

# AUSTRALIAN BIBLICAL REVIEW

December 1959

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PRICE: TEN SHILLINGS

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Registered at the General Post Office, Melbourne, for transmission by post  
as a periodical.

Egypt—Isa. xix. 2 is an apt summary of the Egyptian situation. . . . "Egyptians against Egyptians . . . every one against his brother and everyone against his neighbour; city against city and kingdom against kingdom"—the course of fraternization with Egypt was a popular one with the rulers of Palestine.

That Egypt's legendary greatness was unable to protect Palestine, Assyria was willing to demonstrate any number of times, as the cities of Syria-Palestine-Gaza, Ekron, Tyre<sup>4</sup> were to discover to their cost. Hoshea of Israel allowed hopes of Egyptian assistance to induce him to shake off Assyrian suzerainty and so caused the downfall of his kingdom, while Judah, unwilling to learn from this object lesson, allowed the phenomenal rise of the Ethiopian XXVth dynasty to entice her into joining some of the maritime Palestinian states in a revolt against Assyria. Such hopes of Egyptian assistance were false. Egypt refused to move to save Israel from Shalmaneser and Sargon, while in 701 B.C. when Sennacherib first attacked Jerusalem (II Kings xviii. 13-xix. 8)<sup>5</sup> the Egyptian army coming to the assistance of Palestine was thoroughly beaten at the battle of Eltekeh.<sup>6</sup>

Further Egypto-Judaean plotting led to more reprisals in the form of another attack on Judah under Sennacherib<sup>5</sup> (II Kings xix. 9-36), while Assyrian armies marched through Palestine and Egyptian territory under Esarhaddon and Asshurbanipal.<sup>7</sup> Thebes, the Egyptian capital, was sacked so effectively in 663 B.C. that the destruction was remembered and used by the prophet Nahum when, almost forty years later, he was prophesying the overthrow of Nineveh (Nahum iii. 8, 10).

That it takes more than the mere sack of a city to scotch a legend is amply illustrated by the fact that during the last days of the kingdom of Judah the 'Lachish letters'<sup>8</sup> reveal negotiations with Egypt on the eve of the Babylonian conquest!

MARY NEELY.

4. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, I, pp. 292-3 (Gaza), II, pp. 142-3 (Ekron), and p. 61 (Tyre).

5. See Albright *B.A.S.O.R.* No. 130, pp. 8-11, and No. 141, pp. 25-6 (footnote) for discussion.

6. *ARA & B*, II, pp. 119-120.

7. *ARA & B*, II, pp. 227, 293, 295.

8. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 322 (especially ostrakon III).

## A NOTE ON DANIEL i. 3

In his Commentary on Daniel, Charles has the following to say:<sup>1</sup> "The Children (of the exile of) Israel, both of the seed royal and of the nobles.

"The phrase *children of Israel* has a wider significance than the phrase *children of Judah* in v. 7<sup>2</sup> . . . our author seems to have believed that the king limited his choice of pages to captives of the tribe of Judah".

Thus Charles has introduced the word *gōlat* after *benē* of the M.T. This reading has the support of Theodotion who reads τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας. LXX reads τῶν μεγιστάνων, which might conceivably be taken to support the emendation<sup>3</sup>. Both Peshitta and Vulgate read as M.T. It would seem that an emendation without the direct support of any of the other versions must be questioned.

The significant point of the comment, however, is that Charles says that the verse means that some of the seed royal and some of the nobles of the Israelites were taken. This means that the king took only Israelites as servants, and these Israelites were mentioned under an inclusive category and then under two separate heads, of which the second is the word *partemim*. This is connected with the Old Persian *fratma* meaning *first* and is found twice elsewhere, Esther i. 3 and vi. 9, where it is used of Persian nobles. Thus there is an initial improbability of its being used in an isolated instance of Jewish nobles. However, it is possible to maintain that the book is of late date, and the word had passed into the normal prose usage of the time,<sup>4</sup> although it is more likely that the author or editor used it to add local colour, unconscious of the anachronism.

In some MSS. of M.T. we find the copula before *seed royal* omitted.<sup>5</sup> This invalidates Charles' translation and makes his general theory less probable.

1. R. H. Charles: *Commentary on Daniel* (Oxford 1929), p. 12.

2. The verse number "7" appears to be a misprint in Charles.

3. i.e. One might surmise that the most important people were those most likely to be carried into exile.

4. It is to be noted that this is made unlikely by the fact that the word does not appear anywhere else in late Biblical prose other than in the passages in Esther quoted above.

5. C. Ginsburg: *The Writings* (Lond. 1926), quotes Add. 15451, Add. 15252 as well as a number of early printed editions.

Nevertheless it is of some profit to examine the use of ... meaning *both . . . and . . .*. Charles says, "Both . . . and . . . So ... are to be translated in 8. 13, Gen. 34. 28, Josh. 9. 23, Jer. 32. 20".<sup>6</sup>

In Dan. viii. 13 Charles himself excises one of the three terms from the text,<sup>7</sup> and so it would not seem to be a good criterion of normal Biblical usage, even in his own eyes. Let us look then at Josh. ix. 23. ... *וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת ה' וְאֶת הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת הַמִּצְוָה*. Here indeed the general term *עבד* is followed by two particular terms *המלך* and *המצוה* and these two terms are joined by a copula. Thus we can translate "both hewers of wood and drawers of water . . .".

The next verse quoted is Gen. xxxiv. 28. Here we have a list of three items *אֶת צֹאנָם וְאֶת בָּקָרָם וְאֶת חֲמֹרֵיהֶם*. *צאנם* can scarcely include either *בקרם* or *חמריהם*. Rather is this a list of three items, each joined to the one that precedes it by the copula, "their sheep *and* their cattle *and* their asses". A similar situation obtains in the verse of Jeremiah<sup>8</sup> where the sense will not permit any other interpretation. Thus of the cases quoted by Charles only one will stand as an example of this usage. The Genesis and Jeremiah examples are unambiguous, not only because of their sense, but because the parallel grammatical position of each of the elements is indicated. Thus *eth* is before each item in the former, and *b-* before each item in the latter, list. If we had a similar indication in the Joshua list this might well be the situation there. In our text, too, *מן* is found before each of the items, and they are joined to one another by the copula. Thus the position is identical with that of the Genesis list. On this basis Charles' proposition seems less convincing.

The ambiguity of the Hebrew is maintained in the ancient versions, while both the A.V. and the J.P.S. English versions regard them as three classes. Thus it would seem that on the linguistic evidence, and with regard to the ancient versions, while no definite conclusion can be reached, the weight of evidence is for the interpretation of the list as being composed of three separate items.

This is supported by examination of the phrase *children of Judah* in v. 6 which Charles sees as a specific reference to the Judahites. The commentaries of Sa'adia Gaon and Mesudath David,

6. *Commentary on Daniel*, p. 12. He has to translate thus to make his point.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 211.

8. Jer. xxxii. 20.

both say that this means the royal house of Judah, which has no support from other places. Ibn Ezra says that they were Judahites as opposed to Benjaminites. This is a possible meaning of the phrase as in Neh. xi. 3-4 and I Chron. ix. 3, of later Biblical books, but in these places the phrase *children of Benjamin* is always found as well.

The use of *children of Judah* meaning *the Jews* is found in II Chron. xxv. 12 and in the prophets. The use in Dan. ii. 25 would also tend to support this view although it is not conclusive. If we accept the polemical theory of the writing of the book suggested by Professor Segal<sup>9</sup> then why should the Jews (presumably of Benjamin) who did not concern themselves with the dietary laws, not be mentioned?

Thus if, against Charles, we say that v. 3 indicates that Daniel and his group were the only Jews at the court of Nebuchadnezzar, then the author's point, which is their uncompromising loyalty to the Torah even in times of stress, is made more forcefully. If we take the position of either Ibn Ezra or Charles then why do we hear no word of the observance or the non-observance of these other Jews? The author wants to point out that the observance of the Torah had its reward and non-observance its punishment. Yet there is no punishment revealed as befalling the non-observant.

So we can see that the interpretation of *children of Judah* as synonymous with the Jews clarifies the author's main point, and it is significant that nowhere else does he mention any other Jews at the court. It follows from this, then, that as other factors are equal, the *children of Judah* from whom Daniel and his companions were picked, and the *children of Israel* in v. 3, were the same people, that is, all the Jews. Thus Daniel and his companions were the only Jews at court and the *seed royal* and *nobles* were non-Israelites. Charles' interpretation of v. 3 is permissible, although doubtful, on textual grounds; on the basis of the internal consistency of the chapter, and indeed of the book as a whole, it must be rejected.<sup>10</sup>

MICHAEL STONE

9. *מבוא המקרא* Vol. 3, p. 178.

10. If we accept this interpretation then the emendation suggested by Charles (p. 8) to v. 2 will not stand. He suggests the insertion of *ורע* *ומקצת המלוכה והפרתמים*. It is outside the scope of this note to discuss this in detail, but either the text of the emendation will have to be changed or, as it is based on a haplography, if the sense of v. 3 is not what Charles thought it to be, then the basis for the emendation is lost.