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Eschatological and Messianic Hopes among
the Jews.

from 200 B.C. to the opening of the Christian Era.

THESIS OF

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Introduction

To us, trained in the belief of a future life and surrounded on all sides by those who believe firmly in this doctrine, it seems strange that for centuries, nay, for ages, men lived and died without a belief in this doctrine. That men for uncounted generations lived and suffered, that human beings should have endured trials and privations, without this hope, without this comfort that urges us on, seems marvellous. Yet this is what the history of antiquity reveals to us. Dynasties rose and fell; nations flourished and decayed, but seemingly without influencing the thoughts of the people, until the historical period

had well advanced. But when we decipher the religious books of the Orient and examine the early works of Greece and Rome, we find that a small flame had been kindled in the breast of the nations, which promised to grow larger and, ^{then} larger, until it should cast its warmth and cheer ~~over~~ the whole human family. Homer has preserved for us the belief of ancient Hellas, but the sacred books of the East were not so easily interpreted. The arduous labor of several decades were required to fairly begin this task, and now we know with a reasonable amount of certainty, that notwithstanding our exceptions, the belief in immortality was becoming universal when the records still extant were written.

The Zend-Avesta clearly states the doctrine of a future life as conceived by the priests of Persia. Conscience

in the form of a beauteous maiden, met the soul and conducts it to the bridge which connects earth with Heaven. Next sit the judges to mete out reward or punishment. The Egyptians too held to a doctrine of future life. It is immaterial whether the body was preserved to be the future abode of the spirit, or, as some suggest to cut off part of the 3000 years which must be passed in the bodies of lower animals (it being maintained that the transmigration did not begin until the decay of the body); according to either theory, the soul was believed to live on.

Buddhism is, however, an exception. The Buddhist has no higher hope than absorption in his deity. Whether Nirvana meant absolute annihilation or merely a state of unmixed satisfaction,

authorities differ strangely enough, the same phenomenon
 and the same difference of opinion exists concerning
 the belief of the Hebrew people during biblical times.
 The doctrine of a chosen people, a kingdom of priests
 and a holy nation, did much to divert the attention
 from the individual to the nation. The suffering
 of the nation is continually referred to as punishment
 for the sins committed. The future of the nation, the
 restoration of the nation, obscured all hope of individ-
 ual survival, and checked the rise of a belief in the
 future life for the individual. What, then, were the
 influences which affected Judaism causing the
 eschatological views which characterized Judaism
 in the pre-Mishnaic period, and at the same time
 giving birth to the Messianic hopes in which the

Faith abounds. The influences which may affect a religion causing new dogmas, new beliefs to arise, may be classified under four heads.

(a) Internal developments of ideas.

(b) Great men.

(c) External conditions.

(d) General Progress

Let us examine these separately and see what part they played in the subject under consideration. Where there is life there is progress, and the social life of the Hebrew could not but influence the thought. Religion is a subject so important to the soul of man, so much a part and parcel of the every day life of man, that one cannot but constantly reflect upon its teachings. According to the status of the age, the

religious ideas will frame themselves. Old beliefs
 dear to the heart of the nation on account of their
 association with things held sacred, cannot be cast
 off, as a worn out garment. They must be retained
 but they will be changed, remolded according to
 the views of the age until in a few generations one
 would scarcely recognize them. Each age sets up
 for itself some standard, some ideal towards which
 it over tends. Upward and onward the age moves.
 Such ideas and beliefs as can be remodeled will
 in their changed form be retained. If this cannot be
 done, they will be merely dead meaningless formalities.
 The religion of a nation cannot be below its intellectual
 and moral standard. Consequently we will continually
 find anachronisms, running contradictions. There

will ever exist a struggle in the minds of men, a conflict between the reverence for the past and the demand of progress to push it aside for the needs of today. Unseen and unnoticed this movement goes on. Like the mighty glacier which if any obstacle presents itself in its path will either push it aside or change its own form and thus pass around, so advancing force of thought and progress will either cast down the antiquated and meaningless ^{forms} or if they be too firmly fastened in the hearts of men, it will act as a lever to reform and to recast the old.

The principal agent in producing this internal development was the study of the natural phenomena round about them. After freeing themselves from the debasing polytheism, they looked upon

the phenomena of nature as the acts, the will of God. More and more they came to realize that a fixed law was ordained by God in the external world, within whose limits they had to remain, to whose workings they had to shape their lives. But within they found an independent world. They had free will to choose whatever path they chose. Thus they learned to turn their eyes inward and to draw thence their beliefs and dogmas. Thus are formed the ethics of the age. At first, there are inseparably bound up in the religious dogmas of the age; but after a while there is a distinction and man's actions toward his fellow-man are controlled by his social environments. It was this that acted powerfully upon the idea of immortality. With the growth of the ethical ideas, we see men associating

these with God and once more religion and ethics come together. Now God is the moral perfection after whom they shape their lives, according to whom they reform their moral code. And from this source as we shall later see sprang the hope of reward for imitating God's goodness, kindness and mercy, and then the hope of future reprobation. Before considering this point any further, let us turn to the next of the great factors which affect the thought of a nation.

The history of mankind can only be rightly studied in epochs. The growth of ideas is so slow, so gradually does a nation disentangle itself from the nets of an old belief and bind itself with new cords that we can only take epochs and study the growth in large divisions. Just as a large area of country is

here and there dotted by hill and mountain, so are there
 epochs of history dotted by mountains, men who rise
 head and shoulder above their fellows and whom we
 call geniuses. But when we look at the great men of
 history as we would at a strange solitary rose in a
 garden of daisies we do not rightly read history.
 Great men are in a large degree the product of their age.
 Study the early life, the environments under which
 our great men grew to manhood and you will see
 the factors which made them great. You may not,
 nay you will not be able to explain them, but you
 will trace the causes which produced such grand
 results. The ideas of society have at periods to be
 recast, remolded. The entire society is stirred up.
 Every man feels that a change is needed, that

something is wrong. A restlessness seizes every man.
 Uneasiness is ripe yet not enough to produce an upheaval.
 The condition becomes worse and worse. A tremor is
 felt. The boiler threatens to burst. But no, there is a
 safety valve. A great man whose conscience is deeply
 stirred by the wrong and evil committed on every side
 arises. He points out the vainly sought for path; he
 introduces his reforms; he reshapes, he reforms
 society in the mould of his genius and once more the
 equilibrium is restored. Of this nature were the men
 of the Bible. Ever ready to rise in rebellion against the
 sin and evil of the people, they directed the minds of
 the people into the channels which led to higher and
 loftier moral ideas. Such was Isaiah and Malachi.
 They did not create the thoughts which they gave

to the people an idea born of nothing can be of no value. The prophets took the soft yielding clay of the popular ideas and moulded it into the finer vases which are left to us in the books of the bible. We cannot then say that the great men who adorned the ranks of Judaism introduced the eschatological ideas. They caught the drift-wood of the people's thoughts and built therefrom a beauteous mansion.

Thus far we have examined those influences which from within, tend to change the thoughts and belief of a people. But a perhaps equal potent agency comes from without. The environment we have paid make the man. In the same degree is it true that the surroundings do much to mold the nation. The closer the association the greater the influence.

which will result. Can we then wonder that residence in Egypt, in Canaan, Babylon and Assyria influenced most powerfully the thought of the Hebrews. Would it not be far stranger if association with Persia and Greece has left the Jewish thought unaltered. The extensive commercial relations which brought the Jew to distant Persia; traders going to Cambruge to Antioch to Alexandria, all this could not but bring new thoughts, new ideas into Palestine. Finally, the great political and social movements of the West; the growth and spread of the younger Kingdoms could not but infuse new life, new vigor into the old and almost stagnant existences of the Oriental peoples.

General progress also contributed much to bring about the highly developed eschatological

views of the 2nd and 1st centuries. Under this head we must class the falling away of old customs made antiquated and meaningless by the foregoing causes and the widening of the horizon. For in religion above all things "The thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns"; there is ever a tendency towards generality towards universality. To the early prophets, the heathen could only be doomed to extinction. The world was divided between Jew and non-Jew. The later prophets show quite a different spirit and we discern a change of attitude toward the foreigner on every page. Isaiah and Zechariah would no longer destroy the heathen. They would annex them to the Hebrew and make one worldwide nation with Jahveh as God and King. Along with this widening

of spirit, went a development of the ethical code from the narrow national code of the 5th century B. C. to the grander and more exalted universal code as set forth in the latter writings. What lofty lessons of kindness, (Prov. 25⁹ Ecclus. 19¹³⁻¹⁷) of gentleness, (Prov. 15¹) of love, even to an enemy, (Prov. 24¹⁷, 25²¹⁻²²) are here set forth, what doctrines of charity, (Ecclus 29^{2, 12} Tob 4⁷) of temperance, (Tob 4¹³) of forgiveness (Prov 17² Ecclus 29²⁻⁵) grace these later pages.

IMMORTALITY Discovering such growth and progress along the lines of ethics, we think it would be justifying ~~two~~ to attempt to go to the earliest sources at our command and attempt to trace briefly from the beginning the ideas of immortality and future life and to discover if possible whence they spring. The historical system

of interpretation and investigation is now admitted by all scientists and thinkers to be the best. To psychologically trace from its beginning the ideas held by a people will enable us, not only to understand the more fully the later views but we can see the forces which produced the peculiar habits and dispositions and thus remoulded the thoughts of the nation. Let us then take notice of the stem, the tree upon which was grafted and from which grew ^{the} fruit which we would gather.

The various leading bible critics are of the most divergent opinion concerning the fact as to whether the idea of future life is taught in the O. T. The one extreme would deny all such teaching and would attempt to explain away all such passages as merely historical references which are of no eschatological import.

The other extreme would in every possible way read into the Bible passages, the clear and highly developed 19th century ideas. As is the case in all such controversies, we must ever beware not to go to any extreme but judiciously hold a middle position. One thing we can take for granted in the beginning - we will not find highly developed doctrines among the earlier writings of the Scriptures. Nor should we expect to. The peculiarity of the people above mentioned - the leading of all individualism before the hope for Israel as a whole, prevented a rapid development. That there were some hopes, that there was not the belief in utter annihilation is also clear. Let us attempt to establish this by looking at a few of the words in common use. We may perhaps from this method, so highly esteemed by Prof. Max

Müller, be enabled to deduce some important ideas.
The first words that attract our attention are the 3 words

קבר, בור, שאול, so often supposed to be
synonymous. Though somewhat lax in their use,
yet we see the first two invariably applied to the small
narrow hole in the ground into which the body was
placed. But not so with the third. The Sheol was
the dark shadowy nether world in which the spirits
of the dead were supposed to hover about. Let us see
if this distinction does not hold. When Jacob is
shown by his sons the coat which has been dipped
in the blood of the goat, he exclaims (Gen. 37³⁶)

נִי־אֶדָּר אֶל-בְּנֵי אָבִל שְׂאֻל : He could not have meant
'to the grave' as it is usually translated, for we have
just been informed that he believed Joseph to have

been devoured by a wild beast and his bones to be scattered in the wilderness. Let us look at another case. In speaking of the death of Abraham, the writer adds (Gen. XXV 8) וַיִּתְּנָהּ אֵלָיו - עֵמֶי But he could not have meant was buried with his people for Abraham was buried in the cave of Machpelah, while his people lived off Chaldea and Mesopotamia.

We have said the שְׁמַיָּה was a netherworld, where the spirits congregated. It is therefore incumbent upon us to show as best we can that the writers believed in a distinct soul, which was separate from the body. In the second account of the creation of man Gen 2 7 we read

וַיִּצְרֶה יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֱתֵרֶת אָדָם עֹפֶר מִן־הָאֲדָמָה וַיִּפֹּחַ בָּאָפוּ וַיִּשְׁמַת חַיִּים :

It might be possible to object that by this one act of

of creation, there was united indissolubly these two elements, spirit and body, and that the people believed that thereafter they were unified. As a matter of fact this was not the case. In relating the account of the death of Isaac, the Chronicler says (Gen 35²⁹)

וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ עֲשָׂו וְיַעֲקֹב בְּמִצְרָיִם :

In this case as in the one above cited the soul's departure to Sheol must be what is meant by פָּדָה

פָּדָה - עֲמָר while the body is buried. We need but give one more reference in respect to this and that is the visit of Saul to the Witch of Endor. While we are told that these spiritualistic meetings were strictly prohibited yet the very fact that the spirit is said to be called up and Saul believes that it is Samuel's spirit to which he speaks, shows us that the belief was prevalent, that

the soul existed in a nether world. From these examples we can lay down as an established fact that the Hebrew people believed from the earliest biblical times that the soul and body existed separately and that while the body was assigned to the grave, the soul continued to exist in the

Before beginning an investigation of the eschatology of the Jews in post-biblical times, it will be necessary to trace briefly the biblical beliefs. For we can never rightly understand any movement whether in history or religion without tracing it to its source and thence following it down its channel as certain as where it branches out, what tributaries it receives to widen and enlarge the stream. To say that the Jews, or any other nation were, at any period without a belief of the existence of the soul after death, would be an unwarranted

and unhistorical statement. Dreams, those curious and inexplicable visits to other worlds, the meeting of the shadowy forms of departed acquaintance in visions would soon awaken and did arouse a belief in the continued existence of the soul in a shadowy condition in the nether world. One fact seems to be undeniable. The belief in immortality among the biblical Jews was not theological, it was anthropological. Never was there a promise of reward, never a threat of punishment by a continuation or cessation of life; it seemed but a natural phenomenon that after death the spirit should continue to exist. That this should be so follows psychologically from the facts just mentioned. The shadowy self or ego, the spirit was supposed in sleep to leave the body and go to the places which fancy

pictured for it. Could these primitive minds hold any
 other belief than that when the long sleep comes upon
 the body, the spirit leaves the house of clay never to
 return and goes to join the innumerable caravan which
 moves to that mysterious realm whither their fathers
 have gone before them. This place ~~now~~ to which the
 spirit was supposed to go was never a clear conception
 in minds of the people. The name was derived from
~~now~~ the first meaning of which to dig, to excavate
 probably explains the word, it meaning the excavation
 the empty space in the middle of the earth. Some would
 interpret it from the secondary meaning of the root ~~now~~
 to ask, to demand, quoting in substantiation 'Circus
 demanda ill.' The first is, however, the more logical
 derivation and probably the correct one. The idea of this

Land of stillness was naturally vague. Like many theologians of today in their attempt to describe Heaven and Hell so the bible writers in indefinite terms only speak of Sheol. It was to them a land of forgetfulness of darkness of inactivity. Job 17¹³ Ps 88¹² Is 38¹⁸ Notwithstanding these terms which are applied, self consciousness and personal identity were not supposed to have been lost Sam I 28¹⁵ Eze 32²⁴ Nor was it beyond the range of God's dominion, for his presence and power extended over Sheol Job 41³⁹ Is 14⁹ Amos 9² Jon 2² (?) So, too, Jahweh could kill and make alive bring down to Sheol and bring up again Deut. 32³⁹, 41⁶ Sam I 2⁶.

It is most probable that the first idea of a continued life, applied to the people as a whole although

Sam II 12²³ has been interpreted to mean that David believed the child lived on in another life. The first step in advance is, it seems taken by Isaiah 26¹⁹. While this passage too has been referred to the nation and interpreted to mean that the oppressed will throw off the yoke that new life will be put into the down trodden nation, yet it bears a striking resemblance to Dan 12² which is admitted by all to teach resurrection.

Now then can we summarize the beliefs as portrayed in the Biblical books which were pre-Maccabean in composition. It may safely say that there was a universal belief that the individual soul continued to exist after the death of the body. This existence when compared to a happy life on earth is not to be desired. The lot of all was the same in Sheol - bad and good

the virtuous and sinful all went to the same place; still
 the righteous are not cut off from all communion with
 God (Ps 16 Hosea 13¹⁴) nor are the evil doers beyond the
 reach of his displeasure. There was a vague feeling that
 by their connection with the theocracy of all Israelites
 and by conscious fellowship with God, pious Israelites
 might hope for salvation. We come now to the post biblical
 period the period which it will be our special endeavor
 to investigate and to ~~seek~~ to trace the ideas from the meagre
 biblical sources until they have become clearly defined
 dogmas. We would call attention to the fact that it was
 not until after the captivity that the idea of immortality
 assumed a theological aspect. And to what was this due
 The exile proved to be the sieve which bared out all the
 sinful and idolatrous elements which had formerly

existed among the people. It was only the small number,
 who still recognized in Jahveh, the God of Israel, that
 returned under Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah. These
 men, who throughout the long exile had still clung to God
 hoped for some reward. At first it was only length of days
 (Prov X 27). This hope for reward did not prevent a high
 spirituality. They recognized an ethical relation between
 God and the human soul. Whence came the idea of reward
 and punishment, you may ask, whether it be Persian
 is uncertain. It does not seem clear whether the Persians
 had the doctrine of reward and punishment in a future
 world at this time. Nor is the doctrine Egyptian. It was
 probably the filling of a long felt want in the human
 soul. And nothing tended so much to bring about the
 condition, as the contact with the Greeks and the Persians.

cutions which followed. For why should the martyr die for his religion and give up his life which he deemed the best thing man could not possess, if it was not with the hope that God will reward the faithful, that He will not permit his adherents to die in vain.

Let us look briefly at the history of the period. Alexander in his conquest of the world included Palestine among his conquests. His death is followed by a division of his vast empire. Palestine first under Egypt, very soon falls into the power of Syria. A division has in the meantime arisen among the people themselves. A large party fascinated by Greek culture would introduce the habits and customs into Palestine. This caused the more conservative party to become fearful and entrench their faith behind

powerful bulwarks. The nation had before them a bitter struggle; a struggle which was perhaps one of most unfortunate in the history of the world. Had the Hellenists not taken the mad steps which they did, Judaism, with the heaven furnished by Greek thought might have expanded and developed into a world religion. To the momentary contact has been attributed the chief impulse toward wider views of immortality. (Claude Montefiore). The Maccabean war follows, the independence of Judaea is gained and for nearly a century and a half the Jews have their own king.

It was during this period that there sprang up among the people various sects which we must briefly consider since in them we find the crystallized thought of the age. The Pharisees the lineal descendants of the

Hassidim were the traditionalists. They fought only for
 religion - to them government was of no concern. Every soul
 was to them imperishable but that only of the righteous
 passed into another body, while that of the wicked, on the
 other hand was punished with eternal torment (Jos. Bell.
 Jud. II 8.14. They did not believe in transmigration however.
 Antt. XVIII 1.3. The mass of people especially women were
 on their side XIII 10.34.6 XVIII 2.4. They also had the belief
 of Divine omnipotence and providence and human
 freedom and responsibility. This was expressed in the
 words of Akiba (Aboth II 15.) הכול צפוי וקדש נחונה
 Everything is foreseen yet free-will is given.
 There was however a difference of opinion. Bell. Jud II
 8.14. Antt. VII 1.3. XIII 5.9. This was the middle view
 between the Essenes who believed in absolute fate and

the Sadducees who denied all fate and providence. But of far more interest to us is the Sadducean view with respect to resurrection. They denied all resurrection and immortality (Bell. J. J. II 8. 1st Ant. XVIII 1. 3). They came to this opinion by a misunderstanding of Aboth 1. 3. Having thus gazed upon the internal condition of affairs during the period under consideration and having in a measure at least, ascertained what were the general views of the people we are in a position to turn to the literature of the period and endeavor to trace in it the growth of the eschatological ideas. The books of Ecclesiastes and Daniel the only canonical books which speak plainly are in direct opposition to one another. The first clearly denies all future life (Ecc. 9). If a writer thus openly denies a fact are we not justified

in affirming that he does so to contradict the statement that there is a future life? This is the opinion of the majority of the commentators (Eulaude Montefiore 'Jewish Quarterly') Daniel on the other hand XII 2 announces a general resurrection, some to universal life and some to shame and everlasting contempt. With these brief and in the one case, unsatisfactory references, let us turn to the Apocrypha, the books of which range over the period of the first two centuries B.C. Now too we find the teaching far less satisfactory than we could hope. This can be attributed to several causes. First, Any book written under Sadducean influence would be pious on these points or deny them entirely. Second. The attempt to imitate O.T. books would result in the exclusion of any doctrine which

might betray the later authorship (Esdras I. The only thing which would here attract our attention is the expression μετ' ἡλλαγῆ τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ.

He changed his life (I 31) Esdras II abounds in reference of reward and punishment after death. In reading this book one would imagine they were reading the Apocalypse. Resurrection is compared to birth of child. Just as the womb gives forth the babe so will the earth give forth those placed in it. II 16, 31 VIII 42. The chorus of the pious sing praises to God and are crowned with wreaths by the love of God. II 42-47 In II 23 occurs a verse that is of special interest. Whosoever thou findest the dead take them and bury them and I will give thee the first place in my resurrection. Like in the Book of Tobit we see the act of burying the dead considered as a

specially onerous act. It has been suggested that
 this may refer to Bar Coch^bean war, when the burial
 of the dead was forbidden. It would seem probable also
 from the extent to which the ideas of immortality and
 resurrection have been developed. No other book with
 the possible exception of Macc II contains so many
 verses and so clearly expressed. We will not, however con-
 sider this book in our discussion of the growth of these
 ideas for written as it was at close of first or beginning
 of second century A.D. it has come to our hands colored
 by Christian hands, if not written in the interest of
 Christianity by a Jewish Christian. The title 'Son
 of God' applied to Messiah xiii 32.37 xiii 9 and
 especially vii 28.29 which mentions Jesus Christ, as
 Son of God are Christian. Let us now turn to Tobit

Here again we find an absence of any clear state-
 ments concerning future life. In (III. 6) the phrase ever-
 lasting place εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ τόπου: probably
 means Sheol (cf Eccl. XII 5) While thus upon this
 passage we can base no inference concerning a advanced
 thought yet this book furnishes us with an undeniable
 example. In IV. 10 the author tells us that alone giving
 a rise from death (θάνατος) In IV. 9 and also the writer tells us that alone giving
 purifies from sin and imparts fulness of life. All
 editors of Tobit (cf Gfrörer 'Kritische Geschichte des
 Archchristenthums' (II 239) agree that the word θάνατος
 is here used in the wider sense both from the association
 of thought and from the contrast between θάνατος
 on the one hand and 'purification and fulness of life'
 on the other. The next book in the Apocrypha is that
 of Judith and here for the most part we have a copying

of Old Testament views. In XVI 22 we have the idea of being gathered to one's fathers. Of more interest to us is XVII 7 when the enemies of Israel are threatened with punishment of fire and worms forever. This figure too is borrowed from the Old Testament (Is LXXVI 24). The figure is used with another signification in Macc II 99. The book of Baruch offers us not even as much material as the preceding. It is true that the separate existence of the spirit (πνεῦμα) is recognized; but they can render the Lord (neither praise nor righteousness). This too is from the Old Testament (Ps. VI. 5. CXLV 17 Is XXXVIII 18). In III. 4 the author uses the expression 'Near now the prayers of the dead Israelites.' It does not seem that this necessarily contradicts the foregoing verses. It can either refer to the former prayers of the Israelites then dead

or it may be used tropically with reference to ἀπολλύμενοι
 in the preceding verse. When we turn to the historical book
 I Maccabees we are surprised to find no mention of
 future life or immortality although numerous oppor-
 tunities were offered the writer to do so. But the matter is
 made clear by Geiger (Urschrift und Uebersetzung
 der Bibel) who asserts that the omission was probably
 intentional. Throughout the entire book we find traces
 of Sadducean influence. What should be more natural
 than that a Sadducean not believing in future life as
 we said above, would omit all references thereto in a
 historical work especially. If we had found any
 references in Eccles or Ben Sirach we might have been
 more surprised than we are by the absence thereof.
 Written as it was to imitate the Old Testament style

the author has carefully avoided all references which might
 tend to overthrow this belief. Its pessimism follows that
 of Ecclesiastes (XIV 12, 16 XVII 27, 28 XLI 4.) Punishment
 was inflicted upon the wicked here on earth (IX 12)
 Man's chief aim and endeavor should be to be honored
 and well thought of after death. This causes the bones
 to sprout (XLVI 12 XLIX 10) These passages are so obscure
 that it is impossible to ascertain what the expression means.
 Notwithstanding all this attempt to cover up his belief
 the author betrays his true belief when he begins to refer to
 bible characters (XLVIII 12 XLIX 14) refer to Elijah and
 Enoch both of which stories the writer has accepted literally.
 In XLVI 20 we are told that Samuel prophesied after
 death when called up by Saul. Sam I XXVIII 18, 19) From
 this also we can see that at the time of the composition of the

book (CG. - CVII B.C. circ) the biblical stories were
 accepted as historical and the author takes for granted
 that the soul conscious and independent exists in
 another world. In XLVIII. 11 is a reference to the restoration
 of dead body by touching corpse Elisha (Kings II. XIII. 21)
 It is maintained that XLVIII 10-12 was added by a
 later hand but there is no cause for such a supposition
 the author is quoting Mal IV 5, 6. If we were surprised
 at the abundant references found in II Esdras in
 contradistinction to the first book of the same name,
 we may be equally amazed by finding the same to be
 the case in passing from the first to the second book of
 Maccabees. While the first has been explained by
 its late origin and the influence of Christian thought,
 this cannot apply to the case of the books of the Maccabees

If, however we will but notice that while I Maccabees leans toward Sadduceism the tendency of II Maccabees is to Pharisaism the difficulty will in part at least be removed for us. The place of composition of the book is doubtful. Many writers assign it to Alexandria but Graetz prefers a Syrian origin. The chief event in this book which interests us is the martyrdom of the mother and her seven sons. The second son before dying exclaims (VII 9.) 'Thou like a fury takest us out of the present life, but the King of the world shall raise us up who have died for his laws unto eternal life' Here as in Daniel there is clearly taught a belief in a resurrection. But it would be impossible to ascertain whether this resurrection be universal or for the good alone, were it not for the speech

of the fourth son. 'It is good, being put to death by men, to look for hope from God to be raised up again by him, as for thee thou shalt have no resurrection to life

ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν. It has been maintained that the author did not believe in a resurrection for the wicked. If this were the case why should he add the words εἰς ζωὴν. And so too in VI 26 the aged martyr, Eleazar is made to say 'For though for the present time I should be delivered from the punishment of men yet should I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead' Now Eleazar the priest had attempted to dissemble by taking other flesh in the place of that given by the king's officers and thus retain his position in the good graces of the officers. From his monologue he certainly considered this auspicious act

and therefore he must fear God. If there was no resurrection or punishment of the wicked why need he fear? Notwithstanding this, if our original inference be true that the book was written under the influence of Pharisaic dogmas and beliefs - we find that the writer could not believe in the resurrection of the wicked. If Josephus be correct in his summary of the beliefs of the various sects (Ant. XVIII. 1, 3) (and there is in this case no reason to question his authority) the Pharisees believed in the doctrines of the resurrection of the good alone. From Bel. Jud. II, 8, 14. we learn that the wicked were punished by everlasting torment in Hades. In this case we can perhaps refer the ἀνάστασις εἰς ζωὴν to the resurrection of the good which would come to Antiochus who would be punished in Hades. But these are but the beginning of the many

doctrines taught. The resurrection hoped for was not a spiritual but a bodily one. Therefore the mutilated bodies must be restored. This is just what we find. In VII. 11 we read 'These (hands) I had from heaven and for his law I despise them and from him I hope to receive them again. So too in XIV 46 there is expressed hope for the restoration of the body. In the speech of the mother we must also understand a bodily resurrection when she says (v 23) 'But doubtless the Creator of the world will also of his own mercy give you breath and life again' So too (v 36) in the words of the youngest son we must see not a hope of a future life but of a resurrection although he says; 'For our brethren, who now have suffered a short pain are dead under God's covenant of eternal life' Such

a strong faith in a resurrection brought out another doctrine which has continued to exist down to our own day - the hope of reunion after death 'Take thy death that I may receive thee again in mercy with thy brethren. While the foregoing passages might be taken as nothing more than a sign of the strong belief of the writer in the doctrine of a resurrection yet there are a few verses at the close of chapter XII that warn us to be on our guard.

After a battle with Gorgias, in which a few Hebrews were slain, Judas we are told comes up to bury the dead in their fathers' grave. Whereupon he finds under the coat of each of the dead men, plunder which had been sacred to the idols. All seeing that this was the cause of their death prayed to God. And Judas warned the survivors lest they too should take of the forbidden things.

(Leut. VII 25, 26). Then follows "And when he had made a gathering throughout the company to the sum of two thousand and drachms of silver he sent it to Jerusalem to offer a new offering doing therein very well and honestly in that he was mindful of the resurrection. For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead. And also in that he perceived that there was great favor laid up for those that died goodly. Whereupon he made a reconciliation for the dead that they might be delivered from pain. The passage whether written by the author of the book or not, yet seems to me to have been written before the destruction of the temple on account of the high praise bestowed upon the new offering. The story seems to have been written as a protest against the teachings of the

teachings of the Sadducees that there was no resurrection. For it was only with this hope firmly fixed in mind that the people could be induced to give up their lives for their religion. It was to effect this end and to stir the people on to heroic deeds that the writer says: 'For if he had not hoped that they that were slain should have risen again, it had been superfluous and vain to pray for the dead.'

While the influence of a knowledge of Greek philosophy served to remove from Eccl. and Eccles. references in support of a future life; nay, if on the other hand we see the author openly deny the fact, the opposite influence of philosophy is shown in the Wisdom of Solomon. Here, too we find Platonism and Stoicism, but Platonism and Stoicism read in the light of orthodox Judaism. The author has a firm faith in God and

the human family; all things are for the best for God has created all and He would create nothing that is not good; there remains for all men life beyond the grave; in this life too God's love and mercy is shown to us (XI 24-26) Here for the first time is taught the doctrine which afterwards played so important a figure in the gospels, namely the pre-existence of the soul (VIII 20) This soul was destined to immortality (II 23 I 13) The latter passage reveals to us an interesting fact and that is that at the time of the composition of the book under the consideration the verses of the Old Testament were interpreted as eschatological. For I 13 'For God made not death, neither hath He pleasure in the destruction of the living' is the construction which the writer put upon Ez XXXIII 10. In like manner he read into Genesis.

I 26, 27 and V 1 "For God created man to be immortal and made him to be an image of his own eternity. But an even more pronounced interpretation of this kind will be found in III 1-4. The writer has in mind Is L VII 1 & 2 "The righteous perisheth and no man layeth it to heart merciful men are taken away none considering that the righteous is taken away from the evil. He shall enter into peace; they shall rest in their beds; (each one) walking in his uprightness" "The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God. In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die and their departure is taken for misery and their going from us to be utter destruction but they are in peace. For though they be punished in the sight of men, yet is their hope full of immortality. (III 1-4) cf. IV. 10. V 15 VI 19) The immortality of the Widow is not as in the

preceding books by resurrection. For the corruptible body
 passeth down the soul and the earthly tabernacle weigheth
 down the mind that museth upon many things." He
 should therefore be happy when death comes upon us
 for it but prepares us for the happier immortal state.
 To the godless alone therefore is death a punishment
 (I 12-16 II 24) For them there is no hope (III 11, 18 V 14 XV 40)
 They shall be utterly cast down (IV 19) In I 11 the author
 uses the expression ἀραρεῖ ψυχῇ,
 but he cannot mean it literally for in IV 19 after speaking
 of all the evil and woe and punishment that comes
 on the wicked αὐτοὶ ἐοῦσι ὡς οὐδὲν. He could
 not therefore mean annihilation in the earlier passage
 for he speaks V 2, 3 of the wrong doer being conscious of
 the blessings of the righteous and bemoaning their mis-

able fate. The last point to notice is the teaching of future judgment I 9. III 7, 13, 18 IV 20. Not this alone. There is already a distinction made between judgment immediately after death and ^{an} after judgment which God will hold Cf III. 1 III 7, 8. Also IV 18-20 V. 1 In the Apocalypse we find abundant references to the idea of resurrection for as we shall see later this was the favorite mode of continued existence. Sibylline Oracles III 652-794 show a continuation of a hope for the future. The book of Enoch abounds in these references XXXI II LXXXIV 4, XC speak of a general judgment resulting in destruction of the wicked and the organization of the just into one congregation. We will treat of this at length under the Head of Messiah. This outline would be incomplete did we not touch briefly on the

teachings of the two great writers who closed the period
 under consideration Josephus the historian and Philo
 the philosopher. Josephus gives us his view in the
 summary of the beliefs of the various sects. He himself
 being a Pharisee (Vita 1, 2) he naturally held to that
 which he set down as their belief viz. resurrection of
 the righteous. Being an historian he could be ex-
 pected to give much on this subject. But one statement
 in particular shows us what an influence Greek
 philosophy had on the Jews of the period Josephus
 actually compares the Pharisees to the Stoics and the
 Essenes to the Pythagorean (Vita 2 fin Antt. XV 10, 11)
 In Philo we see the result of this same Greek philosophy
 blended with Hebrew thought. The blessings to the race for
 virtue we will treat later. For the individual the law of

retribution is absolute and is administered with
 strictest impartiality. A wicked man will not lose
 the reward of any good deed no matter how wicked
 his conduct be. Likewise the good man must not hope
 that his good deeds will save him from chastisement
 if he has acted unrightly. Every act is judged by God
 by balance and weight. Nobility is no excuse for wickedness.
 The man of noble birth if wicked will be dragged
 to the lowest depths to Tartarus itself in order that men
 may see and take warning (Curses VI end) Besides
 the many outward ills which will pursue the evil doer
 as disease and fear (which Philo seems to base on Lev.
 XVI³⁶) a more terrible doom awaits them. The soul of
 the godless is given up to sorrow desires and iniquities.
 The place of the wicked is not in Hades for the Hades of the

wicked man is during life. The end of these things is death. But death is not as men suppose the end of punishment. Before God it is but the beginning. The death penalty is to live continually dying and to endure a deathless and unending death. How can death be said to be unending. There are four different affections to which the soul is liable two of them being conversant with good either present or future namely, pleasure and desire the two with evil either present or expected namely sorrow and fear; it cuts up the pair of those which are conversant with good by the roots in order that the man may never receive pleasure from any accident of fortune nor even feel a desire for anything pleasant; and it leaves him only those affections conversant about evil, sorrow without any mixture of cheerfulness and unmingled fear (Reward & Punish, 11)

It is impossible for man to live without sin; therefore it is in our power to repent, those who do so and confess their sins, will obtain kindness from God; Like Enoch they will be found in the old blameworthy life but withdrawing into quiet and solitude they will there study and lead a life dear to the good. There is however such a thing as complete separation and expulsion from the good and this admits of no return forever; to those who ascribe to God rather than themselves the origin of their evil no pardon can be granted. The rewards of the good are both internal and external. The former are the highest the deeds themselves are the perfect reward. To have the divine spirit of wisdom abiding within; to share at least where we touch the immortal, in the self-sufficiency of God, to draw to the divine power in the possession of a steadfast and

quiet mind; these are the rewards which are given unto
 the virtuous. They shall leave behind them the strife
 necessity and corruption of this lower world and come
 to the Unbegotten and Eternal the city of God, the mystical
 Jerusalem which signifies the vision of peace and this
 is nothing less than God Himself for God alone is
 peace. With such a view Philo could not but reject the
 notion of a resurrection and hold to a natural immortality
 of the soul. We have thus reviewed the literature of the
 period which we are studying and have discovered
 varying ideas on the subject of Eschatology. We may per-
 haps now ask the question whence came the Jews to these
 doctrines of which we find but hints at the most in the
 Old Testament. The idea of resurrection which is the most
 pronounced doctrine among the writers of the last two

centuries B. C. could scarcely by natural evolution have grown from the ideas suggested by Scriptures. The passage to which it is always referred (E. III. 3) is explained by the writer to refer to a restoration of Israel to its land. It was not that the individual shall live but that the oppressed and downtrodden nation should be revived and restored. From the dimness of the Hebrew belief concerning Sheol from the emphasis laid upon the happiness derived from long life, it might be argued that resurrection would be the only logical outgrowth; that it would be the only doctrine to which thought could bring the people. But as a matter of fact this is not so. The very dimness of their idea of Sheol excluded any chance of its developing into the loftier ideas until doubt of the existence of Sheol should first spring up. Yet without any preliminary step, without any apparent

growth we see the doctrine of resurrection presented at the beginning of the second century. It has been suggested that the translation of Enoch and Elijah are examples of the doctrine of resurrection. This is however not the case. These two were supposed to be removed from earth, death coming upon them. We cannot help assigning these two stories to the class of legends so popular in the primitive beliefs of the various nations, according to which the popular heroes are transformed into gods or hidden away by the gods until some future date. King Arthur lived long in the stories and legends of ancient England. According to German folk lore the beloved Frederic Barbaross is still lying buried in a cave and will return to rule his cherished people. It was such a story as this kind that must Elijah survive and become forerunner of the Messiah.

Since we cannot trace the idea of resurrection by natural
 growth it must be to non-Jewish sources ~~that~~ we must look
 for the seeds of this teaching. We find hints of this belief
 in all primitive religions yet the minds of the Semites
 did not seem to be affected by them. The Egyptians and Hindus
 both had a system of resurrection at any early date but from
 these sources we can trace no influence. There are no indications
 that there was religious contact between India and Palestine
 at this period; the Egyptian doctrine does not seem to be clear
 enough to have suggested the idea as set down by Daniel
 and his successors. But the angelology of Daniel would turn
 our attention in another direction. In the Tigris and Euphrates
 valley we have good reason to believe that the Hebrew came
 under the influence of the Babylonian and Persian spirit.
 Unfortunately our knowledge concerning Persian eschatology

is exceedingly meagre. We have no means of fixing the dates for the *Apocrypha* and until this is done we can postulate nothing concerning Persian influence. It has been suggested it came among the Jews by way of Alexandria where the study of such writings as Theopompus who is quoted by Plutarch Pers and Osmis as assigning to the Persian such a belief as early as the 5th century B.C. But this theory seems untenable. For the very works which show most Alexandrian influence Ecclesiasticus, Wisdom of Solomon and Proverbs (Chapter ~~IX~~) seem to know nothing of such a doctrine. Nor could it have been brought along by the small colony of Jews. For however slowly the doctrine would take root, it could hardly take three centuries before the first signs of its outgrowth would appear. Why need we search for sources from which these ideas could have been borrowed? It is

most probable that the rise of these ideas though due to external contact were yet indigenous. Contact and association with the other nations differing from them in belief produced the same phenomenon which is repeated in our own day. Contact between Jew and Christian is causing both to make a closer study of the bible in order to be able to meet the arguments of the opponent. So too the Jews are brought to study the O. T. by association with the other nations with whom business brings them into relations. How well would a doctrine of bodily resurrection harmonize with a hope of national permanency. At a time like that preceding the Maccabean revolution when Hellenism was wide-spread when a hope for deliverance was cherished by all pious Israelites who expected the interposition of God in the interest of his chosen few,

what could be more pleasing than a hope that the pious
 will be restored to life to enjoy the blessings which God
 will so bounteously bestow upon his faithful followers.
 The nation's life is to be saved by God; the nation's dead
 will arise to reap the fruit of this happy age. It would
 be but a slight matter to take the further step of Daniel
 and cause the wicked also to arise to receive punishment.
 This would also explain why the Sadducees who were the
 aristocrats and thus in sympathy with the Hellenism would
 not accept the doctrine of resurrection. The idea of a
 future life, that is, the belief in the immortality of the
 soul in contradistinction to the resurrection of the body
 needed not even this outer spur to urge it into prominence.
 It may be a direct outgrowth of the shadowy Sheol. For
 we have already said that the idea of Sheol was

anthropological. The soul could not die; therefore that of good and wicked alike lived a dreary life in Sheol. When the idea of reward and punishment was introduced when persecution and death for their religion caused them to turn their eyes heavenward, we see the people hoping for reward from that source; the idea of earthly reward gives way to heavenly remuneration. The thing to be desired was not length of days but an honorable life. 'For honorable age is not that which standeth in length of time nor that is measured by number of years.' The period which was most suited for the growth of the belief was most surely that preceding and during the Maccabean struggle. The people bravely withstood the attack; many died before the result was accomplished. Shall these men

give up their lives and enjoy none of the fruits for which they labored so ardently and so long. Thoughts of this kind hope for the plain, stirred up the idea of immortality and made invulnerable the small band of the faithful. As Ewald well remarks: 'If the immovable hope of immortality and resurrection is the true and only weapon that cannot be wrested from us, by which in the spiritual struggle of humanity, all the sufferings of the time can be victoriously endured; all the tyranny of the earth broken and all imperishable blessings attained; it must be admitted that through the deep, surging storm of the age, there was sent from above in this faith, which nothing can take away, the only sword of salvation on whose edge the most fatal terrors would strike

in vain' In that age of revolution and storm the sword made firm the heart and gave strength to strike the blows for freedom.

We have thus far treated of one part of the Eschatological ideas, namely resurrection and immortality but have not touched on the subject of judgement. To this we will now briefly turn our attention. There are in the human mind certain general religious ideas which represent the relation of man and of the world to God. Besides these there are the specific Israelitic ideas which represent the relation of the Jewish people to Jahveh. While in a universal religion one would naturally expect the specific to be subordinated by the general, in Judaism for a long time this was not the case. The latter were the prevailing ideas around which the

former gathered. It was the latter from which sprang the legalism which characterized so long a period of Jewish history. If Jahveh has chosen Israel to be his people and has given them his laws he must bestow blessings and benefits upon them if they will only obey this Law. This was transformed into the belief that Jahveh gave Israel these beliefs, commands and ordinances for the purpose of providing them with much reward. As the people gazed back over their history and surveyed the condition of affairs surrounding them, they could readily perceive that this reward was given neither to the individual nor to the nation. Thought on this subject caused them to believe that on account of the sin of the people, the reward had been withheld and their gaze was directed to the future. The worse their condition became

the more suffering and persecution that they were compelled to endure the more ardent become their gaze. "Religious consciousness became concentrated upon the hope of the future" Thus their religious consciousness became divided between work and faith. The work of the Jew was the faithful observance of the Law; his faith lay in a belief for a better future. The latter characterized in a great measure the faith of the last writers of the Old Testament. By a return to Palestine and the establishment of the second Commonwealth under Zerubbabel, Ezra and Nehemiah, this hope seems to have faded somewhat. But the changes in the governments around them, their subjugation by Alexander and their loss of independence under the Ptolemies caused this faith to spring up afresh. After the victory

After the victory over Antiochus we can notice a great change. There is more freedom in faith than in action. The legal precepts and interpretations are binding for all. A faithful Jew must strictly observe all these laws to the letter. But in faith there was free play. These hopes for the future developed in different ways. We can easily distinguish the later from what we can call the old hope for a judgment. This was the belief of the old prophets. It consisted of the hope that the nation should be morally purified; that it should dwell unmolested and respected in the midst of the Gentiles governed by a just wise and powerful King of the house of David; that all evil should be abolished and unclouded prosperity appear. The same growth which we noticed before in the ethical realm, displayed

itself here. The view becomes more and more extended from the nation to the world. Originally the judgment was thought to purify Israel and to punish all the heathens as her enemies or to compel to recognize Israel and her God. Later it became the judgment of the world. According to the first view the kingdom would not extend beyond the borders of the Holy Land; according to the second the whole world will be united under the scepter of Israel into a universal kingdom. Many circumstances tended to bring about such a change in opinion; it has been suggested that the most potent was the absorption of smaller states by the great monarchy. Shall we not rather say, that the widening of the horizon by commerce and trade shewed to this people wrapped up in its God-idea

that there were other peoples outside of Canaan who were
 also worthy of consideration. While we admit that the
 influence of the widening of the horizon on the development
 of the ideas of the future was great yet greater still the
 effect of the enlargement of the notion of God and of
 the view of the world. From the God and King of Israel
 the idea developed into God and King of the world.
 The heathen kingdom in whom we reject God will be
 overthrown one by one; after the overthrow of the last
 heathen kingdom. God, Himself will reign over
 the united human family. We have seen that at first
 this hope for the future was entirely national. But
 as it grew the individual sprang more and more
 into prominence. With the deepening of the religious
 consciousness the individual felt himself more and

more under God's care. God's care extended over each creature. With this belief in a providence there could not fail to be associated a hope for the future of the individual. Since the enduring and future existence of the individual depended upon the will of God, the pious may hope to share in the future glory of the nation. Let us here take special notice that notwithstanding the growth of an individual hope, yet the belief in a grand future of the nation was never lost sight of. This hope always maintained the supremacy, was ever uppermost in the minds of the people. When we read the works of men like Bruno Bauer, Volkmar, Holzmann and see them maintain that the idea of a glorious future had died out among the people under the prophets and was revived by Christ

we cannot but feel that they were misrepresenting the
 facts that they were painting in blacker colors the
 back ground in order to make the few bright lines of
 Christianity stand out more clearly. We find then hope
 always active among the people. In the literature of
 the two centuries closing the old era we find abundant
 evidence of the continued existence of this hope. Books
 like Enoch, Sibylline Oracles II Esdras abound in
 such hope. Even Philo shows his belief in a glorious
 future although as we shall later see he knows of
 no Messiah. Those who but a short time before were
 scattered ——— all hasten to one place pointed out to
 them being guided on their way by some vision, more
 divine than is compatible with its being of the nature of
 man, invisible indeed to everyone else but apparent only

to those who were spared. And when they come, cities will
 be rebuilt which but a short time ago were in ruins and
 the desert will be filled with inhabitants and the barren
 land will change and become fertile and the good
 fortune of their fathers and ancestors will be looked
 upon as a matter of but small importance, on account
 of the abundance of wealth of all kinds which they will
 have at the present moment." He goes on to explain the
 happiness of the virtuous and the misery of the wicked
 who finally repent of their wrong and are received into
 the company of the righteous. This later hope of a glorious
 future became more and more transcendent and was
 transferred to the supernatural and supermundane. The
 scene is changed from the wicked, sinful עולם הזה
 to the glorious עולם הבא when righteousness and

happiness are supreme. The idea of a trial was at first not so distinct as we find it among other nations. Wisdom of Solomon (I 9 III 7, 13 18 IV 20) speak of a day of visitation or trial. We will speak more at length concerning this when we discuss the idea of the Messiah. To this let us now turn our attention

Messianic Hopes.

When we read in the early history of England of the brave deeds of King Arthur and we find chronicled all the kindness and benefits which he bestowed upon his beloved subjects we can but reasonably expect to find in the later stories and folk lore, the hope that he will return. To the German peasant, the beloved Frederic Barbarossa is not dead but lies concealed in a distant tomb whence he will return to rule over united Germany. The French for centuries hoped for a descendant of Charlemagne like

unto his father who would rule over the domain of their great
 Charles. If we find this to be the case among some nations why
 cannot we understand a similar hope among the Hebrews why
 need we introduce divine and superhuman elements in a place
 where they are uncalled for. The Israelitish expectation was in
 origin the same as that of the other nations - an expectation of a
 second David - a longing for the glory of the past metamorphosed
 through much meditation on its happiness into time of present dis-
 tress into the hope of its restoration in the future. Before beginning
 an investigation of the Messianic expectations of the Jews let us
 clearly understand what the term *Messiah* meant to them and how
 we shall understand it. The word משיח means as is well known
 simply the anointed one. Applied at first only to the high priest,
 as God's vicegerent on earth, it was widened to include the
 kings who were at first anointed. Saul and David were thus

consecrated as the chosen of God. Jehoath, too, was anointed by
 Jehoiada but this was an exceptional case. Cyrus too is called the
 anointed. In short we can infer that the term meant God's ser-
 vant on earth and could thus be applied indiscriminately to
 anyone who was supposed to be performing God's mission.
 Throughout the entire extent of the prophetic period the hope was
 only for a king - a descendant of David who should rule again
 over the restored people. So Haggai (II. 23) Zerubabel is the des-
 cendent of David mentioned by his predecessors. Zechariah
 too, at first had placed his hopes in Zerubabel but the latter
 was not the man to bring about the hoped for results and Zechariah
 turns to Joshua as fulfillment of the prophecy. Let us see now the
 growth of the Messianic idea in the time which we are studying
 viz. the last two hundred years before the era. Daniel exerted a
 powerful influence upon the form of the Messianic idea. On

account of the persecution and affliction (12:1 עַתָּה צָרָה) of
 Antiochus the prophet predicts a speedy deliverance which awaits the
 people. God will set in judgment upon the nations. Saints of the Most
 High will receive the Kingdom and will possess it for ever. All
 people will serve them (VII 9-27; II 114). The righteous will be able
 to share it (VII; 2). There is no mention of a Messianic king as the
 Head of the people. The writer seems to have no idea of a belief in a per-
 sonal Messiah. Much has been said to the contrary by interpreting
 the expression כְּבֹד מֶלֶךְ (VII:13) to refer to some Messiah. But the
 reference cannot be misunderstood if one will but interpret it accord-
 ing to the context. The author contrasts the Kingdom of the world with the
 Kingdom of Heaven. The former he represents by the beasts for the
 latter he ~~could~~ choose no fitter prototype than a man. Daniel's
 hope for the future is the universal dominion of the saints. They
 rule not by an act of God but by force. These are the Messianic hopes

of Daniel using the terms as we now shall in its wider signification. As we turn to the Apocrypha we find very few references to the Messiah. In Wisdom of Solomon (II: 12-20) occurs the description of righteous man. Christologists interpret as referring to the Messiah but such a view is unfounded. II Esdras, which as we have already seen is very late, contains such views concerning the Messiah that we cannot but believe that the text has been tampered with. Chapter II especially verses (34-42-47) look suspicious. As we turn to the Apocalypse we see a clearer conception portrayed. In the Sibylline Books there are many passages which relate to the Messiah but here always the great and powerful King who is to lead the people to victory. A fair example are III. 652-4

ὅς πᾶσας γὰρ πάντοι πολέμου κακῶ

οὓς μεν ἄρα κτείνας οἷς δόρυ κα πύρρὰ τελέσας

οὐδὲ γε ταῖς ἰδίαις βουλαῖς τὰδε πάντα ποιήσει

ἀλλὰ θεοῦ μεγάλου πειθήσας δόγμασιν ἐσθλοῖς.

The book of Enoch contains little of a Messianic nature Chapter
 XL-16-38 is a picture of the conclusion of the vision of judgement
 The Messianic Kingdom is most clearly depicted in the Psalterium
 Solomonis He is to be a ruler of the house of David. He must also
 mention here some of the prayers namely the first three and last
 three. Beneboth of the 18 Benedictions These are assigned by
 Junz (Gottesdienstliche Vorträge p. 361) to the time which we have
 under consideration These are Messianic and are presumably later in
 origin As we hinted above, Philo tells us nothing concerning the
 Messiah. He seems to be unconscious of any belief in a personal
 Messiah. The Israelites will be gathered together in their own land
 under the leadership of a wonderful vision (De Exsecrationibus 9
 De Praenunt et Poenis 116) He would prove that Philo anticipates
 the fourth Gospel identified the Messiah in the Logos but such a
 position is untenable He would most assuredly have made some

reference to the fact; what is more it would have been his Logos that would lead back the people to their land. Notwithstanding his ethical teaching, Philo cannot avoid the popular notion of riches possessions &c as Messianic gifts. The numerous popular tumults of a politico-religious nature which took place during the time of Roman procurators (A.D. 44-68) give most conclusive evidence of the hope of God's interference in history. In fact Josephus (Bell. Jud. II, 5, 4) tells us that this is the case.

Systematic Resume. (Schürer)

An account of the various phases of the Messianic expectation which present themselves is an examination of the literature like the foregoing gives us but an indistinct and often mistaken conception of the ideas extent among the people. We can perhaps gain a much better idea of the growth of these conceptions if we adopt the historical method and attempt to group the ideas as a whole. In doing this we will often

have to transcend the limits which we put upon ourselves and pass into the Talmud for the conception then laid down. But we can justify our act by noting that, while recorded much later, many of the ideas set down in the Talmud belong to a much earlier period in the development of the ideas. Often therefore we will find ideas which have not yet passed through the first stage of development placed side by side with a much more highly developed conception.

The first thing which attracts our attention is the (1) Last suffering and distress. The prophets foretold a period of trouble which should precede the redemption to be brought about by the end of things (Isa. XLIII. 13. Dan. XII. 1.) Many omens and signs would announce the threatening trouble (2) Macc. V: 2, 3, Jos. Bell. Jud. VI 8, 3. Mishnah Sota IX: 15. When we remember how superstitious the Romans were and how they were continually receiving heavenly signs we will not be surprised to find that Tacitus

(Hist. V: 13) has present at the same beliefs.

2. Elijah the forerunner. When we read the account of the carrying away of Elijah we can at once make up our mind that the people in some age or other will have returned to earth. For it is impossible in so early an age for such a story as is told in Kings (II; 2, 11) to be recorded without soon finding someone to give a false interpretation and build some later belief around this nucleus. And this is just what occurred. The prophet Malachi (III. 1.) tells of a messenger who is to come before the reign of God on earth begins and later (IV, 5) he mentions Elijah. Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord! The great esteem in which the earlier writings are held by the authors of the Apocryphal apocals evidenced by Eccles (XLVIII; 10, 11) when the story as told both in Kings and Malachi is accepted as fact. Many cases occur in the Mishnah. Edojoth VIII: 7 Baba Meziach I: 8; II: 8, III: 4, 5)

where the ownership of money or property is disputed; the decision is that the case must wait until Elijah comes. From the story of the restoration unto life of the widow's son (Kings XVII: 17-24) we see springing up a series of stories of Elijah as the agent of God in bringing about the resurrection. It is clearly laid before us in the Mishnah quoted above (Sota IX: 15) The resurrection of the dead comes through the prophet Elijah.

3. The Messiah. We have seen above that in sources which Christianity could not possibly have affected (Philo, Baruch & poem §16) the Messianic idea is that a Millennium (as we now understand the word) when God will reign over all the world and evil and wrong will be overthrown. The claim is not true, therefore, that the idea of the overthrow of evil is original with Christianity. This was the dream of the prophet; this was the innermost desire of the writers of the Apocrypha.

4. Name of Messiah. The King who is to bring all this good into the

world is called by various names in the different writings. He is frequently spoken of as simply the Anointed One, the Messiah.

The proper appellation is $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \kappa\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$; in the Mishnah (Berachot

I. 5) $\text{מְלִכָּה בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה}$ Aramaic Sota IX. 15) $\text{בְּרַבְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה}$

Son of Man From the $\text{בְּרַבְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה}$ of Daniel, we see the Messiah continually spoken of as 'the Son of Man'. Particularly is this the case with Enoch who continually applied this picture of Daniel to the Messiah. As the chosen and beloved of God on earth he is also spoken of as the 'Elect'. The name 'Son of God' is found in Enoch CV. 2. Since the Messiah was to be from the house of David we see this fact dwelt upon in some of the sources. In the New Testament the Messiah is called $\nu\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma \Delta\alpha\upsilon\acute{\iota}\delta$ Targum Jonathan in several places uses the expression בְּרַבְרָא . In the 13th Berachah of the 18 Benedictions, the Messiah is called צִמְחַת דָּוִד . From various terms it is difficult to decide what the conception of the people was.

Shürer's remarks concerning this It is impossible to decide whether
 pre-Christian Judaism regarded the Messiah as human or of higher
 order. But other authorities do not take so indefinite a position.
 "The great popular belief at the time of Jesus as we gather from a
 comparison of New Testament and Talmud was in a conquering
 human, but almost superhuman, King of David's line." The original
 Messianic hope as derived from the Old Testament did not expect a
 Messiah but a theocratic King of the house of David. Later came the
 idea of a personal Messiah - a ruler endowed with special gifts
 and powers, but he was never anything but a human ruler and
 King endowed with these powers. In two or three sources, we per-
 ceived the pre-existence and eternity of the Messiah. In Enoch and
 II Esdras is this especially the case. His name was called before the
 Lord of spirits, before the sun and the planets were created, before the
 stars were made (En. XLVIII:3) Targum Jonathan commenting

of Zech. IX. 7 says "The Messiah whose name was named before eternity"
 This is pointed out by many as a sign of Christian influence
 but this is not necessarily the case. It is no doubt the result of
 Micah V. 2 מִקֵּדָם הֵימִי עוֹלָם being interpreted to mean that
 the ruler there mentioned pre-existed. It is either to this verse that
 the whole doctrine of pre-existence traces its origin or to Dan. VII. 13-14
 where by interpreting the verses literally we could understand the pre-
 existence of the Son of Man who is of course supposed to be the Messiah.
 With these possible exceptions, which can also be interpreted otherwise
 Judaism always insisted upon the humanity of the Messiah. The position of
 the people can well be understood by the saying of one of the Rabbis
 "If a man says to thee I am God, he lies; I am the son of God, he
 will at last repent it; I ascend to heavens, if he said it he will not repent."
 Time of coming of Messiah. The end of all things as announced
 in Daniel was still postponed. The book of Enoch, too, promises the

speedy coming of the Messiah but in vain. The hand of God was
 seen in the death of Antiochus and the results of the conflict but on
 the whole matters did not improve much. Heathenism was still
 wide spread over the earth, sin and evil remained. Not even in
 Israel herself were the imperfections removed. The hostility
 and strife between heathenism and Jehovahism was as fierce as
 ever. The people could only hope and long for higher accord and
 reconciliation. The desire of the whole age after the Maccabean
 struggle was to apply itself to a higher peace, to enjoy the
 fruits of its great victory and to allow the fulness of its prosperity
 to unfold itself in content. Notwithstanding these facts it can
 still be plainly seen that the people supposed everything to be
 temporary. The grand results of the revolution were but the fore-
 runners of a grander and permanent victory over all heathenism.
 When the people conferred upon Simon perpetual sovereignty

it was with the limitation 'until there should arise some faithful prophet' (Maas XIV: 41) But the long awaited end did not come and we see the rabbis resorted to the most ingenious computations. Sanhedrin XCVI and XCVIIa contain a number of these calculations. The widely disseminated theory was that the world would last 6000 yrs. There were 6 days of creation and one thousand are in the eyes of God equal to one day (Ps XC: 4) כִּי יֵלֶךְ שְׁנַיִם בְּעֵינָיָה כַּיּוֹם אֶתְמוּל כִּי יַעֲבֹר

A far loftier and more ethical conception was that which delayed the messianic period until the people should repent and perfectly fulfill the law. 'If all Israel would together repent for one day redemption by the Messiah would come.' Another rabbi says: 'If Israel would only keep two Sabbaths properly we should be immediately redeemed.'

Judgment. Throughout the later books we find continual reference to the judgment. From Daniel XI the idea arose that

there would be a final attack of the hostile nations against Israel but Israel will defeat and vanquish her enemies and then will come the final judgment of the world. Here as one might naturally expect is a great difference of opinion. To those holding the position that the Messiah is to be only a theocratic King he is the one who comes and leads the people on to victory and success. So it is that Philo represents to us the virtuous and pious lead on to victory by their long promised King. But to the critics who hold that a superhuman Messiah is expected, a difficulty here arises. For the Messiah cannot come into a world of iniquity and evil. Therefore Israel must first fight the battles with her enemies and conquering all of them, she must await the judgment of God. According to Enoch God himself sets in judgment, but only fallen angels and apostate Israelites are condemned to punishment. All the heathen nations, no matter

what their former attitude may have been, now submit to God.
 In Sibylline Books and Psalterium, Salomones, the Messiah
 overthrows the enemies. In the latter, no force or violence, is
 used. By the mere word of his mouth *ἐν λόγῳ στόματος αὐτοῦ*
 he is able to conquer the world. This is no doubt, derived from
 the words (Ps. XI: 4) *אִפְסֵה יָמָיו בְּשֶׁבֶט פִּי וּבַחֶם שְׁפָטֵנוּ יְמִית זָשֵׁעַ*

According to Talmud (Succah 52 a) the destruction of the
 hostile nations is the work of the subordinate.

But the matter which ~~view~~ be the most logical, they both
 amount to the same thing. Until the sinners have disappeared,
 the Messiah cannot come into the world. "As long as there
 are sinners in the world, so long does the wrath of God endure"
 but as soon as they disappear from the world, the divine
 wrath also vanishes (Mishnah Sanh. IX 6.)

The idea of the Jewish State was so wrapped up in Jerusalem

that it was around this center, that the hopes of the people gathered.
 But the city as they saw it was so corrupt, that a purification
 a renovation had to take place. As long as the city remained
 in the hands of the people, this idea of purification sufficed.
 After the destruction the idea took the shape of a rebuilding
 as is set down in the 10th Benediction. The vision of the
 dreamer Ezekiel (XL. seq) The picturesque fancy of the poetical
 imagination of Isaiah (LIV 11 seq) caused to arise the belief of
 a New Jerusalem of gold, of silver and of precious stones pre-
 existing in heaven which will descend to earth, to be the eternal
 abode of the righteous and saintly. It was Paradise before
 Adam sinned but after his fall it was taken up to Heaven
 to be preserved there until the Messianic period.
 The Jews scattered to all corners of the then known world, must
 be gathered again into Jerusalem. This hope is self-evident.

That part of the nation which was in exile must be reassembled; dispersed Israel will be gathered unto the Holy Land to enjoy the Messianic reign. It was a point of difference among the various writers as to who should perform this task of reassembling the dispersed. According to Isaiah, this was the work of the heathen. This view reappears in the Apocalypse Philo (De exsecrationibus §8-9) a divine appearance, visible only to the virtuous and upright, will lead the people to the Holy Land. According to later writings this assembling is the work of the Messiah, who in person will lead back the dispersed people into Palestine. The ten tribes are in an uninhabited country called in Latin Azareth (אֶזְרֶתְיָא Deut XXX:27 acc to Shema) or Azoph (אֶזְפָּה where they live upright lives obeying the laws as laid down in the Mosaic code. In the Mishnah (Sanh. X:3) the expression used in Deut (XXX:27) is made the basis of a syllogism

The ten tribes will never more return, for it is said וְיִשְׁלַכְכֶם אֶל-אֲרָץ

אֲחֵרֶת כִּי־יָסֵד הָיָה Since as this day passes and does not return, so shall they pass away and not return. This is the opinion of R. Akiba. R. Elazar said "As the day grows darker and then light again, so will it some day be light again for the tribes with whom it is now dark. This would show that the hope was entertained that at the Messianic period those tribes would return. To R. Akiba and his followers, we would infer from the above, it seemed otherwise. This skepticism was not widespread as is shown by the 18 Benedictions "Lift up a banner together but dispersed and assemble from ^{the} four ends of the earth." After this reunion takes place, there will be established the מְלָכוֹת שָׁמַיִם (Berachah 11) God is King of Israel but He temporarily exposes His people to the attacks of the enemy. In the future government, He will take the power into His own hands. מְלָכוֹת שָׁמַיִם does not mean the Kingdom

in heaven but the Kingdom of, i.e. by heaven. As we have mentioned above, the Holy Land was the central point of this Kingdom.

Another expression used continually throughout the O.T. is, to inherit the Land. By the Talmud this is interpreted to mean to have a part in the Messianic Kingdom (Maddashim I:13). This was not confined to Palestine. The minds of the people widened by the beautiful picture of Isaiah (II:2) and they gave to the whole world what was at first supposed to be the special heritage of Israel. Another point worthy of notice is the hope for the continuation of the sacrificial cult, so essential did these rites seem to the people, so firmly had they become imbedded into the life of the people, that they could conceive of no worship without sacrifices. Hence after the destruction of the Temple, there sprang up daily prayers for the restoration of the sacrificial service (Ber. XVII.) The last point is the Messianic & Messianic which we have treated on.

before, and shows how necessarily close the ideas we have considered
 lie to one another. A general resurrection before the last judgment
 was necessary concomitant to a Messianic belief. Books are
 kept of a man's deeds. The good and bad are placed side by side
 and can be made to balance one another. Some virtues are far
 more powerful than others. This relative value of sins and virtues
 caused a divergence of opinions concerning punishment. Some
 authorities (De LXXII: 24, Lev. XLII: 2, Jos. B. J. II: 8, 14, Gen. XLVII: 13)
 supposed the punishment of the sinner to be everlasting. In the
 Mishnah, on the other hand, we find the view had become more
 moderate, so that we find R. Akiba say; 'The time of the condem-
 nation of the ungodly last twelve months (Eduj. II: 10). Thus
 at the time of the beginning of the modern era, man had
 become more lenient even to the sinner. The minds of men had
 become widened and thoughts of kindness and love to all seems

to have colored all their hopes. In conclusion we have very little to add. We have endeavored to collate the various passages which refer to eschatological hopes and hint at the possible belief held by the people during the closing centuries of the pre-Christian era. The claims so boastfully made and circulated that Christianity first gave people something to live for, by teaching the doctrine of a future life, is historically false. The idea, no matter whence it came, was well known to the Hebrew people before the rise of the new religion. In regard to the hopes for a better future, from the references quoted, one thing is clear and that is that pre-Christian Judaism did not expect a super-human Messiah, but a theocratic King of the house of David. The Logos, which the 4th Gospel associates with Christ was never identified by Philo with the Messiah. It is probably to the Sosiosch idea of Persia

that we must turn, if we would find the true source of the Christian conception of a Messiah. It is true that the destruction of the temple caused the Jewish idea to become confused with the idea of King but it was hardly this alone which revolutionized the Messianic idea. With these few hints we close hoping that further labor and mature thought may enable us to present at some future time, a more definite and a more systematic study of this most important period in Jewish history.

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