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UNIVERSALISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE PROPHETS.

A GRADUATION THESIS

BY

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DEDICATED TO MY FATHER

RABBI ADOLPH MOSES

OF LOUISVILLE, KY.

AS A TOKEN OF FILIAL LOVE AND ESTEEM.

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. ABBREVIATIONS.

Nat. Rel. and Un. Rel. National Religions and Universal  
Religions.

d.B.Is. Das Buch Isaiah, Marti.

d.k.P. Die Kleinen Propheten, Wellhausen.

Hib. Lect. Hibbert Lectures, C.Montifiore.

B.12pProps. Book of the Twelve Prophets, G.A.Smith.

J.Q.R. Jewish Quarterly Review.

Props. of I. Prophets of Israel, W.Robertson Smith.

## INTRODUCTION.

The subject of this thesis has seldom been treated by Biblical scholars, though its importance would justify a complete presentation. In every discursus on Prophecy, frequent references may be found to the universalism and the universalistic progress of certain epochs, or the degree of world-view reached by certain seers. It is not <sup>therefore</sup> a-  
miss to state that modern criticism finds a standpoint in <sup>newly</sup> ~~treating~~ the religious history of Israel, as a progress towards Universalism. The Christian scheme of salvation construes the pre-Christian period as a ~~fragmentary and~~ preparatory stage to the absolute universalism of the Christ-dispensation, and thus discolours the facts of Old Testament history. The Christian plan of <sup>Universalism</sup> ~~Mechanical~~ grace, is com-



pletely biased, and even modern Biblical scholars have not freed themselves from the strait-Jacket of Christian dogmatism, and succeeded in shaking off the bogey of Christian universalism, ~~viewing the Prophets with blinking eyes and refusing to state facts and issues as they are.~~ Simon-pure universalism is branded as "particularism" and invidious comparisons are made to the proverbial narrowness of Pharaism. Feeble or limited expressions of universalistic hopes and ideas are criticized as narrow, without consideration of the historical data that entered into the particular passage. Still living, as a ghost of Christian bias, is the <sup>h</sup> ~~role~~ <sup>h</sup> ~~role~~ and summary view of the Old Testament, as a prelude to the New Testament, an intimation of the Christianity that knew no times and climes. These linger-

ing notions - and the most brilliant writers are still under the spell of Christianity - have perverted their method of treatment. All facts are made to fit into a hide-bound plan of evolution, at the apex of which stands the momentous message of Jesus. No matter if innumerable flaws abound in the theory, the evidence, favorable and unfavorable, <sup>is</sup> deftly handled to lead to the unavoidable conclusion. (Can't. The effort to squeeze the Universalism out of Scriptures or to gloss over its real and lofty expressions, and the tenacious idea that the religion of Israel must be forced into a universalistic mould, still dominate the thoughts of modern critics.)

Besides the dogmatic and the modern critical view of universalism, there is still in vogue, the view of the so-called liberal sects. In the ethical appeal of the

prophets and their spirit of humanity, liberal religion finds an inspiration. and motive force. In the anxiety, to make the prophets the warrant and source of their religious opinions, these creeds- and Reform Judaism is not excepted- have placed upon the doctrine of the prophets an entirely ~~universalistic~~ construction. The prophetic literature is submitted to a Protean interpretation and made to yield, mere philosophy, theology and currents of universalism. The national background which looms up large behind Prophecy is either neglected or hardly taken notice of. The historical element, -the living flesh and blood side of Prophecy- never figures in the interpretation, given by modern Liberal religions. The <sup>harm</sup> harm is not so much in the peculiar exegesis, as in the danger of palming off vague and unscholarly opinions as scientific data and

conclusions. The right of individual interpretation of the Bible is universally admitted, but indiscriminate license tends to shallow and inchoate conceptions of Biblical thought and history. The glib ideas that are in the air work greatest mischief and scatter the seeds of slovenly scholarship. These floating ideas are insidiously caught up and our view of the Prophets correspondingly vitiated. The prophets were "men of affairs" in that they wrote and spoke on matters of ~~national~~ <sup>-----</sup> import, interest and policy. Divorced from their national setting, they lose all point and meaning. The conception of the Prophets as merely passive contributors to theology and religious thought is ~~is~~ <sup>as</sup> absurd as to consider the Declaration of Independence solely a specimen of literature. The prophets did not prophesy to furnish texts to preachers

or lacunae to Biblical critics. They were part and parcel of the national life and institutions and only secondarily religious thinkers and theologians. They were concerned with the needs and problems of their people, Israel and Judah, and arose mainly at critical junctures of national peril, political or moral.

The fallacy of the dogmatic, the critical and the liberal renderings may be seen to lie in the undue weight given to Universalism, per se, and the neglect of the national and living factor. Much of the so-called universalism is only incidental to the larger problems of the NATION and much will be found to have a NATIONALISTIC tinge and tendency. A few detached universalistic sentiments and aspirations do not warrant the title of "universalistic teachers of religion" and similar convention-

al designations, current in the parlance of modern criticism. Only when we reach Second Isaiah (chs. 40-55) do we find anything like a system of universalistic hope and thought but the pervasive universalism is but the filtration of the supreme thought and conception of the prophet, the rehabilitation of Israel in Palestine and its central importance in world affairs. The dictum of Kuenen <sup>is almost</sup> (Nat. Rel. & Univ. Rel. p. 116) "Even Second Isaiah in many respects the opposite of Ezekiel, stands with both feet on the ground of NATIONALITY." With reference to Is. XLV, 5, declaring that strangers should rebuild Jerusalem, the following is also significant. (op. cit. p. 117) "We do them ----- injustice if we conceal the fundamental thought of their preaching ". i.e. the conception of Israel and Jahweh as one." In this respect, *Iliacos intra muros peccatur extra.*

Rationalists have branded as "particularism" and supra-naturalists have done their best to explain away what is nothing less than the very essence of the Israelitish Religion, to which even the greatest prophets could not be untrue without sacrificing that religion itself".

We began with the eighth century prophets and made an individual study of Amos, Hosea, Micah, and Isaiah. The specific nationalistic and universalistic elements, ideas and aspirations were detailed. The prophets of the eighth century furnished our starting point because they form the beginning of canonical prophecy. The eighth century Prophets not only gave the initiative to higher prophecy but contributed the main and primary doctrines of the Religion of Israel, which later Prophets took as the Magna Charta of the faith and expanded along new lines. Along-

side of the detailed study of each prophetic book, we endeavored to gain a larger view of the epoch to which it belonged in its historical, religious and political bearings.

Lack of time prevented us from considering the remaining prophets as we originally intended doing, but no treatment would be adequate without a consideration of Second Isaiah, the Universalist, par excellence, of the Old Testament. Rather than omit his important teachings, we did not deal with Jeremiah and Ezekiel, important as they are in the study of Judaism. The latter may be well considered in contrast with Isaiah of Babylon, as the NATIONALIST, par excellence. We preferred to inquire into the teachings of one who is regarded as the typical Universalist of Prophecy, since the results would be more signifi-



cant and illustrative of the doctrines of UNIVERSALISM.

In making this summary selection, we ask the indulgence and consideration of the Faculty.

In keeping with the latest Biblical criticism, (cf. Marti, on Isaiah, Introd. p. XXII, and pp. 381-382), we distinguish between Deutero-Isaiah and Trito-Isaiah. A study of the text and "Gedankenkreis" of chaps. 55-66 will reveal a glaring disparity of style and conception. Kuenen, in 1882, already, detected a difference of attitude toward the heathen in the two divisions, although he treated chaps. 55-66 as belonging to Second Isaiah (cf. Nat. Rel. etc. p. 138). Chaps. 40-55 assign an exalted position to the alien while the remaining chapters give them a servile role. We summarize Marti's arguments for the cleavage of the two groups of prophecies. The "Consolation Writings" end with

ch.55. The last chapters of the book of Isaiah are of an entirely different nature. Salvation(Heil) is awaited as in chs.40-55, but not in the form of vengeance on Babylon, but on the impious and heretics among the Jews. The Return is not the prelude to the Heil; The Jews are already in the Holy Land; the Temple is rebuilt; and Jerusalem is no longer in ruins. Moral, civil and religious duties are grossly neglected and the old indigenous Jewish and Samaritan population threaten to build a separate Temple. From such internal evidence, Marti places this set of prophecies in the middle of the fifth century, just prior to the arrival of Nehemiah in Jerusalem. The picture painted by the author of chaps.55-66 tallies with the state of affairs, depicted in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. The assumption of the different authorship of chaps.40-55

and chaps.55-66 facilitates the explanation of the different phases of Universalism and Nationalism presented by both.

Before proceeding further, it might be well to set forth our understanding of the main themes of this Thesis. UNIVERSALISM and NATIONALISM have been loosely and carelessly employed. Rarely have the terms been strictly defined and pinned down to sure analysis. Probably, there would be as many definitions of the terms as there are definers. The technical use of Universalism in Christian theology is clear enough:-the theological doctrine that all mankind will finally attain salvation and that God wishes the redemption of all mankind. ( cf. Mc Clintock and Strong). But this hardly suffices for the broader scope of the term. We have failed to find adequate definitions, though the general drift of the terms seems to

be agreed upon. (The real criteria of religious universalism have not been agreed upon nor stated). We may consider the formula that Kuenen gives for testing the universalism of a religion (cf. Hibh. Lect. p. 6) "Born out of the nation, but rising above it". (Elsewhere, he makes clear that the degree and kind of universalism will be in direct proportion to the degree and kind of nationalism out of which it arose.) But though the formula may help us to detect the ear-marks of a universalistic truth or idea, it hardly covers the scope of the term or furnishes sufficient differentiating marks. The fact is - and Kuenen admits it - that the religion of Israel, though always identified with the people of Israel, gave birth to universalistic truths and conceptions, just as France worked out and gave the principle of political freedom, and America the Federal

principle of government, to the world.

We have accepted Kuenen's formula as a guiding principle, but attempted to broaden and deepen its scope. We did not essay to give a definition of Universalism aso much as to show under what phases or general ideas, the data of Universalism may be grouped. Universalism does not consist alone in Direct outbursts of universalistic sentiments such as Is. II, 2-5 and Mic. IV, 1, ff. typify, where the nations are pictured as worshipping and fraternizing under the arbitration of Zion.-but also in doctrines and standpoints, implying universalistic outlook. In other words, Universalism ~~may be defined~~, may be explicit or implicit. Every rational and valid addition to the common stock of religious truth is a universalistic contribution. When the God idea was transferred

into the broad conception of the prophets, the process was universalistic. Jahweh, as the patron deity of his people could not be regarded as universalistic in proportions but Jahweh, as the God of Righteousness, the Supreme Ruler and Providence of the World, lost the national trappings and became, while still in unique relation to Israel, the God of mankind. As Kuenen points out, once the ethical phase entered into the conception of Jahweh, Jahweh became the one, unique and only God. "The belief that Jahweh was the only God sprang ~~out~~ out of the ETHICAL conception of his being"(cf. op. cit.p.119) Whatever amplified, deepened or extended the cardinal conception of Jahweh, must be essentially universalistic as far as its theological verity and validity are concerned. We have therefore entered under the aspect of theological doctrine

the data, elicited from each prophet. The "Idea of Holiness" as worked out by Isaiah(VI,3) is a part of the theological Weltanschauung. "The Knowledge of God" of Hosea ( יְדֹעַת יְהוָה cf.II,16.22:IV,6:VIII,2:etc.) and the "Absolute Righteousness of God" ( cf. G.A.Smith,p.93)( cf.Amos, I,3 -II) transcend the limits of national theism , and blend with the common theological ideas. Corresponding to this mechanical division, we shall attempt to sketch the process of universalization that went on in the religious thought of Israel, the passage of Jahwism out of the typical level of Semitic paganism and the realignment of the relations of Israel and Jahweh on a higher and purer plane.

Universalism has another important aspect, the conception of and attitude towards the outside world(Welt-

politik) and the influence of the outside world on the thought and outlook of the prophets. The effect of the Assyrian Empire on their Weltanschauung can hardly be estimated. The mental horizon of the Hebrews was suddenly enlarged, accompanied by a breaking up of the old traditions. When Isaiah and the other eighth century prophets conceive Assyria as the ~~filling~~<sup>filling</sup> tool of Jahweh, we have already a universalistic view of history (cf. Is. XIV, 24-27). or when Amos castigates the five small Semitic states, bordering on the Mediterranean, in the same breath with Judah and Israel (Amos, <sup>1-13</sup>~~ibid.~~) and condemns them by the same impartial standard of divine righteousness, or when Second Isaiah openly declares Cyrus the Messiah and chosen of God, we have a new view of the world that passes beyond the national sphere of historical workings ( cf.



Is. XLI, 1-20; XLIV, 21; XLV, 1). We have called this second aspect or "general division" attitude of the prophets towards world politics" and found it rich and suggestive. Finally, there is a universalism pure and simple, exemplified best by Second Isaiah but illustrated by all the prophets, - Zion as the center of the world religion. (Is. II, 2-4; Mic. IV, 1, ff.): Israel, the light of the nations (דְּלִיל אֲרָצִים Is. XLII, 6): the accession of proselytes to Israel (Is. XLIV, 4, 5): the reverence of Jahweh by princes and kings (Is. XLIX, 7): direct declarations of Israel's mission to the Gentiles: God's sovereignty over nature and man: the conversion of the heathens to the true religion: the recognition of Jahweh's power and majesty, eschatological pictures, world transformations, - such passages make up specific and explicit universalism. We have not given

much attention to the eschatology of the prophets under consideration.

As we have intimated, our subject has been seldom treated and there is but one book bearing indirectly thereon. In the Hibbert Lectures of 1882, Kuenen treated the subject of National Religions and Universal Religions in a rather sketchy manner. The evident object of this learned scholar was to show the universalistic factor in Judaism and the progress towards Christianity, though the development is fairly and impartially traced. Our theme being limited to the prophets, <sup>we</sup> we, perforce, confined ourselves to the first three lectures of the book, by which we have been greatly influenced. The sketch and analysis of Prophecy and the clear demonstration of its NATIONAL character and FUNCTION have been helpful in placing the universal-

ism of the prophets in its proper setting.

We also became acquainted with a brochure by Rabbiner I. Baum of Frankfort a.d. Main entitled "Der Universalismus der Mosaischen Heilslehre in seiner ethischen, socialen und allgemeinculturhistorischen Bedeutung" (Eine populäre wissenschaftliche Abhandlung, 1895-1899.) The author aims to show the essentially universalistic character and purport of the Mosaic legislation, "Nicht ein blosses Religionsbuch Israels, sondern die Erziehungs und Heilslehre der ganze Menschheit". Like most one-sided men, Dr. Baum seeks for universalism in every nook and cranny of the Pentateuch, not one jot or tittle failing to yield a rich find, of universalism. While not dealing with the Prophets the pamphlet might have furnished some insight into the Universalism in general, but the sprawling, preacherish

Universalism of the energetic author was hardly illuminating.

Before submitting our results to the judgment of the honorable Faculty, we<sup>d</sup> wish to express <sup>our</sup> ~~our~~ desire, to which the present thesis has given added zest, of continuing our study of Universalism and Nationalism. An index or compendium of striking universalistic thoughts and aspirations, culled from the Bible, the Literature of the Second commonwealth and the Rabbinical sources would be invaluable: much more a calm and careful analysis of the universal and national factors in Judaism. It is clear that the same centrifugal and centripetal forces of universalism and nationalism that worked in Biblical times have always <sup>one another</sup> antagonized throughout the entire history of Israel, the currents and cross currents of national exclusiveness and cosmopolitan liberalism, the counter-play of the influences

that have always reacted upon Judaism and tended to denationalise it and the exclusive and national ideas, customs and forces that lent intensity to the national consciousness. Should our present humble efforts prove acceptable, we intend to continue the study of the subject.

We cannot close these introductory remarks without indicating the new significance that the subject of Universalism and Nationalism has assumed in the light of the present Zionist movement. All movements, reformations and revolutions in Judaism have sought to find their warrant and basis in the traditional literature. The Bible became the standard of appeal and the justification of the Reform movement of the last century. Rabbinism and Karaism based themselves upon the תורה ונבואה and interpreted the substratum along lines, peculiar to each atti-

tude of Jewish thought. It is <sup>probable</sup> ~~likely~~ that as Zionism and Universalism- as the two larger phases of present-day Judaism are designated- come to polemics, appeals will ( and already have been made) to the Bible and later literature. It is important then that the universalism and the nationalism of the older sources should be carefully studied and presented- without bias towards either pole of Jewish idealism. The Talmud and the Midrash, as well as the Bible, teem with expressions, breathing the purest universalism, alongside of apparently narrow and nationalistic utterances. Certain it is that neither <sup>factor</sup> or rather tendency can be neglected by the impartial student of the history of the thought and attitude of Judaism. To fit Judaism to the Procrustean bed of Universalism and to find the be-all and end-all of Jewish idealism therein would be

as unscholarly as to view it from an entirely nationalistic standpoint. In this connection, we beg to introduce the pregnant words of a writer in the Jewish Quarterly Review ( I, p. 358 ) "Over again in the wonderful history of the Jews does religion without nationality prove itself as impossible as nationality without religion to serve for a sustaining force in Judaism---".

NOTE:- In order to ascertain whether Prof. Kuenen had changed or added to his views on Universalism and Nationalism, we corresponded with his heirs in Leyden and were informed that he had not materially modified his views and had not written anything on this theme since 1882.

CHAPTER I.

THE UNIVERSALISM AND NATIONALISM OF THE PROPHETS.



## CHAPTER I.

### THE UNIVERSALISM AND NATIONALISM OF THE PROPHETS.

The doctrinal side of Prophecy must be studied in relation to its historical phase. The prophets are one thing as the exponents of religious thought and quite another as patriots, concerned with the national welfare. Prophecy had its objective as well as its subjective side. Much more, must the universalistic and nationalistic features of the prophets be determined by their relation to the religion and people of Israel, and their attitude towards the national problem as it emerged in the time of each seer. Nor can we present the universalistic and nationalistic ideas of the Prophets as they are baldly stated in Biblical passages, without reckoning

with the general forces that molded their thought on these specific themes. The specific nationalism of each prophet is the main datum in determining the degree and kind of his universalism. The religious thought of the prophets can hardly be understood without some survey of the growth of the religion of Israel in pre-prophetic times, the tremendous historical forces, such as the Assyrian Empire represented, its cosmopolitanizing influences on Jahwism, the inner changes in Israel and Judah, such as occurred in the reigns of Jeroboam and Uzziah. An account of the national origin and function of prophecy, of the growth of Jahwism under prophetic influences, of the outer and inner influences and the inner condition of the kingdoms themselves must precede any inquiry into the doctrine of the prophets, in general, and their Universalism and Nationalism, in

particular.

The growth of Jahwism was universalistic, in that it led to the fundamental truths of monotheism, but such universalism was ~~implicit~~, rather than explicit. Without ceasing to be a national religion, Jahwism became universal in intent. Its truths were valid and rational, but remained applied to the peculiar relation of Israel to Jahweh. In Universalism proper, we cannot by way of preface, hope to find a steady and continuous growth. When Jahwism earned a universal badge, as a consistent theory of religion, the real goal of prophetic universalism was reached; for Universalism, proper, as a cosmopolitan conception of the nature and Mission of Jahwism, does not follow a <sup>B</sup>qaten path of evolution. A prophet of universal tinge may be followed by a seer of nationalistic leanings.

Isolated patches of Universalism may appear in the midst of national plans and ideals. Some prophets are so absorbed in national interests that they never commit themselves on the matter of universalism. Others give occasional expressions of a universal character, while the main theme of their teachings is national. Ezekiel-the constructive genius of nationalism-has in his wake, Second Isaiah the soaring idealist of universalism, and a few decades later Judaism has assumed an exclusiveness, hardly in keeping with the cosmopolitanism of the "Great Prophet of the Exile". A systematic sketch of the progress of universalistic doctrine or the nationalistic idea was therefore precluded, and we have merely pointed out the larger tendencies of certain prophets, and specific instances, illustrative of various phases of Universalism.

At the outset, the general contention must be made that Prophecy <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ NATIONAL in its origin, character and function. Obscure as the beginnings of the prophetic calling, whether it arose under the influence of Samuel, (under whom Renan and Kuenen claim that the ecstatic kind of prophecy assumed a fixed form, and became merged into a school, cf. Histoire d'Israel, II and Kuenen, Rel. of Is., I, pp. 191-194) or later, the fact remains that the prophetic orders of the ninth century were a familiar part of the religion of Israel, as indigenous and requisite as the priestly caste with whom they had many features and functions in common (cf. Kuenen, Nat. Rel. etc., p. 104). Rude and crass as prophecy may have been in its beginnings, and primitive as the modus operandi (cf. I Sam. XVI, 5:11-12), the function of the prophet, as the spokesman and interpreter

of the will of Jahweh, became the distinguishing mark of his office. Nor were the prophets passive recipients of divine revelation, mere fortune tellers, vaticinating the political transpirings of the distant future. They were primarily concerned with the nation, its affairs, its problems. For, in ancient Israel, religion and patriotism, or the nation and Jahweh were indissolubly united. Either as royal councillors or fearless denouncers of national and individual wrongs, the prophets before the eighth century acted in a capacity that was sanctioned by precedent and held to be an integral part of the national religion. But the warrant of the outspoken and honest prophets to speak in the name of Jahweh, the national God, was never questioned nor denied. The royal personages, assailed by the prophets, were deaf to the demands

of Jahweh but never persecuted the prophets in the name of Janweh. The false propneths of Baal curried royal favor but never represented the national deity. Both the early and the late prophets had their place and their function in the scheme of nation and religion and were characterized by their intense nationalism. The nationalism of the prophets furnished the background against which their personalities and teachings loomed up the more conspicuous. While on this head , we wish to quote the pregnant words of a recent writer in the Jewish Quarterly Review (X,p.25) "Because the prophets were vehicles of revelation, thinkers have concluded that it therefore bore import for them, only, forgetting they had something to prophesy. They ----- had the nation constantly in view, not this or that particular Jew".

The functions of the prophet were not as definite as those of the priest. The province of the prophet was broader; his activity, less hampered by the conventions of his caste. Whether as seer, soothsayer, religious enthusiast, representative of Jahweh in the national organization, or independent and spontaneous spokesman of the will of Jahweh, the prophet always had this distinguishing mark, that his calling was occasional. The prophet was consulted in earlier times on matters of immediate importance. Saul sought the counsel of Samuel, as a clairvoyant. Later, he joined the prophetic band in a moment of religious frenzy and enthusiasm. As the clairvoyant and ecstatic stages of prophecy passed away, the function of the prophet became less nebulous and tentative. He emerged as the spokesman and interpreter of the will of



the NATIONAL god, usually by introspection, trance and ~~xxx~~ open revelation, seldom by the artificial means and implements of the soothsayer's craft. The rejection of the mechanical, <sup>2</sup>and <sup>1</sup>artificial, crude forms of soothsaying made possible the career of prophecy along moral and spiritual ~~lanes~~, but the prophets remained the representatives of Jahweh, who conveyed the will of Jahweh at irregular times, and in matters of critical import. In a sense, they were preachers, who arose spontaneously to <sup>the</sup> give religious version of political and moral crises, and stated the particular message of Jahweh for the particular generation and situation, "envoys extraordinary of Jahweh" ( cf. Nat. Rel. etc. p.104). Prophecy was, however, ~~xx~~ no new and novel phenomenon in the national life. At times, it appears to have made a complete breach

with the nation, but the warrant of such opposition was indisputable. A significant passage in Jeremiah points to the indigenesness and necessity of prophecy along ~~the lines~~ <sup>with</sup> the other features of the national organisation.

ה. ב"א תאבד בונה מבתן וצדה מחנים תדבר תגדל "For Torah;

shall never cease from the priest nor counsel from the  
wise nor the word of Jahweh (prophetic revelation)  
from the prophet". (Jer. 18:23)

The national origin and function of prophecy is quite apparent . Were the prophets concerned with Israel from the standpoint of Absolute Jahwism, alone, or were they practically identified with the nation's concerns?

"The prophets were enthusiasts for Israel. It was their body and ~~the~~ universe." (cf. W.R.S. Proph. of ~~3~~, p. 67).

The prophets were political advisers, ~~that intended be-~~

Isaiah lived and worked in the stirring years of national peril that intervened between the Syro-Ephraimitic war (735) and the disaster of Sennacherib (701). The burden of his prophecies was political. He gave the advice of a statesman in urging an attitude of neutrality towards Assyria and in opposing an entente with Egypt. The political counsel was always confirmed by the sanction of Jahweh, speaking through the prophet, but the whole prophecy of Isaiah of Jerusalem had in view the safety and security of Israel, as a nation and not its destruction. From the political perplexities and crises, he drew the prophetic teaching, his conclusions on religion and morality and rose to the heights of Messianic vision. The prophecies of Isaiah must be considered in keeping with the political events of the last half of the eighth century and his

personal relations to the affairs of Judah. The fact that Isaiah could exercise such a dominant influence on the ruling powers proves the deep-rooted function and practical activity of the prophets.

The prophetic activity of Amos, Hosea and Micah, as well as that of Second Isaiah was not directly identified with the "Court", but had to do with the needs and problems of Israel and Judah. Certain political junctures and inner social crises aroused them to prophetic utterance, and to frame a message that would correspond with the threatening danger. The menacing approach of Assyria was synochronous with the social and moral decay of the state. From these bald facts, the prophet drew the lesson of the hour, the IDEAL naturally predominant over the PRACTICAL, the DENUNCIATORY and HORTATORY, more con-

spicuous than the STAT<sup>E</sup>SMANLIKE and the DIPLOMATIC. But the center of the storm was always Israel who had sinned and would be punished, who had forgotten Jahweh but would be taught the lesson of fealty in pain and turmoil. The crisis demanded a statement of Jahweh's will and purpose and the prophets declared the message of Jahweh for the particular occasion. In the four last mentioned prophets, we find no line of political action laid down but rather ideal plans for the national conduct. They aimed not so much to give the diplomatic version of the evils of the nation as to go to the very roots of national sins and wrongs and to lay bare the real sources of national suffering in the misconception of the relation of Israel to Jahweh and the neglect of the cardinal ~~maxims~~ virtues of national morality. But it is an utter mistake to conceive the prophets

as passive onlookers and commentators of the national history, depicting pictures of ideal conditions and drawing logical conclusions of religious truth from the data collected, or to carry the SUBJECTIVE view of prophecy to the extent of affirming that the prophets welcomed the destruction of the nation, as a triumph of abstract, academic principles of religion.

Much as the pre-exilic prophets denounced and preached annihilation, they never failed to ~~xxx~~ add the positive or constructive phase to their deliverance. Messianic hopes, descriptions of future glory, apocalypses and eschatological visions are phases of the positive side of prophecy. None of the pre-exilic prophets gives such a systematic plan of national reconstruction as does Ezekiel or lays such stress upon Israel's rehabilitation

in Palestine as Second Isaiah, to whom the Exile was a reality and not a prophetic threat. The exilic prophets threw all the weight of the prophetic appeal on the reconstruction of the nation because the great problem of the hour was the return of the exiles to the fatherland. The pre-exilic prophets merely anticipated exile and temporary national ruin and therefore gave more color to the descriptions of national calamity than to pictures of reconstructed national life. Ezekiel faced an imminent problem and had to lay down a definite program of national reconstruction. Second Isaiah gave the stimulus to the revived national enthusiasm. But though the positive element was not emphasized by the pre-exilic prophets, it was not wholly neglected. In all the prophets of the eighth century- and none were more virulent in their denunciations-

we find frequent passages declaring the RESTORATION of Israel in its own land under the old relations ~~to~~ to Jahweh, Messianic descriptions and bursts of hope modify the harsh notes of judgment and the conviction of a saving remnant becomes a dogma ~~which~~ with Isaiah of Jerusalem. The thought of Israel's downfall is too bitter to be accepted without limitation and is made to contrast with the ideal state of rejuvenated national virtue and strength. The destructive process would accomplish its punitive purpose, but it would be succeeded by the working of Jahweh's grace. (cf. Hos. XIV, 5, 6, Amos IX, 11, ff.; Isaiah XI, 6-8; Mic. VII, 7, 20; Isai L XV, 17) This fact is explained by the fundamental conception of Jahwism: "Jahweh, Israel's God and Israel Jahweh's people". The two terms, the subject and the object of the relation, were deepened



but the formula held true for the prophetic as well as the popular religion. Were it not so, Second Isaiah would indulge <sup>only</sup> in declarations of Israel as the missionary people, (cf. Isai. XLII, 6) and not touch upon the positive message of Israel's return (cf. Isai. XLV, 1, ff. XLV, 4: etc.). The <sup>action</sup> exalting of Cyrus bases itself upon the supreme confidence that he will bring about the restoration of Israel in the home-land. Isaiah of Jerusalem could assign the central place to Zion in the world-religion only if Jahweh and Israel sustained a close relation. The prophets removed Jahweh from the category of a Semitic chief deity and gave him moral independence. (cf. Am. III, 2). "To the prophets, Jahweh is as much as ever the God of Israel, but his love to Israel is a thousand times deeper and purer. (Hib. Lect.

p.121). If the prophets were primarily concerned with the nation, how can their opposition to the cult and the people be explained? The answer to this involves the universalism which they represent. The growth of Jahwism into monotheism- a universalistic process - replaced prophetism in sharp <sup>contrast</sup> with the popular cult. Where we find the universal features of Jahwism, we find also the universal phases of prophecy.

Jahweh also supplied a principle of national unity. His worship had welded the tribes into a nation and kept them intact against the surrounding peoples. "The land, the people, the God were mixed together" (J.A.R., II, p.181). The equation between Jahweh and Israel was often obscured but the deep-seated truth was never lost sight of, that, between them, there was a kinship and a covenant. This was

the link that bound prophecy to the past. The growth of Jahwism was facilitated by the successive steps of religious progress. Between nature-worship and monotheism there lay a wide field which must be traversed by a growing cult. The road to monotheism lay across the stage of thought, called "monolatry". This meant that one particular God with one particular name, the God of their own particular nation had driven all other Gods out of the field. (Hib.Lect.p.9,ff). The step from monolatry to monotheism could be taken only if there were something in Jahwism it self, capable of growth. "The difference the religion of Israel and other religions lay in the personal difference between Jahweh and the other Gods".(cf.Prop. of I. p.48) The primary difference between him and the other gods was not metaphysical but directly practical. "It was felt in

the attitude, Jehovah took towards Israel in his dealings with the nation to which the words of the prophets supplied the commentary. The consistent purpose of Jehovah as sovereign over Israel implies that the religion of Israel ~~was~~ is a moral relation, that Jehovah is a God of righteous ~~ness~~ <sup>ness</sup>. "(ibid. p.70).

As a moral being, Jahweh could not be held down to the limits of a national deity. The very fact involved his independence. These prophets therefore laid chief stress upon the moral and spiritual phases of Jahwism, but did not sacrifice its cardinal feature- the direct relation between Jahweh and Israel. Not one prophet wishes to sever Jahweh and Israel from one another, but the ethical broadening of the former loosens the bond and deepens the relation.

The moral independence of Jahweh gave the prophets

their warrant for opposing the people. As the divine essence is righteousness, the punishment of Israel is the direct consequence of its relationship to Jahveh (Hib. Lect. , p.124) "You only have I known of all the families of the earth. Therefore will I punish you for all your transgressions" (Am. III, 2) (cf. also Am. II, 10; IX, 7)

Far different was it with the usual Semitic God. With the death of the nationality, he either perished or was absorbed into the godhead of the conquering race. The Greek and Roman Imperialists made use of this truth by absorbing into their Pantheons the local deities whose peoples they crushed. The process of absorbing local cults was universalistic in that it abolished multiplicity and fostered unity in religion, but this syncretism was never intensively universalistic. Emperor worship was the faith of

the Roman empire for a century but lacked the essential feature of a universal religion, the ethical implication. The Jahweh cult was exposed to the same fate as the other Semitic religions and the prophets of the eighth century were forced to the conclusion that preserved it without destroying its national character.

The Jahweh of the popular cult could not satisfy the new demands. In a word, Jahweh could not remain God unless he exerted his moral independence and accommodated himself to the mental outlook of the age. The ethical uniqueness of Jahweh was proclaimed when the prophets declared that he might oppose his own people. His universality was declared when the Assyrians were summoned by Jahweh against Israel. "The inner conviction of the prophets sprang from opposition to the moral and religious

condition of society but outward history determined the form of their prophecies". (cf. Hib. Lect., p. 133). Synchronous with the inner decay, was the appearance of Assyria. Hamath and Arpad had been absorbed by the great empire. But what the historian would interpret as an imperial movement the prophets conceived to be the work of Jahweh. Israel had sinned and must be punished. Assyria was proof of the prophetic claim. Mighty Assyria shaped itself as Jahweh's choice instrument. The intrusion of Assyria within the range of Jahweh's activity meant the universality of his rule. Such universalism does not declare for the conversion of the world powers as we find in First and Second Isaiah but involves merely a universal conception of Jahweh's godhead. Without surrendering his peculiar position, he could yet control the world affairs and direct them for the

good or evil of Israel.

Assyria however played another role in the universalization of Judaism. It cosmopolitanized the prophetic outlook. Not till 854, when Shalmanezar II, defeated Ahab and Benhadad, did Israel come into collision with Assyria.

A world-state and a world-religion were never known till Assyria began its westward expansion, absorbing the petty states, unifying them politically and religiously. It could not but shake the very foundations of Israelitish nationality and religion. Old theories of religion were upset and the national pride rudely knocked. Assyria was the symbol of the idea of Unity as the Roman empire later symbolized the political unity of the world and prepared for the universal spread of Christianity. Rome made men familiar with the idea of a universal faith. Likewise, the



political unity represented by Assyria widened the entire sphere of history and consequently of divine working.

"Sovereign providence could be better imagined when Assyria reduced history to a unity by overthrowing petty Gods and rulers" (cf. Book of 12 Prop., p. 147): "The world" was no longer centered in Israel but embraced diverse peoples and nations. The essential nationalism of Semitic deities meant, as succumbing of Jahweh to Melcarth. The gods of Assyria vaunted themselves over Jahweh and grew in importance as the Assyrian Empire waxed stronger and spread. What was the usual crisis for all other cults was turned by the prophets into a source of national strength and confirmation for the religion of Israel. Instead of succumbing, he vindicated himself and gained in moral and spiritual dimensions. Without ceasing to be the god of

Israel, Jahweh became the divine sovereign of the whole world. Only a conception of God that could answer to the new demands of history could survive this shock of the Assyrian conquest. "The prophets had such a conception, Righteousness wider than the world, stronger than the strongest force" (B. of 12 Prop., p. 53).

"From the object of Israel's election, an object confined to Israel's own spiritual glory, there grew up a fuller and larger idea of the conversion of the heathen nations to true religion." (Hib. Lect., p. 125) The eighth century universalism is occasional and tentative. The nations are included in Jahweh's providence partly for their own benefit but mainly for Israel's advancement and for the divine glory. The oracles on the foreign nations become frequent in the eighth century prophets. "For the three transgressions

of Damascus, yea for four etc."(cf. Am. I, 3-15).

The general features of eighth century Universalism may be summed up as follows. 1. An extension of the area of judgment beyond the limits of Israel. 2. Two leading nations are allowed to share in the Messianic age. (cf. Isai. XIX, 18-25.) (3). Without losing his specific personality as God of Israel, Jahweh begins to assert his Sovereignty over the nations and to take a qualified interest in them. (4). Amos ascribes the migration of nations to the world wide rule of Jahweh (cf. Am. IX, 7). (5). Isaiah and Micah conceive the universal worship of Jahweh (cf. Isai. XLII, 2, 3, 4; Mic. IV, 1-5). (6). The recognition by the nations of the divinity of Jahweh, conceived as an outward fact and not as inward blessing. (cf. Isai. XVIII, 7). (8). Complete universalism is attained by Isaiah who conceives the nations as serving

Jahweh for their own benefit. (cf. Isai. XIX, 18, a-25).

The universalism of the eighth prophets, explicit and implicit, has been so well summarized by Claude Montefiore that we adopt his epitomization here. (Hib. Lect., p. 146, ff.). (1). They combined morality with religion. (2). They showed how the triumph of Jahweh might involve the ruin of Israel. (3). Transformed "the one only God of a single nation into the only God of the entire world". (4). Taught that the particular God of a single nation might become the one God of all. (5). Began to emancipate Jahwism from tribalism. "To turn Jahweh into God" (but produced a particularism more fatal than the one they destroyed for Jahweh, <sup>and the only</sup> the one God, remained the God of Israel and the nations <sup>were</sup> ~~are~~ regarded as independent creations".

CHAPTER II.

AMOS OF TEKOA.

## CHAPTER II.

### AMOS OF TEXOA.

Chaps. I, 3-II, 3, contain the oracles upon Damascus, Gaza, Tyre, Edom, Ammon and Moab. In this survey, Amos includes the six Semitic states that lay in the way of Assyria's advance. No abstract righteousness condemns the foreign nations but the God Of Israel, Himself. Amos does not treat their offenses subjectively <sup>because</sup> as they are inflicted on Israel but gives an objective indictment by the standard of an impartial righteousness which must descend with equal judgment upon Israel. Damascus is judged because they threshed Gilead with threshing instruments of iron, Gaza because it carried away captive a whole people to Edom. Tyre violated the covenant of brothers, בְּרִית אֲחֵים.

"Not a league but natural rights and feelings" (B. of 12 Prop., loc. cit.). Edom, Ammon and Moab are likewise condemned for outrages against humanity. A universal view of morality is presupposed by such a judgment. Both Israel and her neighbors have violated the moral law and furnished the motive of Jahweh's judgment through Assyria. The working of Jahweh's will is transferred to the stage of universal history. As a moral force, he dominates the whole world but enforces upon Israel special obligations. Universalistically, the fate of Israel is that of the world at large. Nationalistically, The punishment of Israel is due to the violation of her covenant with Jahweh. Israel is held to greater account because of her unique relation to the God of universal righteousness. The fate of the nations is not a detached universalistic truth but meant to con-

firm the special responsibility of Israel.

Ch.II,9-11: God , as supreme providence. (cf.B. of 12  
Prop.,loc.cit.)(cf. also GenIV,13;IV,8)

Ch.III,2- Israel's favor with Jahweh involves moral re-  
sponsibility. This is the theme and the motto of the whole  
book. The rest is but commentary.(Wellhausen). Israel is  
only one of many nations . Jahweh knew it but might have  
known some other nation. A boon is conferred on Israel  
but He has no guarantee(cf. Nat.Rel. etc.,p.147). The uni-  
versal and national phases of Jahwism are here well balanced-  
Israel is but a part of the world; but a part singled out  
by a special object. The real distinction between Israel  
and the other nations lies in the peculiar position assigned  
her by the God of the whole world . The passage should not  
be given an entirely universalistic nor nationalistic  
rendering.



CH. III, 13: "The Lord, God of Hosts"

is Amos' designation of Jahweh. Host does not mean the stars or Israelites but the world (Wellhausen). The universality of Jahweh's scope is predicated.

Ch. ~~III~~ IV, 13: This verse with V, 8-9 and IX, 5-6 are regarded by Wellhausen as interpolated. They describe the working of Jahweh in nature,

Ch. IV, 14-15: 21-27: "But let judgment flow down like water and righteousness as a perennial spring". The sin of the people is the cultus and its false valuation. Amos protests ~~with~~ against the great stress laid by Semitic cults on ritual worship. But he does not attack formalism as much as its misconception. Geo. A. Smith would have Amos repudiate ritualism on the ground that, otherwise, "Prophecy could not have <sup>on her part</sup> strated of identifying morality with religion"

p.158). Wellhausen is of the same opinion. W.R.Smith does not construe these passages as utter repudiations of ceremonialism. The national sanctuaries express the necessity for public worship." Jehovah made himself manifest in national affairs and duties and the public recognition of his godhead was necessary".(p.96-97). The lands of the Exile are referred to by Amos as unclean(Am.VII,17) and Hosea describes the exiles as eating the unclean bread of mourners(cf. Hos. IX,4;III,4). Ceremonialism was woven into the warp and woof of ancient religion. Amos certainly realizes this truth. Moral life should precede religious service but the latter is not wholly rejected by Amos and the later prophets. ch.VI,14: Assyria is raised up by Jahweh as the oppressor of Israel but not specified here.(cf.Isai.V,25) IX,7"Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians to me?

O children of Israel , saith the Lord. Have I not brought forth Israel out of the land of Egypt and the Philistiens from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir? "Jahweh conducted the history of other peoples as well as of Israel. Universal providence is a due concomitant of universal morality. "All movements of history are Jehovah's work" (W.R.S.). He created the Assyrian empire and raised it up as a threat over Israel and its neighbors. Jahweh is the ruler and guide of mankind, because exalted in righteousness. The field in which righteousness was proved and made manifest was the life and fate of Israel. Apparently, Amos denies the prerogative of Israel but even such a radical <sup>critic</sup> as Wellhausen cautions us not to take him too much at his word. and brings the following passages into contrast, II, 9-11: III, 2; VIII, 2.

ch. IX, 8-15. Modern critics have generally rejected this passage. Judgment has been constantly preached but here Messianic hopes <sup>are</sup> ~~have been~~ indulged in luxuriously. If the passage be authentic, the thought of Amos assumes a nationalistic aspect. If rejected, still greater emphasis may be laid upon his universalism. Wellhausen asks "Aber wo bleibt Amos?" "After his threats he cannot let milk and honey flow out of Jahweh's anger." Some later redactor added the passage to mollify the harshness of absolute Judgment" (Kleine Prop.). Geo. A. Smith observes the following against its authenticity, Altho he finds nothing in the language and historical references which preclude its being Amos's, <sup>the</sup> restoration is without a moral feature and consists in the supremacy of Israel over the Gentiles and Nature,

CHAPTER III&

HOSEA.

HOSEA.

ch. II, 16-25: Repentance is the keynote of Hosea. He is a nationalist along moral and spiritual lines. The restored relation of Jahweh is seen in the fruitfulness of the land.

"Das Land ist der Spiegel der Gnade und Ungnade Jahweh"

(Wellhausen). Israel will not be exiled to a strange land.

"I will answer saith the Lord, & I will answer the heavens and they will answer the earth".

II, 21-22: Here we have the ethical phase of Israel's restoration. Jahweh will betroth Israel in righteousness.

Faithfulness and knowledge sum up the demands of Jahweh upon the nation. Jahweh on his part exhibits  $\text{דָּוָה}$  and  $\text{דִּינָה}$ .

Israel should display  $\text{אֱמֻנָה}$ ,  $\text{דִּינָה}$ ,  $\text{יִשְׁרָאֵל}$  and  $\text{נֶאֱמָר}$ .

III, 3-4: "Israel shall dwell for many days without king,

prince, sacrifice, pillar, ephod and teraphim". The exile

would mean the loss of all forms of national life. The lack of national organization meant anarchy to an ancient state. IV,2-6: "There is no truth nor mercy nor knowledge of God in the earth". Jahweh and Israel are united by a bond of moral obligation. <sup>וְיָחַד</sup> <sup>וְיָחַד</sup> kindness is this bond. Jahweh's <sup>וְיָחַד</sup> <sup>וְיָחַד</sup> Grace, Israel's is Duty. Both are comprised in one covenant. ( V,4-cf.IV,1-6 ) VI,6 "For I desire mercy and not sacrifice and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" . cf.IV,2 and Am.V,21-25. The attitude of the prophets towards the sacrifices was not wholly negative. The forms of national life can not be utterly disparaged by the same prophet who conceives the exile as the absence of such means of social organization. ( cf.III,4. ) VII,8: "Ephraim mixes himself among the people. Ephraim is a cake not turned." Hosea was anxious that Israel

should not destroy his seclusion by trade or treaties with the Gentiles because Israel did not have the religious unity, the basis of national strength and could not meet the

XIX, 24-

world ( for the opposite, cf. Isai. XXXIV, 25).

Chap. XI Jahweh chose Israel as the bearer of his revelation.

The belief in <sup>his</sup> <sup>section</sup> a special, made Israel what he was. All his distinctiveness and character stated from the <sup>the</sup> theory of these two facts, that Jahweh loved and called him. All ancient peoples considered themselves sons of their national gods. Israel alone defined the filial relation as historical and moral. The nationalism of Hosea is well illustrated by this chapter. He dealt with realities of national life, retaining the formalism of the popular religion but deepened its meaning. Jahweh condemns Israel with breaking



heart. He pleads for his return and repentance. Absolute ruin is never prophesied. The possibility of national repentance is constantly stated.

XIV, 2-10. At the close of the book, there is also a Mes-  
sianic passage, as in Amos. Its genuineness has been  
questioned by some critics. Cheyne excises the verses on  
the ground that they fit in with the age of Jeremiah. (cf.  
Intro. to Prop. I., p. XIX). Geo. A. Smith takes Cheyne to  
task and claims that the similarity to Jeremiah is due to  
the literary influence of Hosea on the latter prophet. Well-  
hausen drops the whole passage. The reasons for its retention  
are best stated by Geo. A. Smith. The book closes with a  
prospect of restoration because all along Hosea preached  
repentance and chap. ii gave the method of the return of the  
erring spouse. Israel likewise could be brought back by

a severe discipline. No feature, moral or physical ,

is stated that is not implied in the previous promises.

(cf. VI, 6: II, 2: I, 7: II, 22-25: XI, 4, 8:)

CHAPTER IV.

MICAH.

MICAH.

IV, 1-5: Isaiah 22 II, 2-4. In verse one, the Isaiah pas-  
sage reads "all the nations" כָּל הַגּוֹיִם v. 4, Isai' passage  
reads, וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם בְּעֵת שֶׁהָיוּ לְבָרִים, וְכָל הַגּוֹיִם.

The Micah passage adds the following" BUT they shall sit every man under his vine and fig tree and none shall make them afraid for the mouth of the Lord of Hosts has spoken it" for all the people will walk in the name of their God and we shall walk in the name of the Lord our God forever."

Many theories have been offered respecting the origin of this prophecy. First. Micah borrowed it from an earlier prophet. Both borrowed it from an older source. (Wellhausen also Hitzig, Ewald and Cheyne quoted by Geo. A. Smith)

Second. Micah is the author and Isaiah the borrower. The

oracle is inserted into Isaiah from Micah. (Ryssell, quoted by Marti). Fourth, Isaianic. (Duhm, ibid.) Fifth, Inserted by later editors into both to modify the harshness of the preceding prophecies, Mic. III, 12 and Isai. I, 27-31. Sixth. Geo. A. Smith (<sup>Smith</sup> considers it improbable that the same passage should creep into two different books) ~~and~~ finds it compatible with eighth century prophecy. and holds it to be genuine in both passages.

Marti and Wellhausen find an incompatibility between this passage and the rest of Micah and Isaiah. Isaiah would hardly take such a universalistic view of the nations when in all other references they play a secondary role.

The thought is not peculiar to the passage in question.

(cf. Zec. VIII, 20-23: Isai. LX, 5-12:) Isaiah himself promises the sub<sup>+</sup>jection of the wealth of the heathen to the service

of Jahweh. (cf. XXIII, 17, ff.) Nothing is said of proselytism. Zion is the center of the world religion. Its religious preeminence is recognized but the denationalization of Israel is not demanded. "The passage really claims no more than a suzerainty of Jahweh over the heathens with the result that their wars shall cease, not that they should become tributaries and servitors". (B. of 12 P., loc. cit.) In verses 4 and 5 of the Micah passage, the glowing outburst of universalism ends in a prosaic anti climax. After stating the universal worship of Jahweh, he points out the radical difference between the religion of Israel and that of the nations. Wellhausen interprets the verse thus. There are as many religions as there are people but Jahweh is superior to all other Gods. VI 46-8: Micah sums up the demands of religion in the practice of morality. (cf. Am. V,

14-15:22-25: Hos.VI,6: Isaihl,11-17).

VII,7-20( particularly 12) The passage gives the Messianic ideal of Micah. Israel as a whole is penitent. Her exiles shall return and the heathen shall acknowledge Jahweh.

Wellhausen places it in post exilic times. Geo.A. Smith prefers to retain it in its original place. The restoration of the people to Bashan and Gilead which were overrun by Tiglath Pileser in 734 B.C. cannot be explained by the circumstances of Manasseh's reign or the exile. It was natural for the prophet writing soon after this event, to make this precise selection. vv.16-17. The heathen yield to the superiority of Jahweh but from different motives than swayed them in IV,1-5. The might <sup>of Jahweh</sup> has influenced them rather than his truth. "They shall lick the dust like serpents, like worms from their fastnesses to Jahweh shall

they come trembling and in fear before thee."



CHAPTER V.

ISAIAH OF JERUSALEM.

## CHAPTER V.

Chap. I, 10, 17: Isaiah does not repudiate the cultus, but the unholy combination of ritual-worship and immoral conduct. That he is not a complete anti-ritualist, is evident from other passages, (Is. XIX, 19-22: XXX, 29: XXXIII, 20). "While he insists on the removal from Religion of all things that hide the true character of Jehovah, he has no positive views as to the institution of a reformed worship". (Props. of I., p. 87) (cf. Am. IV, 4: Hos. VI, 4-6: Mic. VI, 6-8: Is. XL, 16: XLIII, 23, ff.). Is. II, 2-5: (cf. Mic. IV, 1-5; in chapter on Micah). IV, 2-6: "The Inviolability<sup>Q</sup> of Zion<sup>15</sup>". This doctrine bound up with the belief in a saving remnant. (cf. VII, 3: X, 23) . Both sum up the nationalism of Isaiah. v. 3: The Jews should become the priests of all mankind. and Zion the "Holiness" of the world. (cf. Ex. XIX, 6: Is. LXI, 6: LXII, 12: Zec. XIV, 20, ff.)

V, 26-30: The first reference to the role of Assyria in the plans of Jahweh. The passage is descriptive rather than doctrinal.

VI, 4: "Holiness-Idea". וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה עַל כָּל הָאֲרָצוֹת וְעַל כָּל הַמְּלָכִים וְעַל כָּל הַבָּשָׂר וְעַל כָּל הַדְּבָרִים וְעַל כָּל הַמְּשָׁלִים וְעַל כָּל הַמְּשָׁלִים וְעַל כָּל הַמְּשָׁלִים

Jahweh is an ethical force and represents a moral character (Marti). Holiness includes "The whole essential nature of God in its moral aspect," (Doct. of Props., ch. I) As a corollary the prophet holds that Jahweh fills the world with his glory. (1). Jahweh is a majestic king. (2). His kingdom is moral. (3). He rules the whole world.

VI, 13: The prophecies of Isaiah can be subsumed under a negative and a positive idea; the threat, that judgment will come, and the hope of a "Holy Seed". In this practical aim Isaiah united the separate ideas of Amos and Hosea. In contrast to Jeremiah, Isaiah believed that exile was

unnecessary and that the holy seed must remain in Canaan.

X, 5-19: <sup>24-34</sup>~~XIV, 24~~: (cf. VII, 18-20). "Ho, Assyria, the rod of

mine anger, the staff in whose hand is mine indignation,"

The passage sets forth the whole view of Isaiah concerning

the mission of Assyria. Its mission upon earth was to

prove that there was no God but Jahweh (Props. of I., p. 229)

but he cannot lift himself against Jahweh. When he has accomplished his whole work on Zion, <sup>1</sup>he will smite Assyria also.

"Can an a-x boast itself against its welder"? (cf. v. 15.)

X, 20-23: "A remnant shall return". cf. VI, 13.

XI, 1-10: (cf. IX, 1-6). The passage describes the ideal king

and his kingdom of peace. The Messianic blessings belong

first to Israel; the other nations share in them only in

so far as they seek guidance from the Messiah. (cf. v. 10)

The verse unites the thought of II, 2-4, the streaming of

the nations to Zion and IV,5 ff., the glorious habitation of Jahweh with XI,18 .

XI,11-16:(cf.1bid.1-10)

XIV,24-27.(cf.V,26-30:VII,18-20:X,5-20:XX 28-34.)"This is the purpose, that is purposed upon the whole earth; and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations". The thought of the passage is universalistic in that it conceives the workings of Jahweh on the broad plane of world history.

XVIII,7: The passage occurs in the oracle upon the Etio-  
pian ambassadors. It adds to vv.1-6.the escatological idea that the Ethiopians will bring gifts to Jahweh, (cf.XXIII, 18:XLV,14:LX,3-4:LXVI,20 ff.,Xeph.III,10).

XIX,18-25: a. Five Jewish cities in Egypt(v.18). b. Jahweh is worshiped by the Egyptians (19-22). c. A highway between

Egypt and Assyria.(v.23). d. The "Dreibund", Israel, Egypt and Assyria (vv.24-25). e.

a. "In that day there shall be five cities in the land of Egypt that speak the language of Canaan and swear to the Lord of Hosts". By the five cities, are probably meant Jewish colonies in Egypt. In Isaiah's time, such cities were unknown. In the last centuries ,B.C., however, large Jewish settlements were found in Egypt. With few exceptions, the passage is attributed by modern critics to the second century, B.C. "Altar and pillar in Jahweh's honor" seems strange . The altar is taken by Marti, as the Onias temple. The conversion of the Egyptians has the result that they are treated just as the Israelites. Jahweh's smitings are means of healing. "The Return" is from the bad to the good way, not from paganism to Judaism. "That Deuteronomy, the Exile

and the restoration of Judaism lie between Isaiah and our passage is very clear".(Marti). c. The Assyrians( Syrians, according to Marti) will join the Egyptians in serving Jahweh.(cf.Is.LXVI,1,ff.:Zec.XIV,12,ff.) d.The "Heil" emanates from Israel, but is shared with the world at large. "This is the broad universalism of Jewish Hellenism and not the particularism of Palestinian circles"(Marti).

The whole passage is added to modify the impression of vv.1-5 and comes from the same author, (Marti, also Cheyne and Bertolet,<sup>W</sup>Stellung zu dem Fremden, quoted by Marti). Without giving up the dogma of a world judgment, it affirms the universality of salvation and finds a hope in the Egyptian Diaspora, that the heathens will be brought to adopt montheism.(ibid.) Cheyne and Kittel place it in the time of Ptolemy Lagi Soter(323-285,B.C.) Duhm ascribes

it to the time of the founding of the Onias temple (160, B.C.). (ibid.)The reference in JOsephus(Ant.XIII,3,1) that Onias justified his course on the basis of this prophecy, Marti claims cannot be adduced as proof of its early origin. Claude Montifiore(Hib.Lect.,p.147) holds the authenticity of the whole passage. "If the two greatest nations within Isaiah's geographical horizon are pictured as the ~~lxxx~~ glad converts to Jahveh, it would seem as if the idea of an ultimate abolition of all idolatry and the establishment of a world-wide empire of Jahveh, had shed at least a passing glory upon his visions of a coming age. The two typical enemies of Israel are united with him in the common service of a common God and are recognized by that God,as his worshippers and children".

XXIII,18:The verse belongs to the elegy upon Tyre. The



first part, vv1-4, are referred by Marti and Duham to the destruction of Sidon in 348;B.C. by Artaxerxes Ochus. vv. 15-18 are considered by them a later appendix which took the elegy upon Sidon as referring to Tyre. The author had in view the revival of Tyre in 275-4,B.C. "Holiness" means sacred offerings; The Jews are the priests of the whole world(cf. ~~XXV~~ LXI,5 ff.). The people stream to Jerusalem with gifts to Jahweh (cf. XLV,14:Hag.~~XXI~~ II,7-9: Is.XVIII,17:LX,11: XVIII,7:LXVI,20ff.). XXIV-XXVII: form the famous Apocalypse of the world judgment. While vague and fanciful, they contain some universal references. All critics agree that it must be dated after Deutero-Isaiah. Many conjectures have been made respecting its date. (cf.Marti, loc. cit.) XXV,6-8: A meal is prepared on Zion for the nations, whereby they will be

accepted into the community of Jahweh. The apocalypse is characterized by its human feeling, Israel, however, has the prerogative. (cf. XXVI, 20: XXVII, 12-13). XXVI, 20-27:

The vengeance of Jahweh visits the three world-powers, here designated by the names of world-monsters. XXVII, 12-13: Thee gathering of the Jews at the sound of the great trumpet. (cf. VI, 13: VII, 21-22:)

XXIX, 1-8: (cf. V, 26-30, etc.)

XXX, 3: Here the old view is overcome that Jahweh is only the God of Israel, superior to the other Gods only in might.

He is the spiritual principle in the history of the world; his power is of a higher kind <sup>than</sup> that of man and flesh.

XXXII, is a description of the Messianic era. For the bearing of this passage on the nationalism of Isaiah, see

VI, 13: VII, 21-22: IX, 1-6: XI, 1-10: XXVII, 12-13:

XXXIII, 1-24 (cf. XXXII and citations).

XXXVII, 22B-35: The forecast of Assyria's downfall receives a prosaic confirmation in the last verses of the chapter.

The universalism of Isaiah culminates in nationalism, pure and simple. Assyria is used for Israel's glory. Israel is chastised for her higher good. A prosaic notice like the following should put the so-called universalism of Isaiah in its proper setting, "And the angel of the Lord went forth and smote in the camp of the Assyrians, a hundred and forty <sup>is written</sup> score and five thousand---- so Sennacherib, king of Assyria departed and went and returned and dwelt in Nineveh". (vv. 36-37). The "Inviolability of Zion" and the national existence of Judea <sup>are</sup> assured.

CHAPTER VI.

DEUTERO-ISAIAH.

## CHAPTER VI.

In Second Isaiah, universalism" takes its highest flight". The eighth century prophets have only occasional universalist references. With Second Isaiah, universalism becomes a leading doctrine. The belief in the mission of Israel colors his whole prophecy. However, such universalism must not be divorced from its relation to the larger aim and thought of the prophet. Too much stress may be laid upon his cosmopolitanism, and too little upon his positive nationalism. He addressed the nation in a national crisis with a national message. The key-note of his prophecy is the national restoration. The ideal of universalism is secondary to this supreme thought. The prophet had three objects in view. The first was to foretell the deliverance of the exiles after the fall of Babylon through Cyrus; the

second, to show that the revelation of Jahweh's glory will attend upon Cyrus's deeds. Both imply a third object, the conversion of the heathen nations to the knowledge and the worship of the true God. (cf. Hib. Lect., p. 268) Jahweh is the only God. Both Israel and the Gentiles must accept this truth. (XLI, 4; XLIII & 10; XLIV, 6). The <sup>IV</sup> proof of the unity and the uniqueness of Jahweh is taken from nature and history. The argument from nature is based on the idea that Jahweh is the creator of the universe (cf. XL, 20; XBII, 5; XLIV, 24). The second proof is drawn strictly from Israel's history but is meant to convince the Gentiles as well. Second Isaiah aimed to bring home the truth that Jahweh, not man is the supreme power. That He alone created the world,

preserved<sup>in</sup> order and controlled history for his own purpose.

(Doct. of Props., ch. on II Is.) To Second Isaiah, the nations are ends in themselves, "not mere foils to set off the higher glory of Israel and Jahweh". Cyrus is not only the instrument of Jahweh, but the means and symbol of the conversion of mankind. (cf. XLIV, 1: ~~XLV~~ 28: XLV, 1). Despite such universalism, Jahweh is primarily the God of Israel. His government embraces the world, but centers in Jerusalem. Only after Zion is restored, will she become the Mecca of the world. Then Israel will fulfil her mission and unite all nations in fealty to Jahweh. (cf. XLII, 4: 5: XLIV, 26: XLV, 1 ff. LI, 9: LIV, 1) The Ebed Jahweh figures mainly in the missionary work of Israel. He is in fact the ideal Israel from whom the actual Israel is usually distinguished but

with whom he is finally merged. The Ebed-Jahweh is "a unity chosen, called, and preserved for a special purpose of service to Jahweh". (Doct. of Props., ibid.) Only in two passages, XLIX, 1-8; XLII, 1-7, is Israel conceived as a conscious agent of missionary work. Elsewhere, the conversion of the nations is the direct work of Janweh or the redemption from Israel's deliverance. ~~The~~

The universalist feature of the religion of Israel will appear only after the restoration of the exiles. Despite its utter failure, Israel remains the Ebed Jahweh and is to be restored to its own land that it may fulfil its destiny as the bearer of salvation for the world. The redemption is construed as the second exodus (cf. XL, 3, ff.; XLVI, 3, ff.; XLVIII, 20; LI, 9). National restoration is the main



thought of Second Isaiah. His ideal of universalism, is meant to confirm the prestige of Israel and to encourage the hope in future national greatness. Cyrus and his work center around the cardinal belief in the return of the exiles. The recognition of Jahweh by the nations meant the centrality of Israel in world-affairs. That Second Isaiah did not lay all stress on universalism, is evident from the fact that he wished the preservation of Israel's identity. Had he believed in assimilation, he would not have preached deliverance from Babylon. No time was more opportune for absorption into the world. By arousing faith in the mission of Israel, he sought to revive the national spirit. What Second Isaiah prophesied in an ideal way, Ezekiel advocated in a practical manner. He laid down plans for a new Jewish

state with the temple for its central point. Post-exilic Judaism was largely influenced by the ecclesiasticism of Ezekiel. By the acceptance of the priestly law under Ezra and Nehemiah (cf. Ezr. VII, 10; NEH. VIII, 10) "Judaism became the religion of the Jewish people, and the people identified itself with it completely". (Nat. Rel. etc., p. 178)

IN A WORD, Judaism became a NATIONAL religion. No attempt was made to realize the missionary ideal of Second Isaiah. "Separation" became the watchword of Judaism. The history of the Second Commonwealth was the appropriation of the religion into all the <sup>t</sup>issues of national life. The inner development of tradition excluded any outward and universalizing mission, such as was <sup>d</sup>realized by Second Isaiah. In short, the universalism of the prophets, ~~we~~ have considered,

may be characterized as pure IDEALISM that had little practical consequence for the Jewish people.

The strictly universalist passages in Second Isaiah: XLII, 1-5: "The Ebed Jahweh and his mission" The mission of the ideal Israel is to spread the true religion of Jahweh (עֲבֵד יְהוָה, cf. LI, 4). It is not stated that he should go into the world as a missionary. His influence should be spiritual. Inspired and freed by Jahweh, Israel will be "a covenant to the peoples (בְּרִית לְעַמִּים) and "a light to the nations" (אֶלְכָּה לְעַמִּים).

XLIII, 3-4: Jahweh gives other peoples and lands as an indemnity of Israel's salvation.

XLIII, 8-13: Israel is a witness of Jahweh to the heathens.

By emending יְהוָה 10, b to third person יְהוָה, Duhm construes

v.10 that the heathen are to be convinced of Jahweh's divinity. ~~Isaiah~~ LIV, 2-6: Israel will bloom into new life and proselytes will join them. "One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob". The restoration of Israel in Canaan however, precedes these wider consequences. For Second Isaiah, the limit of the religion of Israel is the limit of the world. (Marti) ~~אֱלֹהֵינוּ~~ means to take an honorary name. The proselytes regarded it an honor to be called ~~אֱלֹהֵינוּ~~.

XLIV, 14-16. The labor of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia shall be brought to Jahweh and the heathen will acknowledge him. It refers to the idea, that the riches of the world would accumulate in Jerusalem. The heathen recognise that Israel is the intermediary between God and the world

(cf. Psalm LX(VI), 2).

XLIV, 18-25. Jahveh's plan is to bring the heathen to the knowledge of him through Israel's salvation (vv. 20-21).

They will recognize the truth of his prophecy<sup>at</sup>. (vv. 22-25,

cf. XLI, 1-4; 21-29; XLIII, 9-13) The last goal of the mission

of Cyrus and Israel is the salvation of all man and the uni-

versal worship of Jahveh. "The New Testament does not know

a higher ideal, and it should be praised all the higher

because after him the prerogative of Israel was emphasized<sup>"mark"</sup>

He carries out the thought of Jeremiah that there should be

no community in Temple or State, in declaring that the ONE

GOD, <sup>h</sup> whose power he sees in nature, wishes the "Heil of all men"  
(*idem*)

XLIX, 1-13. Israel is not only raised out of his lowli-

ness, but through the fulfillment of his mission among the na-

tions proves himself the servant of Jahweh (cf. XLII, 6)

The nations are summoned because Jahweh's announcement is for them (cf. Jer. I, 5) For ~~אֲנִי~~ and ~~אֲנִי~~. cf. XLI, 1: XLII, 6

(v. 1). Israel is the weapon of Jahweh for upholding his honor and sreading his "Heil" among the people. Israel is the true prophet of Jahweh , shown by his mistory and by his wonderful restoration. (v. 3). The salvation of Israel is too little a thing for Jahweh. If the return of the Exiles is wonderful, still more wonderful will be his new work (cf.

Zec. VIII, 6: IS. LII, 3: LIII, 5). Israel is the means for the enlightenment and the salvation of the nations. (cf. XLII, 6: XLIV, 5). (v. 6). Kings arise in his honor and make obeisance to him (cf. XLV, 14-17).

LI, 4-5: (cf. XLII, 4: XLIV, 18-25)

LII,13-LIII,12. (Fourth Ebed Jahweh passage). The sufferings of the Ebed Jahweh are the means of attaining his highest goal. His exaltation will make the nations recognize that Jahweh controls the movements of history, and deals with his servant in a special way. (cf. LII,13-14; XLII,2-4; XLIX,6; L,7). This passage points in the religion of Israel. forms a high since it attempts to solve the problem of suffering. Not judicial righteousness but the "wise pedagogy" <sup>of Jahweh</sup> controls the history of the world. Israel must suffer for all the people, but has the comfort that just this ensures his and the world's salvation. The passage had great influence on the New Testament (John, I, 29-36; I Peter, II, 21-23-25; Luke XIII, 32) LV, 1-5. David was the witness of Jahweh's might and glory. Likewise, Israel will be a witness to the nations. Israel

is the first and foremost of the peoples, Jerusalem, the centre  
and Mecca of the world. (cf. Is. II, 2-4; Mic. IV, 1-5; Is. XLII, 6)

The remaining universalist and nationalist passages are as  
follows: XL, 8. **וְיָצַק יְהוָה אֶת הָאֲנָשִׁים**, the world-plan of Jahveh.

XL, 12-31. Jahveh's majesty over all the world (12-16) Om-  
niscience and omnipotence of Jahveh. **אֵל אֵלֹהִים** and

**וְיָצַק יְהוָה אֶת הָאֲנָשִׁים** mean the right direction of world history (v. 14)  
vv. 17-20, no likeness to Jahveh. vv. 21-36, his unconditioned  
power over the world. All men can know him either by intuition  
or by instruction (v. 21). He is the ruling power in history.  
(v. 23).

XL, 27-31. From his general thesis, the prophet makes a  
special application to Israel. The practical issue of his  
universalism is well illustrated. The universal truths of



religion are meant to arouse faith which would be the impulse of patriotism, and therefore, to national rejuvenation.

XLI, 1-20. Jahweh is the inspirer of Cyrus and the Savior of his people. By the annihilation of its enemies, Israel will be assured happiness.

XLI, 25-29. "I have raised up one from the North and he is come; from the rising of the Sun, one that calls upon my name". 25, a. Cyrus calls upon the name of Jahweh in the cult and recognises his Godhead. The universalistic ideas of this and the previous passages may be summed up as follows:

- 1.- Jahweh is the only director of universal history. 4
- 2.- Israel chosen by God, will be brought to salvation in his own land. 3.- Cyrus appointed by Jahweh, overthrows the Chaldeans and ushers in a new era for Zion.

XLIV,6-23. The eternity and the unity of Jahveh. The proof is ~~the~~<sup>his</sup> indisputable predictions(cf.XLI,21-23:XLIII,8-13)

XLIV,24-XLV,7. The victories of Cyrus are Jahveh's gifts.

Second Isaiah hopes that Cyrus with all the world will come to recognize Jahveh's unity. Actual events hardly justified his ideal. The inscriptions show, that Cyrus was not influenced by the universalist hope of Second Isaiah. After all, the goal of his mission is Israel. "As high as he stands, he is only the instrument; the goal is Israel"(Dunn, quoted by Marti, loc.cit.)

XLV,7. Everything is Jahveh's work, light and darkness, war and peace and evil.

XLV,9-13. cf.XLIV,24,etc.

XLVI,9-11. Jahveh's divinity proven by history and pro-

phesy.

XLIX,1-LIV,7. contain prophecies of Israel's restoration and future glory. With Second Isaiah, Israel and Zion are complementary. Israel's restoration is unthinkable without Zion's exaltation, and Zion's great future, impossible without a corresponding change in Israel's destiny. "Israel and Zion are two sides of one whole! Israel is the active, Zion the passive part" (Mariti).

LI,6-9. Above the perishing world, something eternal, the "Heil" of religion.

LIV,1-17. Zion will spread abroad and forget its former sufferings.

CHAPTER III.

TRITO ISAIAS.

TRITO-ISAIAH.

The "Book of Consolation" ends with chapter LV. Salvation is still awaited, but mainly as a judgment upon the godless. Israel is already in the Holy Land. The Temple and Jerusalem are already rebuilt. Religious duties, however, are badly neglected. The chief purpose of chapters LV-LXVI is to confirm the belief in the coming of salvation, and to comfort the community in its critical state. The name of Israel will not perish. After judgment is come upon its enemies, there will be salvation and Jerusalem will be glorious. The Israelites will be the lords of the world, and Jerusalem, the center of the nations. Trito-Isaiah combines the universalist and nationalist views of Ezekiel and Second Isaiah. The world will recognise Jahweh's might, not

only in his deeds for Israel, but also in his judgment upon the nations. They will reverence him, but their offerings belong to the Temple in Jerusalem. Still, the author does not display the "rigorism and legalism" as they prevailed later in the Jewish community. Benevolence can replace fasting x223(LVIII, 8 ff.) The Sarrim and the strangers can be adopted, and the mixed population will perish because of its refusal to join the community of Israel(cf. LXV, 1, ff.) .

DATEJ- Marti places the date of the chapters between 458 and 455 B.C., just before the arrival of Nehemiah.

LVI, 1-8. is a word of comfort to the proselytes ~~and strangers~~ in Israel. Both have doubts of being admitted into the community. The prophet declares that they will not be excluded, if they embrace "the covenant". x223. The Temple will not be

closed to them." Their burnt offerings and sacrifices will be accepted upon mine altar, for my house shall be called a House of Prayer for all peoples" (v.7, b). The tendency to exclude aliens from the body Jewish which Ezra and Nehemiah fostered, is here combatted. The author is for the Law and the institutions (cf. v.6, b) but does not insist on ritual as the only criterion (cf. v.6, a). The duty of the proselytes is to serve Jahveh out of love for his name. By "Holy mountain" (7) is meant the Temple-mountain, not all Palestine. The difference between Judaism and paganism is not removed; the heathens adopting Judaism must offer their prayers and sacrifices in Jerusalem. "The Law and Privilege" of Judaism are not surrendered. (cf. Ruth, for general tenor of the passage)

LVIII, 1-14. Trito-Isaiah renews the old promises, but makes

their realisation depend on moral improvement (cf. *Eccl.* VIII, 14-19). He lays great stress on the Sabbath, if the verse be genuine. Marti, Koppe, Dunn and Cheyne regard it as fastened to vv. 1-12 and out of place. (cf. *Is.* I, 10-17: *Hos.* VI, 3: *Amos* V, 24: *Mic.* VI, 8).

LX, 1-22. The Jews will stream in from the Diaspora, and the heathen move to Jerusalem with the riches of the world (1-9: cf. *XLIX*, 18; *LVI*, 7). By the labor and gifts of the nations, Zion's wall will be rebuilt and she will become the mistress of her former oppressors (10-16) "And strangers shall build thy walls, and they<sup>y</sup> kings shall minister unto thee----- For that nation and kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish". (10, a: 12, a).

LXVI, 18-22. The spreading of the knowledge of Jahweh's



glory to the most distant peoples. By a "sign", is meant  
a miracle, such as occurred in Egypt (cf. Is. X, 33, ff.: XVII,  
12-14; Joel IV, 11-14). "They shall declare my glory among  
the nations" (v. 19, <sup>b</sup>; cf. XLIX, 22; LX, 9 ). The pilgrim-  
age of the nations to Jerusalem begins (cf. LX, 1-22) "And  
I will take of them for priest and for Levites, saith the  
Lord". ~~Is. 60~~<sup>Is. 60</sup> is referred by Marti, Duhn and Cheyne to the  
Israelites ( ~~Is. 60~~<sup>Is. 60</sup> v. 20).

$$\begin{array}{r} 26 \\ \hline 38 \end{array}$$