

多倫多以馬內利華人浸信會

2004 秋季進深研經班 —— 《哈該書》研讀

黃紹權

獻給

所有愛慕主道的人！

在此我希望鳴謝以下給與我啓迪的主內弟兄姊妹：

黎炳鍵、余衛東、劉慧賢、劉嘉慧

並

在家中看管兒女，給我安心研究寫作的內子：

黃劉寶明

New American Standard Bible (NASB)

- 1:1 In the second year of Darius the king, on the first day of the sixth month, the word of the Lord came by the prophet Haggai to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, saying,
- 1:2 "Thus says the Lord of hosts, 'This people says, "The time has not come, even the time for the house of the Lord to be rebuilt.'"
- 1:3 Then the word of the Lord came by Haggai the prophet, saying,
- 1:4 "Is it time for you yourselves to dwell in your paneled houses while this house lies desolate?"
- 1:5 Now therefore, thus says the Lord of hosts, "Consider your ways!
- 1:6 "You have sown much, but harvest little; you eat, but there is not enough to be satisfied; you drink, but there is not enough to become drunk; you put on clothing, but no one is warm enough; and he who earns, earns wages to put into a purse with holes."
- 1:7 Thus says the Lord of hosts, "Consider your ways!
- 1:8 "Go up to the mountains, bring wood and rebuild the temple, that I may be pleased with it and be glorified," says the Lord.
- 1:9 "You look for much, but behold, it comes to little; when you bring it home, I blow it away. Why?" declares the Lord of hosts, "Because of My house which lies desolate, while each of you runs to his own house.
- 1:10 "Therefore, because of you the sky has withheld its dew and the earth has withheld its produce.
- 1:11 "I called for a drought on the land, on the mountains, on the grain, on the new wine, on the oil, on what the ground produces, on men, on cattle, and on all the labor of your hands."
- 1:12 Then Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, and Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, with all the remnant of the people, obeyed the voice of the Lord their God and the words of Haggai the prophet, as the Lord their God had sent him. And the people showed reverence for the Lord.
- 1:13 Then Haggai, the messenger of the Lord, spoke by the commission of the Lord to the people saying, " 'I am with you,' declares the Lord."
- 1:14 So the Lord stirred up the spirit of Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and the spirit of Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and the spirit of all the remnant of the people; and they came and worked on the house of the Lord of hosts, their God,
- 1:15 on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month in the second year of Darius the king.
- 2:1 On the twenty-first of the seventh month, the word of the Lord came by Haggai the prophet saying,

- 2:2 "Speak now to Zerubbabel the son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to Joshua the son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and to the remnant of the people saying,
- 2:3 'Who is left among you who saw this temple in its former glory? And how do you see it now? Does it not seem to you like nothing in comparison?
- 2:4 'But now take courage, Zerubbabel,' declares the Lord, 'take courage also, Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and all you people of the land take courage,' declares the Lord, 'and work; for I am with you,' declares the Lord of hosts.
- 2:5 'As for the promise which I made you when you came out of Egypt, My Spirit is abiding in your midst; do not fear!'
- 2:6 "For thus says the Lord of hosts, 'Once more in a little while, I am going to shake the heavens and the earth, the sea also and the dry land.
- 2:7 'I will shake all the nations; and they will come with the wealth of all nations, and I will fill this house with glory,' says the Lord of hosts.
- 2:8 'The silver is Mine and the gold is Mine,' declares the Lord of hosts.
- 2:9 'The latter glory of this house will be greater than the former,' says the Lord of hosts, 'and in this place I will give peace,' declares the Lord of hosts."
- 2:10 On the twenty-fourth of the ninth month, in the second year of Darius, the word of the Lord came to Haggai the prophet, saying,
- 2:11 "Thus says the Lord of hosts, 'Ask now the priests for a ruling:
- 2:12 'If a man carries holy meat in the fold of his garment, and touches bread with this fold, or cooked food, wine, oil, or any other food, will it become holy?' " And the priests answered, "No."
- 2:13 Then Haggai said, "If one who is unclean from a corpse touches any of these, will the latter become unclean?" And the priests answered, "It will become unclean."
- 2:14 Then Haggai said, " 'So is this people. And so is this nation before Me,' declares the Lord, 'and so is every work of their hands; and what they offer there is unclean.
- 2:15 'But now, do consider from this day onward: before one stone was placed on another in the temple of the Lord,
- 2:16 from that time when one came to a grain heap of twenty measures, there would be only ten; and when one came to the wine vat to draw fifty measures, there would be only twenty.
- 2:17 'I smote you and every work of your hands with blasting wind, mildew and hail; yet you did not come back to Me,' declares the Lord.
- 2:18 'Do consider from this day onward, from the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month; from the day when the temple of the Lord was founded, consider:
- 2:19 'Is the seed still in the barn? Even including the vine, the fig tree, the pomegranate and the olive tree, it has not borne fruit. Yet from this day on I will bless you.'"
- 2:20 Then the word of the Lord came a second time to Haggai on the twenty-fourth day of

the month, saying,

2:21 "Speak to Zerubbabel governor of Judah, saying, 'I am going to shake the heavens and the earth.

2:22 'I will overthrow the thrones of kingdoms and destroy the power of the kingdoms of the nations; and I will overthrow the chariots and their riders, and the horses and their riders will go down, everyone by the sword of another.'

2:23 'On that day,' declares the Lord of hosts, 'I will take you, Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, My servant,' declares the Lord, 'and I will make you like a signet ring, for I have chosen you,' " declares the Lord of hosts.

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New English Translation (NET BIBLE) Source: www.netbible.org

Introduction

1:1 On the first day of the sixth month¹ of King Darius's² second year, the LORD spoke this message through the prophet Haggai³ to Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, and to the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadak:⁴

The Indifference of the People

1:2 The sovereign LORD⁵ says this: "These people have said, 'The time for rebuilding the LORD's temple has not yet come.'"⁶ **1:3** So the LORD spoke through the prophet Haggai as follows:⁷ **1:4** "Is it right for you to live in paneled houses⁸ while my temple is in ruins?"⁹ **1:5** Here then is what the sovereign LORD says: "Think carefully about what you are doing."¹⁰ **1:6** You have planted much, but have little harvest. You eat, but are never filled and drink, but are still thirsty. You are clothed, but not warm. Those who earn wages end up with holes in their money bags."¹¹

The Instruction of the People

1:7 "Moreover, the sovereign LORD says: 'Pay close attention to these things also.'¹² **1:8** Go up to the hill country and bring back timber to build¹³ the temple.¹⁴ Then I will be pleased and honored,¹⁵ says the LORD. **1:9** 'You expected a large harvest, but instead¹⁶ there was little, and when you brought it home it soon disappeared.'¹⁷ Why?' asks the sovereign LORD. 'Because my temple remains in ruins, thanks to each of you giving priority to his own house!' **1:10** This is why the sky¹⁸ has held back its dew and the earth its produce.¹⁹ **1:11** Moreover, I have called for

¹sn The first day of the sixth month was Elul 1 by the Jewish calendar; August 29, 520 B.C. by the modern (Julian) calendar.

²sn King Darius is the Persian king Darius Hystaspes who ruled from 522-486 B.C.

³tn Heb "the word of the LORD came by the hand of Haggai the prophet" (בְּיַדְךָ הָגַי, B=y-d-j^gg-y). This suggests that the prophet is only an instrument of the LORD who is, indeed, the true author (see 1:3; 2:1; Mal 1:1).

⁴tn The typical translation "Joshua (the) son of Jehozadak, the high priest" can be understood to mean that Jehozadak was high priest. However, Zech 3:1, 8 clearly indicates that Joshua was high priest (see also Ezra 5:1-2). The same potential misunderstanding occurs in Hag 1:12, 14 and 2:2, and the same solution has been employed in the translation.

⁵sn The epithet *sovereign LORD* is one of Haggai's favorite divine titles (see 1:5, 7, 9, 14; 2:4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 23). This name (y+hw'h x=b*at, "Yahweh sabaoth"), traditionally translated "LORD of hosts," emphasizes the majestic sovereignty of the Lord, an especially important concept in the post-exilic world of great human empires and rulers. For a thorough study of the divine title, see T. N. D. Mettinger, *In Search of God*, 123-57.

⁶tn Heb "the time has not come, the time for the house of the LORD to be built."

⁷tn Heb "and the word of the LORD came by the hand of Haggai the prophet, saying."

⁸sn *Paneled houses*. Paneling is otherwise known in the OT only in connection with the temple (1 Kgs 6:9) and the royal palace (2 Kgs 7:3, 7). The impropriety of the people living in such lavish accommodations while the temple lay unfinished is striking.

⁹tn Heb "Is it time for you, [yes] you, to live in paneled houses, while this house is in ruins?"

¹⁰tn Heb "Set your heart upon your ways" (see 2:15, 18).

¹¹tn Some translate "pockets," but the Hebrew word צָרָר (x=ru) refers to a bag or pouch (purse) of money (BDB 865). Because coinage was invented by the Persians and was thus in use in Haggai's day, this likely is a money bag (or purse) rather than pouches or pockets in the clothing.

¹²tn Heb "Set your heart upon your ways"; see v. 5.

¹³tn Heb "and build."

¹⁴sn The temple was built primarily of stone, so the *timber* here refers to interior paneling (see v. 4) and perhaps to scaffolding (see Ezra 5:8; 6:4).

¹⁵tn The Hebrew verb פָּאֵדָבְשָׁד appears to be a defectively written cohortative ("that I may be glorified"). The cohortatives (note that the preceding פָּאֵדָרְפָּצָה, "I will be pleased," may also be taken as cohortative) indicate purpose/result following the imperatives of v. 8a ("go up," "bring back," "build").

¹⁶tn Heb "look!" (הִנֵּה, hN)h). The word draws attention to the point being made.

¹⁷tn Heb "I blew it away." The imagery here teaches that man's achievements are so fragile and temporal that a mere breath from God can destroy them (see Ezek 22:20, 21; and [with שָׁרַב] Isa 40:7).

¹⁸tn The Hebrew text adds "over you," but this is redundant in contemporary English and has not been translated.

¹⁹sn This linkage of human sin to natural disaster is reminiscent of the curse brought upon the earth by

a drought that will affect the fields, the hill country, the grain, new wine, fresh olive oil, and everything that grows from the ground; it also will harm people, animals, and everything they produce.”²⁰

The Response of the People

1:12 Then Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel and the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadak,²¹ along with the whole remnant of the people,²² obeyed²³ the LORD their God. They responded favorably to the message of the prophet Haggai, who spoke just as the LORD their God had instructed him,²⁴ and the people began to respect the LORD.²⁵ **1:13** Then Haggai, the LORD’s messenger, spoke the LORD’s word to the people:²⁶ “I am with you!” says the LORD. **1:14** So the LORD²⁷ energized and encouraged²⁸ Zerubbabel²⁹ son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadak,³⁰ and the whole remnant of the people.³¹ They came and worked on the temple of the sovereign LORD their God. **1:15** This took place on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of King Darius’s second year.³²

The Glory to Come

2:1 On the twenty-first day of the seventh month,³³ the LORD spoke again through the prophet Haggai:³⁴ **2:2** “Ask the following question to³⁵ Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, governor of Judah, the high priest Joshua son of Jehozadak,³⁶ and the remnant of the people,³⁷ **2:3** ‘Who among you survivors saw the former splendor of this temple?’³⁸ How does it look to you now? Doesn’t it appear as nothing by comparison? **2:4** Even so, take heart, Zerubbabel,’ says the LORD. ‘Take heart, Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest, and³⁹ all you citizens of the

Adam’s disobedience (Gen 3:17-19; see Rom 8:20-22).

²⁰ **tn Heb** “all the labor of hands.”

²¹ **tn** Typically “Joshua [the] son of Jehozadak, the high priest.” See the note on the name “Jehozadak” at the end of v. 1.

²² **tn Heb** “all the remnant of the people.” The Hebrew phrase וְכָל־הַבְּיָרֵיִם (*v=al|rl|t h*u*|<*) in this post-exilic context is used technically to refer to the returned remnant (see Ezra 9:14; Isa 10:20-22; 11:11, 16; Jer 23:3; 31:7; and many other passages).

²³ **tn Heb** “heard the voice of.”

²⁴ **tn Heb** “and according to the words of Haggai the prophet just as the LORD their God sent him.”

²⁵ **tn Heb** “and the people feared from before the LORD.”

²⁶ **tn Heb** “Haggai, the messenger of the LORD, said by the message of the LORD to the people.” The Hebrew is highly repetitive; in keeping with contemporary English style the translation is less repetitious.

²⁷ **sn** God initiated the rebuilding by providing the people with motivation and ability.

²⁸ **tn Heb** “stirred up.” Only one verb appears in the Hebrew text, but the translation “energized and encouraged” brings out its sense in this context.

²⁹ **tn Heb** “the spirit of Zerubbabel.”

³⁰ **tn Heb** “the spirit of Joshua son of Jehozadak, the high priest.” For the reason behind the translation’s change in word order in this phrase, see the note on the name “Jehozadak” at the end of v. 1.

³¹ **tn Heb** “and the spirit of all the remnant of the people.”

³² **sn** *The twenty-fourth day of the sixth month of King Darius’s second year.* The date was September 21, 520 B.C., twenty-three days after the original command by Haggai to rebuild (1:1). Perhaps the reason for the delay was the pressing need to bring in the late summer harvest.

³³ **tn Heb** “In the seventh [month], on the twenty-first day of the month.”

sn *The seventh month* was the month Tishri, in the modern calendar October 17, 520 B.C. The twenty-first day of Tishri marked the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles (Num 29:32-34). It also coincided with the date 440 years earlier (960 B.C.) when Solomon finished building his temple (1 Kgs 6:38; 8:2).

³⁴ **tc Heb** “the word of the LORD came by the hand of Haggai the prophet, saying.” The MT has בְּיָד (*β=γ~d*, “by the hand of” = “through,” as in 1:1, 3); the Murabba’at Dead Sea text reads לְאֵל (*al*, “to”), perhaps because the following command is given to the prophet.

³⁵ **tn Heb** “say to.”

³⁶ **tn** Typically “Joshua (the) son of Jehozadak (the) high priest.” For the reason behind the translation’s change in word order here, see the note on the name “Jehozadak” at the end of 1:1.

³⁷ **tn Heb** “the remnant of the people.”

³⁸ **tn Heb** “this house in its earlier splendor.”

sn Solomon’s temple was demolished in 586 B.C., 66 years prior to Haggai’s time. There surely would have been some old people who remembered *the former splendor* of that magnificent structure and who lamented the contrast to the little temple they were building (see Ezra 3:8-13).

³⁹ **tn** The Hebrew text repeats the verb “take heart.” Although emphatic, the repetition is not in keeping with contemporary English style and has not been translated.

land,⁴⁰ says the LORD, ‘and begin to work. For I am with you,’ says the sovereign LORD. **2:5** ‘Do not fear because I made a promise to your ancestors when they left Egypt and my spirit⁴¹ even now testifies to you.’⁴² **2:6** Moreover, the sovereign LORD says: ‘In just a little while⁴³ I will once again shake the sky⁴⁴ and the earth, the sea and the dry ground. **2:7** I will also shake up all the nations, and they⁴⁵ will offer their treasures;⁴⁶ then I will fill this temple with glory,’ says the sovereign LORD. **2:8** ‘The silver and gold will be mine,’ says the sovereign LORD. **2:9** ‘The coming splendor of this temple will be greater than that of former times,’⁴⁷ the sovereign LORD declares, ‘and in this place I will give peace.’⁴⁸

The Promised Blessing

2:10 On the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Darius’s second year,⁴⁹ the LORD spoke again through the prophet Haggai.⁵⁰ **2:11** “The sovereign LORD says, ‘Ask the priests about the law.’⁵¹ **2:12** If someone carries holy meat in a fold of his garment and that fold touches bread, a boiled dish, wine, oil, or any other food, will that item become holy?”⁵² The priests answered, “It will not.”

2:13 Then Haggai asked, “If a person who is ritually unclean from touching a dead body⁵³ comes in contact with one of these items, will it become unclean?” And the priests answered, “It will be unclean.” **2:14** Then Haggai responded, “The people of this nation are unclean in my sight,”⁵⁴ says the LORD. ‘And so is all their effort; everything they offer is also unclean.’⁵⁵ **2:15** Now therefore reflect carefully on the recent past,⁵⁶ before one stone was laid on another in the LORD’s temple.⁵⁷ **2:16** From that time⁵⁸ when one came expecting a heap of twenty measures, there were only ten; when one came to the wine vat to draw out fifty measures from it, there were only twenty. **2:17** I struck all the product of your labor⁵⁹ with blight, disease, and hail, and yet you brought nothing to

⁴⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the people of the land” (עַם הָאָרֶץ); this is a technical term referring to free citizens as opposed to slaves.

⁴¹ **sn** *My spirit*. It is theologically premature to understand “spirit” here as the Holy Spirit, the third person of the Trinity; nevertheless in this postexilic period the conceptual groundwork was being laid for the NT doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

⁴² **tc** The MT of v. 5 reads “with the word which I cut with you when you went out from Egypt and my spirit [which] stands in your midst, do not fear.” *BHS* proposes emending “with the word” to זאת הַבְּרִית (“this is the covenant [which I made with you]”) at the beginning of the verse. The proposed emendation makes excellent sense, is expected with the verb כָּרַח (“cut” or “make” a covenant), but has no textual support.

⁴³ **tc** The difficult MT reading וְיָאֵרֶךְ מְרִצָּה (“yet once, it is little”) appears as “yet once” in the LXX, omitting the last two Hebrew words. However, the point being made is that the anticipated action is imminent, thus the emphasis of the repetition.

⁴⁴ **tn** Or “the heavens.” The same Hebrew word, שָׁמַיִם (v*^m^^l^^k), may be translated “sky” or “heavens” depending on the context. Here the other three elements (earth, sea, dry ground) suggest “sky” is in view in this context.

⁴⁵ **tn** *Heb* “all the nations.”

⁴⁶ **tn** Though the subject here is singular (רְצוּתָהּ, “desire”), the preceding plural predicate mandates a collective subject, “desired (things)” or, better, an emendation to a plural form, רְצוּתָהֶן, “desirable [things].” This has no direct reference to the coming of the Messiah.

⁴⁷ **tn** *Heb* “greater will be the latter splendor of this house than the former.”

⁴⁸ **tn** There is an implicit play on words in the clause “in this place [Jerusalem] I will give peace” (in יְרוּשָׁלַיִם there will be שָׁלוֹם).

⁴⁹ **sn** The *twenty-fourth day of the ninth month of Darius’s second year* was Kislev 24 or December 18, 520 B.C.

⁵⁰ **tn** *Heb* “the word of the LORD came by the hand of Haggai the prophet, saying.”

⁵¹ **tn** *Heb* “Ask the priests a torah, saying.”

⁵² **sn** This is probably not an appeal to the Torah (the Pentateuch) as such but to a priestly ruling, what was known in post-biblical Judaism as a פְּסָק דִּבְרֵי חֵן. There is, however, a Mosaic law that provides the basis for the priestly ruling (Lev 6:27).

⁵³ **tn** *Heb* “unclean of a person,” a euphemism for “unclean because of a dead person” (טְמֵאָה מִיָּפֶשׂ וְמוֹת); see Lev 21:11; Num 6:6.

⁵⁴ **tn** *Heb* “so this people, and so this nation before me.”

⁵⁵ **sn** The lesson taught here is that the Jews cannot be made holy by unholy fellowship with their pagan neighbors; indeed, they and their worship will become corrupted by such associations.

⁵⁶ **tn** *Heb* “and now set your heart from this day and upward.” The juxtaposition of הַיָּמֵי קִלְיָה (“upward”) with the following מִבְּרִיחַ (“before”) demands a look to the past.

⁵⁷ **sn** *Before one stone was laid on another in the LORD’s temple* best refers to the laying of the temple’s foundation, sixteen years earlier (536 B.C.; see Ezra 3:8).

⁵⁸ **tn** *Heb* “from their being,” idiomatic for “from the time they were then,” or “since the time.”

⁵⁹ **tn** *Heb* “you, all the work of your hands.”

me,⁶⁰ says the LORD. **2:18** ‘Think carefully about the past;⁶¹ from today, the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month,⁶² to the day work on the temple of the LORD was resumed,⁶³ think about it.⁶⁴ **2:19** The seed is still in the storehouse, isn’t it? And the vine, fig tree, pomegranate, and olive tree have not produced. Nevertheless, from today on I will bless you.’”

Zerubbabel the Chosen One

2:20 Then the LORD spoke again through Haggai⁶⁵ on the twenty-fourth day of the month.⁶⁶ **2:21** “Tell Zerubbabel governor of Judah: ‘I am ready⁶⁷ to shake the sky⁶⁸ and the earth. **2:22** I will overthrow royal thrones and shatter the might of earthly kingdoms.⁶⁹ I will overthrow chariots and those who ride them, and horses and their riders will fall as people kill one another.⁷⁰ **2:23** On that day,⁷¹ says the sovereign LORD, ‘I will take you, Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel, my servant,⁷² says the LORD, ‘and I will make you like a signet ring,⁷³ for I have chosen you,’ says the sovereign LORD.’⁷⁴

⁶⁰ **tn Heb** “and there was not with you.” The context favors the idea that the harvests were so poor that the people took care of only themselves, leaving no offering for the LORD.

⁶¹ **tn Heb** “set your heart.”

⁶² **sn** The *twenty-fourth day of the ninth month* was Kislev 24 or December 18, 520. See v. 10. Here the reference is to “today,” the day the oracle is being delivered.

⁶³ **sn** *The day work... was resumed*. This does not refer to the initial founding of the Jerusalem temple in 536 B.C. but to the renewal of construction three months earlier (see 1:15). This is clear from the situation described in v. 19 which is much in line with the food scarcities of that time already detailed in Hag 1:10-11.

⁶⁴ **tn Heb** “set your heart.”

⁶⁵ **tn Heb** “and the word of the LORD came a second time to Haggai.”

⁶⁶ **sn** Again, *the twenty-fourth day of the month* was Kislev 24 or December 18, 520 B.C. See v. 10.

⁶⁷ **tn** The participle here suggests an imminent undertaking of action. The overall language of the passage is eschatological, but eschatology finds its roots in the present.

⁶⁸ **tn** See the note on the word “sky” in 2:6.

⁶⁹ **tn Heb** “the kingdoms of the nations.”

⁷⁰ **tn Heb** “and horses and their riders will go down, a man with a sword his brother.”

⁷¹ **sn** The expression *on that day* (Heb. בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא) appears as a technical eschatological term in a number of other OT passages (cf. Isa 2:11, 17, 20; 3:7, 18; Amos 8:3, 9; Hos 2:18, 21, etc.).

⁷² **sn** *My servant*. The collocation of “servant” and “chosen” bears strong messianic overtones. See the so-called “Servant Songs” and other messianic texts in Isaiah (Isa 41:8; 42:1; 44:4; 49:7).

⁷³ **sn** The noun *signet ring* (Heb. יָתָבֵן), used also to describe Jehoiachin (Jer 22:24-30), refers to a ring seal worn by a king or other important person as his signature. Zerubbabel was a grandson of King Jehoiachin (1 Chr 3:17-19; Matt 1:12); God once pronounced that none of Jehoiachin’s immediate descendants would rule (Jer 22:24-30), but here he reverses that judgment. Zerubbabel never ascended to such a lofty position of rulership; he is a prototype of the Messiah who would sit on David’s throne.

⁷⁴ **tn** The repetition of the formula “says the [sovereign] LORD” in v. 23 emphasizes the solemn and divine nature of the promise.

(I) 《哈該書》的歷史背景

哈該所事奉的時間，有聖經記錄的，大約 3 個半月。相比其他的先知，雖然維期較短，但歷史日期卻更為準確，應該屬於 520BC 的下半年時間，亦即 1:1 中所指大流士王第二年六月初一日（520 年 8 月 29 日），至到 2:20 中的九月廿四日（520 年 12 月 18 日）。

按歷史而言，這時期亦即是猶大國亡後，在波斯統治下，猶太人被擄流徙國外的末期。在家鄉耶路撒冷中，亡國的陰影仍籠罩之下，聖殿城牆皆已破毀，就在這流離之際，早於塞魯士元年（538B.C.E）已有召書，容許全國被擄的人民回歸，重建家鄉。猶太人也是其中一份子，於是有所羅巴伯等人回歸耶路撒冷城，其中共有四萬二千三百六十名昔日被擄子民（拉 2）也隨隊回歸，並開始在建築、宗教、民生、律法等事項上進行重建（Restoration）的工作（拉 3）。

可惜後來因「那地的民（拉 4：4）／敵人」的多番阻撓（拉 4），結果聖殿的重建與及聖殿的敬拜亦隨之暫停，究其原因：

- (1) 「那地的民／敵人」憑借新王上任（亞哈隨魯）的時候造謠。
- (2) 回歸的猶太人對神的心不足，亦即屬靈生命軟弱所致。

先知哈該的角色，就是神傳話者，所傳的話，正正就是叫回歸的民知道，這個正是猶太人／神子民的復興新時機，因而能鼓動民重拾信心，重建聖殿。（拉 5-6）

在整個過程中，中心並不只是聖殿的建築成功，而是叫猶太人重歸於這被重建的聖殿背後所仰賴的耶和華神。至於當時為何重建受阻達 18 年之久（拉 5：14-16）？主要原因是在當日塞魯士死後，波斯國中的政權處於爭鬥的階段，一直要延至大流士的時候（525-522B.C.E），才得以平息；而先知哈該正是這時期回歸子民的催化者（Catalyst），是信心與行動的鼓勵者。

聖殿最終在波斯王的協助下得以建成，第二聖殿的共施工時間為四年半，比起第一聖殿（即所羅門所建造的花了七年 cf. 王上 6:1ff, 37），這次施工實在較快，從這可見先知哈該宣告的果效是甚具影響力。由本書中的先知性宣告開始到聖殿完工之日，合共只經歷五年的時間（cf. 拉 4:24; 6:15）。

(II) 有關作者哈該：

於舊約聖經中，我們只能夠見到一個名為哈該的人物，當時他是作先知的，與易多的孫子先知撒迦利亞同期，甚至是可能同工的伙伴關係，一同向猶大和耶路撒冷的猶太人說勸勉的話。（拉 5:1；6:14）

於《哈該書》中，他的名字曾九次被提及（1:1，3，12，13；2:1，10，13，14，20）。按古近東文化，哈該這名字是十分受歡迎的，因為按原文，意即「一個在節日誕下的好兆頭（to be born on a feast day [גג] counted as a good omen）」，是節日中的喜樂（my feast day's joy）。

又按《哈該書》的內容，哈該共五次被稱為先知（the prophet [הַנְּבִיא]），若加上以斯拉記 5：1 及 6：14 中的另外兩次同樣稱呼（這些段落是以亞蘭文寫

成的)，可見哈該的工作，正正就是耶和華的傳訊者（the messenger of YHWH，נְבִיא *nabī*）

有神學家認為，哈該應屬於「文教性/崇祀先知（Cultic Prophet）」，因為他的宣告內容，與祭司等人的宗教禮儀甚有關係，但從書卷中哈該對祭師等的對質，哈該的事奉並非完全符合「文教性/崇祀先知」類，比在聖殿中事奉的祭司位份更超然。

究竟哈該是否也是原先被擄的猶大國子民一份子呢？他又是否是先前隨所羅巴伯和約書亞等一同回歸的子民呢？這都是難以定斷的問題。但從文中，哈該對於在家鄉的耕種事情著緊程度來看（參 1：6，10f，2：16，19），可知道哈該極之惦念在耶路撒冷地同胞的情況。再者，在文中哈該亦不似是被描述為年近七八十歲的老人，所以他也未必是原本被擄猶大國國民的一份子，並能以他比省督更高的屬靈權柄，鼓勵督責並挽回回歸子民的信心。

（III）《哈該書》的結構

以下是一些表面觀察：

- 很明顯本書以時間分段成為四大段：

（1） 1:1-15a * 留心 1:15 是很明顯地被刪剪，理應緊接 2:15-2:19

（2） 1:15b-2:9 * 留心 2:9 於 LXX 中，有附加的註譯經節

（3） 2:10-19

（4） 2:20-23

- 全文中共有五個不同的日期（1:1；1:15a；1:15b-2:1；2:10，2:20）

- 全卷中亦共有五個不同的處境（occasions）：1:1-14；1:15a + 2:15-19；1:15b-2:9；2:10-14；2:20-23）

- 於本書中的寫作手法而言；作者以一種「三層環形」的記述，把神的說話表達出來：

中心：先知性的宣告（Prophetic Proclamation），哈該以他的五次出現，（1:4-11；2:15-19；2:3-9；2:14；2:21b-23）

三層環形記載：（1） 1:2 : 哈該聽眾的反駁（Protests）

（2） 1:12b-13：回歸民受先知宣告影響的歷史/記載

（3） 2:11-13 : 回歸民未受先知宣告影響的先前歷史/記載

這三層記載，我們可以稱之為 sketches of scenes（場境的快速描寫）。

經文分別是：1:1-3；1:15a；1:15b-2:1；2:10；2:20-21a。

（IV）寫作上的特色：

（1）傳統先知宣告公式（Classic Messenger-speech Formula）一共出現八次，參（1：2，5，7，8；2：6，7，9a，11）：“萬軍之耶和華如此說…”

- (2) 神性諭召 (Divine-Oracle Formula) 一共出現十二次，參 (1:9, 13; 2:8, 9, 14, 17): “耶和華所說的…”
- (3) 哈該以對質祭司的同樣權柄對質當日的總督／省長，參 (1:1, 12, 14; 2:47)
- (4) 憑語言上，我們可以見到《哈該書》中的作者有不同的手筆：
- (a) 哈該史記者 (Haggai Chronicler) e.g. v1:12a; 2:10 稱哈該為「先知」。
- (b) 場境快速描寫的手筆 (Sketcher of scenes) -- 可能是哈該的門徒，又或是後來聖經的學習者 (Pupils) 加上。e.g. v1:3a 稱哈該為「耶和華的使者」，又或甚至直呼其名 (v2:13, 14)
- 其他例子：
- ✧ 哈該史記者會直接稱呼「所羅巴伯、猶大的省長及大祭司的」，又稱回歸的民為「剩下的百姓」。(cf. 1:12a, 14; 2:2; 2:4)
 - ✧ 場境快速描寫的手筆：稱回歸的民為「百姓 (People)」或「這地的百姓 (The whole people of the land)」(cf. 1:2, 12b, 13a, 2:4)
- (5) 以第一身去表達神耶和華自己的說話 (First Person Address)
- 在本書卷中共有 24 節經文，相信是先知性的宣告，而其中以不少於 23 個字，以不同形態 (verbs, nouns, pronominal forms)，把神自己說話的主語角色顯明出來。
- (6) 直接向聽眾說話 (Direct Address to Audience)
- (a) 命令語 (Imperative) -- 共 10 次 (cf. 1:5, 7; 2:15, 18a, 1:8a, 2:4a)
- (b) 問題 (Questions) -- 共 8 次 (cf. 1:4, 9; 2:16a, 2:19a, 2:3)
- (c) 辯論 (Debating Style)
- 哈該竭力把他的聽眾，尤其是那些聽從了“反重建派人”意見的民，先知帶領他們到主面前，促使人不能不正視重建的問題。
 - 所以在辯論語時，都多會 是訓誡 (Admonition) 和勸告 (exhortation)。c.f. (1:5b, 7b, 2:15a, 18a, 1:8a, 2:4)。
 - 正因為是辯論的文體，作者更把先知的「辯斥 (futility curse)」，例如 1:6, 9a 就是「審判性的咒詛」，目的是叫聽眾能重新追蹤他們發生問題的源頭，所衍生的罪咎及審判詞的內容。
- 例子：1:9a : 問題的源頭
1:9b-10 : 罪咎
1:11 : 審判詞的內容
- * 這種手法，正是 Deuteronomistic text (申命記作者內文)

中慣用的「教化式演繹歷史 (Didactic interpretation of History)」手法 e.g. (2:8)

(V) 《哈該書》的主題和訊息

既然遺民/餘民(remnants)故意遺漏重建聖殿之工，他們的手法就是：只埋首於自己的工作，因而可藉此一推再推神的事。因此先知在書中的問題：如何把一個破毀的聖殿，重新在耶路撒冷城中建立？

- (1) 哈該一方面受到回歸民眾因旱情而把重建聖殿的事放棄的罪咎而驅使 (1:4-6, 9-11)，另一方面是因見耶和華的應許 -- 與回歸子民同在 (1:8)，因此他希望神的民重新委身重建的工作。
- (2) 耶和華的應許構成的明顯功效：重建聖殿的開始，正像徵到把先前的咒詛 (curse) 改變成為新的祝福 (Blessing) cf: 2:15f, 18a, 19。
- (3) 對於那些仍存的疑慮，哈該再提供兩方面的鼓勵：
 - (a) 無條件和重覆神聖應許(Divine Promise)的支持 (2:4b, 5a, b)
 - (b) 三重有關應的擴展 cf. 2:6ff, 2:8-9a, 2:9b: 宇宙性的供應 (2:6ff)，更勝過所羅門建的殿 (2:8-9a)，神全面性的拯救由聖殿而生 (2:9b)
- (4) 在應該擴展的同時，神對回歸子民亦加上規則和條件，尤其有關誰才可以參與重建的工作 (2:14)，以此防避那些不懷好意的虛假參與者滲於其中，把不潔的事物在神的聖工中漫延 (Impurity is infectious)。
- (5) 從所羅巴伯的平安回歸抵步，直到聖殿重新開工並完成，可見神一步一步地把回歸子民的週邊威脅逐一消除，並且以所羅巴伯為首，成為神在回歸子民重建聖殿中的「指定特約的保證人 (Appointed authorized guarantor of the temple's completion)」 (cf. 2:23)，使先前由聖殿得以重建的應許，轉變成為一種「人格化 (personified form)」，親自見證耶和華神與回歸子民的同在，更保證了神的祝福與和平臨到回歸子民的身上。

(VI) 全書分段：

- (1) 是不是重建聖殿的時候呢？ (1:1-14)
- (2) 進到神的祝福中 (1:15a; 2:15-19)
- (3) 提出解決疑難的方法 (1:15b-2:9)
- (4) 不潔的事物是滿有漫延性的 (2:10-14)
- (5) 以耶和華神的印介為記 (2:20-23)

* 分段是以 Hans Walter Wolff 的《哈該書》註釋為本。本筆記亦以這註釋為本。
Source: Wolff, Hans Walter, *Haggai – A Commentary*, Augsburg: Minneapolis: 1988.

後記(Excursus)：

(1) 有關 2:9 末的經文：

根據 LXX 七十士譯本，2:9 之後有一些後記經文，是我們一般譯本沒有的，為方便查經，現特此列載，譯為英文以作參考用：

καὶ εἰρήνην ψυχῆς εἰς περιποίησιν παντὶ τῷ κτίζοντι τοῦ ἀναστῆσαι τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον

“... and peace of soul for the strengthening of all who help to build this temple.”

* 這為 Hans Walter Wolff 的英譯本，原文以德文寫成。

𐤀𐤓𐤛𐤑 原文希伯來文即指“和平的靈 (peace of soul / saving of life)”

(2) 有關 2:15-19 經文的調動因由：

i. 1:15b 與 2:1 的經文內容並不銜接。

ii. 哈該史記者 (Haggai Chronicler) 在記錄時，都先把日期記載，然後才開始記錄事情內容及先知哈該的宣告服侍。(Hans, 59)

iii. 而 1:15b 這一個以日子為開頭的句子，卻突然凌空地存在，沒有任何內容緊接其後；接著便是 2:1，一個完全新的開始及發展。

iv. 而後來文士甚或哈該史記者抄寫時，便把“大流士第二年”調至現時的 v15b (即“六月廿四日”)之前；並在 2:15 開首加上“現在”兩個字。

v. 更明顯的經文證據：是在 2:10-14 中有關“潔淨—不潔淨”的教化性祭司討論，論非回歸子民的參與，這是與 2:15-19 中毫無回應或引申形成對比。

vi. 反而從 2:15-19 中的內容，談到在過去重建殿基時的可惡光景，這方面更貫串先前哈該先知鼓勵回歸的民的重建工作內容 (1:4-11)。而 v.18 中的日期，正好標明全盤重建計劃的工程再次開工的時間，並闡明再動工的起點(即由十八年前“耶和華殿的根基完工日子” cf. 拉 3:8-13)，重拾建殿工程的方向和動力，而九月廿四日就成為由咒詛/憂患變為祝福的新開端。另有聖經學者提議，把九月廿四日改回原本假設的六月廿四日，理由是大流士九月(December)已是雨季，並不適合重建之工；這提議可作參考之用。

(3) 有關第二個耶路撒冷聖殿

在回歸的民努力下，第二聖殿很可能於 515B.C.E. (拉 6:15) 時完工，並行獻殿禮。整體來講，第二聖殿比先前所羅門所建造的聖殿為大，前院比先前更闊落和更壯觀宏偉。

雖然第二聖殿後來經歷幾番修建，但總共維持了 500 年的時間，直至到 22B.C.E.，亦即希律王的第 18 年統治，聖殿的圍牆才被推倒，並加以改建成為一座美倫美奐的神殿，比起過去所曾建造的都要宏偉。

(4) 有關書中的日期比照：

爲便讀者在閱讀時，對時間發展有深刻了解，以下詳列古今日期計算的對照表。

<u>古時日期稱呼</u>	<u>今天日期稱呼</u>	<u>與對上時間相差</u>
1:1 大流士第二年六月初一日	520 年 8 月 29 日	
1:15 大流士第二年六月廿四日	520 年 9 月 21 日	約三個星期
2:1 大流士第二年七月廿一日	520 年 10 月 17 日	約四個星期
2:10 大流士第二年九月廿四日	520 年 12 月 18 日	約八個星期

另註：** 本書的作者明顯地強調“從這日起(from this day on)”，是再次把神對民的“確實性 Sharp Fixation”申明；叫眾民明白到神應許的實在！民也要認真落實重建之工，首要是改變他們的身心靈。

讀者需要了解到日期背後的意義：

大流士第二年六月廿四日 – 即巴勒斯坦地傳統中一年農耕的完結，亦即傳統節期的開始。

大流士第二年七月廿一日 – 是住棚節(秋季盛典)的第七天，也是節期最後一天，在這天，民按習俗會在聖殿中獻火祭。
(參利未記 23:34-39; 民數記 29:12-35)

大流士第二年九月廿四日 – 即巴勒斯坦地傳統中新一年農耕的耕期開始。

(5) 有關波斯行政系統

官職省長 (pechah פֶּחָח) 包含一個很廣義的職級，可以譯爲「外國特派專員 (Repatriation Commissioner)」。

雖然從經文中可見這職份的人有特別庫予的權力，尤其對於猶太省份，但仍然受到國家憲法所限，歸在撒瑪利亞省長的管治。在近年的考古文獻中，發現當到了哈該的期間，猶大省更獨立出撒瑪利亞，自成一區，所以在哈該書中更聲明是「猶大省長」。至於更高一層的官職，則稱爲 Satrap (拉 5:3, 6; 6:6)。

經文釋義

(1) 是不是重建聖殿的時候呢？(1:1-14)

- v.1 的寫作手法，與 2:1b, 20b-21a 都十分吻合。
文中所指的約書亞猶大背景，可參歷史 1Chron 2:33ff 及 3:17ff。
- v.2 是一段覆述——覆述昔日回歸的民曾講過的說話。
* 本節中有關時間的問題，NASB 稱是 “not come”，但原文是 “not yet”。
* 「萬軍之耶和華 (יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת)」(參出 15:3)
* 按 John Kessler 所分析，文中的 “The time has not come” 是不恰當的翻譯，譯為 “It is not the time to come (ie. now isn’t a good time to come)” 會更適合，著眼的是時間，並不是重建之工，反映出因為這些民以自己的智慧，認為 “現在” 並不是適合的時間；或者，民本來並非拒絕重建神的殿，認為只是時機未到。⁷⁵
- vv.3-4 是一連串神對回歸之民的責難。
責難的理據：神的殿與回歸之民的屋相比。
責難的說法：神藉哈該以反問來催逼回歸之民的反醒。(v.4)
責難的過程中，先知以「智慧文學的語調 (sapiential literature)」，盼望在民的心中動工夫，例如：甚麼是合適的時間呢？
思想：從神引述的說話 v.2，再配上這個反問句子，反映出民怎樣的屬靈及心理狀態呢？
* 民的心理狀態可以歸納如下：「現時十分明顯，從外在種種因素來看，並憑民自己的智慧，推遲重建聖殿的計劃是更為明智之舉。(參撒迦利亞書 1:12)⁷⁶
- vv.5-6 正好與 vv.7-8 構成對比——對比出「不足夠」的後果源於不同的動機。
vv.5-6：自我滿足，紙醉金迷的動機。
在 v.6 中所指的「卻不得足」非酒醉，而是酒的數量少。
而「卻不得暖」是指當民穿衣，便會使其他人少穿不暖。
至於工錢在破漏的囊中掉了，是一種咒語。
vv.7-8：以神的命令為依歸的動機。
** 留心本段是以指令寫成，重點是順命，不是建殿！但行動卻是順命的見證。
當人順神命，神就有雙重的祝福——[i]強化神民的關係 (be pleased with it); [ii] 能再次存留在神的屬性[即同在、能力、慈愛]之中 (be glorified)。 * Priestly Writing cf. Exodus 14:4, 17f; Lev 10:3

⁷⁵ John Kessler, *Building the Second Temple: Question of Time, Text, and History in Haggai 1:1-15*, JSOT 27.2 (2002) 243-256, ISSN 0309-0892

⁷⁶ Ibid. 248-9.

而這兩段皆以“你們要省察自己的行 (Consider your ways)”為引言，要民辨認出自己正在走著甚麼路；路 way 指的是「如何經營我們的生活」。

從尼希米記 2:8; 8:15f 可見，王擁有十分豐富的資源，問題是(1)王有沒有允准使用？(2) 民用資源作甚麼事？因此在拉 5:13; 6:3 & 11 的王旨，就變得像回歸之民順服神命的地上預習(Pre-Test)。

思想：辨認出自己正在走著甚麼路又有何重要呢？神講一下回歸民順命就已經如此開啓祝福之門，若果真的履行時，神更會怎樣善待祂的民呢？

- vv.9-11：以農耕的環境，接續先前的咒詛主題，並再次以問答形式達至民回轉的動力。而這問答正是那個在中間夾著的說理歷史釋義(參 IV)，也是傳統上 Deuteronomistic History (簡稱 DH) 的記載：

v.9c—神的殿破落，但民的家就成為眾人自保的地方。

* 留心：(i) 似乎這處所指的民，極有可能是那些沒有被擄又回歸的原居民。各求自保，專顧自己田產，於是固然沒有理會神殿的重建，更漠視那些從波斯遠道而回的同胞。

(ii) v.9c 的記載與 v.4bc 有一種倒過來的手法。

- 因此 vv.10-11 就成為另一段神刻意做成的災難(全面性的天災)，以此回 v.9a 中為何民「盼望多得，所得的卻少」。「吹去」是指摧毀，沒有其他靈意。

思想：耶和華神何須用到天災來警告人呢？我們又需要到神何等程度的警告才得以「順神命」？

- vv.12-14：回歸之猶大人民的轉捩點

(i) * a loaded term “都聽從 (obeyed)” —他們神的話和先知哈該奉耶和華他們 神差來所說的話；

(ii) 百姓也在耶和華面前存敬畏的心(became afraid of YHWH)。cf. 箴言 9:10

- v.13 是神繼 v.8 末的應許，按原文翻譯是 “I am at your side. / I am beside you. (Hans, 50; 參 賽 30:8; 43:5; 出 33:21)”，是一種「祭司性的拯救宣告 (Priestly Salvation Oracle)」，是 Deutero-Isaiah 的慣常手法。參 賽 41:10; 43:2, 5; 耶 30:10ff

- v.14 是回應在寫作上的特色，與 v.1 並行作第一段結束。可是有以下的分別：(i) 談及到眾民的靈(spirit)，上而領袖，下至所有餘民(包括回歸及沒有被擄的一切猶大國人。)

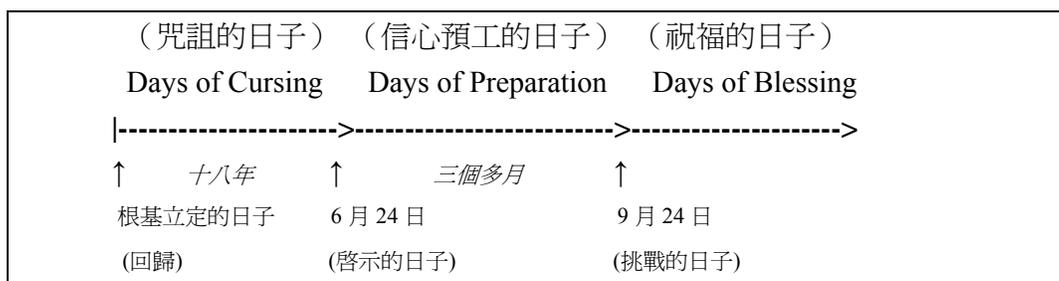
(ii) 眾民一同為萬軍之耶和華的殿工努力。

思想：猶大國民終於重新迎接重建耶和華神的殿，但如何施工呢？全盤計劃應如何執行呢？這些都是要有人思考和策動的。

餘民的領袖應當從那處入手呢？先進行資源分配嗎？還是有其他更重要的要素呢？

(2) 進到神的祝福中 (1: 15a ; 2: 15-19)

- * 有關將 2: 15-19 調動的因由，請參考第五頁筆記中的後記 (2)。但我們需要明白，有學者更嘗試在 2: 18 的日子改成六月的手法，我們並不能接受，皆因我們沒有足夠的理由，刪改經文的內容，並從 Textual Criticism (內文批判學) 的角度，要把內容更改是存有不少疑問，在「選擇較難讀本 (Harder Text)」的原則下，我們應保留原本內文；反而透過 Form Criticism (形式批判學) 及 Redaction (校訂批判學)，調動本段至第一及二章之間是可取的，尤其對於 6 月 24 日至 9 月 24 日這段時間的理解，即「再次承接神殿的工夫的預工」，這調動既配合以日期分段的結構，也能把全書的發展帶來一幅「重建的藍圖」。
- 1: 15a 的經文如下：… 六月二十四日，現在你們要追想 …
- 由 6 月 24 日至 9 月 24 日，我們可以把這段共三個多月的時間如此界分：



- 從這個分段，我們就更容易明白到由先前 1: 1-14 與本段的關連，可以講，本段就是要回歸之民知道，神不往的容忍其實已經是對民施恩的明證，至於民還可以濫花神恩有幾耐的日子，本段就作了一個總結，並甘呼籲這樣的恩典，從民的角度來講已經是「差不多」用光，現在正是趕快回轉的時候，趁在這「信心預工的日子」還有的時候，把握信心重建的工夫，不要再像過去十八年中 只顧自身的工作，而把神殿丟在一旁。
- * 留心：神並不在意於神殿是否能最終建成，反而神著眼於回歸選民能夠有「向神的心」。當民有向神的心時候，定必會主動地為神殿而操心建造。

本文中有以下背景特色：

- (1) 以農耕為背景，尤其當過去十八年的光景中 (參第一章的內容)，民都只是立心為自己的農耕生活操心，汰而放棄了重建聖殿之工。
- (2) 從以斯拉記第三至四章的記載，我們可知道聖殿的根基已經建立好了，現在所差的是根基以上的聖殿工作。
- (3) 6 月 24 日是巴勒斯坦地的農耕結束日期，緊跟著的便是一年一度的節期慶典日子，可惜這十八年來都是沒有聖殿，那麼回歸子民的節期是為甚麼慶祝呢？是為神供應保守感恩嗎？還是為自己得吃而自娛呢？

- (4) 9 月 24 日是新一年度農耕的開始日期。
- (5) 全文中多次運用「此日／這日 (This Day/Now)」的片語，這是傳統「申命記歷史字 (Deuteronomic Historian)」的慣用寫作手法，於全本聖經中共用了 70 之多。(參申 5：1-3；7：9-11；8：19；詩 95：7b)。原文“今天／這日”是 הַיּוֹם (hayom)。“今天”亦是全文的分段標記，把過去的覆述內容、今天的回轉勸告、並明天的祝福應許，清楚地分段 (demarcation)。

因此我們可以得出以下的分段：

- (A) 1：15a + 2：15-17：昔日光景的快覽 (Cursory Reading of Ch. 1)
 (B) 2：18-19：回轉踏進神將要來臨的祝福

(A) 1：15a + 2：15-17 可分為三個小片段：

- (i) v.15：聖殿在回歸以後十八年來的荒涼光景，這段也是回應到 1：3 和 9 節中，對於神殿忽略後而有的情景。「沒有一塊石頭壘在石頭上」是指聖殿的荒涼。
- (ii) v.16：指出回歸民眾的農耕工作是“事與願違”，並以實質的數字，顯示出一件又一件強差人意的結果，由穀堆的一半結果到酒池的四成收穫，可謂每況越下。
- (iii) v.17：所有天災的發生盡是出於神的手，這其實也提供給讀者及回歸選民知道，在歷年來，神已經多次作出明顯的提醒，呼喚選民的回歸神的身邊，可惜結果仍然是「不歸向神」。於 v.17 中要留意以下幾點：

- (1) 「手下的各樣工作」是與 2：14b 互相呼應。
- (2) 「旱風、霉爛、冰雹」是引用阿摩司書 4：9a 及申命記 28：22，而這三項天災，與出埃及記時的十災有類似的影子，是以色列民應該熟識的事。這三項天災可謂由出埃及時對付埃及法老，以至被擄前的先知警告和現在歸回的時候，都構成警誡，原來神對外邦與選民也是一樣的，甚至乎得到人的回應也相近／相似。

旱風：近似第八災中的蝗災末期，有東風和西風吹埃及地 (cf. 出 10：13)

霉爛：與第一災 (血災) 和第二災 (蛙災) 類似影響

冰雹：與第七災 (冰雹) 類似

思想：在這三節經文的速記中，我們可以明白到神是願意所有人都能回轉歸向祂，甚至對待也十分相似，相信目的要人明白到：人要勝過的並非只是那些與自己有切身利益的事 (例如農耕)，本身為工作勞心是沒有問題，但只不過若因專注

自身利益而忽略了這一切供應的主 -- 耶和華神，這就是問題的本身，也是問題的徵結。(c.f. 加拉太書 1：10-12)
究竟選民的心指向誰呢？他們的工？他們自己

(B) 2：18-19 這兩節要民的心想念到，耶和華並非一般人所有的神觀，亦即「順我者昌，逆我者亡」，反而耶和華是有恩典有憐憫的神，祂在多年的容忍中，都是要民趕快回轉，並且這回轉是能夠「經得起挑戰、試探和引誘」！

v18：這節叫民從 9 月 24 日起開始追想（另譯：細心思量），這是建耶和華殿的重新工作日子，也是新農耕期的開始。由 6 月 24 日至 9 月 24 日的三個多月，實為信心重建的工作，也是建殿基本預工，若民不能夠在這預工中好好把生命重建，到了 9 月 24 日的新農耕期再來臨時，他們極可能一如以往，只顧自己的工。

v19：再者，從本節中指出倉裡的一切穀種已用光，又葡萄藤、無花果樹、石榴樹、橄欖樹都沒有結果子（參約珥書 1：12），可見回歸的餘民／遺民已經到達了「山窮水盡」的地步，沒有再多的「本錢」去行自己的路。這是最後的勸告，也是不爭的事實，在窮途末路之時，餘民／遺民還是好好的學習回歸到神前，免得自尋死路。當民能真正回歸於神之中，賜福的應許已經降臨！

思想：從這裡我們認識到耶和華的兩方面：

(i) 祂由始至終都不會縱容人犯罪，各人行自己以為美的事，因為罪的最終結果是「自尋死路」，人是不可靠自己活自己的一切養生的事，因為人是被造之物，唯有那一位創造主才能養活人，因為祂是一切之源。

(ii) 父神到人的最後一步，仍然勸導人回轉，祂把人所面對的暗淡光景，在餘民／遺民前闡釋，都是希望人回歸到祂那裡，賜福給回歸的民。

全段的結語

以下有幾方面的回應：

- (1) 神盼望祂的民在祂之中，這正如新約中基督與父神的關係。(參約翰福音 6：53；10：38；14：10，14，17，20；15：4-7；17：21-26)
- (2) 神從不逼任何人順服祂，相反祂只叫人看清楚自己所選的道路，從而反醒回歸於神。這正是慈父的心腸，叫祂的兒女得福。
- (3) 信徒的事奉並不是與世界的工作／神交託的責任分離 (Segregated Lifestyle)，相反是叫信徒在已委託的工作上，同時是向著神，就等同於文中的 9 月 24 日正是新的農耕日子，但神要人在任何時候，都曉得抱著討神喜悅、貼近神心的態度生活下去；並經得起考驗試探引誘。
- (4) 有關事奉的看法，本段並非教導信徒放肆好一段時間之後才回去事奉神；相反，本段叫神的子民學習無論是何種光景，就算生活也只是僅僅足夠基

本糊口，神的民仍然對父神持著鍾愛不變的「靠近恩主之情誼」。

後記／考慮題目：

- (1) 若果本段(即 2:15-19)不作任何調動，解釋上會有怎樣的分別呢？
- (2) 以賽亞先知與阿摩司應為同期先知。

(3) 提出解決疑難的方法 (1:15-2:9)

- * 留心 1:15 所指的是“大流土王第二年…”
- 在了解本段之先，我們必需要重申有關日期的相關意義，尤其是在這些日期中所函括的節期。
- 猶太人有七大節期，分別是逾越節 (利 23:5)、無酵節 (利 23:15-22)、初熟節 (利 23:9-14)、五旬節／收割節／七七節 (利 23:15-22)、吹角節 (利 23:23-25)、贖罪日 (利 23:26-32) 及住棚節／收藏節 (利 23:33-43)。守節期的目的是要人認定耶和華神是他們的供應者。
- 從 1:15b (中文和合本) 的六月二十四日至到 2:1 的七月二十一日，正好就是猶太人的吹角節至到住棚節的日期。傳統上猶太人都十分看重節期的慶祝，但是在先知書的部份，我們可以見到先知經常指責以色列人在節期中得罪神，皆因以色列民已把原先對慶祝節期為更認定耶和華神的原意，改變得如一般未信群眾的節期慶祝；把原先所有的「耶和華的節期」(利 23:24)，改變成為「猶太人的節期」(參約 2:13; 5:1) 這正是哈該書所有的背景。
- * 本分段的主要目的，是要揭開回歸餘民不作重建聖殿之工的隱憂，並且提出多項的應許，作為鼓勵回歸餘民的動力，好使他們真真正正地去參與重建，並且要重建一個比先前更榮耀的聖殿。
- * 留意神要先知的事奉是鼓勵神民的向神忠誠的心，至於重建之工，只不過是神子民向神忠誠的表彰，重點不在於所作之工，乃在於神民的心志。
- 七月廿一日是住棚節的最後一天，而在過節期間也包括贖罪日，可見，對於新季度的耕種，亦即神新一年祝福之前，民必需要先贖罪。

分段：

本段落可以細分為以下四個分段，而從這些細分段中，我們可以更察覺到哈該書中是以傳統希伯來詩歌體裁寫成的。

- (1) 1:15b, 2:1-3 : 以問題形式的宣告，鼓動民的心志。
 - (2) 2:4-5 : 在心志上需要重拾那在過去歷史中已有的「剛強」態度。
 - (3) 2:6-7 : 萬軍之耶和華動工。
 - (4) 2:8-9 : 萬軍之耶和華聖殿要更榮耀。
- * 在解釋聖經上，其中有兩大入手的態度：
 - (1) Sitz Im Leben：憑當時受眾的生活狀況入手。
 - (2) Eschatological Interpretation：以末世喻意形式入手。
 - * 在本文中的解釋，我們會盡量以前者為原則，皆因聖經本來就是寫給當日民眾的說話，是憑藉著當時之情況而宣告出來的話。因此我們需先入手從內文中找出與當時相關的環境。
 - * 就以哈該書內容而言，我們必需參考以斯拉記第三及四章的內容，因為

從這兩章經文，我們可以知道，原來其中一個主要不重建聖殿的原因，是當時回歸餘民受到當地官紳的逼害恐嚇，尤其是當日河西總督達乃和示他、波斯乃，並他們的同黨河西的亞法薩迦人（參拉 4：4，7-11；5：6）。回歸子民不單因此而停下了一切的工，共十八年之久，並且害怕就算重建聖殿，也因重建後的聖殿因太榮耀而觸怒當地的人。

* 因此，我們有理由相信，餘民可能並非不願參與重建，只不過是在拖延重建之工，於是乎在第一章中馬上談到「時候尚未來到（1：2）」，並以做其他較次要而又合情合理的工作，好能延遲（Procrastination）神殿之工。民醉心於農耕，其實是拖延抵賴的做法。以下就是在這基礎背景下所作的經文解釋。

(i) 1：15b；2：1-3：問題形式的宣告鼓勵民心。

- 於 1：15b 及 2：1-2 中，我們很明顯見到是承接 1：12 節的講法，把百姓也參進先知代表神的宣告中，而當我們比較 1：1 的宣告序言，更清楚地給我們見到神要納入的，不獨乎是群眾的政治領袖和屬靈的教師祭司，更包括這群真正作工的「剩下的百姓」。重建聖殿的人，當然要包括全民，而並非單靠一兩個領袖。

- 於 2：3 中，本書作者記述了先知的三條不用說明卻已有明顯答案的問題。而這三條問題，是有層次地一條緊接著下一條而發問，有層遞的格構，而第三條問題則以一種爆炸性的反問，使那些已埋沒信心將近十八年的餘民，重新提起勁來，承擔重建聖殿神的工作。

- 這三條題目的答問如下：（修詞學的問題 Rhetorical Questions）*
（c.f. 約 14：9-10 中耶穌也如此運用）

（a）問：你們中間存留的，有誰見過這殿從前的榮耀呢？

答：當然有！（c.f. 拉 3：12）

（b）問：現在你們看著如何？

答：當然情景淒涼，慘不忍睹啦！

（c）問：豈不在眼中看如無有嗎？（註者的原文譚譯：那麼前後比較，在你們眼中看來仍可當作無問題嗎？）

答：我們當然不能再坐視不理的呢！

- 從經文中的語氣（“這殿”），似乎餘民當時正正處身於殿基前。

- 在這分段中，很明顯不是譴責，反而是激勵回歸子民從擔憂拖延之心，理狀況和局面，從新抽身出來，把過去的逃避心態，改變成爲主動和剛強起來，這亦正是往下細分段的內容，把餘民的信心，與歷史的事件重新連上關係。從此可見信心的建立，與神在歷史中的作爲有特定的連貫性。

(ii) 2：4-5：以過去歷史爲鑑，重拾今天剛強的事奉心

（a）2：4 乃先知以耶和華直接說話爲開始和結束，這正是「神性

諭召」的寫作手法，用意是指出內容的來源自於耶和華，是不可漠視的說話，餘民必需悉心守候和承擔。

(b) 2：5 則把 2：4 中的「剛強」主題，帶領到歷史的根基之中。

- 2：4 是以三句平行句式表達出來，分別按著：政治領袖、屬靈領袖和剩下百姓三群人宣告，宣告要「剛強」；尤其是有關向百姓的宣告，是要「剛強作工」，因為真正要去擔當重建工作的，不是先前所指的領袖，而是百姓。領袖不用重建，因為領袖的工作不是在動工興建之事上，反而是以領受神諭為主，並清楚宣告給民明白知道。各人有各人的工作，本義卻沒有分別，都是以重建向神的心。工種也各有分別，但卻無分輕重，皆因各有其角色及困難。

- 在這處有關「要剛強」的主題，若我們參考申 31：23；書 1：6-9；歷上 22：13-16 及 28：20，我們會有以下的發現：

(1) 每一次都是神在一件重要差遣開始前的宣告說話。

(2) 每一次都是有新一代領袖出現時的宣告。

- 由此可見，「要剛強」是新領袖及神子民要承擔神工作的必要條件。

- 另外有關「要剛強」之後，神親自作出一項應許，即「我與你們同在／我的靈住在你們中間」，請參考出 24：1-8 及約約 14 主耶穌談到神與人的關係。

- 尤其在 2：5 中，這一份神對人的應許，更加植根於出埃及的歷史事實，是早有前車可鑑，有歷史的印證，並有西乃山之約為定規。耶和華神把自己與人的關係規範於歷史之中，目的是要叫人明確認識到，耶和華神是信守自己的承諾，餘民也應在這承諾下安心承擔與神同處的機會。

- 我們也有理由相信，先知哈該引耶和華談及埃及的事件，是要誘發餘民對聖殿的關心。出埃及正正顯明神與人同在的歷史事實：由不住搬移的會幕，發展到所羅門所建的固定聖殿，後來又在被擄時期的會堂，到如今回歸耶路撒冷的重建第二聖殿，這種由不定地點到有固定地點的演變，正好與「剛強」的主題平行，亦與神應許「與人同在」吻合。

發展：	出埃及	----->	入迦南	----->	被擄	----->	回歸	---->
建造：	會幕	----->	聖殿	----->	會堂	----->	第二聖殿	---->
狀態：	流動	----->	固定	----->	流徙	----->	固定	---->
領袖：	摩西	----->	所羅門	----->	以賽亞	----->	所羅巴伯	---->
	/ 約書亞						/ 約書亞	
剛強勸勉：	申 31:23/ 書 1:6-9	----->	歷上 22:13-16/ 歷上 28:20	---->	賽 35:4	----->	哈 2:4-5; 代下 15:7	

思想：從歷史來看，今天神的殿又建造在那裡呢？在信徒的生命中嗎？當神應我們「與神同在」的時候，我們又能否真正剛強壯膽，並且能承擔起今天神委托的傳主道／真理的重任呢？

(iii) 2：6-7：萬軍之耶和華親自動工 &

(iv) 2：8-9：萬軍之耶和華聖殿更爲榮耀

- 在本段的開首，爲耶和華冠上一個「萬軍」之名號，很自然給人的印象是戰士，是帥領我們爭戰的形像。(參出埃及記 15：3)
- 這處的分段其實顯示出 2：6-7 與 2：8-9 都是神的諭召，而內容皆爲比較語(參以下的分析圖)。註：【 】中的乃爲比較內容。

A v6 首：萬軍之耶和華如此說：

B 過不多時，我必再一次震動【天地】、【滄海與旱地】(註：比較語)

C v7 首：我必震動萬國；萬國的珍寶必都運來，(註：應許)

D* 我就使這殿滿了榮耀。

A' v7 末：這是萬軍之耶和華說：

A v8 首：萬軍之耶和華說：

B' v8-9：銀子是我的，金子也是我的。這殿【後來的榮耀必大過先前的榮耀】(註：比較)

C' v9 末：這是萬軍之耶和華說的。

* 留意：中文和合本中的「必」是把耶和華的行動確定化，依原文中內容指示出，vv.6-7 是以 Hifil 的字根系統運用作爲神行動的促成結果 (Causative Usage)。至於 v9 中的「必」，則分別以 גָּדוֹל (great 大) 來作爲比較詞。因此，我們相信中文翻譯者只是會意到以上的字詞，卻未有因爲從原文中 נִאֲמַר (宣告 utterance) 所帶來的肯定性。(參 A' 的原文，翻譯出來是帶有確立必定之意思。

* 另外 2：6-7 中的「震動 מְרַעֵשׁ / וְהָרַעַשְׁתִּי」，並非作爲破壞的地震 (c.f. Hans Wolff, Haggai 中的分析)，相反是先知書中的一貫神顯 (Theophany) 的圖畫描述，其他先知書更加上大響聲；以此顯明一切在神掌管中。(參士 5:4; 伯 39:20; 摩 9:1; 鴻 1:5)

- 從文中所指的榮耀，我們可以推斷是只有在神臨在聖殿中的時候，神的榮耀才顯明，而當民更能遵守神命，關心神的事的時候，這種神的榮耀便會更大更明顯。傳統了解上，榮耀可以是

代表耶和華（參結 1:28, 3:12）

- vv.6-7 與 vv.8-9 的連繫就在於 v.7b “我就使這殿滿了榮耀”（D）。
- 若按經文所指，即 vv.6-7 是要肯定耶和華是在施工期間的一切供應者，列國也在祂的指示和權柄下，為重建聖殿之工送來資源。既然如此，餘民亦不可以憑著「為生活周章」的理由，而再繼續拖延重建神殿的工夫。（文中的「天地」和「滄海與旱地」的對比，皆指出全宇宙性的掌管皆在耶和華手之中。）
- 承接 vv.6-7 的內容，vv.8-9 其實是陳明這位供應者的最終目標：就是透重建一個榮耀的聖殿，藉此勸導回歸餘民不要害怕因那地的民而來的有形無形的威脅，擔憂把聖殿建得太榮耀而招來更大的逼害。因為其中有兩個重要的應許：
 - （a）萬國的珍寶必都運來；（v.7）
 - （b）在這地方我必賜平安。（v.9）
- 其實從 vv.6-9，也可以見到申命記歷史學家的手筆，他同樣以時間為開始（即“過不多時” *約翰福音中也有如此的記錄，參 13:33, 14:19, 16:16-19），並記載這時段中的發生細節，到最後帶來應該（v.9）；手法與 1：15a - 2：19 類似。

結語：

宏觀本分段，我們可見耶和華為的是要先重建餘民向神的心志；激勵他們重拾聖殿事奉的動力，並藉多次的應許（又是植根歷史的應許），叫人無所懼怕，參與重建的工作，憑藉著剛強的信心，真正實現神要求人對祂的忠誠，就算危難吃虧當前，也只管神命的內容，順服遵行。聖殿能再一次被重建起來，實在是完全在神的恩典之下完成的事，並非是人的作為。故此，人的角色就只有是「順神命，當差命」。

(4) 不潔的事物是滿有漫延性的 (2:10-14)

有關 2:10-14 理解時的一些提綱挈領筆記

- v.10 : 歷史記者 (Chronicler) 的手筆, 首先闡釋日期及說話的來源和終點。
 vv.11-12: 先知的問題宣告與及祭司的回答。* 問題的目的: a ruling! (原文 Torah)
 v.13 : 先知的第二輪問題宣告與及祭司的回答。
 v.14 : 先知對回歸的餘民的工作與壇上所獻的批評, 也是看為「污穢」和「不算為聖」。

* 本段落的答問結構與手法, 請參本書 2:1-3 及撒下 12:1-15 的考慮問題:

(1) 神批評的焦點, 是那段時期的工作和奉獻呢?

(i) 歷史中的以色列民的工作和奉獻; 又或

(ii) 回歸之後餘民的工作和奉獻

(2) 甚麼變成「不算為聖」呢? 甚麼東西變成「污穢」呢?

(3) 怎樣攘成「不算為聖」呢? 怎樣導致「必算污穢」呢?

情形:(i) 一個帶著聖潔食物在身上的人, 能否因此也使到後來所觸及的食物變成為聖呢?

「聖 (Holy)」: 是為神特別騰出來的事物或人物, 是合宜合份之事。

答案: 不可以!

情形:(ii) 一個因觸及死屍不潔淨的人, 能否因此而使到他後來所觸及的食物變成不潔淨呢?

「潔淨 (Clean)」: 與「聖 (Holy)」有直接的等同關連, 換句話說, 亦即行事合宜, 因此人或物就是整全, 結果就是「潔淨」。(潔淨之例通常是圍繞殿的。)

答案: 是可以!

* 留心答案只是「是」與「否」。

所以:

人帶著聖潔 -----> 也不能使別人聖潔 (因為聖潔的中心評價在於神)

人觸屍不潔 -----> 卻能夠使別的不潔 (罪的延伸性)

* 由此看來, 從人身上卻只能夠給人帶來不淨潔和不聖潔, 只會導致負面影響。在這種律法的斷定下, 誘發出耶和華神對以色列民或回歸子民的工作和奉獻評價, 亦即

(1) 以色列民/如今的餘民皆不能給別的民族群體帶來聖潔;

(2) 同時, 這些民亦為別的民帶來破壞/不潔。

* 我們的思想問題:

(1) 為何要在這處加入這段對問呢? 用意何在?

(2) 以色列民甚至是回歸的餘民, 又為誰帶來破壞/不潔呢?

以斯拉記第 3-5 章中又能否提供一些答案呢?

- * (1) 首先直至此時此刻，聖殿仍然沒有建成，那麼，就會有以衣襟兜聖肉運送的工序。本來應在聖殿中吃完聖物的（食物奉獻為祭）。（參耶 11：15；利 7：19）
- (2) 按利未記 6：27；7：6；10：10；11：8；22：3-9；以西結書 44：23；皆指出不潔的規條，祭司職責是說明和教導民明白如何分辨聖與不聖、潔淨與不潔淨。

按 NET BIBLE (www.netbible.org) 中的筆記所指出，本段的中心思想，是要餘民知道，他們不應該認為，當自己仍然與那些不認識神的民，在思想和行為上相互結連地生活的時候，自己仍然是能夠成為聖潔（NET BIBLE, Haggai, SN#55）。同樣地，就算回歸餘民是去進行神聖的敬拜活動，試圖以親近神得聖潔，這種行動也不能使人聖潔，反而更使人一切的行為變得不潔淨。（這正是 v.14 的結論。）

思想：我們是為了甚麼緣故來到神前，敬拜神呢？

不潔之事物（罪）是因何故進入到民當中／敬拜神的生活中呢？

這些不潔之事物，又如何影響著回歸的民呢？

- v11：所謂 a ruling (NRSV) 或和合本的「問律法」，原文是 **תּוֹרָה** (Torah)，故此「祭司的決定」就是憑著 Torah (律法) 的內容而斷定。
- v12：原文中所指「別的食物」，即 (eatables - **מֵאֲכָל** - 可吃之食物)，於利未記中是祭司的一貫職任。
- v13：有關死屍的條例，請參民 5：2；6：11；19：11，13；利 21：11，11：24-25，22：3-6。
- v14：- 在本節之中有一個 Thrice “So (כֵּן)” 的結構：(這處借用 Hans Wolff 的翻譯，參 p.88)
- 於是哈該回答和宣告說：
- So** it is with this people,
So it is with these folk/this nation
 in my eyes - saying of Yahweh -
So is all the work of their hands
 and what they offer there:
 it is unclean.
- * 另於 LXX 中的最後有附加的句子／經文：
- [Because of their morning profits. They will suffer pains because of their wickednesses. And you "hate in the gates those who reprove."]
- 本附加句的最後部份，是回憶／憶述亞摩司書 5：10a 的一番話。
- 神在這裡所指的「民 (the people)」，應該是指 1：4-11 及 2：3-9 的民，亦即回歸的領袖與餘下的百姓。至於「這國 (these folk/ this nation)」，應該是指那地的人，亦即拉 4：1-5 中的「那地的人」，亦即撒瑪利亞省的

- 官長，他們是猶太人的敵人，主動要推翻餘民重建聖殿之工。(參先前 2:1-9 中所題及當地官紳的討論部份)
- 我們需要留意的事，是這些人大有可能是先前 721B.C.被亞述所滅的北國餘下的雜交後裔，是北國以色列人與外族通婚後的後裔，他們極可能有類同的宗教生活，本質卻是完全不同。
 - 正因為這群人是北國以色列與外族通婚後的後裔，被視為「不潔」與「不聖潔」是顯而易見之事。若回歸之民與他們同謀，認同對方又或屈服於他們之下，這正正是「不聖潔」的源頭。
 - 因此，就連餘民手中之工也是成為不潔。
 - * 全段的鋪排完全似 2:3 中的層遞反問，更是場景快速描述(Scene sketch) 的獨有手法，目的似拿單先知向大衛王的答問相同，能塑造出一種強烈的震撼性，推動人要馬上回轉，重新與神的道理與人的回應相互接軌。
 - 哈該先知的目的，不單只要鼓勵餘民承擔起重建聖殿之工作，最重要是以北國以色列的經驗，勸戒餘民不要重蹈北國的覆轍 -- 防避會屈服在當地官紳的勾結／妥協的生活態度，否則漫延性甚為殺傷力，亦即第二輪問答有關不潔的互相牽連的惡果，而一切的結果／手上的工作已只有變得徒然，不被耶和華所接納。

思想運用：今天對於我們這一群信耶穌的，最大殺傷的力量並非外面的異端，反而是那些「似基督信仰卻非真正完全有基督真理的言論教導」，這些所謂「教導」正是今天「雜信基督教 (pluralistic Christianity)」的主要傳遞信息，叫人身處真理的殿中作接受歪曲真理的「異信徒」。

* 真正叫認識真理的是真理的主自己，並不能借助間接的人與物。

* 當我們思想到今天我們要建的是「屬靈的殿」的時候，我們又能否單單依靠神的指示命令 (Torah)，而不靠其他「似乎是拯救傳道」的手法呢？例如：以社關去拯救人。(參彼得前書 2:1-10)。“God Only (唯獨神)” 的拯救觀是本段的核心。

結語：

其實聖殿的重建對於神來說並不重要，因為神根本上並不被規限於聖殿之中，重建聖殿的事只不過是一種 a priori 的論調，聖殿的重建是為人多於為神 -- 叫人能有一個標記 (symbolic) 作學習敬拜神的場地。

真正的敬拜是在於天天人對神的心，正如使徒行傳 17:24ff，真正能夠得著神所喜悅的敬拜，乃在於人有沒有聖潔的條件，正如本分段中的兩個問題發問的中心，因為我們的神是聖潔的。

若人能夠憑重建聖殿之後在其中忠心敬拜，那又更何況在平日生活中記念神呢？這正是 a priori 的論調。所以在本段的討論中，最重要是塑造「潔淨／聖潔」的屬靈生命。

不只有剛強壯膽，但也要有作工的條件，而這些作工的條件就由耶和華全部提供。



若是滲雜別樣信仰比較容易的話，那麼應何時和怎樣抗拒異教教導呢？



作用：要叫百姓全民明辨律法的教導，好使他們都能憑律法(聖經)行動。

(5) 以耶和華的印介為記 (2:20-23)

- * 本段的開始聲明了耶和華同一天內 (即九月二十四日)，第二次向先知哈該發言。
- * 同樣在本段中，似乎耶和華所宣告有關戰車 (chariots) 和馬上的騎士 (horsemen)，是要回應祂於早期對以賽亞先知的預言與訓誨 (c.f. 賽 31:1, 36:9)，又或是呼應在詩篇 20:7 的警告。
- * 有關耶和華是一位戰士，是為以色列民/祂的子民爭戰的經文，請參考出埃及記 14:14 和 15:3 的記載。
- * 本段的宣告，是承接先前 2:10-14 談到祭司事奉上的不聖潔和潔淨的準則，延伸至不潔的漫延性，好叫回歸的餘民警醒，防避沾染非耶和華子民的思維。
- * 如今到哈該書的最後一段，神藉先知再次在同一天中 (即民復興的關鍵時刻)，要他們完全脫離其餘各國的權力威嚇的無形思想，專心一致，憑著耶和華所給與的應許行事為人。
- * 有關本段與前段的宣告，是否只單單向先知宣告，抑或有在旁的餘民旁聽，從內文中卻沒有清楚表達，釋經家 Hans Wolff 認為應該就只有先知與神的「個人性指控 (Personal verdict)」c.f. Hans Wolff's Haggai, p. 101-2. 可是有神的宣告卻沒有指明最終的受眾/聽眾，這也是難以理解，故此我們可以臆測有餘民旁聽的可能，但也必須尊重聖經中沒有指明最終受眾的事實。(參撒 10:1, 16:13; 王上 11:29; 王下 9:6)
- * 從內文的結構來分析，本分段是由兩部份組成：
 - (i) vv. 21-22: 向作為猶大省長所羅巴伯說話
 - (ii) v. 23: 向作為僕人撒拉鐵的兒子所羅巴伯說話
 而 v.20 就是把這兩個先知性宣告，與前段的內容連接起來。

譯義：

vv.20b-21a: *若由本書開首至今的進程，我們可以見到以下的發展流程：

- (1) 1:1 : 耶和華藉哈該先知向：猶大省長撒拉鐵兒子所羅巴伯 + 約撒答的兒子大祭司約書亞說話。
- (2) 2:14 : 哈該先知直截了當向這民這國宣告神的說話。
- (3) 2:1 : 耶和華藉哈該先知向：猶大省長撒拉鐵兒子所羅巴伯 + 約撒答的兒子大祭司約書亞 + 剩下的百姓說話。
- (4) 2:10 : 耶和華的話向哈該先知說，並要求先知向所羅巴伯等祭司問律法。
- (5) 2:20b-21a: 耶和華向哈該先知說並要求：向有雙重身份的所羅巴伯說話。

* 由此看來，祭司所羅巴伯在耶和華的一連串宣告中，都成為必然的聽眾。

vv.21b-22: 這兩節的宣告，可以分列為三疊的宣告 (由三項類似的內容組成)

- (1) 我必震動天地 (v.21b)
- (2) 我必傾覆列國的寶座，除滅列邦的勢力 (v.22a)
- (3) 【我】傾覆戰車和坐在其上的 (v.22b)

- * 這種有平行句式的寫作手法，正顯示出本段是詩歌體裁，是一項嚴肅的呼召，每一項內容都是呼召的嚴正聲明，叫被呼召者落實遵行。
- * 回應先前有關本段是否一段公開的宣告，我們在此比較困難猜測作者是否希望公開宣告內容，但很明顯本段與前段迥然不同的，是本段只刻意指向所羅巴伯一人的宣告。不像先前的受眾都以眾數代名詞／名詞去表達（參 1：4-10；2：15ff，18a，19b；2：3）。
- * 既然如此，我們若認定本段只是向作為省長又是祭司的所羅巴伯說話，對比與先前的經文，此處必定有特別用意，是作者要讀者們留意的。
- * 更重要，是我們要明白所羅巴伯的大衛猶大王族的淵源（參拉 2:1-2；尼 12:1-3；太 1:12；路 3:27），因此他重建聖殿是合情合理。
- * 若前段（即 2：10-14）是談及要與「那地的民」分別出來，保持餘民的聖潔的話，可以肯定的事，是這位祭司省長所羅巴伯必定需要面對空前的政治不穩等關連的挑戰，這就似乎正切合本段的內容，讓我們設身處地，再次經驗以順從耶和華為大元帥的經驗，本文與哈巴谷書 3：1-16 的主題有類似的功用。
- * 九月二十四日是重建之工的開始，也是新一季農耕的日子，是「轉捩點」，也是餘民屬靈生命的「挑戰日」（cf. p.9）；這天是正式爭戰的重要開端。
- * 從 vv21-22 的內容可見，哈該先知的宣告，正好成為那正在憂心煩惱的所羅巴伯提供一個重要的提醒和耶和華及時的應許／後盾，叫餘民能在信心的領袖帶領之下，勇敢活在神所重建的生命中。
- * 留心是耶和華自己為民所擔憂的鄰國，逐一地清除淨盡。
- * 昔日最強的軍事力量／武器：戰車和騎兵隊，亦都一步步地被神除滅，這圖像正好叫餘民回憶起早在出埃及的時候的類似局面——即出埃及時追殺以色列民的法老和其軍事力量，徹底地被耶和華清除。

	<u>出埃及時</u>	<u>回歸時代</u>
追兵：	埃及法老的戰車騎兵	撒馬利亞當地的人
目的地：	迦南應許之地	迦南耶路撒冷的應許之城
結果：	被耶和華以紅海之水滅	有耶和華的先知在那裡幫助（拉 5：2） - 觸動大流士王尋察典籍庫（拉 6：1-5）

- * 留心一點，為何按歷史記載，大流士王會因「那地的官」的上書控訴時，查考典籍庫呢？
 - (i) 按出土文件 Behistun Inscription 石刻，記載了大流士在登基前的政治角力戰中，他曾參與／發動過一次極秘密的弑殺兄弟罪行（fratricide），而本段的 v.22b 尾段，正好記載了耶和華在祂的宣告中，最明顯卻又隱晦地揭發大流士的罪行。
 - (ii) 正因為如此，從大流士王的角度來講，最穩妥的做法是在還未東窗事發之前，先行查察歷史文獻，希望沒有任何對自己不利的記載。

(iii) 而在這行動中，大流士發現的反而是容許餘民重建的文獻，在一舉兩得的情況下，既可暫時平息一切勢力之間的爭端，又可顯出大流士王的「仁君形像」，神就是這樣在這歷史中，輕描淡寫地在人心與歷史發展中動了工，把餘民身邊一個又一個的威嚇權勢一一瓦解。

v23：在這裡註明是僕人撒拉鐵的兒子身份，是要再次重申所羅巴伯的正統地位，與大衛王作「耶和華的僕人」身份等同（參撒下 7：5，8；王下 11：32；34；結 34：23 ff，37：24；詩 78：70，89：3，132：10）

- 所羅巴伯能成爲「僕人」，並非因爲血統的淵源，反而是與重建聖殿的主題有關。昔日大衛王爲建神的殿而盡上心思，而這刻所羅巴伯爲重建耶和華的殿同樣竭盡所能。
- 在這個行動之中，耶和華神就把這全權代理人的身份像徵給與在所羅巴伯手中 -- 就是所羅巴伯成爲耶和華的印介（Signet），以所羅巴伯這人就是等同於耶和華的允準（approval）。（參雅歌 8：6）
- 印介（Signet）在古近東被視爲：法律真偽的證據、權力與產業的證明、合法代表、全權委任及完全信賴的意思。

思想：

- (1) 神在人迷失喪膽時，祂會爲人消除障礙，但前題是人是否在行神的事，體貼神的心？
- (2) 人能成爲神的全權代表，聖經中例子比比皆是，但他們有甚麼同樣的條件呢？我們可否從所羅巴伯身上學習到呢？
- (3) 餘民在全卷哈該書的啓示之後，又怎能夠放膽完成重建之工呢？而重建之工得以完成，又是否代表餘民已經十分成熟，凡事都能摸準神的心意呢？
- (4) 若我們從以下圖表的對比觀察一下，可見兩個聖殿的建造細節基本都是相反的，我們可以從中學習到甚麼呢？當我們在困惑時，應抱怎樣的事奉態度呢？我們應抱甚麼心態去預備參與事奉的行列呢？事奉的動機又是甚麼呢？

	所羅門建殿(第一次建殿)	所羅巴伯建殿(重建聖殿)
誰作供應：	大衛王	耶和華神
建築心願：	大衛王	耶和華神
誰來動工：	所羅門王及以色列民	回歸的猶大國民(約四萬人)
政治局勢：	大致穩定	十分多挑戰者環繞著
國家經濟情況：	十分強盛(豐厚)	十分薄弱(荒涼)
地點：	耶路撒冷	耶路撒冷
建築結果：	榮美	比先前更榮耀

崇祀先知 (Cultic prophets)

代下廿14的經文，顯示有些預言是在崇祀禮儀當中出現的。在國家危難的時刻，約沙法王率領百姓在耶和華殿的院前向祂祈求。在他們結束祈禱的那一刻，神的靈降在一個利未人身上，他就馬上傳達主應許戰勝的信息。這名利未人是掌崇祀的司事，兼具備講預言的恩賜。同樣情形也可能見於一些詩篇中（如：六十，七十五，八十二，等等）。以上所提及的詩篇有一部分是以單數的第一人稱說話：這是神諭〔對百姓祈求〕的回應，主持崇祀的先知將神要對當代人宣講的話傳給百姓。有學者建議，被擄之後的利未人詩班就是被擄之前各地聖所多洽崇祀先知的承繼者。在每一個聖所，祭司負責敬拜禮儀中的獻祭部分，而先知則與他們分工，負責向全國公開宣講神的話，或私下將神的話指導個人。

迦南人當然有這種做法，但有關以色列人的情況，大部分憑據都是基於推測的：我們首先發現，在基比亞的邱壇（撒下15）有先知的團體：先知撒母耳是示羅〔聖所〕的司事（撒下319），又在拉瑪主持祭祀聚餐（撒下912起）；先知迦得吩咐大衛在亞勞拿的禾場上築一座壇（撒下2411、18），又陳明神要設立聖殿詩班的心意（代下2925）；大衛就建築聖殿一事徵詢先知拿單（撒下71起）；以利亞在古舊的壇前舉行莊嚴的獻祭禮儀（王上1830起）；百姓習慣在獻祭的日子尋問先知（王下423）；不少經文同時提及先知和祭司，這顯示他們在職務上有連繫（王下232；賽287；耶226，810，1313，等等）；在聖殿內也設有先知的房舍（耶卅54）。

任何理論若建立在這般脆弱的基礎上，自然是很不穩固的。舉例來說，耶卅54提到先知獲分配房舍，因此先知與聖殿似乎真的有密切的關係；可是，這論據完全站不住腳，因為同一節經文也論及分配給首領的房舍。同樣地，先知或先知團體在崇祀中心出現，這現象不一定具有特別意義，可能只表示他們也是敬虔的信徒！阿摩司在伯特利的聖所出現（713），但這也不能證明他是因受僱而在場的。大衛請教先知這一件事，顯出大衛的明智過於暗示他的先知們跟崇祀有關。至此，有關崇祀先知的理論，仍然是一個理論而已。

先知與崇祀

即使我們證實了崇祀先知的理論，仍必須處理那些撰寫正典的、或有著作的先知與崇祀（cultus）之間的關係。他們對崇祀的看法可說是經文解釋上的難題，這主要出現在六段簡短的經文中；有人認為它們包含了先知對崇祀敬拜全然的指斥，並否定這是神的心意（摩521-25；何66；賽11-15，4322-24；彌66-8；耶721-23）。

我們馬上可以指出，只有幾段經文涉及這方面。倘若先知正如一些解經家所主張的那樣反對崇祀，為何他們甚少發出反對的聲音呢？這是不尋常的。再者，先知提出異議的方式有點含糊，令人弄不清楚他們想要指斥的是崇祀本身，還是當日充滿流弊的崇祀情況。不僅如此，上述的先知中，有些在他們作品的其他地方並沒有對禮儀及獻祭顯出同樣強硬的態度。以賽亞在其受差遣的異象中，肯定是在崇祀的情況下遇見神，而且心享平安。難道我們相信以賽亞會認為崇祀是毫無意義的嗎？再看耶利米書第七章，就是引為證據的一段經文。耶利米之所以責備百姓的崇祀敬

拜（第9-10節），不是由於耶和華禁止這做法，而是基於他們在敬拜耶和華的同時卻漠視道德並犯罪行惡。在第11節，聖殿是「這稱爲我名下的殿」；第12節提到示羅一度是「我的居所」，它之所以被毀掉，不是要顯明神厭棄人的崇祀，而是由於敬拜者的罪孽。這一切都顯示，先知的怒氣是針對那流弊叢生的崇祀禮習；對這些經節的深入研究也會引出同樣的結論。

對於摩五21-25的解釋，問題的核心在最後一節：「你們在曠野四十年，有否將祭物和供物獻給我呢？」假如我們要支持「阿摩司是個徹底反對獻祭者」之說，就必然會想像阿摩司滿有信心地預期〔百姓對上述問題提出〕否定的答覆：「沒有」。然而，這正是阿摩司不能夠做的。無論學者對五經的來源採哪種看法，阿摩司當日的傳統都會說，早在摩西時代，甚至在他之前的列祖時代，獻祭的事便已存在了。第21-23節論到神厭惡他們當時的崇祀禮習。第24節告訴我們，時人缺乏了對道德的重視，以及聖潔的生活。第25節旨在強調一個真理：〔崇祀與操守〕這些東西不是互相排斥的；按照神的旨意，它們乃是宗教上不可分割的兩面。我們必須特別指出，按希伯來文的結構，第25節的問題不僅不意味一個否定的答覆，更無需否定的答覆。若要突出先知的深眼點而重譯第25節，這節可譯爲：「在曠野四十年的日子，你們獻給我的豈是祭物和供物呢？」如果他們追溯他們宗教的起源，回到神所賜下的啓示，他們豈不是發現，神所要求的獻祭是以順服神的人生爲前提麼？由於他們沒有依循這模式（第26-27節），他們必被敵人擄到外地。要敬拜聖經所描述的那位神，不能光有「因功生效」（*opus operatum*）的儀文。

箴八10教訓我們：「你們當受我的教訓，不受白銀。寧得知識，勝過黃金」。這句話顯然是指事物的優先次序，而不是指兩項事物彼此排斥。這節經文的重要性在於它與何六6有完全平行的希伯來文結構。由於何西阿在他預言的其餘部分並沒有繼續流露對崇祀的厭棄，我們大概可以說，何西阿在這一節裏也旨在表達事情的優次，正如撒母耳那句經典的話——「聽命勝於獻祭」（撒上十五22）——所表達的。

賽一的困難之處是：如果我們僅認爲它絕對否定崇祀，就是言過其實了。不錯，第11-12節似乎是對獻祭的猛烈抨擊，但先知對安息日（第13節）和禱告（第15節）的指斥更爲強烈，而先知絕不可能完全否定安息日和禱告。因此，我們可以肯定地說，第15節最後的從句不僅直接與本節的前部分有關，也與這節之前所有的申斥有關。先知乃是強調，百姓既過深罪惡昭彰的生活，他們的宗教活動就是徒勞無功的。從第16節開頭所用的那些動詞看來，這種解釋證實是對的；這節經文的第一個動詞經常在有關潔淨禮儀的利未法典中出現。倘若先知認爲百姓一切的宗教活動都違背神的旨意，他就不大可能選用這個動詞了。第二個動詞用於道德的淨化。因此，先知的信息就是聖經的信息：要求人同時履行道德律法和禮儀律法的信息。

我們接深看彌六6-8。我們的主對少年富官所說的話（可十17起）跟這裏的情形類似。祂的回答只涉及道德律，難道祂存心否定禮儀律法中贖罪祭的神聖權威？這種解釋是牽強的，因爲主經常重視摩西的律例（如：太八4），更透過闡釋自己的死（可十四24），肯定了舊約獻祭的條文。我們還可以再問，利十八5既把道德律展示爲一種生活方式，那麼，這節經文是否要否定禮儀律法的效用？同樣，以彌迦爲例，我們決不應以爲凡他沒有特別認可的便是他所反對的。

我們在上文已指出了一些有助於研究耶七21-23的背景資料。如果從上下文來看，耶利米起碼在表面上並沒有譴責獻祭本身，指其是不可接受的，那麼，我們可以這樣解釋七22嗎？這兒的難題是，這節經文表面上似乎要求我們如此解釋。然而，我們若細心研究這節經文的希伯來文，

就知道引起困難的主要是英文的翻譯，而不是原文的問題。英文翻譯所用的介詞「有關」（'concerning'）——整節經文的關鍵字眼——就是希伯來文的 *שאלה*；譯為「有關」，卻減弱了此字原先表明「因為」或「為了」的主要意思（參：創廿11，四十三18；詩七，標題；耶十四1，等等）。這樣，本段經文是要指出，耶和華沒有「因為」祭物再向以色列說話，意思是說，獻祭不是向神施壓力的途徑；神向以色列人說話也不是「為了」祭物，因為永生神不需人任何的供應。以色列這個國家僅注重崇祀的運作，因而忽略了神的重點。這是因為崇祀不能獨立存在；它是在矢志順服神道德律的民族中，為了他們的屬靈需求而存在的。

我們最後可以提一提賽四十三 22 起的經文。從許多角度來看，這段經文是最難闡釋的。第 22 節的重點要作如下的翻譯：「你求告的對象並不是我」。若假設這種語氣貫穿整段經文，我們就發現這兒顯然與上一段有相似的情況：經文可有兩種解釋——首先，神可能憤怒地否定「獻祭是由神授權設立」這整個觀念：「在你們的崇祀裏，無論你們以為自己向誰求告，總之你們不是求告我，因為我從沒叫你們獻上供物，要你們負重擔」；其次，神可能指控他們扭曲了神的旨意：「在你們所有的崇祀辛勞中，你們並沒有真正求告我，因為我的原意並不是要崇祀的事把你們變成禮儀的奴僕」。經文清楚顯示這兩種解釋的可能性，以致我們只須問，究竟還有沒有其他證據供我們在兩者中作一選擇？聖經一貫地指向第二個解釋。我們既無須把其他的關鍵性經文解釋為對獻祭的徹底否定，也就不應引用這種解釋來處理這段經文。此外，在以賽亞書的經文中，我們還須思想賽四十四 28（它清楚讚許聖殿的重建）：如果以賽亞一方面否定獻祭，而另一方面卻因聖殿而歡欣，那麼，他的話便完全自相矛盾了。此外，賽五十三也無可置疑地使用了獻祭的字眼。

資料來源：The New Bible Dictionary 《聖經新辭典》中文電子書版 中國神學研究院出版

The Behistun Inscription - The Persian Rosetta Stone



The Behistun inscription is a carved relief, a royal proclamation carved by Darius I on the great cliff known as "Mountain of the Gods" which celebrates his initial victories when taking power and consolidating the empire. Etched on a cliff face about 100 meters off the ground along the road between modern cities of Hamadan (Iran) and Baghdad (Iraq), near the town of Bisotun. It originally built on the trade route between Babylon and Susa.

Below the inscription are two Parthian reliefs, those of Mithridates II and Gotarzes II. These are badly worn and have been defaced by a later Safavid inscription. Currently, it is apparently covered by scaffolding .

The monument consists of four parts: (i). A large panel depicting king Darius, his bow carrier Intaphrenes and his lance carrier Gobryas. Darius overlooks ten representatives of conquered peoples, their necks tied. One of these figures, badly damaged, is laying under Darius' feet. Above these thirteen people is a representation of the supreme god Ahuramazda.

- Underneath is a panel with a cuneiform text in Old Persian, telling the story of the king's conquests (translated [below](#)). This text has a length of about 515 lines.
- Another panel telling more or less the same story in Akkadian (the language spoken in Babylonia and more or less the standard language in the ancient Near East).
- A third panel with the same text in Elamite (the language of the administration of the Persian empire). This translation of the Persian text has a length of 650 lines.

The following [translation](#) is from *The Behistan Inscription of King Darius* by H. C. Tolman. Published by; Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. 1908.

The following excerpts give a fascinating account of the background and history behind this great monument.

- [The Rock of Behistun](#)
 - [Darius Carved History on Ageless Rock](#)
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Column 1

[1.1] I (am) Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king in Persia, the king of countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenide.

[1.2] Says Darius the king: My father (is) Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames, the father of Arsames (is) Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes (is) Teispes, the father of Teispes (is) Achaemenes.

[1.3] Says Darius the king: Therefore we are called the Achaemenides; from long ago we have extended; from long ago our family have been kings.

[1.4] Says Darius the king: 8 of my family (there were) who were formerly kings; I am the ninth (9); long aforetime we were (lit. are) kings.

[1.5] Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda I am king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom.

[1.6] Says Darius the king: These are the countries which came to me; by the grace of Auramazda I became king of them; Persia, Susiana, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the (lands) which are on the sea, Sparda, Ionia, [Media], Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Ga(n)dara, Scythia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, Maka; in all (there are) 23 countries.

[1.7] Says Darius the king: These (are) the countries which came to me; by the grace of Auramazda they became subject to me; they bore tribute to me; what was commanded to them by me this was done night and (lit. or) day.

[1.8] Says Darius the king: Within these countries what man was watchful, him who should be well esteemed I esteemed; who was an enemy, him who should be well punished I punished; by the grace of Auramazda these countries respected my laws; as it was commanded by me to them, so it was done.

[1.9] Says Darius the king: Auramazda gave me this kingdom; Auramazda bore me aid until I obtained this kingdom; by the grace of Auramazda I hold this kingdom.

[1.10] Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me after that I became king; Cambyses by name, the son of Cyrus (was) of our family; he was king here; of this Cambyses there was a brother Bardiya (i. e. Smerdis) by name possessing a common mother and the same father with Cambyses; afterwards Cambyses slew that Bardiya; when Cambyses slew Bardiya, it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain; afterwards Cambyses went to Egypt; when Cambyses went to Egypt, after that the people became hostile; after that there was Deceit to a great extent in the provinces, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces.

[1.11] Says Darius the king: Afterwards there was one man, a Magian, Gaumata by name; he rose up from Paishiyauvada; there (is) a mountain Arakadrish by name; from there - 14 days in the month Viyakhna were in course when he rose up; he thus deceived the people; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus brother of Cambyses; afterwards all the people became estranged from Cambyses (and) went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized the kingdom; 9 days in the month Garmapada were in course - he thus seized the kingdom; afterwards Cambyses died by a self-imposed death.

[1.12] Says Darius the king: This kingdom which Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses, this kingdom from long ago was (the possession) of our family; afterwards Gaumata the Magian took from Cambyses both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized (the power) and made it his own possession; he became king.

[1.13] Says Darius the king: There was not a man neither a Persian nor a Median nor any one of our family who could make Gaumata the Magian deprived of the kingdom; the people feared his tyranny; (they feared) he would slay the many who knew Bardiya formerly; for this reason he would slay the people; "that they might not know me that I am not Bardiya the son of Cyrus;" any one did not dare to say anything against Gaumata the Magian until I came; afterwards I asked Auramazda for help; Auramazda bore me aid; 10 days in the month Bagayadish were in course I thus with few men slew that Gaumata the Magian and what men were his foremost allies; there (is) a stronghold Sikayauvatish by

name; there is a province in Media, Nisaya by name; here I smote him; I took the kingdom from him; by the grace of Auramazda I became king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom.

[1.14] Says Darius the king: The kingdom which was taken away from our family, this I put in (its) place; I established it on (its) foundation; as (it was) formerly so I made it; the sanctuaries which Gaumata the Magian destroyed I restored; for the people the revenue(?) and the personal property and the estates and the royal residences which Gaumata the Magian took from them (I restored); I established the state on (its) foundation, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; as (it was) formerly, so I brought back what (had been) taken away; by the grace of Auramazda this I did; I labored that our royal house I might establish in (its) place; as (it was) formerly, so (I made it); I labored by the grace of Auramazda that Gaumata the Magian might not take away our royal house.

[1.15] Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did, after that I became king.

[1.16] Says Darius the king: When I slew Gaumata the Magian, afterwards there (was) one man Atrina by name, the son of Upadara(n)ma; he rose up in Susiana; thus he said to the people; I am king in Susiana; afterwards the people of Susiana became rebellious (and) went over to that Atrina; he became king in Susiana; and there (was) one man a Babylonian Nidintu-Bel by name, the son of Aniri', he rose up in Babylon; thus he deceived the people; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabu-na'id; afterwards the whole of the Babylonian state went over to that Nidintu-Bel; Babylon became rebellious; the kingdom in Babylon he seized.

[1.17] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth (my army) to Susiana; this Atrina was led to me bound; I slew him.

[1.18] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went to Babylon against that Nidintu-Bel who called himself Nebuchadrezzar; the army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris; there he halted and thereby was a flotilla; afterwards I placed my army on floats of skins; one part I set on camels, for the other I brought horses; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda we crossed the Tigris; there the army of Nidintu-Bel I smote utterly; 26 days in the month Atriyadiya were in course - we thus engaged in battle.

[1.19] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went to Babylon; when I had not reached Babylon - there (is) a town Zazana by name along the Euphrates - there this Nidintu-Bel who called himself Nebuchadrezzar went with his army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda the

army of Nidintu-Bel I smote utterly; the enemy were driven into the water; the water bore them away; 2 days in the month Anamaka were in course - we thus engaged in battle.

Column 2

[2.1] Says Darius the king: Afterwards Nidintu-Bel with (his) few horsemen went to Babylon; afterwards I went to Babylon; by the grace of Auramazda I both seized Babylon and seized that Nidintu-Bel; afterwards I slew that Nidintu-Bel at Babylon.

[2.2] Says Darius the king: While I was in Babylon, these (are) the provinces which became estranged from me, Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria [Egypt], Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia.

[2.3] Says Darius the king: There (was) one man Martiya by name, the son of Cicikhrish - there (is) a town in Persia Kuganaka by name - here he dwelt; he rose up in Susiana; thus he said to the people; I am Imanish king in Susiana.

[2.4] Says Darius the king: Then I was on the march to Susiana; afterwards the Susians [feared] me; they seized that Martiya who was chief of them and slew him.

[2.5] Says Darius the king: One man Phraortes [by name, a Mede], he rose up in Media; thus he said to the people; [I am Khshathrita] of the family of Cyaxares; afterwards the Median people which [were in the palace] became estranged from me (and) went over to that Phraortes; he became [king] in Media.

[2.6] Says Darius the king: The Persian and the Median army, which was by me, it was small; afterwards I sent forth an army; Hydarnes by name, a Persian, my subject, him I made chief of them; thus I said to them; go, smite that Median army which does not call itself mine; afterwards this Hydarnes with the army went away; when he came to Media - there (is) a town in Media Marush by name - here he engaged in battle with the Medes; he who was the chief among the Medes did not there [withstand]; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 27 days in the month Anamaka were in course - the battle (was) thus fought by them; afterwards my army - there (is) a region Ka(m)pada by name - there awaited me until I went to Media.

[2.7] Says Darius the king: Dadarshish by name, an Armenian, my subject, him I sent forth to Armenia; thus I said to him; go, the rebellious army which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Dadarshish went away; when he came to Armenia, afterwards the rebels came together (and) went against Dadarshish to engage in battle; there is a village [Zuzza] by name in Armenia - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 8 days in the month Thuravahara were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[2.8] Says Darius the king: A second time the rebels came together (and) went against Dadarshish to engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold, Tigra by name, in Armenia - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda, my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 18 days in the month Thuravahara were in course - the battle (was) thus fought by them.

[2.9] Says Darius the king: A third time the rebels came together (and) went against Dadarshish to engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold, U[yam]a by name, in Armenia - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 9 days in the month Thaigarcish were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them; afterwards Dadarshish awaited me in Armenia until I came to Media.

[2.10] Says Darius the king: Afterwards Vaumisa by name, a Persian, my subject, him I sent forth to Armenia; thus I said to him; go, the rebellious army which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Vaumisa went away; when he came to Armenia, afterwards the rebels came together (and) went against Vaumisa to engage in battle; there (is) a region I[zar]a by name, in Assyria - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 15 days in the month Anamaka were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[2.11] Says Darius the king: A second time the rebels came together (and) went against Vaumisa to engage in battle; there (is) a region Autiyara by name in Armenia - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; at the end of the month Thuravahara - thus the battle (was) fought by them; afterwards Vaumisa awaited me in Armenia until I came to Media.

[2.12] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I went from Babylon; I went away to Media; when I went to Media - there (is) a town Ku(n)durush by name in Media - here this Phraortes who called himself king in Media went with (his) army against me to engage in battle; afterwards we engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda I

smote the army of Phraortes utterly; 25 days in the month Adukanisha were in course - we thus engaged in battle.

[2.13] Says Darius the king: Afterwards this Phraortes with a few horsemen fled; there is a region Raga by name in Media - along there he went; afterwards I sent forth my army in pursuit; Phraortes was seized (and) led to me; I cut off (his) nose and ears and tongue, and I put out his eyes; he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him on a cross at Ecbatana, and what men were his foremost allies, these I threw within a prison at Ecbatana.

[2.14] Says Darius the king: One man, Citra(n)takhma by name, a Sagartian, he became rebellious to me; thus he said to the people; I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares; afterwards I sent forth the Persian and the Median army; Takhmaspada by name, a Mede, my subject, him I made chief of them, thus I said to them; go, the rebellious army, which does not call itself mine, smite it; afterwards Takhmaspada went away with the army (and) engaged in battle with Citra(n)takhma; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly and seized Citra(n)takhma (and) brought (him) to me; afterwards I cut of his nose and ears, and put out his eyes; he was held bound at my court; all the people saw him; afterwards I put him on a cross in Arbela.

[2.15] Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me in Media.

[2.16] Says Darius the king: Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious to me and declared allegiance to Phraortes; my father Hystaspes, he was [in Parthia]; the people abandoned him (and) became rebellious; afterwards Hystaspes [went with his army] which was loyal; there is a town Vish[pa]juz[a]tish by name [in Parthia] - here he engaged in battle with the Parthians; Auramazda [bore] me [aid]; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army utterly; [22 days] in the month Viyakhna were in course - thus the battle was fought by them.

Column 3

[3.1] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth the Persian army to Hystaspes from Raga; when this army came to Hystaspes afterwards Hystaspes took that army (and) went

away; there (is) a town Patigrabana by name in Parthia - here he engaged in battle with the rebels; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army utterly; 1 day in the month Garmapada was in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[3.2] Says Darius the king: Afterwards it became my province; this (is) what (was) done by me in Parthia.

[3.3] Says Darius the king: There (is) a region Margiana by name; it became rebellious to me; one man Frada, a Margian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth Dadarshish by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Bactria against him; thus I said to him; go, smite that army which does not call itself mine; afterwards Dadarshish with the army went away (and) engaged in battle with the Margians; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 23 days in the month Atriyadiya were in course - thus the battle {was) fought by them.

[3.4] Says Darius the king: Afterwards it became my province; this (is) what (was) done by me in Bactria.

[3.5] Says Darius the king: One man Vahyazdata by name; there (is) a town Tarava by name; there (is) a region Yutiya by name in Persia - here he dwelt; he was the second to rise against me in Persia; thus he said to the people; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; afterwards the Persian army which (was) in the palace cast aside their loyalty; they became estranged from me (and) went over to that Vahyazdata; he became king in Persia.

[3.6] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth the Persian and the Median army which was by me; Artavardiya by name, a Persian, my subject, him I made chief of them; the rest of the Persian army went with me to Media; afterwards Artavardiya with the army went to Persia; when he came to Persia - there (is) a town Rakha by name in Persia - here this Vahyazdata who called himself Bardiya went with (his) army against Artavardiya to engage in battle; afterwards they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdata utterly; 12 days in the month Thuravahara were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[3.7] Says Darius the king: Afterwards this Vahyazdata with few horsemen fled (and) went to Paishiyavada; from thence he took an army (and) again went against Artavardiya to engage in battle; there (is) a mountain Parga by name - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda gave me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that army of Vahyazdata utterly; 5 days in the month Garmapada were in course - thus the battle (was)

fought by them and they seized that Vahyazdata and what men were his foremost allies they seized.

[3.8] Says Darius the king: Afterwards - there (is) a town in Persia Uvadaicaya by name - here, that Vahyazdata and what men were his foremost allies, them I put on a cross.

[3.9] Says Darius the king: This (is) what (was) done by me in Persia.

[3.10] Says Darius the king: This Vahyazdata, who called himself Bardiya, he sent forth an army to Arachosia - there (was) Vivana by name, a Persian, my subject, satrap in Arachosia - against him (he sent an army) and one man he made chief of them; thus he said to them; go, smite Vivana and that army which calls itself of Darius the king; afterwards this army, which Vahyazdata sent forth, went against Vivana to engage in battle; there (is) a stronghold Kapishakanish by name - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 13 days in the month Anamaka were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[3.11] Says Darius the king: Again the rebels came together (and) went against Vivana to engage in battle; there (is) a region Ga(n)dutava by name - here they engaged in battle; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly; 7 days in the month Viyakhna were in course - thus the battle (was) fought by them.

[3.12] Says Darius the king: Afterwards this man, who was chief of that army which Vahyazdata sent against Vivana, he fled with a few horsemen (and) went away - there (is) a stronghold Arshada by name in Arachosia - he went thereby; afterwards Vivana, with an army went in pursuit of them; here he seized him and what men were his foremost allies he slew.

[3.13] Says Darius the king: Afterwards the province became mine; this (is) what (was) done by me in Arachosia.

[3.14] Says Darius the king: When I was in Persia and in Media, a second time the Babylonians became estranged from me; one man, Arakha by name, an Armenian son of Haldita, he rose up in Babylon; there (is) a region, Dubala by name - from here he thus lied to the people; I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabu-na'id; afterwards the Babylonian people became estranged from me (and) went over to that Arakha; he seized Babylon; he became king in Babylon.

[3.15] Says Darius the king: Afterwards I sent forth my army to Babylon; Intaphernes by name, a Persian, my subject, him I made chief of them; thus I said to them; go, smite that Babylonian army which does not call itself mine; afterwards Intaphernes with an army went to Babylon; Auramazda bore me aid; by the grace of Auramazda, Intaphernes smote the Babylonians; and [he led them bound to me]; 22 days in the month + + + + were in course - that Arakha, who called himself Nebuchadrezzar, and the men who [were his foremost allies they seized and bound]; [this Arakha] and what men were his foremost allies were put on crosses at Babylon.

Column 4

[4.1] Says Darius the king: This (is) what was done by me in Babylon.

[4.2] Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Auramazda it was (done) in every way; after that I became king, I engaged in 19 battles; by the grace of Auramazda I waged them and I seized 9 kings; there was one, Gaumata by name, a Magian; he lied; thus he said; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; there (was) one, Atrina by name, a Susian; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious to me; there (was) one, Nidintu-Bel by name, a Babylonian; he lied; thus he said; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabu-na'id; he made Babylon rebellious; there (was) one, Martiya by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said; I am Imanish, king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious; there (was) one Phraortes by name, a Mede; he lied; thus he said; I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Media rebellious; there (was) one Citra(n)takhma by name, in Sagartia; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Sagartia rebellious; there (was) one Frada by name, a Margian; he lied; thus he said; I am king in Margiana; he made Margiana rebellious; there (was) one, Vahyazdata by name, a Persian; he lied; thus he said; I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; there (was) one, Arakha by name, an Armenian; he lied; thus he said; I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabu-na'id; he made Babylon rebellious.

[4.3] Says Darius the king: These 9 kings I seized within these battles.

[4.4] Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which became rebellious; the Lie made them rebellious so that these deceived the people; afterwards Auramazda gave them into my hand; as was my will so [I did] unto them.

[4.5] Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from Deceit; whatever man shall be a deceiver, him who deserves to be punished, punish, if thus thou shalt think "may my country be secure."

[4.6] Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did; by the grace of Auramazda I did (it) in every way; O thou who shalt examine this inscription in the future, let it convince thee (as to) what (was) done by me; regard it not as lies.

[4.7] Says Darius the king: I appeal to Auramazda that this (is) true (and) not false (which) I did in every way.

[4.8] Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda much else (was) done by me that (is) not written on this inscription; for this reason it (is) not written lest whoever shall examine this inscription in the future, to him what has been done by me should seem too much; and it should not convince him but he should think (it) false.

[4.9] Says Darius the king: Who were the former kings, while they lived, by these nothing (was) thus done as (was) done by me through the grace of Auramazda in every way.

[4.10] Says Darius the king: Now let it convince thee (as to) what (was) done by me; thus + + + do not conceal this record; if thou shalt not conceal this record (but) tell (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a friend to thee and may there be unto thee a family abundantly and mayest thou live long.

[4.11] Says Darius the king: If thou shalt conceal this record (and) not tell (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a smiter unto thee and may there not be unto thee a family.

[4.12] Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did in every way; by the grace of Auramazda I did (it); Auramazda bore me aid and the other gods which are.

[4.13] Says Darius the king: For this reason Auramazda bore me aid and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a wrong-doer, neither I nor my family; according to rectitude [I ruled] nor made I my power(?) an oppression to [those who praise me]; the man (who) helped my house, him who should be well esteemed, I esteemed; (the man) who would destroy it, him who should deserve punishment, I punished.

[4.14] Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, whatever man shall be a deceiver or a wrong-doer (be) not a friend to these; punish (them) with severe punishment.

[4.15] Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt see this inscription in the future which I have written or these sculptures, thou shalt not destroy (them) as long as thou shalt live; thus thou shalt guard them.

[4.16] Says Darius the king: If thou shalt see this inscription or these sculptures (and) shalt not destroy them and shalt guard them as long as thy family shall be, may Auramazda be a friend to thee and may there be unto thee a family abundantly and mayest thou live long and whatever thou shalt do, this for thee (let) Auramazda make [successful].

[4.17] Says Darius the king: If thou shalt see this inscription or these sculptures (and) shalt destroy; them and shalt not guard them as long as thy family shall be, may Auramazda be a smiter unto thee and may there not be unto thee a family and whatever thou shalt do, this let Auramazda destroy for thee.

[4.18] Says Darius the king: These (are) the men who were there then when I slew Gaumata the Magian, who called himself Bardiya; then these men cooperated as my allies; Intaphernes by name, the son of Vayaspara, a Persian; Otanes by name, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, the son of Bagabigna, a Persian; Megabyzus by name, the son of Daduhya, a Persian; Ardumanish by name, the son of Vahauka, a Persian.

[4.19] Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, preserve + + + + +

[4.20] Says Darius the king: By the grace of Auramazda this inscription + + + + + which I made + + + + + I have written; this inscription; + + + me afterwards the inscription + + + + + within the provinces + + + + +

Column 5

[5.1] Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did + + + [when I became] king; (there is) a province Susiana [by name]; this became estranged from me; [one man] + + + mamita by

name, a Susian, him they made chief; afterwards I sent forth (my) army to Susiana; [one man] Gobryas by name, [a Persian] my subject, [him] I made chief [of them]; afterwards this Gobryas with an army went to Susiana; he engaged in [battle] with the Susians; afterwards Gobryas smote + + + and annihilated them(?) and seized [that + + + mamita] their chief and brought him to me and I slew him; afterwards the province [became mine].

[5.2] Says Darius the king: Then the Susians [feared] and Auramazda gave them [into my hand]; I offered thanks; by the grace of Auramazda, as was my will, thus I did unto them.

[5.3] Says Darius the king: Whoever shall worship Auramazda, as long as [his family] shall be, and life + + + + +

[5.4] Says Darius the king: With (my) army I went to Scythia; unto Scythia + + + + the Tigris + + + + + + + + + unto the sea + + + I crossed in rafts(?); the Scythians I smote; one part I seized [and they were brought] bound to me and [I slew] them; + + + Sku(n)kha by name, him I seized + + + + there another I made chief + + + there was + + + by name; afterwards the province became mine.

[5.5] Says Darius the king: + + + + + not Auramazda + + + + by the grace of Auramazda, as was my [will, thus] I did unto them.

[5.6] Says Darius the king: Unto Auramazda he shall give worship + + + + +

The Smaller Inscriptions of Behistan

[A] *Over the figure of Darius.*

I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of the countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achaemenide. Says Darius the king: My father (is) Hystaspes, the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames, the father of Arsames (is) Ariaramnes, the father of Ariaramnes (is) Teispes, the father of Teispes (is) Achaemenes. Says Darius the king: Therefore we are called Achaemenides; from long ago we have extended; from long ago our family have been kings. Says Darius the king: 8 of my family (there were) who were formerly kings; I am the ninth (9); long aforetime we are kings.

[B] *Under the prostrate form.*

This Gaumata the Magian lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

[C] *Over the first standing figure.*

This Atrina lied; thus he said: I am king in Susiana.

[D] *Over the second standing figure.*

This Nidintu-Bel lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabu-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

[E] *Upon the garment of the third standing figure.*

This Phraortes lied; thus he said: I am Khshathrita of the family of Cyaxares; I am king in Media.

[F] *Over the fourth standing figure.*

This Martiya lied; thus he said: I am Imanish, king in Susiana.

[G] *Over the fifth standing figure.*

This Citra(n)takhma lied; thus he said: I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares.

[H] *Over the sixth standing figure.*

This Vahyazdata lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus; I am king.

[I] *Over the seventh standing figure.*

This Arakha lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabu-na'id; I am king in Babylon.

[J] *Over the eighth standing figure.*

This Frada lied; thus he said: I am king in Margiana.

[K] *Over the ninth standing figure.*

This (is) Sku(n)kha, the Scythian.

The Rock of Behistun

by Dr Campbell Thompson (1937) who investigated the Rock of Behistun on behalf of the British Museum.

Introduction

(Page 761) Two of the most important events in the advancement of historical knowledge have been the discovery of the key to the Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone and the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions on the Rock of Behistun. The former opened the door to the Wonderland of Egyptian history, and the latter brought daylight into the dark places of antiquity in the Middle East, revealing to the modern world the vanished civilizations of Mesopotamia in all the truth of contemporary record. The Rosetta Stone is the subject of another chapter of this work: here Dr. Campbell Thompson, who investigated the Rock of Behistun on behalf of the British Museum, tells its story. (Sir J. A. Hammerton, editor of the *Wonders of the Past*)

Text of the article

(Page 761) Two days' journey south-west from the ancient Summer Palace of Ecbatana, along the old caravan-road leading down to Babylon, a towering rock bastion nearly 4,000 feet high marks the end of one of the many great earth-folds of the crumpled Persian border. At its foot a spring wells out in a broad pool, and meanders across the rich, broad vale of the Karkhah, where the rains of spring are kindly and deck the plains with grass and the mountain crannies with flowers. Here, between scaur and well-head, where slow caravans have crawled the ages through, the well-worn track passes the sordid little village of Behistun. More than five hundred years B.C. the Great King, the king of Kings, the King of Persia, the King of the Provinces, Darius, took counsel where he should worthily grave the story of his reign. It must be set in a place which all should see, and yet be safe from the ravages of time and the malice of enemies; it must be written in several languages, that foreigners as well as Persians might know his glory; it must be shown in picture as well as in the written word, that those poor illiterates who could not read might yet tremble at the great king's vengeance. His choice fell on this rock-face at Behistun, a hundred feet

and more above the pool, in a gully masked by the last crags. In 516 B.C. his scribes composed the great history in three languages, and in Persian, Susian, and Babylonish cuneiform the engravers chiselled it in thirteen columns in the smooth vertical surface, and then, above the five tall columns of Persian writing, twelve feet high, his artists carved a delicate panel with a life-sized figure of the king in relief, receiving the submission of ten rebel upstarts who had challenged his right to the throne.

In course of time the Achaemenid kingdom went the way of other Oriental monarchies, leaving the dumb witness of ruined cities, sculptures, and above all, this great rock-picture, safeguarded by its height above the road, to testify to a power long dead. Legends grew fast round such a marvel, and travellers carried away strange tales of its rugged scarps, inscribed with unknown writings. Diodorus, a contemporary of Julius Caesar, called it the "Bagistanon" mountain, the forerunner of its modern name, and told a wonderful tale how Semiramis, Queen of Babylon, ordered it to be carved, climbing the face of the (Page 763) mountain on a heap of pack saddles from her baggage train piled against the rock. The place was held sacred, said he; and to this day the Persian women come to hang their little votive scraps of rag on a bush beneath, as though it were some saint's tomb, in token of their dues to its mystery. Others who visited Persia in later times spoke of its wonder when they returned to Europe; many let their fancy run wild in their explanation of its meaning. Bembo in the seventeenth, Otter in the eighteenth century, tells of it; nay, Gardanne in 1809 avers that the picture is meant for the Twelve Apostles, and Ker Porter 1827, hardly less fanciful, thinks it to be Shalmaneser and the captive Tribes of Israel.

In 1835 Henry Rawlinson, a young English soldier, twenty-five years old, was sent as Assistant to the Governor of Kermanshah. His attention was turned to the cuneiform inscriptions at Elwend near Ecbatana, and, as a soldier whose scholarly side ill brooked long periods of boredom, he set himself to decipher the strange unknown tongue in which they were written. In his "Memoir" he says that he was aware that a German professor, Grotefend, about the beginning of the century, had deciphered some of the names of the early sovereigns of the house of Achaemenes, but in his isolated position at Kermanshah he could neither obtain a copy of the German's alphabet, nor discover which were the inscriptions that he (Page 764) had used. Actually Grotefend had made out the names of Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes from two short inscriptions accurately copied by Niebuhr at Persepolis in 1765, subsequently discovering the name of Cyrus, and from these he was able to assign correct values to about a third of the old Persian cuneiform alphabet, which consists of between forty and fifty characters. Closely after his labours must be reckoned those of Professor Lassen, who had deciphered about six more characters by 1836, and the

names Tychsen, Munter, Burnouf, Rask, Beer, Jacquet, and Saint Martin must be accorded full title to their share in the decipherment of the inscriptions.

None of the work of these scholars had as yet reached the young Englishman, who applied himself to the task of decipherment unaided. There was no Rosetta Stone to give the translation of the strange characters; nothing but the unyielding problem of unknown names. Unconsciously he followed the method which Grotefend had employed. He compared two inscriptions, in this case at Elwend, which had been set up side by side, and found that they were identically the same except in two short passages of a few characters each. But the *first* of these two groups in the first inscription coincided with the *second* group in the second inscription, and Rawlinson's genius suggested, first, that these groups must be the names of kings concerned in setting up the inscriptions and second, if so, the first name in the first inscription must represent the father of the king who set up the second. He was right. He took the names of the three most famous Persian kings in history, Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes, applied them to his theory, and found that the values for the characters which their names provided stood the test wherever the same characters reappeared in the names. The threshold was crossed.

But although Rawlinson, as well as foreign scholars, had so brilliantly deciphered the value of some of the characters, the names of some of the kings, and even of countries mentioned in the text, the meaning of the inscriptions and the language in which they were couched were still a sealed book.

The Englishman had long been attracted by the problem of the Behistun inscription, and during his sojourn in Persia he set himself to unravel its meaning. By the end of 1837 he had so far overcome the difficulties involved in scaling the rock-face and copying the cuneiform text, that he had completed a version of about half of the Persian text, and in this year he forwarded to the Royal Asiatic Society, which has always shown a deep appreciation of scholarship of this nature, a translation of the two first paragraphs of the Behistun inscription, recording the titles and genealogy of Darius. Unfortunately he was compelled to break into his studies by his being transferred from "the lettered seclusion of Bagdad to fill a responsible and laborious office in Afghanistan," but 1843 again found him in the City of the Caliphs, eager to continue his labours. For many years past he applied himself to Zend, the oldest Persian dialect known, and it was his application of this language to the Persian cuneiform inscriptions which brought about his extraordinary exploit of translating the whole of the Persian inscription of Behistun for the first time. His decipherment of the characters which composed the proper names allowed him first to transliterate the inscription and so know how the words sounded, and his genius for

languages then led him to their correct affinities with other dialects. His "Memoir," giving a complete translation with notes was published in 1846.

Lassen, however, must not be forgotten in according the due meed of praise to the pioneers of translation as well as decipherment, for he, too (independently, but simultaneously with Rawlinson), applied himself to the Persepolitan inscriptions with definitely satisfactory results, publishing his rendering of them in 1844.

Rawlinson was not content only with the Persian part of the inscription. In 1844 he once more, this time with two companions, climbed the rock, crossed the chasm between the Persian and Susian columns, and copied the Susian version. Again in 1847 he hoped to attack the Babylonian version, which is cut on two faces of a ponderous overhanging boulder above the sheer face of the Susian columns. To this he did not himself climb, but found a Kurdish boy who scaled the height from a flank, and in a swinging seat took squeezes under Rawlinson's direction. With the Persian version now thoroughly understood, it was only a matter of time to elucidate the Susian and the Babylonian. The former yielded to the energy of Hinks, Westergaard, de Saulcy, and particularly Norris; the latter to Rawlinson, Hincks, Oppert and Fox Talbot, who showed that the Babylonian was a Semitic language allied to Hebrew. The great problem of cuneiform had been solved.

Subsequently Professor Williams Jackson in 1903 visited the inscription, and, climbing to the Persian ledge, re-examined the lower part this text. But by this time the squeezes which Rawlinson had made of the inscription and stored in the British Museum were decaying, and particularly the Babylonian version, read thus from squeezes, was probably capable of considerable improvement. It was obvious that any advance in our knowledge of text, Persian, Susian and Babylonian, must be made by a collation of the Rock itself, and in 1904 the Trustees of the British Museum decided to send an expedition down to the Rock.

To this end Dr. L. W. King, and I as his junior, left for Mosul in April, 1904, for Behistun. On our arrival there our first view of the inscription suggested that it must first be attacked from behind, and a spot was found two hundred feet above the sculpture, whence we could shake down two ropes until they reached its face. Then, after scaling the rock from below to the ledge of the base of the inscription, we were able to tie two cradles to these ropes, adding lengths of stouter rope wherewith we might climb into them. The first part of the ascent from below was an almost perpendicular scramble of 12 feet or so, with handholds on tufts of grass, and footholds on soil or projecting stone; thence upward, in a gentle ascent to the right, the line of approach lay along the smooth rock, broken only by one gap with a sheer long drop to earth beneath. From here the way up was comparatively easy to

the right-hand side of the Persian inscription. After we had evolved this route together, happily without native help, pegs and a rope-rail were fastened along it, making the daily climb a trivial matter.

Rawlinson, "Archaeologia," xxxiv., 1853, 74, says: "Notwithstanding that a French antiquarian commission in Persia described it a few years back to be impossible to copy the Behistun inscriptions, I certainly do not consider it any great feat in climbing to ascend to the spot where (Page 766) the inscriptions occur. When I was living at Kermanshah fifteen years ago, and was somewhat more active than I am at present, I used frequently to scale the rock three or four times a day without the aid of a rope or ladder: without any assistance, in fact, whatever. During my late visits I have found it more convenient to ascend and descend by the help of ropes where the track lies up a precipitate cleft, and to throw a plank over those chasms where a false step in leaping across would probably be fatal." The Babylonian overhang, however, he did not copy himself but, as is mentioned above, sent a Kurdish boy up to take squeezes. "The craigsmen of the place declared the particular block inscribed with the Babylonian legend to be unapproachable."

Beneath the fifth Persian column was a ledge of some six feet which narrowed almost to nothing near the first column, beyond which, on a salient face, were the three columns of the Susian, of the same height as the Persian, but across a chasm, of which Rawlinson had spoken. In front of these, too, was a ledge, which we found could be easily reached by swinging across on our ropes. The Babylonian, written on an overhanging boulder twelve feet above this, was a more difficult problem. From a vantage-point high above the inscription our men could raise or lower the cradles to the right height on the face of the inscription, or to the sculpture above the Persian columns; after they had made fast the ends above, we climbed into the cradles and thus sat, collating and photographing the inscriptions and sculptures for the next sixteen days. We were able to reach and collate the Babylonian overhang by swinging across to the Susian ledge and then climbing the ropes to a ledge above the Susian, and thence, again sitting in the cradles, working our way round the inscribed face of the boulder by hands or knees. The great sculpture was photographed with a hand camera either from here at an angle, or piecemeal direct at five feet distance by pushing the cradles away from the rock with our feet. The results were published by the Trustee "The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistun," where full details and photographs will be found.

Throughout, what was most striking was great accuracy of Rawlinson's copies. The Persian columns alone contain more than fifteen thousand characters, and his work showed

surprisingly few errors, considering the difficulties of every kind with which he had to contend.

The inscription itself tells the ancient glory of Persia at its zenith, before Darius had challenged (Page 767) the Greeks and had been defeated in 490 at Marathon. It begins with the genealogy of Darius, traced direct to Achaemenes, and then refers to the reign of Cambyses, who had preceded Darius, the murder of Smerdis (the brother of Cambyses), and the revolt of the Persians during the absence of Cambyses on his campaign in Egypt. At this moment Gaumata, the Magian, seizing his opportunity, declared himself to be Smerdis, the son of Cyrus, with a claim to the throne. Cambyses hastened homewards, but died on the way, and Gaumata, as the Babylonian contract tablets show, held sway for a brief period.

It was Darius, the son of Hystaspes, who challenged the usurper, and, marching against him with a small force, slew him and took the throne. But revolts broke out in many of the provinces, and the first years of Darius were spent in subduing them. Nidintu-Bel seized Babylon, claiming to be Nebuchadnezzar; Martiya headed a revolution in Susiana: in Media Phraortes gave himself out to be Khshathritha, of the family of Cyaxares, and led another revolt. These were dealt with successfully, and the unfortunate pretenders are to be seen with several others, equally unsuccessful, on the sculptured panel above the inscription. The king stands with his arm raised and his foot on Gaumata; behind him are his generals or satraps. Before him, roped one to another, come the recalcitrant chiefs in the following order: Atrina, the first Susian pretender; Nidintu-Bel, of Babylon; Fravartish (Phraortes), of Media; Martiza, the second Susian pretender; Citrantakhma, of Sagartia; Vahyazdata, the second pseudo-Smerdis; Arakha, the second Babylonian pretender; Frada, of Margiana; and subsequently, at the cost of destroying part of the Susian inscription, Skunkha, the Scythian, in his high peaked hat was added.

It is a nice point whether the inscription is a finer memorial to the Persian, Darius, who wrote it, or to the Englishman, Rawlinson, who deciphered it.

Thompson, R. Campbell. "The Rock of Behistun". *Wonders of the Past*. Edited by Sir J. A. Hammerton. Vol. II. New York: Wise and Co., 1937. (p. 760-767)

Darius Carved History on Ageless Rock

(1950): by George G. Cameron who was the chairman of the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Michigan.

(Page 825) In the imperishable stone of a 4,000-foot Iranian mountain, artisans of Darius the Great carved his vainglorious autobiography almost 2,500 years ago. The achievements of this king of ancient Persia (now Iran) they extolled in three different languages of his realm. This gigantic cliffside boast became, like Egypt's famed Rosetta Stone, a major key to an understanding of long-forgotten languages and the cuneiform, or wedge-shaped, scripts in which they were written. Nevertheless, despite numerous attempts to secure a perfect copy of this important document, there remained to our day tremendous gaps in our knowledge of its wording and thus a failure to appreciate its magnitude. By use of 20th-century tools to gain access to the monument, and modern techniques of field archeology to obtain a more accurate record, I was able to achieve what men had long desired: a better, fuller copy, and hence a greater understanding of the Persian's noble monument.

Darius could have found no better or more conspicuous place for his project than the last peak of a long, narrow range which skirts the plain of modern Kermanshah. At the foot of the mountain springs bubble up into a pool of crystal-clear water and supply a small stream, which flows past the village of Bisitun and away into the plain. From time immemorial caravans have watered their beasts at these springs. Here every army which has marched from Iran into Iraq has camped, for the mountain and its springs lie on the age-old caravan trail between Ecbatana (modern Hamadan), once a center of the Medes and Persians, and fabled Babylon. To the ancients themselves the spot was called it the "Place of God," Baga-stana, or Bisitun. The monument was not unearned, for Darius became king in 522 B.C. only after a series of bloody pitched battles with nine other contenders to the throne. It was carved so the whole world might be informed of his prowess and of his debt to his god, the "Wise Lord" Ahuramazda.

A part of the story is told by a massive relief cut into the limestone mountain 340 feet above the springs and 100 feet above the highest part of the mountain to which man can climb. There today stands Darius, with high brow and straight nose. On his head rests the Persian war crown, carved with exquisite care to resemble the gold band studded with oval jewels and rosettes worn by the Great King himself. Behind him appear two of his officers, the bearers of his bow and lance. Before him floats the winged figure of the god Ahuramazda, who taught Darius to speak the truth and whose left hand grasps the ring which bestows sovereignty on monarchs. Beneath the god stand eight rival contenders, their necks roped together, their hands tied behind their backs; a ninth, the archenemy, lies

prostrate under the king's left foot, his own knees and hands lifted in agony. A tenth and subsequent foe was pictured a few years later.

The relief alone was inadequate for Darius. He also commanded that the story be carved in three languages of the empire: Old Persian, the language of the king and court, inscribed beneath the relief in four and a half columns of closely written texts; in Babylonian, inscribed on two faces of a rock jutting out from the mountainside to the left of the relief; and, to the right of the sculptured panel, in Elamite, the language then spoken at Shush, or Susa ("the palace" of the Biblical book of Esther). Somewhat later, the Elamite inscription was recopied to the left of the relief.

So inaccessible was the Great King's handiwork that even the citizens of his empire soon forgot the story that was told. Worse still, as hundreds of years rolled by and the languages spoken in his day were succeeded by others, men even lost the ability to understand these tongues or to read the cuneiform scripts in which they were written. But within the last century Darius's lordly monument itself provided the key by which the riddle of these languages and their scripts was solved.

The story of decipherment began when travelers compared the curious wedge-shaped signs at Bisitun with those appearing on other, more accessible monuments in old Turkey and Persia. Sometimes they brought back copies or even samples of these "writings" to Europe, but no man there could read them. By inference, one of the languages with its system of writing was thought to be of Persian origin, for it was very common within Persia, particularly at Darius's former capital, Persepolis. Another was assumed to be Babylonian, for its script closely resembled the writing on monuments found in what is now the country of Iraq, in the "Garden of Eden"-the land of the Two Rivers, Tigris and Euphrates. The third was totally unknown.

The initial step in decipherment was made by a German, Georg Friedrich Grotefend, who chose two short but supposedly Old Persian inscriptions and painstakingly compared them, sign by sign. When, in 1815, he published his results, it was all but obvious that he had succeeded in finding the key to the understanding of these particular inscriptions. But the material at hand for full decipherment was wholly inadequate. No long text was available to check his discoveries. Also, he had investigated only one of the three languages. Since all other inscriptions copied up to that time were too short and limited, it proved impossible to use his probable decipherment of the one language as a key to the understanding of the other two. The inscription on Mount Bisitun gave greatest promise. Here, as we now know, are 515 lines of texts in Old Persian, 141 long lines in Babylonian,

and 650 lines in Elamite. Bisitun, therefore, represented a challenge which man must meet and overcome if he would seek the hidden meanings of cuneiform writings.

The first attempt to copy Darius's story was made a little more than a century ago when two Frenchmen sailed from Toulon at the behest of their government and with the support of the two most famous French Academies. They had wonderful experiences; they scrambled with bleeding hands and feet up the rock they had been sent to copy, and regained terra firma by an effort of gymnastics which, to hear them tell it, could be equaled only by the lizard. Their toil and peril here were fruitless, however. In the end, they failed in (Page 832) their purpose because, they said, the inscription was inaccessible.

Unknown to the two Frenchmen, an Englishman, Sir Henry C. Rawlinson, had already succeeded in climbing the precipitous face of Bisitun. His description of the ascent is often hair-raising. He concluded that the climb is one which only an enthusiastic antiquarian could be expected to undertake. However, he was no mere mountain climber. Laboriously, and with infinite patience, he copied the Old Persian text and then set about to decipher it. Repeatedly he returned to the Rock to obtain copies of both the Elamite and the Babylonian inscriptions, upon which he also bent his effort and ingenuity. With his publication of the copies and translation of the Old Persian texts in 1847, and of the Babylonian texts in 1851, the long-sought key to the understanding of the world's oldest writings was made available to all mankind. The challenge of Bisitun had been met and overcome.

But the elements have exacted a heavy toll from the ancient inscriptions. The winds and sands of time, autumn rains, and winter's chill have played havoc with line after line of the texts and made them difficult to read. (Page 833) Further, despite his monumental achievement, Rawlinson was engaged in making the first copy, and in the earliest stages of decipherment, when often he had no way of knowing what to look for. His copy, naturally, was defective. More than that: although he copied nine and a half columns of texts, four additional columns containing 323 lines defied him, for underneath these four columns there is no ledge on which a man can stand.

In an effort to clarify some of the more dubious or difficult readings of the Old Persian text, an eminent American professor at Columbia University, A. V. Williams Jackson, climbed the Rock in 1903. He checked or collated many passages and secured photographs of the inscriptions for the first time. But the full story of Bisitun had not yet been told.

So again, in 1904, an expedition sponsored by the British Museum set out for Bisitun. Since Leonard William King and Reginald Campbell Thompson, who labored for the

Museum, could profit from more than a generation of good scholarship in the ability to read and understand ancient writings, it was only to be expected that they should improve enormously on Rawlinson's readings. Also, by a fortunate discovery, they were enabled to use a rock shelf high up the mountainside, thus coming closer to the inscriptions they sought to recopy. Where Rawlinson had been forced to stand upon a tiny ledge immediately beneath the texts, they dropped a rope from the shelf above and, sitting in a kind of boatswain's chair, swung back and forth across the face of the vertical Rock. Carefully they reworked the nine and a half columns that Rawlinson had copied. Their success is indicated by the fact that theirs is today the standard publication. The last secrets of Bisitun, it would seem, had been solved.

Yet they, too, made mistakes. They were unable to read the signs in innumerable passages, and they made a number of surely erroneous or impossible restorations. The fault was by no means wholly theirs, for any three men reading a worn and eroded inscription may interpret it in three, if not more, differing ways. A succeeding generation of scholars had advanced suggestions and recommendations which needed to be checked, by improved archeological techniques, against the original inscription upon the fabulous Rock.

Other problems likewise called for a solution. Would a closer examination of the enormous relief which accompanied the inscriptions reveal any new details of Persian art? And how had Darius's workmen succeeded in carving the relief and the lengthy texts high up a mountainside on a spot which is today all but inaccessible? A final question involved the four columns of inscriptions which had defied the efforts not only of Rawlinson but also of King and Thompson. If these columns could be read, what secrets would they tell? Some hitherto unknown detail of Darius's attack on Greece, or some unpolished facet of the religion of these one-god-worshipping Achaemenid Persians? Yet no man even knew the language in which these four columns were written.

All these things I knew when, in March of 1948, I was named Annual Professor of the Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research, an institution whose corporate members are the outstanding universities, colleges, theological seminaries, and rabbinical schools in America. Because of the international situation in 1948, it appeared unlikely that the Annual Professor would be able to make any substantial contribution to the work of the schools within Iraq. I proposed, therefore, an expedition to the Rock of Bisitun, an expedition which would attempt to solve some, if not all, of the problems I have outlined and thus bring to an end more than a century of work upon this truly historic monument.

Within a few months I reached Kermanshah, (Page 835) which was to be our base of operation. My wife and two sons accompanied me. Five miles northeast, at Taq-i-Bustan, are the remains of a walled park or "paradise" used by kings of Sassanid Persia 1,500 years ago. Carved in the mountain walls near by are two grottoes and a bas-relief illustrating hunting and other scenes from the lives of the same Persian sovereigns.

Modern methods of transportation and communication had doomed the town to moribundity, but with the discovery of Iran's natural underground wealth, oil, and the establishment here of a refinery, Kermanshah has blossomed into new life and vigor. Now its dusty streets, some even paved, teem with surging groups of Kurds and Persians; buses, trucks, and private cars vie for honors with horses, camels, donkeys, and the heavily laden human back. An American hospital helps to serve the major medical needs of the growing city, and with its directors, Dr. and Mrs. Russell Bussdicker, we found friendly lodging.

First stop was the office of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's very cooperative local manager, who assured us that the skill and methods of 20th-century oil engineers would be at the service of the linguist's learning and the archeologist's desire. Guided by shepherd boys around the rear of massive Bisitun, his experienced riggers ascended to the shelf 200 feet above the inscription; there they drove holes into the solid rock, placed steel pins in the holes, and cemented them in. Now we were ready for a frontal attack on the remaining secrets of Darius's noble memorial.

Carefully we dragged a scaffolding up the mountainside as high as man can climb, to a comparatively level spot beneath the inscriptions. Again we went behind the mountain, climbed to the now familiar shelf, lowered ropes to the base of the massif, and one (Page 836) by one pulled up the ends of two cables. These we anchored solidly to the pins already in place. Then we returned to our scaffolding and attached it to the cables. As we looked up, however, we saw that it was going to be no easy matter to raise and lower the scaffolding daily over the face of the mountain. Tremendous outjutting and overhanging rocks would certainly interfere with our upward or downward progress. Thirty feet above our heads was a little shelf. If we could leave our scaffolding near that shelf at the end of each day's work and descend the rest of the way by ladder, our task would be easier. So we placed a long ladder to reach this shelf against the rock wall. Now, in truth, we were ready.

Up to this point we had had a large crowd of sight-seers and willing native workmen. Three only were needed upon the scaffolding, one to man each of the two winches, and one to fend it off from the rocky wall. I would be one of the workmen, and so only two others were required. I turned to two men who had appeared to be most competent. "Will

you come up top with me?" In unison they replied, "Not us!" "Why not?" I asked. "Too dangerous," replied these Kurdish villagers, who have long been noted for their headstrong daring! Shocked, I asked for volunteers, offered prize money, and had for answer only low negative murmurs. My project faced disaster if these men failed me! Finally, one of the riggers, on loan to me for this day only, stepped forward and, following him, a slight lad, named "Servant of Ali." Here were my workmen for this day; perhaps tomorrow would take care of itself.

Ours was a hard task, for time after time one or both of the winches were jammed up into the numerous overhanging rocks. But little by little we raised our scaffolding higher and higher; we fought not only the outjutting boulders and our own weight on the scaffold, but also the weight of dozens of men clinging down below to ropes by which they too were trying to hold our (Page 837) platform away from the mountain's face.

We passed the little shelf 30 feet above them, against which our ladder rested; we passed an oblique gash, the significance of which at first escaped us; and we passed solid rock scarped by thousands of chisels. At long last our scaffolding rested securely on the ledge immediately beneath the inscription, which now, for the first time, my hands and eyes caressed.

It was a triumphant moment. All past worries, over the arrival of the materials and the feasibility of my method of attack, disappeared. All obstacles, including the mountain itself, had been overcome. Nothing remained but to apply a new technique of copying inscriptions and the knowledge gained from 20 years of study to the age-old memorial. The expedition, I knew in that moment, would succeed.

Our first day's work ended on this note. As we prepared to descend, I realized the meaning of the oblique gash which we had passed on our ascent, and which we could now see slanting sharply downward just below us. It was an ancient pathway, now partially blocked by fallen rocks. We left our scaffolding where it was and followed the path down. Forty-eight feet of it still remained. Then the path ended, in scarped rock, still almost 50 feet above the watchers below. Five feet below its end, however, there was a little semicircular platform about 9 feet long and from 18 inches to 5 feet in width. We dropped to this platform and looked down again. There, 12 feet beneath us, was the top of our ladder, just resting against the edge of a tiny triangular shelf.

Cautiously we lowered ourselves once more, our hands and feet seeking purchase in a fissure which ran down to the shelf below. Our bodies were taut as, one by one, we gained the shelf and descended the ladder. Difficult and dangerous though this method of descent

and ascent might be, here was our easiest way of access to the inscriptions. From that time on, we knew, ropes could help our progress up to the scaffolding, which itself would be used only as our platform at the height of the inscription and relief.

Our first day's work was done, but I needed a workman to replace the company's rigger. Once again I asked for volunteers, this time for the morrow. Encouraged by our day's success, a young boy ranged himself behind Servant of Ali. (Page 838) "What is your name?" I asked. "Hussein," was his reply. The humor of the situation struck me at once. There are two patron "saints" to the Persian Moslems. Their names? Ali and Hussein! For three days these boys worked with me upon the scaffolding, but unfortunately Abdul Ali soon found other interests. When I tried to replace him, again my pleas for assistance, regardless of the wages offered, fell on deaf ears. The work was still "too dangerous." In these straits my son Thomas, not yet 15 years old but eager to contribute to the project, volunteered. From that day on, the Persian Hussein, Tom, and I worked from the scaffolding, made our copies, and fought the winds, rain, and cold that all too soon began to interfere.

A major goal was to recheck all previous readings of the copy of Darius's story which is written in Old Persian. This is carved directly beneath the relief in five vertical columns, each of which, except for the last, measures about 12 feet high. At first sight, this portion of the monument appeared to be infinitely more unreadable than it had been more than 100 years ago when Rawlinson copied it, and even more damaged than when King and Thompson worked upon it. A horizontal fissure above the columns, but beneath the relief, was obviously responsible for part of the damage, for this was actually the exit of an underground "river." After a rain lasting less than seven hours, for instance, water issued from the fissure and washed down across the face of the inscription for more than 52 hours. Since the rock itself was limestone, centuries of tumbling water had eaten it away to a depth at times of five or six inches - and of course all the writing upon such spots is now gone.

But all inscriptions beneath its path had not disappeared. Although the water has dissolved the limestone at the top of each column, that limestone has itself been deposited, upon the face of the inscription, lower down! Where once there had been wedges or signs carved into the rock, signs long thought to be destroyed, there was now a solid deposit of rock. This was not "destruction" at all, but preservation! It was a stalactite (geologically speaking, a (Page 840) tufaceous) formation over the surface of the original inscription.

We were in a position somehow to "erase" this sedimentary deposit, but how were we to remove it without damaging the signs beneath it? Acid was certainly not the solution. Acid would eat away not only the deposit left in each cut wedge, but also the solid rock itself. A hammer and plain water was our answer. By delicate hammering through the surface deposit I could reach the original rock surface. Then I could rub a moistened cloth across the face of the invisible wedges. As the water evaporated, there was a difference in coloration between the original rock and the filled-in wedges. Sign after sign, word after word, thus became evident!

Sometimes our problems were solved in a disconcerting manner. For instance, there was a phrase in one line which for two generations had been the subject of debate among scholars. It was quite clear that Darius was saying something about one of his henchmen, but no one had been able to read it. When the passage came clear in our work, we were reminded only of the "vanishing Yehudi, the little man who wasn't there." For Darius merely says, "At that time my servant was not there at that place"! Thus some gains are in reality small or insignificant.

Others, however, contribute more to our knowledge, such as a new reading in which the King declares, "Now do you believe what I have done, [even] this [story]; to the people tell it, do not conceal it." This passage, also long fought over by orientalists, intrigued us much, for we were indeed endeavoring to carry out Darius's wishes.

The way rocks might fall from the cliffside was indicated when, one day, Hussein was sent to the shelf high above, while I remained upon the ledge. At a given signal he was to swing the cable over a projecting rock, and I was to do the same on the ledge below. The signal was given, we swung in unison, and I heard a sinister rumble above me, that of a falling boulder. For me upon the ledge, as for my wife and sons below, there was no shelter. I gave a cry of urgent warning and flattened myself against the face of the inscription. The large boulder hurtled by, hit the ledge, and seemed to explode. All of us were struck by some of the tiny fragments; but the overwhelming relief that flooded us, as hurriedly each responded to the other's call, can well be imagined. We never tried to move the cables in just that way again.

The ledge beneath the Old Persian version varies in breadth from 5 to 6 feet; to the left it continues beneath the Babylonian and the second Elamite copies, although it is not quite so broad. To the right of the Old Persian text there is at present no ledge whatsoever. Above this portion of the monument at the height of the sculptured panel, are the four columns of texts never before copied, and of which not even the language was known. Carefully, from

the shelf above, we adjusted the positions of our cables and then, returning to the now familiar ledge, raised the scaffolding so that it stood in front of a part of this hitherto unknown text What would it tell us?

First glance showed that this text was frightfully weathered, damaged in part beyond recovery. Yet here and there signs came clear, and they were Elamite signs. I began to read, "And Darius the king says: a man named Phraortes . . ." and realized that the text was duplicating what, in a much better state of preservation, appeared beneath the Babylonian version below and to the left of the relief! We moved from the first to the second column, from the second to the third, and continued to read in Elamite. Finally we moved to column four - and there was no change in language or in phraseology; sign after sign, word after word, this text was a duplicate of the other well-known Elamite inscription!

P>Naturally, I was disappointed, for my hope of finding a new inscription of Darius was gone. Still, there was certain gain: by determining what was here written, we had unlocked a door that, until opened, would always be tantalizing. Furthermore, by copying this text also we could unquestionably improve the reading of the known Elamite text which had been copied by others and which was still to be secured by us.

Our copying technique involved photography, our eyes and hands, and a latex solution. Photographs were easily made from the scaffolding. On paper my hands copied what my eyes could see. With the latex compound, however, we were able to make molds which any scholar could read and trust, and which reproduced every sign as it was made by the ancient sculptors, or, rather, as it appears today. We first cleaned the rock surface with soft (Page 841) brushes, then applied successive coats of the liquid. The first, very thin, dried within 10 or 15 minutes. Over a second coat we laid thin strips of gauze and painted this again with a third coat, which was dry in less than an hour. Upon a thicker, fourth coat, to give body to our mold, we laid strips of burlap bags or sacking, which we then painted for the fifth and last time. After 24 hours we loosened the edges, peeled our mold from the rock, rolled it up, and carefully lowered it to the ground.

This hitherto uncopied text extends for 22 feet across the face of Bisitun. Our scaffolding measured but 16 feet long, but three feet in from each of its ends was the winch by which the platform could be raised or lowered. Necessarily, then, we often found ourselves working on one of the outside ends, beyond the winches, where there was no guardrail. The position was not automatically dangerous, except when we reached out beyond the end itself, although we were always fully aware that a slight slip would project us onto the rocks far below. One day, as Tom and I were so engaged, he pulled me back just in time

and made the soothing and quite truthful remark, "Dad, if you fall, I'll never speak to you again!"

Down below us, as frequent glances assured us, were my wife Frances and son Douglas, who daily rode with us from Kermanshah in our jeep. Promptly at noon each day, Hussein, Tom, and I descended the path and ladder to eat a family lunch with them on the mountainside; otherwise, they watched and waited hopefully for the safe and successful ending of each day's work. They cut our rolls of gauze and bags of burlap into thin strips for easy application, and tied them to ropes by which they could be pulled up to the scaffolding. Later, for the gauze, we substituted woven native cloth which could be bought in the colorful bazaar of Kermanshah.

(Page 842) Each of us was heavily laden as morning after morning we trudged up the mountainside and climbed over massive rocks to reach the foot of the ladder. We carried up Mount Bisitun water, latex, brushes, food, extra clothing and blankets, as well as a dangerously fragile but important bottle of concentrated ammonia for thinning the latex solution.

Occasionally, as the wind shifted, it wafted to our nostrils a delicate perfume from tiny clusters of mountain flowers wedged in shallow crevices high up the spongelike rock. Sometimes we interrupted our lunch or labor to watch the antics of foot-long lizards clinging to the vertical rocks, or to observe the startled birds into whose nesting places, in crags around the sculptures, we were intruding.

Even more interesting was the pageant that unrolled below us, where the road wound along the foot of the mountain and twisted and turned through the plain. There we could see the tea and coffee houses, police post, and school groups around the life-giving springs whose waters nourished a clump of trees and fed the half-fertile soil. Down the road from the near-by village came Kurdish women, gracefully erect, shy, yet proud, each head crowned by a jar to be filled with water. There too herds of sheep and goats wended their way along the road to distant pastures, or patient donkeys laden with farm produce plodded wearily to market.

Buses and private cars, Baghdad-bound, spilled their passengers out for a stretch, a cup of tea at the near-by teahouse, and, for some, a climb partway up the mountain to see what these "foreigners" were doing. One - and an American, at that - whom we later met (Page 843) in Baghdad, unwittingly asked us if we knew who the "fools" were who, when he passed Bisitun, had been clinging to the precipitous sides of the mountain!

Far across the plain, another mountain range lifted its rugged and soon snowy crest. For 10 of our 21 days at Bisitun the weather was delightful, and crowds often gathered to watch our progress. After that, however, we had to fight the elements. First came the winds, buffeting our little scaffolding so hard that at times we felt like circus performers, flying through the air with great ease. One grievous day a page torn from my notebook scudded across the 52-foot length of ledge, and then, at terrific speed, began to go straight up the mountain. It was thousands of feet to the peaks above, and we seemed to see it go over the top. It was at one of these times, I believe, that Tom and Douglas gave Superman's urgent cry, "Up, up, and away!"

Then came clouds, rain, and cold-clouds that blanketed Bisitun in mist, with snow on top, and rains that drenched us, slowed our progress, and made our work almost a nightmare. One bitterly cold day, when Hussein appeared for work dressed only in a thin shirt and pair of trousers, we lent him a coat and a blanket, and still the brave lad's teeth chattered. Thereafter, as often as possible, I worked alone upon the scaffolding, although there seemed to be no way that one could keep warm. In addition to underwear and socks, two pairs of trousers, shirt, and sweater, all of wool, I wore an army coat and a native sheepskin jacket and still needed, thrown round my shoulders, an army blanket, which the wind was loath to leave in place.

After completing our examination of the Old Persian and first Elamite texts, we moved cables and scaffolding to the left of the relief to recheck readings of the second copy of the Elamite inscription. This done, we prepared to raise the scaffolding above the huge outjutting rock which, on two faces, bears the story of Darius as written in Babylonian. This, we knew, was a dangerous undertaking.

It was next to impossible to prevent the upper part of the winches from jamming up into the overhang. Also, as Rawlinson correctly noted a century ago, the mass of rock on which the inscription is engraved bears "every appearance . . . of being doomed to a speedy destruction, water trickling from above having almost separated the overhanging mass from the rest of the rock, and its own enormous weight thus threatening very shortly to bring it thundering down into the plain, dashed into a thousand fragments." Inch by inch we tried to ease the scaffolding up over the "hump," and time after time the overhang foiled us. Once, when the scaffold was sharply tilted, a cable somewhere above slipped over another overhang, and we were tipped at an even more alarming angle. Slowly we righted our fractious "craft" and made a fresh and, this time, a successful ascent. With the latex solution we were then able to obtain a new and better copy of this portion of the inscription.

Our work was nearing a close, but we had still to examine the reliefs and to follow the ancient path to its onetime end. Viewed from the ledge or from the ground below, the sculptures appear to be carved roughly and without much skill. This is by no means true. In fact, they compare favorably with the famous reliefs executed at Darius's royal capital, Persepolis, 450 miles to the southeast. Those at the capital were intended for public gaze; past them, on every New Year's festival, marched kings and princes bearing tribute from lands near and far. Those at Bisitun, on the contrary, are placed high up the mountainside where the life-size figures of the King and his guards appear diminutive, almost infinitesimal. Nevertheless, these same figures are excellently conceived and carefully executed: fingernails, beards and mustaches, bracelets, bows, even shoes are skillfully delineated.

With royal disdain, Darius stares at the nine rulers whom he conquered, and tramples with one foot his archenemy, Gaumata. The King's beard, frizzled and curled, is a separate block of stone set into the rock; it is held in place by two iron pegs, leaded in. One peg, thrust into a hole bored in the living rock, starts in his neck and ends in the inset block; the other begins in front of his mouth. All the orifices or openings were once filled with lead. Other inset pieces add detail and beauty to the shoulder and the bow of Darius, to the bow of one of his guards, and to the crown of the figure of the winged god, Ahuramazda. Jutting out more than three inches from the (Page 844) god's crown may still be seen an iron peg, encircled with lead; once, no doubt, the peg was surmounted by a silver or gold ball which glittered in the sun to indicate deity. Above the relief, an inscription bears Darius's proud boast of his kingship and royal descent. The wedges by which the names of his ancestors were cut into the rock were themselves filled in with lead so that they too could add luster and dignity.

The local villagers may even preserve some faint memory of the brilliant ornaments that once made of this monument a still more magnificent spectacle, for an interesting rumor fanned out over the countryside as we worked upon the relief. The rumor arose when, one day, my wife appeared at the Rock wearing a dress trimmed with gilded buttons and a braided goldlike belt. "The American," it was reported, "has given to his wife a gold belt from one of the figures of the nine dervishes"!

Here and there we could see signs of willful mutilation in the relief, all done in modern times by the bullets of passing riflemen. Because of this, and because of damage to the inscriptions caused by the underground streams of water, the Iranian Government has most properly sought some method by which the life of the sculptures and writings at Bisitun might be preserved. In times past, when queries of this sort have been directed to scholars,

the only answer they knew to give was, "We must preserve them by recording them as accurately as possible." Our expedition, however, managed to preserve a portion of the relief in even better fashion: by making a mold of the noble figure of Darius, a guard, and the "liar" Gaumata. From that mold, in time, a cast will be made, and so the Great King may stand before peoples in America or elsewhere just as he has stood for almost 2,500 years on the Rock of Bisitun.

At long last, we were ready to trace the full course of the old path by which Darius's sculptors reached the spot on the mountainside almost inaccessible today. Slowly, cautiously, Hussein and I moved across the deliberately smoothed or scarped surface 60 feet around the mountain's face to the point where, perhaps, that path might once have had its beginning. A pleasant surprise awaited us: here was a level platform, with two steps leading downward. In the top step holes had been cut, doubtless for the purchase of wooden rails. Below the second step there was nothing but a vertical descent, for the stairway also had been chiseled away completely. But now we knew almost the full explanation of the method by which the Persians themselves had attained the heights.

All four goals were thus achieved: we had copied the four hitherto uncopied columns; we had checked all three texts which had previously been copied (and solved many difficulties in each of them); we had photographed, examined, and taken molds of the relief - and we had been able to determine the method by which the Persians had reached the heights to carve their handiwork. Then came the final day when, for the last time, we stood upon the ledge. My hands touched gently a portion of the inscription which our labor had clarified. *"Says Darius the king . . . if thou shalt not conceal this edict, but shalt reveal it to the people, then shall Ahuramazda be thy friend, there shall be to thee a large family, and thou shalt live long."* It was a pensive moment.

American and British corporations had given of their materials and of their time; the American Schools of Oriental Research and the University of Michigan had granted me the opportunity; and I and my family, with the help of a little Persian boy, had added our energy and skill. We had all been struggling to achieve the same goal - a recording of Darius's monument for posterity - and the Great King's blessing now seemed to be addressed directly to us!

Slowly, Hussein, Tom, and I descended the pathway and climbed down the ladder. As we reached the ground, our hands gave a gentle pat to a low bush beside the ladder, a bush covered with small pieces of cloth tied there by countless prayerful souls beseeching Allah for a son. We too uttered a silent prayer, but one of thankfulness that our labor, now ended,

had been successful. For the last time, as a family group, we looked up once more to the majestic figure of the King of Persia. Then, hand in hand, touched by the last lingering rays of the sun, we let our eyes wander over the beautiful panorama of sky and mountains, plain and village below us. As we stood thus, the school bell pealed and the next generation of boys of Iran issued from the door of the schoolhouse far below. Our day, our work here, was done.

Cameron, George G. "Darius Carved History on Ageless Rock". *The National Geographic Magazine*. Vol. XCVIII, Num. 6, Dec. 1950. (Pages 825-844)

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