiah nor the Messianic kingdom, nor angels, nor the resurrection. With regard to judgment, it represents the author as saying in his heart that God will judge the righteous and the wicked (iii. 17) and as stating that God will bring every work into judgment with every secret thing whether it be good, or whether it be evil (xii. 14); and that the dead know not anything, neither have they any more a reward (ix. 5).²⁰

²⁰ It will be known to most of my readers, that the three great criteria used by the critics for determining the approximate dates of literary documents are the agreements, or disagreements, in reference to history, doctrine and language. One may perceive from the above statement that Daniel and Ecclesiastes both treat of but one doctrine in common, and that they differ considerably even in the treatment of this one. As to history, they never touch on the same subjects. Daniel, indeed, speaks expressly of certain events in the lives of Nebuchadnezzar, Belshazzar,

(3) Up to the present time, Professor Haupt of Johns Hopkins seems to be the only critic who has had the presumption to place any part of the book of Nahum in the Maccabean period. Yet, among the many equivocal grounds which he gives in favor of the late date of parts of this prophecy, he

Darius the Mede, and Cyrus; but Ecclesiastes makes no direct or definite allusion to anyone, save Solomon. When we come to the third criterion, that of language, to which Dr. Driver in his LOT has appealed so frequently and with such an assumption of cocksureness, we find that the disagreements are sufficient to make us doubt entirely the manner in which this criterion is used by the critics. If the *prima facie* and traditional view of the dates of the Old Testament books be correct we would expect the linguistic characteristics of Daniel to agree in large measure with those of Chronicles, Ezra-Nehemiah, and Esther. If the views of the critics were correct, we would expect to find a still closer resemblance between the language of Daniel and that of Ecclesiastes, the so-called Maccabean psalms, and Ecclesiasticus. Now, of the thirty-two words marshalled on pp. 506-507 of LOT to show that the Hebrew of Daniel resembles in all distinctive features the Hebrew of the age subsequent to Nehemiah, we find that twenty-five are found also in other books of the Old Testament. It will be seen, also, that fourteen of the words and seven of the phrases, that is, all but four, occur in Chronicles. Of the remaining four, one occurs in Nehemiah and two in Esther. Of the whole thirty-two, only one word and one phrase are met with in Ecclesiastes, and only one word in the fifty-seven so-called Maccabean psalms. On the other hand, of the fifteen words and phrases cited on page 475 of LOT as proof of the late date of Ecclesiastes, not one occurs in Daniel and only one in any of the supposedly Maccabean psalms.

All that is needed to test these almost unbelievable statements is to read and compare the collections of words and references on pp. 475, 506-7, and 387-9 of LOT. And while the gentle reader of these lines is testing these statements, let him read also what Dr. Driver has to say on pages 484-5, 535-540, and 545-547, about the expressions characteristic of Esther, Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah, and he will observe that they agree with Daniel in employing a goodly number of Persian words; whereas, the fifty-seven psalms have not one; and only one, and that of doubtful origin, is alleged to be found in Ecclesiastes.

Furthermore, of the four great peculiarities of the language of Ecclesiastes—the frequent use of nouns ending in *-uth* and *-on*, the employment of the relative *she*, and of the *waw* conjunctive with the perfect—not one is found in the Hebrew of Daniel. So that in the words of Dr. Driver himself (LOT, 473), we may say, that “linguistically, Coheleth stands by itself in the OT.” And since it stands by itself, it shows the futility of attempting, by such methods as those employed by the critics, to determine the date and composition of the documents on the ground of peculiar expressions found in them.

does not even suggest that there is the slightest hint in any verse of Nahum at any one of these four doctrines which are said to characterize the book of Daniel and to be indicative of the second century B. C., and for this good and sufficient reason, that as a matter of fact, not one of them is so much as hinted at in the whole book.²¹

(4) As to the ninety-two, or more of the Psalms of David said by the critics to have been written between 539 and 100 B. C., the following references to the four subjects under discussion occur in them, to wit:

(a) Angels are said in ciii. 20, 21, to be strong heroes that do Jehovah's word and his ministers that do his will. In xci.

²¹ One of the fanciful reasons that Prof. Haupt gives for the late date of a part of Nahum is the word *mephets* occurring in ii. 2. This word means "he that dashes in pieces," and is supposed by Prof. Haupt to refer to Judas Maccabaeus. The plural of the word is found in Jer. xxiii. 18, where it is translated in the English version by "scatter." A noun of the same form is found in Proverbs xxv. 1 in the sense of "maul," or "hammer." This verse is among those that were copied out by the men of Hezekiah from the proverbs of Solomon. If the author of Nahum ii. 2 had employed some derivative of *nakab* "to hammer," there would have been the appearance at least of an argument in favor of Prof. Haupt's view arising from the fact that Judas was called the *Makkabi*. This appearance, however, would not be significant of a late date, first, because the words *makkabah* and *makkebeth* "hammer" occur in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and 1 Kings, and also in Judges iv. 21, which many of the critics consider to be about the earliest part of the Old Testament. Now, since a hammer implies a hammerer, it is obvious that *makkabi* might have been used as early as Judges iv. Surely, Jael was a great hammerer.

Secondly, no argument for the late date of a document can be made on the basis of this word, seeing that not merely is it absent from the Old Testament literature—even from the so-called Maccabean portions—but the word, except possibly as a proper noun, is not found in the New Hebrew and Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud, nor in the Syriac.

Since this fancied reference of this one word to Judas Maccabaeus is the nearest approach to objective evidence for the late date of a part of Nahum to be found in the whole of Prof. Haupt's work, our readers cannot imagine with what far-fetched conjectures and might-have-beens, with what flashes of "phosphorescent punk and nothingness" the writer attempts to enlighten us with his subjective lucubrations. Brilliant they often are, but they lack the first principles of science, logic, and evidential value.

11, they are said to keep us in all our ways; and in xxxiv. 8, to encamp around those that fear Him and to deliver them. In lxviii. 17, they are said to be many thousands in number.

(b) As to the resurrection, these psalms have nothing to say, except possibly Ps. xxx. 4.

(c) As to the judgment, there are probable intimations in ix. 7, 8, and 1.

(d) The Messiah is expressly named in ii. 2, and is called God's Son in ii. 5, and is referred to in lxxii. 7, 8, cxxxii. 11, and in xxi, xxiv, xxvii, xxx, xxxiv, xxxv, xli, lxviii, lxix and cix.

In the Hebrew text, three of these psalms are without headings, to wit, the first, second, and ninety-first; the fiftieth is ascribed to Asaph, the seventieth, to Solomon, the eighteenth to Ethan, and all the rest, except possibly the one hundred and thirty-second to David.²²

(5) As to chapters xxiv-xxvii of Isaiah that some critics allege to have been written in the Maccabean period, see above pp. 348 ff.

b. In the second place, in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical Books written from 200 to 100 B. C. the following statements with regard to these four doctrines are to be found:

(1) *Ecclesiasticus* mentions angels, but only in references to the narratives in the canonical books. The other three subjects are not even hinted at.

(2) The *Book of Wisdom* calls the manna "angels' food" (xvi. 20), says that the righteous shall receive a glorious

²² In LOT, pp. 384-386, Dr. Driver gives the dates of the psalms as follows: In Books I and II, psalms ii, xviii, xx, xxi, xxviii, xlv, lxi, lxiii, and lxxii, will presumably be pre-exilic; of the rest, many, it is probable, spring from different parts of the Persian period. In Book III (psalms lxxiii-lxxxix), he supposes lxxvii, lxxviii, lxxx, lxxxi, lxxxv, lxxxvi, lxxxvii, to be post-exilic; lxxiv, lxxix, and perhaps lxxxiii, to be Maccabean; and lxxiii, lxxv, lxxxii, and lxxxiv, not earlier than Jeremiah. In Books IV and V, he makes ci and cx to be presumably from before the exile, xc and xci possibly so, and cii, exilic; xciii, xcvi-xcix, are either from the latter part of the exile, or soon after.

kingdom (v. 15, 16), rebukes the ungodly for saying that no man was known to have returned from the grave (ii. 1), says that the souls of the righteous shall judge the nation (iii. 1, 8), and the the unrighteous "shall have no hope, nor comfort, on the day of trial" (iii. 18).

(3) *First Maccabees* is silent on all four subjects; but emphasizes the importance of keeping the sabbath, as to which Daniel says nothing.

(4) The *Addenda to Daniel* show no trace of the influence of the canonical Daniel, as far as it affects these four doctrines.

(5) The *Addenda to Esther* represent Esther as saying to the king of Persia, that he appeared to her as an angel of God. (xv. 13).

(6) The book of *Baruch* mentions none of the four subjects, unless by devils (iv. 7) evil angels are meant.

(7) *Judith* is silent on all four subjects.

(8) Fragments of the *Book of Noah* are said to be embedded in the *Book of Enoch*. These fragments are supposed by Prof. Charles to be parts of a work that was written about 170 B. C., though the grounds upon which this early date is assigned to it are not absolutely convincing. They consist mostly of a commentary on the life of Noah as recorded in Genesis, and especially upon chapter vi. 1-4, which treats of the fallen angels, or "sons of God." §§ liv, lv, lx; and lxv-lxix give an account of the flood and of the judgment on the fallen angels; and cvi, cvii of the birth of Noah. The book names nineteen leaders of the rebellious sons of God and four others as leaders of the holy ones of heaven; and mentions Satan and even Satans (vi. 7, ix. 1, liv. 6, lxv. 6, lxix. 2-11). An angel of peace is spoken of in liii. 4, liv. 4, and lx. 24, and angels of punishment in v. 33, lxvi. 1. An angel went with Enoch (Noah?) and angels built the ark (lx. 11, lxvii. 2). There were a thousand thousand and ten thousand times ten thousand of angels, some of whom were called watchers (lx. 1; x. 7, 9, 15).

The day of the great judgment is referred to in x. 6, lx. 6, 25, after which the bad angels will be led off to the abyss of fire (x. 15, lxvii. 12, lxviii. 2), and the Messianic times of righteousness and truth and peace will be established (x. 16, xi. 2). Nothing is said in this book about a resurrection.

(9) The so-called First Section of the *Book of Enoch*, containing §§vi-xxxvi, names Raphael, Michael, Uriel, Raguel, and Azazel (xxii. 3, 6, xxiv. 2, xix. 1, xxi. 5, 9, xxvii. 2, xxiii. 4, xiii. 1) and seven holy angels who watch (xx. 2-8). It mentions the watchers of heaven (xii. 2, 3, 4, xiii. 10, xv. 21), watchers (xvi. 1), holy watchers (xv. 9), and the seven stars of heaven (xxi. 6). It speaks of holy ones (xiv. 25), and of most holy ones (xiv. 23), and calls them eternal (xiv. 1), children of heaven (xiv. 3) and says that they see the glory of God (xxxvi. 4). Evil spirits are called giants (xv. 8), for whom a prison is reserved (xxi. 10). The duties of angels are declared in §xx. The spirit of Abel lives on after death (xxii. 7), and compartments of Sheol exist for the spirits of the dead (xxii. 5, 8-13). In number there are ten thousand times ten thousand angels (xiv. 22).

The judgment is referred to in xiv. 4, xix. 1, xxv. 4, xxvii. 11, and a resurrection is implied in xxv. 6. No Messiah is mentioned.

(10) The Second Section of the *Book of Enoch* embraces §§lxxxiii-xc. Except in a veiled reference in xc. 33, it does not mention the resurrection; nor, since §xc. 37 may refer to John Hyrcanus, does it mention in express terms a Messiah. Angels may be meant by the seventy shepherds. A judgment on the stars and shepherds and blinded sheep is spoken of in §§xc. 24-27.

(11) *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, written according to Charles about 107 B. C., never name Gabriel or Michael, but speak of Satan and Beliar. They speak, also, of the angel of God, of angels of the presence, and of arch-angels and watchers. In Benjamin x. 8, 9, it speaks of the

judgment and says: The Lord judges Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed, and then so shall they judge the gentiles (compare Levi iii. 3). In Ben. x. 6-8, it speaks of a resurrection of the wicked as well of the righteous, saying: Ye shall see Enoch, Noah, and Shem, Abraham, and Isaac and Jacob, rising on the right hand of gladness; then, shall we also rise, each over our own tribe, and we shall worship the heavenly king. Then, shall we all be changed, some into glory and some into shame; for the Lord shall judge Israel first for the unrighteousness which they have committed and then shall he judge also the gentiles. In Simeon x. 2, the patriarch says: Then shall I arise; and in Zebulon x. 2, we read: Then shall I arise again in the world. Judah xxv. 1, 3, 4, reads: And after these things shall Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, arise unto life, and I and my brethren shall be the chiefs of the tribes of Israel. . . . and ye shall be the people of the Lord and have one tongue; and there shall be no spirit of deceit, for he shall be cast into the fire for ever and they who have died in grief shall arise in joy and they who are put to death for the Lord's sake shall awake.

Of the Messiah, the book says in two places that he will be from Judah, and in six, that he will be from Levi. It says, also, that he will war against Beliar and deliver his captives, that he will be free from sin, will walk in meekness and righteousness and open Paradise to the righteous.

(12) The *Book of Jubilees*, written according to Charles at about 107 B. C., has given up all hope in a resurrection. It mentions by name Mastema and Beliar and speaks of the creation and circumstances of angels, of guardian angels, of angels of the presence, of the duty of angels to instruct mankind, and of angels of wood, clouds, fire, etc.; as also, of their marrying the daughters of men, of their punishment, and of their children. It speaks, also, of the final judgment of the fallen angels and of their sons, and of a great judgment, apparently for all men (xxiii. 11, 30). Of the Messiah,

it speaks in but one ambiguous passage (xxxix. 18, 19), where it says to Judah: A prince shalt thou be, thou and one of thy sons, over the sons of Jacob: in thee shall be the help of Jacob and in thee be found the salvation of Israel. This reference to the Messiah is based on Gen. xlix. 10.

(13) The *Sibylline Books* are composed of material of such uncertain date, that it is impossible to determine exactly when the different parts were written. Parts of Book Three are generally supposed to have been written in the latter part of the second century B. C. In line 775 of this book the Messiah is called the son of the great God, and in lines 49, 50, a holy king ruling all the lands of earth. In line 56 the sibyl speaks of the judgment of the great king, the deathless God; and in line 63, of the angel Beliar.

2. In the Jewish Literature of the First Century B. C., we find the following testimony about the four subjects.

a. *Second Maccabees* is silent as to the Messiah and the kingdom. It refers to a good angel sent to save Israel (xi. 6, xv. 21), shows a belief in the resurrection of the righteous (vii. 29) and in a judgment.

b. *Third Maccabees* speaks of two angels, glorious and terrible, who appear to Eleazar the high-priest; it has nothing to say of the other subjects.

c. The writer of *Fourth Maccabees* does not believe in a resurrection of the body, but "in the immortality of all souls." He is silent on the other doctrines.

d. The *Epistle of Jeremiah* mentions an angel in verse 7, but is silent on the other subjects.

e. The *Psalms of Solomon* speak of the Messiah and of the king, the son of David, and God's servant (xviii. 6). They do not mention the other three doctrines.

f. The *Story of Zerubbabel* says nothing about any of these doctrines.

g. The *Song of the Three Children* mentions neither resurrection, judgment, nor Messiah. In verse 26, it speaks of the angel of the Lord as coming into the furnace with

Azariah and his fellows; and in verse 37, calls upon the angel of the Lord to bless him.

h. In the *History of Susanna*, the angel of the Lord is mentioned in verse 45, and the angel of God in 55, 59; but the other subjects are not mentioned.

i. In the story of *Bel and the Dragon*, the angel of the Lord is said to have brought Habbakkuk from Judah to Babylon and to have carried him back again (vss. 36, 39); but no reference is made to the other subjects.

j. In the Third Section of *Enoch*, angels are mentioned in xci. 15, and holy angels in xciii. 2; the righteous judgment in xci. 14, and the eternal judgment in xci. 15. Resurrection and Messiah are not referred to.

k. The Fourth Section of *Enoch* in certain passages, where according to Prof. Charles the redactor tries to bring the subject-matter of this section into harmony with the rest of the book, mentions the son of man, the day of judgment, seven holy ones, and the names of the leaders of the stars, one for each season and one for each of the twelve months. Uriel is named as leader and shows things to Enoch.

l. The Fifth Section of *Enoch*, written between 95 and 64 B. C., mentions clearly all four subjects. There will be a judgment and a resurrection of the righteous dead (c. 5), a final judgment with the destruction of the former heavens and earth and the creation of a new heaven (xc. 14-16), and a Messianic kingdom, where God and his son will be united with the children of the earth forever (cv. 2). The holy angels are spoken of in xci. 2 and the wicked in xci. 15. Angels are said to place the prayers of the righteous for a memorial before the Most High (xcix. 3), and to gather the world for judgment (c. 4) and to be guarding over the righteous (c. 5).

m. The Sixth Section of *Enoch*, written between 94 and 79 B. C., speaks of a resurrection of all Israel (li. 1, lxi. 5) and of a judgment on the righteous and the wicked, on angels and on men (xlvi. 2-4, xlviii. 2). The Messiah is called the

elect one (xlv. 4, xlviii. 8, xlix. 2, 4, li. 5, 6, lii. 6, 9, liii. 6, lv. 4, lxi. 5, 8, lxii. 1), God's anointed (xlvi. 10), the son of man (xlvi. 2, 3, 4, xlviii. 2), who will possess universal dominion, sit on the throne of his glory, and judge all angels and men, slaying the wicked by the word of his mouth (lxii. 7, 9, 14, lxix. 26, 28, 29). There are righteous angels and the five angels of the presence, Raphael, and Michael among them (xxxix. 5, xl. 9), and the angel of peace who went with Enoch (xliii. 3, lii. 3, liv. 4, lv. 2), and angels of punishment (liii. 3, lvi. 1), and thousands of thousands and ten thousand times ten thousand (xl. 1). Of bad angels, Satan and Azazel are named (liii. 3, 5, 6, lv. 4), and five Satans (lxix. 4), and twenty leaders of the evil angels (lxviii. 2). He speaks, also, of the host of God, of Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophanim, and all the angels of power (lxi. 10).

3. In the Jewish and Judaeo-Christian Literature from the year 1 A. D. to the year 135 A. D., or thereabouts, we find the following testimony on these subjects.

a. Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic Literature:

(1) The *Martyrdom of Isaiah* mentions several bad angels Sammael, Malchira, Beliar, and Satan; but it is silent with respect to the other three subjects, except that by the beloved of i. 13 the Messiah is probably meant.

(2) The *Assumption of Moses* contains ostensibly a revelation of Moses, which mentions an angel (x. 2), the judgment (x. 3-8), and the kingdom (x. 1); but no resurrection, nor Messiah.

(3) The *Apocalypse of Baruch* speaks of angels as created on the first day (xxi. 6), of the existence of armies of them (xlvi. 10, li. 11, lix. 10), of the fall of them (lvi. 11-13), of the angel of death (xxi. 6), and names one of them Ramiel, who presides over true visions (lv. 3, lxiii. 6).

It speaks in xxx. 1 of the time of the advent of the Messiah "when all who have fallen asleep in hope in him shall rise again"; and in chapters l. and li., the resurrection is described at length. It speaks, also, of the revelation of the Messiah

(xxix. 3), of his correcting the leader of the wicked and all his impieties (xl. 1), and of his summoning all the nations, some of whom he will save and some of whom he will slay (lxxii. 2). The Messiah is called a judge (xlviii. 39) and there will be a day of judgment (lix. 8).

(4) The *Testament of Hezekiah* mentions Sammael, Beliar, and the armies of Beliar, the angels and armies of the beloved one. It speaks of the beloved (iii. 17, 18, iv. 3, 6, 9, 13), and of Jesus the Lord Christ (iv. 13). In iii. 18, the resurrection of the beloved is mentioned and in iv. 18 the judgment.

(5) The *Vision of Isaiah* speaks frequently of angels (vii. 22, 27, 37, ix. 6, 28, 29, 42, viii. 2, 15, 19, x. 19), and of the angels of the glory of this world (vi. 13, vii. 2, viii. 4, 23, 25, ix. 11, 21, 25, 31, 32, 37, 39, x. 6, 18, 28, xi. 1, 34), and of angels about the throne (vii. 14-16, 19, 24, 30, 31, 33, viii. 16), and of the angel of the Holy Spirit (vii. 23, ix. 36, 39, 40, x. 4, xi. 4, 33). It also speaks of an angel who was sent to make him see (vi. 13, vii. 11, 21, 25), of a glorious angel (vii. 2), of an angel of death (ix. 16, x. 14), of an angel of Sheol (x. 8), of angels of the firmament and of Sheol (x. 10), and of angels of the air (x. 30). It names Satan and Sammael (xi. 41, 43), and Sammael and his hosts (vii. 9), and speaks of princes, angels, and gods of the world (x. 12), and of princes and powers of that world (x. 15). The Messiah is named in (vii. 8, 12), and has many titles, such as beloved (vii. 17, 23, ix. 12), his beloved the Christ (viii. 18), his beloved the Son (viii. 25), the Son crucified (ix. 14), the only begotten (vii. 37), the elect one (viii. 7), one (ix. 26, 38), this one (ix. 33), a certain one (ix. 27), Lord (viii. 26), Lord Christ (x. 17, 32), the Lord who will be called Christ (ix. 13). The Lord, the Lord Christ, who will be called Jesus (ix. 5), is said to have ascended from the grave (ix. 1).

The resurrection of the righteous is spoken of in ix. 17, and the judgment in x. 12.

(6) The *Ascension of Isaiah* contains two visions which are said to have been revealed to Isaiah just before he was put to death by Manasseh king of Judah. In form, these visions, especially the one recorded in vii. 1f, are more like those in Daniel than any other thus far noticed, in that they give the details of the history of the times of Jesus in much the same way that Daniel presents the details of the history of the Seleucid kings.

(7) Following for the sake of convenience the divisions suggested by Dr. Box, the book of *Fourth Ezra* will be considered under six sections.

(a) The *Ezra Apocalypse* refers only to Messianic woes and tells of an angel who came to speak with Ezra.

(b) The *Son of Man Vision* calls the Messiah God's Son (xiii. 32, 37), and says that he is to judge and to destroy the nations of the earth (xiii. 37, 49), and to defend the people of Israel (xii-xiii. 49).

(c) The *Ezra-Piece* speaks of Ezra's translation to be with God's Son (xiv. 9).

(d) The *Eagle Vision* tells of the Messiah (xii. 32), who shall spring from the seed of David, who shall make the people alive for judgment and then destroy them.

(e) The *Salathiel Section* mentions armies of angels (vi. 3), and angels who guard the souls of the righteous (vii. 85, 95); also, the angel that was sent unto him (v. 31, vii. 7, x. 29). Jeramiel (iv. 36), and Uriel alone are named. Immortality is spoken of in viii. 54 and the resurrection in v. 37, 45. There is to be a judgment (vii. 102-115, viii. 38, 61, x. 16); and punishment and salvation after death (vii. 66; xiv. 34, 35). No personal Messiah is spoken of; but the Messianic times are referred to in vii. 75.

(f) In the passages which Dr. Box assigns to the redactor, it is said that God's son, the Messiah, shall be revealed (vii. 28), and after his death, the earth shall restore those who sleep in her (vii. 32) and the dust of those that are at rest therein. The Most High shall be revealed upon his throne of

judgment and judge the nations that have been raised (vii. 33-44).

(8) The Book of the *Secrets of Enoch* gives the names of seven individual angels and of at least eight classes of angels. It speaks, also, of the prince of the watchmen and of the ruler of Tartarus. There are elders and rulers of the stellar orders, and terrible angels guarding the snows and clouds and dews. There are angels guarding night and day and sun and paradise and the keys of hell. These angels are myriads in number and will all be brought into judgment. There are at least three archangels, Michael, Gabriel and Praviel (or Vretil), and Sataniel is called the prince of the watchmen. Men also will be judged. There appears to be no reference to a resurrection or to a Messiah.

(9) The *Zadokite Fragments* mention the angels of destruction, the angel of the Mastema, Belial, and the watchers of heaven. A Messiah is spoken of in ii. 10, ix. 10(B) and a Messiah from Aaron and from Israel in ix. 29 and xv. 4. There is no reference to a resurrection, nor to a judgment to come.

(10) *Philo* discusses angels a number of times,²³ but he does not assign names to them, nor give their number. He gives no hint of a Messiah, nor of a resurrection, though he does imply a judgment (iv. 243).

(11) *Josephus*, in discussing Genesis (vi. 1-6), speaks of the angels. If the passage is genuine, he refers to Jesus as the Christ in *Ant.* xviii. iii. 3. In *Ant.* xviii. 1, 3; and in *The Wars of the Jews*, vi. v. 4, he tells of a prediction that about the time of the fall of Jerusalem "one from their own country should become governor of the habitable earth."

b. The New Testament:

(1) In the New Testament, angels are mentioned in every book, except Philippians, 1 Thes., 2 Tim., Tit., Philemon, James, and 1, 2 and 3 John. They are given names in Mat., Mark, Luke, John, Acts, Jude, Rev., Rom., 1 Cor., 2 Cor.,

²³ See Bohn's Translation, i. 332, ii. 237, 341, 418-420, iv. 252, 334.

1 Thes., 2 Thes., 1 Tim. In Matthew, there are said to be legions of them; and in Hebrews, an innumerable company. Paul denotes their relations to mankind by such words as principalities, authorities, powers, lordships and thrones. They are good or evil. Michael is the archangel of the good and Beelzebub, or Satan, is the prince of this world, of the demons, and of the powers of the air.²⁴

(2) The resurrection is mentioned in all the Gospels and in Acts, Rom., 1 Cor., Eph., Phil., 1 Thes., 2 Tim., Heb., 1 Pet., and Rev.; and described at length in 1 Cor. xv.

(3) The judgment is referred to in all the Gospels and in Acts, Rom., 1 Cor., 1 Tim., 2 Tim., Heb., James, 1 Pet., 2 Pet., 1 John, Jude, and Rev.

(4) The Messiah, or Christ, is named in every book of the New Testament. Since the whole New Testament is concerned with Him, it is impossible and unnecessary to give any particular items of evidence upon this subject.

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²⁴ See further in any concordance of the Bible.

(To be continued)