

Paul and the Crucified Christ in Antioch

Maccabean Martyrdom and Galatians 1 and 2

STEPHEN ANTHONY CUMMINS

Canadian Theological Seminary



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1

MACCABEAN MARTYRDOM: FORMATIVE TEXTS AND TRADITIONS

The Maccabean revolt was an epic event in Jewish history and was to loom large in the nation's collective memory as a central symbol of God's rescue and restoration of his afflicted people. In reconstructing something of the substance and significance of this event, I shall focus upon two salient and interrelated features which will also provide the fundamental frame of reference for the later examination of Galatians 1–2. First, after an introductory historical overview of both the revolt and the emerging Hasmonean dynasty, I consider certain key texts which reflect the broadly based Jewish theological perspective upon this period in terms of the suffering and vindication of the people of God. Here particular attention is paid to the crucial role of Israel's faithful representatives as portrayed by the Danielic heroes, the military leaders of the revolt and the Maccabean martyrs.

The second consideration is the more contentious claim that arising out of the wider context of the nation's longing for vindication, there emerged speculation concerning an eschatological redeemer figure who would rescue and vindicate beleaguered Israel. Specifically, it will be argued that there are certain indications that Daniel's 'one like a son of man' (Dan. 7.13–14) became an important backward reference point for ongoing and widespread expectations that God would act through his Messiah to redeem, restore and rule the nation. This correlation between the Maccabean period, the Danielic 'one like a son of man', and messianic expectation will be of some significance in the later estimation of Paul's christologically governed autobiography at Galatians 1–2.

1. The Maccabean revolt and the emerging Hasmonean dynasty: a historical overview

In virtue of its modest but highly strategic domain, post-exilic Israel constantly struggled to forge and maintain its national identity under a series of superpower overseers: the Babylonians, the Persians and then the Greeks. Indeed, in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests (336–323 BC), and the infighting of his successors (the Diadochi, 323–281), Israel found herself pressed between two powerful and antagonistic dynasties – the Seleucids in Syria and the Ptolemies in Egypt – each vying for control of Coele-Syria.¹ For much of the third century BC Israel was under Ptolemaic rule. However, when Antiochus III defeated Ptolemy V in 200 BC to regain control of Syro-Palestine, the Jews actively welcomed Seleucid jurisdiction. Antiochus III reciprocated by decreeing that Israel should be allowed to live according to her ancestral laws (Josephus, *Ant.* 12.138–46).² And it would appear that such an arrangement continued relatively unhindered during the ensuing reign of Antiochus' son, Seleucus IV Philopator (187–175) (2 Macc. 3.1–3).

All this changed dramatically with the succession of Antiochus IV (175–164), who was to take the ominous titles 'God Manifest' (Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής) and 'Victorious' (Νικηφόρος). The ongoing assimilation of Greek culture had by now been an aspect of life within Israel for many generations, and was inevitably a source of continued tension between its Jewish advocates and opponents.³ However, it was as a result of Antiochus IV Epiphanes' vigorous Hellenization campaign that such tensions rapidly escalated into what has become known as the 'Maccabean crisis' or the 'Maccabean revolt': zealous Jews actively resisted what they deemed to be a perilous assault upon the Jewish way of life.

It may be acknowledged at the outset that the degree to which Antiochus and his Jewish sympathizers saw themselves as engaged

¹ Coele-Syria comprised that whole area from Egypt to the Euphrates, thus encompassing Palestine.

² On these decrees, see Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 82–9; Fischer, *Seleukiden und Makkabäer*, pp. 1–10.

³ Jewish Hellenization in this period is classically documented in Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism* (though see Millar, 'The Background of the Maccabean Revolution'), with a judicious summary estimation in Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, pp. 147–70. See also Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. II, pp. 29–80; Feldman, *Jew and Gentile in the Ancient World*, especially pp. 3–31; and Rajak, 'The Hasmoneans and the Uses of Hellenism'.

in a political policy or religious persecution – a programme or a pogrom – continues to be the subject of considerable deliberation.⁴ As we shall see, the interpretation of events which prevailed within the early Jewish tradition was decidedly theological: the crisis was the outworking of divine discipline upon an errant Israel through its Gentile enemies (Dan. 9; 2 Macc. 5.17–21; 6.12–16). Ancient Roman sources intimate that others regarded it as the attempt of a megalomaniac Antiochus to enforce enlightenment upon a parochial and exclusivistic Judaism (Polybius 26.1; Livy 41.20.1–4; Tacitus, *Hist.* 5.8).⁵ Modern commentators have offered a range of more nuanced explanations. The crisis was largely:

- (i) a civil war between Jewish reformers and traditionalists, later recalled as a struggle with the Seleucids;⁶
- (ii) a class struggle between the pro-Hellenist aristocratic families in Jerusalem and the Hasidean-led common people, which precipitated intervention by Antiochus;⁷
- (iii) Antiochus' emulation of the Roman practice of suppressing potentially subversive elements by taking control of foreign cultic practices – in this case, the Jerusalem Temple cult;⁸
- (iv) Antiochus' attempt to control Jerusalem while at the same time to 'reform' Jewish ancestral customs by 'rationalizing' the Temple cult along Hellenistic lines;⁹
- (v) Antiochus' all too pragmatic policy of trying to consolidate political power and finance his expansionist plans;¹⁰
- (vi) Antiochus' attempt to restore his reputation after Rome had forced him to abandon his Egyptian campaign, by crushing all vestiges of civil strife within the lesser power Israel.¹¹

⁴ See Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, pp. 247–56; Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution: Antiochus IV and the Jews', pp. 250–64.

⁵ Cf. 1 Macc. 1.41–3; 2 Macc. 6.9; 11.24. For a more moderate variation on this theme, see Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. I, pp. 147–8. Other modern historians have, however, countered such negative estimations of Antiochus, arguing that he was an able enough ruler, if ill informed about internal Jewish affairs; so Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV of Syria*, pp. 181–91; Habicht, 'The Seleucids and Their Rivals', pp. 341–3.

⁶ Bickerman(n), *The God of the Maccabees*; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, vol. II, pp. 277–303; see especially Dan. 11.30; 1 Macc. 1.11; 2 Macc. 13.3–8; *Ant.* 12.385.

⁷ Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 186–203.

⁸ Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, pp. 104–60; with modifications in *II Maccabees*, pp. 104–12.

⁹ Scurlock, '167 BCE: Hellenism or Reform'.

¹⁰ Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*; more succinctly, 'Die Verfolgung der jüdischen Religion durch Antiochos IV'.

¹¹ Gruen, 'Hellenism and Persecution: Antiochus IV and the Jews', pp. 261–4.

The enormity of the crisis itself cautions against too narrow an explanation. No doubt a complex and fluid permutation of religious, political and socio-economic factors obtained. Whatever the motivations at work, a broad outline of the major protagonists, issues and events involved in the Maccabean crisis and the ensuing ascendancy of the Hasmonean dynasty (c. 175–135 BC) is discernible from our principal sources, 1 and 2 Maccabees (whose theological distinctives will be examined separately below).¹²

Evidence of internal division within the Jewish leadership even prior to Antiochus IV Epiphanes' assumption of power is attested by a dispute between the High Priest Onias III and his disaffected Temple captain, Simon. The latter's appeal to Seleucid arbitration precipitated an unsuccessful assault on the Temple treasury by the Seleucid minister Heliodorus (2 Macc. 3). However, civil strife continued. In 175 BC Antiochus IV Epiphanes became king. Persuaded by financial and political considerations, Antiochus transferred the High Priesthood from Onias III ('a zealot for the laws', 2 Macc. 4.2)¹³ to his brother Jason who then undertook to 'Hellenize' Jerusalem. That is, through such measures as the establishment of Greek institutions (a gymnasium and ephebate), he began to rival the city's Torah-based way of life (πολιτεία) by forming an 'Antiochia in Jerusalem'.¹⁴ In effect, he was moving the city towards a Greek way of life (2 Macc. 4.9–17).¹⁵

Jason was himself usurped as High Priest only three years later by a certain Menelaus who, like his predecessor, made Antiochus

¹² Questions of introduction concerning 1 Maccabees (c. 135–104) and 2 Maccabees (c. late 1 BC) are succinctly reviewed in Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters*, pp. 1–10. Josephus' account (*J.W.* 1.31–158; *Ant.* 12.237–14.79) is largely dependent upon 1 Maccabees. Notable historical surveys/syntheses are to be found in Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. I, pp. 125–242; Goldstein, 'The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean Dynasty'; and Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, pp. 269–311.

¹³ Translations of the Bible and Apocrypha either follow the RSV (as here) or are the author's own.

¹⁴ The precise significance of this is disputed. Bickerman(n), *The God of the Maccabees*, pp. 59–65, has argued that this involved the establishment of a self-governing body/community of Hellenized Jews within Jerusalem. Others argue that what is envisaged is the complete conversion of Jerusalem into a Greek *polis* (so Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 161–9; Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*, pp. 84–92). See the discussion of πολιτεία (and πολίτευμα) in reference to the Antiochene Jewish community in chapter four.

¹⁵ Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, p. 278, counters the general impression given by 2 Maccabees by suggesting that the paucity of evidence against Jason's actions (viz., 2 Macc. 4.14, 18–20; cf. 1 Macc. 1.15) suggests that they had considerable popular support.

a lucrative offer which the king could not refuse. Menelaus' early tenure was marked by a series of actions which exacerbated civil unrest, including complicity in the murder of Onias III in Daphne, near Antioch (2 Macc. 4.33–5).¹⁶ Also during this period Antiochus caused much consternation by plundering the Jerusalem Temple in order to defray the costs of his first Egyptian campaign (1 Macc. 1.16–28; Dan. 11.28). Matters worsened with a disturbance in Jerusalem arising out of Jason's failed (and fatal) attempt to regain the priesthood (2 Macc. 5.5–10). Having just been compelled to withdraw from his second Egyptian campaign, Antiochus now learned that 'Judaea was in revolt' (2 Macc. 5.11). Returning to Jerusalem in 168 BC he massacred thousands of its inhabitants, sold many others into slavery and installed officials to bolster Menelaus' regime (cf. Dan. 11.29–30; 2 Macc. 5.11–14, 22–3).¹⁷ Further drastic measures ensued two years later when Antiochus dispatched Apollonius, a commander of mercenary forces, to carry out further massacres and enslavement (cf. 2 Macc. 5.24–6; 1 Macc. 1.29–32). Additionally a fortress was erected (the Akra), and would remain a symbol of Seleucid domination until 141 BC. Over this period its constituency probably included not only the occupying forces but also foreign settlers, both captive and renegade Jews, and those 'Antiochenes' drawn together around Jason.¹⁸

Whether or not Antiochus' climactic assault against the Jews was enacted under the auspices of a kingdom-wide edict demanding an end to native customs (1 Macc. 1.41–3),¹⁹ there can be little doubt that throughout Judaea in 167 BC a series of repressive decrees were targeted specifically at key Jewish customs. On pain of death for those who resisted, the Temple cult was modified in the direction of pagan practice; the sabbath and sacred festivals were profaned; circumcision was forbidden; copies of the holy Torah were burned; and various activities repugnant to Jewish sensibilities were instituted (1 Macc. 1.44–64; 2 Macc. 6.1–11; *Ant.* 12.251–4). The ultimate act of desecration was the introduction of a pagan altar into a Jerusalem Temple now rededicated to 'Zeus Olympios' (Ζεὺς

¹⁶ Whether Menelaus' general conduct warrants the ascription 'extreme Hellenizer' (so Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, pp. 170–1) is disputed by Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, p. 280 (noting Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform und Religionsverfolgung in Judäa*, pp. 93–4). But see *Ant.* 12.240.

¹⁷ It is possible that he also once again plundered the Temple, though 2 Macc. 5.15–21 might refer to his antecedent expropriation.

¹⁸ Cf. 1 Macc. 1.33–40; Dan. 11.39; *Ant.* 12.252.

¹⁹ Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, p. 249, rejects any such idea as lacking credibility and corroboration.

Ὀλύμπιος) – Daniel’s ‘desolating rebellion’ (מַשַׁעַשְׁמָה, ἡ ἀμαρτία ἐρημώσεως) or ‘desolating abomination’ ([מ]ש[מ] [ה]ש[ק]ר[ו]ן[ים]), τὸ βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως).²⁰

Apparently, early Jewish resistance was precipitated by the Phineas-like Mattathias of Modein. He killed an apostate Jew about to offer a pagan sacrifice and also the Seleucid officer who had issued the command; he then fled with his five sons into the wilderness.²¹ There they, together with other dissident Jews – including certain ‘Hasidim’ – began a guerilla warfare initially directed against apostate Jews (1 Macc. 2.42–8).²² Judas Maccabeus succeeded his deceased father as leader, and was able to repel the early and modest efforts made by the local Seleucid commanders Apollonius and Seron to stamp out this nascent Jewish resistance movement (1 Macc. 3.10–26). Meanwhile Antiochus, preoccupied with more important matters in the eastern provinces, appointed his friend Lysias as guardian of his son Antiochus V and vice-regent over domestic affairs (1 Macc. 3.27–37). Lysias directed Ptolemy, the military commander of Syria and Phoenicia, to dispatch the commanders Nicanor and Gorgias to deal with the revolt.²³ However, when they too were turned back, Lysias himself advanced the next year (165 BC) with an invasion force. Whether Lysias was likewise defeated (so 1 Macc. 4.26–35) or simply withdrew following negotiations (see 2 Macc. 11.6–15) is not certain. In any event, Judas was now able to retake, purify and rededicate the Temple. This epic event was thereafter annually commemorated by Hanukkah or the Festival of Lights (1 Macc. 4.36–59; 2 Macc. 10.1–8; *Ant.* 12.316–25).

With Judas attacking his Gentile neighbours (1 Macc. 5) and besieging the Akra (1 Macc. 6.18–27), Lysias undertook a second campaign against the Jews in 163 BC. After an early setback, Judas’

²⁰ Cf. 1 Macc. 1.54; 2 Macc. 6.2; Dan.MT/LXX 9.13, 27; 11.31; 12.11; *Ant.* 12.253. See Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, pp. 258–9, for a summary estimation of the disputed nature of the cult.

²¹ The whole narrative concerning Mattathias is conspicuously absent from 2 Maccabees (but see 2 Macc. 5.27), and while it may be credible (Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus*, pp. 196–9) it does pose difficulties (Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters*, pp. 29–37).

²² We may posit a complex and fluid mix of factions. Attempts to discern and delineate particular groupings – whether the circles which produced Daniel, Taxo and his sons (*As. Mos.* 9), or the Hasidim (on whom see Kampen, *The Hasideans and the Origin of Pharisaism*) – have often issued in uncritical conflations and generalizations.

²³ The principal figure varies according to the sources, whether Gorgias (1 Macc. 3.38–4.25) or Nicanor (2 Macc. 8.8–36).

complete defeat seemed imminent. However, following Antiochus' death (1 Macc. 6.1–17; 2 Macc. 9), an attempted coup forced Lysias to settle terms – agreeing ‘to let [the Jews] live by their laws’ – and return to Antioch (1 Macc. 6.55–63; 2 Macc. 13.23–4). At this point, perhaps to placate Judas, he also executed Menelaus (*Ant.* 12.383–5), and Alcimus was appointed as the new High Priest. However, Lysias and his charge Antiochus V were themselves executed by the latter's cousin Demetrius I (1 Macc. 7.1–4; 2 Macc. 14.1–2).²⁴ After being confirmed in office by the new king, Alcimus persuaded him to dispatch his deputy Bacchides to deal with Judas. The fact that Alcimus had considerable Jewish backing, whereas Judas' support may have been on the wane, might be inferred from a number of the Hasidim now seeking peaceful terms from Bacchides.²⁵ Nonetheless, these Hasidim were summarily executed (so 1 Macc. 7.12–16) and Judas continued to be a thorn in Alcimus' side, which suggests that the revolt had by no means died out. Indeed, Nicanor, the governor of Judaea, was now sent to address the problem. After negotiations, and possibly a truce, the inevitable confrontation ensued, in which Nicanor was defeated and killed. Judas commemorated this remarkable victory by declaring another annual celebration, Nicanor's Day (1 Macc. 7.26–50; 2 Macc. 14.12–15.36). While 2 Maccabees ends on this high note, Judas had to seek an alliance with Rome and later suffered defeat and death at the hands of an avenging Seleucid army commanded by Bacchides (so 1 Macc. 8.1–9.22), suggesting that the Maccabees still fell far short of their ultimate goal of Jewish independence.

However, considerable strides in this direction were made under Judas' successor, his brother Jonathan. He was able to evade Bacchides' initial advances, gain some respite from the power vacuum created by the death of Alcimus, and was thus able to withstand the commander's later attack long enough to force a long-term withdrawal (1 Macc. 9). Later he managed to exploit to his own advantage the competing claims to the Seleucid throne of Demetrius I and Alexander Balas,²⁶ gaining from the latter (the eventual winner) the title of High Priest in 153 BC and governorship of Judaea a few years later (1 Macc. 10.18–20, 59–66). Such privileges were

²⁴ Demetrius had recently escaped from fourteen years in Roman custody, and now assumed the kingship earlier denied him by his uncle Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

²⁵ So Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, p. 290.

²⁶ The latter posing as a son of Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

confirmed and augmented by subsequent Seleucid kings likewise indebted to Jonathan's assistance: Demetrius II and Antiochus VI (1 Macc. 11).²⁷ Confirmation of the treaty with Rome and a new alliance with Sparta suggest that Jonathan may have been planning to declare Jewish independence (1 Macc. 12.1–23). However, the general Tryphon, with designs on the Seleucid kingship, orchestrated a ruse to entrap and eventually execute Jonathan (1 Macc. 12.39–53; 13.23).

Simon, the last Maccabee, now had widespread popular support, and shrewdly negotiated further major concessions from Demetrius II who still hoped to regain the throne. These concessions were tantamount to political autonomy, such that it could now be declared that 'In the one hundred and seventieth year [143–142 BC] the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel . . . ' (1 Macc. 13.41). A stela which was erected and inscribed with the deeds of the Maccabean brothers confirmed Simon's status as High Priest (1 Macc. 14.27–47).²⁸ Amongst the achievements accredited to Simon are the removal of the occupying forces from the Akra and a renewal of the treaties with Rome and Sparta.²⁹ However, peace and prosperity were always under threat, both from without and within. Demetrius II's successor, Antiochus VII Sidetes, had to be repelled by Simon's sons, John and Judah; and Simon himself was murdered by his own brother-in-law, the Jewish general Ptolemy. Yet there can be little doubt that by now much had been achieved through the remarkable exploits of the Maccabean brothers. Certainly the author of 1 Maccabees is happy to leave his readers with the impression that the Hasmonean dynasty would now continue from strength to strength under the worthy succession of John Hyrcanus (1 Macc. 16.23–4).

2. The suffering and vindication of the people of God: a theological analysis of constitutive Maccabean texts

With a sense of the main historical events and figures involved in the Maccabean revolt in place, we now turn to a necessarily brief theo-

²⁷ The latter, the young son of Alexander Balas, displaced Demetrius II through the military assistance of his father's general Tryphon.

²⁸ That his powers required official Jewish authorization may intimate that some Jews were reluctant to grant them and that negotiations were required (see Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters*, pp. 119–27).

²⁹ 1 Macc. 13.51–2; 14.16–24; 15.15–24.

logical analysis of certain texts widely regarded as constitutive of the Jewish response to the Maccabean crisis: the Danielic stories (Daniel 1–6), and 1 and 2 Maccabees.³⁰ The focus throughout will be upon the fundamental and common theme of the suffering and vindication of Israel, this coming to sharpest expression in the key role of her representative figures: the Torah-obedience of the wise and servant-like Danielic heroes; the military exploits of the Maccabean ‘saviours’; and the efficacious self-sacrifice of the Maccabean martyrs. While the Maccabean crisis was no doubt a more complex phenomenon than such texts allow, they nevertheless bear witness to its impact upon the hearts and minds of the Jewish nation: Israel’s God had mercifully acted in and through his faithful representatives to rescue and restore his covenant people to himself.

Israel and the pagan nations: stories of contest and conflict
in Daniel 1–6³¹

The overarching theme of the compositionally bipartite Daniel is God’s dramatic deliverance and vindication of his suffering people Israel (and/or their representatives) from the oppressive Gentile enemy. The origin and development of the stories (Dan. 1–6) is traceable to the early post-exilic eastern Diaspora. However, their final redaction and combining with the visions (Dan. 7–12) took place in Palestine (probably Jerusalem) during the early phase of the Maccabean crisis (c. 165–155 BC) – perhaps within the circles of the *משכילים*, ‘the wise’ (Dan. 11.33–5; 12.3).³² Thus the narratives, bound up with Daniel as a whole, were thereafter inevitably associated with the Maccabean period, just as their protagonists were seen as prototypical martyr figures.³³ The individual narratives may

³⁰ Pobee, *Persecution and Martyrdom*, pp. 14–19, offers a helpful summary review of a wide range of texts bearing upon Jewish martyr theology throughout the Second Temple period and beyond. Here comment is confined to those sources proximate to the Maccabean crisis; chapter two briefly considers additional pertinent texts and traditions in some proximity to Paul’s first-century context.

³¹ Notable among the many commentaries: Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1927); Plöger, *Das Buch Daniel* (1965); Porteous, *Daniel: A Commentary* (1965); Delcor, *Le livre de Daniel* (1971); Hartman and Di Lella, *The Book of Daniel* (1978); Goldingay, *Daniel* (1989); and Collins, *A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (1993).

³² So Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, pp. 54–9.

³³ Cf. Goldingay, *Daniel*, pp. xxxvi–xxx; Pobee, *Persecution and Martyrdom*, p. 14; and Agus, *The Binding of Isaac and Messiah*, pp. 41–3, on later traditions concerning Daniel and its martyr-heroes.

be considered collectively under the following convenient schema: an introductory story, and stories of contest (Dan. 2, 4, 5) and conflict (Dan. 3, 6).³⁴

The programmatic opening story (Dan. 1) sets the scene and introduces the protagonists, and is notable in two key respects. First, as throughout Daniel 1–6, Daniel and his companions are characterized by their wisdom and beauty (Dan. 1.4, 17–20). This might signify that they represent the brutalized remnant of Israel now coming through the destruction and exile to fulfil and give expression to the fourth Servant Song of Isaiah (Isa. 52.13–14; 53.2–3).³⁵ Second, they demonstrate their exemplary character and conduct by refusing to eat the king’s rich food and drink his wine. In the story’s original context, this may have had less to do with strict conformity to Jewish food laws as such and more with the broader question of Gentile association and assimilation.³⁶ In any event, from a (post-) Maccabean standpoint it had everything to do with the willingness to suffer and die for the Torah dietary regulations so fundamental to the Jewish way of life. That Daniel and his companions were all the stronger for their ordeal attested to the power of Israel’s God and the vindication of his faithful representatives.

Daniel’s wisdom figures prominently in the contest stories (Dan. 2, 4, 5). In the first of these he witnesses to God’s sovereignty by being the only one able to ‘make known’ and interpret Nebuchadnezzar’s dream. Again, whatever the original significance of the four successive empires to be overthrown by a ‘stone . . . cut out by no human hand’ (Dan. 2.34–5),³⁷ in the wake of the Maccabean crisis this would have been taken as the movement towards the climactic destruction of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the ensuing inauguration of a messianic kingdom.³⁸ The basic message is clear. Israel’s faithful God does not dwell ‘with flesh’ (Dan. 2.11) as if constrained by mere humanity. Rather he reveals ‘mysteries’ concerning what is to come: he ‘will set up a kingdom which shall never

³⁴ See Humphreys, ‘A Life-style for Diaspora: A Study of the Tales of Esther and Daniel’.

³⁵ So Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period*, p. 107.

³⁶ So Philip R. Davies, *Daniel*, pp. 89–90; cf. Goldingay, *Daniel*, pp. 13, 18–19.

³⁷ Note Philip R. Davies, *Daniel*, p. 96, cautions against an uncritical correlation of Dan. 2 and 7.

³⁸ Collins, *The Apocalyptic Vision of the Book of Daniel*, p. 44. While the symbolic stone may well have evoked a range of associations, the inference that a messianic interpretation was operative in Josephus’ day seems reasonable from his oblique handling of Dan. 2 in *Ant.* 10.203–10.

be destroyed, nor shall its sovereignty be left to another people . . . and it shall stand for ever' (Dan. 2.44). A similar theme is played out in the following contests (Dan. 4, 5). Only the wise prophet-seer Daniel can 'make known' because God's spirit dwells in him (Dan. 4.6[8]; 5.13–16). Whether the fatal flaw is the Gentile king's failure to heed Daniel and 'practise righteousness' by showing mercy to the needy (Dan. 4.24[27]), or his arrogance in defiling the sacred Jerusalem Temple vessels by their usage in a pagan celebration (Dan. 5.1–4), the outcome is the same. Any such king, not least Antiochus IV Epiphanes, will be humiliated, compelled to acknowledge Israel's God, and/or suffer divine destruction (cf. Dan. 4.28–34[31–7]; 5.20–1).

A particularly sharp edge is given to the motif of the suffering and vindication of God's people by the conflict stories (Dan. 3, 6) which were especially formative in the later development of martyr narratives. The Jewish heroes are characterized by their fear of God (so the Three),³⁹ or by a peerless servant of God filled with the spirit and faith and thus found to be without fault (Daniel).⁴⁰ They willingly hand themselves over to affliction rather than worship another (false) god. In this way the matter is taken completely out of their adversary's hands. However the king views the ordeal, it is in fact to be seen as God's testing of the faithful. The king is defeated whether the victims do (as here) or do not (as, for example, in 2 Macc. 7) escape martyrdom, because it is precisely in and through (not from) the fiery furnace or the lion's den that their vindication is effected.⁴¹ That is, the crucial factor is their willingness to remain faithful and, if necessary, suffer on behalf of God and his people. Of course, in this instance vindication is dramatically experienced here and now through divine deliverance in the form of a heavenly being.⁴²

In sum, in the context of the Maccabean crisis, the Danielic stories – with their wise and spirit-filled protagonists – issued a clarion call to remain obedient to the Jewish way of life in the midst of affliction. Israel's faithful were to be assured that they, like their repre-

³⁹ Dan. 3.12, 17 (the LXX employs φοβέομαι). Antiochus IV Epiphanes is, like Nebuchadnezzar but unlike Daniel, noted for his arrogance and failure to fear God (Dan. 3.13–15; 10.12, 19; 11.12).

⁴⁰ Dan. 6.21–4[20–3]. Cf. the description of Daniel in the Greek translations: ὁ δοῦλος τοῦ θεοῦ (Dan.Th. 6.21[20]); δικαιοσύνη ἐν ἐμοὶ εὑρέθη (Dan.LXX 6.23); and ἐπίστευσεν ἐν τῷ θεῷ αὐτοῦ (Dan.Th. 6.24[23]).

⁴¹ See Goldingay, *Daniel*, pp. 73–4.

⁴² Dan. 3.25; 6.23[22]. On the former, cf. Dan.LXX 3.92 (ὁμοίωμα ἀγγέλου θεοῦ) and Dan.Th. 3.92 (ὁμοία υἱῶ θεοῦ).

sentative heroes would, even in and through their suffering, be delivered and vindicated by their sovereign God.

Israel and her conquering heroes: the saviours of the
people of Israel in 1 Maccabees⁴³

I have already drawn extensively from 1 Maccabees in providing a historical reconstruction of the Maccabean crisis. In what follows our attention is restricted to a brief estimation of the latent theological perspective of what is otherwise an *apologia* for the Hasmonean dynasty (see 1 Macc. 5.62).⁴⁴ Once again the emerging unifying theme is that of the suffering but ultimate vindication of the people of God. This may be illustrated by reference to various aspects of the character and conduct of the Jewish protagonists and their enemies, the nature of the struggle in which they are engaged, and the dramatic final outcome of their efforts to rescue and restore the nation.

Israel's enemy was both without and within. Certainly she had to contend with her Gentile adversaries. At best, they were devious overseers with vested interests whose policies could never be trusted. At worst, typically in Antiochus IV Epiphanes, they were tyrants whose will was enacted with brutal oppression. However, in all this they were aided by certain 'lawless men' who 'abandoned the holy covenant ... and sold themselves to do evil' (1 Macc. 1.11–16). Designated 'those troubling the people [οἱ ταρασσοντες τὸν λαόν]', these apostate Jews were responsible for much evil 'among the sons of Israel' – with Alcimus' complicity in the deception and murder of the worthy Hasidim just one notable case in point (1 Macc. 3.5; 7.12–23).

In brief, what was at stake was the Jewish way of life; the repressive measures of the enemy, climaxing in the persecution and suffering under Antiochus IV Epiphanes, were designed to replace Israel's central symbols – Temple, Torah, circumcision, and so forth – with various Hellenistic distinctives. Given the nature of the

⁴³ On 1 Maccabees in general, see, for example, Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (1949); Schunck, *Die Quellen des 1. und 11. Makkabäerbuches* (1954); Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (1976); Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People*, vol. III (1986), pp. 180–5; Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), pp. 151–70; Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters* (1990), pp. 1–4; and Bartlett, *I Maccabees* (1998).

⁴⁴ A view pressed hard by Goldstein, *I Maccabees*, pp. 4–26, 64–78.

conflict, many faithful Jews were prepared to undergo martyrdom rather than violate Torah (1 Macc. 1.57, 60–3).⁴⁵ Others, while also willing to give up their lives, decided to resort to armed resistance, galvanized under the leadership of the Maccabees.

The Maccabees are characterized throughout by their zeal: the devout Mattathias (1 Macc. 2.23–6); Judas and his ‘body of faithful men [ἐκκλησίαν πιστῶν]’ (1 Macc. 3.13, 45, 58–9); Jonathan, ready to imitate his martyred brother Judas (1 Macc. 9.23); and, finally, Simon, likewise willing to emulate his brothers and die for Torah, Temple and Israel (1 Macc. 13.3–6).⁴⁶ Their zeal is directed at Gentile and Jewish apostates alike. Initially this takes the form of guerilla resistance, and includes such counter-measures as tearing down pagan altars and enforcing circumcision of uncircumcised Jewish boys (1 Macc. 2.45–6). Later they are able to take vengeance upon the Gentile victimizers of their Jewish brethren (1 Macc. 5). As an emerging force, they are in a position to compel the Seleucids to settle terms – literally, ‘give the right hand [διδόναι δεξιάν]’ (1 Macc. 6.58) – and to allow them to live according to Torah. And under Jonathan they become power-brokers, advancing their own cause by means of treaties with the superpower Rome (1 Macc. 12.1–23).⁴⁷

This advance towards national independence is taken as the out-working of God’s covenant purposes for the nation Israel through the exemplary endeavours of her representatives, the Maccabees. They are inspired by Israel’s heroes of the past (1 Macc. 4.9, 30) in whose tradition they stand (1 Macc. 2.49–60).⁴⁸ They are guided by Torah (1 Macc. 3.48, 56), and enabled by the ‘strength [that]

⁴⁵ Martyrdom does not play the pivotal role in 1 Maccabees that (as we shall see) it clearly does in 2 Maccabees. This need not be construed as a tacit disparagement of its merits; rather, it may simply reflect the particular aim of 1 Maccabees to chart the successes of the Maccabean resistance.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Ant.* 13.198–9, including Simon’s declaration to his supporters that ‘you are not without a leader [ἡγεμόνος] who is able to suffer and do the greatest things on your behalf [ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν]’.

⁴⁷ Official letters figure prominently in these negotiations. A notable feature of this correspondence is a certain ambivalence: while repeated reference is made to the Gentile allies as ‘brethren’ (see 1 Macc. 12.6, 7, 11) – perhaps attesting to the earnestness with which the alliance is sought – there are also various disclaimers to the effect that those having Torah and God on their side have no need of such treaties (1 Macc. 12.9, 15).

⁴⁸ Cf. *Ant.* 12.290–2, referring to the exemplary forefathers ‘who because of their righteousness’ won many battles against much larger forces.

comes from heaven'.⁴⁹ Indeed, they are the defenders and saviours of Israel, their removal of 'those who troubled the people [οἱ ταρασσόντες τὸν λαὸν]' acclaimed as that which 'turned away wrath from Israel' (1 Macc. 3.5, 8; cf. 1.64).⁵⁰ Upon their self-sacrificial deaths, they are mourned, entombed, and – like the festivals commemorating their victories (Hannukah, Nicanor's Day) – are thereafter remembered throughout the nation (1 Macc. 2.70; 9.19–21; 12.25–30).⁵¹ The outcome of their remarkable exploits climaxes with the removal of the Gentile yoke and the inauguration of what is tantamount to a new age/order under Simon. Lauded for his 'faithfulness' and 'justice and loyalty [δικαιοσύνη καὶ πίστις]' to the nation (1 Macc. 14.35), Simon is invested with sweeping powers:

And the Jews and their priests decided that Simon should be their leader and high priest for ever, until a trustworthy prophet should arise . . . and that he should be clothed in purple and wear gold. And none of the people or priests shall be permitted to nullify any of these decisions or to oppose what he says . . . Whoever acts contrary to these decisions or nullifies them shall be liable to punishment. (1 Macc. 14.41–5)

Through the divinely inspired and zealous leadership of the Maccabees, Israel's Torah-obedient Jewish way of life had been upheld. Indeed, the nation's 'saviours' had defeated the enemy – both the Gentiles and Jewish apostates – and thereby vindicated the nation and her God. Israel now enjoyed a religio-political autonomy not seen since King David. Such an achievement would live long in the memories of subsequent generations, not least amongst those first-century Jews disaffected with Roman rule, and who were thus looking for a trustworthy leader who would regain the glory of the Maccabees.

⁴⁹ 1 Macc. 3.19; cf. 4.10, 24. This is the familiar motif of the holy war (cf. Exod. 15.15–16; 23.27–8; etc.) which, as is the more clearly seen in 2 Maccabees and especially Daniel 7–12, presupposes the synergism of God's heavenly host with the Maccabees' earthly army.

⁵⁰ This makes explicit what is otherwise implicit in 1 Maccabees, namely, that Israel's afflictions are a function of God's anger at her covenant transgression.

⁵¹ Cf. *Ant.* 13.212, which follows 1 Macc. 12.30 in suggesting that the seven pyramids purportedly built in connection with Jonathan's tomb 'have been preserved to this day'.

Dying and rising with Israel: the Maccabean martyrs and the rescue and restoration of Judaism in 2 Maccabees⁵²

The abridgement of a five-volume work, no longer extant, by an otherwise unknown Jason of Cyrene, 2 Maccabees offers itself as a ‘historical narrative’ (2 Macc. 2.23–32) covering the early period of the Maccabean crisis (175–161 BC). Though complementing the information provided in 1 Maccabees 1–7, in virtue of certain distinctives it warrants examination in its own right. Here I shall briefly trace the outworking of its stated theme: the rescue and restoration of Israel via the divine grace ‘from heaven to those who strove zealously on behalf of Judaism [ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ιουδαϊσμοῦ]’ (2 Macc. 2.19–22). In the course of this, particular attention will be paid to the pivotal role of the Maccabean martyrs in precipitating the climactic vindication of the afflicted people of God.

By way of an overture to the work as a whole, the introductory episode involving Heliodorus’ attempt to plunder the Temple (2 Macc. 3) graphically illustrates the substance of the problem (the Gentile assault on Judaism due to Israel’s sin) and foreshadows the nature of the solution (the penitent invocation of help from heaven).⁵³ However, once again the enemy comprises not only Gentiles – principally, the arrogant Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his dissembling emissaries – but also Jewish apostates. Foremost among the latter are the High Priests Jason and Menelaus, complicit in the nation’s regression from Judaism towards Hellenism (2 Macc. 4).⁵⁴ Likewise the nadir of the Jewish suffering is reached when they are compelled to forsake the Torah and their Temple is desecrated. Such was the situation that ‘a man could . . . [not] so much as confess himself to be a Jew’ (2 Macc. 6.6).⁵⁵ Furthermore, Israel was

⁵² See Abel, *Les livres des Maccabées* (1949); Habicht, *2 Makkabäerbuch* (1976); Doran, *Temple Propaganda* (1981); Goldstein, *II Maccabees* (1983); Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus* (1989), pp. 170–85; Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters* (1990), pp. 4–10 (who suggests that 2 Maccabees may be of Pharisaic provenance); and van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs* (1997), especially pp. 17–57.

⁵³ The designation of God as ‘the Sovereign of Spirits’ is otherwise absent from the LXX; however it, and the comparable ‘Lord of the Spirits’ (1 Enoch 38.2, 4, 6) seems to imply that Israel’s God is ruler over all creation, both heaven and earth.

⁵⁴ Cf. Judaism (Ιουδαϊσμός) and Hellenism (Ἑλληνισμός) (2 Macc. 2.21; 4.13), the latter the earliest known instance of the term with the extended meaning ‘Greek culture’.

⁵⁵ This observation is unparalleled in the pertinent Jewish literature (so Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, p. 276).

caught up not only in a struggle to retain her national identity, but in an assault of cosmic proportion directed at the Creator God upon whom her very existence depended.⁵⁶

What is latent in 1 Maccabees is made quite explicit by our present author: the ultimate cause of Israel's 'misery' (2 Macc. 6.9b) is that its apostasy has provoked God's wrath (2 Macc. 4.16–17; 5.17–20). However, there is yet hope of future reconciliation (2 Macc. 5.20b). Israel's present suffering is the merciful outworking of divine discipline through its Gentile enemies. It is designed both to bring Israel to repentance (thereby averting further wrath) and to increase the sins of its tormentors (thereby leading them to final destruction). In this way God will vindicate his oppressed people and uphold his own name (2 Macc. 6.12–17).

Crucial to Israel's repentance and eventual restoration is the role of the Maccabean martyrs. Just as the conflict stories in Daniel 3 and 6 indicated that deliverance could be effected in and through suffering, so in 2 Maccabees the torment and death of the martyrs is the means whereby Judas and his army receive the divine help needed to rescue and renew the nation. The first of two central martyr narratives concerns the aged scribe Eleazar (2 Macc. 6.18–31).⁵⁷ The worthy Eleazar resisted all attempts to 'compel [ἀναγκάζω] him to violate Torah food laws by eating pork. He is 'privately [κατ' ἰδίαν]' urged by long-standing – though now apostate – acquaintances to save his life by simply 'pretending' to eat idol meat.⁵⁸ However, he refuses on the grounds that such pretence would be unworthy of his long and exemplary 'way of life [ἀναστροφή]' and could mislead Jewish youths who might assume he had indeed gone over to an alien religion. He fears God rather than his Gentile tormentors, and is confident that his self-sacrifice is known to the Lord.⁵⁹ Thus, he goes 'at once [εὐθέως]' (2 Macc. 6.28) to torture and martyrdom, leaving the nation with 'an example of nobility and a memorial of courage' (2 Macc. 6.28b–31).

⁵⁶ An early indication of this cosmic dimension is the heavenly warfare above Jerusalem which foreshadowed Antiochus' desecration of the Temple (2 Macc. 5.2–4; cf. 3.25–6; 10.29–30; 11.8; 12.22; 15.27).

⁵⁷ While there is little doubt that martyrdoms did occur during the Maccabean crisis (and that a work such as Daniel would have inspired such resolve), it is self-evident that these exemplary and highly thematic stories are comprised of traditional elements.

⁵⁸ Cf. ὑποκρίνομαι at 2 Macc. 6.21, 24; and ὑπόκρισις at 6.24.

⁵⁹ And confident that the nature of his self-sacrifice 'is clear to the Lord in his holy knowledge' (2 Macc. 6.30).

Eleazar's self-sacrifice is an immediate source of inspiration: seven young brothers and their admirable mother likewise defy all efforts to compel them to eat swine flesh, preferring to 'give up [προδίδωμι] their lives rather than 'transgress [παράβαίνω] the laws of their fathers (2 Macc. 7.1–42).⁶⁰ Not even promises of riches and prestige can induce them to 'turn away [μετατίθημι] from the way of their forefathers, nor can their mother be convinced to 'persuade [πείθω] them to forbear their resolve. The distinctive emphases of the narrative are readily discernible. (i) The martyrs are ready to suffer and die for Torah, Israel and God.⁶¹ (ii) This is understood to be the outworking of divine discipline for sin, both theirs and that of the nation as a whole.⁶² (iii) The hope which sustains them throughout is the punishment of their wicked enemies,⁶³ and their own reconciliation and resurrection⁶⁴ – the latter consonant with, and an eternal expression of, the covenant life to which they have been faithful (2 Macc. 7.36).

Whether these martyrdoms are to be viewed as examples of vicarious atonement or simply as efficacious is a matter which continues to be debated.⁶⁵ In any event, our author is in no doubt as to their outcome, as a select reference to the ensuing sequence of events readily illustrates. At once we learn that the early success of Judas' men – who now 'secretly entered [παραισπορευόμενοι] the villages' and 'enlisted those who had continued in the Jewish faith [ἐν τῷ Ιουδαϊσμῷ]' – is attributable to the fact that the martyrs' sacrifice had redirected God's wrath away from Israel and towards its enemies (2 Macc. 8.1–5, 28, 30). Thus, Judas' forces now have a keener perspective upon the task at hand, always 'keeping before their eyes' the Gentiles' attempt at 'the overthrow of their ancestral way of life

⁶⁰ Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, pp. 296ff, discusses the vexed question of the location(s) which this narrative presupposes, positing that there may have been three versions of the story with the locus of the martyrs' place(s) of origin, arrest and death varying between Jerusalem and Antioch.

⁶¹ 2 Macc. 7.2, 6, 9, 16, 23, 28.

⁶² 2 Macc. 7.18–19, 32–3; the references to 'we' probably include Israel as a whole.

⁶³ 2 Macc. 7.17, 19, 31, 34–5, 37.

⁶⁴ 2 Macc. 7.9 (cf. Dan. 12.2), 11, 14, 23, 29, 33. See Kellermann, *Auferstanden in den Himmel*, pp. 38–40, 54–9.

⁶⁵ The former is rejected by many, including Kellermann, *ibid.*, pp. 12, 78; Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, p. 337. However, the martyrs' representative role and the stated desire that their willing deaths bring about divine mercy (2 Macc. 7.37–8) might argue in its favour. See the discussion by van Henten, *The Maccabean Martyrs*, pp. 140ff., who suggests that 'the idea of a vicarious death is conveyed in 2 Macc. 7', p. 141.

[τὴν τῆς προγονικῆς πολιτείας κατάλυσιν]'. In this they are also conscious of the heavenly power at work in and through their willingness 'to die for their laws and their country' as participants in divine reconciliation (2 Macc. 8.12–29). Indeed, they are deemed invulnerable because of their zeal for the laws of their Defender God (2 Macc. 8.36).

Thus, the great reversal now quickly approaches its climax. In a dramatic juxtaposition, the arrogant Antiochus IV Epiphanes – who had presumed to 'touch the stars of heaven' – suffers an ignominious demise, whereas Judas is able to restore the Temple cult (2 Macc. 10.1–8).⁶⁶ While all the trappings of the human dimension of the ongoing warfare are always in near view, it is evident throughout that Judas' angelically assisted victories represent the outworking of God's mercy upon Israel.⁶⁷ In essence, 'the Hebrews' are invincible.⁶⁸ Thus after negotiations and a truce between Judas and Nicanor have been undermined,⁶⁹ the outcome of the ensuing final battle is never in doubt. Indeed, two events foreshadow its outcome. First, the priests implore God to defend the Temple (2 Macc. 14.34–6). Second, the author interposes another martyr narrative involving a certain Razi, revered as 'father of the Jews' and one who 'had been accused of Judaism [Ιουδαϊσμοῦ], and for Judaism [ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ιουδαϊσμοῦ] . . . with all zeal risked body and life' (2 Macc. 14.37–8). Rather than suffer the ignominy of Gentile arrest and injury, Razi dies nobly by taking his own life, confident that 'the Lord of Life and spirit' would restore his body to him (2 Macc. 14.46).

With this, Judas' victory – and the realization of our author's theme – is assured. In rallying his men for the final conflict Judas urges confidence in their 'help from heaven', exhorts them from the law and the prophets, and recalls former victories (2 Macc. 15.7–9). Finally he relates a dream or waking vision in which the noble (martyred?) Onias III appeared to him together with the prophet Jeremiah. The great prophet is said to intercede in heaven on behalf of the people and their city, and furnishes Judas with a holy sword

⁶⁶ 2 Macc. 9.1–10.9; cf. Isa. 14.12–19; Dan. 8.9–12.

⁶⁷ See 2 Macc. 10.14–11.15 (especially 10.29–30, 38; 11.6, 8–9).

⁶⁸ 2 Macc. 11.13; cf. the reference to 'the Hebrews' at 2 Macc. 7.31, attesting to the common cause of both tortured and battle-fallen martyrs.

⁶⁹ Nicanor and Judas first 'exchange pledges of friendship [δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν δεξιός]' and meet 'privately [κατ' ἰδίαν]' to agree terms, with mutual admiration ensuing (so 2 Macc. 14.19–25).

with which to strike down his adversaries (2 Macc. 15.12–16).⁷⁰ Thus, just as in Hezekiah's miraculous victory over Sennacherib (2 Kings 18.13–19.36), so now God manifests his righteousness in Judas' triumphant conquest of Nicanor (2 Macc. 15.20–7).

Clearly 2 Maccabees' central concern is consonant with that of the Danielic stories and 1 Maccabees: God's vindication of his afflicted faithful. More in view is the crucial role played by the exemplary Maccabean martyrs, who repudiate all efforts to compel them to transgress Torah and turn away from Judaism. Divine discipline is devolved upon their suffering and deaths on behalf of errant Israel; and it is precisely in virtue of this that God's wrath now gives way to mercy. The great reversal which reconciled Israel to God is immediately worked out in national life. The nation is rescued and restored through the divine grace manifest in the 'strength from heaven' which empowered Judas' zealous army to one miraculous victory after another. And the longevity of that achievement is attested in the fact that even in the author's own day Jerusalem still remained in the possession of the 'Hebrews' (2 Macc. 15.37).⁷¹

It need not be disputed that our extant (Jewish) sources have oversimplified and overdrawn various aspects of the Maccabean revolt. Its origin and outworking must have been highly complex. As already noted, the precipitous persecutions of Antiochus IV Epiphanes might well be attributed to a volatile mixture of various social and religio-political factors. Certainly the starkly portrayed dichotomy between the protagonists – Gentiles and apostate Hellenizers versus Torah-obedient Israel – masks what was no doubt a much more fluid spectrum of positions. Furthermore, the path towards eventual liberation from Seleucid rule cannot have been a rapid or effortless one. Hard-fought victories would have been accompanied by notable setbacks, and enduring success attained largely through the all too pragmatic means of military and political manoeuvring.

Nonetheless, it remains remarkable that what started out as no more than a guerrilla warfare aimed at the restoration of the desecrated Temple ended up with Israel's political independence under the Hasmonean dynasty. Thus it is not surprising that in those

⁷⁰ Cf. *1 Enoch* 90.19, 34.

⁷¹ That is, those pious Jews who gave of themselves in the Jewish cause (cf. 2 Macc. 7.31; 11.13), perhaps an implied critique of those falling short of their example (such as the later Hasmoneans).

Jewish literary witnesses proximate to the period, and (as we shall see) in the memory of later generations of Jews, the Maccabean revolt was of enormous significance. Through the eyes of religio-political fervour, God had mercifully acted in and through the efficacious blood of the martyrs and the zeal of his holy army to ensure the survival of Judaism and the (re)establishment of a people covenanted to himself. However, what may already be implicit at certain junctures in a text such as 2 Maccabees, becomes all the more apparent under the deficiencies of the Hasmonean dynasty and its eventual capitulation to Roman rule in 63 BC: ever-sinful Israel continued to experience affliction from which it still required divine deliverance.

3. Daniel's 'one like a son of man' and emerging messianic expectations

In what now follows I seek to outline and trace certain aspects of a notable development which arose out of the Maccabean context in relation to Israel's continued desire for deliverance and vindication, namely, the prominent role of the Danielic 'one like a son of man' within ongoing messianic expectations concerning a redeemer and ruler figure who would rescue and restore Gentile-oppressed Israel. It may be acknowledged at the outset that the complex and disparate nature of the pertinent sources renders them open to a certain range of reconstructions.⁷² Thus critics rightly resist any tendency towards a simplistic and synthesized concept of the Messiah, and similarly any monolithic estimation of the 'one like a son of man'. Nonetheless, with due caution and some indebtedness to recent illuminating studies, it may be suggested that there is evidence for the development of a prevalent and coherent Jewish messianic expectation by the time of Jesus and Paul, and that an important aspect of this entailed the messianic associations of Daniel's 'one like a son of man'. In this way the traditions and hopes of the Maccabean period continued to be a source of inspiration for an Israel whose deliverance from Seleucid oppression was superseded by subser-

⁷² As is immediately evident when comparing even a selection of recent studies: for example, Neusner et al. (eds.), *Judaisms and Their Messiahs* (1987); Charlesworth (ed.), *The Messiah* (1992); Collins, *The Scepter and the Star* (1995); Pomykala, *The Davidic Dynasty Tradition in Early Judaism* (1995); Cohn-Sherbok, *The Jewish Messiah* (1997); Oegema, *The Anointed and His People* (1998).