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THE MESSIANIC HOPE
IN BIBLICAL POST-EXILIC
LITERATURE
EXCLUSIVE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

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May 1, 1924

TO

My first and most inspiring
source of instruction and
counsel

My revered FATHER

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FOREWORD.

It became apparent, very early in the approach to this work, that some definite standard must be followed for the sequence used. A wide disagreement among scholars as to the date of various writings, naturally affects the order and arrangement of presentation. To cite an example: It is now generally agreed that the later chapters of Zechariah were not written by the author of, and do not belong to the period of, the earlier portion of the book. The form of the two sections is different; in I-VIII, there are notes of date and authorship--on a certain day of a certain month of a certain year of Darius, the word of Jahweh came to Zechariah; there is an elaborate use of angels and visions; the prophet speaks throughout in the first person. These characteristics are entirely absent from IX-XIV. (The first person is sometimes used in these later chapters, but in symbolic fashion.) Moreover, the two sections imply different historical standpoints. The earlier chapters I-VIII, clearly belong to the period immediately succeeding the Return, the rest of the book, much later. Again, there is great difference of opinion among exegetes as to the pre-Exilic or post-Exilic dating of many of the writings. Consequently, the writer has strictly followed the order suggested by Dr. Battenwieser. The question of critical exegesis has, of course, been advisedly avoided, except where it was deemed essential to the presentation.

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April, 28, 1924

Cincinnati, Ohio

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN BIBLICAL POST-EXILIC LITERATURE, EXCLUS-
IVE OF THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

Optimism, the ability to hope, may well be termed an outstanding trait of the Jewish people. That truth finds its profoundest expressions in paradox is illustrated by this faith which sprang from the soil of disappointment and gathered nourishment from the roots of suffering. The history of the Jewish people is as marked with the assurance of a better day to come as it is scarred with periods of persecution. In each and through both, the Jew has been able to see the finger of God directing, controlling, guiding its destiny. To the student of the Biblical records--he need not have attained profound scholarship--there is evidence of a form of evolution in the Bible, just as there is in the world about us. Just as any one stage of physical evolution is best understood after knowledge of those which preceded, so any period in the concatenation of Messianic Hopes--as expressed in Biblical literature, is thoroughly understood only in the light of what has gone before. It is, therefore, essential to a true knowledge of the post-Exilic stage that the concept be traced to its beginnings and earlier development as the latter gave it birth and inheritance.

The written record of the Jewish people, from its very first pages, presents no roseate picture. The lives of the early patriarchs furnish a story of constant hardship. Its chapters are loss of native land; sojourns in foreign countries; suffering at the hands of Pharaohs, the Philistines, and others; then comes Egyptian slavery with its unspeakable cruelty, when the spirit of the people is crushed and they "cried and their cry came up unto

God".¹ Moses appears as redeemer and there is a period of comparative quiet. Israel attains the land of Palestine and status as a nation. It soon becomes prey to attack by neighboring tribes, and again prays to God in its distress. In the "Judges", we meet temporary redeemers who "establish peace in the land." Finally, at the request of the leaders of the people, Samuel reluctantly appoints Saul as king over Israel. He is called "משיח יהוה",² the Messiah, or anointed of God, and rules by Divine Right. It remains for his successor David, however, to supply the redeemer prototype. David who conquered the national enemies, and annexed their territory, extending the boundaries of Israel, and who was at the same time the man of God, the sweet singer whom God favored, this David became the ideal king, the model ruler, the type for later times of the person of the משיח, the anointed of God.

What more natural than that in periods of future distress, the nation should hope for another such ideal king, another such Messiah? From the material desire for relief from oppressing enemies, the hope extended to the ideal of a stable national government. This was intensified by the division of the kingdom, and through the efforts of the prophets who now begin to make their appearance. These earlier prophets, champions of a pure morality and lofty ideals, broadened the conception of the Messiah and of the Messianic period, so as to include in its blessings not only Israel, but all the nations of the earth.

A few generations after Solomon's death, the treasured ideal of poet and seer and of those of the people who were still loyal

1. Exodus II, 23
 2. I Samuel XXIV, 7

* to the old traditions, was a future in which a united Israel would be supreme in a world established on righteousness, recognizing the glory of the God of Israel, and the beauty of His law. The hope for a reunion of Israel under one king must have been very keen after the division of the kingdom, when the memory of the happy reigns of David and Solomon ^{was} ~~were~~ still fresh in the minds of the people. It was during this period that the Messiah idea must have developed, ³ and have become a component part of the Jewish consciousness. ⁴ Unfortunately, we have no prophecies written at that period. ⁵ It was not until about a century and a half after the division that the literary prophets began to make their appearance. The Messianic conceptions of the early prophets were local and material in their nature, referring to the physical blessings of which Israel stood in need. Amos and his younger contemporary Hosea draw dark and threatening pictures of the „יום יהיה“ a "day of darkness and not of light", a day of vengeance against Samaria and against the kingdom of Israel for all its iniquities. They look forward, however, to a reunited kingdom when "the children of Judah and the children of Israel will be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head" ⁶ --a head specified by Hosea as "David their king". ⁷

3. Hühn. Die Messianische Weissagungen. Vol. 1. paragr. 3
4. Several scholars, among them Franz Delitzsch, ("Messianic Prophecies in Historical Succession") trace the origin of the Messianic Hope to the earlier "promises" and covenants, in the times of the patriarchs.
5. Delitzsch(p.108): "It would be a wrong conclusion from silence if we should deny the Messianic Hope" to the 'prophets' of these times...."true religiousness would not be possible..unless there were connected with it the longing for the removal of the divine

The prophet Isaiah with his statesman's insight into the events of history gave to the latent Messianic ideal of the Jewish people its highest and broadest tendency. Isaiah's ministrations extended over a protracted and troublous period, the most critical of the whole history of Judah.⁸ During the long reign of Ahaz, godlessness and corruption swayed the court and the nobles, while, without, a formidable enemy was waiting for a favorable opportunity to destroy the kingdom of Judah, and to put a foreign ruler on its throne.⁹ The great Assyrian conqueror, Tiglath-Pélezer, hovered over their heads and the small neighboring kingdoms were at blows with one another. Rezin, of Damascus, and Pekah, of Israel, took advantage of Ahaz's weak and unpopular government, and allied themselves in an attack upon Judah; the siege of Jerusalem seemed imminent. Ahaz saved himself by voluntary submission, as the price of protection, to Tiglath-Pélezer, the Assyrian king. In the succeeding reign of Hezekiah--with Sargon and Sennacherib successively ruling over Assyria--the Kingdom of Judah was rife with internal dissension, and revolutions which again threatened the ruin of Judah. The lives of the Judæan nobles, and the wealthy classes, were steeped in immorality and vice; excessive luxury undermined the strength of the people; the worship of the God of Israel was forsaken. Isaiah evidently knew of these machinations. Out

5. (cont'd) decree, and therefore for a king over the reunited kingdom, for another David, for the Messiah."

6. Hosea II, 2

7. Hosea III, 5

8. Cornill

9. Isaiah VII, 6

of his feeling that the present was irredeemable, since the upper classes of society were deaf to his rebukes, he developed the lofty theory of the "remnant". Exile, he pointed out, was inevitable; God's punishment must be poured out upon the sinful nation, but a remnant will return to Zion to establish a kingdom of justice and righteousness.

In the light of this social and political background to the period of Isaiah's activity can best be understood the import of his hope in a Messianic future, and its king. Ahaz was a perfect type of the Oriental despot, capricious, extravagant, profligate, cruel, acknowledging only his own will as the highest law. Hezekiah less unjust, was weak and wavering. Hence in the Messianic era pictured by Isaiah a new king would arise, who, endowed with the divine spirit, would establish peace and justice in the land. Or as Driver succinctly expresses it. ¹⁰ : "For centuries, the monarchy had been the centre and the pivot of the Jewish constitution and accordingly one prominent feature in the delineation of the future sketched by the prophets is the figure of the ideal king, who will realize the highest possibilities of earthly monarchy, governing Israel with perfect justice and perfect wisdom, and securing for his subjects perfect peace."

It is important at this point, to stress the fact that the major prophets of pre-Exilic times thought of the Messianic era in strictly mundane terms. The "kingdom" was to be here on earth, the ruler a divinely inspired mortal, "son of man"; and the period ushered in concomitantly with the eradication of injustice, unrighteousness, and godlessness. There was nothing supernatural

10. "Isaiah, His Life and Times." p. 112

attending any of these hopeful expectations nor in the manner of their inculcation. Nature was to continue as before, natural law proceeding uninterrupted, physical ills and death subject to no metaphysical changes. Social ills, however, are to be no more, and the moral law is to undergo the marked change of attaining supremacy in the hearts and lives of men. Only the very highest ideals are to motivate thoughts and deeds. The crowning glory of that age shall be that "the land shall be full of the knowledge of God as the waters cover the sea."¹¹ The clearest description of the political head of the people living in such an era is afforded in Chapter XI of Isaiah: "...and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord....with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity the meek of the earth....."

The development thus far is well summed up in the words of W. Robertson Smith¹² : "...the usual way in which the time of Israel's redemption is called the Messianic time is incorrect and misleading. So long as the Hebrew kingdom lasted, every king was 'Jehovah's anointed', and it was only after the Jews lost their independence that the future restoration could be spoken of in contrast to the present as the days of the Messiah. To Isaiah the restoration of Israel is not the commencement but the continuation of that personal sovereignty of Jehovah over His people of which the Davidic king was the representative.... We are apt to think of the days of the Messiah as an altogether new and miraculous

11. Isaiah XI,9

12. "The Prophets of Israel." pp. 302 ff.

dispensation. That was not ^Isaiah's view....we find but one fundamental difference between the old and the new ^Israel; the land shall be full of the knowledge of Jehovah and shall enjoy the happiness which, in all ages past as well as future, has accompanied obedience to the laws of its divine king. Obedience to Jehovah as a king is not the affair of the individual conscience but of the nation, in its national organization; the righteousness of Israel which ^Isaiah contemplates is such righteousness as is secured by a perfectly wise and firm application of the laws of civil justice and equity. It is this which gives so much importance to the person of the ^future king.... Thus the cardinal point in the prophecy is the equipment of the Davidic king for the perfect exercise of his task by the spirit of Jehovah which rests upon him. But even here the prophet does not bring in any absolutely novel element marking off the future felicity of Israel as a new dispensation. That good and strong government was the fruit of Jehovah's spirit poured upon the king of Israel was the ancient faith of the Hebrews. (I Sam. X, 6, 10; XVI, 13, 14; Judges III, 10; VI, 34; XI, 29; ^Isaiah XXVIII, 6) The new thing is the completeness with which this divine equipment is bestowed... It is the function and equipment of the kingship, not the person ^f of the King, that absorbs all his (^Isaiah's) attention".

With the advent of Ezekiel we find the background for the post-Exilic development of the Messianic Hope. Here is where it begins its departure from the conception of the major prophets. The prophetic activity of Ezekiel was divided into two parts by the destruction of Jerusalem in the eleventh year of Zedekiah's reign. Previous to this event his office was to scourge the people with the threatenings of the Lord, ¹³ just as had the major

13. Briggs. Messianic Prophecy. p. 267

prophets, his predecessors. In this part of his ministry, Ezekiel shows the marked influence of Jeremiah, with whose activity the former must have been quite familiar. ¹⁴ After the destruction, however, it became his office to comfort the people with promises of restoration. As the first of the prophets of the Exile, he began a new section in Messianic prophecy. A description of the man and his times is necessary for a truer understanding of this departure from the earlier conception. The son of a priest of the temple of Jerusalem, Ezekiel was carried away captive to Babylon with Jehoiachin in the year 597 B.C.E., eleven years before the destruction of Jerusalem. Five years later--592--he appeared as prophet. His work lasted for twenty-two years, but we know nothing of its details except from his "book". He was, at first, as has been said, a mere herald of the judgment, announcing the approaching, inevitable, destruction of Jerusalem. While the remnant at Jerusalem was staking everything on a desperate struggle for independence, and the exiles were watching them with anxious sympathy, Ezekiel had to declare these efforts futile; Judah must perish on account of her sins. To such a message the exiles were obstinately deaf. At last there came the long expected catastrophe; Jerusalem fell; most of the remnant were carried away into captivity; the city and the Temple lay in ruins; Jeremiah and Ezekiel were justified. The prophet could now speak with new authority

14. According to Briggs, the two exchanged prophecies. W. H. Bennett in his "Post-Exilic Prophets" says: "The teaching and personality of Jeremiah were the most powerful religious influence early in the life of Ezekiel".

Also cf. Cornill. p. 117

since the fulfillment of his predictions. He could now deliver a more welcome message. To the victims of an exile, steeped in despair he could, with Deutero-Isaiah, utter words of cheer and encouragement, preparing his people for a coming restoration, and for their future destiny as the ideal people of God. His priestly training now serves him in good stead, and explains the nature of his Messianic conception. As with Deutero-Isaiah, his problem was to preserve Israel in Exile, to prevent the nation from being absorbed by the Gentiles. Jeremiah with his deep religious subjectivism had exhaustively delineated the relation of the individual to God. Ezekiel, on the other hand, now regarded it as the task of his prophetic mission to educate individuals not only to be religious, but also to be members of a community, which, as such, needed definite objective rules and principles. He therefore stresses the importance of the Sabbath, and the distinction between clean and unclean, sacred and profane. He idealises the Temple, and gives to its services and priesthood a leading place in the "future kingdom", in Messianic times. The Messianic hope for Ezekiel, then, consists in the restoration of Israel in its own land, Palestine, where shall exist not only the reign of justice and righteousness, to which the major prophets looked forward, but also the sacred worship in the Temple at Jerusalem. Observance of the ritual laws, essentially following the rules laid down in the book of Deuteronomy, shall accompany the ethical and moral practices in the new Israel. In earlier speeches, Ezekiel had expressed the hope that the future king would come of the house of David, though the king he pictures exhibits ecclesiastical characteristics. In his "vision" of the future state, however, the prophet makes no mention of a "king". Since the will of God is

to rule the hearts of all his children, the political ruler, to administer justice is no longer needed. Ritual penance is to make atonement for any crime or transgression which might actually occur. Should a heathen nation dare disturb the national peace, and to stretch forth its hand against the Kingdom of God, the Lord Himself, will, in the fire of his wrath, destroy the offender, so that Israel will only need to bury the corpses, and to burn with fire the weapons of the enemy, as described by Ezekiel in his vision of Gog, chief of the land of Magog.¹⁵ In such conditions no king is necessary. There is to be a "prince" (אֲשִׁי), however, whose functions shall consist in looking after the Temple, and supplying the materials of worship, for which purpose he may collect from the people only such gifts of things as are necessary for the sacrifices; sheep, goats, bullocks, oxen, corn, wine and oil. The prince, in other words, is to be head of the ecclesiastical state, as representative of his people.

We have few explicit statements as to the religious life of Israel during the captivity, but the surviving literature and the later development of Judaism show the tenacity with which the exiles must have clung to the faith of Israel. A clue to the conditions leading up to the actual close of the Exilic period is furnished by the writings of an unknown prophet, included in Chapters XI-IV of the book of Isaiah. There is sufficient evidence for placing the work of this prophet--whom we call Deutero-Isaiah for want of more certain identification--at the period towards the end of the Babylonian captivity. In many respects he must be accounted "the most brilliant jewel of prophetic literature". In style,

15. Ezekiel XXXVIII-XXXIX

he is a genius of the first rank, and in his writings are gathered together as in a focus all the great and noble meditations of the prophecy which preceded him. The fundamental theme, the burden of his message, is told in the very first words of his book.¹⁶

"Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God. Speak ye comfortingly to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her day of trial is accomplished and that her iniquity is pardoned; for she has received of the Lord's hand double for all her sins." In the wilderness the way shall be prepared for God^{16a} and his people returning to their home. No power in man can hinder God's work. Jerusalem and the "cities of Judah" are addressed with the promise of God's early restoration of the Exiles to their land.¹⁷ What fills the prophet with this hope; that which has given him the assurance that now the salvation promised by God is about to be accomplished, is the glorious march of triumph of Cyrus. The Persian King, by his victories and deeds has proved himself to be God's chosen weapon, the executor of the divine judgment upon Babylon. "I have raised him up in righteousness and I will direct all his ways; he shall build my city, and he shall let my exiles go free."¹⁸ Nothing could be more explicit. And the reason for this confidence of the prophet lies in the ethical nature of Cyrus and of his policy of treatment of captives, a feature new and unlooked for among Eastern conquerors. In all of this Deutero-Isaiah sees God's hand

16. Isaiah XL, 1 ff

17. vv. 9 ff

16a. vv. 3 ff.

18. Isaiah XLV, 13

and the Divine Purpose: "I, even I, have spoken; yea, I have called him; I have brought him hither and his way shall be prosperous"¹⁹ Cyrus is even called directly by name, so that there may not be the slightest doubt as to the upshot of the matter: "(I am the Lord) that saith of Cyrus: He is my shepherd and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem: 'Thou shalt be built'; and to the Temple: 'thy foundation shall be laid'."²⁰ Nowhere does Deutero-Isaiah speak of a future Messiah of the House of David. Though he calls the Persian conquerer by the most honorable names: "shepherd", even "anointed"²¹ of God, he, Cyrus, is merely part of God's plan for the regeneration of all mankind, a fact contingent upon Israel's redemption and subsequent mission as an, אור לאומות — a "light unto the nations". The prophet stresses again and again the omnipotence of God²² and His unity. This omnipotent God of Israel is the only God in Heaven and on earth, everlasting, eternal, "the first and the last and beside Him there is no God". Deutero-Isaiah lays special emphasis on this point. No one has held up to scorn, more bitterly than he, the idols of the neighboring peoples, and proved their emptiness and impotence.²³ The fact that this God of Israel is the only One who has ever foretold the future, is adduced as proof of his exclusive divinity.²⁴ This God of prophecy whose predictions never fail, had long foretold that Baby-

19. Isaiah XLVIII, 15

20. " XLIV, 28

21. " XLV, 1

22. " XL, vv. 12, 15-17, 22, 26, etc.

23. " XL, 19-20; XLI, 6 ff

24. " XLIV, 6-8

lon must fall. He will now carry out His plan through Cyrus. The Babylonian tyrant shall be destroyed and then shall take place the return of Israel to the land of its fathers. God Himself will head the procession and will make in the wilderness a safe way through shady trees and rippling fountains, that they may build at last the new Jerusalem. Israel alone knows and possesses the true God. Only through Israel can the other nations learn to know him, and thus Israel becomes the servant and messenger of God, the herald of God to man. Israel is to mankind (as Cornill expresses it) what the prophet is to Israel. God is the God of the whole earth, and Israel is to be His prophet for the whole earth. Thus may succinctly be summed up Deutero-Isaiah's view. It is the major prophetic view at its very highest point of development.

...the prophet... the people... the sacred spot... the temple of Solomon... the Babylonian... the return of Israel... the new Jerusalem... the messenger of God... the herald of God to man... the God of the whole earth... Israel is to be His prophet for the whole earth... Deutero-Isaiah's view... the major prophetic view at its very highest point of development.

...after their arrival... the sacred spot... the temple of Solomon... the Babylonian... the return of Israel... the new Jerusalem... the messenger of God... the herald of God to man... the God of the whole earth... Israel is to be His prophet for the whole earth... Deutero-Isaiah's view... the major prophetic view at its very highest point of development.

CHAPTER II

Our information as to the years immediately following the exile is meagre, obscure, and, according to some critics, untrust-
 25
 worthy.

The deliverance of Israel, foretold with such assurance by Deutero-Isaiah, did in reality take place. Cyrus the conqueror and new ruler of Babylon (538 B.C.E.) apparently gave the exiles permission at once to return to their native land. There is indication, further, that the Persian monarch supported and helped them in many ways. In the spring of the year 537 B.C.E. the Israelites began their homeward march. It is generally agreed that about fifty thousand of them returned, under the leadership of Sheshbazzar, as recorded in the Book of Ezra (Chap. I). The latter record furnishes us with the meagre information as to the conditions which introduced the prophetic activities of Haggai and Zechariah, seventeen years later. These events as chronicled in Ezra I-IV, when considered in the light of the political history of the period, furnish a necessary introduction to the study of the Messianic hope, as portrayed in the Books of Haggai and Zechariah (I-VIII) which may be said to usher in the post-Exilic period.

Soon after their arrival, the exiles erected the altar on the sacred spot where once had stood the sacrificial altar of the Temple of Solomon. They must have felt that their community was the beginning of the Messianic era promised and sketched by Ezekiel. They must have been eager to inculcate this period of a new Israel with its political and ecclesiastical glory. In this spirit they renewed the sacrificial worship, and laid the
 25. ^{e.g.} E. S. Cheyne. "Jewish Religious Life after the Exile." p. 5

foundation of the Temple. Their adversaries,-the "צ'י יהודה" ²⁶ sought permission to participate in the work and worship, but were refused, with the recorded result that "the people of the land weakened the hands of the people of Judah and troubled them in building. And hired counsellors against them to frustrate their purpose all the days of Cyrus, King Of Persia, even until the reign of Darius, King of Persia." Enthusiasm must have given place to dispirited apathy as portrayed in the opening chapters of the book of Haggai. In the year 520 B.C.E., prophecy once more awoke, and here again, a great historical crisis seems to have been cause for its origin. In 529 B.C.E., Cyrus was succeeded by Cambyses who added Egypt to the Persian Empire in 525, and committed suicide in 522. At his death, the throne was seized by the magus Gaumata, an impostor, who personated a deceased brother of Cambyses. The fraud was discovered, Gaumata slain, and Darius I,-a direct heir,-placed upon the throne of the Persian Empire. These events had disturbed the whole empire. Excitement and uprisings rose on all sides. Two full years, Darius had to struggle with difficulties of every kind till at last he succeeded in restoring order and consolidating the Kingdom of Persia, a consolidation which lasted more than two centuries.

In this restless and seething period prophecy was again aroused. As of old the hopes of the Jews were stirred by the misfortunes of the supreme power. In the year 520 a bad harvest seems to have brought famine and hunger into the land. At this crisis, Haggai and Zechariah appear upon the scene with new assurances that the Messianic era was close at hand.

* *Ezra IV.*

The book of Haggai describes internal conditions in Jerusalem: The Temple remains unbuilt because of the distressing conditions which have prevailed, and which have been taken by the people as an indication of God's wrath. At the head of the Jewish community stands Zerubbabel as Satrap under the Persian ruler Darius. On the new moon of Elul, in the year 520, B.C.E., the prophet Haggai makes a speech in the Temple, where Zerubbabel, Joshua, son of Hozedek the Priest, and the people, have been gathered. He commands them, in the name of Jahweh to begin work on the Temple. He points out that political conditions make such work possible. Things have taken a turn for the better. He stirs up anew the hope for imminent deliverance, and makes it plain that the Messianic era can only have its inception after the Temple is completely rebuilt, at which time, God will Himself take charge. On the 24th of Elul the work is begun in earnest. The prophet addresses himself especially to Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, and Joshua, son of Hozedek, the "high-priest", as co-ordinate representatives of the people. He intimates that their misfortunes were a punishment for their sin in neglecting to rebuild the Temple. Then the people and their leaders "obeyed the voice of the Lord their God, and the words of Haggai the prophet", and Jahweh "stirred up their spirit", and they set to work on the Temple. But the scale of the new building was apparently small and its adornments mean as compared with the ancient Temple of Solomon. There must have been old men

27. Stade. "Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments." pp. 314 ff

28. Haggai I, 8 725X1

29. " I, 14-15

30. " v. 12

amongst them who remembered the ancient sanctuary "in her first glory," and these must have discouraged the builders by telling them that their work was "as nothing in comparison." For, after the work is well under way Haggai finds it necessary to come forward with a second message giving encouragement and impetus to the people by assuring them that Jahweh is with them, and that the glory of this second Temple will exceed that of the first. He therefore ~~(decided to)~~ bids them persevere in their efforts. †

(³¹ "חִיק וְשֹׁ" in II, v. 4) and promises that the political disturbances of the times will soon issue in a great "shaking" of the "heavens and the earth and the sea and the dry land... and all nations" and that then the wealth of all nations shall come as tribute to the Temple. Apparently however, devotion to work on the Temple was not bringing any improvement in material circumstances, and enthusiasm must have again flagged. Haggai finds the reason, therefore, in their being ritually unclean. He appears before them a third time, ³³ exhorts them--after eliciting decisions from the Priests--to "consider henceforth". ³⁴ The promised blessing had been delayed because of their sins, it should, however, begin at once ³⁵ **מִן הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲבִיךָ**. To Zerubbabel he adds another word, promising, again, that heaven and earth will be shaken, the thrones of the heathen kingdoms overthrown, and "on that day", Zerubbabel will be made "as a signet; for I have chosen thee, saith ³⁶ the Lord of Hosts." Zerubbabel, as the divinely chosen head of

31. Haggai II, 1 ff
 32. " II, 9
 33. On the 24th of Kislev, 520, upon the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of the Temple. Haggai II, 18
 34. Haggai II, 18
 35. " II, 19

36. Haggai II, 23

Israel in its coming glory shall be the "Messianic Ruler". The chief argument upon which Haggai relied was that the material prosperity of the people depended upon their zeal for God; distress was a sign that He was angry with them on account of their indifference to His worship. This reasoning is an application of the doctrine of Ezekiel with its stress upon ritual cleanliness; he expects the Messianic era in the immediate future as the sequel to the political troubles of his times. His Messianic hope is colored by the circumstances of his ministry; the chief point on which he dwells is the future glory of the Temple. It is a new feature that he ventures to name a contemporary--Zerubbabel--as the Messiah.

After the eighth month, Zechariah lends his support to these activities.³⁷ He presents to the people the warning example of their ancestors who failed to give heed to the earlier prophets--with what dire results--and urges greater zeal in the work of erecting the Temple.³⁸ In Ezra VI, 14, Zechariah is associated with Haggai, both being given credit for causing--by their prophesying--the rebuilding of the Temple. References in the book of Zechariah furnish evidences of obstacles and discouragements, and the need for constant urging and encouragement of the leaders,--Joshua and Zerubbabel,--by the prophet. Haggai had announced a "shaking" of the kingdoms of the world which was to be the prelude to the establishment of the kingdom of God. The revolts at the accession of Darius had also encouraged the Jews to hope for such a "shaking", but now Zechariah "sees"³⁹ four angelic messengers who report

37. Stade. loc. cit.

38. Zechariah I, 1-6

39. " I, 7-17

to the Angel of Jahweh, "We have walked to and fro through the earth, and behold all the earth sitteth still and is at rest". Darius was quelling the various rebellions with rapid success, and men must have murmured that the promise made by Haggai had come to nothing. In this vision, the Angel of Jahweh appeals to God ^{and is reassured with a new promise} against postponement of the fulfillment of his promises, that the Temple shall be rebuilt and Jerusalem become prosperous. A second vision ⁴⁰ shows four horns, the Gentile nations, filed away by four smiths. In a third vision ⁴¹ a "man with a measuring line" is forbidden to assign definite limits to Jerusalem, because the future population will be too numerous to be contained within a walled circuit. In a fourth vision, ⁴² Joshua, the high priest, in filthy garments, is arraigned before Jahweh. This is symbolic apparently of some sin he has committed to which the Jews may have ascribed their misfortunes, or, as some critics hold, suggestive ⁴³ of the ritual sins of the whole people. His iniquity is taken away however, and he is encouraged to be faithful by promises of power and honor. He and his fellow-priests are to usher in the Messiah, who is called ⁴⁴ "מַלְאָכִי צְדָקָה". Jahweh promises that he ⁴⁵ will remove the iniquity of the land in one day. There is ⁴⁶ a reference to a "stone with seven eyes" which is explained by some as referring to the foundation stone of the Temple. ⁴⁷ A fifth vision

40. Zechariah II, 1-4

41. " II, 5-17

42. " III

43. Cf. Stade p. 316

44. Zechariah III, 8

45. " III, 9

46. Orelli. "The Twelve Minor Prophets" regards it as referring to a jewel in the diadem of the Messianic King.

47. ZEch. IV, 1-6a, 10a-14 (as in Stade)

describes a seven-branched candlestick with two olive trees, one on each side thereof. This passage has received various interpretations. Stade's version seems most probable, viewing therein a reference to the two "anointed ones", Zerubbabel and Joshua, king and high-priest, respectively, in the future kingdom, who are to stand under the protection of the ever watchful eyes of God. This utterance of Zechariah's, exalting Joshua to a co-ordinate status with Zerubbabel may have been intended to terminate disputes between the two leaders as to their relative position.⁴⁸ Chapter V presents two visions.⁴⁹ In the first of these, a huge roll is presented as flying through the land, to purge it of sinners. The second shows a woman, representing wickedness, shut up in an ephah measure, and being carried by two women to the land of Shinar. This symbolizes the purification of the land from sin, a removal of the obstacles⁵⁰ to the coming of the Kingdom of God. The eighth and last vision⁵¹ brings a reappearance of the four chariots which are dispatched to the four quarters of the earth, presumably to execute God's judgments upon the nations, for "these that go to the north have quieted my spirit in the north country", apparently refers to the destruction of the Persian-Babylonian Empire.

Verse six in Chapter IV, is significant as a bolstering of courage to Zerubbabel. "The spirit of God", the latter is told, will enable him to overcome material difficulties. He is assured in v.9 that he shall complete the work on the Temple. Chapters V

48. Cf. Stade p.315

49. Zechariah V, 1-4; 5-11

50. So Stade p. 316

51. Zechariah VI, 1-8

and VI of the Book of Ezra furnish the nature of these obstacles. Tatnai the satrap of the province across the Euphrates visits Jerusalem, sees the work of construction, and questions the authority of the leaders in building the Temple. The Elders refuse to be daunted and refer to the earlier decree of Cyrus, King of Persia, which gave them permission to reconstruct the Temple. Ezra faithfully chronicles the event. A letter is sent by Tatnai to Darius, reporting in detail, the encounter, and suggesting that the records be consulted for verification of the Jews' claim. This is done; such a decree is found in the annals. Darius not only authorizes the work on the Temple but orders that the Jews be given support in their labors, in accordance with the earlier decree of Cyrus.⁵²

Zechariah scores all doubts. He spurs Joshua and Zerubbabel to renewed incentive and hope. They are under God's care and are receiving His aid, wherewith all difficulties and obstacles shall be overcome. Zechariah is so certain of the nearness of the approaching Messianic kingdom, that he orders the Jews still in Babylon, to bring gold and silver to Jerusalem for the crown of Zerubbabel who is to be known as "מלך". With the subsequent death or deposition of Zerubbabel⁵³ the hope in the imminent advent of the Messianic era receives a severe blow. Zechariah finds it necessary to add further urge and encouragement. The work on the Temple must continue under the new leadership of ⁵⁴שנאצרו וגם מלך. The portion I-VIII, closes with a prophecy describing the future blessedness of Jerusalem.⁵⁵ Just as certain as that the punishments did befall them, predicted by the earlier prophets, so surely

52. Ezra VI, 8-12

53. Stade p. 317

footnote

54. There is some dispute as to their identity. Cf. Cheyne p. 10

55. Ezra VIII, 1-23

will materialize the then promised wrath of God against the heathens and His zeal on behalf of Israel. The Messianic hope shall be fulfilled. Jahweh shall return to Zion; in the streets of Jerusalem, old men and playing children shall again be seen. The Jews of the diaspora shall be brought home; fast days shall become feast days; heathens shall pilgrimage to Jerusalem to worship God. "In those days it shall come to pass that ten men of all the languages of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying 'we will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you'".⁵⁶

Much of the teaching of Zechariah seems an elaboration of the more simple and direct words of Haggai; the sacred duty of building the Temple, its future glory in spite of its small beginning, the status of the high-priest, and the Messianic identity of Zerubbabel; Zechariah's free use of symbolic visions, and the large part played by angels, are developments of the method of Ezekiel. The altered relation of these prophets to God is noteworthy. While the major prophets felt themselves to be completely one with God, who was ever present and living in them, for the post-Exilic prophets, God grows more and more transcendent; direct personal intercourse between them ceases; an angel steps in to act as intermediary, as avatar.⁵⁷

The building of the Temple made rapid progress under the urge of these two prophets; Haggai and Zechariah. It was completed on the third of Adar, in the year 515 B.C.E, in the sixth year of the reign of King Darius.⁵⁸ The Messianic hope still remained un-

56. VIII, 23

57. Cornill

58. Ezra VI, 15

fulfilled..... Some were satisfied with the goal achieved in the form of the new Temple; others continued to hope.... At any rate the road was left clear for further developments.

We turn next to the anonymous writings of the prophet who has since been designated as Malachi. It is generally agreed by exegetes that "Malachi" is not the name of the actual prophetic author, but is derived from the "מלאכי", "My Angel," or "my messenger" as suggested in III, 1 of this book. It is generally agreed, also, that this work is connected with the ^{reforms} ~~reference~~ of Ezra and Nehemiah,⁵⁹ but it is doubtful whether Malachi (the prophet, or writer of the work itself) actually co-operated with the reformers. The book affords a clear portrayal of the conditions of the time. The prophet, acting as God's mouthpiece, delivers his message:

"דבר יהוה אל ישראל ביר מלאכי"

He begins by assuring his hearers as to the love of Jahweh for Israel. Calamity and distress must have made the Jews of his day doubt whether God had any special affection for them. The prophet then denounces the practices of both priests and laity. The former are admonished for unrighteous observance of the ritual, and for unfaithful teaching. They are represented as guilty of gross carelessness and irreverence: "The priests defile my name... bring polluted bread unto mine altar;... when ye thus say †
(שִׁלְחן יְהוָה) Jahweh's table, it is an abomination."⁶⁰ They regard with contempt the ritual; "Behold, ye said, 'what a weariness it is'".⁶¹ Therefore Jahweh rejects their service and holds himself

59. Cf. Stade, Cornill, and others

60. Malachi I, 6-7

61. " I, 13

more honoxred by the Gentiles. The prophet appeals to the ancient covenant of God with Levi (בְּרִית הַלְוִי) and to the faithfulness of the priesthood in bygone days: "Truthful instruction was in his mouth and transgression was not to be found upon his lips; in peace and uprightness he walked with me, keeping many (persons) from sin. The priests lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the law at his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts." What need has Jahweh of their sacrifices when their deeds are wicked, "Ye are departed out of the way; ye have caused many to stumble at the law, ye have corrupted the covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts. Therefore have I made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways but have been partial in the laws." ⁶² Then turning to the people generally, he denounces the divorcing of Jewish wives to make way for marriages with foreign women, and describes the anger of Jahweh at the misery thus caused. ⁶³ They defile God's Holiness and violate His covenant. Does Jahweh need their sacrifices when "from sunrise to sundown" He is thus honored among all the nations-- at every sacrificial altar? Israel's offerings are no longer acceptable to Him because they are attended with unrighteous deeds, but chiefly--for this prophet--because the sacrifices are not as prescribed, because animals with blemishes are offered up, because "ye have brought אֲנֹל וְאֵל הַפֶּסֶחַ וְאֵל הַחֹלֶה"

Under such conditions arises the prophet's hope in the advent of better days--a Messianic era. Such days are to come assuredly, says Malachi. God will send his "מֵלֶךְ הַבְּרִית", whom the people desire. ⁶⁴ The Day of Judgment will be ushered in by the sudden

62. Malachi II, 6-7, 8-9

63. Cf. Stade p. 333, Nowack, etc.

64. Malachi III, 1

appearance of God's מֵלֶךְ in the Temple. The "day of His coming"⁶⁵ shall be attended by severe judgment which few may survive. The priests shall be purified bringing righteous offerings. The magicians, falsifiers, oppressors, and those who cause evil shall be judged. Malachi exhorts the iniquitous to mend their ways. He reproaches them with withholding the tithes and sacred dues from the Temple. The righteous are warned against complaining that the wicked prosper and that piety has availed nothing. On the "day of judgment" all this will be rectified. Those who fear Jahveh are noted in the heavenly scrolls,⁶⁶ סֵפֶר זְכוֹרוֹן, and shall inherit God's portion. Then shall the distinction be made between the righteous and the godless. The former shall stamp out the latter, as the dust under their feet. Verse 23 predicts the coming of Elijah, the prophet, as precursor to the advent of God's kingdom,⁶⁷ an item which assumed great importance in the historical development of the Messianic hope. Before the arrival of the "Day of Judgment", Elijah shall come to reunite families, to "turn the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to their fathers", lest God come to render the land desolate.

Malachi, like Haggai and Zechariah, is chiefly interested in the Temple and ~~the~~ priesthood. The sins denounced are largely ritual abuses, unsatisfactory offerings, imperfect fulfillment of vows, unpaid tithes, contempt for, and weariness of, public worship.* The Temple has become the seat and symbol of Divine Right-

65. Stade suggests reading מֵלֶךְ for מֵלֶךְ, referring to Jahveh as the ruler of God's kingdom.

66. Malachi III, 16

67. Stade

* Malachi I, 8, 12, 13, 14; III, 8

eousness; the guardian of truth and justice. Like Ezekiel and Zechariah, again, Malachi holds that the well-being of Israel depends on the presence of Jahveh in his Temple, and the prophet implies that the sins of ^{the} people still keep Him aloof. His reverence for the Temple and priesthood makes the prophet idealize the services and priests of ancient days when they walked with God "in peace and truth" and "the offering of Judah and Jerusalem was pleasant unto Jahveh", a view of the ancient priesthood very different from that of Isaiah or Jeremiah. Malachi's estimate of the importance of ritual and tithes is in marked contrast to the teaching of the major prophets, yet he is also interested in the ethical side. He demands the moral rectitude of the priests and echoes the denunciations hurled by his predecessors against sorcerers, perjurers, and adulterers, against those who oppress the hireling in his wages, and the widow and the fatherless, and against those who deal unjustly with the "stranger".⁶⁸ Malachi does not deal with the nation as a whole, in his condemnation, but distinguishes between the faithful and disloyal. The Day of Jahveh does not bring the doom of the nation but the punishment of the wicked and the reward of the righteous. Finally, the Messianic anticipation in terms of a restored Davidic dynasty, has fallen into the background. Malachi's hope for his people is centered in the direct intervention of God in the Day of Jahveh. But the prospect is not so immediate as in his predecessors; the prophet seems conscious of the bitter disappointment often caused by the too confident expectation of the speedy coming of the Messianic era. He guards against a similar mistake by stating preliminary conditions which must be fulfilled before Jahveh finally intervenes; the angel of

68. Malachi III, 5

Jahveh (~~finally~~) shall come to purify the sons of Levi, the priesthood; Elijah must return and heal the discords of the people, before the time is ripe for the great Day of Judgment and Deliverance. Meanwhile God is mindful of His faithful.

The Biblical portion which belongs next in consideration is that comprising chapters LVI-LXVI in Isaiah. Obviously these chapters are not the consecutive portions of a single work, nor are they homogeneous in style and spirit. Even apart from editorial additions they can hardly be the work of a single author. Yet substantially they seem to represent the religious thought of loyal Jews of the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, the period following that of Malachi,⁶⁹ dating approximately 470-420 B.C.E. For our purpose it is convenient to treat the whole of LVI-LXVI here, notwithstanding its apparent heterogeneity.

Chapter LVI, 1-8 promises eunuchs and Gentile proselytes the privileges of the Chosen People on condition that they observe the Sabbath. There follows a denunciation of the rulers, "shepherds", etc, also the superstitions of the "sons of the sorceress, the seed of the adulterer and the whore". Peace is promised to the penitent, but "there is no peace to the wicked".⁷⁰ In chapter LVIII there is a description of the type of fast chosen by God, in contradistinction to the nature of the fast commonly observed. "Is not this the fast that I have chosen? To loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, etc?"⁷¹ The people are exhorted to observe the Sabbath.

Chapter LIX lists the sins of the people, and their evil practices, which have brought them into desperate straits; nothing is

69. So Stade p. 337 ff; Smend p. 339; Cheyne, Marti, and others.

70. Chap. LVI-LVII, incl.

71. Isaiah LVIII, 6-7

to be hoped for from man, but Jahweh will Himself intervene to save the penitent and to punish the wicked. The concluding verse, 21, promises that Divine Revelation and Inspiration shall remain the eternal possession of Israel. The next three chapters strike a very different note. They ~~elaborate~~ ^{celebrate} the future splendor and holiness of Jerusalem. Returning exiles, escorted by the Gentiles shall ~~thick~~ to Zion from all quarters. All the nations of the earth shall pay tribute and homage to the Temple. Peace and righteousness shall abide in the city. The Jews shall be ^a nation of priests maintained by the labour of Gentile slaves. ⁷² As The great hope of Deutero-Isaiah was inspired by the prospect of deliverance to be wrought by Cyrus, so this lesser echo by Trito-Isaiah may have had its occasion in the hopes raised by the appearance of Ezra or of Nehemiah, armed with the authority of Persia to serve the interests of true religion. There follows a short section which might be regarded as an appendix to the preceding chapters. It explains how the future glory is to be brought about. God appears as a terrible conqueror, His raiment dyed with the blood of His enemies. When all human help ⁷² failed, He intervened to crush the nations and to deliver His people. He comes from Edom, ⁷³ because the ruin of Edom is the "crowning mercy" for Israel. Again we have an abrupt change of tone. The writer passes from exultation to despondency. He seeks to incline the heart of God to His people, by recalling His past mercies, and recounting their present miseries. Could He leave them to perish when He had done so much for them in days gone by? Doubtless they were sinners, but their fathers too had gone astray, yet God had not

72. Isaiah LXI, 5,6

73. Isaiah LXIII, 1-6

forsaken them. Their iniquities were many and God was destroying them by means of their own wickedness, and yet: "Thou, O God, art our Father; we are the clay and thou art our Potter; we are all the work of Thy Hands." ⁷⁴ Could he destroy His own creatures?

Then comes a picture of the ultimate salvation of Israel, the Messianic times, ⁷⁵ "the new heavens and the new earth". The sinners who clung to old and ⁷⁶ few superstitions, ⁷⁶ the Samaritans, and their allies and their friends among the Jews, shall be destroyed. Thus purged and purified Jerusalem shall at last fulfill her destiny and become the Holy City of God; and from that high estate, she shall never again be cast down but shall abide an eternal city of righteousness. The divine favor will be shown by material prosperity; a fertile land, freedom from sorrow, length of days, peace, and the return of exiles from all the nations, escorted by the Gentiles. ⁷⁷ The practical interest in the Temple services is shown by the provision that Jews thus returning may serve as priests and Levites. ⁷⁸

The writers of these chapters are much occupied with the great practical problem of the period. The maintenance of a group of faithful Jews, a true Israel, untainted by association with their neighbors. The problem is approached in a liberal discriminating spirit. Although no mercy is shown to those who adhere to corrupt life and worship, there is to be room in the purified com-

74- Isaiah LXIV

75. Isaiah LXV-LXVI

76. " LXV, 1-7; 11-15; LXVI 3 ff; 16 ff, 24

77. " LXV, 8, 13, 18-23; LXVI, 12, 20

78. " LXVI, 21

munity ~~unity~~ for believing Gentiles, proselytes, and even for eunuchs. As in Malachi, sin and punishment, repentance and forgiveness are no longer dealt with simply as concerning the nation. The people fall into two classes, the wicked, hopelessly hardened and impenitent, for whom there is nothing but condemnation; and the righteous, who are indeed sinful and yet confess their sin, repent, and obtain forgiveness. Nevertheless, in spite of thus dealing with the individuals in two classes, the real interest is still in the community. The time will come when the wicked will be destroyed, and Israel, purified will again be a holy people.⁷⁹

In the picture of the future in these chapters, we have most of the usual post-Exilic features of the Messianic age; but the Messianic King has disappeared; there is no prospect of deliverance by natural means or human agents; the hope of Israel lies in the direct, personal intervention of Jahweh. He will give peace, prosperity and glory to His people; He will destroy their enemies, especially Edom, and make the Gentiles, their servants and tributaries. Jerusalem stands for Israel and the Temple is, again, of supreme importance, so that the Chosen People is to be a nation of priests.⁸⁰ The idea of Israel's mission to the world centers⁸¹ in the Temple which is to be a "House of prayer for all nations".

For the immediately succeeding periods of Jewish history, we have scanty reliable information, till the time of the Maccabees.

79. Isaiah LXII, 12

80. " LXI, 6

81. " LVI, 7; LXVI, 23

Scholars are forced to garner what little they can from the evidence in the works which follow next in consideration. The question of datings with regard to these works, Habbakuk, Joel, Zechariah IX-XIV, Obadiah, are unfortunately the subject of much dispute, and, as Bertholet notes, subjective opinions enter into all positive presentations. This should be considered in connection with the following treatments, since a knowledge of the internal history of the Jews of the period is essential to a correct judgment of the religious development. We turn then, in our study of the development of the Messianic idea to an observation of its nature during the Greek period.

While the Persian Empire continued, the general political situation had remained unaltered. But even from the time of Cyrus, the influence of the Greeks was felt more and more, both in Egypt and in western Asia. At last Alexander the Great made himself master of these countries in a few rapid campaigns B.C.E. 334-324. The conquests of Alexander had not been merely political; in the train of his armies, Greek thought, Greek customs, Greek language, Greek commerce, had swept over the East, and most of the important towns of Egypt and Syria were thoroughly Hellenized so that the Jews were now accessible to such influences as they had never been before. Up to the time of Alexander, Judaism had two great centres, Jerusalem and Babylon, but with the founding of Alexandria a large Jewish quarter arose in the new city. Henceforth Alexandria became a new center of Jewish life. During this period, too, the Jews became dispersed far and wide, and came into contact with Hellenic culture, philosophy, and religion, at many points. The broader, cosmopolitan movement of Jewish thought

which is illustrated by the "Wisdom of Solomon", and the writings of Philo and Josephus, must have begun soon after 330 B.C.E., if not before. Even Jerusalem did not wholly escape. While, no doubt, many tried to combine the best features of Hellenism and Judaism, enthusiasts for Greek ideas must have been ready to sacrifice the essential faith of Israel for aesthetic and intellectual attractions and material advantages. Thus, in this Greek period, currents of legalism, of more spiritual Judaism, of Greek philosophy and of mere worldly Hellenism, must have mingled in the stream of Jewish life. We have now to consider our few prophetic documents in the light of these various forces.

83

Bertholet places the utterance in Isaiah XIV 28-32 in this period. He agrees with Duhm⁸⁴ that it precedes the Book of Habakkuk. In the aforementioned oracle against the Philistines, the latter are represented as rejoicing over the fact that the rod which smote them--Persian rule--is broken. The prophet points out to them that this is--for them--no ground for joy, since the future promises them even greater distress. To the messengers who have apparently come seeking an alliance with the Jews, the prophet characteristically replies that "The Lord hath founded Zion⁸⁵ and the poor of his people shall place their trust in it". One reads between the lines--with Bertholet--a reliance, rather, upon the sovereignty of Jahweh in Jerusalem. The Kingdom of God will be instituted by Jahweh Himself, not through any political alliance.

Habakkuk is awe-struck at the rapidity with which the conqueror, newly projected upon the world's horizon, wins his consecutive victories.⁸⁶ His dread is concentrated in the person of Alexander the Great, who constitutes--for Habakkuk--the em-
For notes cf. next page.

bodiment of calamity,⁸⁷ his plan of conquest an unheard of, un-
 believable outrage,⁸⁸ his dominating purpose, only insatiable greed
 for conquest, and the rapacious desire for personal aggrandiſe-
 ment,⁸⁹ "imputing thus his power unto his god."⁹⁰ This sudden
 appearance of Alexander to disturb the period of comparative quiet
 which had preceded, served to stir prophecy from its lethargic
 slumber, and to rekindle the hope that the advent of the Messianic
 era is again being forecasted. Habbakuk is inspired by the sit-
 uation to find therein, God's purpose. Alexander's march of con-
 quest--if it be part of God's plan-- has over reached its bounds.
 God, says the prophet, --even as had his greater predecessors--
 is of too pure eyes to condone iniquity. Alexander's tyrannical
 policy cannot long endure. The people are exhorted to have faith
 in Jahweh's mercy.⁹¹ The Messianic hope is rekindled. The assur-
 ance is given that the faithful, righteous people of Israel will
 live when the proud oppressor will come to ruin. "Jahweh is in
 His holy Temple."⁹² Habbakuk describes the advent of Jahweh for
 the redemption of His people, and the destruction of their enemies.⁹³

83. loc. cit. p. 144

84. "Das Buch Habbakuk",

85. Isaiah XIV, 32

86. Habbakuk I, 8-11

87. BertMolet pp. 145 ff

88. Habbakuk I, 3; II, 4-8

89. " I, 16; II, 4 ff, 9

90. " I, 11

91. " II, 3-4

92. " II, 20

93. " III

The prophet advances from a condition of fear to joy ⁱⁿ ~~at~~ the contemplation of the divine deliverance. His picture of the judgment borders upon the ⁹⁴apocalyptic.

The integrity of the Book of Joel is generally contested. Its contents indicate the period after the reforms of Ezra and **Nehemiah**. Bertholet, quoting the authority of Cornill, Marti, Kuenen, Nowack, Duha, Sellin, and others, postulates the heterogeneity of composition and authorship. Yet here, again, for obvious reasons, we shall treat its contents as a single literary product.

There is no reference, in Joel, to a king, and the community is spoken of as "priests and people". ⁹⁵ It is implied that under ordinary circumstances the Temple ritual is carefully observed, for a feature of the calamity which is pictured by the writer is that "the meal offering and the drink offering are withholden" ⁹⁶ from the Temple. The statement that Jews have been sold as slaves ⁹⁷ to the Greeks suggests a date during the Greek period. As usual in the post-Exilic literature doom is pronounced against Edom; ⁹⁸ but here Egypt is coupled with Edom, a combination which would be easily understood if the book were written after the establishment of the Greek kingdom of Egypt, shortly after harsh treatment of the Jews by one of the Ptolemies.

94. Habbakuk III, 4 ff

95. Joel I, 13 ff; II, 16 ff

96. " I, 13

97. " IV, 6

98. " IV, 19. Cf. Micah VII, 13 ff, which probably belongs to the same period. Bertholet also places in this period the following interpolations in older prophetic works: Isaiah XI,

The book describes a great plague of locusts which is characteristically regarded as a symbol and prelude of the "Day of Jahweh". The people are exhorted to fast and to hold a solemn assembly at the Temple; deliverance⁹⁸ is promised a remnant of the Jews; punishment is to overtake their enemies.

In the Book of Joel apocalypse take the place of the Messianic anticipations of earlier prophets. The Day of the Lord is pictured accompanied with portents in the heavens, the darkening of sun, moon and stars. All the nations of the earth are to be gathered for destruction to the "valley of Jehoshaphat."⁹⁹ There is no mention of the Davidic king. The attitude of the writer towards the Gentiles is one of condemnation. Jahweh shall be known as dwelling in Zion, and then Jerusalem shall be holy, and no foreigners shall be admitted within its walls.¹⁰⁰ A remarkable feature of Joel's picture of the ideal future, is the promise that the spirit of Jahweh shall be poured out upon all flesh, "your sons and your daughters shall prophecy; your old men shall dream dreams your young men shall see visions; and also upon the slaves and slave-girls will I pour out my spirit in those days."¹⁰¹ These verses recall Jeremiah's hope that all shall know Jahweh,¹⁰² under God's new covenant with His people--but how different the contexts! The symbols which are presented by Joel in his portrayal of the

98(cont'd) 11-16; Amos IX, 8-15; Hos. II, 1-3; 15b-25; XI, 10 ff;

Micah II, 12 ff; IV, 6-8; Zeph. III, 14-20; Isaiah XXX, 18-33.

99. Joel IV, 2

100. " IV, 17

101. " III, 1, 2

102. Jeremiah XXXI, 31 ff

Messianic advent, may be traced to the writings of earlier prophets. Bertholet takes this fact ¹⁰³ as indicating the intensity with which the earlier writings were studied, in the attempt to produce information therefrom, as to what the future might hold for them. Such older views are seen, however, in the light of the contemporary, dogmatic, outlook of a more or less apocalyptic nature.

The question has arisen as to the unity of Chapters IX-XIV of the Book of Zechariah. Bertholet ¹⁰⁴ holds that with some negligible exceptions, they are the work of a single author. The evidence is not conclusive and the question is not material to our present purpose. We shall treat the content as the writing of a Deutero-Zechariah. The following features, amongst others, ¹⁰⁵ indicate the Greek period as the time of origin of these chapters. The Greeks are spoken of as the chief enemies of Israel. ¹⁰⁶ Exiles are to be brought back from Egypt and Assyria, and settled in Gilead and Lebanon; the pride of Assyria shall be humbled, and the sceptre shall depart from Egypt. In a document which speaks of the Greeks, Egypt and Assyria will be the Greek kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria. In XII, we have a "burden of Jahweh concerning Israel", which is wholly concerned with Judah and Jerusalem, giving us the post-Exilic identification of Judah with Israel. The contemptuous attitude of XIII, 1-6 towards prophets

103. p. 141 loc. cit.

104. p. 229

105. Bertholet dates the work at approximately 164 B.C.E. (p. 229).

106. Zechariah IX, 13

suggests a very late period when it was recognized that prophecy was dead or dying. In XIV the apocalyptic element, the interest in ritual holiness, and the attitude towards the Gentiles all point to the same conclusion.

The work begins with a description of an invasion. ¹⁰⁷ in which the neighbors of the Jews--^dHarach, Damascus, Hamath, the Phoenicians, and Philistines--suffer severely, while the Temple is protected from harm. Then we read of the coming of a victorious king to Zion, who shall give peace to Jerusalem and to the whole earth, and exercise a world-wide dominion. ¹⁰⁸ There follows a description of the victory of Judah and Ephraim over the Greeks through the aid of the Lord of Hosts.- "Judas II" and the return of exiles, ¹⁰⁹ and the humbling of Egypt and Assyria. Chapter XI presents an obscure allegory concerning the sufferings of the Jews, doubtless a reflection of the circumstances of the writer's time. Chapters XII and XIII describe a siege of Jerusalem. There is the familiar apocalyptic idea that the Gentiles will be gathered together against Jerusalem to their own destruction. Judah is at first the ally of the enemy--strangely enough--but afterwards becomes reconciled to Jerusalem and shares its deliverance. After the deliverance, Judah and Jerusalem shall be purified and glorified; the people shall mourn "him whom they have pierced" (possibly the "faithful shepherd" of XIII, 7); the land shall be cleansed from sin and uncleanness, from idols and prophets and unclean spirits.

107. Zechariah IX, 1-8
 108. " IX, 9, 10
 109. " IX, 11-X, incl.

In the last chapter--XIV--we have yet another siege of Jerusalem by the Gentiles. This time they actually take the city and sack it. Then Jahweh appears, destroys the Gentiles, delivers the Jews, and establishes his eternal kingdom in Jerusalem. The remnant of the Gentiles shall regularly come up to Jerusalem to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, any who fail in this observance shall be punished by lack of rain. As Egypt is independent of rain, the Egyptians shall be punished by a plague if they do not make this annual pilgrimage. Finally, everything in Jerusalem shall be "holy", i.e., ceremonially clean and fit for use in the worship of Jahweh, down to the bells on the horses, and the ordinary cooking utensils..

These chapters present many of the ordinary features of post-Exilic teaching, apocalypse, doom of the Gentiles, ritual sanctity, etc. The House of David again appears here, and in some passages occupies a unique Messianic eminence.¹¹⁰ As mentioned above in connection with Joel, so here too there is much apparent dependence upon the great earlier prophets. Bertholet associates Isaiah¹¹¹ XXXIII with this period, about 163, also Isaiah XXIX, 16-24; XXX, 18-26; all of which deal with the idea that deliverance is imminent, that God will restore Israel to its rightful portion in Jerusalem, etc. There is also the reappearance of the Messianic "king"¹¹² in Deutero-Zechariah, but Jahweh Himself directly effects the deliverance of His people.¹¹³ Many apocalyptic features in terms of

110. e.g., Zech. XII, 8

111. So also Duhm and Marti.

112. Zech. IX, 9, 10

113. " IX, 13-15; X, 5-7

114. " XII, 2 ff

the characteristics of the "enemy", the assemblage of all nations in a final siege of Jerusalem, find their parallels in interpolations in the earlier literature, e.g., Micah IV, 11f; Zeph III, 8. The sudden destruction of their enemy nations in Zech XII, 4; XIV, 12 ff, find their parallels in Isaiah XXXIII, 10-13, 22; Micah VII, -16 ff.--Zechariah XII, 6, 8 finds its parallels in Isaiah XI, 14; XXVIII, ff. Micah IV, 13 and Psalm 149. Zechariah XII, 4, 9, XIV, 3 ff is to be compared with Isaiah XXXIII, 10-13, 22; Micah VII, 14 ff, Zeph. III, 8. No tyrant will again come to oppress the future country of Israel:-Zech IX, 8; X, 4 Isaiah XXIX, 20 ff; XXXIII, 18. The exiles shall return escorted by the Gentiles:- Zech. IX, 11 ff; X, 6, 8-11,-cf. Micah II, 12 (pre-Exilic according to ^{Pr.}Buttenwieser); IV, 6 ff; VII, 12; Amos IX, 9; Isaiah XI, 11ff, 15 ff; XIV, 2; XXVII, 12 ff; XXXV; Jeremiah XXXIII, 7; L. 4 ff, 19; Zeph. III, 18-20; the soil shall become as fruitful as the garden of Eden, or Paradise: Zech. IX, 17; Isaiah IV, 2; XXIX, 17; XXX, 23-25; XXXIII, 16.

Prophecy has here fallen altogether from its high estate, and has become a profession for charlatans who only venture to practice their imposture in secret.

In this Greek period, too, are placed a number of Psalms which reflect the Jewish outlook of the times. Stade groups a number

115. Bertholet loc. cit. pp. 229-34 considers these parallel passages as interpolated in the pre-Exilic prophetic works by post-Exilic writers dating from approximately this Greek period.

116. Zechariah XIII, 2-6

117. In his "Die Messianische Hoffnung im Psalter" in "Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche" pp. 369-413.

of Psalms as "messianic", seeking to show that the Messianic hope formed the central point of the religious interest of the community. The^{se} Psalms, which are in the form of entreaty to God, or express the wish that Jahweh shall appear in judgment to bring an end to the suffering of His faithful ones, are: 7, 13, 22, 35, 57, 59, 68, 74, 83, 85, 90, 94, 106-109, 115, 123, 126, 130, and 144. Then there is a group of Psalms which express the specific entreaty for the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, that is, the appearance of the Messianic King: 18, 72, 89, 132. The belief and trust in a Messianic future may be expressed, also, without the direct appeal to God for deliverance; in such a category, Stade includes Psalms: 60, 69, 75, 77, 96, 102, 113, 135, 138, 140, 149. Along with the foregoing 36 Psalms of expressively Messianic reference, Stade finds fifty-two others which contain a general utterance on the subject. Another group of Psalms shows how deeply suffused with the Messianic idea, was the religious thought of the time of the writing of such Psalms. This is a collection of Psalms in which the writers have actually transported themselves to the Messianic shores, in the many-oared galley of their fancy. Indeed it is a variety of narratives, concerning the Messianic expectation, which these Psalms portray. Some describe the appearance of the universal Judge, others paint the actual judgment, still others depict the triumphant entry of Jahweh into the Temple, after execution of the Judgment, or the new conditions, which are effected thereby. In this group, Stade includes 2, 9 ff, 18, 24,²⁹ 46-48, 58, 76, 82, 93, 97-99, 110, and Chapter III of Habbakuk.

Stade interprets as escatological^{ly} all that is generally capable of bearing such a construction. Where Jahweh is appealed to for aid, he considers such help in an escatological^{ly} light. How-

ever, one must take into account the fact that the individual Psalms arose out of various situations and were often written for definite purposes which might vary for different authors. Hence it is rather arbitrary to group their terminology under a single point of view.¹¹⁸ One must consider the distinctive situations under which the individual Psalms were written. It is also quite ~~possible~~^{probable}--as Bertholet points out--that Messianic interpolations--escatological^h in nature--have crept into many of the Psalms in Stade's list. The question is not strictly speaking, germane to our subject. We conclude that many of the so-called escatological^h expressions are really not such. The fact of their Messianic nature remains, however, and does throw light on the intensity of the hope in the advent of better days--the inculcation of a Messianic era, which was extant in this period, in the minds and hearts of leaders and people.

There remains for consideration the small "book" of Obadiah--comprising twenty-one verses--and Chapters XXIV--XXVII of the Book of Isaiah. Both these writings may be placed in the same category of doubt as to their date, and homogeneity of content, so that they make little contribution to the unity of our subject and its thesis.

The Book of Obadiah is very similar to Chapter XXXIV¹¹⁹ of Isaiah having for its subject the ruin of Edom, and a denunciation of that people for their exultation over the distress of Jerusalem. By rejoicing over Judah's misery they have become as one of its oppressors, therefore it shall be done unto them (Edom)

118. Bertholet. loc. cit. p. 256 ff

119.^v Battenwieser

even as they have done, for Jahweh is about to execute judgment upon all heathens, and the House of Jacob is to be restored to its possessions. The climax of universal doom is that "saviours shall come up on Mt. Zion to judge the Mt. of Esau" and then "the kingdom shall belong to Jahweh".

Chapters XXIV-XXVII of Isaiah present an entirely new feature--the first apocalyptic product in the old Testament, dealing with eschatological notions, resurrection, annihilation of "Leviathan",¹²¹ etc.¹²⁰ The main theme is the doom of a certain City of Confusion identified by some critics with Jerusalem itself--but more likely with the post-Exilic Samaria which was destroyed by John Hyrcanus B.C.E. 129--at which approximate date Bertholet places the writing of these chapters. The writer refers frequently to the widespread ruin which is to attend the overthrow of the City of Confusion, and the destruction of the enemies of the true Israel. For these catastrophes issue in the deliverance of the faithful people of God. The exiles shall all be gathered home.¹²² They shall return to worship Jahweh in His holy mountain at Jerusalem.¹²³ The sufferings of Israel have been a fatherly chastisement of sins, which are now forgiven.¹²⁴ The features of the Day of Judgment extend beyond the natural world; Jahweh will punish not only "the kings of the earth upon the earth" but also "the host of the high ones on high"--perhaps a reference to the gods of the nations,

120. ⁹Buttenwieser

121. Isaiah XXIV, 10

122. " XXVII, 12

123. " XXVII, 13

124. " XXVII, 7-9

or to angels--"they shall be shut up in prison, and after many days they shall be punished".¹²⁵ Apparently the dead of past generations shall be restored to life to share the deliverance of Israel.¹²⁶ In the new age men shall no longer die: "He hath swallowed up death forever."¹²⁷ These generous anticipations, with their hope of the removal of physical ills, are typically apocalyptic!

125. Isaiah XXIV, 21, 22

126. " XXVI, 19a

127. " XXV, 8

CHAPTER III--Summary

The use of the word "Messiah," as we have shown, indicates that the idea of this person started from the historical kingship in Israel. The King was the most important person in the community, and as its welfare, at the time, largely depended on the character and conduct of the actual king, so an ideal ruler was naturally a feature of the ideal future, for the exilic and post-exilic writers. Sometimes nothing is said about the ancestry of this ruler. Thus in Zechariah IX, 9, he is simply "Thy king", and in Ezekiel, מֶלֶךְ , the "prince". But the almost unbroken sway of the Davidic dynasty in Judah led the prophets to derive the ideal ruler from the ancient royal family, and he is almost always connected with the House of David. As the post-Exilic prophets looked forward to the restoration of Israel as an actual historical incident in the near future, they are chiefly concerned with the Davidic prince who is to be placed at the head of Israel at its restoration. There are, however, as has been noted, many pictures of the future of Israel in which this Davidic king does not appear. There are, so to speak, Messianic eras without a Messiah. In some cases, the place seems to be taken by the nation itself, or as Smend puts it: "Messiah becomes a title of Israel". The King is the ruler of the restored Israel, a feature, but not an invariable or necessarily conspicuous feature, in the prophetic anticipations. When Israel entirely regains the favor of Jahveh, He will provide her amongst other blessings, with a wise, righteous, competent, ruler, or succession of rulers. It is not the Davidic king who delivers the Chosen People, that is the work of Jahveh Himself. The King is not even the agent or instrument of this deliverance; he is a result, not a cause of the restoration.

We have seen, that in Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah, the priest is placed by the side of the prince as an outstanding personality in the new Israel. In Joel and Malachi, the priests appear alone. This tendency to exalt the priest in the pictures of the ideal future is a natural reflection of the supremacy of the priesthood, and of the importance of the Temple and its ritual, in post-Exilic literature.

To each of the prophets--according to the conditions of his time--certain features of the future stood out. What the present particularly lacked, the future would provide. The same principle had motivated the far loftier utterances of the major prophets of pre-Exilic times. To Isaiah, the future promised ~~to~~^a perfect--temporal--ruler, divinely inspired, who would be different from the vacillating, unreliable king with whom he had to deal at the court of Jerusalem. To Jeremiah, a Messianic Age meant the actualization of personal religion--religion as an inward revelation written deep in every man's heart. To all of them, the Messianic hope as such was a result of faith in the indestructible character of Israel, and of God's covenant with it. As Dr. Battenwieser so concisely expresses the difference between pre-and post-Exilic hope,¹²⁸ with the great major (pre-Exilic) prophets it was a spiritual conception of ideal government; the Messianic Hope of post-Exilic times was an "imperialistic dream".

For us, all the prophets are in this connection important for the practical service they rendered at crises in the history of revealed religion. The events of the world were followed with anxious curiosity. When a storm gathered on the political horizon, these men were able to glimpse and present its silver lining of

128. "Prophets of Israel." p. 271

hope for the future. Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah had maintained the faith and hope of Israel through the gloom of the exile, and it was due to their successors that it was not extinguished by the distress and disappointment of the years following the return.

- Elliot Grauman