



# LIBRARY COPYRIGHT NOTICE

[www.huc.edu/libraries](http://www.huc.edu/libraries)

## Regulated Warning

See Code of Federal Regulations, Title 37, Volume 1, Section 201.14:

The copyright law of the United States (title 17, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material.

Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specific conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be “used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research.” If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of “fair use,” that user may be liable for copyright infringement.

This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve violation of copyright law.

U

26  
—  
47

The Historical Background of the  
Book of Judith.

LIBRARY OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF  
TORONTO



1902

[1902]

Missing pages 29,97,114

Mic  
5/79



Preface.



Perhaps the most important part of a thesis is the preface.

It at least, represents the writer's own thought. No thesis of merit seems to be without its preface. And so, wishing to make pretensions, at least, to this qualification, and also to show some, even if it be only a little, original work, I have ventured to employ this preface.

In the spirit of Solomon I may be permitted to say, "There is nothing new in this thesis itself." I have, by the very nature of the subject been forced to confine myself to a brief account of the book of Judith as a piece of literature, and the exposition and discussion of the different theories concerning its origin, date and historical background. Some theories I was obliged to omit, owing to the impossibility of obtaining them in full. A few I had to get at second hand; but most are from the original sources.

In the narrative account of the book I have related the facts in detail, bringing out all points upon which critics lay stress. Wherever I have had occasion to refer to any of these points, I have not deemed it necessary to quote the actual chapter and verse. And all authors whose works are mentioned in my bibliography, I have referred to in the notes only by name.

In submitting this thesis to the honorable faculty of the Hebrew Union College for approval, allow me to express my thanks to Drs. Mielziner, Philipson, Deutch, Grossman and Buttenwieser for their kind advice and for the loan of books. Also acknowledgments are due to the officers of the Public Library and of Lane Seminary for their unfailing courtesy.



Davidson, J. — "The Old Testament," *Encyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, pp. 167-176.

Davidson, J. — "Introduction to the Old Testament," pp. 1-10.

De Wette, L. — *Handbuch der biblisch-historischen Einleitung in die Hebräischen und Griechischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 1-10.

De Wette, L. — *Handbuch der biblisch-historischen Einleitung in die Hebräischen und Griechischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 1-10.

De Wette, L. — *Handbuch der biblisch-historischen Einleitung in die Hebräischen und Griechischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, pp. 1-10.

**Bibliography.**

Encyclopedia Britannica. Article, "Judaism," vol. 11, pp. 1-10.

Smith, S. — "History of Israel" (trans. by Carpenter), vol. 1, pp. 1-10.

Forster, J. — "The History of the Jews," pp. 1-10.

Forster, J. — "The History of the Jews," pp. 1-10.

Forster, J. — "The History of the Jews," pp. 1-10.



Bissell.----- "Critical, Doctrinal, and Homiletical, Commentary."

Schaff--- Apocrypha, Bissell. pp. 157-198.

Davidson.----- "Introduction to the Old Testament" pp. 479-491.

De Wette.----- "Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die  
Kanonischen und apokryphischen Bücher des Alten  
Testaments." pp. 574-581.

Diestel.----- Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie. 1862. pp. 781-784.

Eichorn.----- "Kritische Schriften." vol. IV. pp 291-334

Encyclopedia Brittanica. Article. "Judith". vol. XLIII.  
pp. 765-766.

Ewald.----- "History of Israel" (trans. by Carpenter.) vol. V.  
pp. 344 and 474

Fritzsche.----- "Kurzgefastes Exegetisches Handbuch zu den  
Apokryphen des alten Testaments." pp. 113-132.

Scheu<sup>er</sup>kel's Bibelllexikon---Article, "Judith."  
pp. 445-452.

Gaster.----- Encyclopedia Biblica. Article, "Judith."  
pp. 2642-2646. vol. II.



- Ginsberg.----- Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature. Article, "Book of Judith." vol. 1V. pp. 1083 sq.
- Graetz.----- "Geschichte der Juden," vol. 1V. pp 121 sq., 420-422.
- Hamburger.----- Real-Encyclopädie. Article, "Apocrypha". p. 67.
- Herzfeld.----- "Geschichte des Volkes Israel," Vol. II, p. 118.
- Hilgenfeld.----- Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. 1858, pp. 270-281. 1861, pp 335-385.
- Hitzig.----- Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie. 1860, pp. 240-250.
- "Über Johannes Marcus und seine Schriften." p 165.
- Horne.----- "Introduction to the Critical Study of the Scriptures". vol. 1V. pp. 213-214.
- Jahn.----- "Introduction to the Old Testament" (trans. by Turner and Whittingham;) pp. 524-529.
- Jellinek.----- "Bet-Hammidrash," vol. 1. pp. XXII-XXIV, 130-147, vol. VI. pp. V- VIII, 1-3.



- Keerl.----- "Die Apokryphen des Alten Testaments." pp. 30-36.
- Karpeles.----- "Geschichte der Jüdischen Literatur." pp.186-190.
- Kitto.----- Journal of Sacred Literature. 1856, pp.342-363.  
1861, pp. 421-440.
- Kleinert.----- "Abriss der Einleitung zum Alten Testament in Tabellen-  
form."
- König.----- "Einleitung in das Alte Testament:" pp.478-480.
- Lipsins.----- Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie, 1859,  
pp.39-121.  
1862, pp. 103-105.  
1867! pp. 337-366.
- Löhr.----- "Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des alten Testaments"--- Kautsch. "Das Buch Judith"- Löhr. vol.1.
- Nöldeke----- "Die alttestamentliche Literatur in einer Reihe von  
Aufsetzen dargestellt." pp.91-101.
- Palfrey.----- "Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities."  
vol.IV. 367-382.



- Porter,----- "Dictionary of the Bible"- Hastings. Article, "Judith-."  
Porter, vol. **II**, 822-824.
- Prideaux----- "The Old and New Testaments Connected in the History  
of the Jews and Neighboring Nations. 1816. pp.156-165.
- Reuss, ----- "Geschichte der heiligen Schriften alten Testaments."  
641-646.
- Ersch und Gruber's "<sup>in</sup> Allgemeine Encyclopädie<sup>e</sup>". vol. XXV111  
pp 98-103.
- Schürer,----- "Geschichte des jüdischen<sup>n</sup> Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu  
Christi, vol.111. pp 167-174. 1898.
- Siegfried,----- Theologische Jahrbücher, 1896 p.71.
- Smith, W. Robertson,----- "The Old Testament in the Jewish Church."  
p.439.
- Smith,----- Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical  
Literature. Article, "Judith." p. 1083.
- Stanley,----- "History of the Jewish Church." p.413.
- Strack,----- "Einleitung in das Alte Testament." pp. 157-158.



- Stream.----- "The Age of the Maccabees." pp.127-132.
- Vaihinger.----- Herzog's Real-Encyclopedia, Article. "Judith." vol.VII,  
135-142.
- Vatke.----- "Einleitung in das Alte Testament." pp. 730-734.
- Volkmar.----- Theologische Jahrbücher, 1857. pp. 441-498  
1856, pp 361-366.  
"Handbuch der Einleitung in die Apokryphen."  
Erster <sup>ei</sup> ~~Thil~~.
- Wellhausen.----- "Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte. 1895.  
pp 181-182.
- Weissman.----- "Das Buch Judith historisch-kritisch beleuchtet."
- Wise.----- "Hebrews' Second Commonwealth" pp 127-128.
- Zöckler.----- "Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften  
alten und neuen Testaments sowie zu den Apokryphen."  
Strack and Zöckler. vol.IX. pp.185-214.
- Zunz.----- "Die Gottesdienstlichen Vorträgen des Judens.



Chap. I. Narrative Account of the Book..... 1- 12

Chap. II. The Judith-story in the traditions..... 13-21

Chap. III. Literary History of the Book of Judith.

The Design and Character of the Book..... 22-24

Title and Position of the Book..... 27

Original Language, Author and Date, and First Mention of the Book..... 27-30

Versions of the Book..... 30-31

Generalities of the Book..... 31-32

**Index.**..... 31-32

Introduction..... 33-34

Chap. I. First Theory: Book Authentic History..... 35-44

Chap. II. Second Theory: Book Pure Fiction..... 45-53

Chap. III. Third Theory: Book Fiction, but with Historical Background.

Melancthon's View..... 54-70

Scia's View..... 71-73

Schirach's View..... 74-75



XI.

Pt.1.

Chap.1.	Narrative Account of the Book.....	1- 12
	Hilgenfeld's View.....	78-79
Chap. <b>II</b> .	The Judith-story in the Traditions.....	13-21
	Reuss' View.....	80-81
Chap. <b>III</b> .	Literary History of the Book of Judith .	81-84
	The Design and Character of the Book.....	22-26
	Title and Position of the Book.....	27-28
	Original Language, Author and	88-89
	Date, and First Mention of the Book.....	27-30
	Versions of the Book.....	30-31
	Canonicity of the Book.....	31-32
Chap. <b>IV</b> .	Summary and Conclusion Pt. <b>II</b> .	116-117
	Introduction.....	33-34
Chap.1.	First Theory: Book Authentic History.....	35-43
Chap. <b>II</b>	Second Theory: Book Pure Fiction.....	44-58
Chapt. <b>III</b> .	Third Theory: Book Fiction, but with	
	Historical Background.	
	Weissman's View.....	59-72
	Keil's View.....	72-73
	Schürer's View.....	73-78



Hilgenfeld's View.....	78-79
Reuss' View.....	80-81
Ewald's View.....	81-84
Karpel's <sup>2</sup> <sub>A</sub> View.....	84-85
Mo <del>ck</del> <sup>ck</sup> ers' View.....	86-88
Gaster's View.....	88-89
Vatke's View.....	89-90
Volkmar's and Graetz's View.....	90-114
Hitzig's and Klein's View.....	114-115
Chap.IV. Summary and Conclusion.....	116-117



Pt. 1.

Chap. 1. Narrative Account of the Book.



1. In the twelfth year of his reign did Nebuchadnezzar, king of Assyria, who ruled in Nineveh, begin war with Arphaxad, king of the Medes, who ruled in Ecba<sup>t</sup>ana, the city he had built. For he had built walls around the city, seventy cubits high and fifty cubits broad, and set towers at the gates, one hundred cubits high and sixty broad at the foundation. And the gates themselves he made seventy cubits high and forty broad. Against him did Nebuchadnezzar join in battle in the plain of Rhaga<sup>u</sup>. And he had summoned to his aid all his allies and subjects; but only those dwelling by the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Hydaspes, the king of the Elymaeans in the plain of Arioch, and the nations of the children of Chellud responded.

But all his other allies and subjects, those dwelling in Persia and westward, in <sup>ci</sup>Alia, Damascus, <sup>t</sup>Tibanus and Antilibanus, and those dwelling along the sea-coast; those in Carmel, Gilead, upper Galilee and the plain of Esdraelon; those in Samaria and beyond the Jordan; those in Jerusalem, Be<sup>t</sup>ane, Chellus, Kadesh and those dwelling by the Nile; those in Ta<sup>p</sup>panhes, Rameses and Goshen till above Tanis, and those dwelling in Memphis and in all Egypt up to the borders of Ethiopia; all these refused him assistance, for they did not fear him. And Nebuchadnezzar was greatly angered at them and vowed vengeance upon all the coasts of <sup>ci</sup>Alia, Damascus and <sup>s</sup>Yria, upon Moab, Ammon, Judea and Egypt as far as the two seas.

And in the seventeenth year of his reign he utterly defeated Arphaxad in battle and slew him, in the mountains of Rhaga<sup>u</sup>, and cap-



tured Ecbatana and destroyed it. Then he returned with his army to Nineveh and celebrated his victory with a banquet lasting one hundred and twenty days.

**II.** And on the twenty-second day of the first month of his eighteenth year it was decreed that punishment be inflicted upon all the nations that had refused him aid. So Nebuchadnezzar called his chief captain, Holofernes, and commanded him to take one hundred and twenty thousand men and twelve thousand horsemen and go forth and do his commands. All nations that yield shall be reserved for Nebuchadnezzar, but all who oppose him shall be utterly destroyed; no mercy shall be shown.

And Holofernes did as the king had ordered. He departed from Nineveh westward, three days journey to the plain of Bectileth. Then he encamped near the mountain at the left of upper Cilicia. From here he marched into the hill-country and destroyed Put and Lud and the children of Rasses and the children of Ishmael living near the wilderness, to the south of the land of the Chellians. Then he marched over the Euphrates, through Mesopotamia, destroying all the great cities along the river Arbonai as far as the sea. Then he took possession of the borders of Cilicia and slew all who opposed him. Then he came to the borders of Japheth toward the south, near Arabia. Then he destroyed the children of Midian, and from there proceeded to the plain of Damascus where he set on fire the growing crops and spoiled the cattle and wasted the land. And the fear of him spread to the people dwelling on the sea-coast, to Sidon and Tyre, to Sur and Ocina and Jemnaan, to



Azotus and Ascalon.

**III.** And the inhabitants of these cities sent messengers to Holofernes submitting themselves to his mercy. And he went down to the coast with his army, and placed garrisons in the large cities, and took some of their men for soldiers; and he destroyed their gods and proclaimed the worship of Nebuchadnezzar. Then he came towards Esdraelon, near Dotaea, beside the great ridge of Judaea. And he encamped between Geba and Scythopolis for a month.

**IV.** And the children of Israel, hearing all that he had done, became greatly frightened for the safety of Jerusalem and the Temple. For they were newly come from the captivity, and the vessels and the altar and the Temple had been lately sanctified after the profanation. And they sent to every place on the coast of Samaria, to K<sup>nae</sup>, Bethhoron and Belmaim, to Jericho and Cheba and Esora and the valley of Salem, and took possession of the mountain-tops and fortified the villages and laid up provisions; for it was just after harvest-time. And Joiakim<sup>m</sup>, the high-priest in Jerusalem, sent letters to the inhabitants of Bethulia and Betomesthaim, which is opposite Esdraelon, near to Dothaim, charging them to seize upon the ascents of the hill country and the mountain-passes. For through these was the entrance to Judaea, and they were easy to blockade, being wide enough for but two men. And the children of Israel did as Joiakim and the senate of the people had commanded.

And the priests and the people, men, women and children, and the servants, and the strangers in Jerusalem, and all the land of Judaea,



fasted and prayed to God for assistance. Even the cattle wore sack cloth. And everywhere arose their cry for help and deliverance.

V. And when Holofernes heard what the Israelites had done, that they had determined on resistance, he was greatly enraged. And he called the princes of Moab and the captains of Ammon and the governors of the sea-coast towns and said unto them. "Tell me who is this people and what are their cities; who is their king and what their number that they have not submitted to me." And Achior, the leader of Ammon, answered. "These people are descended from the Chaldaeans. They left their native land of Mesopotamia because they would not follow the gods of their fathers, seeing that they knew of but one God. And he commanded them to go forth to the land of Canaan, and there they <sup>pros-</sup>~~pros-~~pered. But a famine came upon the land and drove them down to Egypt, where they sojourned and became a great multitude. But the king of Egypt dealt craftily with them and made them make brick. And they cried to God and He plagued Egypt till the king let them go. And He dried up the Red Sea before them and brought them back to Canaan; and they drove out the nations there and took possession of the country. And they lived there many days; and while they trusted in their God and obeyed Him, they were prosperous. But when they ceased to follow Him, they were defeated and their land devastated, their Temple laid in ruins and they themselves led away captive. But now they have returned to their God and are brought back from their captivity and settled in their country again. And only if they have sinned against their God



can we prevail over them. But if they remain true to Him, they must conquer."

VI. And when Holofernes heard these words, he became very angry and cried, "There is no god but Nebuchadnezzar, and he will destroy this people. But thou, Achior, shalt be given over to this people, and shall perish with them by my sword. And Holofernes' servants bound Achior and cast him down at the foot of the hill and left him. And the men of Bethulia came out and unbound him and brought him into the city before Ozias, the son of Micah of the tribe of Simon, and before Chabris and Charmis and the rulers of the city. And Achior related to them all that he had told to Holofernes.

VII. And the next day the army of Holofernes marched to Bethulia and encamped in the valley, spreading out in breadth from Dothan to Belmaim and in length from Bethulia to Cyamon, opposite Esdraelon; and the people were greatly frightened at the multitude. And on the second day Holofernes seized the water-courses leading to the city. And he was advised not to fight the enemy lest they destroyed him in the mountain passes, but to take the city by starvation and thirst. And he sent men to the mountain-tops to see that none went out nor came into the city. And soon the water in Bethulia failed and the people were in great distress, so that they gathered against the rulers of the city and complained bitterly and wanted to surrender. But Ozias persuaded them to hold out five days more, and if God did not help them meanwhile, then they might surrender.



VIII. And this matter came to Judith, a rich widow of the town, descended from the tribe<sup>b</sup> of Simon. And her husband was Manasses, of the same tribe and family. She had been left a widow for three years and four months; and she made herself a tent on the roof of her house, and put sackcloth upon her loins, and the garments of her widowhood upon her. And she fasted all the days of her widowhood except the eves of the Sabbaths and the Sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons and the new moons and all the feast days of the house of Israel. And she was very beautiful and rich and feared God exceedingly.

And when she heard the decision of the rulers, she sent her maid to call them to her. And she said to them. "Wherefor have ye promised this thing? For God is not like man that ~~he~~<sup>we</sup> can find out ~~his~~<sup>4</sup> purposes. For if He desire, He can save us within five days, or He can destroy us before the enemy. Therefore let us wait and trust in Him. For there arose none in our age, neither is there any of us to-day, that worships gods made with hands as of old. For we know no god beside Him; therefor we hope He will not despise us or our race. For if we be so taken, all Judaea shall sit upon the ground and our sanctuary shall be spoiled. Therefor let us be an example to our brethren, for the safety of the sanctuary and the house and the altar rests on us."

And Ozias said unto her. "All that thou sayest is good and we have heard wisdom from you before; but now the people murmur for water and we had to give them the oath".

And Judith answered. "Hear me and I shall do a wonderful deed;



for to-night shall I go forth with my maid, and within the days that ye have spoken, will the Lord deliver Israel by my hand. But I will tell my plan to no one."

IX. And Judith prayed at the time the incense of that evening was being offered in the Temple at Jerusalem, and said. "O God of my father Simon, whom Thou didst prompt to avenge the honor of his sister upon her betrayer, hear now me that am a widow. I pray Thee to destroy the haughty Assyrian foe. Smite them by the deceit of my lips and break down their stateliness by the hand of a woman. Make my speech and deceit to be their wound and their stripe, who have purposed evil things against Thy covenant and Thy house. And make every nation to know that Thou art God, and that none protecteth Israel but Thee."

X. And when she had finished praying, she bathed and annointed and dressed herself in the garments she was wont to wear before her husband's death, to delight the eyes of men. And she gave her maid a bottle of wine and a cruse of oil, a bag of parched corn and figs and fine bread. And they went out through the gate, and the people wondered at her beauty. And they went down the mountain and through the valley, and the men of the city watched them till they could see them no more. And the Assyrians met her and asked. "Who art thou and whence dost thou come?" And she answered. "I am a daughter of the Hebrews, and I have fled from them because they are about to be given to you to be destroyed. I am going to your captain to declare words of truth. And I will show him a way whereby he may win all the country without



losing a man." And the Assyrians brought her to Holofernes, and all wondered at her beauty.

XI. And Holofernes said unto her. "Be of good courage, for no harm shall befall thee, seeing that thou hast chosen to serve Nebuchaduezzar." And Judith answered, "Let my lord listen and he shall hear no lie from his servant. The words of Achior were true, for my people can be defeated only when they sin against their God. But now their sin has overtaken them; for since their water and provisions have failed, they have determined to lay hand on the things forbidden by the law of God, and upon the things reserved for the priests. And they have sent to Jerusalem, for the people there have done the same thing, ask <sup>ing</sup> for ~~the~~ permission from the Senate. And thy servant, knowing this fled away, for she is religious. And now my lord, I will abide with thee, and will go forth into the valley at night and pray that the Lord may let me know when this people have sinned. And then I will tell thee and will lead thee through Judaea to Jerusalem and thou shalt destroy the land." And Holofernes was pleased with her words and admired her wisdom and beauty.

XII. And Holofernes commanded that they prepare food for her, but Judith refused, for she would eat only what she had brought with her, lest anything else be unclean. And Holofernes said. "But what wilt thou do when these things fail thee?" And Judith answered. "As thy soul liveth, my lord, thy servant shall not spend these things till the Lord work by my hand the things He hath determined." And she went <sup>i</sup> unto the tent and slept till midnight. Then she arose and went into



the valley and bathed and prayed, and then returned to the camp. So she did for three days. And on the fourth day Holofernes gave a great feast and sent Bagoas, the eunuch, to invite Judith. And she arrayed herself in her finest apparel and came to Holofernes; and he found great delight in her. And she ate and drank of what her servant had brought, but Holofernes drank more than ever before.

XIII. And at evening all went away leaving Holofernes and Judith alone in the tent. And he was lying in a drunken sleep upon his bed. And Judith took his sword and cut off his head and gave it to her maid, who put it in the bag with the food. And the two went forth to pray as was their custom, unmolested. And they passed through the valley and came to the gate of the city, and they let her in and she showed them the head of Holofernes. And she said, "Praised be God who has overthrown the enemy and killed their chief by my hand. For the Lord preserved ~~me~~ in my way and my countenance deceived him to his destruction, and he did not commit sin with me." And Ozias said unto her.

"Blessed art thou in the sight of the Most High more than all other women. And thy hope shall not depart from the heart of men that remember the strength of God forever. May God visit thee with good things because thou didst not spare thy life, but didst avenge thy people, walking straight before God."

XIV. And when Achior saw Holofernes' head, he fell at Judith's feet and did reverence unto her; and Judith told all that she had done. And when Achior heard the deeds of the Lord, he believed in Him, and



circumcised himself and was joined to the house of Israel forever. .  
When morning came, the people hung the head of Holofernes upon the wall  
and went forth to battle. And when the Assyrians saw them, they were  
thrown into great confusion. And they ran to awaken Holofernes, but  
found only his body upon the ground, with the head gone.

XV. And they became panic-stricken and fled, with the warriors of  
Israel in pursuit. And Ozias sent word to Betomesthaim and Bebai and  
Chobai and Chola and to all the coast of Israel, and the people fell  
upon the fugitives and smote them. Even the people of Jerusalem and  
the hill-country joined in the pursuit. And they that were in Gilead  
and Galilee fell upon the flank of the Assyrians with much slaughter,  
until they were past Damascus. But the people of Bethu<sup>li</sup> spoiled the  
camp of the Assyrians, and the rest of the children of Israel took  
what they left. And Joiakim and the senate came to see these great  
things and to behold Judith and to bless her. And they gave her the  
tent of Holofernes and its furniture for spoil. And the women made a  
dance for her; and she took branches and gave to the women; and they  
made themselves garlands of olive, and she led the women in the dance;  
and the men followed in their armor, with garlands and with songs.

XVI. And Judith and all the people sang a song of praise and thanks-  
giving unto the Lord, extolling His might and the wonderful deliverance  
of His people by the hand of Judith.

And when they came to Jerusalem, they were purified and offered  
sacrifices and gifts to the Lord. And Judith dedicated the tent of



Holofernes and its furniture to God. And the people continued feasting before the sanctuary for three months, and Judith remained with them. Then they returned to their homes and Judith went back to Bethulia and was honored throughout the land; and many men wooed, but none won her. And she increased in greatness and lived in her husband's house till she was one hundred and five years old; and she let her maid go free. And she died in Bethulia and was buried in the cave of her husband, <sup>a</sup>Manasses, and all Israel mourned for her seven days. And there was none that made Israel afraid any more in her days nor for a long time after her death.

Chapt. III. The Story of the Tradition.

---00000---







So many references to the story of Judith are to be found in different Midrashim and other sources, as to preclude all doubt that our ancestors were well-acquainted with it and attributed to it certain historical significance.<sup>1.</sup>

The story itself is in two parts. The first, dating from Asmonean times, tells how a maiden of the high-priest's family was betrothed to an Asmonean. The Greek king or general sought to violate her, but was prevented and killed and his army severely defeated.

The first trace of this is in a scholion to Megillath Taanith VI. Under the head of the 17th of Ellul it says;

The Romans were driven from Judaea and from Jerusalem. To this the Scholiast adds, "constituebant per urbes quaesitores, qui considarent sponsas, quae postmodum <sup>u</sup>vix suis nubarent, adeoque Israelitas a con<sup>u</sup>ingii solatio et laetitia cohiberent. Et filia Mattathiae filii Joannis erat unica, quam, cum nuptura esset, aggressus est quaesitor vitiare. <sup>s</sup>¶ Sed neutquam permisere eum. Zelo inde affecti sunt Mattathias et filii eius<sup>u</sup>, atque inval<sup>u</sup>ent manus eorum in eos, qui regni sunt Graeciae. Atque in eius<sup>u</sup> manum traditi sunt illi caesique. Diem hunc in quo subigerunt eos, fecerunt diem festum."

.....  
1. "Jüdische Quellen zur Judithsage," - Lipsins, Zeits, für wissenschaftliche Theol. 1867. pp. 337-366.

"Bet-Hamidrasch." 1. pp XXII-XXIV, 130-147, VI. pp V-VIII, 1-3.



It is clear that here the Scholiast is in error, that he has confused this 17th of Ellul, on which the Romans were driven from Jerusalem, with the story of defeat of one of the Seleucidae by the Maccabees. But the story itself still stands. And furthermore, we have the story elsewhere in connection with Chanukah.<sup>2</sup> Here the maiden is called the daughter of the high-priest Jochanan. She is brought to the Greek king to sleep with him, intoxicates him with a dish of cheese and cuts off his head with his own sword. When the Greeks saw that their king was dead they fled. In commemoration of this event, it is the custom on Chanukah to eat a dish of cheese. R. Nissim b. Reuben tells the same story from an unknown Midrash.

This story is somewhat different in the first Midrasch for Chanukah of Jellinek.<sup>3</sup> As the maiden leaves the palace of the Asmoneans to be violated by the king, she goes naked before the people, and thereby brings her brothers, among whom Judah is mentioned by name, to the determination to save her from outrage by means of cunning. Adorned in holiday attire, the Asmoneans bring the maiden to the Greek general, induce him to dismiss his attendants and then cut off his head. His army, now without a leader, is put to flight.

Still different is the story in the second Midrash for Chanukah.<sup>4</sup>

2. See Hagada וְלִבְיָדָה

3. "Bet-Hammidrash<sup>c</sup>," 1. 133 ##

4. "Bet-Hammidrash " 1, 137 ##



Here, according to the statement of R. Simon b. Jochai, the event refers to the victory over Nicanor. The maiden is the daughter of Mattathias and is betrothed to an Asmonean. She is really violated, and Jochanan, her brother, avenges her by killing Nicanor.

5

In the third Midrash for Chanukah, which Jellinek considers the oldest of the three, the story is the same as in the first Midrash, with a few minor variations. There her name is Hannah, the daughter of the high-priest, Mattathias, and the names of her five brothers are expressly stated, while she is betrothed to Eleazar, the Asmonean. She strips herself at the banquet in the presence of the guests and encourages her brothers to defend her honor by holding up to them the example of Simon and Levi, the sons of Jacob, who slew the betrayer of their sister Dinah.

7

The name of this heroine is not usually given. In the second and third of these Midrashim she is called Hannah and is the bride of Eleazar. Only in the Hagada יבב is she called Judith. R. Gedalia gives a tradition in which Nicanor is said to have been killed by the

5. Bet-Hammidrasch <sup>#</sup> "V1, 1" ##

6. " " "V1, V1.

7. Gen. XXIV. This fact may be significant when we remember that, in our story, Judith is a descendant of Simon, and that she praises this deed as one prompted by God.



daughter of the high-priest, Mattathias.

The second form of the story shows a greater resemblance to our present version. It also is placed in Maccabean times, although the heroine does not come into actual relation with the Asmonean family. The scene is laid in Jerusalem. The simplest form of the story is 8. Jellinek's "Geschichte Judiths." The name Judith is not mentioned; the heroine is a young woman, a "daughter of the prophets." The way she outwits the king and cuts off his head and then makes her way through the hostile camp, is similar to the account in our book. This story is found in the first Midrash for Chanukah, immediately after the story of the Asmonean maiden. When the king of the Greeks heard that the Israelites had killed his general, he collected a great army and marched to Jerusalem. The Jews were greatly frightened, but in their need a widow, Judith was their savior. Just as in the foregoing story of the brothers of the Asmonean maiden, here also the king is decapitated by the widow, Judith. Here, as in the preceding story, the figure of Achior, who is an astrologer to the king, appears, although without name. Then follows the scholion of R. Simon b. Jochai to Ps. XXXVII, 15, which speaks of Hannah, the daughter of Jochanan and the bride of Eleazar.

The second Midrash relates the decapitation of Nicanor and the sending of the second army under Bacchides, but instead of the story



of Judith, there follow the accounts of the stories in **II** Macc.VI.

Clearly these two accounts came from one and the same tradition. The historical background is the cruelty of the Greeks under the Seleucidian dynasty and the victory of Judah Maccabee over Nicanor. It tells how, after their general's death, the whole army fled, while Judah cut off Nicanor's head and hung it up in Jerusalem. <sup>9</sup> The story connects the account of an attempted or an actually accomplished violation of a betrothed Jewess of noble family by a Syrian general, with the historical account of the defeat and decapitation of Nicanor. Then this deed was ascribed to the Asmoneans, Judah and his brothers, and from this it followed that the maiden herself should be made an Asmonean or the bride of one. <sup>10</sup> The model of Jael determined the chief plot of the story, and then came the further motive that she should kill the general in his own tent.

Her name is not given by tradition. The statement of R. Simon b. Jochai that she was called Hannah and was the bride of Eleazar, and also that of R. Gedalia, that her name was Judith, are both late. The association of the story with the Chanukah celebration may have

.....

9. 1 Macc.VII 47

10. Judg.IV. 17 §§



arisen at the same time as the story itself. The historical tradition<sup>11</sup> places the victory over Nicanor, after the dedication of the Temple. This followed the defeat of Lysias.

The second form of the story, to which our book belongs, treats the same material but in a different manner. The main theme, the decapitation of a Greek general by a Jewess, who took advantage of his lust in order to save her people, is the same in both cases. But the relation to the Asmoneans is entirely lacking in the second. The possibility that this second group may be the basis of our story can not be disputed. Numerous accounts and references in Midrashim and elsewhere point to this. But there is the other possibility that the author used both forms of the story in his work.

In case one decides for the former theory, he must nevertheless place the scene of the event in Jerusalem, in Asmonean times, because of the apparent relation which the two forms bear to each other. In this case, the designation of the heroine as a maiden, instead of as a widow, must have resulted from this close relationship, and one has free hand to bring the date of the book's composition, which referred originally to the Maccabean, down to the Roman times.

If the second view is held, that our version rests upon both forms of the story, then the book seems to relate also to

.....

11. 1 Macc. IV.



the Asmonean family, and, from its Assidean tendency, to belong to the later Asmonean period. The oldest form of the work is that which simply mentions the heroine as the "daughter of the prophets", and not as at all connected with the Asmoneans. The introduction of Judith as a widow is later. The name Judith can not be separated from her characterization as a widow. Both must be understood symbolically, as pointing to the desolate, sorrowful condition of Judaea. Judith has completely displaced Judah and the Asmonean family. Not this high-born family, but the poor, desolate people itself has saved the country. This seems to point strongly to the late origin of the book.

Without doubt the influence of our book is first seen in the writings of the later Rabbis. In the Chanukah prayer of R. Joseph b. Salomo, אחור כי אנפת רי,<sup>12</sup> both forms of the tradition are given as perfectly distinct stories; the former relating to the daughter of Jochanan and the general, Philippus; the second concerning Judith and Holofernes. Here also the name Achior is expressly mentioned, although his presentation is merely a paraphrase of the account in the first Midrash for Chanukah. The story of Judith and Holofernes is given in all details, exactly as we have it in our book, except that Judith is here also a "daughter of the prophets", and the author assigns the glorious victory narrated as the direct reason for our Chanukah feast.

.....

12. סדר עולת שבת, Arnheim, 61 ##



At the end of <sup>13</sup> *אין מושיעואל*, of the second Sabbath of Chanukah, it refers to the story of Judith, but says that she was of the tribe of Reuben <sup>14</sup>, and speaks of her in one place as the daughter of Merari, as our book has it, and in another place, as the daughter of Berari. However these two are one and the same name, with the *מ* and *ב* interchangeable.

R. Gedalia, who expressly mentions our book, holds that the Midrashic tradition is entirely independent of the "story of the Christians", as he calls our version. He considers the two as originally different stories, and thinks that the account of the widow, Judith, was first composed as an addition to that of Jochanan's daughter. Asaria dei Rossi also carefully distinguishes the two, but questions the existence of the Midrash mentioned by R. Nissim.

The actual value of these traditions in determining the historical background of our book as it now stands, is very small. Certainly it seems that the author did make some use of them, and <sup>u</sup> this had, as it were, a secondary historical background to his work, viz. the cruelties of and revolt against Antiochus Epiphanes. But, as has been shown, the story in our book differs so widely from that of the traditions, and is so much more artistically complete, as to seem to point to a time later than the origin of the traditions. How much later, and what the

.....

13. Same, 72 §§

14. In this it seems to follow the Vulgate version.



actual historical event, the author has in mind, was, is impossible to tell by comparison with the traditions themselves. We can ascertain this only by separately discussing the different theories advanced as to the origin and character of the book.

---000000---

Chap. XII.

Literary History of the Book of Judith.

The Design and Character of the Book.

Title and Position of the Book.

Original Language, Author and Date, and

First Edition of the Book.

Versions of the Book.

Importance of the Book.



Chap. III. Literary History of the Book of Judith.

The Design and Character of the Book

Title and Position of the Book.

Original Language, Author and Date, and

First Mention of the Book.

Versions of the Book,

Canonicity of the Book.



## The Design and Character of the Book.

"The object of the book of Judith evidently is to show that as long as God's people walk in His commandments blamelessly, no matter how distressing the circumstances in which they may temporarily be placed, the Lord will not suffer the enemy to triumph over them, but will in due time appear for their deliverance, and cause even those who are not Jews to acknowledge that the God of Israel is the only true God.

"In its external form the book bears the character of the record of a historical event, describing the complete defeat of the Assyrians by the Jews through the prowess of a woman"<sup>1.</sup> No one, no matter what theory he holds as to the origin and nature of the book, can deny that it must have been composed by some one, well-versed in literature, with true artistic instinct, keenly alive to the added strength which romantic interest would give. It may be that Achior was by Holofernes' command given over to the inhabitants of Bethulia, but it certainly seems a romantic touch when we remember that had he not come into their hands, the action of Judith would have been inexplicable. For Judith could not have been ignorant of the fact that Achior had told Holofernes that so long as the Hebrews remained true to the laws of their God, they were invincible. This no doubt, suggested her plan of

.....

1. Ginsberg.



action. She will go to Holofernes and mislead him by telling him that her people had sinned. And Holofernes, remembering to have heard the same story from Achior, is easily induced to put confidence in Judith, and thus places <sup>him</sup> ~~herself~~ at her mercy.

Furthermore, the first request the heroine makes of Holofernes is for permission to go each night with her maid into the valley to bathe. This fact may, and no doubt does reflect the ritual strictness of the time of the book's composition, but we must also remember that just by reason of this permission is Judith enabled to pass through the entire army unmolested, and return in safety to the city.

Again, the author lets Judith remain in the Assyrian camp till the night before the day set by the rulers for the surrender of the city. Why was it that not till this night did Holofernes send for Judith; why not the night before or the night after? And how skillfully Judith encouraged the love-struck general by her own example, to drink to excess, until at last he falls fast asleep. Truly is this a romantic device, in common use even in our own day.

And see the hidden irony in Judith's answer to Holofernes' questions as to what she would do when her provisions were all consumed; "As thy soul liveth my lord, the servant shall not spend those things that are with me until the Lord work by my hand the things He hath determined."

And finally the artistic conclusion to which the story is brought; all the principal characters satisfactorily disposed of, Holofernes



slain; Judith "living happily ever after," and, as the author feels called upon by his romantic instinct to relate, having suitors, but nevertheless remaining true to the memory of her former husband; the maid set free, and Achior converted; what better or happier conclusion could be wished?

And it is also noteworthy that before Judith leaves for the camp, she first bathes herself all over, notwithstanding that the city was suffering a water-famine. And when she left the city the men watched her till she had gone down the mountain and through the valley. But at this time it must have been dark and the men could have seen her for but a short distance. These are clearly oversights on the part of the author.

These and other facts prove that whatever the nature of the book be, the author was a man of literary ability, with a strong taste for romantic situations well worked out. As it is the book is unquestionably a work of literary art.

The ethical character of the book is likewise significant. Great emphasis is laid upon prayer and ritual observances. Judith fasts regularly all the days of her widowhood except the feast days, the <sup>s</sup>abbaths and new moons and the eves of each; she makes her first prayer at the time when the incense of the evening is being offered in the Temple; she carries her own food and wine with her so as not to eat of the ritually unclean food of the Assyrians; she takes her ritual bath daily; and finally, after their victory, the people go up together to Jerusalem, are first purified, and then offer sacrifices and gifts



to the Lord.

But while such emphasis is laid upon ritual observance, the moral tone of the story is not very high. True, the book portrays a noble willingness for self-sacrifice for the sake of country and religion, a sacrifice going even to the limits of honor and life; but the way Judith attains her object, by deliberate and skillful lying, to which act she feels herself prompted by God and in the accomplishment of which she invokes His assistance, while possibly justified by the axiom, "All's fair in love and war," still does not bespeak a lofty conception of God, an infallible index of the moral status of the age.

Furthermore there is a spirit of cruelty in the book, clearly seen in the praise Judith gives to her ancestor, Simon's act, saying it was done at the instigation of the Lord, although in the original account there is no mention of God and the act is condemned by Jacob, and also in the unhesitancy and heartlessness with which she cuts off Holofernes' head. However, as Nöldeke says, we must not condemn the ethics of the book too much, for they were in a measure justified by the needs of the people, just as was the case with Jael. In fact the resemblance between our story and that of Jael is clearly seen.



## Title and Position of the Book.

The book is named after the heroine, Judith, Jerome's opinion that it is so called because Judith was the authoress, has been <sup>v</sup>lightly rejected by all scholars. In the Mss. of the Alexandrine version, in the Vulgate, and in Wycliffe's translation, Judith is placed between Tobit and Esther. This is followed by Coverdale, the Geneva version, the Bishops' Bible and the Authorized Version, where from the nature of the division it is put between Tobit and the apocryphal Esther. In the Vatican copies it is placed between Tobit and the Wisdom of Solomon; in the Zurich Bible, between Baruch and the apocryphal Esther; while Luther puts it <sup>t</sup>at the head of the apocryphal books. The present Revised Version follows the order of the Authorized Version.

## Original Language, Author and Date and First

## Mention of the Book.

There are conflicting opinions as to the original language, author and date of our book. Critics place its date all the way from the seventh century before Christ, to the middle of the second after Christ. And some critics maintain that the book was originally written in Greek, others that Aramaic was the original language, and still others assert that it was <sup>H.</sup> Hebrew.

The strongest adherents of the Greek theory are Jahn and Palfrey.

.....



The latter claims that classical Greek <sup>2</sup>expressions occur in the Septuagint version, and the Greek style throughout is free and easy, and without those indications which almost infallibly betray a translation. And the method of the Greek historians is pursued in <sup>4</sup>developing characters and events by the fiction of set speeches ascribed to the actors.

As adherents of the Aramaic theory may be mentioned Weissman<sup>n</sup> and Wise. But, according to Zunz, the Aramaic version of Judith was not considered canonical, but as a pure romance. This as Zunz thinks, proves that the Aramaic text was not original. However, as Judith is nowhere mentioned as a canonical book, Zunz's objection carries but little weight

However most critics agree that the book was written originally in Hebrew. Among these may be mentioned Fritzsche, Lipsin<sup>u</sup>s, Schürer, Nöldeke, Stream and Karpeles. That the original language of the book was Hebrew or <sup>8</sup>Lyro-Chaldaic is declared by Jerome who says that <sup>5</sup>"Judith is read by the Jews among the Hagiographa-----and being written in Chaldaic (Chaldaeo sermone conscriptus) is reckoned among the histories", and that he had used a Chaldaic codex to correct vitiated <sup>6</sup>readings of the manuscript. This is corroborated by the Byzantine

.....

4. De Wette disagrees with this statement.

5. Ginsberg

6. Praef. ad Jud.



The first mention of our book is by Clement of Rome in his  
 19  
 epistle to the Corinthians, where he assigns to Judith the epithet  
 given to Jael ( *Ἰουδαιῶν ἡ μακάρια* ) However Volkmar, Graetz  
 and Hitzig hold that this epistle was not written by Clemens but by  
 some later writer.

20.

## Versions of the Book.

There is no exact Hebrew version of our book extant. We have how-  
 ever the Septuagint, two Latin and one <sup>S</sup> Syriac versions.

The Old Latin and the <sup>S</sup> Syriac versions were made from the Sept-  
 uagint, which however does not represent a fixed Hebrew or Aramaic text,  
 as may be seen from its various recensions differing greatly from  
 each other. This is moreover corroborated by the fact that the Old  
 Latin of the Mss. which also deviated greatly from each other, and  
 which Jerome corrected according to an Aramaic codex, differs material-  
 ly from the Septuagint, sometimes having more <sup>21</sup> and sometimes less. <sup>22</sup>

- .....
18. 91-101 A.D. according to Eusebins.      19. Ep. 1      55
20. Ginsberg.      21. cf. Vulg. 1V 8-15, --LXX 1V 10, Vulg V 11-12-  
 LXXV 11-16      Vulg.V 26-29 --LXX V 23-25, Vulg.V1 15-19-  
 LXX V1. 19, Vulg.V11 18, 20- LXX V11 29.
22. cf. Vulg. V11 9ff- LXX V11 8-15, Vulg. V 11ff- LXXV 17-22  
 Vulg. 1X 5-7+11 ff, LXX 1V 7-10.



Sometimes too the names are different, and sometimes the numbers.

Coverdale and the Bishop's Bible, following Luther and the Zurich Bible, have translated from the Vulgate, while the Geneva version which is followed by the Authorized and Revised Versions, has a translation of the Greek text.

25.

### Canonicity of the Book.

The events narrated in the book of Judith come in the hymnal service יוצרות, for the first and second Sabbaths of Chanukah, but the book itself was never included in the Jewish canon. The distinction made by the Jews between treating the book with respect and not-canonizing it, could not be kept up by the Church. So at first the book was quoted with approbation by Clemens Romanus, gradually cited on equality with the scriptures by Clemens Alexandrinus,<sup>26</sup> Tertullian,<sup>27</sup> and Ambrose,<sup>28</sup> and finally canonized in the council of Carthage by Innocent I of Rome under Gelasius of Trent. Augustine (about 400 A.D.) speaks of it as canonical,<sup>29</sup> and Jerome mentions its being reckoned among the

23. cf. Jud. 1, 6, 8, 9, 1V. 5, VI. 1. 24. cf. 1 2, II 1, VII 2.

25. Ginsberg and Palfrey.

26. Strom. IV.

27. De Monog. c. XV. 1

28. De Offic. Minis. III. 13.

29. De Doctrina Christ. Lit. II. 8



30

Sacred Scriptures by the Nicene Council. However this statement is not sustained by the records of that Council.

31

Some writers hold that the book is quoted in the New Testament. Judith, with the other deutero<sup>apoc</sup>ryphal books has always been read in the Church, and in the Church of England lessons are taken from it.

---000000---

.....

30. Praef. ad Jud.

31. cf. Jud. VIII 4ff. 1 Cor. **II** 10ff, Jud IX 12- Acts IV 24,  
Jud XVI 17, Mat. XII 42, 50.



There are three distinct theories concerning the historical character of the work of J. G. ... the first regarding it in every detail as actual, authentic history, the second regarding it as pure fiction, and the third regarding it as a mixture of the two, the purpose of which is to give a certain background to the people in the time of ...

**Pt. II.**

**Introduction.**



There are three distinct theories concerning the historical character of the book of Judith,<sup>1</sup> the first regarding it in every detail as actual, authentic history; the second regarding it as pure fiction, having perhaps the purpose to stimulate the waning courage of the people in time of danger, and the third, a sort of mean between these two, regarding it as fiction, but having a certain historic background.

.....

1. Ginsberg.

Chapt. I. First Theory: Book Authentic History.



The first of these theories was the only one existing up to the Reformation, and since then, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been held by many noted theologians, among whom may be mentioned Fridericus Galus, Bellarmine, De Pin, Usher, Kyprius, Montanus, Khilator and Wolff.

The oldest opinion is that the events narrated occurred just after the return from Babylon, as the book itself states. In consequence Nebuchadnezzar has been identified with different Persian kings. Augustine says he is none other than Cambyses (529-522 B.C.); Julius Africanus and Georgius Syncellus say he is Xerxes (485-465 B.C.);

**Chapt. 1. First Theory: Book Authentic History.**

Herodotus says he is Artaxerxes Ochus (424-404 B.C.);

However there are strong arguments against this view, rendering it completely untenable. In the first place, all these monarchs, while ruling over the provinces mentioned as belonging to Nebuchadnezzar, still acquired them for the most part by conquest, while our book expressly states that Belshazzar conquered them. Again Nineveh, spoken of as the capital of Assyria, was destroyed before the captivity, and so

.....  
L. Binnsberg.  
De Civ. Dei. VIII. 16.



The first of these theories was the only one existing up to the Reformation, and since then, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, has been held by many noted theologians, among whom may be mentioned Prideaux, Calmet, Bellarmin, Du Pin, Usher, Lloyd, Montfaucon, Whiston and Wolff.

The oldest opinion is that the events narrated occurred just after the return from Babylon, as the book itself states. In consequence Nebuchadnezzar has been identified with different Persian kings. Augustine says he is none other than Cambyses (529-522 B.C.); Julius Africanus and Georgius Syncellus say he is Xerxes (485-465 B.C.); Mercator Estius sees in him a picture of Darius Hystaspis (521-485 B.C.), and Sulpicius Severus claims he is Artaxerxes Ochus (361-338 B.C.).

However there are strong arguments against this view, rendering it completely untenable. In the first place, all these monarchs, while ruling over the provinces mentioned as belonging to Nebuchadnezzar, still acquired them for the most part by inheritance, while our book expressly states that Holofernes conquered them. Again Nineveh, spoken of as the capital of Assyria, was destroyed before the captivity, and no

1. Ginsberg.

2. De Civ. Dei. XVlll. 16. Nebuchadnezzar, the son of Nabuchodonosor, who besieged the Assyrians through in the thirty-first year



Assyrian nor Median empires then existed. Furthermore, Persia is mentioned as subject to Assyria, while after the return, it was the supreme power of the world.

To escape these difficulties and to obtain a point of time suitable for these events, Usher, Lloyd, Calmet, Montfaucon, Prideaux, Whiston and Wolff, hold that the events narrated occurred before the exile, either under Manasseh, Amon, Josiah, Jehoiakim or Zedekiah. Most of these critics put the story under Manasseh, after his return from Babylon. This is their chronology;

	A.M.	B.C.
Birth of Judith	3285	719
<del>M</del> Manasseh begins to reign	3306	698
Return from Babylon	3328	676
War between Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad	3347	657
Expedition of Holofernes	3348	656
Death of <del>M</del> Manasseh	3361	643
Amon murdered	3363	641
Death of Judith	3390	614
Battle of Megiddo and death of Josiah	3394	610
Last Siege of Jerusalem	3414	590
The Captivity begins.	3416	588

Prideaux makes Nebuchadnezzar symbolic of Saosduchinus, the son of Esarhaddon, who ascended the Assyrian throne in the thirty-first year



of Manasseh. Arphaxad is no other than Deiokes, king of Media and founder of Ecbatana. He bases his argument upon the fact that Arphaxad is mentioned as the founder of Ecbatana, and that his last year was the twelfth of Saosduchinus, and that in this year he actually defeated in battle and lost his ~~life~~<sup>life</sup>. From this he infers that our book must relate actual history, and the battle in which Deiokes lost his life was Rhagan<sup>u</sup>; the events must have taken place while Nineveh was still the Assyrian metropolis; while the Persians, Syrians, Phoenicians, Cilicians and Egyptians were Assyrian subjects; while the Median empire still existed, and not long after the building of Ecbatana.

Other advocates of this theory see in the two Kings of our book, the pictures of different monarchs. Winckler holds that Holofernes = Osnappar = Asur-bani-pal. Niebuhr and Wolff say that Arphaxad = Phraortes, the son of Deiokes, while Nebuchadnezzar = Sardanapalus or Kineldan. Bellarmin sees in Arphaxad a picture of Deiokes, but Nebuchadnezzar, he holds, is Sardanapalus.

Objection to this view and to this theory in general, some of which Prideaux himself saw, are as follows; (1) there is nowhere a mention of a high-priest by the name of Joiakim or Eliakim at this time,

.....

3. Gaster.

4. Zöckler



(-2) Achior speaks of the Temple as being lately cast to the ground, but this did not happen till the reign of Zedekiah, while Jud. 1V<sup>3</sup> points clearly to post-exilic times; (3) the high-priest and senate, and not the king, are spoken of as the head of the government; (4) the account of Judith's age and the period of peace after her death don't agree with the actual history of the period. For according to the above chronology, she would have been sixty-three years old when she charmed Holofernes and is called, ἡ παιδίσκη ἡ καλή<sup>5</sup>. Calmet, says she would then have been a fine woman with "an engaging air and person," "likely," says Du Pin, "to charm an old general and to ravish the hearts of her many suitors after her overthrow<sup>W</sup> of Holofernes." Prideaux makes matters worse by holding that Judith could hardly have been more than forty-five years old at the time. However, considering the early age at which women in the Orient mature and marry, and also considering the fact that Judith had no children by her husband Manasses, it seems more probable that Judith would have been nearer the age of twenty-five than forty-five at the time. But according to the above chronology Judith died in the year 614 B.C. just four years before the disastrous battle of Megiddo, which of course does not agree with the statement that none made Israel afraid during Judith's life nor a long time after her death, this certainly means more than four years. And accord-

.....



ing to Prideaux, Judith's death would not have occurred till 596 B.C. the very year that Nebuchadnezzar carried Jehoia<sup>e</sup>kim to Babylon after capturing Jerusalem. While supposing Judith to have been about twenty-five years old when she prevailed over Holofernes, her death must have occurred some time around 576 B.C. when Jerusalem and the Temple had been in ruins and the people in captivity for ten years; (5) Judith tells Ozias that there were none who worshipped idols in their age; and this statement is incompatible with the reigns of Manasseh, Amon, and the first twelve years of Josiah; (6) Holofernes is described as knowing nothing of the Jews and asking Achior for information concerning them, and this could not have been the case if the campaign of Holofernes had taken place in the year mentioned in the above chronology, for the Assyrians had come into repeated contact with the Jews for almost a hundred years and so the history and customs of Israel must have been well-known to them, (7) the prominence given to the name Nebuchadnezzar, seems to point directly to the monarch of that name. If the author wished to refer to Saosduchius or to some other monarch, why did he not use their own names; or, granting that he did wish to conceal it, and also granting that Nebuchadnezzar was a

6. II. Chron. XXXI 11 15.

7. II Chron. XXXI 11 22.

8. II. Chron. XXXIV. 3-4



common name at the time, which is hardly likely, why<sup>y</sup> should he have selected just that name? And it would be a strange coincidence that a monarch of the same name should just seventy years later lead the Jews into captivity, and be to them ever after, the prototype of a merciless oppressor; (8) and it certainly is not in accordance with the spirit of Babylonian or Assyrian times for the conqueror to demand devine honors. We know that often they introduced the worship of their own gods into conquered lands,<sup>9</sup> but even this was not a universal practice, for we know that Nebuchadnezzar himself did not interfere with the religion of his captives, and his destruction of the Temple was purely a military measure; (9) and finally, the geography of the book is so hopelessly confused<sup>10</sup> as to leave little doubt that this part at least is fiction.

Prideaux himself saw and endeavored to answer the first four of these objections. To the first he says that while the list of high-priests<sup>11</sup> does not give the name of Joiakim or Eliakim<sup>12</sup>, still it might be, since the list is not complete, that this name was omitted. Or it might be no other than the Eliakim, son of Hilkiah, mentioned by <sup>Isaiah</sup> ~~Israel~~<sup>13</sup> as destined for the high-priesthood.

9. Graetz, Hist. (Eng.) 1 247. 10. See Volkmar, Pt. II, Chapt III.

11. Chron. 12. As the name is in the Vulg.

13. Is. XXII 20.



To the second objection he says that, according to Jerome's version  
 13 3, 18  
 verses 1 , 1V , and V are glosses, and while some verses still remain  
 in Jerome's version referring to a captivity, they may be better under-  
 stood as referring to that under Manasseh rather than to the captivity  
 in Babylon.

He answers the third objection by saying that Manasseh may have  
 been busy with affairs of state in some remote part of his kingdom,  
 and so have entrusted the government to Joiakim. But he makes no mention  
 of the senate nor how they came to have power seemingly equal to that  
 of the high-priest. And it seems rather strange that a king, no matter  
 how incapable, should have deliberately <sup>l</sup>ad<sup>l</sup>ented himself from his capi-  
 tal, when threatened by such great danger, of which he must have been  
 perfectly aware. And in fact it seems rather startling that after his  
 former bitter experience in <sup>n</sup>Nineveh, Manasseh should have dared to  
 refuse Assyria the aid demanded of him, much less resist alone and  
 unaided, their whole army.

Prideaux acknowledges himself at a complete loss as to how to  
 answer the fourth objection. He cannot overcome the difficulty of  
 Judith's age. His only resource is to consider this statement as pure  
 fiction, invented by the author out of excessive admiration for the  
 heroine, and his eagerness to magnify the results of her deeds. But the  
 question immediately arises, if this much be fiction, then why not  
 more; in short, why not the whole book?



Hence it is clear that the theory that the book is entirely authentic history is unsound, that it is based on only a mere coincidence of date and the literal acceptance of the names Assyria and Media in the text; that it is entirely incompatible with the actual history of the period in which the advocates of this theory attempt to place it, and so is without the slightest scintilla of proof.

---000000---

Chapt. II. Second Theory: Book Pure Fiction.



As has been said, the theory that the book was authentic history prevailed up to the Reformation. Then gradually scholars became aware of the difficulties mentioned above and began to suspect that after all the book might not be just what it seemed. The fact mentioned above might not be entirely historical, or even be historical at all; that the book might be nothing but fiction, composed by some one for some definite purpose, and therefore having an indirect historical reference, but still in itself purely fiction.

There are two theories regarding the book, the following chapter, **Chapt. II. Second Theory: Book Pure Fiction.**

Other objections to considering the book as historical. In the first place, history presents no exact time in which the events could have occurred as narrated. Furthermore, the historical, and, in part, the geographical references in the book are so badly mixed, owing to different periods of history, presumably up to the fifth century before Christ, as to preclude all possibility of the author's having any definite historical event in mind. And finally, all the material throughout the book seems artificial and purposely arranged so that the book may be arranged for a certain end. Consequently the book can be nothing but fiction.

Fritzsche.

See Pt. I Chapt. III.



As has been said, the theory that the book was authentic history prevailed up to the Reformation. Then gradually scholars became aware of the difficulties mentioned above and began to suspect that after all the book might not be just what it seemed; that the facts mentioned might not be entirely historical; might not even be historical at all; that the book might be nothing but fiction, composed no doubt for some definite purpose, and therefore having an indirect historical reference, but still in itself purely fiction.

There are besides the reasons given in the preceding chapter,<sup>1</sup> other objections to considering the book as historical. In the first place, history presents no exact time in which the events could have occurred as narrated. Furthermore the historical, and, in part, the geographical references in the book are so sadly mixed, coming from different periods of history, presumably up to the first century before Christ, as to preclude all possibility of the author's having any definite <sup>h</sup>historical event in mind. And finally, all the material throughout the book seems artificial and purposed, as if the book were arranged for a certain end.<sup>2</sup> Consequently the book can be nothing but fiction.

1. Fritzsche.

2. See Pt. I Chapt. III.



3

Luther was the first to hold this view. He regarded the book as "a religious fiction or poem written by a holy man, who depicts therein the victory of the Jewish people over all their enemies, which God at all times most wonderfully vouchsafes.-----Judith is the Jewish people represented as a chaste and holy widow, which is always the character of God's people. Holofernes is the heathen, the godless or unchristian lord of all ages, while the city of Bethulia denotes a virgin, indicating that the believing Jews of those days were the pure virgins"<sup>4</sup> Some of the names, he thinks, could not have been chosen without regard to their derivation, as for example, Achior = אחי אור Brother of Light, Bethulia בתולה, virgin of Jehovah. Furthermore the historical difficulties concerning the person of Nebuchadnezzar disappear when he is regarded as the scriptural type of worldly power.

This theory, while vague and undeveloped, was certainly suggestive, and paved the way for the entire theory of the book as fiction.

Many writers, even down to the present day, have followed Luther, only expanding upon his view. At first, especially towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, scholars, starting from the ground that the book was unhistorical, confined their

3. Ginsberg.

4 "Vorrede aufs Buch Judith"



efforts to discussion as to just what branch of fiction the book belonged. So Budde<sup>u</sup>s considers it drama; Artop<sup>u</sup>us, More<sup>u</sup>us and Von Niebuhr consider it as epopee, Jahn thinks it a didactic poem; Babor, an epilogue Bauer, a moral fiction, Bertholdt, Zunz and Palfrey, a romance, and Groti<sup>u</sup>s, an allegory; while Eichorn<sup>h</sup> holds it to be merely a tradition put into writing.

Of modern scholars, who support this view, though without bothering themselves as to what branch of fiction it belongs, may be mentioned Fritzsche, Pipsins<sup>L</sup>, Davidson, Löhr, Stream, Siegfried, König, Stanley and Wise. However, while recognizing the unhistorical character of the book, most of these critics have satisfactorily determined its date, basing their arguments on references in the text to well-known historical events, and on its apparent general purpose. They place the book

.....  
5. Ginsberg, Fritzsche and Eichorn.

In this connection it may be interesting to quote Capellus' opinion of the book. It is, he says (1 575), "insulsissima fabula ab imperitissimo et imprudentissimo adeoque impudentissimo aliquo Hellenista nugacissimo conficta in hunc finem, ut ea commendet mendacia alia, quae dicuntur officiosa et pias fraudes Judithae facto atque exemplo comprobet." Fritzsche, p. 314.

6. See Pt. 1. Chap. III.



in the Maccabean period,<sup>7</sup> but differ among themselves as to just at what time in this period the book was written. Grotius<sup>u</sup> in fact places the book shortly before the beginning of the period, and Wise places it in the very first years, while the war against Antiochus Epiphanes was still going on. But most of the modern advocates of this theory agree in placing it later in the period, from the time of John Hyrcanus<sup>8</sup> on.

The theory of Grotius<sup>u</sup> is certainly interesting, well-worked out, and worth discussion. He refers the book to either the seventh year<sup>9</sup> of Antiochus Epiphanes, when, on his return from Egypt, he plundered the Temple, supported by Menelaus, or else to his ninth year, in which he sent Apollonius with an army to Jerusalem to exact tribute. On the fifteenth day of Kesle<sup>10</sup>, of this year (168 B.C.) the statue of the

.....

7. Between the years 167 and 70 B.C.
8. Fritzsche, Siegfried, Davidson and Zöckler.
9. This theory might more probably come in the next chapter, but as its main point is that the book is an allegory, and as it has always been placed under this theory, it seemed best to discuss it here.
10. 17th of Tammuz, according to Graetz. (Engl)<sup>455.</sup>



11

Olympian Jupiter was set upon the roof of the Temple. The contents of the book are according to Grotius<sup>u</sup> to be placed between the coming of Apollonius and the fifteenth of Kislev<sup>v</sup>. Judith is the Jewish people. Her beauty is a pun on the name of the holy land, <sup>יְרֵמִי</sup>. Her widowhood signifies the helplessness of the nation. Bethulia is the Temple ( <sup>בֵּית-אֱלֹהִים</sup> ). The sword coming from Bethulia is the prayers of the priests. Nebuchadnezzar represents the devil (according to the meaning which the name later on had with the Jews). Assyria is his kingdom of pride and presumption. Holofernes, his servant is <sup>חֲלָפֵר נְחֻשׁ</sup> lictor serpentis, the minister of the devil, viz. Antiochus Epiphanes. 12  
 Joiakim or Eliakim is <sup>אֱלֹהִים יִקְיִם</sup>, God will raise up (a symbolic name. ....  
 54 ff.

11. 1 Macc.1

12. Grotius says, "Puto---- viri<sup>u</sup> esse, ea quae sunt in hoc libro esse <sup>ἐν ὁμίᾳ ἀσπράτῳ</sup> (per obscuras ambages dicta). Scriptum librum, cum primum Antiochus Illustris in Judaeam venisset, Templo nondum per idolum polluto, in hoc ut Judaei spe divinae libert<sup>a</sup>tionis confirmarentur!"

Nam <sup>יְהוּדִית</sup> (Jehudith) esse Judaeam gentem nemo negare<sup>v</sup>it. Bethulia <sup>בֵּית-אֱלֹהִים</sup> (domus domini Dei) est Templum. Gladius inde egredientes preces sanctorum. Nabuchadonozor Hebraeis saepe diabolum significat et Assyria fastum, ut notatum et Hieronymo. Diaboli instrumentum Antiochus, qui hic tecto nomine Holofernes ( id est, <sup>חֲלָפֵר נְחֻשׁ</sup> lictor serpentis, Chaldaice, it est, ut jam diximus, minister diaboli)



The whole idea of the book, according to Grotius is- the Proud Devil (Nebuchadnezzar,) King of Assyria (pride, presumption) sent his servant Antiochus Epiphanes (Holofernes) to conquer the Temple of the helpless Jews in the most beautiful land of the earth (Bethulia, in which the beautiful widow, Judith lived). But the prayers of the priests in the Temple (the sword that came out of Bethulia) were full of hope that God would appear to help them (in accordance with the name Joiakim or Eliakim, the high-priest) to gain their freedom.-- All else in the book, Grotius holds, is added merely for literary purposes, to make the allegory artistically complete.

But, as Eichorn has shown, there are several strong objections to this theory. In the first place, Holofernes seems to be a Persian name,

.....  
 Judaeam formosam quidem (nam propterea apud Daniel<sup>em</sup>, יָדָא, decus, dicitur) sed viduam, id est, ab omni auxilio desertam, subigere volebat. Speravaut pii, fore ut is Deo poenas daret, quemadmodum dedit. Joachim in Graeco, aut ut in Latino est, Eliakim, qui hic dicitur fuisse summus sacerdos, Deum surrecturum, significat Ea spes homines Deo conjungit, quod opus sacerdotis maximi. Vide 1 Macc VII<sup>14</sup>. Caetera sunt ἐπεισοδιώδη, ornamenti causa addita, qualia in Parabolis multa. - Eichorn. 310



like ~~T~~ssafernes, Artafernes, and Datafernes, and it is only by a very fanciful and forced explanation that **הלפר גהש** can be made out of it. Then too, what is Grotius' basis for the statement that the idea of pride is conveyed in the name **אשור**? And the meaning he gives to the name Jehoiakim, while perhaps possible, is still far-fetched and improbable. Again, according to this theory, ought not the other names of the book, as Ozias, Achior, Bagoas, etc. also signify something? And would it not have been more in accordance with the relation between Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, to make the former represent Antiochus Epiphanes and the latter Apollonius, than to make them the Devil and Epiphanes respectively? And finally, the whole idea of the Devil, which Grotius<sup>u</sup> professes to see in Nebuchadnezzar, viz. an active enemy of God and His people, is Christian, and so could not have been in the author's mind in 168 B.C. And if he did have Antiochus Epiphanes in mind, why did he make Syria one of the provinces Holofernes conquered? And as this king reigned but twelve years, what would be the authors object in placing the campaign of Holofernes in his thirteenth or eighteenth years?

Because of the geographical and historical disagreements, Eichorn infers that the book is merely a written account of a tradition about the siege of a town, handed down from mouth to mouth and embellished by each. Nebuchadnezzar was in time made the besieger because of the



part he had played in earlier Jewish affairs, and was called King of Assyria because he was king of Chaldaea and these names were interchangeable in the Jewish mind. Then the story was localized around a certain town named Bethulia. Different fragments of the same and different traditions were combined, and finally the story was written down. The name of the original city and enemy had early been lost, as is the case with many traditions. Because of its entirely fictitious character the book was not highly thought of, and so the text was not carefully preserved. In consequence, numerous glosses have crept in and many additions been made. It is impossible to exactly determine the date of the book, but it was clearly some time between the exile and the life of Clemens Romanus.

This theory is plausible and certainly bears some grain of truth; for <sup>u</sup> whether the story be purely fiction, or have a historical background, there can be no question that it is more or less based upon tradition. But, like Luther's theory, it is vague; it might mean anything and refer to any city besieged as far back as Adam. Should the tradition refer to a pre-exilic siege, then owing to our almost total ignorance concerning this period, it is impossible to discuss this theory. It certainly can refer to no war between the return and the Maccabean revolt, for in that whole time, we have no record of any siege in which the Jews were victorious. And finally, did the tradition refer to



a siege during the Maccabean period, it is hardly probable that it would have been written down as tradition alone, but would rather have had some ulterior motive introduced, such as the encouragement of the people in time of distress. So on the whole, the theory is hardly convincing or supported by fact.

Zunz holds a theory in general similar to Eichorn's, but localized and more specific. He says, "With the Maccabean traditions the book of Judith stands in double relation.

"On the one hand it gives us the tradition of a deliverance and a pretended public feast. On the other hand, in the later Hagada, Judith is described as the daughter of Jonathan or Mattathias, and as the heroine of Asmonean times. <sup>13</sup> ----- It is quite possible that a public feast should have been held in a Palestinian city in remembrance of the heroic deeds of a woman, and, after the true occasion had been forgotten and had given rise to variously related traditions, that a romance in honor of Judith was composed, probably even before the destruction of the Temple."

This theory seems to have come nearer the truth than that of Eichorn. The similarity between the Judith story and the different traditions has already been pointed out.<sup>13</sup> And there can be no question

.....

13. See Pt. 1. Chapt. II.



that the idea of the wonderful deliverance through God's help as set down in our book, might well be taken as the figurative portrayal of the miraculous victory of the Jews over the Syrians. And finally, several scholars <sup>14</sup> have agreed that the feast mentioned in XVI <sup>20</sup> was really celebrated. This idea is supported by the Vulgate version, the final verse of which is lacking in the Septuagint. This verse reads "The day of the feast commemorating this victory is esteemed by the Hebrews among their holy days and has been celebrated by them from that time to the present." Whether this be merely a reference to Chanukah, or some special feast held in honor of the occasion narrated in the tradition, is impossible to tell. Calmet maintains the latter view, but holds that the festival could have been only temporary. Prof. Alber of Pesth however holds that the festival is still to be found in the Jewish calendar. <sup>15</sup> But it is immaterial which opinion is correct; the fact stands that Zunz has good ground for his theory, basing it upon the tradition of the miraculous deliverance and of the public feast.

And in one other respect has he improved upon Eichorn's view; he has given a purpose for the writing down of the tradition, viz. the glorification of Judith. But while it is possible, it is hardly probable, that it is correct. It is not likely that in the troubled

.....

14" Calmet, Volkmar, Alber.

15. Ginsberg.



Maccabean times, where Zunz places the book, or even later, that a tradition of such length and of such elaborate form would have been written down for the mere glorification of some heroine, sacred as her memory may have been. Nor would the story have taken its present shape, had it had this object in view, but would rather have stuck closer to the original story that has come down in tradition. Nor would the author have had occasion to disguise the facts as he did, by employing such names as Nebuchadnezzar and Arphaxad.

However this theory may be true in part, and the author, besides the glorification of Judith, may have had some secondary purpose in mind, and therefore have used the tradition, modifying it to suit his needs.

In his view, Zunz has come very near that of the later advocates of this theory. In fact he differs from them only in regard to the purpose of the book. Perhaps the most typical, as certainly the most prominent expositor of this theory is Fritzsche. He holds that the emphasis laid upon the law in all its details, especially the ritual observance, the picture of a long-oppressed people, the mention of the eves of the Sabbaths and new moons, and the fact that the high-priest and senate or Sanhedrin were the supreme power in the country, all point to the second century before Christ, just as the tradition places the story in Maccabean times. But it can not be finally proved that



the book refers exactly to this period. In fact these same facts can point as well to any time up to the destruction of the Temple, and might even refer, if interpreted in a certain sense, to a still later period.

Fritzsche thinks the book was written to encourage the people in a time of great oppression and despair, by showing how, through God's aid, they can be saved from even the most threatening situation, and how the powerful oppressor may be punished. That the author chose arbitrarily the period in which to place the book is proved by the following facts; first, the name Nebuchadnezzar is used as a type of all the many oppressors of the Jewish people; then the people are said to have just returned from the captivity where they learned to know the punishing and saving hand of God and regained their faith in Him; and finally at the head of the people stands the high-priest and the Sanhedrin. So he infers that the author must have had in mind the period after Nehemiah, when the high-priest and Great Synod were the ruling power. In this way he disguised the real facts he had in mind sufficiently to give the story a certain symbolic meaning and thus increase its effect upon the people.

Other advocates of this theory, while not perhaps, subscribing to Fritzsche's argument as to the time the author had in mind, still practically agree with him in all other points. However some go a



little farther than Fritzsche and make the purpose of the book more specific. Stream, for instance, believes the book aims to show that only by absolute conformity to the traditional observance of the law, could the people be delivered from the oppressor. This is proved by the emphasis laid upon ritual observance of the law, "The story may be called 'a novel with a purpose', viz. to encourage and sustain the people in their allegiance to the God of their fathers and in their conformity to the precepts of His law. It desires emphatically to declare that His highest favor was conferred in times past upon those who had combined minute obedience to the commands of the Torah, as interpreted and sustained by tradition, with heroism shown in encountering danger and in dealing death and discomfiture to the unbeliever and his host."

Stanley is even more specific. He says, no doubt basing his view upon the fact that the chief figure of the story is a woman. "The book is a romance intended to inspire the Israelite maidens with a sense of their duty in case of a new foreign invasion." However, this is going a little too far and borders on hypercriticism. Surely the author did not mean that in case of a new invasion the Jewish maidens were to make their way to the tent of the hostile commander and cut off his head. Nor would he have even meant to imply that on the women of Israel depended the salvation of the nation. Certainly all his efforts would have been directed toward encouraging all the people,



especially the warriors. And so the purposes given by Fritzsche or Stream seem the more probable.

This in general is the theory that the book is purely fiction. It is based upon two general facts, first, that the book is plainly written in a romantic style, and seems to have all the characteristics of a true romance, and second, that it is impossible to find a definite time in history in which the incidents, as narrated, could have occurred. It, in turn, advances two propositions, viz. that the book was written at a time of imminent national danger in order to encourage the people, and that this time of danger occurred during the Maccabean period.

But at best, it is a negative and therefore unsatisfactory theory. It exists simply because nothing better can be offered. It is impossible to determine with even the slightest degree of correctness anything definite about the book except the two facts just mentioned. We can not locate the book any more exactly nor can we even guess what the danger was. "We simply know no more than our theory states. All else is guesswork." So the advocates of this theory say, and there the matter rests.



The third theory as to the nature of our book is that it is fiction written for some such purpose as to encourage the people in time of trouble, but in the present containing a certain kernel of historical truth by which we are enabled to determine exactly or approximately the precise historical event which the author had in mind, and which occasioned its production. This is the only point of

Chapt. III. Third Theory: Book Fiction but with

Historical Background.

Weissman's View.

Keil's View.

Schürer's View.

Hilgenfeld's View.

Reuss' View.

Ewald's View.

Karpeles' View.

Mörsers' View.

Gaster's View.

Vatke's View.

Volkmar's and Graetz's View.

Hitzig's and Klein's View.

Besides disagreeing in their views as to the origin and date of the book, scholars differ also in their opinions as to the book's



The third theory as to the nature of our book is that it is fiction written for some such purpose as to encourage the people in time of trouble, but in its account containing a certain kernel of historical truth by which we are enabled to determine exactly or approximately the precise historical event which the author had in mind, and which occasioned its production. This is the only point of difference between this and the former theory. The latter holds that the book is fiction but has some definite historical event in mind, which we cannot exactly determine owing to the scantiness of our information. All we can do is to say it is the result of some period of distress, most probably during Maccabean times.

This third theory says we can determine with more or less exactness the event referred to, by means of certain veiled references in the text.

That this theory is at least rational is beyond dispute. But trouble immediately arises when we observe the variations in the theory held by different scholars, due to the fact that each lays emphasis upon different passages in the text, and so refers the book to different events. In consequence we have a dozen or more views, placing the date of the book all the way from 312 B.C. to 135 A.D.

Besides disagreeing in their views as to the origin and date of the book, scholars differ also in their opinions as to the book's



historic value. Some agreeing almost entirely with the advocates of the second theory, regard the book as fiction, with the use of some historical names. Others go so far as to consider it in great part actual history, slightly veiled perhaps, due to the dangers of the times, but still perfectly clear to the critical eye.

#### Weissman's View.

The advocate of this third theory who places his view farthest back in history is Weissman. He sees in the book a picture of the times following close upon the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.). In fact he holds that Alexander is actually pictured in the book as Nebuchadnezzar. He bases his view upon the statements that the Jews had but lately returned from captivity and that no one troubled Israel for a long time after Judith's death.

In support of his first argument he holds that the return lasted continually from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander, and so in referring to the time just after Alexander's death, the author might well speak of the people as but lately returned from the captivity.

For his second argument he says that the long period of peace mentioned can refer only to the time just after Alexander's death, for at no other time in Jewish history was there any period that might be designated as a long era of peace. But, he claims, from the entrance of Alexander into Asia in 334 B.C. down to the battle of Ipsus, 301 B.C.



the Jews lived in peace and quiet.

And, as he says, from this date we must go back but two hundred  
 1.  
 years to the time of Nebuchadnezzar. This king was always in the eyes  
 of the Jewish people the type of a mighty autocratic tyrant. And there  
 was a superstition that Nebuchadnezzar was not really dead, but only  
 changed into the form of an animal, and would again, as soon as he ha<sup>d</sup>  
 experienced sorrow, reassume the form of a man and take up once more  
 the reigns of government. That Nebuchadnezzar is a fictitious name is  
 proved by the fact that Arphaxad must have lived at least two  
 2  
 thousand years before him.

As Alexander did not molest the Jews during his twelve years  
 sojourn in Asia, the events narrated in our book could have happened  
 only during the period between his death and the battle of Ipsus.  
 It is noteworthy too that the book expressly mentions the twelfth<sup>th</sup>  
 year of Nebuchadnezzar.

Events now followed rapidly. In 321 B.C. the government of Syria  
 fell into the hands of Alexander Laomedon. In 320 B.C. Ptolemy Lagos

.....  
 1. Three hundred years is more correct as Nebuchadnezzar reigned  
 at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth centuries B.C.

2. Gen. X. This, as Professor... has many references in the book  
 pointing to this date. In the first place a high-priest and an



took Palestine from him, entered Jerusalem by force on the Sabbath, when the people would offer no resistance and profaned the Temple. In 318 B.C. Antigonus in turn took Judaea. So the book begins its account in the eighteenth year of Alexander. Antigonus was worse than any of his predecessors; he was conceited, violent and insatiable and demanded divine honors from the conquered peoples. One must not believe Graetz's statement that he seems to have been beloved by the Jews. That they could not have been satisfied with his rule is proved by the very fact that he demanded divine honors and also that under him and his son Demetrius Poliorketes the Jews suffered much injustice and hardship, as is clear from the fact that they began a new calendar with the year 312 B.C. the year of the battle of Gaza, where Antigonus was defeated by Selencus and Ptolemy. This calendar, called by the Jews מנין שטרותיה מנין יונים was in use among them longer than among any other people. And furthermore, at the battle of Gaza the Jews rendered some assistance to Selencus by blockading the pass of Betylua and so hindering the approach to the main army of Holofernes, Antigonus' general, at the decisive hour. So the history of Judith takes place in the early part of the year 312 B.C. And, with the Selencidian era the memory of Judith was also sanctified.

Weissman finds, or professes to find many references in the book all pointing to this date. In the first place a high-priest and an



assembly of elders, <sup>3</sup> *γερονσια*, as in the older books, and not an ecclesia or synagogue ( *בגמט ד קהלת* ), as it was later called, was the supreme power. The high-priest was Joiakim, who is none other than Onias 1, for *יהויכין* is abbreviated into *בגיהו*, and this in turn becomes Onias.

In Jerusalem a fast was proclaimed which finds its only counter-<sup>4</sup> part in the book of Jonah, which was written not long before this date. So the author of our book was influenced either by the book of Jonah itself, or by the same causes that prompted the author of that book to speak of the cattle as being made to fast.

Achior here plays the role of Bil'aam <sup>5</sup>, only in a less showy way. He traces the ancestry of the Jews from the Chal@eans. It is a tradi-<sup>28</sup> tion supported by Gen XI, but not found in later writings. However there is a Hagadistic tale that Abraham was held prisoner in Kurdistan <sup>6</sup> for seven years.

Holofernes asks Achior. "Who art thou Achior and the hirelings <sup>7</sup> of Ephraim that you should prophesy among us today? " This expression

.....

3. Jud. LXX IV . <sup>8</sup> 4. Jon. III <sup>7-8</sup> .

5. ~~XXII~~ <sup>Num</sup> XXII-XXIV. <sup>a</sup> 6. Baba Bathra, 91

7. Jud. VI <sup>2.</sup> cf VI <sup>5</sup> .



presupposes the existence of prophets among the Jews. It is also strange as Ephraim has long ceased to exist. This is a mistake here of translation. Instead of שִׁכְרֵי אֶפְרַיִם the text should read שִׁכְרֵי

אֶפְרַיִם "the drunken of Ephraim." The prophets of Ephraim were accustomed to get drunk, crown themselves with garlands and then prophesy, just as the Indian and Brahman prophets did with their "Soma". So it may be that Holofernes, seeing Achior drunk, and as a learned man was sacred to him, must have thought Achior was prophesying. It is probable that Holofernes did not use the word Ephraim, but that the author put it into his mouth.

Judith's genealogy is traced through fourteen generations, which, if actually true, would bring her date down to the time of the judges. This genealogy is much after the fashion of those in Chronicles, and points to a time not so very long after that book was written.

Judith is spoken of as fasting all the days of her widowhood except the Sabbaths and new moons. These two days are already mentioned in Is. 1<sup>13</sup>, LXVI<sup>23</sup>, Amos VIII<sup>5</sup> and II Ki. 23<sup>23</sup>. This points to the antiquity of the book, especially as these two days were considered holy

.....  
 8. cf. Micah II<sup>11</sup>. 9. Instead of Ephraim some critics read Ammon as in VI<sup>5</sup>.



n

days of rest. At the time of the Mishua this severe practice had been forgotten and the observance of these days was only local.

10

Judith says, "God can not be turned aside by prayers" This remark could hold only before the Great Synod had fixed the daily prayers. The book is earlier than Prov. XV 8, 29, the interpolated portion of 1 Ki. VIII, and those Psalms where emphasis is laid upon prayer. Judith prayed but took pains to stop the moment the incense of the evening had been offered in the Temple. So sacrifices were still observed.

11

23

16

Verse XI is a poor imitation of Ruth 1. Holofernes would never have said it. It proves however that Judith was written after Ruth.

The book, Weissman thinks, was composed soon after the events narrated occurred.

16

10. Jud. VIII. This does not seem a good translation according to the Septuagint. This reads *ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀπειληθή-  
ναι οὐδὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου διατιθήναι.* "God is not like a man, to be threatened, nor as a son of man to be entreated." Ofcourse this may be extended to mean turned aside by prayer, but would hardly warrant the meaning of formulated prayer as Weissman wishes to imply.

1

11. Jud. IX says she began to pray at this time, not finished.



Realizing that if the book had been written this early there must have been some reason for its not being admitted into the canon, he attempts to explain, this difficulty by saying that as Judith was a descendant of Simon, and this tribe was accursed, the book was therefore excluded from the Canon. He infers that the tribe of Simon was accursed, because all the other tribes except Simon, are mentioned as receiving Moses' blessing<sup>12</sup>, and because the name of Simon is omitted in the song of Deborah.<sup>13</sup> He thinks the book may have had the underlying purpose of attempting to restore the fallen reputation of that tribe, by showing the heroism of one of its daughters.

The chief purpose of the book however, is to encourage the people to faith in and steadfastness to their religion and their God, and to promote the establishment of a government whose aim was spiritual and not political<sup>14</sup>.

The absolute worthlessness of this view is apparent at the first glance. In fact the whole thing seems to border on nonsense. In the

12. Deut. XXXIII. 13. Judges V

14. He also holds that Bethulia is an actual historical city called<sup>4</sup> בְּתוּלָה (Josh. XIX ) and that it belongs to the tribe of Simon.

At the time of the Chronicles it was called בְּתוּלָה (1 Chron. IV30)



first place why should the book be written to encourage the establishment or even the maintenance of a spiritual state when such a state already existed and did exist for over one hundred and fifty years later, and where there was no possibility of its coming to an end?

What an unwarranted inference it is to think that the tribe of Simon was accursed merely because its name is not mentioned in two places. In the song of Deborah there is no mention either of Judah, Gad, Levi or Manasseh. In fact throughout the Bible we hear little of the tribe of Simon. And in 1 Chron. IV <sup>27 ff.</sup> it tells us that this tribe did not increase greatly in numbers and that it soon scattered throughout the country, even as far as Egypt. Most probably it became merged with the surrounding nations and so lost its tribal identity. Certainly by Alexander's time all tribal distinction had disappeared and so Weissman's reason for the non-canonization of Judith has little weight. In fact the non-canonization seems to point to a date later than Daniel.

His point that sacrifices were still offered proves nothing, for they were offered continually till the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. with the exception of the period 167-164 B.C. when Antiochus Epiphanes profaned the altar.

Nor does he gain anything from his statement about the observance of the Sabbath and the new moon, for we do know, notwithstanding his



opinion to the contrary, that these days were observed nationally, and furthermore the mention of the eves of these two days as being also observed can, as most critics agree, point only to a time considerably later than 312 B.C.

His idea of Achior being drunk is certainly original and well in accord with the rest of his theory. But it is utterly groundless, and at the best can have no bearing upon the date of the book. The same is true of his comparison of Achior and Bil'aam.

It is difficult to determine just what value may be attached to the points of resemblance brought out between our book and Jonah, Chronicles and Ruth. But granting his inference<sup>r</sup> to be correct, it proves only that Judith was written after these books, but how long after can not be told.

And his argument that the high-priest and assembly of elders was at the head of the government is also valueless for it might as well refer to any time down to 142 B.C. when Simon was made prince. And the derivation of the name Onias from Joiakim is, to say the least forced.

He seems to have drawn considerably upon his imagination in his account of the period after Alexander's death; to have become so imbued with the idea that Judith is an actual historical account of



this time, that he has given the incidents in the book as history, and then used these same incidents again to prove that the book relates the actual events of this period. How does he know that Antigonus insisted upon divine honors; that he had a general named Holofernes; that the Jews were unfavorably disposed to him and assisted Seleucus and Ptolemy, and that this assistance took the shape of hindering the advance of Holofernes by holding the pass of Betylua? And if all this be so, how would its narration promote the establishment of a spiritual state?

And his attempt to see in Alexander in the figure of Nebuchadnezzar is a little far fetched. His only ground for this is the mention in the book of the twelfth and eighteenth years of Nebuchadnezzar. Counting Alexander's first year as 335 B.C. then the wars of Antigonus (and Alexander) would have only commenced in Alexander's eighteenth year, and the battle of Gaza would have been fought in the twelfth year after the death of Alexander. And if Alexander be Nebuchadnezzar, then why should a general of Antigonus be Holofernes? In fact why should Alexander be Nebuchadnezzar at all, especially as he was favorably disposed to the Jews? If the account Weissman gives of Antigonus be at all correct, would we not have expected him to have been Nebuchadnezzar? But then the chronology would not agree.

And while undoubtedly many Jews did return from Babylon through-



out the Persian period, still it is a bold statement to say that the Jews regarded the return as lasting throughout this whole period, and that therefor the year 312 B.C. is but a short time after the return. And surely one would not speak at this time of the Temple as having been lately built.

While it is true that the picture of a long era of peace might well apply to this period, still, if, as he claims, the book was written shortly after the events narrated took place, then this point can have no weight in itself, for this verse must have been written either by the author himself in praise of Judith and her work, or else have been added at some later date. In either case it would have little historical or critical value.

And if, as he says, Judith is the oldest post-exilic book, then when does he place the books of Jonah, Ruth, and Chronicles, which he claims elsewhere, antedated Judith, and that not so very long, and where also does he place the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are certainly post-exilic?

And, according to his theory, why should the book have taken the course it did? Why should it have a heroine; why should <sup>she</sup> have ~~she~~ prevailed over the hostile general in the way she did; and why should the enemy be so utterly defeated by the Jews alone, when in reality they had little or nothing to do with the battle of Gaza, and but



little more than a passing interest in it? And why should so much space have been devoted to the account of Holofernes, his line of march and military operations when Demetrins Poliorketes who commanded the army of Antigonus at Gaza, had marched but little?

Other questions might be asked, but these are sufficient to prove beyond doubt that this view of Weissman has absolutely no evidence in its favor, but rather everything against it.

1  
Keil's View

Keil makes the book refer indirectly to the time of Artaxerxes Ochus ( cf. Diodorus Siculus) . He fought against Egypt, and one of his officers was a Cappadocian prince named Olofernes, who invaded Palestine and took Jericho. He had a eunuch named Bagoas . The book itself Keil holds originated in the first decade of the second century before Christ. He thinks one hundred and fifty years must have elapsed between the date of the actual events under Ochus and the composition of the book. His reasons are that the book contains no

.....  
1. See Bissell. 2. See following view (Schürer's) for the elaboration of this point. 3. Sulp. Serv. <sup>14</sup> II .



evidences of the persecutions under Antiochus Epiphanes, and it expressly states that the Jews enjoyed a long peace. This can refer then only to a time before Antiochus Epiphanes, for from his reign on, the Jews had no protracted period of peace. And so he places the book in the quiet and prosperous era of Antiochus the Great.

This theory itself is vague. Why should the book have been written at all, at this time; what was its purpose? And why has it a heroine instead of a hero? Why is the name Nebuchadnezzar mentioned instead of that of Artaxerxes Ochus himself? And again, just as with Weissman, this whole theory rests upon the last verse of the book, which as has been shown, is unreliable. Consequently we must dismiss this view as perhaps possessing some very slight elements of probability, but as hardly convincing or satisfactory.

1.

#### Schürer's View.

The book of Judith is a hortatory narrative, its object being to teach that the fear of God is after all the highest wisdom, for God

.....

1. This view originated perhaps by von Gutschmid, is shared to-day by such scholars as Schürer, Wellhausen, Nöldeke, Strack, Porter and Robinson-Smith. Of these Schürer has developed the theory most, warranting our calling it by his name.



always delivers those who trust in Him, in some wonderful way in the end, although for a little while He may bring them into apparent trouble and danger.

The standpoint of the author is almost entirely Pharisaic legalism. "It is precisely the scrupulous care with which she observes the law concerning purification and food that is so much admired in Judith, while it is plainly enough intimated that just for this reason God is on her side."

The story points to a time when danger threatened not only the people but also their religion, for Holofernes demands that Nebuchadnezzar be worshipped instead of God. The book has a two-fold historical background, that of the time of Artaxerxes Ochus and that of the time when it was actually written. The author seems to have selected the time of Ochus because it agreed in many ways with his own. He has done this it seems, so as not to have the historical characters of the book taken too seriously. Sulpicius<sup>us</sup> Severus has associated the book directly with the period of Ochus, but the indirect relation seems the more probable. Certainly it can not be altogether accidental that two generals who took part in the expedition of Ochus against Egypt, Phoenicia and Judaea, viz. Holofernes and Bagoas, should also play a part in the book. Clearly the history of Ochus furnished the author material for his nomenclature and also for his general historical



2

framework . But Ochus, as far as we know did not demand divine honors of the Jews, while in our book this is made a prominent feature.

.....

2. In looking over the genealogy and history of the Cappadocian kings, Diodorus says that Holofernes was the brother of King (satrap) Ariarthes, by whom he was sent to assist the Persians against the Egyptians, from where he returned with great honors bestowed upon him by Ochus. Which expedition of Ochus against the Egyptians is meant is uncertain for no Holofernes is mentioned in the accounts of these expeditions.

In his history of Ochus' expedition against the Phoenicians Diodorus mentions Bagoas, a eunuch, as one of the commanders. It is, without doubt, the same Bagoas who according to Josephus ( Ant. XI <sup>VII 1</sup> ) profaned the Temple and levied a tax upon the sacrifices, which was paid for seven years.

In one of his Egyptian campaigns Ochus took some Jewish prisoners away and settled them in Hyrcania on the shores of the Caspian Sea. As the names Bagoas and Holofernes occur in Diodorus as directing campaigns against western Asia and the Jews it is clear that the history of Ochus furnished the author the material for Judith. Of the campaigns of Ochus against the Jews we know only of the removal of the captives to Hyrcania and the affair of Bagoas in the Temple. Of the



And the name Nebuchadnezzar proves beyond doubt that the author did not take the names of his characters from the history of his own time, but from an earlier.

So he must have written at a later period when the Jewish religion was threatened. This is suggestive of Daniel and the Maccabean age. Consequently the origin of the book may with great probability be referred to this period. The picture of neighboring tribes assisting the enemy while the Jews refuse to submit and pay the king divine ..... demand for divine honors or of the general danger of the Jewish religion there is no word.

In the middle of the second century B.C. there was a Cappadocian king *Ὀλοφέρνης* or *Ὀροφέρνης* who was friendly to the Syrian king Demetrius II. Because of this Hicks wants to refer the acquaintance of the Jews with this name to this fact. But the former theory is more probable. This is also supported by the fact that Bagoas was a common name for eunuchs (see <sup>P</sup> Pliny) and that this name is brought into close relation with that of Holofernes, as was actually the case under Ochus.-----Schürer.



honors, but instead assemble in their villages and under their priests, such as Mattathia, fight for their faith, can come from no other time. Also the fact that the Edomites are counted among the tribes that assisted Holofernes, while they were conquered by John Hyrcan, shows that the book could not have been written later. The prayers of Judith too, embody the spirit of the times and the purpose of the author. It was an age of prayer, and prayer stimulated the people.

Seeing that the author appears quite as deeply interested in political as in religious <sup>liberty</sup>, we should probably understand him as referring not to the earlier days of the insurrection, but to a somewhat later period. It would hardly be advisable to come as far down as the Roman age for the political background, for the picture of the high-priest as the head of the Jewish commonwealth, and the Hellenistic cities of Palestine as still independent and subject to the Persian king only to the extent of having to furnish troops in time of war, corresponds far better with the Greek than with the Roman period. In fact we can hardly refer it to a time later than that of John Hyrcan who subdued and made part of Judaea, not only Idumea but also Samaria and most of the Greek sea-coast cities mentioned.

.....

3. See Hilgenfeld's View for elaboration of this point.



That this theory does not differ much from Fritzsche's is perfectly clear. It merely adds to the latter the idea of the secondary historical background in the time of Ochus and limits the date of the book's composition to a period no later than John Hyrcan. And certainly these two points are well-taken. Of course this view still leaves much uncertainty as to the cause and origin of the book, and yet it is perhaps the closest we can come to anything exact, or, in fact, to anything bearing even the mark of probability.

#### Hilgenfeld's View.

This scholar holds that the book was written between the years 145 and 142 B.C. In the former year Jonathan captured Joppa and in the latter Simon took Jamnia. Since, in the list of the Greek, sea-coast cities through which Holofernes marched, Joppa is not mentioned, while Jamnia is, Hilgenfeld concludes that the book must have been composed at some time between the capture of the two cities. The book must surely have been written before Simon was made prince in 142 B.C. as it speaks of the high-priest as still at the head of the people.

The levitical name of Judith's ancestor, Merari, and also the name Simon, from whom she was descended, point to Jonathan and Simon, who were both high-priests, and whose great-grandfather was also named Simon. Also a firm trust in God is here united with cunning and craft.



In this Judith's character closely resembles that of Jonathan. The worship and reverence of God, the fasts, tithes, observance of Sabbaths and festivals, the abstinence from heathen food, even bread, and the proselytism, all these facts point to the time of the Chassidim and Pharisees. Hence the book might well refer to the time between 145 and 142 B.C.

But after all, this view rests upon a rather flimsy argument, merely that the name of a certain city is not mentioned in a place where we might expect it. The argument about the capture of Jannia and the appointment of Simon as prince carries more weight, but even so is not convincing, for the book might perhaps have been written later from the author's remembrance of that period. In case it was written about this time, as other theories hold, then his argument about the Pharisaical spirit of the book proves as much for them as for his view. And so we must conclude that while this view is perhaps possible, its evidence is not sufficient to warrant its adoption.

.....  
1. 1 Macc <sup>1</sup>II . Jos. Ant. XII <sup>XI, 1</sup> , cf. the traditions making Judith a Maccabee.



## Reuss' View.

In general Reuss agrees with Schürer, only he sees, as he thinks, enough internal evidence in the book to determine the event which occasioned it. He holds that it belongs to the period after the close of the canon, for in nature and purpose it is similar to Daniel, Esther and Esra, and had it been written earlier, would have been included in the canon. It could not have been written after the first century<sup>4</sup> A.D. because there is no reference to the destruction of the Temple and because of the mention in the epistle of Clemens Romanus<sup>1</sup>. The fasting of Judith on all days except the eves and days of the Sabbaths, new-moons and festivals, and the fact that the high-priest had authority in Samaria, point directly to the time of John Hyrcan (135-106 B.C.) Moreover, as it indicates a time when the Jews had seemingly no help and no means of resistance but trust in God, the book must have been written immediately after the death of Simon, when John Hyrcan was besieged in Jerusalem by Antiochus Sidetes (134 B.C.). Its purpose was to arouse in the people the spirit of trust in God and confidence in His help against the powerful enemy!

It is true that John Hyrcan did not conquer Samaria till 120 B.C. But, as Hilgenfeld has shown, three districts in Samaria were under the

.....

1. See Pt. 1. Chapt. **III**.



2

Asmonean sway since the time of Jonathan ,and it might possibly be to these districts that verse <sup>4</sup> III refers. And as the whole theory rests upon this point as to the capture of Samaria, and even granting that the above verse does refer to the capture by John Hyrcan, this was not till after the period of distress caused by Sidetes' invasion had passed, and so Reuss' view has little or no evidence to support it.

1

Ewald's View.

This theory places the appearance of Judith in the year 128 B.C. during the reign of John Hyrcan. The history of this period, according to Ewald and Vaihinger, is as follows: Demetrius<sup>u</sup> II ascended the Syrian throne in 145 B.C. In a campaign against the Parthians he was defeated and was kept in captivity for a number of years. Meanwhile his brother, Antiochus Sidetes, reigned in Syria. At first he was hostile to John Hyrcan but soon changed his attitude, and in 130 B.C. was assisted by Hyrcan with a body of troops, in his war with the Parthians. But Hyrcan and his soldiers soon returned home, and not long after that Sidetes was defeated and lost his life. When Hyrcan heard of

.....  
30 34

2. 1 Macc. X , XI .

1. This view, supported by Vaihinger and DeWette, was originated by Ewald, and so for convenience may be called by his name.



this he threw off his allegiance to Syria and captured Madeba, Samega and other places. It was at this time, just after the capture of these Samaritan cities and before the capture of Idumea in 128 B.C. that the book was written. Its object was to encourage the people and give them confidence in view of war with the Syrians because of the seizure of these cities. For after Sidetes' death, Demetrius was released by the Parthians and again mounted the Syrian throne. Shortly after he made an expedition to Egypt to assist Queen Cleopatra against Ptolemy Physcon, her son. His line of march lay through Palestine, and no doubt the author feared he would take this opportunity to strike a blow at the growing power of Judaea. The author wished to show by his book that even the smallest place could be saved as long as it trusted in God.

Consequently Ewald and Vaihinger hold that Bethulia is a real town, viz. Bätgunua (Jos. Ginnā), which commands a strong pass. The author saw how easily this name might be changed into בתוליה and used in an allegorical sense. They argue that the place is real because the names of the towns surrounding it are historical. Nebuchadnezzar stands for both Demetrius **II** and Antiochus Sidetes, or rather the reign of Nebuchadnezzar represents the reign of these two monarchs. In fact the reign of Demetrius was regarded as continuous even during the time of Sidetes. Arphaxad stands for Phrahates the Parthian king and Holofernes is the name of an actual general of Demetrius, a



-brother of Antiochus Epiphanes. Achior= <sup>אחיר</sup> <sup>אחיר</sup>. The type of the kindly foreigner is borrowed from Tobit. In certain respects the author had the story of Bilaam in mind but the turn given to the event at the close and the general relations of Israel with the surrounding nations harmonize well with the age of John Hyrcan. The name Judith is taken from Gen. XXVI <sup>34</sup>, while in her deeds she is a direct reproduction of Jael. The fact that she approves of the act of Simon and Levi, which was disapproved of by Jacob, points to a time when the people were oppressed by a foreign nation and craved for vengeance. The author also had the story of Shechem in mind as furnishing a pattern of courage, and so Judith's family is traced back only far enough to show her as a descendant of Simon. The fact that of all Asia Minor, <sup>Ci</sup> ~~A~~licia alone is spoken of as belonging to Assyria (Syria) and is dwelt on with such prominence points to this time under John. Furthermore the line of march of Demetrius must have been pretty much the same as that of Holofernes along the coast.

Finally the dates given to the wars of Nebuchadnezzar harmonize well with those of Demetrius. He ascended the throne in 145 B.C. His war against the Parthians began in his twelfth year, and his war <sup>n</sup> against Egypt in his eighteenth, that is, passing over the reign of <sup>i</sup> ~~S~~edetes. The fact that the Parthian king was killed in battle with the Scythians does not, according to Vaihinger, materially affect our story. The



nature of Judith's prayer and her ritual observances, are, as has been shown by other critics, Pharisaical and so in accordance with the spirit of the times.

However this whole theory is open to considerable question. It seems a little forced even under the most favorable conditions to see both Demetrius and Sidetes in Nebuchadnezzar. And then both these monarchs were defeated in their Parthian wars, and Sidetes, and not the Parthian king, lost his life. And then, according to this theory, what would be the significance of Holofernes' campaign other than that against Judaea? And was not Demetrius the actual commander in his Egyptian war, and not Holofernes?

Graetz makes no mention of the return of Hyrcan and his army before the death of Sidetes, and he puts the capture of Madeba and the other towns in 120 B.C. and the victory over the Idumeans<sup>me</sup> in the following year<sup>2</sup>. While it may be that Ewald's chronology is more correct than Graetz's, still there is considerable doubt upon the matter, enough at least to warrant our regarding the theory as untenable.

#### Karpels' View.

The book was written just after the death of John Hyrcan in 106 B.C. The author was a Pharisee, who based the book upon his remem-



brance of the Maccabean wars. His object was to encourage the people to resist the Syrians. The morality portrayed is such as was proper to those warlike times. Judith is a model of national virtue, in imitation of Jael, yet with a higher ethical standard; for Sisera was a friend of Jael's husband and his murder transgressed the holy right of guests. Judith is as it were a Jewish Jeanne d'Arc.

Karpeles has given no reason for placing the book in this year, but he seems to have had in mind the fact that John Hyrcan on his death declared his wife queen.<sup>1</sup> She was however deposed by her son Aristobulus. The fact that our book has a heroine instead of a hero, no doubt induced him to place the book at this time.

But this is a very poor reason. Granting that the book's distinctive feature is its having a heroine, would not the time of Salome Alexandra have been more fitting? In fact some critics have placed the book at that time.<sup>2</sup> However it seems that the important role played by a woman can be better explained by reference to the Maccabean traditions, and so this theory falls to the ground.

.....

35.

1. Graetz (Eng.)<sup>II</sup>
2. Ball for instance. However I was unable to get this theory in detail.



## Movers' View.

Movers holds that the author had the geography of his own time in mind and so made the Judaeas country begin at Scythopolis, which city lay on the northerbmost boundaries of the land, and so was the first Jewish city to which Holofernes came. It and the intervening country and Samaria were all under the <sup>a</sup> authority of the high-priest. This can refer only to the time between John Hyrcan and Pompey. Hyrcan took Samaria and Scythopolis from Epikrates, the general of Ptolemy Lathyrus. Pompey took these places away again in 48 B.C. The sea-coast cities contained Hebrew garrisons from the time of Alexander Jannai till that of Pompey. But Carmel which the heathens inhabited (called by Josephus, *ὄρος Ἰουδαίαν*) was independant till after the war with Lathyrus. So Movers thinks the book refers to this period, especially after the battle of Asochis in Galilee about 104 B.C.

But opposed to this geographical combination, according to De Wette- are the following facts; (1) that Galilee belonged to the Asmoneans. There is no direct, but an abundance of indirect proof of this that seems conclusive. For (a) Asochis seems to have belonged to Alexander Jannai for Lathyrus captured it; (b) Alexander was brought up in

- .....
- |    |                |   |              |   |           |
|----|----------------|---|--------------|---|-----------|
|    | XV4            |   | X3           |   | 8.        |
| 1. | Jos. Ant. Xl11 | . | 2. Ant. Xl11 | . | 3. Jud. 1 |
|    | Xl11 3         |   | Xl1 4        |   |           |
| 4. | Ant. XLV       | . | 5. Ant. Xl11 | . |           |



6 Galilee; (c)Antigonus returned from there; (d)Aristobulus conquered  
 8 Iturea, which presupposes the possession of Galilee; (e) after Pompey  
 limited the size of the country Galilee still belonged to the High-  
 9 priest. (2) Idumea at this time belonged to Judaea. But in Judith the  
 sons of Esau are spoken of as allies of Holofernes. (3) If the author  
 had had the war with Lathyrus in mind, he would have given more promi-  
 nence to the march of the Cyprian army from Asochis to Sepphoris, and  
 from there to Asophus.

Moreover why should Scythopolis and Bethulia be taken as one and  
 the same place when the author treats them clearly as two distinct  
 places? And what would have been the object of the book at this time?  
 It seems to have been composed expressly to encourage the people in  
 a time of great danger, while the country was still a poor nation, and  
 as yet unconscious of its military power. Certainly this would not  
 apply to the time of Alexander Jannai when the people had the wars  
 of John Hyrcan and Aristobulus behind them to give them confidence and  
 encourage them. And then, according to this theory too, we ask again our  
 old question, why should the book have taken just the course it did?

.....

	XII 1		<u>III</u> 3
6.	Ant. XII 1	7.	Wars. 1
	XI 3		1 10
8.	Ant. XII 1	9.	Wars. 1



Why does Judith kill Holofernes in the way she does, and what is the significance of the presence of a heroine? This theory too seems without foundation.

#### Gaster's View.

Gaster believes there are two forms of the story, a short (A) and a long (B). The first dates from Maccabean times; the second is the expansion of the first by some Pharisee, perhaps an Assidean (cf. the idea of ab<sup>9</sup>lution before prayer). Verse XII refers to the A. version of the story. The ritual observance points to the discussions of the schools of Hillel and Shammai. The book depicts a time when the high-priest was still the chief ruler of Judaea, and also when a great danger was threatening, and so is related to the war with Pompey and the siege of Jerusalem, 63 B.C. The spirit of confidence entertained by the people is suggestive.

"Aristobulus **II** had commenced a war against his brother, Hyrcanus **II**. Scax<sup>1</sup>rus (Holofernes), the Roman general in Syria took the part of Aristobulus. Pompey before coming to Palestine had a war with Mithridates whom he overthrew and slew exactly as Nebuchadnezzar



smote Arphaxad. Aretas, king of the Nabateans assisted Hyrcanus at the instigation of Antipater the Idumean. When hostilities began between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, a certain holy man, Onias by name (-Joiakim) prayed that the great drought might cease. Pompey, taking the side of Hyrcanus, deposed Aristobulus and appointed Hyrcanus high-priest."

The ceremonial prescriptions, viz. the fasting of Judith on the festivals and the eves and days of the Sabbaths and new-moons make an earlier date impossible. At a later date, the book would have lost its value and importance as too transparent a fiction.

This theory is clearly nonsense. What has the holy man, Onias, to do with the story, and then would he not rather be depicted as Achior than as Joiakim? And it would hardly have seemed to all the people a time of danger, seeing that Pompey was siding with Hyrcan and his party. Nor could Scarus have been Holofernes if Pompey was Nebuchadnezzar. And the idea of Mithridates being Arphaxad is rather far fetched. And furthermore the schools of Hillel and Shammai did not come into existence till almost one hundred years later. The whole theory is so poor as hardly to deserve consideration.

#### Vatke's View.

The book draws upon the events of former times for its background. Hence the use of the names Nebuchadnezzar, Arphaxad, Joiakim etc.



The author must have had the Maccabean traditions in mind, but he wrote so long after the Maccabean period that the true historical account became hopelessly mixed in the people's minds. Because Josephus does not mention Judith, Vatke concludes that it must have been written after the period to which he comes in his works, namely after the destruction of the Temple in 70 A.D. And it <sup>u</sup> must have been written no later than 100 A.D. because of the mention of Clemens Romanus.

But, as has been shown, Josephus may not have referred to the book because he did not consider it historical. And had the book been written at this time would it not have contained some reference to the destruction of the Temple, or at least to its imminent danger? But it speaks of the Temple service as still undisturbed. And what the purpose of the book could have been if written at this time, is impossible to tell. Perhaps trust in God; but then the book teaches more than that, viz. armed resistance. So Vatke has no valid nor sufficient grounds for his argument, and we can afford to pass over his theory without further discussion.

#### Volkmar's and Graetz's View.

The book is the poetical relation of the victory of the Jews over the lieutenant of Trajan, Lucius Quietus, after his victorious campaign against the Parthians. It was composed to celebrate the first



Trajan's Day (Yom Tyrjanus) after Trajan's death in the year 118 A.D. It was written no later than just after the beginning of this year, and no earlier than just before the end of the previous year.

The fact that Nebuchadnezzar demands divine honors points to either Alexander the Great, Antiochus Epiphanes or one of the Roman Emperors. Of all, it seems to apply to Trajan best.

Nineveh=Antioch, Assyria=Syria, Arphaxad=Araces, the Medo-Persians=<sup>1</sup> the Parthians, Ecbatana=Nisibis. Judith=Judaea, Holofernes=Lucius Quietus, Joiakim="God will raise up" (יה יקים). Achior="Brother of Light" (אחור - אור), typical of Proselytization.

The Temple had been only lately destroyed and the people just returned from captivity. This points clearly to the time of Titus<sup>†</sup>, for it pictures a period of about fifty years, and so can refer to either the war under Trajan or that under Hadrian.

The theme of the book is the praise of Judaea for her victory in spite of her weakness, over the mighty conqueror of Parthia. The historical contents apply well to the time of Trajan. The Parthians had been quickly subdued. Then Trajan's mightiest general was sent against

.....

1. These two cities were both in their times strongly fortified, and so were symbolical of the Parthian power.



Judaea, but was overthrown and Judaea crowned with honor.

The book can apply only to Trajan's time for under Hadrian Rome had nothing to do with the Parthians. In the time of the Asmoneans it is true there was a Syrian victory over this people, but it was not so great, nor gained in so short a time, nor did it resemble in circumstances the one related in our book. Furthermore, did the book refer to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, then the greater part of it would be purely ornamental. True, Epiphanes did war with the Eastern nations but he never gained so decisive a victory, and in fact his whole campaign was conducted after his general, Lysias, had been sent against Judaea.

To place the book in the Maccabean times it is necessary that there have been a Syro-Parthian war, in which the Jews were involved and in which the Syrians were victorious. The only war in those times to which it could possibly refer is that mentioned by Justin, viz. after Demetrius I had been defeated and killed by the Parthians, Tryphon (or Physcon) usurped the throne. Antiochus Sidetes defeated him, and then turned his arms against Judaea. This gives us a Syrian army attacking Judaea, after a war with Parthia. But this war was not fought in the northern part of Parthia but in Mesopotamia. Although the

.....  
1

2. Justin XXXVI, it need not be discussed.



Syrians were at first victorious, they were finally defeated and many made prisoners. So it could not even be dreamed that Demetrius returned to Antioch and celebrated a victory. And besides, the expedition against Judaea came many years later and was conducted not by Demetrius but by Antiochus Sidetes. True, the latter did send his general, Gendebaeus, against Judaea, but he was defeated, and after that the war was carried on by the king himself, and no other Holofernes thereafter appeared. Finally, at this time Judaea was not so weak as to be saved only by God's intervention and not by her own warriors, but rather it was these who saved her.

In short the account given in the book of Judith can have happened only once in history, viz. during the captivity under Titus and thereafter. And the narrative gives us a true picture of this time, even to the details. Assyria may stand for Roman as well as Greek Syria; and even Ewald admits that when Quietus was sent against the Jews they were aroused to oppose him in some way.

The book is not known in the first century after Christ. There are no traces of it in the New Testament, although some passages there

.....

3. This account of the Syro-Parthian war does not agree in detail with the accounts given by either Ewald or Graetz, but as it is immaterial here, it need not be discussed.



may be compared with passages in Judith. The fact that Josephus does not mention the book is significant for would he not have known of and related so great a war and so remarkable a deliverance, had it occurred before his time? The epistle of Clemens Romanus pictures a church without the rule of a bishop, which might well refer to the second century A.D.

The precise observance of the law, the cry for revenge and blood, and in the background the picture of a long-oppressed people, may as well apply to the time after Christ as before. Since the sacrifices in the Temple had ceased, the people laid more stress on minor observances. Prayer now took the place of sacrifice, but the giving of first-fruits and tithes was still continued and for the first time now took on a painful significance. Also at this time the <sup>iii</sup>casuistic point arose that the Sabbaths and festivals could not be disturbed by fasting. And then the eves of these days were included in their celebration. This could have been no earlier than the time of Titus.

The political status of Judaea as depicted also points to the post-Flavian period, for (1) there was no king nor prince to lead the army as under the Maccabees, but a high-priest was at the head of the Sanhedrin. He planned and organized the revolt, but was no longer the actual leader. This was the case with all three uprisings against Rome.

4. See pt. 1. Chapt. **III**.



Judith or Judaea is a widow because she no longer has a king, and in her abandonment by all worldly power and help is forced to resort to prayers for divine assistance; (2) Holofernes asks who are these people that dare resist him. As Judaea had lost all political significance the question and its answer are proper here, while they would not be so elsewhere; (3) the geographical situation also agrees well with that of the times, for the four provinces of Galilee, Perea, Samaria and Judaea were united under the one name, Judaea, and formed part of the province of Syria, although distinguished from that country itself. The Palestinian coast and Idumea were at this time separated from Judaea; (4) the attitude of the author toward proselytization also points to this time.

Volkmar's strongest point, in fact that upon which he bases his whole argument is the striking resemblance between the narrative in Judith and the account of the wars of Trajan and Quietus given in Dio Cassius and other Roman writers.

5. Eutropius, Spartian, etc.

The accounts in Judith and in Dio, compared are as follows:

The war and victory of the new Nebuchadnezzar over the Parthians and its immediate results.

Jud. 1-11.

Dio. Cassius 68 and other

sources.



It was impossible to give too loud vent to the joy over the victory and deliverance. So they were naturally compared with those

- .....
- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1. In the second half of his reign the new Nebuchadnezzar begins war with the new-Medes, not over the whole land of Arsaces in the East and South, but over the northern part, the region of the northern capital Rhagax.</p> <p>2. Against Nebuchadnezzar came to the help of the Medes their confederates in Mesopotamia, from the northern mountains, to the plain in the south (at the sea).</p> <p>3. Nebuchadnezzar had his own provinces in the East, Syria (from the Cilician boundarius) Judaea and Egypt against him. For they would not fight against the Medes. Therefore the war against Judaea soon followed.</p> <p>4. In Nebuchadnezzar's seventeen-</p> | <p>In the second half of his reign Trojan, a new Alexander or world-conqueror, begins war against the Arsacideans, not over the whole kingdom but over its northern territories, Armenia, Albania and Iberia.</p> <p>2. Against Trajan came to Arsaces' help, his confederates in Mesopotamia (especially the Jews) from the mountains on the Tigris, Kardylene-Adiatena<sup>b e</sup> to the Persian<sup>P</sup> sea.</p> <p>3. Trajan had the Jewish East in his own provinces, viz. Judaea and Egypt against him, sympathizing with the Parthians. Therefore Trajan's war against Judaea soon followed.</p> <p>4. In Trajan's seventeenth year</p> |
|---|---|



the author did not dare relate the actual facts, but had to veil them )

.....

cia, to upper Mesopotamia, near the  
city of slaughter (Bectileth, <sup>בֵּית</sup>  
<sup>נֶבֶל</sup>) of this war. Here it  
stops. Then it hurries on quickly  
to the mountains of Mesopotamia,

which was the capital of the Jews  
and Parthians, and a scene of  
battle in this war. Here it stops.  
Then it hurries on quickly to the  
Jewish mountain-land of Kardy-  
ene-Adia<sup>b</sup>ene above the Tigris.

8. Thereby the neighboring land  
of Persia or Media, and Aram is ex-  
posed, called by Ezekiel, Phud and  
Lud. It was completely marched  
through.

8. Thereby the neighboring lands  
of Media, Mesopotamia and Assy-  
ria are exposed and made a  
province.

9. Just as helpless are the bar-  
barians (sons of Rassis) and Bedon<sup>u</sup>-  
ins (sons of Ishmael) against the  
army.

9. The army returns to Mesopo-  
tania and presses without a halt  
through the different tribes there,  
viz. the Arabs, also Parthian allies

10. Now it goes down the Euphrates,  
through the rest of Mesopotamia.  
The cities on that side of the  
river are destroyed and the land  
completely subjugated.

10. Now it goes through the rest  
of Mesopotamia; the strongholds,  
Seleucia<sup>u</sup>, Babylon and Ctes<sup>t</sup>iphon,  
across the Euphrates are destroyed  
and Mesopotamia made a province.

11. Finally the army comes to the

11. Trajan presses on to the



as it were, by putting them in some earlier period, to the events of

- .....
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| sea.   | Persian sea.  |
| 12. Now follows the campaign of revenge against the rebels.  | 12. Now follows the war against the rebel Jews. After all opposi-   |
| The revolt in upper Syria at the borders of Cilicia is put down and likewise all opposition.                       | sition (in the new province of Mesopotamia up to Nisib <sup>s</sup> ) is put down, Edessa is taken and the Jewish power in Upper Syria broken |
| 13. The leader is a barbarian prince in Nebuchadnezzar's army, second only to him. He burns, murders and plunders. | 13. The leader is the Moorish prince Lucius Quietus, second only to Trajan. He burns and murders.   |
| 14. He goes with his army southeast from Ananus, from the borders of Japheth opposite Arabia, towards Judaea.      | 14. After his last victory in Upper Syria, he is sent with pro-consular power against Judaea.   |
| 15. Arabia (sons of Midian) and the reign of Damascus are marched over.  | 15. Arabia is, after the conquest of Mesopotamia made a province.   |

The war of Judaea against the general of Ne<sup>W</sup>X-Assyria.

Jud. III-VII

Dio. cXXXII and other sources.

16. The barbarians press to the sea-16. Quietus in this war threatened



which they bore sufficient resemblance. The deliverance from Sennach-

.....  
 coast, to Jamnia. The Sakhedrin is Jamnia and the Sakhedrin had to  
 then in Jerusalem. flee.

17. It concerns Jerusalem and the reestablished holy city. A road leads there from the plain of Esdrael<sup>on</sup>, the heights of which are the scene of the war.

17. It concerns Jerusalem and her new cult. Still the plain of Esdrael<sup>on</sup> is the scene of the war.

18. The war begins in the early summer of Nebuchadnezzar's nineteenth year.

18. Quietus' war begins after Easter in Trajan's nineteenth year (117 A.D.) fifty-two years after the beginning of the first war.

19. The people are hard pressed and turn to the Sakhedrin in their distress.

19. Because of the hardships of this war, certain signs of woe are instituted by the Sakhedrin.

20. The Jews are reduced to one city in the plain of Esdrael<sup>on</sup>, and after a two and a half month's siege seem hopelessly lost.

20. In the beginning of August, 117 A.D. the Jews seem hopelessly lost, and in Trajan's eyes, just before his death, completely defeated.

.....  
 quietus is a trophy of victory.



erit<sup>l</sup> at the time of Hezekiah suggested the idea of the Assyrian, while  
.....

The similar victories of Judith and Esther and the triumph of  
had gained a vict<sup>l</sup> Judaea over the new-Nebuchadnezzar. The Temple.

The account Jud. VIII-XVI is based upon all Roman and Jewish sources.

21. Still Jewish faith (Judith) was revealed in her most beautiful form, and gained a most surprising victory. 21. Still Jewish faith gained the victory in a most surprising way, through Trajan's successor and Quietus' rival.

22. The barbarian general, who had determined to subjugate Judaea completely, is beheaded in his own drunkenness. 22. The proconsul, who had a claim to the throne, and would completely subjugate Judaea, is beheaded by Hadrian's command, but still through Judaea's faith.

23. The army after the general's death (like Nicanor and Sennacherib) had to flee. 23. With the overthrow of Quietus the army is called back, and goes at once.

24. The sanctuary in Jerusalem is saved. 24. Permission is given to rebuild the Temple.

25. A triumph is proclaimed by the people and the head of Holofernes fastened to the wall. 25. The Jewish heard<sup>t</sup> expressed similar triumph (in the Sibylline verses) and the head of Quietus is a trophy of victory.



in the time of Nebuchadnezzar, Judaea was in league against him with the whole East, from Phoenicia to Egypt, and so Nebuchadnezzar was made king of Assyria. In the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, Judah Maccabee had gained a victory over Nicanor, and then rededicated the Temple. The account in Judith is based upon all these events.

To support this theory, Volkmar maintains, and in this is supported by Hitzig, that the epistle of Clemens Romanus was written by some one else, and no earlier than Hadrian's time. This may be, and no doubt

26. Finally a thirty days' festival is proclaimed.

26. Finally a festival of three days was proclaimed, Yom Tyrjanus, Yom Nicanor and Purim.

27. Judith celebrates her victory in her final song.

27. The author celebrates the victory with the book of Judith.

28. The book closes with the hope that the long oppressed land will finally be free.

28. Similarly the Jewish author of the Sibylline books (Sib.X.) fostered a hope for a new and glorious era of liberty.

4. The term is mentioned eight in various ways in Midrash (see page)



is correct, but at best it proves only that Judith was written at the latest in Hadrian's time, but does not affect the probability of the book's having been composed earlier.

Graetz's view differs but little from that of Volkmar. He would extend the war of Quietus into the reign of Hadrian, and place the appearance of the book in the first year of this monarch. And he holds that it was composed to encourage the Jewish warriors to resist Quietus instead of to celebrate a victory. And, unlike Volkmar, he attaches no special significance to the names of the characters in the book. Bethulia he identifies with *בית הסוכן* (= *בית הסוכה*) a little village near *Κορέαι*, in the plain of Esdraelon near Nazareth.<sup>6</sup> Here the best grapes and wine were grown.

• However, this theory of Volkmar, and with it that of Graetz, has generally been considered by modern scholars as hypercritical. Four especially have directly opposed it, viz. Fritzsche, Biestel, Hilgenfeld and, above all, Lipsins.

As Fritzsche says, the epistle of Clemens Romanus may perhaps have come after 118 A.D. but not long after, and it is to be presumed that Judith existed some time before the epistle was written. While Josephus does not mention Judith, neither does he speak of Job, the apocry-

6. The town is mentioned spelt in various ways in Nidda (next page).



Phal additions to Daniel, Tobit or the last three books of the Maccabees, and so it may well be that Judith was known to him, but ~~as~~ regarded as pure fiction. And as the book mirrors Jewish patriotism it can hardly point to the year 118 A.D. when the Jews and Christians were violently opposed to each other.

Hilgenfeld shows that the very facts upon which Volkmar bases his theory, viz. the similarity between the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Holofernes, and those of Trajan and Quietus, might as well, or even better refer to the campaigns of Antiochus the Great.

But the strongest opponent of Volkmar's theory is Lipsius. He gives Volkmar's earlier Chronology as follows: in 114 A.D. (in the 18th resp. 17th resp. 16th year of his reign) Trajan begins the Parthian war; in the late autumn of 115 A.D. he goes into winter quarters at Autooch, after defeating the Parthians; in the spring of 116 A.D. the campaign in Parthia is renewed and Trajan advances as far as the Persian gulf; at this time there is a general revolt on the western provinces and Jewish uprisings in Egypt, Cyrene, Mesopotamia and Palestine. In April, 117 A.D. (or soon after) Quietus comes, after quelling the revolt in Mesopotamia and Adiatene, into the region of Damascus, in order to carry on the war in Judaea; he proceeds down the Phoenician coast to Jamnia and then through Samaria toward lower Galilee; he reats

.....  
 9b. ( בְּהִיטָב ), Tosef. Niddah 1 ( הִיטָבָה ), Jerus. Niddah ( בְּעִיטָב )



for one month in the plain of Jezreel and then besieges Bethulia for thirty-four days, till August or September 117 A.D.; in August of that year, Trajan died and Quietus was recalled, and at the end of that year or the beginning of the next was executed; on the 12th of <sup>d</sup>Ar (March, 118 A.D.) occurred Trajan's day, for the celebration of which the book was composed.

It is somewhat forced for Volkmar to make Nineveh stand for both Rome and Antioch but it may be possible.

Volkmar was right in making Arphaxad-Arsaces, although he is not on the right track. We know from Ctesias of an Arsaces or Arbaces, who was contemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, and whom he identifies with Cyaxares. The author remembered the war of Nebuchadnezzar against Arbaces and introduced it into his book. But that this account is confused is shown by the confounding of Arbaces with Deio<sup>e</sup>kis, the builder of Ecbatana, and also by the account of Nebuchadnezzar's victory at Rhagan<sup>u</sup>.

Also it is possible to see in the Medes, none other than the Parthians, but the war of Nebuchadnezzar can't refer to Trajan's war. For, according to Dio, Trajan in the first year of his campaign came only to the Armenian border on this side of the Tigris. Some of the Parthian allies had fallen into his hands without his striking a blow, but the Romans had not yet come into actual contact with the Parthians, although Trajan had been hailed as Parthicus.



Now according to Volkmar, the first year produced great results. The great plain where Nebuchadnezzar defeated Arphaxad represents the whole kingdom of Arsaces. Ecbatana stands for the axiomatic stronghold of the Medes. The different peoples mentioned in verse 1<sup>6</sup> signify the confederates of the Parthians, and the whole victorious campaign is symbolized in one great battle.

The plain of Rhagan<sup>u</sup> is clearly the plain of Rhagiana, a part of the Median kingdom. From here Nebuchadnezzar followed the Medes into the mountains behind Rhagan<sup>u</sup>, on the Caspian coast and here was the decisive battle of the war. Who can think here of the whole Median kingdom which was, as Volkmar says, a great plain? And furthermore, the peoples mentioned in verse 1<sup>6</sup>, whom he makes allies of the Parthians, were really subjects of Nebuchadnezzar (Trajan) and thereby summoned by him as his allies. So the very people against whom Trajan warred in his first year were really his allies.

And also while Nebuchadnezzar utterly defeated Arphaxad in this one battle, Trajan had not yet come into the slightest actual contact with the Parthians. And we must also remember that, when it says the Parthians or Medes were totally destroyed, how the western provinces later on revolted.

In chap. II Volkmar believes he sees Trajan's campaign of the following year. This is in brief as follows; Trajan starts from Antioch; at the banks of the Tigris he builds ships which he takes to Nineveh;



there he crosses the river and conquers Adia<sup>l</sup>ene; then he marches through Parthia, over a route similar to Alexander's, and he might have gained the same laurels as this hero only he saw no Parthians, for they always retreated before him in order to draw him farther into the land. Then he goes to Babylon and finds it in ruins. Here he is again hailed as Parthi<sup>cus</sup>, and this time with more right than in the preceding year. He goes as far as the mouths of the Tigris in an attempt to reach India, but is there deterred by the floods and is himself in great danger. He is now given a triumph by the Senate. From here he returns to Babylon where he hears of the revolt of the conquered provinces. He sends Maximus and Quietus to quell this. Maximus is killed but Quietus is victorious. Trajan returns to Mesopotamia where he meets with strong opposition and is himself wounded. He then continues his retreat. Meanwhile the Jews in Mesopotamia, Cyrene, Egypt and Palestine had revolted, most likely with the knowledge of the San<sup>h</sup>edrin. Trajan sends Turbo to Egypt and Quietus to Palestine, while he himself starts for Rome. But he dies on the way and Hadrian succeeds him.

Volkmar sees a similarity between Nebuchadnezzar's return to Nineveh and Trajan's to Antioch, to pass the winter. But Nebuchadnezzar was completely victorious and his new campaign was only to exact vengeance upon his unfaithful allies. But Trajan continued his Parthian war. Volkmar tries to explain this difficulty by saying that the campaign against Judaea was begun in this same year. Furthermore Nebu-



Nebuchadnezzar's war was to punish vassals who had refused to assist him, while Trajan's was to punish a conquered but revolting people.

According to Volkmar the two campaigns started at the same time from Antioch, Trajan's east and Quietus' south. ~~Bux~~<sup>t</sup> rather they started from Cilicia, and so this should have been symbolized as Nineveh, rather than Antioch. And Trajan's expedition against the revolting peoples started from neither of these places but from Babylon.

21

In verse **II** it says Holofernes went from Nineveh to the mountains of Bectileth. How did the great plain now turn into mountains? Also, all the nations around were first conquered before Holofernes proceeded to Judaea, while Quietus descended the coast from Cilicia to Jamnia and then into Judaea.

Nor is the line of march ascribed to Holofernes at all possible, for he would have crossed and recrossed it time after time. He would have gone from Cilicia to Arabia, then to the Euphrates; then back to Cilicia and again to Arabia; then to Syria and then down the coast to Jamnia. This clearly proves the impossibility of accepting the account of the campaign as exact or historical. The only points of agreement between the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar and Trajan are that each began in the same year of their respective reigns, each was victorious, and in the spring of the third year of the wars, after passing the winter in Nineveh and Antioch, the campaigns were reopened, and this time, without going into winter quarters, were carried on by the lieu-



tenants, Holofernes and Quietus, in the neighborhood of Damascus and finally in Judaea.

There are absolutely no direct references to the war of Quietus in Palestine. Some coins exist inscribed, "Assyria et Palestina<sup>a</sup> in Pot<sup>r</sup>istatam Populi Romani redactae," and two other coins from Tiberias and Sepphoris. As these two cities were Roman in Vespasian's and Bar Cochba's times, they point to still another war. Volkmar thinks these coins were issued by the Senate, on the supposition that Quietus could not but be victorious. Echhel, who is an authority, says these coins are not genuine, for the name Palestine was never used on Roman or Greek coins, but the name Judaea.

In all Volkmar's quotations from Dio it says nothing of a voluntarily outbreaking war which Quietus was sent to quell, and this is merely Volkmar's conclusion from the fact that Quietus was sent. But he may have been made proconsul as a reward for his former services. Graetz puts the "polemos shel Kitos" in the beginning of Hadrian's reign, and in this is supported by Eusebins, who says "Hadrians<sup>u</sup> Judaeos capit, secundo (not tertio) contra Romanos rebellantes." There can be little doubt of the war of Kitos. Graetz's principal authority is Seder Olam which says from the war of סדר יוסא to that of Vespasian was eighty years; from this to that of סדר ישי, fifty-two years, from this to the rule of Bar Cochba sixteen years, and the reign of Bar Cochba



(or Bar Kosiba) three and one half years, fifty-two years after the destruction of the Temple. For אסריה דרסי Asariah dei Rossi reads קישוס  
This is all we know of this war.

Graetz, working on this, and on what Eusebius, Spartian and Dio say, concludes that Quietus was still proconsul in the first year of Hadrian. So he puts the war in 118-119 A.D. But this would bring the war into the third year of Hadrian according to Jewish reckoning, or in the second according to the Roman. In no way can it be the first year. As Hadrian, according to Graetz, was friendly to the Jews in his first years, the war could not have occurred after his visit to Judaea, and so must have been before 119 A.D. Volkmar then is right in beginning to count from 66 A.D. when the first war broke out, and not from the destruction of the Temple. So that makes the war begin in 117 A.D. fifty-two years later. This is still the first year of Hadrian. Eusebius, Eusebins and Seder Olam agree as to this date.

But there is another difficulty, viz. if the "Polemos shel Kitos" ended as it did, then why were the brides forbidden to wear crowns and the study of Greek prohibited? The only solution is that the "polemos shel Kitos" refers to the campaign of Quietus against the Jews in Mesopotamia, which must still have been unfinished when Hadrian became emperor. From Euse<sup>b</sup> ~~bins~~ and Dio we know that this war began under Trajan, and that many Jews were killed. And also the terrible scenes in Egypt and the fact that Hadrian was hailed as the restorer of Alexan-



dria agree with this. And this is also born out by the passage from Eusebius quoted above, and by the statement of Epiphanius that when Hadrian ascended the throne, the Jews of Palestine threatened to revolt but were quieted by the latter's politics and his subsequent kindness.

Concerning Trajan's Day all the story not in Megillath Taanith or the Talmuds is the addition of Graetz. What right has he to say that קייטוס is Quietus, merely because it fits his hypothesis and, according to the story, it can not be Trajan? And from where does he know that Julianus and Pappus were saved? The Talmuds tell just the opposite and the Megillah has the two men threaten Tyrjanus with God's punishment if he has them killed. But Quietus is killed, and we would infer that this is God's punishment for killing the two men. And Graetz is mistaken in saying that this deliverance occasioned the celebration of this day. Rather the occasion was the death of Tyrjanus at the hands of two men sent from Rome.

And seeing that according to Volkmar the author did not dare narrate the events as they actually happened but was obliged to veil them, may we not ask, how would it have been possible for the people to celebrate Yom Tyrjanus at this time, when this would have been even

..... 13 70  
 8. Bab. Taanith, 186, Semachoth, VIII: Jerus, Taanith II, Megillath I, Schebiith IV.



a greater cause for fear of punishment than the writing of the facts openly in a book?

But granting that Julianus and Pappus were killed, Bereschith Rabba LXIV proves that it could have been only later and not in connection with the "polemos shel Kitos". It says that after Trajan had conceived the plan of rebuilding the Temple, these two men established money-changing offices at all stations from Akko to Antioch in order to supply the pilgrims with Jewish coin. This is significant when we remember that in ~~Memachoth~~ VIII the name of their oppressor is <sup>§</sup> טורגיאנוס

However we can only guess who is meant by Tyrjanus. The best conjecture is that he was the proconsul Tura<sup>mus</sup> Rufus, the real cause of the third war. The Jews called him טורגוס רובוס הרשע, and finding in his name the grim joke of  $\tau\upsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  easily changed it to טורגיון or טוריינוס. Clearly this man, agreeing with the story was not the king, and he is said to have been killed by two men sent from Rome.

Furthermore how does Volkmar know that Quietus was recalled immediately after Hadrian's accession to the throne, and that on his return he was beheaded at the command of the Senate in March 118 A.D.? According to Spartian he was legate over the <sup>m</sup>Moors, and was recalled by Hadrian, and Turbo sent to check the Moorish revolt after his campaign in Egypt and Cyrene. According to Dio, Quietus himself stirred up the



Moorish revolt out of hatred <sup>o</sup> of Hadrian and later conspired against the emperor's life, and was executed by the Senate unknown to Hadrian. Still Quietus could not have been Holofernes for according to Volkmar, Quietus was killed on his return to Rome, while Holofernes was killed in bed and his head shown to Achior shortly after.

It is not true, as Volkmar holds, that the book speaks of the Temple as not being reestablished, but only the sacrificial cult. Also  
18  
verse V points to the destruction of the first Temple. And how does Volkmar know that the <sup>s</sup>Sanhedrin had returned to Jerusalem? He bases it on verse <sup>6</sup>IV, but this is to be taken literally. And the greater part of the <sup>n</sup>Sanhedrin fled not to Jerusalem but to Usha. And the high-priest was not the head of the <sup>n</sup>Sanhedrin, for we hear no more of him after the destruction of the Temple. The head of the <sup>n</sup>Sanhedrin at this time was either Gamaliel II, who was very old or Rabbi  
9  
Joshua. Neither of these would have been likely to advise <sup>t</sup>was against Rome, Gamaliel because of his age and Joshua because of his peaceful disposition.

Nor, if the period after the destruction of the Temple was regarded as a captivity, which on the whole seems rather an invention of  
3  
Volkmar to meet verse IV, would it speak of the people as lately



viz. in the time of the Bar-Cochba revolt, 135 A.D. In fact Klein goes so far as to relate it to the last five days of the siege of Bethar, and Hitzig too holds that Bethulia stands for Bethar. This view is based upon the similarity between the names Bethar and Bethul<sup>l</sup>aa and the fact that both were besieged.

However this is a weak basis, and almost the same <sup>e</sup>general objections hold in regard to this as in regard to the preceding theory, and so we need discuss it no further.

---000000---

Chap. IV. Summary and Conclusion.

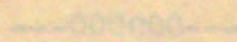


So we have discussed the three theories concerning the nature of the book of Judith. It now remains to determine which theory seems most tenable. Clearly the first, that the book relates authentic history we may reject at the start. And we risk nothing by adopting the second theory as held by Fritzsche or Strass. In fact we may with almost perfect surety venture further and accept the view of Schürer. But beyond this we can not go with any degree of safety; all else is guess-work.

The book seems to portray the religious and political conditions of the Maccabean age up to the time of John Hyrcan. But it could hardly have been written so late. It is possible that it was written in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes and Samaria by this monarch. But how long before this it was written, is impossible to tell. We must be content with this.

**Chap.IV. Summary and Conclusion.**

No doubt, in course of time new theories will be advanced and new objections raised as to the date, occasion and historical background of the book of Judith, but it is safe to say that this problem will never be satisfactorily solved, at least not with the material now on hand.





So we have discussed the three theories concerning the nature of the book of Judith. It now remains to determine which theory seems most tenable. Clearly the first, that the book relates authentic history we may reject at the start. And we risk nothing by adopting the second theory as held by Fritzsche or Stream. In fact we may with almost perfect surety venture farther and accept the view of Schürer. But beyond this we can not go with any degree of safety; all else is guess-work.

The book seems to portray the religious and political conditions of the Maccabean age up to the time of John Hyrcan. But it could hardly have been written after the capture of Idumea and Samaria by this monarch. But how long before this it was written, is impossible to tell. We must be content with this.

No doubt, in course of time new theories will be advanced and new objections raised as to the date, occasion and historical background of the book of Judith, but it is safe to say that this problem will never be satisfactorily solved, at least not with the material now on hand.

---000000---