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THE GROWTH OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY AMONG THE JEWS.

V. We may now proceed to examine the writings which have reached us from the period intervening between Malachi and the Christian era, many of which are found translated in the Anglican version of Holy Scripture under the general name of The Apocrypha.

The First Book of Esdras and some other of these documents offer nothing to our purpose.

The Second Book of Esdras, which until late years was known to us only in the form of the Old Latin version, was most probably written in the middle of the century preceding the Christian era; at any rate it is a genuine product of Jewish thought; and, when the interpolations of Christian hands are eliminated, must be regarded as the composition of an Alexandrian Hebrew who held firmly to the faith of his fathers. Appertaining to so late a period, we should naturally expect to find in this Book more definiteness with regard to the doctrine of the Resurrection than we discover in earlier documents. And this indeed is the case. Thus we are told (vii. 32): "The earth shall restore those that are asleep in her, and so shall the dust those that dwell in silence, and the secret places[1] shall deliver those souls that were committed unto them." And Chap. iv. 41, 42: "In Hades (in inferno) the chambers of souls are like unto the womb; for as a woman that travaileth maketh haste to escape the necessity of the travail, even so do these places hasten to deliver those things which from the beginning were committed unto them." So the writer speaks (Chap. vii.) of the day of judgment being the end of this time and the beginning of immortality; of man being promised an immortal time and an everlasting hope and dwellings of

[1] Promptuaria. The same word is used in the next quotation.

health and safety and a paradise whose fruit endureth for ever, wherein is security and medicine. "This is the life," he proceeds (ver. 59), "whereof Moses spake while he lived, saying unto the people, 'Choose thee life that thou mayest live.'"

In the Second Book of Maccabees (160 B.C.), which is the work of a fanatical Jew dwelling probably at Alexandria, the doctrine of the Resurrection is stated without reserve. The good confession witnessed by the Seven Brethren, narrated in the seventh chapter, is supported by the hope of the future life. Thus the second brother, at his last gasp, addressing Antiochus, cries: "Thou, O persecutor, takest us out of this present life; but the King of the world will raise us up, who have died for his laws, unto an everlasting re-awakening of life (*εἰς αἰώνιον ἀναβίωσιν ζωῆς ἡμᾶς ἀναστήσει*, ver. 9)" And the fourth: "It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him" (ver. 14). And the mother of these heroes comforted them with the expectation of the life beyond the grave. "Doubtless," she says, "the Creator of the world will of his mercy give you back again both breath and life, as ye now regard not your own selves for his laws' sake" (ver. 23). "Fear not this tormentor," she said to her youngest son, the last to suffer, "but, proving thyself worthy of thy brethren, take thy death, that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren" (ver. 29).

So assured and prominent had this doctrine become in Maccabean times, that it had led to the practice of prayer for the dead—a practice still used in Jewish synagogues. Thus Judas on a certain occasion having collected two thousand drachmas of silver, sent it to Jerusalem to offer a sin offering,[1] "doing," as the writer adds, "very well and

[1] *προσαγαγεῖν περὶ ἁμαρτίας θυσίαν*, xii. 43. What Judas' purpose was is not clear—whether he meant the sacrifice to be offered for the dead or the living. The Vulgate solves the difficulty by paraphrasing boldly: "Offerri pro peccatis mortuorum sacrificium." The writer's opinion is plain enough.

honestly, in that he was mindful of the resurrection; for if he had not expected that they who were untimely slain would rise again, it would have been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. And also in that he perceived that there was great favour laid up for them that godly slept in death, it was a holy and good thought. Wherefore he made the reconciliation for the dead that they might be delivered from sin" (xii. 43–45). It seems that on the bodies of the slain had been found things consecrated to idols, and the people believed that they owed their death to this infringement of the law. Hence Judas, according to his historian, offered prayer and sacrifice that this sin might be forgiven them in the other world. The reflection added by the writer seems to indicate that he had in view some special opponents, probably Sadducees, who denied the doctrine of the Resurrection. The story of Razis (xiv. 37–46) shews this hope of future life as animating a man even at the moment of self-destruction. Razis was an elder of Israel, a patriot, and a person of good reputation. To seize and to put him to death, Nicanor sent a large body of troops, and Razis, seeing no hope of escape, chose rather to die manfully by his own hands than to be abused and dishonoured by his enemies. Having in his haste failed to inflict a mortal wound upon himself with his sword, he leaped from the wall into the midst of the soldiers who were thirsting for his blood. And there sorely wounded and bleeding to death, as the narrator says, "When as his blood was now quite gone, he plucked out his bowels, and taking them in both his hands, he cast them upon the throng, and calling upon the Lord of life and spirit to restore him those again, he thus died." That the spirit-world was not peopled with shadows, which had no thought of the past or interest in the present, is evident from the dream of Judas which he relates for the encouragement of the brethren (xv. 11–16). He sees Onias holding up his hands

and praying for the people; and then appears Jeremiah, "a man with gray hairs, and exceeding glorious, who was of a wonderful and excellent majesty . . . who prayeth much for the people and for the holy city." And Jeremiah gives Judas a golden sword wherewith he should smite the enemy. This dream, which the narrator considers worthy of credit (ἀξιόπιστον), could only have inspired the hearers with confidence from their full belief in the reality and efficaciousness of the intercession of their forefathers in the other world, and their conviction that the departed were conscious of their doings and were allowed to aid them, if not in any material fashion, at any rate by their prayers.

It must be observed that the belief in a future state of reward and punishment did not necessarily imply a belief in the resurrection of the body.[1] The eschatology of the author of the Book of Wisdom contains no trace of the latter doctrine, while it is copious on the subject of retribution. What the sensualist says (Wisdom ii. 1) on this point is also the writer's own opinion: "In the death of man there is no remedy, and there hath not been known one who returned from the grave;" for he himself affirms further on (xvi. 14): "Man killeth man, but he bringeth not back the spirit when it has gone forth, no, nor releaseth the soul received in the other world." His notion seems to be that judgment immediately succeeds death. The ungodly are plunged into darkness without hope of relief, deprived of the light of God's presence, yet conscious of what they have lost, and suffering torment; while the righteous live for evermore with God in rest and happiness, and receive a high reward, a glorious kingdom and a beautiful crown from the Lord's hand.[2]

Ecclesiasticus, as the work of a more or less pronounced

[1] This is plain from Greek and Roman mythology.

[2] See additional note on Wisd. i. 13, p. 117, in my edition, if I may be permitted to refer to it.

Sadducee, has nothing to say of the life beyond the grave; and other writers of this period people Hades, as did Virgil, with mere shades. Their teaching may be thus summarized.[1] (1) The souls of all men, good and bad, retain their personality after death, and are conscious of their former state and actions. (2) Suffering and labour undergone for righteousness' sake secure a happy future; but the wicked will meet with sure punishment. (3) The good will enjoy the greatest happiness, which is not like that of earth, but can be expressed only by metaphors drawn from earthly joy. (4) This happiness, and the punishment of the evil, will be awarded at a certain definite time when the final judgment will take place. Siracides, when he mentions Hades, regards it rather as the grave than as the dwelling-place of different souls; or where he seems to people it with disembodied spirits, these are mere shades without life or action. "Give, and take, and sanctify thy soul," are his words (xiv. 16); "for there is no seeking of dainties in Hades." "Who shall praise the most High in the grave, instead of them which live and give thanks? Thanksgiving perisheth from the dead, as from one that is not" (xvii. 27, 28). Even where in his historical reminiscences he is constrained to mention the translation of Enoch and the rapture of Elijah, he regards these circumstances as abnormal and extraordinary; he does not speak of the two as ascending to heaven or being taken to God, nor draw from their case any lesson of the immortality of the soul or the Resurrection.

The case is much the same in other parts of the apocryphal writings which have been preserved. The care taken by Tobit in burying the dead seems to have been wholly unconnected with any idea of the Resurrection of the body. He is actuated by that kindly feeling which evoked the injunction in Ecclesiasticus (xxxviii. 16): "My

[1] Flügge, *Geschichte d. Glaub. an Unsterblichkeit*, vol. i. p. 221.

son, let tears fall down over the dead, and begin to lament, as if thou hadst suffered great harm thyself; and then prepare his body according to his station, and neglect not his burial." It was a very different view which caused in mediæval times the burial of the dead to be regarded as one of the seven corporal acts of mercy. But the Greek version of the Book of Tobit affords very slight token of any belief in the survival of the soul after death. It is true that in the Vulgate Latin version, when Tobit's relations mock at him for the fruitlessness of his acts of charity, he answers (ii. 17, 18): "Nolite ita loqui, quoniam filii sanctorum sumus, et vitam illam expectamus quam Deus daturus est his qui fidem suam nunquam mutant ab eo." But it is very doubtful what he means by "that life"; and at any rate the passage has nothing to correspond to it in the original texts which have reached us, and can only be regarded as an interpolation. The genuine doctrine is seen in such places as iii. 6: "Command my spirit to be taken from me that I may be dissolved[1] and become earth . . . command that I may be delivered out of this distress, and go into the everlasting place;" that is, he prays that God would receive back the spirit which He had given to him, and that his body might rest in the grave. That nothing more is meant by "the everlasting place" is confirmed by Psalm xlviii. 12, and Eccles. xii. 5, where the grave is called *οἰκίαι εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* and *οἶκον αἰῶνος*. He may not have held that the soul perished with its earthly receptacle, but he certainly deprives it of individual existence, and considers that it possesses no longer personality or powers of thought and action.[2]

VI. In Judith there is a passage which seems to imply belief in punishment after death: "Woe to the nations that

[1] *ἐπίταξον ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμά μου ὅπως ἀπολυθῶ*, which may mean merely "that I may be dismissed" *i.e.* from life, as Gen. xv. 2; Luke ii. 29. He continues: *ἐπίταξον ἀπολυθῆναί με τῆς ἀνάγκης ἤδη εἰς τὸν αἰώνιον τόπον.*

[2] Comp. Eccles. ix. 10.

rise up against my kindred! the Lord Almighty will take vengeance of them in the day of judgment, in putting fire and worms in their flesh; and they shall feel them and weep for ever" (ἕως αἰῶνος, xvi. 17). This of course is a reminiscence of Isaiah lxvi. 24, and is parallel with the expression in Ecclus. vii. 17: "Humble thy soul greatly; for the vengeance of the ungodly is fire and worms." It seems to have become a common metaphor for extreme suffering and indignity, and may in some connexions mean no more than that the flesh of enemies should become the prey of fire or worms, even as the horrible deaths of Antiochus and Herod Agrippa are described in similar terms.[1] If we consider the expression as a rhetorical exaggeration, we must also conclude that the idea of the body being capable of suffering in another world was not altogether repugnant to the Jewish thought, and that hence the punishment was spoken of as eternal.

In the Second Book of Baruch[2] and the First and Third of Maccabees there is nothing said about the Resurrection of the dead. The Pseudo-Baruch, who wrote in the second century B.C., speaks in glowing words of the restoration of Israel and of the glory which should be showered upon her; but he has in view only a temporal prosperity, and the triumph to which he looks forward is one that will meet the people in this life and in their own land. His words however are ambiguous or inconsistent. While commonly he speaks of death as the end of all man's interests and thoughts: "Thou endurest for ever, and we perish utterly" (comp. Ps. cii. 26); "They are vanished and gone down to the grave, and others are come up in their steads" (iii. 3, 19); in another passage (iii. 4) he entreats God to hear the prayers of the dead Israelites (τῶν τεθνηκότων Ἰσραὴλ), on

[1] 2 Macc. ix. 9; Acts xii. 23. *Fritzsche*, on Judith xvi. 17.

[2] This is the apocryphal Book contained in the Anglican version; the First Book or Epistle is mentioned further on.

which Theodoret remarks, that the writer here plainly teaches the immortality of the soul. It is true that many commentators have taken the words figuratively, explaining them, after Grotius, as intending to signify the Jews in exile, who were virtually dead, like members severed from the body. But in ii. 17 we find the dead spoken of as *οἱ τεθνηκότες ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ*, and we have seen in the account of the vision of Onias (2 Macc. xv) that the notion that the departed saints prayed for their suffering children was not unknown; we are therefore warranted in taking the above words literally, and that, in spite of the language of ii. 17, which affords a different idea.

The Epistle of Jeremy, which in the Anglican version and in some editions of the Septuagint forms the sixth chapter of Baruch, and which belongs probably to the last century B.C., likewise offers no word concerning the Resurrection. Among the Apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel the Song of the Three Children contains the verse: "O ye spirits and souls (*πνεύματα καὶ ψυχαὶ*) of the righteous, bless ye the Lord; praise and exalt him above all for ever." At first sight it seems obvious that the dead are here addressed, and summoned to magnify Almighty God in the world beyond the grave. Thus Grotius renders "Spiritus et animæ justorum, nempe quæ sunt in Paradiso"; nor can we say absolutely that this was not the meaning of the writer. But as in every other place the living are addressed, it seems to be most consistent to consider that they are invoked here also, the terms "spirit and soul" being used to denote the two parts of man's being, his higher and lower nature, in accordance with the trichotomy of man with which the New Testament has familiarized us. (Comp. 1 Thess. v. 23; Heb. iv. 12.) The History of Susanna, and Bel and the Dragon, add nothing to our investigation; the same is true of the Prayer of Manasseh and of the First Book of Esdras, in all of which

however, the mention of the Resurrection has no natural position, and its omission proves nothing with regard to the belief of the writers. In the First Book of Maccabees, however, the opportunities of reference to this doctrine are plainly neglected, thus far confirming the suggestion that the work is the production of a Sadducee who placed reliance on the strong right arm of a valiant man rather than in encouragements from the spirit world or hopes of a future reward. Thus the brave Mattathias, in his dying exhortation to his sons, says nothing of the life to come as a motive for endurance and courage. He reminds them of the deeds of their forefathers and the fame and earthly rewards that repaid their constancy. "Call to remembrance," he says, "what acts our fathers did in their time; so shall ye receive great honour and an everlasting name . . . ye, my sons, be valiant, and shew yourselves men in the behalf of the law; for by it shall ye obtain glory" (Chap. ii. 51, 64). The writer, thoroughly acknowledging the Providence of God as overruling the devices and stratagems of the enemy, and the efficacy of prayer in controlling events, has no faith in the continued life of the soul apart from the earthly tenement, and knows nothing of the reunion of the two.

VII. The Third Book of Maccabees, though not found in the Anglican version, nor in the Latin Vulgate, is still read in the Greek Church, and belongs to the last pre-christian century. Its design is to afford comfort to the Alexandrian Jews in their sufferings for religion's sake; and the author, in order to serve his object, modifies or invents facts, writing with rhetorical exaggeration and claiming to be historical while probably romancing. Though it might have seemed natural for the moralist to have introduced the topic of Resurrection as a source of comfort in this world's trials and calamities, there is no word about it, nor is mention made of the life beyond the grave. It

is different with the Fourth Book of Maccabees, which however belongs to a later period, and, though it shews no trace of the influence of Christianity, is by many critics referred to the middle of the first century A.D.[1] Written by an Alexandrian Jew, it aims at encouraging the Hebrews to hold fast their faith amid the philosophical heathenism which surrounded them. The author to this end argues concerning the power of the Divine law to control human passions, and illustrates his position by narrating the Maccabean martyrdoms. In describing the deaths of Eleazar and the seven brethren with their mother, he omits all mention of the Resurrection so prominently set forth in the document from which his history is derived: but of the continued existence of the soul, of the life to come, and of the future judgment, he speaks frequently and emphatically. The righteous, those who have observed the Laws of Moses, shall enjoy eternal blessedness in the company of the holy patriarchs and near the throne of God (v. 36, ix. 8, xiii. 16, xvi 25, xvii. 18, xviii. 23); while the wicked, after the death of the body, will suffer unending torments (*αἰώνιον βάσανον*), and wail in pain for ever (ix. 9, x. 15, xii. 14, xiii. 14. Fritzsche). The only allusion to the Resurrection occurs in Chap. xviii. 17, where the writer quotes Ezekiel's words, "Can these dry bones live?" in reference to the future life, but adds no further remark or elucidation, proceeding (verse 18) to cite Moses' hymn to the same effect: "I kill and I make alive" (Deut. xxxii. 39). "This," he explains, "is your life and length of days."[2]

The First Book or Epistle of Baruch has been unaccountably neglected by students. It is found in Syriac and Latin, and was probably written during the second

[1] I should be inclined to assign it to the middle of the last pre-christian century.

[2] The last section of the Book is written probably by another and a later hand.

century B.C. Fritzsche's opinion that it was the production of a Syrian monk has no manner of support from the document itself.[1] That its author was a Jew is evidenced by the strict admonitions to his readers that they should adhere to the Law of Moses, and transmit the epistle to their children and rehearse it in their solemn assemblies, as well as by the introduction of an Hagadic story in Chap. i. 13–15. The references to a future life are frequent. The author sees the day of judgment near at hand, when every act and thought will be examined (i. 25, 26, 34), comforting his readers with the remembrance of the good things laid up for them which they can win only by patient endurance (i. 37–4, ii. 21 ff). While there is here no actual mention of the Resurrection, the life beyond the grave is so closely realized and the judgment to come is used so emphatically as a moral motive, that it is to be supposed that the author did not conceive the man on whom sentence was to be pronounced as incomplete, but rather as a soul clothed in a body which should share its punishment or reward.

The Book of Enoch cited apparently by Jude (vv. 14, 15), and certainly by Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and other early writers, has been, since the days of Bruce, the Abyssinian traveller, known to us in an Ethiopic version.[2] Without enlarging upon its merits, its grandeur, its poetic fervour, we have here merely to note its pre-christian date and to assign Palestine as the home of its author or authors. In this most interesting work the life of the soul in the other world is constantly mentioned, and the doctrine of the Resurrection is plainly stated. But it is not an universal Resurrection which the writer signifies. While the *spirits* of the wicked taken out of Sheol shall suffer punishment, the spirits of the righteous shall be united with their bodies

[1] See Dr. Ginsburg's article, *Baruch*, in Kitto's *Cyclop.*

[2] For a good account of this Book, see Pusey, *Lect. on Daniel*, p. 388 ff.

and share the blessedness of Messiah's kingdom. That the resurrection of the body was to be the peculiar privilege of the holy among the Hebrews, is an opinion, which, as we shall see below, was largely prevalent in post-christian times. But this seems to be the earliest mention of it in the apocryphal literature of the old Testament.

APHEK AND BETH-DAGON.

IN the Philistine wars which devastated the Land of Promise during the last days of the Judges and the first days of the Hebrew monarchy, few names are more conspicuous than that of APHEK. Here the enemies of Israel were pitched at that great battle when four thousand men of Judah fell on the field, the ark of God was taken, and the sons of Eli were slain. Here, too, it was they mustered afterwards, when the anger of the captains of the different local contingents rose against Achish, their commander-in-chief, for having brought with him such an ally as David the Israelite whom, with his outlaw band, they compelled to return to Ziklag, while they marched on to the plain of Jezreel and encamped before Shunem, on the eve of that day which proved so victorious to themselves but fatal to King Saul. After this period—probably because of the rapidity with which the chosen people retrieved their position and became, under David, a strong nation, with their capital far southwards, first at Hebron, then at Jerusalem—Aphek is no more mentioned in Scripture, and no clue to its whereabouts has been discovered by travellers or found in the works of writers, early or recent, on Bible topography. Yet the identification of it is obviously important to a clear understanding of the history of the period; and it is equally evident that the place must have been one affording considerable natural advantages, or it would never have been chosen as a *rendezvous* by the warlike hosts of the Philistines.