The Prophets and Prophecies in Israel

by

Abraham Kuenen



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THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN ISRAEL.

AN HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ENQUIRY,

BY

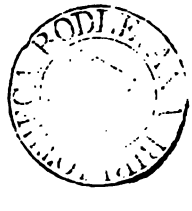
DR A. KUENEN,

PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH BY

THE REV. ADAM MILROY, M.A.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY J. MUIR, ESQ., D.C.L.



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1877.

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TO

John Muir, Esq., D.C.L.,

THIS TREATISE

ON

THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN ISRAEL

IS DEDICATED,

AS A TOKEN OF ESTEEM AND FRIENDSHIP,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

APART from my wish to acknowledge publicly the efforts of Dr Muir to further theological intercourse between England and Holland, there was for myself a specific reason why I should dedicate to him this book in particular. It was he who induced me to write it. Having had his attention drawn by Réville's articles in the "Revue des Deux Mondes" on the second volume of my "Historisch-kritisch Onderzoek," he consulted me regarding a translation into English of the first, the introductory, chapter. Our correspondence on that subject soon led him, as well as myself, to the conviction that such a translation would not answer the purpose intended. The various questions raised by Israelitish prophecy are, in that chapter, rather indicated than conclusively settled. For the complete information of the reader much more is required than is there given, or needed to be given in an introduction to the criticism of the prophetical books of the Old Testament. When we were agreed on this point, I was asked by Dr Muir whether it did not fall within the scope of my studies to work out the chapter in question on a broader scale, or rather to discuss Israelitish prophecy and the diverse theories regarding its origin and character in an independent treatise. We exchanged thoughts on the requirements which such a work would have to meet. The idea became more and more attractive to me. Finally, I undertook its realisation.

In writing the book, I have kept in view the needs of the

English public. I imagined to myself readers who did not favour the modern, organic view of prophecy, but who, at the same time, were not disinclined to become acquainted with it and to weigh its claims. I have, therefore, throughout taken as my point of departure the traditional—which at the same time still continue to be the most widely diffused—ideas, subjected them to a severe objective criticism, and proceeded to build upon the results which were thus obtained. At the same time, I have endeavoured to proceed methodically, and to justify step by step the course of the investigation.

In order not to limit needlessly the circle of my readers, I have shunned all display of erudition, have left unnoticed many particulars, which invited to further inquiry, but contributed little to the chief object, and have uniformly studied simplicity and perspicuity. Consequently readers of ordinary education will, though they have not undergone a theological training, be able to use my book with profit, if they are not destitute of interest in the subject.

2d March 1875.

I have now little to add to the preceding. I must express my thanks to the Rev. A. Milroy for the care which he has bestowed upon my work, and in particular for pointing out some slips in the original which have been corrected in the English edition without being specially mentioned. When I wrote my book, Vol. V. of the "Speaker's Commentary" (Isaiah and Jeremiah) had not yet appeared, and when Vol. VI. (Ezekiel, Daniel, and the minor prophets) was published, the first half of the translation had been already printed. Both volumes would have afforded me ample materials for discussion and refutation;[1] but I thought myself obliged to refrain

[1] Compare "Theol. Tijdschrift" for 1875, pp. 567—576; for 1876, pp. 498—507.

almost entirely from noticing them. It did not form part of my plan fully to adduce and criticise either all the explanations of the separate prophecies, or the proofs in favour of the tradition regarding their origin, brought forward by modern apologists. That is evident at once from the size of my book. Its merits, if it has any, consist just in this, "that it sums up, as it were, in a nutshell the modern view of the subject, and the grounds on which it rests" (Academy, 1876, p. 238). The refutation of all sorts of opinions, ancient and modern, which differ from that view, might easily have diverted attention from what is and ought to be the chief matter—viz., the maintenance and application of the true method, and the exposition of the historical view as a whole.

It would afford me the greatest satisfaction if, by the reading of this book, the circle of the friends of that historical view should become extended in England. To complete the Old Testament science, contributions are needed from all quarters, for still "the harvest is plenteous, and the labourers are few." And to the religious life it can be only a gain when, dogmatic notions having been set aside, the genuine and actual Israelitish prophecy becomes known and appreciated.

A. KUENEN.

15*th July* 1876.

INTRODUCTION.

PROFESSOR KUENEN is already known to the English students of theology by the translation of his "Religion of Israel" which has recently been published (1873-1875).[1] In that work the rise and development of the Hebrew religion is treated at length, and with great ability, from the point of view of the most advanced modern criticism. The object of the work of which a translation is now offered to the public is more limited, as although it embraces a sketch of the history of the Hebrew ideas regarding the Deity, it is mainly concerned with a survey and examination of the phenomena connected with prophecy. It will be seen from the author's preface under what circumstances he undertook the preparation of the treatise. It had become important in the existing condition of Biblical criticism in this country, that the prophets and their work should be made the subject of a special investigation, and be exhibited in their true light. It is well known to all persons interested in theology that the alleged fulfilment of the predictions contained in the prophetical writings of the Old Testament is one of the principal proofs by which the divine origin and infallible authority of the book of which they form a part, are regarded by modern apologetical writers of the orthodox school as being established. The knowledge of the future which prophets displayed is such, they maintain, as could not be explained on natural principles: it is too precise, detailed, and manifold to have proceeded from human foresight or calculation, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that it has been derived from a supernatural source. The possessors of such miraculous knowledge must therefore, it is concluded, have been the inspired messengers

[1] In Messrs Williams & Norgate's Theological Translation Fund Library.

of God, and all that they uttered in their prophetical capacity must be considered as bearing the stamp of divine authority. And since among their other prophecies we find numerous and manifest predictions of a future Messiah who was to appear among the Jews, their writings furnish us with a portion of the evidence on which our belief in the divine origin of the Christian dispensation is founded.

As these conclusions have never yet, so far as I am aware, been subjected to a thorough and systematic examination, it appeared to be of the utmost importance that the grounds on which such supernaturalistic views are based by those who maintain them, should be considered in detail, and that their sufficiency or otherwise to sustain the structure which is built upon them, should be ascertained. The results of the investigation instituted with this view by Professor Kuenen are detailed in this volume. His treatise appears to me to present a clear, complete, and masterly survey of all the branches of the subject the discussion of which is necessary to enable the reader to form a judgment on the great question raised, to demonstrate satisfactorily the insufficiency of the grounds on which the supernatural character of prophecy has been assumed, and to justify the conclusion that the phenomena can be accounted for,—without a resort to the supposition of any miraculous intervention—by the genius and the peculiar religious character of the Hebrews, as developed by their history and fortunes, and acted upon by the circumstances of the times in which the prophets lived. An outline of the course of the enquiry will be found in the tables of the contents of the several chapters which follow the author's preface. But although a good idea of the line of argument pursued by Dr Kuenen may be obtained by this means, it may not be superfluous for me to offer another and in some respects more detailed and connected summary of the course and the substance of the author's demonstration of the conclusions at which he has arrived.

In the first Chapter the author shows that, in the existing diversity of the views entertained by the different schools of theological enquiry, a fresh examination of the character of prophecy is now required. According to the orthodox or traditional view, which is still the most common, the prophets

were the messengers of God, and though they primarily spoke to the Hebrews, their preaching concerned the entire human race, being closely connected with Christianity, and having with gradually increasing clearness and fulness foretold the future advent and character of the Redeemer. According to the historico-critical or organic view, on the other hand, prophecy proceeds, indeed, from God, as being, like other human achievements, the result of powers bestowed by Him, but is not the less the work of man, and is the highest utterance of the Hebrew spirit; and although it contains no prediction of Christian facts, it yet prepares the way for Christianity. Opinions being thus divided, there is a necessity for further investigation; for the maintainers of the last-mentioned or modern view have not yet thoroughly controverted the arguments of theorthodox school, or fully vindicated the legitimacy of their own theory, while, on the other hand, the traditional view is at present in process of dissolution. Its partial and incomplete character is now admitted on all sides; and the dates and interpretation of various prophecies which were formerly received are now abandoned. It is observed that the habit, hitherto common among the supernaturalists, of looking at the prophecies with reference to their supposed fulfilment, instead of regarding them in the light of their time, and of events contemporaneous with their composition, leads to incorrect judgments; and a perception of this has led the supernaturalists themselves to a modification of their view of prophecy as prediction, as is shown by a reference to writings of different orthodox authors.

In his second Chapter the author, without formally controverting the opinions of the school to which he is opposed, describes the method which he intends to pursue in his own investigations as an historical one. The object which he proposes to himself is to ascertain the real and proper sense of the utterances of the prophets according to their grammatical interpretation, and without any regard to the meaning assigned to them in the New Testament; since to regard the New Testament explanation as binding would involve a dogmatic assumption at variance with the author's method. The sources of information about the prophets and prophecy are then described as threefold: — 1st,

the writings of the prophets themselves; 2d, the historical accounts of what the prophets did and said; and 3d, narratives of divine revelations alleged to have been made to different personages. The first of these sources, in which we hear the prophet himself express his ideas, is the most valuable of all. The age of these documents must be determined, as far as possible, both by external and internal evidence; of which the internal is the more important, while the evidence of age furnished by the titles, or headings of the prophecies, is not always to be depended upon. As regards the second source of information,—since the authors of the historical books of the Old Testament were not eye- and ear-witnesses of what they record, and since many of the narratives rest on writings or traditions of uncertain age,—we can have no assurance that the acts or utterances of the prophets which they record are correctly represented. In reference to the third source of information, or the revelations alleged in the historical books to have been vouchsafed to different historical personages, we have no certainty that such divine communications were ever made; or, in other words, that they are not the mere expressions of the historian's own religious conceptions. Hebrew prophecy must therefore be studied in its unimpeachable sources—the writings of the prophets themselves. The author then discusses the objections to this course.

The third Chapter contains an introductory view of the prophets and their work. The prophets constituted a separate class, or a social order more or less distinct. Their common Hebrew appellation was "Nabi," a word which does not signify prophet in the sense of a foreteller of the future, though its holder did predict things to come; but according to the derivation regarded as probable by the author, means a person under the influence of strong emotion, presumed to result from the agency of a higher power. They were also called seer and gazer (Roeh and Chozeh), and designated also by other names or titles. In the days of Samuel, there existed an association of prophets, of which he was recognised as the head, and which probably continued to exist after his time; and this may have been only one of several such. We find similar fraternities in the time of Ahab, over which Elijah

and Elisha presided: and their continuance is pre-supposed in the reply of Amos to the high priest Amaziah, from which it also appears that there were prophets unconnected with those associations; and, in fact, the greater part of the prophets known to us seem to have held an independent position. The prophets, however, it appears, were divided among themselves, and when consulted about any matter, sometimes gave opposite counsels. How is this to be explained? Not by the supposition that there were ordinary and extraordinary prophets, as is maintained by Dr Payne Smith, since they all regarded themselves as inspired by Jahveh. Prophecy was, in fact, a very diversified phenomenon, and the impression which it made corresponded to that diversity. Opposition to the words of the prophets was far from being rare. Though they were reverenced, none of them were implicitly obeyed; they were freely judged, were sometimes withstood to the face, and even subjected to ill treatment. The contradiction which they experienced was inevitable, for the opposition between different members of their body continued at least from the eighth century B.C. downwards. The people could not simply obey, even if they had so wished. They had to make a choice, to accept the one prophet and reject the other. But could there be any difficulty in making a choice? could not any sincere man distinguish between the true and the false prophet? Here we must seek to discover whether the enquirer had any aids to guide him. The book of Deuteronomy prescribes that a prophet who incited his countrymen to idolatry should be stoned, even though the sign or wonder to which he had appealed should come to pass; and that a prophet, whose prediction was not fulfilled, should be put to death. Assuming (what, however, the author does not admit) that these enactments existed before the seventh century B.C., the application of the latter of the two prescriptions was attended with difficulties; and if the prophets' predictions referred to the distant future, what judgment could, in the meantime, be formed of him? Nor was the indefiniteness of the law remedied by any recognised custom. The result of the enquiry is that all the prophets were, in theory, regarded as divinely commissioned; but they were, in practice, obeyed only by those who agreed with them in tendency.

Having treated of the prophets in general, the author proceeds to speak of the writers of the prophetical books, or canonical prophets, as they may be called. These were often in conflict with the other members of their class. The explanation of this will be given afterwards. The earlier prophets did not record their addresses in writing—the later did. Some of the written prophecies appear never to have been spoken; but in the case of those which were spoken, the writing down did not precede, but followed, the oral delivery. Reasons are assigned for believing that the spoken word was not literally reproduced in writing, but was more or less modified according to circumstances. This is confirmed by the account given in Jer. xxxvi.

Chapter fourth treats of the conviction which the Israelitish prophets had with regard to their divine commission. Their writings differ in language and style, and bear the stamp of their individual characters, which were influenced more or less by the age in which they lived. The later among them sometimes imitate and borrow from their predecessors. At the same time, the prophets are conscious of possessing a divine commission, and constantly express this conviction, as is shown in some detail. This remarkable belief is not fully explained in their writings. An account is then given of the methods in which these divine revelations are described as being given, especially visions, some of which are merely the drapery in which the prophets chose to present their ideas. Prophecy is conceived of by them as the work of the Divine Spirit; and in the more recent books, the Divine will is described as being communicated through the agency of angels. Are we then to acquiesce in the assurances of the Israelitish prophets in regard to the origin and authority of their preaching? Although we throw no doubt on their good faith, we cannot admit their divine commission on the simple authority of their assertions. Some reasons are assigned for holding that we are not shut up to the dilemma of either admitting their word as true, or branding them as deceivers. Further enquiry into the prophetical phenomena is therefore necessary. The object of our study must be that which the prophets designate as the "word of Jahveh" which they claim to have received; and

our first enquiry must be whether the predictions of the prophets have been fulfilled, and if so, within what limits. The author divides the prophecies into unfulfilled and fulfilled, and treats these two classes in the following chapters (v.-viii.).

In the fifth Chapter, he commences his examination of those coming under the former category. After stating the difficulties connected with the treatment of his subject, arising from the uncertain or disputed sense and age of the prophecies, he proceeds to state his opinion of the age of the several prophetical books, and of the parts of those books which are not all the work of one and the same author. He next, with a view to his proposed examination, divides the predictions of all the different prophets into three groups, of which the first, referring to the heathen nations, is then discussed. He shows in succession that the speedy destruction of the cities of the Philistines, and the occupation of their country by the Israelites, was not fulfilled as foretold by the prophets, whose meaning is misunderstood by those who represent the present condition of the coast of Philistia as the event contemplated in their predictions. 2. The author maintains that the predictions of Amos, the oldest Zechariah,[1] Joel, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, regarding the destruction of Tyre, were not fulfilled, as the city was captured neither by Shalmanezer nor by Nebuchadrezzar, the long siege conducted by the latter not having ended, even according to the acknowledgment of Ezekiel himself, in the manner which he expected.[2] That a destruction of Tyre at any period in the distant future was not intended, is shown by a passage of

[1] For the reasons stated in p. 105 f., the author does not here take into account the prophecy of Isaiah xxiii. See on the subject of it the "Les Prophètes" of Prof. Reuss, vol. i., p. 295, note 1, and 298, note 14.

[2] Compare the remarks of Prof. Reuss on the subject of Ezekiel's prophecy in vol. ii. of "Les Prophètes," p. 93, note 2. "Nothing is known of the capture of the city. The text (Ezek. xxix. 18) seems to insinuate, that the enterprise [of Nebuchadrezzar] failed. In order to spare the prophet the reproach of having been deceived in his predictions (ch. xxvi.—xxviii.), it has been supposed that Tyre fell into the hands of the Chaldeans, but that the inhabitants had previously placed their treasures in a place of safety, so that the booty obtained was small. Such subterfuges are ridiculous. Tyre resisted Alexander also, and existed still in the time of the crusades; and Egypt did not become a desert, nor did Nebuchadrezzar conquer it. . . . The prophecies ought, and are able, to legitimate themselves in their ideal sense. It is quite wrong to judge them according to the concrete facts of history."

Ezekiel, where he declares that the punishment of Israel's neighbours, including the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose destiny had been announced just before, shall precede the return of the Israelites to their native land, where they should dwell in safety, because judgment had been executed on all the neighbouring nations who spoiled them. 3. The prophecy of Jeremiah regarding Damascus was not fulfilled. 4. Further, the predictions regarding the fates of Moab and Ammon, and 5, of Edom, have not been accomplished in the sense in which they were intended by the prophets. 6. As regards the verification of Isaiah's prophecies concerning Egypt, complete certainty cannot be attained: at best, the fulfilment was only partial. The predictions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel regarding the same country are contradicted by the accounts of Herodotus; and although they are expressly confirmed by Josephus, his testimony appears to deserve no credit, and to be merely an inference from the prophecies themselves. 7. Isaiah and Micah do not predict the fall of Assyria. In the prophecies of the former, in fact, a belief in the continued existence of that kingdom is implied. Nahum and Zephaniah do, indeed, foretell the destruction of Niniveh; but the result did not fully correspond to their anticipations, as the ruin of the city was, indeed, completed in a comparatively short time, but still not immediately. The author here takes the opportunity of combating the views of those writers who think that such discrepancies between the terms of a prophecy and the circumstances of its fulfilment detract nothing from its truth and accuracy. The prophet, they affirm, looked into the future in such a way, that in his prospect the distances disappeared, and the successive circumstances were blended together so as to cause a foreshortening of the more distant parts of the future. This theory of the perspective character of prediction is variously conceived by different writers. The author denies that the prophets conceived the facts otherwise than they represented them; and combats the idea that the mode and period of the realisation of prophecy were, in all cases, matters of indifference, whereas these are often points of importance in the view of the prophets themselves. 8. The predictions regarding the fall of Babylon were not fulfilled at an early period to the extent which the prophets

expected. 9. The fall of the Persian monarchy is not referred to by the prophets properly so called, while the announcements in the book of Daniel, though represented in the form of prophecy, are in reality, in part, *vaticinia post eventum;* in so far as they related to events subsequent to the writer's age, they were not realised.

Chapter sixth refers to the unfulfilled predictions against Israel, which are divided into five groups. 1. Neither Amos nor Hosea expected the ruin of the kingdom of Judah; but both were convinced that the kingdom of the ten tribes was doomed. But Amos had no clear conception of that destruction, and expected it to occur much sooner than it did. Hosea is more definite, but his predictions were not fully realised by the result. 2. The prophets of the Assyrian period. The author of Zechariah ix.—xi. does not refer to the overthrow of Judah, and it is more than doubtful if he expected that of the kingdom of the ten tribes. The prediction of Micah regarding the fall of Jerusalem was not fulfilled at the period when he, according to the opinion of Jeremiah's contemporaries, seems to have expected that it would take place. Isaiah, on the contrary, was assured that Jerusalem would be spared. His predictions against Ephraim and Judah were not literally fulfilled. 3. The Chaldean period. Habakkuk and Joel, who probably belong to the reign of Zedekiah, do not anticipate the destruction of Jerusalem; and the author of Zechariah xii.—xiv. expects that, though the city shall be taken and plundered, and half depopulated, the residue of the people shall be spared, and better times begin to dawn. These prophets, therefore, nearly coincide with Hananiah the Gibeonite, the antagonist of the views of Jeremiah. The last-named writer, as is well known, expected the ruin of Jerusalem, the extinction of the kingdom of Judah, and the captivity of its inhabitants; and his predictions were, generally speaking, realised; as was also the case with those on the same subject, in the book of Ezekiel, who follows Jeremiah. The vague anticipations of the post-exilic prophets are such that no specific answer can be given to the question whether they were fulfilled or not.

Chapter seventh treats of the unfulfilled predictions regarding the future of Israel. None of those which relate

to the restoration of that people have been realised. The system of Chiliasm, or the expectation of a millennium, when all such prophecies shall be fulfilled, involves, in fact, a confession that they remain as yet unaccomplished. Their spiritual fulfilment in Christianity is something quite different from what the prophets contemplated. These prophecies are then considered under six heads :—1. The return of Israel out of captivity. This restoration turned out to be far less glorious and important than had been anticipated ; and a complete realization of the promise was therefore predicted by the post-exilic prophets, and still later by Daniel. 2. The reunion of Ephraim and Judah. This was expected by Hosea and the author of Zechariah ix.—xi., probably by Amos, and partially at least as regards Ephraim, by Isaiah, and is distinctly predicted by Jeremiah and Ezekiel. But during and after the captivity the Ephraimites are generally left out of view ; and that the two parts of the nation were never re-united under one king in their native land does not require to be proved. 3. The continued rule of a king or kings of the house of David over Israel was predicted by Amos and Jeremiah, and Hosea and Ezekiel express themselves in the same sense. It is clear that the prince announced by Ezekiel is merely a king of the ordinary kind. The author of Zechariah ix.—xi. also announces the appearance of a king, first victorious in war, but afterwards pacific. Micah too expects that a prince of a similar character shall arise in Bethlehem. And Isaiah anticipates the advent of an eminent monarch who is to be of the family of David, and in whom all the highest characteristics of a perfect ruler shall be combined, but whom we are not to regard as a supernatural personage. These last prophecies evidently announce something more than a happy period of limited duration. They foretell, for Israel, an endless age of blessedness, either under one prince or a succession of monarchs. Zechariah is the only one of the post-exilic prophets who refers to the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and it is probable that he understood the man whose name is Branch, to whom he refers, as the first of a series of rulers belonging to that family. The second or Babylonian Isaiah says nothing of the restoration of the rule of David's house, but transfers the task and the glory of

David's descendant to others, to the flower of Israel, whom he designates as "the servant of Jahveh." The author then vindicates the sense which he attaches to the last-mentioned phrase, which, as he holds, does not denote the Messiah. And this applies also to the book of Daniel, as the "one like to a son of man" there introduced, represents the Israelitish nation. 4. The unfulfilled prophecies regarding the spiritual and material welfare of the restored Israel are then taken up. These relate, on the one hand, to the people's knowledge of Jahveh, their fidelity to him, their obedience to his commands, and their spiritual intuition; and on the other hand, to the peace and security which they should enjoy, to the fruitfulness of their land, the increase of their numbers, their greater longevity, and the improvement of the natural conditions under which they were to live. These prophecies, including those with which the book of Ezekiel concludes, are not to be spiritualised, but to be taken essentially in a literal sense. 5. The predictions regarding the subjection of the heathens to Israel, which are to be found in the books of Amos, Micah, both Isaiahs, and Daniel, and the conversion of the Gentiles to the service of Jahveh, as anticipated by Micah, Isaiah, Zephaniah, and above all, by the second Isaiah, are then recapitulated. 6. It is distinctly predicted by all the prophets that the Israelites, when once restored to their native country, should continue there for ever undisturbed. It appears on a review of the prophecies discussed in this chapter, that the expectations which they hold out have been contradicted by the event in every particular. The return of the captives was far from answering to the brilliant expectations formed of it; Judah and Ephraim were never re-united; the restoration of the Davidic monarchy was never attempted; neither in a spiritual nor in a material point of view did the condition of the Israelites who returned to Judea ever correspond to the glowing pictures of the prophets; nor was the sovereignty of Israel over the nations, or the conversion of the latter to Jahvism, ever realised. Some, however, may urge that the realisation of these predictions is only postponed, and is therefore still future. But this view is untenable. It is clear that the prophets had no certain

insight into the future; for none of them had any expectation of the calamities by which Israel was to be afflicted after its partial restoration. They never anticipated the subjection of their countrymen to Alexander the Great and his successors, and afterwards to the Romans, and their second great exile, which began in 70 A.D., and still continues. Whoever still looks forward to the restoration of Israel expects something quite different from what the prophets anticipated and announced.

The prophecies of Daniel here receive a separate treatment in an Appendix. At the end of Chapter fifth the author had stated the reasons which exist for believing that this book does not really bear the date of 530 B.C., which is claimed for it by the traditional view, but must be brought down to the year 165 B.C., in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes; and had given some account of the prophecies which it contains. He now treats the predictions contained in Chapter ninth, of which a revised translation is given. Perceiving that the prophecy of Jeremiah regarding the restoration of Israel after seventy years, had not received the expected fulfilment, the writer of the book of Daniel understands the seventy years to have been intended for seventy year-weeks, *i.e.*, four hundred and ninety years, at the end of which he expects that the golden age of Israel shall dawn. This period of four hundred and ninety years he divides into three parts; the first, of seven weeks or forty-nine years; the second, of sixty-two weeks or four hundred and thirty-four years; and the third, of one week or seven years. In order that the commencement of the seventy year-weeks should correspond with the seventy years of Jeremiah, we have naturally to assume that the forty-nine years begin with the date of Jeremiah's prophecy, and end with the appearance of "an anointed one, a prince," by whom Professor Kuenen understands Cyrus, who, in the second Isaiah, is called the anointed of Jahveh; or, with the promulgation of his edict in favour of the Jews. The second period is that of the sixty-two weeks, or four hundred and thirty-four years, "troublous times," in which Jerusalem was to be built. Dr Kuenen rejects the interpretation of the text given in the English authorised version that seven weeks, in addition to sixty-two weeks,

should elapse before the appearance of "Messiah the Prince."[1] If this had been the sense, why should the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks have been separately specified? The author also rejects the translation "Messiah the Prince;" for, as there is no article before either term, the words must be rendered "an anointed, a prince." He further affirms that the opinion that "Messiah" was the universally received appellation of the future king of David's family, finds no support in the Old Testament. Dr Kuenen therefore rejects the Messianic interpretation of the verse as unfounded. The events of the last week are understood to be the murder of the high-priest Onias ("an anointed one is cut off, and there is none [no anointed one] for him"), the capture and plundering of Jerusalem by the army of Antiochus Epiphanes in 169 and 167 B.C., and the suspension of the temple worship in the middle of the week, 167 B.C. Most of the events to which the book of Daniel refers were already past at the time when it was written, and in regard to those which were then still future, the death of Antiochus, and the events introducing the new epoch which was to follow, the result did not correspond to his expectations.

The author now comes, in Chapter eighth, to the fulfilled prophecies, which must be examined before a final judgment can be formed of the claim of the prophets to an infallible foreknowledge. Unfulfilled predictions cannot be reconciled with mechanical divine inspiration; but even when a fulfilled prediction has been proved to have preceded the event, its realisation may be explained either from divine inspiration, or from the prophet's right discernment of the course of events, or from the influence of his prediction on the conduct of those to whom it was known, or from accident. If, in any case, a choice is made between these solutions, it ought to be justified by reasons. Then the uncertainty in regard to any particular prophecy when viewed by itself, may be removed by regarding it in connection with other predictions; for if the latter

[1] This verse (the 25th) is similarly understood in Bunsen's "Bibelwerk," where the German translation may be thus rendered:—"And thou must know and understand that from the going forth of the edict to restore and build Jerusalem to an anointed, a prince, are seven year-weeks. And sixty-two year-weeks long shall the city be restored and built, with streets and moats, although in a troublous time."

exclude the supernatural explanation, the question arises whether that explanation is absolutely required in the case of the fulfilled anticipations. Particular cases are then discussed. Isaiah prophesied that the hostile designs of the kings of Syria and Israel against Judah should fail, and that those two kingdoms themselves should be ruined in a few years. This prediction was partly fulfilled, and partly not realised. Damascus was, indeed, taken and depopulated, and the Syrian kingdom incorporated with the Assyrian empire; but Damascus was not destroyed, and the kingdom of Israel continued to exist for about twenty years longer. Supernatural revelation is therefore not to be thought of here; and Isaiah's confidence in Jahveh, and his correct discernment of the political situation, account for his anticipations. Amos had predicted that the Syrians should be carried away to Kir. The second book of Kings records that this actually took place. Have we not then here a proof of the prophet's supernatural knowledge? As in another passage Amos mentions Kir as the original home of the Syrians, the idea of the prophecy in the first passage is satisfied by supposing him to mean that the people who had come thence should cease to rule in Syria, and that that country should revert to the condition in which it was before these foreign invaders arrived. But further, it is uncertain whether the mention of Kir in the passage referred to of the book of Kings, is not a subsequent addition; as the word (Kirah) is wanting in the oldest and best MSS. of the Greek version of the Old Testament. Further, this prophecy is one of a series regarding the neighbours of Israel, some of which at least were not fulfilled. How can the latter fact be explained if, in the instance before us, the prediction was divinely inspired? The important prophecy of Isaiah, that Jerusalem should not fall into the hands of the Assyrians, is next considered. The author denies that its fulfilment requires us to ascribe a supernatural knowledge of the future to Isaiah. He had predicted that there should be a siege of Jerusalem (ch. xxix. 1-8, etc.[1]), but in ch. xxxvii. 33 he

[1] See also Professor Reuss, "Les Prophètes," on this passage; and the same author's remarks on Isaiah xxxvii. 7, where he says in note 18: "This passage contains two very special and very positive predictions,—first, that Sennacherib shall renounce his project of invading Egypt on receiving

declares that there shall be none. And the deliverance of Jerusalem from danger was not immediate, as appears to be implied at least in the narrative following the prediction. Isaiah himself seems to anticipate some delay, as he predicts that the sowing and reaping of the land would not be resumed till the third year. There would thus be an interval between the prophecy and the total destruction of Sennacherib's army; but then one of the supports of the interpretation of the prediction as supernatural is removed. And further, we have no certainty regarding the time, place, and manner in which the hostile army was destroyed; and it cannot have been of that decisive character described in the Old Testament. The conclusion which Dr Kuenen draws is, that Isaiah's prediction was founded on his belief that Israel was the chosen people of Jahveh, and Zion his dwelling-place. In order to justify his assurance, the prophet must have seen a possibility of Sennacherib being compelled to return without having effected his object. This possibility was converted into a probability, nay, a certainty, by the dangers connected with that monarch's expedition to a dis-

certain intelligence, which, according to the sequel of the narrative, is that of the approach of Tirhakah, the king of Ethiopia; and, secondly, that Sennacherib shall be assassinated in his own country. He was actually so assassinated, but a long time afterwards, see ver. 38." [In note 39 on this verse (the 38th) Prof. Reuss observes, that as ancient writers assign eighteen years "as the duration of Sennacherib's reign, his death cannot have occurred till long after his expedition to Palestine."] "It should be remarked, that these two predictions are included among the traditions collected by the author of the Appendix [Isaiah xxxvi.—xxxix.]. The genuine discourses of Isaiah confine themselves to generalities, xxx. 33; xxxvii. 29, 34. Another tradition ascribes the retreat of Sennacherib to the pestilence by which his army was decimated, xxxvii. 36." On Isaiah xxxvii. 22—29, Dr Reuss remarks in note 25, "The poetical piece which follows is a genuine composition of the prophet. In no way is it the work of the writer of the Appendix. It bears evident traces of the well-known style of Isaiah; and far from defining the historical occurrences as the author of the Appendix—seeing that he lived long afterwards—has been able to do, it keeps to the generalities of the ideal perspective, as the prophets are accustomed to do." On the verse, xxxvii. 29, he observes: "In all this there is no mention either of pestilence, or of assassination, or of Tirhakah." Dr Reuss (note 33) has a difficulty in persuading himself that the rest of the discourse, (xxxvii. 30—35), as it is given here, is a continuation of the poetical piece which precedes. He considers it to be an amplification from the pen of the writer of the Appendix, who also wrote verses 6, 7, and 21. Other commentators, however, he remarks, attach verses 30—32 to the prophetical poem which precedes. On verse 30 he observes, (note 34), that it is the fact that the Assyrians did not retreat till afterwards, as we know from Herodotus that they first penetrated into Egypt.

tant country, which were enhanced by the power of his enemy (Egypt allied with Ethiopia), and by the disposition of his own vassals to revolt. Even when the danger was at the highest, Isaiah was confident of the issue, and persuaded Hezekiah and his people to resist. That perseverance made deliverance possible. Isaiah by his faith saved Judah. No supernatural explanation of his prophecy is required. And when we consider that others of Isaiah's predictions were not fulfilled, this negative is changed into a positive conclusion, and the supernatural explanation becomes inadmissible. And this result is also otherwise supported. Nine prophecies of Jeremiah, considered by Tholuck to have been fulfilled, are next specified in order, and the facts in regard to each are examined, with the result that, in the author's opinion, their fulfilment, when shown to have occurred, cannot, in any of the instances, be regarded as proving supernatural foreknowledge on the prophet's part. In some of the cases the predictions were recorded or revised after the event; or the issue was such as Jeremiah might foresee to be inevitable or probable, or it was promoted by the influence which the tenor of his prophecy had on the minds of his countrymen;[1] or the prediction was not literally fulfilled. Jeremiah's prophecy, that the captivity of the Israelites in Babylon would last for seventy years, is in this chapter discussed at length (p. 309 ff.). The author's conclusion is, that the commencement of the captivity cannot be placed before 597 B.C.; and if the return of the captives be held to have occurred in 536 B.C., the exile lasted for sixty-one years, thus nine years short of the seventy predicted. This prophecy was therefore fulfilled, but not literally: not to insist on the fact, that seventy was pro-

[1] The difference between the anticipations of Isaiah and Jeremiah regarding the fate of Jerusalem, which in both instances the author considers to have had an influence on the conduct of their countrymen,—is very remarkable, and is thus noticed by Prof. Tiele in his "Vergelijkende Geschiedenis der oude Godsdiensten," vol. i., p. 771: "He (Jeremiah) saw deliverance only in a speedy end, and in this, that as many as possible of the adorers of Jahveh should be spared. In this he acted in a quite opposite way from Isaiah in the days of Hezekiah, but the altered circumstances sanctioned his mode of action, and the issue justified it." See further on in Chapter ix. the remarks made by the author on the different modes in which the several prophets regarded the relation of their countrymen to Jahveh; and the varying prominence which they assigned to the distinct elements in that relation.

bably meant as a round sum.[1] It must also be observed that if Jeremiah's predictions are considered to have been divinely inspired, we must deny divine authority not only to his antagonist Hananiah, but also to Habakkuk, to the author of Zechariah xii.—xiv., and to Joel. The psychological explanation relieves us from this difficulty, and enables us to do justice to all the sincere prophets. The prophecies of Ezekiel, in so far as they coincide with those of Jeremiah, require no further remark. But he has some peculiar to himself, which foretell particulars such as before the event he could only have known by supernatural inspiration. But the same prophet elsewhere expresses expectations on other subjects which never were realised. How is this to be reconciled with his supposed prescience in the former cases? Does it not involve an inexplicable enigma? In reality, however, the passages first referred to contain no real predictions. Whatever Ezekiel may have spoken before the destruction of Jerusalem, the prophecies which we now possess were written down after that catastrophe, and expressed in terms conformable with the facts known to the writer. Such procedure is inconsistent with our modern notions of literary good faith; but it was not uncommon in ancient times, and specifically in Israel, as is shown by the cases of the book of Daniel and chapters l. and li. of Jeremiah. Provided his thoughts proceeded, as he supposed, from a divine source, Ezekiel felt himself at liberty to give expression to them in such a manner as the interests of his readers seemed to demand.[2]

Having thus, in the eighth chapter, shown that many of the prophecies were never fulfilled, and that the fulfilment of the rest does not imply any supernatural knowledge on the part of those who uttered or recorded them, the author seeks in Chapter ninth an explanation of the fact

[1] Dr Rowland Williams (as the author notices) was inclined to regard the prediction in both places where it occurs (Jer. xxv. 11, 12, and xxix. 10), as an interpolation by the later readers of Jeremiah; while Hitzig and Graf think that there is an interpolation in chapter xxv. only; and with them the author is inclined to agree. In accordance with the latter view, Prof. Reuss in his work "Les Prophètes," vol. i., p. 502, puts verses 11[b]—14[a] of chapter xxv. in italics, and between brackets, as interpolated; and vindicates this course in a note, p. 503.

[2] Compare the observations on the passages in question in "Les Prophètes," by Prof. E. Reuss, vol. ii. p. 81, note 4, and p. 105, note 1.

that the prophets should have represented their own subjective conceptions as stamped with divine authority. As we have already seen, he rejects, as untenable, the dilemma proposed by some, that if the prophets were not supernaturally inspired, they were deceivers. He remarks, first, that the prophecies were all conditional; and, secondly, that the expectations of the prophets were not always uniform, but varied according to their moods, or according to circumstances;[1] —a fact which would probably become more apparent if we possessed their addresses in the very form in which they were delivered, and could always arrange them chronologically; and of which instances are found in the twenty-fifth and thirty-seventh chapters, and in other texts, of Jeremiah; and which we have no reason to suppose was a thing peculiar to that prophet. Prediction, however, was not the main object of the prophets. Their real business is not to declare what shall happen, but to insist upon what ought to be done. They were above all censors of morals, and preachers of repentance. Prophecy was the means which they employed, and they regarded it as warning and encouragement. But prediction was not merely of secondary importance in the prophets' view, it was moreover determined by their conception of Jahveh's nature and attributes, in accordance with which they were convinced that He must necessarily act. The theology of the prophets is then more fully explained. They regarded Jahveh as the Holy One, who hallows Israel, and claims that Israel shall hallow him, both by reverential awe and by conformity with his moral commands, by confiding in him exclusively, by refraining from self-exaltation, and by contempt of human power. They condemned foreign alliances, the construction of fortresses, the employment of horsemen, and represented Jahveh as the humiliator of all that was proud and lofty.[2]

[1] Compare the remark of Professor Reuss, "Les Prophètes," on Micah ii. 12, 13:—"The sentiment of retributive justice, which demanded a striking chastisement of evil, and the patriotic hope which believed in the high destinies of Israel, balanced each other in the souls of the prophets, and continually produced these apparent contradictions."

[2] See Isaiah ii. 12-17; and compare the conception which Herodotus entertained of the Deity, as described in Stein's edition of that author, Einleitung, p. xxxvii., or in Abicht's edition (Einl. p. 18), and especially the passage there referred to, vii. 10, of the historian: "'Ορᾷς τα ὑπερέχοντα ζῶα ὡς κεραυ-

The Holy One of Israel is at the same time righteous, rewarding goodness and punishing wickedness by recompences of a material or physical character. This, however, does not imply that the prophets did not sometimes feel that this belief, which was a corollary from their conception of the divine character, was often inconsistent with the experience of life. But they were convinced that the divine righteousness would be ultimately vindicated by every man receiving his due; and hence they attached little importance to the consistency of their own predictions, which they were sure would be fulfilled in some way, and at some time or other. The fact that the different prophets were not identical in their views, and that even when at one in their conceptions of Jahveh's righteousness, and the relations of the chosen people to Him, they might yet differ in opinion regarding the moral condition of their countrymen, would lead them to different expectations concerning the future lot of the latter, and so explain the discrepancies more or less striking which we find to exist between them. The confidence with which they predicted the future is thus explained by its being a result of their strong religious convictions. They knew that Jahveh was the Holy and Righteous One, and they had, therefore, no doubt as to the manner in which he would deal with his people.[1]

νοῖ ὁ θεὸς, οὐδὲ ἐᾷ φαντάζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σμικρὰ οὐδέν μιν κνίζει; ὁρᾷς δὲ ὡς ἐς οἰκήματα τὰ μεγίστα αἰεὶ καὶ δένδρεα τα τοιαῦτα ἀποσκήπτει τὰ βέλεα. φιλέει γὰρ ὁ θεος τὰ ὑπερέχοντα πάντα κολούειν . . . οὐ γὰρ ἐᾷ φρονέειν μέγα ὁ θεὸς ἄλλον ἢ ἑωυτόν. See also Col. Mure's "History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece," iv. 368. In the Rigveda, vi. 47, 16, the god Indra is characterised as a "hater of the prosperous man," who, however, may perhaps be understood as being arrogant and presumptuous, and as indifferent to the service of the god.

[1] Professor Reuss also, in his important work "Iæs Prophètes," which has been already several times quoted, treats (Introduction, pp. 5–50) of the history of prophecy, of the canonical prophets, their theology, their ideas regarding the relation of their nation to Jahveh, and of the future destiny which awaited it, and of their predictions generally. This survey well deserves perusal. Dr Reuss's point of view is somewhat more conservative and apologetic than that of Professor Kuenen; but in his judgment regarding the predictive element in prophecy he essentially coincides with the latter. The following remarks on this subject are translated from p. 46: "First of all, it is proper to recognise the fact that here we have nowhere to do with special predictions relating to contingent events. Whatever an ill-advised exegesis may have said and may still say on the subject, prophecy keeps to generalities. All the features of detail which it embraces are subordinated to the idea which has inspired it, which has given rise to the picture, and become, so to speak, incarnate there. The examples to the

Independently of its high importance as affording an explanation of the predictive element of prophecy, the striking picture which Dr Kuenen gives in this chapter of the religious character of the prophets, of their strong convictions of the nature and action of the Deity, and of their confident assurance of their own allotted function as the interpreters of his will, authorised to announce his decrees, forms an interesting and valuable contribution to our knowledge of the spiritual history of mankind, and finds its higher counterpart in the phenomena of Christianity.

Chapter tenth treats of the prophets and prophecy as they are represented in the historical books of the Old Testament. To an enumeration of these prophets, Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, &c., and a sketch of such of their predictions as have been recorded (including some of those of Isaiah which are mentioned in the second book of Kings), together with an account of their fulfilment, the author adds a summary, with elucidations, of the various narratives in which Jahveh himself is introduced as announcing the future of his people, either immediately to themselves or to their representatives, or through the medium of persons who are not characterised as prophets.

In Chapter eleventh an inquiry is instituted into the character of the narratives specified in Chapter tenth. The author arrives at the conclusion that they are not trustworthy, for the following reasons—1st, that the books in which they are found were not composed by contemporaries of the events recorded, but are of a date posterior to the fulfilment of the predictions

contrary, which some like to adduce, only prove one thing, viz., that science has but slowly come to discover either the natural sense of such and such a passage, or the bearing of such and such an historical allusion, or the value of such and such a phrase, or finally, the condition of relative integrity in which such and such a passage exists. Thus when one prophet makes Jehovah say that he has called his son out of Egypt, we see by the context that the past fortunes of the Israelitish nation are referred to, and not the future time, or the infant Jesus. When another designates Cyrus by name as the liberator of Israel, we are certain that that author was a contemporary of this king of Persia, and that he did not live two centuries before him. When a third predicts that the servitude of Israel should last seventy years, and that after that Babylon should be destroyed, and that the positions of the parties should be changed, one understands that we have here a round number, and not a specific calculation to be verified. In other places, the hands of strangers have introduced into the texts notes intended to define future events. Next, when regarded more closely, all the predictions of the prophets are found to be conditional; their realization, in fact, depends on the nation itself, on its moral and religious dispositions."

which they report, and cannot be considered as embodying in an unaltered form the substance of older works; 2dly, that they present accounts which are often mutually discrepant; and, 3dly, that the sentiments which they ascribe to the prophets are similar to one another in style and language, and are such as belong to a later age, and bear the stamp of the historian's own mode of thinking.[1] The representation given of the prophets in the historical books is further shown to be untrustworthy, on the ground that it is irreconcilable with all that we know of the canonical prophets—*i.e.*, of those whose writings we possess in the prophetical books; for, while the former are described as exercising miraculous powers, and as uttering predictions extending far beyond their own political horizon, as well as minute and specific in their terms, the same cannot be predicated of the latter; and we cannot suppose that the former possessed a supernatural power and insight which were denied to the latter. Having thus reached the conclusion that the representation of the prophets and prophecy in the historical narrative of the Old Testament is not trustworthy, the author proceeds, in Chapter twelfth, to explain and vindicate the result at which he has arrived, by an account of the origin, character, and tendency of the historical books. The history of the Israelitish monarchy was first written in the earlier prophetical, and in the Deuteronomic spirit—and embodied in a work which was compiled in, or shortly after, the captivity.

[1] Some similar remarks are made by Col. Mure in his "History of the Language and Literature of Ancient Greece," vol. v., p. 148, on the speeches which Thucydides puts into the mouth of the persons who figure in his narrative :—"But while any such individuality of character is chiefly confined in all the speeches to these general features, all are pervaded by a common mannerism, and seasoned by common peculiarities of thought and expression, reflecting a corresponding community of origin. The same moral and political maxims, the same flowers of sophistical rhetoric, reappear, often in identically the same terms, in the mouths of different persons. When we further observe, that many of these idiomatic passages also recur in the parts of the historian's text where he speaks in his own person, the inference becomes unavoidable that they reflect the genius of Thucydides rather than that of the officiating orator. It might perhaps, by a stretch, be assumed, that some of his favourite rhetorical phrases may have been really common to his fellow-Athenians, to Pericles, Nicias, Alcibiades and the nameless 'Athenian envoys.' But they could hardly have been equally so to a number of speakers, not only of different characters, but of different tribes and dialects: Spartans, Syracusans, Bœotians, Mytilenæans."

The same history was subsequently related anew in the priestly spirit after the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah. As regards the prophets it is remarked that they were not only preachers of religion, but that by writing the history of their nation, they preserved the remembrance of the past, and expounded the lessons which it seemed to them to convey. But, as the author convincingly shows, in the case even of eye-witnesses, and still more of those who are not such, the subjectivity (*i.e.*, the natural and acquired character) of the historian, especially if he has a particular aim, exercises an important influence on his narration of events. This was especially the case in ancient times, and in Israel as well as among other nations. Among that people historians thought more of the spirit and tendency of what they wrote than of the truth of their representation, and the accuracy of the details which they communicated. In their view the facts were regarded only as a means, while the lesson to be conveyed was the real end which they kept in view. Instances of this are then given, and the same influences, as the author remarks, may be presumed to have been at work in other cases. The narratives regarding the prophets contained in the historical books of the Old Testament having thus been written with the view of enforcing religious truths which the writers considered as all-important, and not with the aim of furnishing an accurate representation of the events, are to be looked upon as edifying and instructive compositions, and not as being throughout historically trustworthy. The accounts which they give of prophets and prophecy are not to be received as reproducing the real facts. If this be so, then this representation of the prophets and prophecy in the historical narratives of the Old Testament is not a testimony regarding, but is itself one of the fruits of, the real Israelitish prophecy.

The author next proceeds, in Chapter thirteenth, to consider the objection that the New Testament writers are all opposed to the conclusions at which he has arrived, since they hold that the Old Testament is an inspired book, invested with divine authority, and that the prophets are gifted with infallible foreknowledge, as is proved by the agreement between their utterances and specific historical facts. The force of this

objection must, however, as he remarks, depend upon the value attached to the interpretations of the prophecies given by the New Testament writers. And here it is to be observed that the authority of the New Testament can apply only to the comparatively small number of prophecies which are referred to in it; and, further, that we have to consider whether the exegetical procedure of all the New Testament writers was the same, and whether they interpreted particular passages in their proper sense, or merely employed them homiletically; and again, whether their interpretations can claim authority in the domain of scientific research. Dr Kuenen goes on to show that the exegetical procedure of the New Testament writers does not satisfy the requirements of critical science, as, 1st, they generally employ not the original Hebrew text, but a translation of it which often either imperfectly reproduces or misrepresents the sense of the original; 2dly, they quote so freely, that their deductions from the Old Testament text cannot command general assent, as is shown by examples; and, 3dly, they interpret according to the sound, without reference to the connection of ideas, or the standpoint of the original writer; so that their exegesis does not conform to those rules of sound exposition which are now universally recognised, and are from their nature indisputable. This, also, is illustrated by a selection of instances. Here are discussed those psalms which are called Messianic, both, 1st, those which celebrate the power and greatness of the king of Israel, and which, notwithstanding the ideal elements which they contain, must be explained historically, as addressed to real kings; and, 2dly, those which in the New Testament are applied to the suffering Messiah, but which in reality refer to the griefs of the poets themselves, or of those of kindred sentiments with them, who had no features in common with the glorious Davidic kings of the prophets. The historical and the Messianic interpretations of these Psalms are thus irreconcilable; and as the former alone is true, the latter is untenable. As a result of the preceding enquiry, the author concludes that the traditional conception of Old Testament prophecy as a testimony to the Christian Messiah, which gradually grew more specific and distinct, is repeatedly contradicted by scientific exegesis, and

as a whole refuted. The real expectations of the Old Testament prophets regarding the future of Israel pointed to something entirely different.

In Chapter fourteenth, after some preliminary observations, the author proceeds to describe and to explain the actual relation of the New Testament to the prophecies of the Old. He shows that the New Testament writers, instead of directing their attention to the expectations of the ancient prophets as a whole, choose freely from among those anticipations, and interpret and develop them in a spiritual sense. They throw into the background the national, particularistic, and material elements in the predictions, and dwell with sympathy on their universalistic and spiritual side. Though the pre-eminence of Israel is acknowledged, the heathen are considered to share fully in their privileges. Although material as well as spiritual wellbeing is promised to the true Israel, it is the latter which is brought into the greatest prominence. To believers are promised forgiveness of sins, the impartation of the Divine Spirit, an intimate union with God, and personal immortality,—a belief in which is ascribed to the Old Testament writers. The New Testament writers, if we except the author of the Revelation, were opposed to the doctrine of a millennium ; they did not share in the belief entertained by the prophets of the future restoration of Israel's glory. The founder of Christianity was the centre of the faith of the Christians, who formed a portraiture of their master made up of features found in the Old Testament,—but which there stand in no connection with each other,—by applying to him the predictions regarding the future king of David's race, and the restorer of his throne and dominion, and the texts concerning the combination of the kingly and priestly office in Melchizedek ; by seeing in him a prophet, and the suffering servant of Jahveh described by the second Isaiah, as well as the afflicted righteous man, whose voice is so often heard in the Psalms. The author remarks on the importance of the last two classes of passages, which he regards as having reconciled the Christians to the suffering and death of their lord, as having convinced them that this termination of his earthly career had been divinely ordained as a condition of his glorification, and as having promoted

their reception of the doctrine that his passion had an expiatory efficacy. How then are we to explain this apparently strange relation of the New Testament to the ideas of the Old? How is it that, on the one hand, we find a constant employment of conceptions and expressions borrowed from the prophets, and on the other hand as continual deviations from their proper meaning, and a changed manner of looking at things? Whence so great freedom along with such manifest dependence? The answer is, that the Christianity of the New Testament is a more highly developed form, or rather, it is the completion, of the religion of Israel. The former at once attaches itself to the old covenant, and rises above it. Prophecy is the basis on which the new structure is built. It indicated the direction in which religious truth was to be further developed. In this connection of the two religions is to be found, at the same time, the explanation of the peculiar relation in which Jesus and the apostles stand to the ideas, especially to the anticipations or predictions, of the prophets. From the time of Malachi to the rise of Christianity, a modification of views, a spiritual development, had been going forward in Israel. The utterances of the prophets and psalmists were involuntarily interpreted according to the standard of the new ideas and requirements. Men applied the ancient sacred writings to themselves, and to the wants of the moment, in a way which was possible only in an uncritical age. An interpretation of Scripture, whereby what may be called a second sense was attributed to it, arose and prevailed at the time when Jesus appeared, and as a consequence it enabled the first Christians to accept him as the Messiah. His influence, and that of the religion which he preached, affords a further explanation of the view which his disciples took of the Old Testament ideas and expectations. They collected from the ancient Scriptures all that they found most beautiful and noble in them, divested it of the elements which were unsuited to their purpose, formed of it one whole, which they presented as the fulfilment of what the former generations had expected. They loved to continue associated with the past, and to feel themselves in harmony with the prophets and psalmists, whom they reverenced as the interpreters of God to their

forefathers. The new spirit arrayed itself in the old forms, and knew not, or scarcely knew, that it was destroying them. The same phenomenon occurs whenever a higher or a different form of religion is developed from one already existing; and has, as its consequence, the growth of allegorical exegesis, in the widest sense of a free method of interpreting Scripture. Jesus and his apostles were preachers of religion, and the use which they make of Scripture must be judged of from that point of view. From their affinity in spirit with the pious of former ages, they discovered in their words all that lay involved in them, but which had remained hidden from other minds less sympathetically attuned. They found also in Scripture things which it did not contain; or which at most existed there only in germ. Where the one case occurs, and where the other, must be determined by scientific exegesis, the methods of which have been gradually perfected, and the results of which are certain, and which must therefore guide our judgments.

In his fifteenth and concluding Chapter, the author treats of the place of the Israelitish prophets in the religious development of mankind. Though some of the results of his preceding inquiry might, he observes, have had the appearance of depriving the prophets of the honours accorded to them by past ages, yet this appearance was deceptive, as the investigation had not merely made us better acquainted with their true character, but also taught us to esteem them more highly. He then proceeds to trace the growth of prophecy, which he regards as springing from a twofold source, viz., first the soothsaying practised by the ancient seers (Roeh), and the ecstatic excitement peculiar to the early Nabis, both of which elements became combined in the prophets of Jahveh, who, under the guidance of Samuel, gradually dropped their lower characteristics, and underwent an ethical and religious development derived from the inspiring and hallowing influence of Jahvism. This form of religion was not based upon the Pentateuch, the redaction of which, in its present shape, was posterior to the canonical prophets; and although the impulse to the entire development was given by Moses, yet the ideas of the prophets were, in a large measure, original. The belief in Jahveh as a holy God, who prescribes

moral commands, was handed down to them from Sinai; but they both applied, extended, and purified the moral law, and gradually formed a higher and more spiritual conception of Jahveh himself, and finally attained to the height of ethical monotheism. This process was, of course, a gradual one. From the eleventh to the ninth century B.C., the prophets were moving forward; but even at the latter period they had not reached their goal. Samuel's Jahvism contained the germs of a higher development, but stood far below the pure and spiritual conviction which prophecy was one day destined to reach. The ideas of Nathan and Gap, Solomon, Ahijah the Shilonite, Elijah and Elisha, are then characterised. In the period immediately preceding the appearance of Amos, the change in conceptions which had long before been in preparation was greatly matured, most probably by prophets; and in the eighth century B.C., we see the result in the existence of a higher and purer idea than had before prevailed of Jahveh's nature; and ere long he came to be regarded as the one living and true God. With this development and purification of ideas was connected the rise of a prophetical literature, by means of which its authors sought to give wider currency to their new and higher thoughts. At the same time the ecstasies and visions which had formed the natural or material basis of prophecy, retired more and more into the background: its distinctive characteristic is not to be found in these phenomena, but in the spirit which gave rise to them, as well as controlled them. The monotheism of the prophets of the eighth century B.C. has as yet scarcely stepped across the line which separates the worship of one single god from the adoration of the only God; but it gradually advanced to absolute monotheism. The author here completes his historical survey of prophecy, by explaining more fully than he had before done, the relation of the canonical prophets to those commonly spoken of as false prophets, whose preaching corresponded to the popular wishes, and with whom the mass of the people consequently sided, while they often opposed and persecuted the canonical prophets. How, then, are we to judge of these two classes? The author, after examining the views of Köhler on this subject, comes to the conclusion that

the so-called "false prophets" were, in general, quite honest, and convinced of their own calling by Jahveh; but they differ from the canonical prophets in their degree of religious development; the former, or a portion of them, retaining nearly the characteristics of the ancient soothsayers, while the latter, having struggled forward in advance of their nation, and their professional brethren, oppose the popular spirit and its organs, and form the flower, or the spiritual aristocracy, of Israel. Even the "false prophets" do not appear to have remained altogether stationary; those against whom Jeremiah contends seem to occupy a higher position than the contemporaries of Micah and Isaiah. But the distance between the two classes continued always to be the same, the better class subordinating their national feeling to their religion, and the morally inferior class allowing their religion to be dominated by their national feeling. The latter, therefore, expected the divine protection in cases where the former were too much conscious of the national sins to dare to hope for it; for in moral earnestness and depth of piety the canonical prophets stood far higher than those whom they opposed.

The final conclusion at which the author arrives is this: The estimation in which the prophets should be held ought not to rest upon the expectations which they uttered regarding the future, how highly soever we may value the ideals which inspired their predictions, and the spirit which they reflect. These predictions, as has been shown, remained in the great majority of cases unfulfilled. Nor can it be truly asserted that the action of the prophets in general advanced the political welfare of the Israelitish nation. On the contrary, founded as it was on an enthusiastic and indiscriminating assumption that they were interpreters of the divine will, it frequently exercised a prejudicial influence on public order and public policy.[1] They did not even succeed in

[1] The author quotes here a passage from Bluntschli's "Altasiatische Gottes-und Welt-ideen." Professor Tiele, in his "Vergelijkende Geschiedenis der Oude Godsdiensten," i. 789 f., expresses himself somewhat strongly regarding the prophets, thus: "Their moral was not less one-sided than their religious doctrine. In their estimation, nothing was of any value. Everything looked black. Whatever was not specifically religious, and gave occasion to abuse, among other things all social enjoyment, and commerce itself, was at once and unconditionally condemned by them. Wound

largely imbuing their countrymen with their own religious principles. In estimating their action, we must take a higher standpoint than the national one, and regard their contribution to the spiritual development of our race as its most important result. Ethical monotheism is their creation. They have themselves ascended to the belief in one only, holy and righteous God, who realizes his will, or moral good, in the world, and they have, by preaching and writing, made that belief the inalienable property of humanity. It was not an intellectual or philosophical system, but a religious belief, which they presented. The God of the prophets bore a very different character from that of the Deity of the philosophers of Greece and Rome. Holiness, righteousness, and mercy constituted the very nature of the former, while it is very doubtful whether the same conception of the Supreme Being could have arisen out of the data furnished by Pagan thought. The influence of philosophy would have been always more negative; it undermined polytheism, but it did not show, at least, that it could build anything better on its ruins. That better thing was produced by Israelitish prophecy, and completed by Jesus, the greatest of the prophets.

The preceding summary which I have written to recommend the study of Professor Kuenen's book, may suffice to give some, though a very inadequate, idea of the course and substance of his argument, the full merit and cogency of which can only be understood from the perusal of the work itself.

Its leading ideas, as concerns its central subject, may be recapitulated as the following: Israelitish prophecy was not a supernatural phenomenon, derived from divine inspiration; but was a result of the high moral and religious character attained by the prophets whose writings have been transmitted to us. This moral and religious character was itself the slowly matured growth of ages,

up in their solitary meditations to a fanatical zeal, they saw everything covered with dark shadows, and did not sufficiently regard the bright side of things. They had the defect of all penitential preachers, that they shot beyond their mark, and by their exaggerated complaints and accusations, which found no echo in men's consciences, rather embittered them than bettered them. Their words caused trembling and terror, rarely amendment."

the seers and soothsayers in whom the first beginnings of prophecy were manifested, having stood on a much lower spiritual level, and entertained a less worthy conception of Jahveh's nature and attributes, than were eventually reached by their successors. The latter were persuaded that Jahveh was a holy and righteous God, who must necessarily reward his faithful and obedient servants with earthly prosperity, and punish with temporal sufferings those who forsook him and transgressed his commandments. They consequently predicted evil as the certain lot of the offenders, unless they repented, and a happy future for the righteous, if they continued to do well. At the same time the prophets were convinced that Israel was Jahveh's chosen people, and they therefore conceived that a most glorious future awaited a portion, at least, of this favoured nation. These were the ideas which inspired, and found expression in, their prophecies. But prediction was not in reality regarded by them as their principal function; and they did not attach primary importance to the literal and immediate fulfilment of their promises and threatenings, being convinced that at some time and in some way or other the divine decrees which they announced would be substantially accomplished. They were above all preachers of righteousness.

Their predictions being thus, according to Dr Kuenen's view, nothing better than fallible anticipations of the manner in which they considered that the Deity must, as a necessary consequence of his character, as they conceived it, deal with the subjects of his government, it is not surprising that—however acute, however far-sighted, however experienced men they may have been, and however plain the course and tendency of events may in any case have appeared to every intelligent observer,—in the great majority of instances these expectations should not have been realised. And in those cases where the prophecies were fulfilled (and where it is shown that the prediction was committed to writing before the event), their accomplishment, if not accidental, must be attributed either to the prophet's sagacity or to the influence of his words upon the conduct of those to whom they were addressed. The supposition that the prophets were in any such cases supernaturally inspired is totally irreconcilable

with the fact that their predictions were in so many other instances falsified by the event. The real significance of the prophets as moral and religious teachers, and the importance of their preaching as a preparation for Christianity, have been sufficiently indicated above.

The ample and satisfactory proofs which Professor Kuenen has adduced in support of his conclusions must, I think, produce a powerful effect on all candid enquirers who study them with care and attention, and tend to bring about in the minds of thoughtful men a great change of opinion in regard to the authority and the character of the Scriptures, whether of the Old or of the New Testament. Investigations such as the present, must show that while a great and peculiar value is attributed to the Bible, that high estimation must, if we accept the results of modern criticism, be henceforward based in grounds different from | those on which it has heretofore been considered to rest. Hitherto the authority of the Scriptures has been considered to be founded not only on the moral and spiritual excellence which commend them to men's reason and conscience, but also on their supposed supernatural inspiration. In so far as the proof in favour of the latter ground of their authority is regarded as based upon the miraculous character of prophecy (and at present I am concerned with no other proof), this divine authority of the Scriptures must be denied; and their claim to form, or to aid in forming, the rule of life, must in future be considered by reasonable men as reposing on other foundations. However reluctant they may be to relinquish traditional views, and to break with the past, unprejudiced men must, I think, begin to perceive that there is no department of knowledge, of thought, or of belief, which remains stationary, but that in all there is a ceaseless advance, a constant ripening of ideas, an ever fuller recognition of just principles. In regard to physical science, this progress has long been manifest, and is never disputed. But recently the advance in the application of just methods of enquiry to subjects other than physical, to all the varied problems of human history, has issued in important and satisfactory results. From the influence of these new laws of investigation, the history of religion cannot remain exempted. To claim such exemption for the religion

of the Old and New Testaments ought to be esteemed equivalent to an admission that its peculiar claims to a distinct character and a supernatural authority could not stand the test of impartial and intelligent enquiry. But if such enquiry be allowed, all well-established conclusions, such as those brought out in the present volume, must also be accepted.

The translation has been revised by myself, and has had throughout the benefit of Professor Kuenen's suggestions. I have also to thank him for reading over, and proposing some alterations in, the summary of his work contained in this Introduction.

J. MUIR.

EDINBURGH, *December* 1876.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, note 6, *add* "Acts xvii. 28."
,, 13, line 19, *add* "the" *before* "mind."
,, 16, line 2, *add* "of the truth" *after* "proof."
,, 23, last line of text, *for* colon after "way," *substitute* comma.
,, 54, line 28, *for* "combatted," *read* "combated."
,, 59, note 4, *for* Jer. "xxvii., xxviii.," *read* "xxxvii., xxxviii."
,, 63, line 33, *add* "the" *before* "influence."
,, 65, line 5, *add* "The written discourses can be nothing else than a recasting of what they had delivered orally."
,, 73, note 3, *for* "lxxxix.," *read* "xxxix."
,, 77, note 1, line 4, *for* "Mal. iv. 2," *read* "Mal. iv. 5."
,, 79, note 3, *for* "Ezek. xxxviii.," *read* "xxxvii."
,, 83, note 7, *after* "Ezek. xxxiii.," *add* "7."
,, 119, note 3, *for* § 2 *read* § 9.
,, 142, at the end of note 2, *add* "Chap. v. 30; vi. 1."
,, 170, note 5, *for* "2 Kings xx. 14-17," *read* "14-19."
,, 229, note 1, *for* "Zech. vii.," *read* "Zech. viii."
,, 291, note 5, line 3, *for* "hand," *read* "land."
,, 334, note 4, *for* "Israë," *read* "Israëls."
,, 485, note 1, *for* "Ps. xl." *read* "Ps. xli."
,, 486, note 2, *for* "2 Pet.," *read* "1 Pet."
,, 504, note 6, *for* "Is. lix. 26—" *read* "20—."
,, 566, line 33, *for* "God," *read* "god."
,, 577, line 27, *for* "seer," *read* "steer."



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grateful remembrance not only of their own people, but of universal Christendom as well? In all quarters their names are mentioned with reverence and admiration. While an acquaintance with the great men of classical antiquity remains confined to the more highly educated,—Samuel and Elijah, Isaiah and Jeremiah, are familiarly known in all circles of the Christian community. A high rank is assigned to them, a great and permanent importance attributed to their work, by all without distinction. But we have now to do with the grounds on which, according to the common view, this estimation rests; and with regard to these grounds there can be no room for the slightest doubt. The prophets are God's ambassadors and interpreters, prophecy is the voice of God himself. They arose indeed in Israel, and to Israel their preaching was addressed, yet it concerned in truth the whole of mankind, for it too was connected with the great plan of redemption which comprehends all races, and is thus inseparably connected with Christianity. The Christians of the present day, following in the footsteps of the Apostle Paul, acknowledge of course that the Old and New Testament are in more than one respect contrasted with each other. With him they distinguish between the service of the letter and the service of the spirit,[1] and they maintain that justification by faith has taken the place of justification by the works of the law.[2] But this partial contrast does not, according to their conviction, at all invalidate the essential unity of the purpose of God for the redemption of mankind. For just as Christianity brings it to pass that *the requirement of the law* is fulfilled in them who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit,[3] so conversely the Gospel is not wanting in the Old Testament. The way is there prepared for it—nay, it is there actually present, viz., *in prophecy and in the prophets*. The title which is given to one of them, Isaiah, as author of chapters xl.-lxvi. of the prophecies attributed to him, the title, namely, of *the evangelist* of the Old Testament, may justly be claimed by them all. Already in Paradise, immediately after the fall, the promise is announced by God himself.[4] The manner of its fulfilment is afterwards defined with ever-increasing clearness and fulness. Abraham receives the

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 6. [2] Gal. ii. 14, *sq.* [3] Rom. viii. 4. [4] Gen. iii. 15.

assurance that in him and in his seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.[1] This promise was kept in remembrance by the patriarch himself and by his descendants. Jacob has it in view when in his dying moments he proclaims through the spirit of prophecy that "the sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the staff of the leader from between his feet until Shiloh come."[2] In the Mosaic time also the thought of him who should save Israel and bless mankind is revived. Balaam, rapt in spirit, beholds "the star out of Jacob," and "the sceptre out of Israel;"[3] the lawgiver himself in his farewell address makes mention of "a prophet like unto him," whom Jahveh[4] would raise up from the midst of Israel, and to whom the people ought to listen.[5] Some centuries after, these expectations begin to centre upon David and his family. It was the Prophet Nathan who foretold to him that his throne would endure for ever, and gave him an intimation of one of his posterity to whom Jahveh would be a father, even as he would be a son to Jahveh.[6] When David composed some of his psalms, he saw in spirit the glory, but, at the same time, the sufferings which must precede the glory of that descendant; or, according to others, they were mirrored by anticipation in the vicissitudes of his own life, and in the poetical description which he gave of these vicissitudes.[7] So also the hope of his appearing continued to be cherished among the pious in Israel. It was again and again revived by the disasters which befell Israel, especially after the disruption of Solomon's kingdom. But it was peculiarly the task of the prophets to awaken this hope, and at the same time to define it more exactly. The figure of the son of David was delineated by them with outlines which grew gradually more distinct, his great work of redemption was described with more exactness. Thus the task of bearing witness to his divine nature and vicarious sufferings was assigned to Isaiah;[8]

[1] Gen. xii. 3, and other places. [2] Gen. xlix. 10. [3] Num. xxiv. 17.
[4] It is now almost universally acknowledged that Yahweh is the true pronunciation of the proper name which the God of Israel bears in the Old Testament. Jehovah is an impossible form, and has arisen through a misunderstanding. We would very willingly have accepted the rendering of it by "the Lord," or "the Eternal," were it not that such a rendering is apt to lead to the mistaken notion that Jahveh is a title and not a proper name.
[5] Deut. xviii. 15-18. [6] 2 Sam. vii. 14. [7] Ps. xvi., xvii., lxix., cx., etc.
[8] Is. ix. 6, 7; xi. 1-5; lii. 13; liii. 12.

Micah announced his birth at Bethlehem;[1] Hosea, his flight to Egypt;[2] while Messianic prophecy reached its highest point in the prediction of the year of the birth of Christ by Daniel.[3] But after the Babylonish captivity also, this hope constituted the main theme of the preaching of the prophets, and received its last and completing expression from Malachi, who foretold the signs of his appearing, especially the coming of the second Elijah.[4]

Such in its main features is the traditional conception of Israelitish prophecy. It would indeed be a superfluous task to illustrate its peculiar attractiveness and grandeur. The appearance of the Christ, linked intimately with the preceding ages—nay, with the beginning of the history of our race; Jahveh "revealing his secret counsel to his servants the prophets;"[5] the clouds which enveloped the great plan of salvation gradually dispelled and succeeded by the clear light; —who cannot but be affected by the grandeur of this conception? We are not surprised that its supporters are ardently devoted to it, and at first regard every other conception of the office of the prophets as high treason, and reject it with disdain.

Least of all can they feel themselves attracted by that far different view which is announced as *the historico-critical*, also as *the organic*. We need not here, at the outset, show in detail how it contradicts the traditional view in many particular points; for its divergence with regard to the origin and character of prophecy is of infinitely more importance than this contradiction; and on account of this divergence it is wont to be branded as denial and unbelief. To express the matter briefly, prophecy is, according to this new view, a phenomenon, yea one of the most important and remarkable phenomena, in the history of religion, but just on that account a human phenomenon, proceeding from Israel, directed to Israel. From God? yes, undoubtedly, for "from him are all things, and we in him," "in him we live, and move, and have our being;"[6] but not the less *from man*, specifically from Israel, the highest utterance of the Israelitish spirit. A testimony, therefore, not as out of heaven to us, but a testimony to men's need, and to Israel's peculiar destina-

[1] Micah v. 1. [2] Hos. xi. 1. [3] Dan. ix. 24-27.
[4] Mal. iii. 1; iv. 5, 6. [5] Amos ix. 7. [6] 1 Cor. viii. 6.

tion, to "seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him."[1] A preparation for Christianity? Yes; but in another sense than that which tradition means by these words—no prediction of facts in the life of the Christ, but a preparation of the soil, out of which Christianity was to spring, the prelude to the new religious creation which mankind owe to Jesus of Nazareth.

But it is unnecessary to pursue the contrast farther, we have as yet to do only with the main point, which has already been clearly indicated. We ask now, are matters to remain in this position? Are the supporters of the two opposing conceptions to leave each other in peace, and only to take care that they each keep their own method of viewing prophecy unsullied? Or does the opposition, of which I have just spoken, show the necessity of a new investigation concerning the prophets and prophecy in Israel?

This question is not so strange as may perhaps at first sight be imagined. It is true that so long as no unanimity has been attained there appears to be a necessity for further investigation. For surely difference of opinion is in itself a proof that something is still wanting to the certainty of the results attained. But this rule, stated thus generally, cannot be universally applied. For there are disputed questions from a renewed discussion of which little or nothing is to be expected; their decision must be left to time. Does then the controversy concerning the origin and character of Israelitish prophecy belong to this class? For my own part I have no hesitation in answering in the negative. It is an *historical* problem. Every one knows the sources which must be consulted for its solution. Nay, it is closely connected with the deepest needs and the most important interests of mankind; and are we not all agreed that these have nothing to fear from the *truth*? And can either the one side or the other afford to be unprepared to seek after the truth? Besides, are there not disadvantages so unmistakeable involved in the strife of religious opinions that every attempt to bring the controversy, on any particular points, to a decision bears with it its own recommendation?

It is desirable, however, not to treat such a question as this in the abstract, but to keep in view the opinions themselves which

[1] Acts xvii. 27.

are opposed to each other, as well as their respective defenders. The writer of this work does not require to say on which side he is to be found. His sympathies for the historico-critical or organic theory are well known. He will not, therefore, be suspected of partiality when he deliberately declares that the supporters of that theory have still a debt to discharge to the opposite supernatural school. It is true that the former have clearly stated the arguments on which their method of viewing prophecy rests; but they have not yet fully expressed their sentiments concerning the phenomena which are adduced in favour of supernaturalism. There is no lack of defences of supernaturalism; it is the criticism of supernaturalism itself and of the supports on which it rests, that it is not yet completed, and for this very reason the just claims of the newer conception of prophecy have not yet been vindicated in such a way as it is desirable in its own interest that they should be. Is it not perhaps in consequence of this that some of its supporters do not maintain it in a thorough and consistent manner, and in their description of Israelitish prophecy introduce features which are borrowed from the traditional theory, or at least, find there alone their proper place? Be this as it may, it is quite clear that it is the duty of its representatives fully to establish its legitimacy, if that be possible. They must not allow even the appearance to attach to them of slighting their numerous and powerful opponents, or of shrinking from the conflict on the ground which the latter had selected. The more thoroughly the advocates of the new theory discharge their duties, the wider will the circle of its friends become. It is only after every obstacle has been removed, that a just verdict can be pronounced on the assertion made on its behalf, that it is as grand and attractive, that it has as great significance and value for the religious life of man as the traditional view which it endeavours to set aside.

So much for the one party; let us now ask if the duty rests also on the other to pay attention to such a new investigation? Is the supernaturalist to listen to the argument of his opponents, and to weigh the objections which they bring against him? Most undoubtedly. He who denies this, shows by his denial that he is merely a stranger in Jerusalem. The

reconsideration of the orthodox view is a matter of urgent necessity—there can be no difference of opinion on that point, but only on the limits within which it is to take place. Or we may say rather, that the dissolution of the traditional theory is already in rapid progress. It is with it as with a beleaguered fortress; it has not yet been abandoned or formally surrendered, but the enemy enters unopposed by more than one breach, and some of its main bulwarks are either defended no longer, or defended very feebly. The history of theology, during the last few years, speaks with no bated or uncertain voice. The supporters of supernaturalism themselves come forward as witnesses for the necessity of a reformation of their system.

As an assertion such as this requires to be corroborated by the documents themselves, we invite the reader's attention to what they teach us.

It is agreed at once on all sides that the traditional theory of Israelitish prophecy is partial and incomplete. It is properly a sub-division of a more comprehensive theory, which has for a long time prevailed, both among Jews and Christians, and even finds its expression in the form of speech commonly employed to designate it. Prophecy is prediction, the office of the prophet is to announce the secrets of the future. H. Witsius (1636-1708), whom we may safely regard as the representative of the moderate orthodoxy of his day, sees the characteristic of the prophet in the fact that he "is endowed with the knowledge of hidden things, whether of the past, or also of the present; but especially of hidden things of the future."[1] If this definition were still universally subscribed to, then the view which regards the prophets as witnesses respecting Christ and Christianity would rest at least upon an undisputed foundation. But the very contrary is the fact. It may even be asserted, without incurring the charge of very great exaggeration, that the description of the prophets which was formerly quite current, is now no longer maintained by anyone. "That method of viewing prophecy, which puts emphasis merely on its predictive side, is a very inaccurate and contracted representation, and is rejected by

[1] "Miscell. Sacr." Libri iv., tom. i. 7.

the best writers on the subject, however much they may differ on other points." [1]

We may give some farther quotations to show that this assertion is not too strong. Professor Payne Smith recognises prediction as an essential element of prophecy, but holds at the same time that "it is possible, that the wonderful series of absolute predictions respecting the person and offices of the Saviour may have led in many minds to too complete an identification of prophecy with the fore-telling of future events."[2] He warns us against the danger that "this too exclusive consideration of fulfilled prediction . . . makes us perhaps put too much out of sight, the influence exerted by prophecy upon the Jews, its preparation for Christ's spiritual teaching, and the testimony it bears to many cardinal truths, both of Christianity, and also of natural religion."[3] Hence also he tells us "it will be manifest that it (*i.e.*, prophecy), is by no means to be confounded with prediction. It was but a part of the office of the prophets to foretell certain necessary facts and particulars with respect to Christ." [4] And still further, "the prophet was one in whom God spoke. He was God's representative, whose business it was chiefly to speak, but often also to act for God. And plainly this is something far wider than the mere foretelling of future events." [5]

Bishop Wilberforce expresses himself still more strongly. "We shall have poor and unworthy conceptions concerning the mighty office of the prophets of Jehovah, so long as we confound them with the tribe of the mere predictors of the future. Such a prescience was indeed often imparted to the prophet to qualify him for his office. But (first), it was the accident, not the essence of his office. . . . If he did predict, he did it to shake some ungodly heart with terror—or to build up some faithful soul in hope." [6]

Every one knows that the path trodden by these English divines has been paved by the theologians of the Continent. We need not therefore show by express quotations that, on

[1] Rev. W. G. Elmslie in "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review," New Series. No. VI, April 1872, p. 327.
[2] "Prophecy, a preparation for Christ" (the Bampton Lectures for 1869. p. 44.
[3] *l. c.*, same page.
[4] p. 33.
[5] *l. c.*, p. 41.
[6] "Heroes of Hebrew History," p. 9.

this side of the channel, the necessity of this most important modification of the common conception of prophecy is universally recognised. But if this be the case, why pause any longer in presence of this difficulty? Since it is evident that the difficulty is acknowledged as real, and that all are quite ready to remove it, what is simpler than to complete the common conception of prophecy, and, in consequence, to understand prediction as a single department of the office of the prophet? Something would certainly be gained by this step—but still not enough; for against the recognition of that one department, there are still some objections remaining whose relative weight is again acknowledged by the supernaturalists themselves.

First of all, the importance of some of the predictions which collectively constitute the thread of prophecy rests on opinions concerning the antiquity of the books of the Old Testament which have long been regarded by very many as untenable, while the common explanation of a still greater number is disputed in different quarters. The former of these observations applies to such predictions as those ascribed to Balaam and Daniel, the latter to the Messianic expectations which are supposed to be discovered in Genesis, and to not a few prophecies in the other books. It is quite true indeed that these divergencies in the determination of dates and these new interpretations are branded as the results and the proofs of unbelief; but this judgment has too much the appearance of a subterfuge, to be regarded as having any solid foundation. If the objections against the tradition respecting the origin of the books, and against the traditional explanation of the prophecies had nothing to rest upon, would it not then be quite sufficient to show, once for all, that such was the case, and thus put an end to all contradiction? But the opposite is the fact. None of the newer critics or expositors consider themselves defeated by the supporters of the earlier conception of prophecy. On the contrary, the ideas of the "unbelievers" find acceptance more and more with men whose sympathy for the old is beyond suspicion, and who, on this very account, abandon the disputed territory unwillingly, and only step by step. Every deviation from the traditional view numbers some or even many adherents

among those who are generally its ardent defenders. It is true there are some of them who continue to maintain the contest on all points; but what warrant have we that their perseverance is not to be regarded as obstinacy in the maintenance of opinions which have become antiquated? At any rate, it is a very suspicious fact that the basis itself on which the current theory of the prophets and their office rests is evidently disputed ground.

To this we must add, in the second place, that the choice of the stand-point on which the defenders of that current theory have planted themselves is justly liable to doubt. That position is, in a word, *the stand-point of fulfilment.* The Christian, in the full possession of the salvation brought to him by Christ, looks back on the ages which preceded the appearance of Jesus, and now discovers everywhere preparation, intimations, and promises of that which has become his portion. Let us assume that in no single instance is he deceived, and that the indications which he observes are all, without destinction, intended just as he understands them. But even in that case it is undeniable that he begins with a *supposition* which is, at all events, somewhat arbitrary. The conviction that the prophets were the heralds of Christianity does not rest on an impartial comparison of their utterances with history, but is a settled conviction with him beforehand. In other words, that which could have real worth only as the result of a calm and many-sided investigation, is first assumed provisionally, and afterwards verified, it is true, but not in such a way as to win our confidence. If it were, *a priori*, certain that the prophets prepared and announced Christianity to us, then assuredly we would be contented; but if this *a priori* certainty do not exist, then we cannot be satisfied. Let it not be forgotten here that the standard which we are in the habit of applying in estimating the prophets and their work is not allowed in any other department of inquiry. The universal rule which we follow in judging of things of the past is, that we place them *in the light of their time.* That is only fair and impartial. If the inquiry be afterwards made as to what further significance these things possess at present, and for ourselves at the same time, why should not that inquiry be freely permitted? But to put this last foremost,

and to do it in such a manner that the principle of judging things "d'après la date," is altogether lost sight of, cannot admit of any justification whatsoever.

The usual answer to these difficulties is well known. When in the study of prophetical literature, we do our best to put Christianity provisionally aside, and to place ourselves on the stand-point of the original hearers or readers, then it is said we wilfully shut out the light which would illuminate us; it is as if we preferred to remain in the dim twilight, after the day has fully dawned. But a narrow and inadequate conception of prophecy lies at the foundation of reasoning such as this. He who connects it so closely with the events to which it has relation overlooks a considerable portion of its significance and value. The prophecy considered in itself is one thing, its comparison with the—real or supposed—fulfilment is another and different thing. Is it the case that prophecy exists merely, or even mainly, for the sake of the issue? Is it properly intended to serve as a standard for judging the event? History forbids us to ascribe this to it as its aim. For it teaches us, in a way that cannot be gainsaid, that the belief is not *the fruit* of such a comparison, but that on the contrary those who already entertained the belief have observed the connection between the event and the prediction. If prophecy was designed to awaken belief, then it has missed its aim, for the existence of the belief has clearly been the indispensable condition of the rise of the perception that the event was foretold. But though the case were otherwise, still it could not be permitted thus to link the prophecy and the result so firmly to each other. Centuries had to elapse before the possibility existed of comparing the former with the latter. Nay, according to the common belief, a portion of prophecy still awaits its fulfilment. Has it been a dead letter during all that time? Has it no value whatever for the contemporary, or in general for the generations which have not lived to see its accomplishment? And, if it has, is not then the contemplation of prophecy from the stand-point of fulfilment, in any case, one-sided and incomplete?

The supernaturalists themselves will hardly be able to deny the justice of this objection. Dr Kueper, the author of a

monograph on "The prophecy of the old Testament," which may be regarded as the model of the modern orthodox views on this subject, thus expresses himself:—"Apart from its fulfilment, prophecy possesses a significance and a worth for purposes of warning and consolation, and since its fulfilment depends on various circumstances which cannot now be unfolded, prophecy and its accomplishment must be more accurately distinguished than has generally been done. Even according to more than one passage of the New Testament (1 Pet. i. 12; 1 Cor. x. 11), it is only when prophecy has become fact that the object which the spirit of prophecy had in view can be pointed out with certainty. While we have before us the Old Testament prophecy as a whole, and view it in the light of the New Testament fulfilment, we are in a position . . . . . to observe its truth also in the details which it beforehand proclaimed. The older theology has, therefore, with great acuteness, endeavoured to show clearly the accuracy of the prediction, and even still such attempts are not unfrequently made with a practical and apologetic aim. But though this treatment of prophecy is quite justifiable, yet it is clear that in many respects it no longer meets the requirements of the present state of science. Besides, from the nature of the case, it is one thing to regard prophecy from the stand-point of fulfilment, and another to accompany it on its onward march, and watch its development from the stand-point of history. And if it should happen that many a detail thus contemplated presents itself in another light, this only makes it more evident how wonderfully rich and varied is the matter of prophecy, and how high its significance is for all times."[1]

The reader will doubtless agree with me that far more results from that which is here granted as true and plain than Dr Kueper himself is willing to deduce from it. But however narrow the limits within which they are confined, his concessions involve already a thorough modification of the traditional conception. The works of the conservative writers

[1] "Das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes, übersichtlich dargestellt." (Leipzig 1870), pp. 89, 90; compare p. 470. See also E. Riehm, "Zur Charakteristik der mess. Weissagung und ihres Verhältnisses zu der Erfüllung." (Stud. u. Krit. 1865, p. 1 *sq.*, 425 *sq.*; 1869, p. 209 *sq.*); especially the introduction, 1865, p. 9-13.

on the subject of prophecy present us with very much to this effect. Without renouncing supernaturalism, but, on the contrary, in order the better to maintain it, they try to moderate or amend it, and they connect with it views which evidently have nothing in common with genuine supernaturalism, or even, according to our way of looking at things, are in direct conflict with it. Thus, for example, in the most recent times attention has been very eagerly fixed both on the intimate connection between prophecy and history, and on the moral character of prophetic inspiration. The former is done by Professor J. C. K. Hofmann of Erlangen, who brings prophecy and the divine revelation given in the facts of history into immediate connection with each other ; that which history signifies, and that which it hides within itself, are revealed and explained by the prophets as the interpreters of God.[1] The ethical side of Israelitish prophecy is illustrated by many ; very expressly by F. Duesterdieck.[2] He indicates the points of contact with the divine revelation existing in the moral nature of man and in mind of the believing Israelite, as the conditions on which the reception or assimilation of that revelation depends. According to him, the prophet is by his natural qualities prepared beforehand to understand the voice of God, he is influenced by the circumstances of the times in which he lives, he is formed by the reading and contemplation of the law and the writings of his predecessors. These conditions and influences are, in truth, of the highest importance, and, we need scarcely say, are recognised by the defender of the organic theory, are employed by him in his explanation of prophecy, and are taken into account in his estimation of it. The opportunity of describing them more closely will therefore be presented to us in natural course at a later stage. At present we have only to note one fact, that they are recommended to our consideration *from that side,* by the men who defend the supernatural origin of prophecy. Is not that circumstance in the highest degree worthy of remark? In truth, it means nothing less than a shifting of the centre of gravity of the

[1] Weissagung und Erfülling im Alten und im Neuen Testamente. Ein theologischer Versuch." (Nordlingen, 1841-1844.) Compare also "Der Schriftbeweis. Ein theologischer Versuch." (Nordlingen, 1852-1855.)

[2] "De rei propheticae in V. T. quum universae tum Messianae natura ethica. (Gött. 1852.)"

conception. Just as, formerly, it was the divine factor in prophecy which was placed in the foreground, so now it is the human which occupies that position. The theory of mechanical inspiration—formerly regarded and prized as the sure guarantee of the higher origin of prophecy—now gives satisfaction no longer, or rather it is in process of being undermined by its own acknowledged defenders; it has in their estimation, become a phantom, from which they shrink in alarm.

Meanwhile this appears still much more plainly from the position which many supernaturalists assume with regard to the argument from prediction. There can be no doubt that Dr Payne Smith expresses the opinion which was formerly general when he states that "the bearers of the message (*i.e.* a message from God) must have some proof to give that they really are God's messengers; and no proof can be sufficient except it be supernatural. The two supernatural proofs offered in the Bible are miracle and prediction."[1] Now in accordance with this we would expect that the writers of the same school would lay all stress on the supernatural character of the prediction. In proportion as it is made more evident that the knowledge of the prophets could not have been obtained in the natural way, in the same proportion does the proof of their divine mission gain in force. Nevertheless, natural as this expectation seems, the facts do not correspond with it. We find, on the contrary, that expositors, otherwise orthodox, assign to prediction certain limits which they think it cannot overpass. The famous theologian Nitzsch laid down the rule that *prediction must not disturb history*,[2] or in other words, that it must not remove man's ignorance concerning the issues of his actions, with which his responsibility stands or falls. It seems very difficult to reconcile some predictions in the Bible with this rule, such as, for instance, Samuel's foretelling that David should be king in the room of Saul,[3] and Isaiah's that Hezekiah would recover from his illness and live fifteen years longer.[4] Yet in spite of this, the rule is accepted by such men as Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Caspari, and Tholuck.[5] Does not that suffice to show that the divines

[1] *L. c.* pp. 42, 43.
[2] "System der Christl. Lehre," sect. 35.
[3] 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13.
[4] 2 Kings xx. 6; Is. xxxviii. 5.
[5] Tholuck, "Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen" (2 Aufl. Gotha, 1867) p. 105.

of the present day have a very lively perception of difficulties which formerly were not felt at all? It surely cannot have been through mere caprice that they have abandoned, or at least, in a remarkable degree, weakened one of the two main proofs for the truth of the theory which they maintain.

But perhaps it may be imagined that the rule of Nitzsch was a rash concession to the opponents of the supernatural character of prophecy, and will be retracted as soon as it is clear that the biblical predictions do not adapt themselves to it? By no means. The rule has been meant in all earnestness, and has also been applied by the great majority of those who have approved of it. We give some examples to illustrate this.

While Jeroboam the son of Nebat is engaged in offering sacrifices on the altar which had been erected by him at Bethel, a prophet from Judah appears and foretells the desecration of that altar by a descendant of David named Josiah. So runs the narrative in the first book of Kings.[1] Is this prediction, whose clearly supernatural character strikes us at once, thankfully accepted and boldly used for the discomfiture of the "unbelievers?" No, not at all. The orthodox expositors think themselves on the contrary bound to defend, or rather to excuse the announcement of such a speciality as the proper name of a king who was not to reign till 350 years afterwards. For this purpose Keil directs attention to the meaning of the name Josiah, "Jahveh establishes" or "supports," which seems to him to stand in close connection with the act here attributed to this descendant of David[2]— a connection which many readers will certainly be unable to perceive. However, by this way of viewing it, the prediction still continues to exist. On the other hand, Dr Kueper maintains that 1 Kings xiii. was re-edited after Josiah's reformation, and that advantage was taken of the opportunity thus afforded to insert the proper name of the king in the narrative.[3]

The position which the expositors of this school occupy with regard to the book of Daniel is quite as remarkable.

[1] Chap. xiii. 2.

[2] "Bibl. Commentar über das A. Testament," von Keil und Delitzsch, ii. 3, p 151, f.

[3] "Das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes," pp. 113, 446.

Kueper recalls with gratification the fact that Calvin believed he had in the prophecies of Daniel a proof of God's word of greater strength than mathematicians possess for the correctness of their propositions; and that, in the judgment of Newton, the rejection of Daniel was the same as the undermining of the Christian religion;[1] but this does not prevent him from embracing a conception of Daniel's predictions, by which that very characteristic is lost which Calvin and Newton admired so much and prized so highly. Following for the most part in the track of Keil and Kranichfeld, he repeatedly explains away those details in the predictions which the earlier expositors deemed one of the main proofs of their divine origin. He regards the details not as an exact announcement of the events of the future, but as a symbolic expression of general truths, as an "exemplification" of the way in which the kingdom of God is developed on earth. Thus, to take an instance, it is denied that the famous prophecy, Dan. ix. 24-27, declares precisely the year of the coming of the Christ. "It must," Kueper writes, "be said with Cocceius that it is not probable that God would make belief dependent on chronology." "The fundamental idea of Daniel that Israel must wait and be tried for a long time after the captivity, is expressed and embodied as a settled divine decree in the seventy weeks of years; we cannot succeed in deducing therefrom the events of the following centuries, and the year in which they are to happen. Just as formerly the seventy years of Jeremiah were somewhat general, so the seventy weeks of years, or multiples of seven in Daniel, are still more general, because they are intended to describe a space of time centuries in length. Its course was also in details dependent on conditions and circumstances which always, according to prophecy itself, belonged to the domain of human freedom; as it is clear that the last week cannot be regarded as strictly chronological, so it is also evident that the preceding weeks of years cannot be judged by the standard of chronology and history. Scripture prophecy has here also no resemblance to heathen soothsaying which determines centuries beforehand the day and hour; and, though it is true,

[1] *l. c.* p. 397.

that, as a guide for the succeeding ages of the history of Israel, it descends to particulars, *yet the course of the events, and especially the dawn of the Messianic period, remains shrouded in darkness.*" [1] Such is the language of one who is not an opponent but a defender of the prophecy of the Old Testament. What a distance between his position and that of the earlier orthodoxy !

Perhaps the difference is nowhere brought out more plainly than in the interpretation and criticism of the eleventh chapter of Daniel. The older expositors regarded that chapter as the strongest proof for the divine origin of prophecy; and, on their standpoint, they were fully justified in so regarding it. Let it be remembered that, for instance in verses 5-20, the most important events in the history of the kingdoms of the Lagidæ and the Seleucidæ are communicated to us, just as in verses 21 ff. we have a description of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes in which the minor details also are not wanting. According to chap. x. 1, the whole of this prophecy belongs to the third year of the Persian King Cyrus (536 B.C.), and therefore all those events are announced from two to nearly four centuries beforehand. Dr Kueper acknowledges this, but, with undisguised regret. "While the prediction of the four empires and of the seventy weeks of years is already of a more special kind than elsewhere belongs to prophecy, it assumes here (in Dan. xi.) such a special character that it can be illustrated from the successive events among the Persians and the Greeks, especially from the particular details of the contest between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies. In this fact one of the main proofs has been discovered for the later, Maccabean origin of Daniel. It must be granted that no portion of biblical prophecy bears such a resemblance to anticipated history as this does; but there has, at the same time, been too great a tendency on the part of the defenders of the genuineness of the book, to lay stress upon the exact historical accomplishment of particular points, and to see in that a proof of its truth." [2] Kueper now attempts to show that the expectations which we find expressed in the fifth and subsequent verses were either not at all realised in actual history, or at least not so

[1] *l. c.*, p. 376; compare also p. 364, etc. [2] *l. c.*, p. 392.

exactly as is generally supposed. In a word, in order to maintain the prophecy, he deprives it of that very element which constituted its value, in the opinion of a former generation. In this way the positions of the combatants are reversed. The most powerful weapon in the hand of former apologists has its edge blunted, or is even kept out of sight by their followers, from an apprehension that it may be used with good effect against them. But Kueper goes still farther. He is evidently afraid that the exegesis of Keil and Kranichfeld will not fully accomplish its proper purpose; and so, at the close, he thinks it not impossible that criticism must be called on to give some help in this matter. We quote his own words. "It is proved that the book of Daniel was, at a later period, repeatedly recast. From the prayer of the three men in the fiery furnace, from the history of Susanna, and of Bel and the Dragon in Babylon, which are incorporated in the Septuagint translation, it is clear that additions had been already made before the revolt of the Maccabees (?). The possibility must therefore be admitted that the Hebrew text of Daniel also, and, in particular the eleventh chapter, contains such additions. The genuineness of the book, as a whole, specifically of the portions which point with certainty to the time of the captivity, is quite reconcilable with this admission. If it was only at a later period that the book of Daniel was admitted into the Canon, and if it had till that time been rather handed down in secret, as may also be inferred from the repeated mention of the sealing up of the prophecy, then such additions, composed, as Oehler also supposes, for the purpose of comforting the community in their sore oppressions, might find ready and general acceptance. Nevertheless"—and here Kueper seems again to shrink from the bold step which he was on the point of taking—"nevertheless, if we take into consideration the essential unity of the book, and other reasons drawn from the Masoretic text, then we certainly believe that there is no sufficient ground for this supposition, but rather that a careful exposition will be able still better than before to bring the apparently (!) special nature of the prediction into harmony with the characteristics which biblical prophecy elsewhere exhibits."[1]

[1] *l. c.*, p. 395.

The grounds for this belief are not mentioned, but it is certain it rests mainly on the conviction that the eleventh chapter of Daniel presents a difficulty which must be removed in the one way or the other. If exegesis does not succeed, then criticism must come to the rescue; one of the two is bound to perform the work. Kueper reverts to the subject once more in the very last page of his book. He refers there to a new commentary on Daniel, that of Zöckler, "in which" —and it is the only thing that he has to tell us about that book—"there is a defence of the opinion already mentioned by us, with regard to the eleventh chapter of Daniel, that in verses 5-39 some historical additions are introduced which belong to the time of the Maccabees."[1] He might have mentioned yet another predecessor, the chronologist Bosanquet, who even ventures to separate the original prophecy from the more recent supplements.[2]

Thus the point of the argument from prediction is broken off. That argument may still pass current in its old form among the laity, but among theologians, even among those whose orthodoxy is unimpeachable, it has, in so far as it is not altogether discarded, acquired an entirely different position and signification. The great shock which their confidence has received is manifest still farther from the fact that they no longer test the intrinsic value of their means of defence with the necessary care, but eagerly grasp at everything which seems to offer any support to them. Is that too strong an assertion, when we see that Tholuck, for instance, in determining the limits of the prescience of the prophets, refers to the presaging dreams and predictions in the writings of Ennemoser, Passavant, and Horst,[3] and that others adduce magnetic clairvoyance as an analogy? We need not pause here to enquire whether men like Bunsen, men who recognise no specific difference between the revelation which God has made to Israel, and that which he has made to other nations, are entitled to connect the visions of the prophets with phenomena of the kind referred to;[4] but the supernaturalist,

[1] See the "Nothwendige Berichtigungen," p. 540.

[2] "Messiah the Prince, or the Inspiration of the Prophecies of Daniel" (2d ed. London, 1869), p. 90, f. where chap. x. 1, 15—xi. 1; xi. 5-35 are noted as interpolations of the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.

[3] *l. c.*, p. 105, f.

[4] "Gott in der Geschichte" I., 148-152.

by appealing to them, actually denies that which he is regarded as defending. If he still remained as firm in the faith as his predecessors, he would assuredly guard against bringing into the arena of conflict facts so dubious, and oft-times so suspicious, for the purpose of upholding the extra-ordinary revelations of God.

But enough to justify my assertion, that the defenders of the traditional view of the prophets and of prophecy in Israel, have of all men the least right to object to a re-examination of the documents in the case, as being, for them, superfluous. In fact, a renewed investigation is recognised by them as absolutely necessary; and may therefore be acknowledged as of universal interest.

There is need of a renewed investigation—undoubtedly! But he who offers himself as the guide in it, has already admitted that he has taken the side of one of the contending parties—where then is his impartiality? what is the value of that inquiry of which the issue is determined beforehand?

The sequel of my treatise must itself answer this objection. It cannot be imputed to the writer as a fault, that his investigation has led him to a definite conclusion, still less that he is not afraid here, at the beginning, to express it openly—fairness required even that he should not fail to make such an avowal. Impartiality can go hand in hand with a very decided conviction, just as, conversely, timidity in drawing a conclusion, can be the concomitant of a method which is anything but impartial. But let the reader himself judge, whether the way along which I wish to guide him be rightly chosen, and lead straight to the reality. The question concerning the method is of sufficient importance to require a separate chapter for its consideration.

CHAPTER II.

THE METHOD OF THE INVESTIGATION CONCERNING THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN ISRAEL.

MOST of the questions which occur with regard to the method are exceedingly simple, and require *merely to be stated with exactness*, in order to be answered without difficulty.

The reader can judge for himself if this essential condition be here observed. He cannot apply the criterion too strictly; for the slightest error in the method often involves the most fatal consequences. The neglect of a single distinction which the nature of the subject requires, throws the door wide open for all manner of false conclusions. The greatest possible caution is therefore here a duty.

While I state, and, so far as necessary, justify, my own conception of the method, I abstain from criticising the divergent opinions of others. Not, certainly, because I regard these as insignificant, or of subordinate importance. The contrary is the fact. We need only open some of the most recent studies on Israelitish prophecy, as, for instance, the writings or treatises of Kueper, Payne Smith, Stanley Leathes, and Valeton,[1] in order to be at once convinced of that fact. But to controvert directly the errors which I think these scholars have committed, could not fail to lead to great prolixity, and, at the end, would accomplish nothing more than could be done by the simple positive exposition of another and a better method. This method must be such as to recommend itself to the reader, and, as it were, compel him to follow the author on the road which he has chosen. If it does not make this impression, then certainly the proof that others have wandered from the right path, would be of little avail.

[1] Kueper and Payne Smith, see pages 11 and 8; Rev. Prof. Stanley Leathes, "The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ" (Boyle Lecture for 1868); Prof. Dr J. J. P. Valeton, "De Profetie in Israël" (Protestantsche Bijdragen onder redactie van Dr D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, 1870, f.)

I state therefore what, in my opinion, results from the nature of the subject itself.

It is an *historical* investigation for which we are preparing. That involves in it that all dogmatic pre-suppositions are set aside—that we continually consult the documents, and allow ourselves to be guided exclusively by their well-guaranteed testimonies.

It is therefore our first duty to understand accurately the utterances of the Israelitish prophets, and the narratives regarding them. In other words—we explain them according to the well-known and universally accepted rules of strict grammatical interpretation. There does not exist one single valid or even apparent reason for departing from the exegesis which is pursued with the most satisfactory results in all other cases.

We steadfastly adhere to this rule also in explaining those texts of the Old Testament which the New Testament writers quote, and apply in a particular sense. The assumption that their interpretation is, in every case, the true one, and that it necessitates a deviation from the result of the grammatical investigation as often as the two come into collision,—this assumption admits of no justification whatever.

It is, as we may see at once, opposed to the premises from which we started; because it can rest only on a definite theory regarding the inspiration and the consequent infallibility of the writers of the New Testament. Those alone who acknowledge this—and who, instead of limiting inspiration and infallibility to the domain of religious truth, extend them so far that they comprehend also the interpretation—they alone have a right to assume that the New Testament citation must be regarded as an authentic explanation of the prophetical utterance. But that is, beyond all doubt, a *dogmatic* assumption. We protest against the Jewish exegete when he follows blindly the Talmud and the Rabbis, against the Roman Catholic theologian, when he bases his exposition on the decrees of the Church, and the agreement of the Fathers—how, therefore, unless we mete with two measures, can we ourselves ascribe decisive authority to the New Testament interpretation or application?

But even they who think themselves obliged and entitled to

adopt this principle, must approve of our allowing, in the first instance at least, exegesis to have its free course, and of our accepting, though it should be only provisionally, the results which it presents. For it is not to be assumed *a priori*, that the writers of the New Testament, when quoting the prophets, expressly intended to explain their words grammatically. I am not alluding here to the possibility of those words expressing two or more different meanings—to acknowledge that such is the case is the same as giving up, or at least evading, the grammatical interpretation, which ascribes more than one meaning to the words in those cases alone, in which the authors have designedly expressed themselves in a manner admitting a double sense. There is something else which has here to be remarked. There are two modes of employing the words of a writing recognised as sacred—an historical and a homiletic. Either it is my definite purpose to show clearly what the writer himself has said and meant, or, without troubling myself at all about that, I apply his words to objects and circumstances which he never thought of, but which, in a greater or less degree correspond with that which induced him to utter or write down his words. The more familiar we are with the sacred writings and the more vividly their utterances present themselves to our minds, the more manifold will be the free or homiletic use of those writings. We sometimes avail ourselves almost involuntarily of bible words to express thoughts which, as we very well know, were altogether strange to the scriptural writer whom we quote. Now it is an ascertained fact, of which no person entertains any doubt whatever, that the Apostles, "knowing the holy scriptures from childhood,"[1] again and again clothe their thoughts in biblical language, use Old Testament parallels, and introduce the prophets and psalmists as speakers in order to illustrate the truth which they are announcing.[2] It is not always easy to point out where they use them in the latter way: and where,

[1] 2 Tim. iii. 15.

[2] "The way in which the Old Testament is quoted in the second chapter of St Matthew makes it plain that they (*i.e.*, the Apostles and Evangelists) oftentimes applied it very much as we might apply some phrase or appropriate words from Shakespeare or any other well-known author, rather for the sake of illustrating their own narrative than elucidating the original text." Stanley Leathes, "The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ." p. 29, *sq.*

on the other hand, they adduce their testimony by way of proof. Much less is this the place to mark the boundaries between those two classes of quotations—or to investigate the rules by which we might be able to distinguish between them.[1] It is, at present, enough for us to know that besides the historical, the homiletic use also of the prophecies occurs in the books of the New Testament; for it thence follows, that we can never be, *a priori*, certain that we have in the New Testament citation an explanation (in the proper sense of that term) of the utterance of the prophet. We must therefore always begin by consulting the Old Testament text itself. Its historical sense is one of the elements which we must take into consideration, in determining the character and real purpose of the New Testament citation. If we allowed the latter, at once, to pass for an authentic explanation, then we would incur the danger of getting on a wrong track, and of recommending, on the authority of the apostles, what they never in the least intended.

If it were our purpose to investigate this subject fully, then we would have to add more than one particular to what we have already stated. We would, in that case, especially require to notice both the custom which the New Testament writers have of using, in their citations, the Greek version of the Old Testament, a version which is so often inexact, nay altogether erroneous; and, further, the undeniable fact that they wrote principally for the use of their Jewish contemporaries, and so were obliged, purposely or undesignedly, to adapt themselves to the interpretation of the Old Testament which was current among them, if they really wished that their appeal to the Holy Scriptures received by both parties should be recognised as well-founded. It is at once obvious that an acknowledgment of these facts also is inconsistent with our submitting to the authority of the New Testament writers in the explanation of the utterances of the prophets. But it seems unnecessary to dwell longer on this subject. The independence for which we plead is, properly, the direct consequence of the considerations from which we

[1] The reader will find some particulars on this subject in Chapters xiii. and xiv., where also the use made of the Greek translation of the Old Testament will be treated.

started in the first chapter. It there appeared clearly to us that, in order to understand and estimate the prophets and prophecy aright, we must not plant ourselves on the standpoint of fulfilment. But that is the very thing which is done, or at least is meant to be done, by those who reverence and unhesitatingly follow the New Testament as a rule in explaining the predictions of the prophets. Even though that rule were infallible, yet they who rigidly adhere to it would be liable to a charge of one-sidedness, and must obtain incomplete results. If the apostolic interpretation be correct, then it will certainly justify itself when we compare it afterwards with its object. If we are in earnest in our desire to prejudge nothing, then in no case can we, at the beginning of our investigation, assume as proved that which can be evident only as its result.

We therefore consult the books of the Old Testament, and these alone. How highly soever both the New Testament and the later Jewish writings may be esteemed as *aids*, they do not belong *to the sources*.

But it is absolutely necessary that we should take a closer view of the Old Testament sources of information regarding the prophets and prophecy, and endeavour to determine their relative value more accurately; for they do not all stand on the same footing, they do not all possess the same degree of certainty. There are even distinctions of the very highest importance to be made here, which may exercise a decisive influence on the farther course of our investigation.

What materials does the Old Testament afford us for characterising the work of the prophets and the nature of prophecy in Israel? They may be conveniently arranged in three groups or classes, the boundaries of which can be marked out naturally. We find, namely, in the Old Testament,

1*st*. Writings of prophets.

2*d*. Historical accounts regarding what the prophets have done and spoken.

3*d*. Words of God addressed to historical personages, and incorporated in the narratives concerning them.

In regard to each of these groups we must here make such remarks as are required, in order to enable us to form a well-founded judgment on its value.

1*st*. We mentioned the prophetical literature in the first place. Every one knows what is meant by that term. The Hebrew Old Testament consists of three portions—the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings. It is "The Prophets" which are to be considered here, but yet not all the books which were received into that second portion of the Jewish Canon. For it contained both the older historical books (Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings), indicated by the common appellation of *Prophetæ priores*, and the prophetical writings properly so called (Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the twelve minor prophets, forming together one collection), usually called the *Prophetæ posteriores*. These latter constitute the prophetical literature in the stricter signification, and are here placed in our first group. I do not mean by this to assert that the historical books are unjustly ascribed to prophets, and have no right to bear the name under which they appear in the Old Testament; on the contrary, we shall by and by see clearly that this tradition about their origin is, in its main points, at least, fully confirmed by their contents, but it is only in the *Prophetæ posteriores* that the prophets come before us in their character as prophets. What they have been—not as historians—but as prophets, we must ascertain from the books in which their prophetical preaching is communicated to us by themselves.

But do we not find such books also beyond the second portion of the Jewish Canon? In the translations of the Old Testament, the book of Daniel has been transferred from the third to the second portion—not without reason, inasmuch as that writing, speaking generally, bears the same character that we just now observed in the writings of Isaiah, Jeremiah, etc. We can, therefore, at least provisionally, admit also the book of Daniel into our first group. But some of the Psalms have an equal claim to be placed in that class. As a rule, there is a plain and obvious distinction between the Psalm and the prophetical address. The outburst of pious feeling in a song of praise or lamentation is a different thing from the discourse intended to admonish or arouse, which the prophet delivered in the hearing of the people or committed to writing. But just as the prophet sometimes assumes the part of the psalmist, so does the poet occasionally come for-

ward in a character almost prophetical, when, for instance, he admonishes, or casts a glance into the future, and more or less copiously and expressly gives utterance to his expectations regarding it. Such prophetical psalms, or verses of psalms, may thus have a claim to be regarded as belonging to the prophetical literature. They are, however, of very small extent, when compared with the prophetical books themselves, and, besides, are less original. They naturally, therefore, occupy a subordinate position.

With regard to the documents which belong to this first class, there arise now different and sometimes very intricate questions, all of them subdivisions of this one main question: viz., From whom have they proceeded, and to what period do they belong? That is the point which we have first of all to investigate, and to investigate not merely with regard to each book as a whole, but also with reference to the separate prophecies, nay, even verses and words, which now compose such a book. Suppose that we have succeeded in attaining to certainty regarding the author and the age of the particular prophecy, then it becomes for us *an authentic source* regarding the object of our investigation. In such a case, its testimony is unimpeachable, so far as it goes. The highest point that we can aim at, in a historical investigation, is then reached, we hear *the prophet himself* express his ideas, and we accept, of course, unhesitatingly and unreservedly the testimony which he thus delivers concerning himself.

But the condition on which that gratifying prospect was made dependent appears again to render it illusory. Whence are we to obtain that requisite antecedent certainty with regard to the author and the age of the several prophecies? It is the task of historical criticism to give us it, if possible. This is not the place for entering upon a full description of its method, but I cannot omit noticing one single disputed point. It is agreed that the critic, in his investigation regarding the origin of the documents, must consult alike the tradition about their descent, and the contents and the form, of the pieces themselves. We may express the matter thus—he neglects the external as little as the internal criticism. But in what relation does the former stand to the latter? This question when put so generally, hardly

admits of an answer ; for the historical accounts of the origin of the documents are of very different intrinsic value, and the force of the argument from the form and contents of the compositions themselves is sometimes quite satisfactory, at other times, again, is worth very little. A testimony from the immediate circle of the author of a document is invaluable; the guess of one who is at a great distance from that author signifies little or nothing. One single unmistakeable allusion to a well-known historical fact can at once put an end to all uncertainty concerning the age of a writing; while conversely, amongst many circumstances mentioned, sometimes not one is found which admits of only one interpretation, and so leads to a definite conclusion. It is only after the most careful consideration of the absolute and relative value both of the external and the internal evidences which have to be regarded in any particular case, that their mutual relation admits of being settled, and the preponderance assigned to the one or the other.

So long as we treat the question proposed in the abstract, we cannot get farther than this general rule ; but when we limit it to the prophetical books of the Old Testament, we need not any longer express ourselves in such an indefinite manner. The only historical testimonies which we possess with regard to the origin of these books are contained in the titles, which are placed either at the head of a single prophecy or of a collection of prophecies. They are, as is well known, more or less full, and also very different as regards their contents.[1] But whatever their contents may be, the first question is always this—from whom and in what time did they originate? The value which we must ascribe to them necessarily depends on the answers given to that question. These answers are of very different import. Yet if the grounds on which they rest are narrowly regarded, we soon see that

[1] Some titles contain nothing more than the name of the prophet (Obad. v. 1 ; Hab. i. 1, iii. 1 ; Mal. i. 1) ; others contain besides the name of his father or even of his birth-place (Joel i. 1 ; Nahum i. 1) ; others again mention dates, and that in a very different manner (Is. i. 1 ; Jer. i. 1-3 ; Ezek. i. 1, *sq.*, &c.). Many books have merely one title, at the beginning ; but frequently the separate prophecies are provided either with dates (Jer., Ezek. *passim*) or only with headings (Is. ii. 1, xiii. 1, &c.). The indication of the object or the contents of the prophecy is also very common (Is. ii. 1, xiii. 1, xv. 1, &c., &c.).

with regard to that point we are wandering in the dark. The only thing that is certain, altogether certain, is that the titles constitute an integral part of the prophetical writings, in their collected form, as we now possess them. If they were of a more recent date than the formation of that collection, if they had been added to it only at a later period, they would either have been wanting in the Greek version of the prophets or would have been there of a different purport. But if we except Jeremiah, whose oracles are arranged quite differently in the translation and in the original, and leave out of consideration the minor variations which everywhere appear, then the titles are the same in both. We must, therefore, assume that they go back to the time of the collectors of that portion of the Old Testament. Everything beyond this—every exacter determination either of their age or of their author—is incapable of proof; it is a conjecture which may be more or less probable, but still a mere conjecture. If any impartial man will deliberately weigh the grounds on which these exacter determinations are urged, he will be convinced of the truth of this assertion. But it follows thence, at once, that the so-called internal criticism takes precedency as regards the prophetical books. It decides also concerning the value, and consequently concerning the probable age, of the tradition (or of the conjecture?) which we find in the titles. If any one asserts that this tradition has come down from the immediate circle of the prophet, or that the title has been placed by the prophet himself at the head of the single oracle or collection of oracles; if, in order to recommend that opinion, he appeals to analogy, perhaps also to other arguments, we shall—that is, if his demonstration has any force—be happy to agree with him, when the prophecy (or the collection of prophecies) itself puts no difficulty in the way of our doing so; but if such a difficulty present itself, how can we ascribe decisive weight to such considerations?

It may perhaps seem strange that we have set forth so fully a truth so elementary; but it is only the uninitiated who will be astonished at this. For it is manifest that many attribute to the titles of the prophecies, or of the prophetical books, a value which is out of all proportion to anything which is actually established concerning their origin. The

criticism which does not follow them unconditionally is stigmatized as "negative" and "hypothetical." Those who use this language begin by presupposing the correctness of the titles, or rather they assume it as already proved. The greatest improbabilities even are occasionally accepted, in order to maintain their credibility. The writers referred to at the same time boast that they start from the facts, and thus are building on a firm foundation. As if the authenticity or the high antiquity, and, as a consequence of that, the correctness of the title were not as much an hypothesis as the contrary supposition! As if the words—"Oracle concerning Babylon which Isaiah the son of Amos saw" (Is. xiii. 1) were anything more than a statement regarding the fact which we are engaged in investigating! I select this example purposely, because it is but lately that, on account of that statement, the prophecy to which it refers has been put, as it were, on the rack. It is evident, one would think, that Babylon means here the capital city of the Babylonish or Chaldaean empire, and that the whole oracle has reference to its imminent overthrow and to the humiliation of the Chaldaean king.[1] In like manner, it seems almost unmistakeable that Is. xiv. 24-27, being directed against Assyria, does not cohere with what precedes, and that thus the "oracle against Babylon" does not reach farther than chap. xiv. 23. The supposition that Babylon—in the title and in the oracle itself—is named as the second city of the *Assyrian* kingdom, and as one of the residences of the *Assyrian* king; that the prophecy is directed against Assyria, and extends from chap. xiii. 2, to chap. xiv. 27, is in direct conflict with the evidence. Nevertheless it is hotly defended, because it makes it possible to ascribe the oracle to the contemporary of Hezekiah, and thus to give the title its due, as the expression is.[2] The illusion in which the defender of this opinion lives and moves appears clearly in the course of his argument. "We know," he writes, "that even in this case of the plays of Shakespeare, in our own living language, and little more than two hundred years old, we are guided far more by a W.S. on the title-page,

[1] If even the whole prophecy were not perfectly unambiguous, still Is. xiii. 19, would at once remove all uncertainty.

[2] "Jewish History and Politics in the time of Sargon and Sennacherib." By Sir E. Strachey, Bart. (2d Edit. 1874), p. 154, f.

and by other external helps, than by any internal criticism, in deciding on the genuineness of the text."[1] As if, forsooth, Is. xiii. 1, which may have been written just as well in the fifth or fourth as in the eighth century B.C., could be mentioned in the same breath with "the old title-page."

But enough about this question, the fuller treatment of which would be here out of place. The reason will gradually become more evident why I could not pass it by altogether in silence. There is hardly any more fatal error in the domain of historical criticism than the misconception against which I have thought it incumbent on me to warn the reader. The phenomena on which internal criticism builds its conclusions, are, not always indeed, but still frequently, of such a nature, that their reality cannot be subject to any doubt. We should in many cases be at once agreed on their demonstrative force, if the asserted "fact" did not intervene, as a disturbing element. It must, therefore, from the very first be clearly shown, or rather indicated, for the matter speaks for itself, how little right it has to bear that name.

If these observations on historical criticism and its possible aberrations should have awakened the fear lest the condition on which the fruitful use of the prophecies depends should not at times be fully satisfied, that of course detracts nothing from the value which the prophetical literature possesses as a testimony at first hand. It cannot therefore be a matter of surprise that we have assigned to it the highest rank. The nature of the difference between it and the other two groups of testimonies may already in some measure be inferred from what precedes, but requires still to be expressly shown.

2d. The narratives in the Old Testament concerning what the prophets did and said are very numerous and sometimes very copious. It is sufficient to refer here to the history of Samuel in the first of the books called after him, to that of Elijah and Elisha in first and second Kings, to so many prophetical addresses communicated to us in these and in other historical books. If we were quite certain that the authors of these books accurately reproduced the sayings and doings of the prophets of whom they narrate, we should in that case

[1] *L. c.*, p. 175.

scarcely, or not at all, require to distinguish their communications from the proper prophetical literature. For it is of course pretty much a matter of indifference to us, whether the prophet's address be recorded by the prophet himself, or be recorded by another, but with literal accuracy. But we do not possess this certainty. The authors of the historical books of the Old Testament were no eye-and-ear witnesses of the events which they relate to us. Their narratives extend over periods of very long duration, those of the writer of Kings over more than four centuries. In the most favourable case, it is only the very latest of their communications that rest on what they themselves had experienced and witnessed. For all that preceded they must have depended either on the written accounts of others, or on oral tradition. Those predecessors undoubtedly stood nearer to the facts than they did, but—how near? That they were eye-and-ear witnesses is not only incapable of proof, but also improbable, nay more than that even, as shall be clear to us afterwards.[1] In the end, therefore, the narratives of the historical books, even those taken over from other quarters, rest on oral tradition. The discourses of the prophets, too, which the authors weave into their narratives must have been borrowed from that source. Was that tradition in every respect trustworthy? Had it in the course of time undergone no alteration of any kind? Was it reproduced by the writers just as they had received it? or was it not perhaps modified more or less under the influence of their personal convictions? We have here questions which are not airy creations of the brain, difficulties which we do not invent out of mere caprice, but which we meet with on our path, and which we must remove before we can with confidence make use of the statements of the historical writers. And still I have not said all. We took it just now for granted that the narrator had the benefit of a tradition, but it is not certain that he was always so fortunate. It is also conceivable that the recollection of what the prophet had spoken on this or that occasion had died away, after a shorter or longer time. It is even far from improbable that this occurred frequently: the address of the prophet was according to the narrative itself, sometimes

[1] See Chaps. x.-xii., below.

directed to a few, or only to a single auditor.[1] Beyond all doubt the narrator might in such cases have preserved silence; nobody obliged him to communicate what he did not know. But it was very natural that he should attempt to fill up the hiatus which occurred in the tradition, if some other before him had not already endeavoured to do so. For more than one reason it might seem to him desirable, nay absolutely necessary, to communicate something more than the bare fact that the prophet had raised his voice. It is universally acknowledged that the ancient historians used great freedom in this matter: the speeches which Herodotus, Thucydides, and Livy put into the mouths of their heroes are the productions of those authors themselves, being fabricated with more or less talent, in accordance with the character of the persons speaking and the circumstances of the time. Though it be left in the meanwhile altogether undetermined, whether or not the historians of Israel proceeded in this way, yet there is the *possibility* of their having done so. That is the only thing to which I wished just now to point. More than that is not necessary in order to dispose us to use caution while consulting their testimony. Before it can be thought worthy of being placed on an equality with the written notes of the prophets themselves about their preaching, *the proof*—let it be well observed—*the proof*, I say, must be furnished, that it has undergone no deterioration under the disturbing influence to which it was exposed.

3d. Very much the same thing is true of the narratives of the historians concerning the divine revelations made to historical personages. In the accounts found in Genesis, Jahveh speaks to Abraham and the rest of the patriarchs, either to give them his commands, or to disclose to them the future. In the books also which treat of the history of the succeeding ages, we meet with similar promises and threatenings. Jahveh reveals himself on several occasions to Solomon.[2] When Jehu has executed the judgment on Ahab's house, Jahveh saith to him, "Because thou hast done well in executing that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, thy

[1] See, for example, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11-14; 1 Kings xi. 29-39.
[2] 1 Kings iii. 5-14; vi. 11-13; ix. 2-9.

children to the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel."[1] The great similarity between such utterances and those which we receive from the mouth of the prophets, is at once apparent. *If we could be sure* that the patriarchs, Solomon, Jehu, and so many others, had heard those words of God, just as the historian delivers them to us, then they stand on exactly the same footing as the revelations in which the prophets gloried. "If we could be sure;" but is there then the very slightest ground for entertaining any doubt on that point? Does it not betray an excessive scepticism if we desire any other proof of the reality of such divine promises or threatenings than the testimony of the historian? These questions are not unnatural. The ordinary reader of the Bible can suppose, if necessary, that the narrators have acted with a certain degree of freedom in reporting the words of historical personages:—what obligation had they, for example, to reproduce word for word a conversation between Jacob and Laban?[2] He thinks it, however, much less probable that they followed the same method, even with regard to the addresses of the prophets; and it seems to him almost inconceivable that they should have allowed themselves to introduce Jahveh himself as the speaker, without being quite certain of their facts:—such a fabricated word of God is surely nothing short of impiety! This conception, I repeat, is not unnatural, but yet it is not just. We ought much rather to reflect that such like fictions even now are very far from being uncommon, and, in no way whatever, do they redound to the prejudice of those who employ them. How often even yet in our own day also does the preacher introduce God as the speaker, and make him proclaim his will, declare his promises, and threaten with his wrath. This manner of expression may, no doubt, be nothing more than a mere form of phraseology, in which case it deserves the sternest reprobation; but in the case of many, it bears witness to a firm and immovable faith, and is accompanied by deep reverence for him in whose name they make bold to speak. We do not therefore think of blaming them for the liberty which they allow themselves, but as little do we implicitly accept their statements as being the very word of God. Their subjective

[1] 2 Kings x. 30. [2] Gen. xxxi. 26, *sq.*

conception of that word, to which we willingly pay all respect, has no binding authority for us. The application of this analogous case to the passages of the Old Testament, which we are now treating, seems obvious. Or is it perhaps thought to be too venturesome to attribute such a mode of speech to the ancient Israelites? That objection can be removed without the least difficulty. It is historically certain that the Semitic nations in general, without any scruple, bring on the scene the deity himself, and speak of his dispositions, motives, and determinations, with a simplicity and a freedom which often fill us with amazement. This fact does not require to be illustrated by any examples so far as regards the Musulmans. If, while granting it in their case, it should be maintained that it is not allowable to apply their manner of speaking and thinking to explain the phenomena which appear in the Old Testament, since that peculiarity of theirs may have been the result of the direct or indirect influence of the Old Testament itself, I then appeal to a witness of an older date. Mesha, king of Moab, the contemporary of Ahab and his successors, gives an account of his deeds in the inscription on the lately discovered memorial stone. He there, again and again, makes mention of Chemosh, the god of the Moabites, as if it could not for a moment be doubted that he possessed full competence to speak in the name of that deity. It is Chemosh who has delivered him out of the hand of all his enemies, Chemosh who was angry against Moab and his land, Chemosh who, in his (Mesha's) days, said, "I will have regard to him and his house, and Israel goeth to destruction," Chemosh who gave to him (Mesha) the command, "Go hence and make thyself master of Nebo."[1] It is as if we heard an Israelite speak, except that he would have spoken, not of Chemosh, but of Jahveh. Whatever happens, in nature and in history, is Jahveh's doing; whatever may be deduced therefrom, by legitimate inference, is Jahveh's word or command. We give a single instance by way of illustration. Saul lays himself down to sleep in the cave in which David and his men have sought refuge. One of the band is ready at once with the explanation of that fact—

[1] See the well-known monographs on the Moabite stone by Clermont Ganneau, Nöldeke, Schlottmann, and others.

"Behold the day," so says he to David, "of which Jahveh said unto thee, Behold I deliver thine enemy into thine hand, that thou mayest do unto him as it shall seem good in thine eyes."[1] If the Israelitish historians looked at the events of the past in the same way, they could scarcely fail at times to introduce Jahveh himself as the speaker. On the standpoint which they occupied, that is in no way too great a freedom, but the simple expression of a conviction, the justice of which they never for a moment doubt. Nevertheless my meaning would be altogether misunderstood if it were thought that I hereby wished, as by one blow, to set aside the statements regarding Jahveh's promises and threatenings which we meet with in the Old Testament. It was my sole object to point out that they *are capable* also of being understood otherwise than as the simple expression of the historical reality. That simple possibility is sufficient to prevent us placing complete confidence in statements of that character. Apart even from the dangers to which the tradition concerning Jahveh's revelations was exposed, like every other, we miss the *certainty* that Jahveh's word possesses that objectivity with which it is arrayed in the historical narrative; *perhaps* it is nothing more than the expression of the historian's view —a view deserving of the highest respect, but still subjective. This doubt must, if possible, be removed before we can use the testimonies of the third class for the purposes of our investigation.

The inference lies before us. It would be dreadfully rash, and altogether premature, to seek already to decide the various questions which arise with regard to the narratives about the prophets, and about Jahveh's revelations. But for the very reason that they must in the meanwhile remain unanswered, they make the greatest possible caution our duty. If we do not wish to peril the accuracy of the results of our investigation, from the very beginning, then we must study the subject of *Israelitish prophecy* in its genuine, unimpeachable sources—that is, *in the prophetical literature.* Here we have firm ground under our feet. Here alone can we find, what we absolutely require to prevent us from making mistakes in the criticism, and in the use, of the narratives

[1] 1 Sam. xxiv. 4, cf. chap. xxvi. 8.

at second hand—a criterion for distinguishing between history and a tradition more or less unhistorical—between facts and subjective convictions.

Thus then the way which we have to follow is pointed out. We open the books of the prophets, and let them bear witness regarding their authors. It is only after having done this, that we take cognisance of what others report to us concerning the prophets, or of what they bring forward as a revelation from Jahveh. It will then appear clearly of itself whether we can place reliance on them, or whether, not capriciously, but proceeding upon the knowledge now gained, we must sift the accounts concerning the prophets and prophecy, and recognise them as only in part historical.

This method has undoubtedly certain disadvantages. The order of chronology would require us to treat, first, the promises made by Jahveh to the patriarchs and other historical personages, then the work of the older prophets as it is described to us by the Israelitish historians, and, only *in the last place*, the preaching of the prophets who have themselves come forward as writers. It seems a proceeding of doubtful propriety to depart from that chronological order, because, in so doing, we lose sight at the same time, not only of the succession, but thereby also of the internal connection of the phenomena. But we shall have to submit to that, at least at first. For it is just the question, if that succession be correctly presented in the Old Testament, as it lies before us. This we are, *à priori*, as little entitled to assume as we are to deny it. It is one of the many points concerning which we wish to obtain certainty. But then we must begin by examining those links in the chain which lie before our eyes in their original form. To adhere to the order which is followed in the Old Testament itself would be equivalent to a precipitate decision of the weighty problems which we shall be in a position to solve only at the close of our investigation.

There is still another disadvantage connected with our method, to which, however, a remedy can be applied. If we follow the order observed in the Old Testament, we then betake ourselves to the study of the prophetical books provided with a previous knowledge of the character and the work of the prophets, which we have obtained mainly from the

accounts given by the historians. Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, and Elisha, are no longer strangers to us, and they help us to understand Isaiah and Jeremiah. Many a particular in the writings of the last mentioned prophets remains inexplicable to us, until it is explained from the narratives concerning their predecessors. In one word—if we at once take up the prophetical books themselves, we deliberately deprive ourselves of a commentary which is often indispensable. We have not yet, if I may be allowed the expression, discovered our exact position. But would it be absolutely impossible to remove this difficulty out of the way? In my opinion, it would not. There is nothing to hinder us from first making provisionally, by way of introduction to our proper investigation, a rough sketch of the nature of Israelitish prophecy, and, while we are doing so, from making use at the same time of the accounts given by the historians, if we only do this with the necessary caution, and prejudge nothing. We must therefore, in the first instance, leave the more or less doubtful points with which we come into contact, altogether undetermined. That sketch will therefore necessarily be here and there incomplete; but nevertheless it will be of service to us in the subsequent investigation, and the opportunity will be afforded afterwards of filling in what is wanting and completing it in every respect.

It will thus be only the most general outlines of a description and history of Israelitish prophecy that will be presented to the reader in the following chapter. The introductory and provisional character of that chapter will oblige me to leave many an important question unanswered, nay, even untouched; but it will allow me also to study brevity. The small compass of my sketch may of itself have the effect of confining within their proper limits any expectations that may be entertained concerning its importance.

CHAPTER III.

INTRODUCTORY VIEW OF THE PROPHETS AND THEIR WORK IN ISRAEL.

THE contemporaries of Jeremiah were highly offended at that prophet, because he dared to proclaim the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah, and the dispersion of its inhabitants. They think that, whatever may happen, the continuance of the present order of things is a matter of certainty—"the law[1] shall not perish from the priest, nor counsel from the wise, nor the word from the prophet."[2] Those three —the priest, the wise, and the prophet—are, in their estimation, the pillars of the state, and are as immoveable as they are indispensable. The opponents of Jeremiah did not stand alone in cherishing that conviction. Ezekiel assumes it as held by his hearers when, in order to give them a deep impression of the tremendous overthrow which is impending, he cries out—"Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour, and they shall (in vain) seek a vision of the prophet, and the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients."[3]

These testimonies are important, the more important because they show us, not the personal opinion of this prophet or of that, but the popular conception. They teach us that in Israel the prophets also assumed a position of their own, and had a specific task to fulfil equally with the priests of Jahveh and the wise men or ancients. The proverb which Jeremiah gives us literally, and to which Ezekiel alludes, would never have come into common use unless the prophets

[1] In Hebrew *thorah*, *i.e.* teaching, instruction. The oral decisions which the priests gave concerning points of law, worship, ceremonial purity, &c., are thus called here: cf. Deut. xxxiii. 10, and numerous parallel passages. There is no allusion here to the written law.

[2] Jer. xviii. 18.

[3] Ezek. vii. 26.

also had constituted a separate class, and formed a social order more or less distinct. This inference is, in truth, fully established and placed beyond all doubt by various narratives belonging to different times.

The manner in which mention is made here and there in the prophetical literature, not of a single prophet, but of "the prophets," and in which judgment is passed upon them as a class, leads us, of itself, to conjecture that they in some way or other formed a certain corporation. Thus Micah proclaims a word of Jahveh against "the prophets," who, as he there adds, "make his people err." "The seers," so he concludes his denunciation, "shall be ashamed, and the diviners shall blush."[1] Isaiah names "the prophet"[2] also with the priest, and makes elsewhere mention of men

> "Who to the seers say 'see not,'
> And to the beholders of visions, 'behold not right things,
> Speak to us smooth things,
> Behold for us deceits.'"[3]

In an enumeration of all that is regarded in Jerusalem and Judæa as "stay and staff," which we find in another of his prophecies, besides the mighty man, the man of war, the judge and the ancient, "the prophet" also occurs.[4] One of Jeremiah's denunciations is addressed to "the prophets;"[5] and more than once he mentions in succession "Israel's kings, princes, priests, and prophets.[6] The combination "priest and prophet" recurs with him on almost every page.[7] The priests and prophets appear on one occasion in his life as acting in concert.[8] The letter which he sent to Babylon is addressed "to the elders which were carried away captives, and to the priests and to the prophets and to all the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had carried away captive from Jerusalem to Babylon."[9]

Though some of these expressions, perhaps, admit of a difference of interpretation, yet more than one account in the historical books is quite unambiguous. When Josiah wishes to introduce the book of the law which had been found in the

[1] Mic. iii. 5, 7. [2] Is. xxviii. 7. [3] Is. xxx. 10.
[4] Is. iii. 1, 2. [5] Jer. xxiii. 9. [6] Jer. ii. 26; xxxii. 32; cf. xiii. 13.
[7] Jer. iv. 9; v. 31; vi. 13, &c. [8] Jer. xxvi. 7, 8, 11, 16.
[9] Jer. xxix. 1.

temple he summons an assembly of the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, of the priests and *the prophets* and all the people.[1] Some centuries earlier, king Ahab assembles *the prophets*, four hundred in number, before beginning, along with Jehoshaphat, the war against the Syrians.[2] In the persecution which his wife, Jezebel, had raised, a hundred prophets were concealed in a cave and thus preserved alive by the pious Obadiah.[3] Every one remembers how frequently "the sons of the prophets" appear in the narratives concerning Elisha—at Gilgal, at Beth-el, at Jericho, perhaps in other places also, they form separate associations, which are evidently under the direction of Elisha.[4] Two centuries earlier, there was a similar association, not of the sons of the prophets, but of prophets, near Ramah, the dwelling-place of Samuel, who occasionally took up his residence among them.[5]

The manner in which we are to conceive of the origin, the organisation, and the continued existence of such a prophetic order, or guild, is at first anything but clear. Let us attempt to form a conception of it by combining the widely scattered traits.

Let us begin with that which most readily presents itself to our notice—the name by which the prophets in Israel are wont to be designated. The common word is Nabi. It might perhaps be desirable to keep this original designation untranslated, for there can be no doubt that it expresses another meaning than the word "prophet," which we are in the habit of employing in conformity with the Greek translation: undoubtedly the Nabi foretells the future, but that he does foretell it, is not indicated by the name which he bears. While there exists no difference of opinion on this point, there is less unanimity among etymologists when the object in view is to determine what the signification of the word Nabi actually is. Authorities entitled to respect maintain that it is an active participle, and translate it by "spokesman."[6] But the passages of the Old Testament, to which they appeal in support

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 2.
[2] 1 Kings xxii. 6, *sq.*
[3] 1 Kings xviii. 4, 13.
[4] 2 Kings ii. 3, *sq.*; iv. 38; v. 22; vi. 1.
[5] 1 Sam. x. 5, 10-12; xix. 20-24.
[6] See especially Fleischer in Delitzsch's *die Genesis* (3rd Aufl.), p. 634, ff.

of this interpretation, do not really recommend it.[1] Instead of Nabi being derived from the Arabic verb (naba'a), it is much more probable that the Arabic verb is, on the contrary, derived from Nabi—the Arabians having in this, as in so many other cases, borrowed the word from the Jews.[2] The opinion of those who explain Nabi by *bubbling up—boiling up*—is more worthy of acceptance. According to this view, he owed his name to the impression which was made by his appearance, especially by his speaking: his vehement gestures, the gushing current of his speech, suggested a fountain violently bubbling up.[3] The word itself does not properly imply, but still it suggests at once, that this strong emotion has a higher, a divine origin: the excited state in which he appears must receive its explanation, not from the inmost recesses of the Nabi's own spirit, but from the working of the supernatural might on him or in him. What that supernatural might may be, is, in the meantime, left undetermined. In the Old Testament the Nabi, as might be expected, is generally the organ of Jahveh; but "prophets" of Baal and of Ashera occur also.[4] And we see in that fact an incidental proof that we were right in rejecting "spokesman" as the interpretation of the word; for while such an appellation would not have been unsuited to the "prophet" of Jahveh, at least in later ages, when he scarcely ever came forward but as a speaker, yet the "prophet" of Baal would hardly, or at least would with great looseness of expression, have been called the "spokesman" of Baal.[5] The form also of the Hebrew verbs which signify "to prophesy," quite agrees with the etymology which is here defended.[6]

[1] Exod. vii. 1; cf. iv. 16; Jer. xv. 19. According to these passages the Nabi is, as it were, the mouthpiece of Jahveh, the organ by which Jahveh speaks. But it is very far from following thence that Nabi is the same as "spokesman." Aaron is called the Nabi of Moses in the same metaphorical sense in which Moses is called the Elohim (god) of Aaron.

[2] Compare Nöldeke, Gesch. des Qorans, s. 1, n. 1.

[3] See my Hist. Krit. Onderz. &c., II. 3, 4, and Payne Smith, *l.c.*, p. 53.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 19; 2 Kings x. 19; Jer. ii. 8; xxiii. 13.

[5] Compare the description of the behaviour of the prophets of Baal at the sacrifice on Carmel. 1 Kings xviii. 25-29.

[6] "To prophesy" would, in all likelihood, have been denoted by verbs in the active form, if "nabi" had corresponded to "spokesman." Such, however, is not the case. The two verbs which occur in the Old Testament are both of the middle or reflexive form, and are beyond all question derivatives of

The prophets are called also seers. There are properly two different Hebrew appellations which are rendered by that one word in the translations. The one, Roéh, points apparently to the clear, profound, insight which is peculiar to the prophet as distinguished from other men; the other, Chozéh, is derived from a verb which frequently denotes the ecstatic gazing of the prophet, and alludes thus to the visions which

"nabi." These forms are nibba (Niph'al) and hithnabbé (Hithpa"el.) Dr Payne Smith (*l.c.*, pp. 53 *seq.*) is of opinion that they differ in signification in this respect—that the Niph'al denotes "the real prophetical gift," the Hithpa"el "the mere acting the prophet." That distinction is altogether arbitrary, and is refuted even by the texts which he himself quotes, and still more so by some others which he passes over in silence. The proof is as follows :—

1st. The Niph'al form which, indeed, very frequently denotes "the real prophetical gift" is also applied by Jeremiah to the prophets whose mission by Jahveh, and whose inspiration by Jahveh, he denies in as strong terms as it is possible to use. See Jer. chaps. xiv. 14, 16; xx. 6; xxvii. 10; and elsewhere.

2nd. On the other hand, the Hithpa"el form is used concerning prophets of whose real prophetical gift the writer does not for a moment doubt. To show that this is the case, let us look first of all at Jer. xxvi. 20, a decisive instance which has altogether escaped the notice of Payne Smith: then let us examine also the texts to which he himself refers—Num. xi. 25-27; 1 Sam. x. 5, sq.; 2 Chron. xx. 37; Ezek. xxxvii. 4, 9, 10, 12. That the seventy elders were, properly speaking, designated in order to assist Moses in the government is perfectly true, but in the passage of Numbers referred to, "hithnabbé" does not in the least imply that they therefore merely acted the prophet; as soon as the spirit of Jahveh comes upon them, they prophesy in the proper sense of the word. So also with regard to the prophets in 1 Sam. x., although they deliver no prophetical discourse, a circumstance, however, which is not indicated by the form of the verb. The conjecture that Eliezer, in 2 Chron. xx. 37, "was not himself inspired," but "brought a prophetic message merely to Jehoshaphat," has no foundation to rest on. Finally, as regards Ezek. xxxvii., "hithnabbé" means here nothing else than to speak or command as a prophet, therefore in the name of Jahveh. That this takes place in a vision, has nothing to do with the point which we are discussing.

3rd. The passages which are adduced in order to prove that "hithnabbé" is used in an unfavourable sense, prove nothing of the kind whatever. Ahab, we are told, uses the hithpa"el form in 1 Kings xxii. 8, 18, because he does not in his heart believe in the divine inspiration either of the four hundred prophets or of Michaiah ben Jimlah; but the historian himself uses the Hithpa"el form in the tenth verse and, merely for the sake of variety, the Niph'al form in the twelfth verse. As little is "hithnabbé" employed, Jer. xxix. 26, "in a bad sense, of a false and wicked sham, a blasphemous pretence." It is true that "raving and prophesying" stand there in immediate juxtaposition, but that decides nothing, because it is evident from other passages also that the prophetical ecstasy produced on those who witnessed it the impression of raving madness. (2 Kings ix. 11, *cf.* Hosea ix. 7.) The "prophesying" of Saul, 1 Sam. xviii. 10, is no "imitation of the prophetic excitement (!)," but the result of the supernatural operation of "an evil spirit from God."

fall to his lot. They differ, therefore, nearly as Seer and Gazer. A remarkable archaeological note in the first book of Samuel[1] teaches us that in earlier ages, before the introduction of the monarchy, Roéh was the common name employed in every-day life, as, for instance, in the saying, "Let us go to the Roéh," which in later ages was changed into, "Let us go to the Nabi." "For he who is now called the Nabi, was beforetime called the Roéh." We shall have to recur to that narrative in order to show its importance for the history of Israelitish prophecy; at present I merely draw attention to the fact that, in accordance with it, Samuel is elsewhere also called the Roéh,[2] but that, in opposition to that same narrative, in other Old Testament writings, the title Nabi is already employed with reference to the ages before Samuel.[3] The author of the note referred to is perfectly right in so far, that Nabi came gradually more and more into use, and finally became the common official title. Along with it, the terms Roéh and Chozéh were then employed, without attention being paid to the distinction which originally existed between these two appellations, and between both and Nabi. That conclusion follows of itself from some passages which we lately consulted for another purpose.[4] We elsewhere find the same person called by turns Nabi and Roéh or Chozéh, as Samuel,[5] Jehu ben Hanani,[6] Iddo.[7] The

The state of the case is simply this: "hithnabbé" denotes to come forward, to act, or to speak as a prophet. It is altogether a neutral expression, and teaches us nothing whatsoever concerning the source of the phenomena which it indicates.

The motives which have led Dr Payne Smith to make his distinction, or at least cause him to ascribe so high a value to it, will afterwards appear. See below, pp. 49, ff.

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 9.

[2] 1 Chron. ix. 22; xxvi. 28; xxix. 29; but he is called the Nabi in 2 Chron. xxxv. 18.

[3] Gen. xx. 7 (cf. Psa. cv. 15; 1 Chron. xvi. 22); Num. xii. 6; Deut. xiii. 1, *sq.*, xviii. 15, *sq.*, xxxiv. 10 (cf. Hosea xii. 14); Judges iv. 4; vi. 8; also 1 Sam. iii. 20.

[4] Micah iii. 5, 7; Isaiah xxx. 10, compare also xxix. 10, where however "the prophets" and "the seers" do not belong to the original text.

[5] See note (2) on this page.

[6] Compare 1 Kings xvi. 7, 12, with 2 Chron. xix. 2. It is quite unnecessary to assign, with Payne Smith, *l. c.*, p. 46, n. 1, a higher rank to Jehu than to his father Hanani, because the former is in 2 Chron. xix. 2, called Chozéh, while the latter in 2 Chron. xvi. 7, 10, is called Roéh; the writer of Chronicles uses the different appellations indiscriminately. *Cf.* note 2, and the following.

[7] Compare 2 Chron. xii. 15, with xiii. 22.

expressions, "king's seer," "David's Seer,"[1] cannot well mean anything more than that the prophet, who is thus denoted, was in the king's service, or stood in very close relation to him. The expression has certainly no reference to the visions which were vouchsafed to him.[2]

There were, besides, other names or titles of the prophets in use in Israel in earlier or later times; but it seems superfluous here to enumerate them all. They are, for the most part, metaphorical expressions such as "watchman," "messenger," &c., which indicate the relation in which the prophet stood to Jahveh, or the office which he held in the Israelitish state. The only point that deserves still to be mentioned is that the prophet often bears the title "man of God," especially in the historical books[3]—a new proof that in the popular belief, relation to the divinity constituted the essence of the prophet. Though that belief may be more clearly expressed by one name than by another, yet it is the conviction which lies at the root of them all.

How is the existence in Israel of a prophetical guild or order to be explained? Such was the question which we had proposed as requiring an answer. Our investigation concerning the names does not bring us much nearer the solution of the problem, on the contrary those names appear to denote gifts or privileges altogether personal, which from their very nature must have been confined to a few, while, nevertheless, they are borne by very many who even, as we plainly saw before, form fraternities or associations. Is not that fact more than singular?

Other phenomena may perhaps bring us further. It is indeed self-evident that we cannot as yet reach the end at which we aim—it is only at a much later period that we shall be able to discover the real essential character and internal history of Israelitish prophecy. But in the meantime we may succeed in illustrating, from the prophetical and historical books, the

[1] 2 Sam. xxiv. 11, "the prophet Gad, David's seer." 1 Chron. xxi. 9; xxv. 5. 2 Chron. xxix. 25; xxxv. 15.

[2] The reason why the title "king's prophet" does not occur, is obvious. The genitive governed by prophet denotes commonly the divinity by whom he is inspired.

[3] *E.g.*, 1 Sam. ii. 27; ix. 6-8-10. 1 Kings xii. 22, &c., &c. This name is almost always assigned to the older prophets. I would say, always, were it not that Hanan ben Jigdaliah, Jer. xxxv. 4, makes perhaps an exception.

position of the prophets in Israel, their relation to one another, the popular notions regarding them, and other points, and thus be able to shed some light at least on the question above proposed.

Let us first consider the associations of the prophets which have been already mentioned. The accounts regarding them are plainly fragmentary; their organisation is nowhere expressly described, much less is their history narrated; they are mentioned only incidentally. In the days of Samuel, a colony of prophets was settled in the immediate neighbourhood of Ramah, its members practised music and song, and ecstatic excitement seems to have been a very frequent phenomenon among them. Samuel often took up his abode with these prophets, and was recognised as their head.[1] We do not know whether similar colonies of prophets existed elsewhere than at Ramah, and as little do we know whether that one which plays a part in the history of Saul and David, continued to exist after Samuel's death. It may however be assumed as probable that it did continue. The silence of the historical books presents no objection against that view, for the simple reason that they mention the associations of the prophets only when the course of events naturally requires them to be mentioned. This is the case in the reign of Ahab. We already know him as a persecutor of "the sons of the prophets," as they are now called.[2] If this appellation makes it probable that they, as in former times, nay more even than in former times, lived under the superintendence or direction of one, or more than one, highly honoured prophet, that probability is fully confirmed by the narratives of their relation to Elijah, and especially to Elisha.[3] We further perceive, incidentally, that they had meals in common,[4] and in like manner it is clear that some of them at least were married.[5]

From that time the writers of the historical books are silent concerning the schools of the prophets. The supposition, however, that they still continue to exist, not only in the kingdom of Ephraim, but also in Judah, is in the highest

[1] All this follows from 1 Sam. x. 5, 10-12; xix. 18-24.
[2] See p. 41.
[3] See *l. c.*, and also 2 Kings ix. 1-3. It is not said of the disciple of the prophets who comes forward as an actor in 1 Kings xx. 35-43, that he was executing the commands of Elijah.
[4] 2 Kings iv. 38-44. [5] 2 Kings iv. 1-7.

degree probable.[1] That continued existence is in fact presupposed in a remarkable incident in the prophetical career of Amos, which, it would appear, has been rescued from oblivion by himself. In the reign of Jeroboam II., about the beginning of the eighth century, B.C., he was preaching in the immediate vicinity of the temple at Beth-el. Amaziah, the high priest of that sanctuary was greatly offended at such a proceeding. He sent an account of what had taken place to Jeroboam, and warned Amos to leave Beth-el. "Seer," he said, "away, get thee gone to Judah (thy native land), eat there bread, and there prophesy." That sounds like a reproach that Amos gained a livelihood by prophesying, which he therefore, according to the priest, should exercise in his own country rather than out of it. Amos also understood it in this sense, as is evident from his answer, "I am no prophet nor prophet's son, but an herdsman, and I gather wild figs; but Jahveh took me from behind the flock, and Jahveh said to me—go, prophesy to my people Israel." The assertion "I am no prophet nor prophet's son," scarcely admits of any other interpretation than that there were still existing, even in those days, associations of prophets, to which however Amos will not consent to be regarded as belonging.

But the important communication of Amos well deserves our further consideration. I have to call attention to two inferences which may legitimately be drawn from it. It shows us, in the first place, that there were prophets who formed no part of an association, or at least did not regularly reside in one of the colonies of the prophets. We find that fact established from other quarters. The great majority of the prophets, whose names we know, appear to have held an independent position. Elijah, for example, generally remained concealed, and came forth from his lurking-place into public suddenly, as circumstances required.[2] Elisha dwelt sometimes, indeed, but not always, among the sons of the prophets.[3] Others also, such as Nathan, Gad, Ahijah the Shilonite, Jehu ben Hanani, do not come before us as members of an association, and there is no real ground for the supposi-

[1] Dr J. C. Matthes, "De Pseudoprophetismo Hebraeorum" (L. B. 1859), p. 105 *sq.*, and Payne Smith, *l. c.*, pp. 154-156, are both of this opinion.

[2] See *e.g.* 1 Kings xvii. 1, xviii. 1., xxi. 17, *seq.* 2 Kings i. 3.

[3] 2 Kings ii. 25.

tion that their connection with others has been left unnoticed merely by accident. The prophets also whose writings we possess come forward on an independent footing—they live as ordinary citizens,[1] and lead, as a rule, a wedded life.[2] They had their disciples, trusty friends or helpers, but the relation in which these stood to them seems to have been altogether voluntary and personal.[3] We need scarcely say, that there is in all that nothing surprising. The prophets could never form a caste, a rigidly exclusive corporation. The phenomena which were manifested in the associations of the prophets, could also occur beyond them, and gave to him or to her in whom they appeared the right to the title of Nabi. The members of the guild themselves could not hinder such free prophets, if I may so call them, for these members too claimed for themselves the name of prophet, not on account of what they had learned in the schools, but because they stood in close relation to Jahveh, and experienced occasionally or constantly the influence of Jahveh's spirit. What right therefore had they to deny to others who gloried in the same privilege, that title which they themselves had assumed?

More difficulty is presented by the second fact which we have further to deduce from the narrative of Amos. What is his motive for repudiating, with such vehemence, the title of "prophet" which Amaziah gives him? Why should he think it a disgrace for him to bear it? It is clear he concurs in the reproach which the priest at Bethel had insinuated. He cannot but acknowledge that many prophets by profession, degraded their calling by making it a mere means of gaining a livelihood. He thinks it important to distinguish himself, as clearly as possible, from such men. He stands not on the same footing with them, but opposed to them.

He is, therefore, a prophet opposed to the prophets. If this were a solitary instance of such a fact, it would even

[1] Jer. xxxvii. 12, contains probably an allusion to the landed property of the prophet in the neighbourhood of Anathoth.

[2] The unwedded life of Jeremiah is explained by the peculiar circumstances of the time. Jer. xvi. 1, *sq.*

[3] This is true not merely of the relation between Isaiah, and Uriah, and Zechariah, who are employed by him as witnesses, and called "disciples of Jahveh," but also of the much more intimate connection between Jeremiah and Baruch, Jer. xxxvi., xliii. 3, 6, 7; it is evident from Jer. xlv. how highly the prophet esteemed the voluntary services of his helper.

then be most remarkable. But it is not a solitary instance. Such an antagonism appears clearly, on investigation, to have been very common. It frequently happened that *the prophets of Jahveh were divided among themselves.* When consulted about one and the same thing, they sometimes give diametrically opposite counsels; each one giving his own as "Jahveh's word." We recall the contest between the four hundred prophets and Michaiah ben Imlah, in presence of Ahab and Jehoshaphat.[1] We do not speak too strongly, when we say that the men whose oracles we possess in the Old Testament, constantly combat "the prophets," that is the prophetical guild, and pass upon them a very unfavourable verdict.[2] It was but natural that they, on their part, should return with interest the accusations made against them: a man such as Hananiah, the Gibeonite, did not certainly judge Jeremiah more leniently than Jeremiah judged him.[3]

The seeming strangeness of such a fact would be at once explained, if we could admit the validity of the distinction which is commonly made, and which recently has been expressly elaborated and defended by Dr Payne Smith.[4] According to his view, the title Nabi is assigned in the Old Testament to two classes of men, which we must be specially careful not to confound with each other. The common "prophets," called also "sons of the prophets," who were numerous and active in the different periods of Israel's history, and who formed the associations or schools of the prophets, he compares to the members of the clerical order in a Christian nation. Just as the worthy Christian ministers have been called to their office "of God," or by "God's Holy Spirit," so were also these Israelitish prophets called; but it was as little the task of these prophets, as it is of our clergymen or preachers, to reveal new truths to the people. They limited themselves to maintaining and recommending the Mosaic laws, to contending against the backslidings of their contemporaries, and to the promotion of their moral and

[1] 1 Kings xxii.

[2] See the passages referred to in page 40, likewise Zeph. iii. 4[a]; Zech. xiii. 2-6; Ezek. xiii. 1, to xiv. 11, xxii. 25, 28.

[3] Compare Jer. xxviii.

[4] See the work already referred to, pp. 114, *sq.*, 128, *sq.*, to which I must refer the reader for the further development of the ideas given in the text.

spiritual life. However important and holy that work might be, an extraordinary or supernatural inspiration by the Spirit of God was no more required then than it is now for its accomplishment. We are not therefore to ascribe such an inspiration to *these prophets*. But the similarity between them and Christian ministers extends still further: they too might succumb under the temptations to which their office exposed them. Men, even, who had never received the inward call, could procure admission into their circle. We need not therefore be surprised that the Old Testament gives us examples of the one class as well as of the other. Even the growing degeneracy of the schools of the prophets, of which, also according to Dr Payne Smith, the words of Amos just referred to, bear witness, is, however sad, not surprising. Now the extraordinary messengers of Jahveh, men who consequently were endowed with extraordinary gifts, must be clearly distinguished from such a class of prophets. It was their specific calling to reveal Jahveh's will and counsel, and thus to build on the foundation which their predecessors had laid. Is it any wonder that they stood far above the great mass of those who bore the same official title, and that, from time to time, they found it necessary openly to oppose them? But those members of the same profession themselves must have usually acknowledged the superiority of these privileged persons. It was only in the days of decline which preceded the downfall of the kingdom of Judah, that the ordinary Nabi arrogated to himself the same rank that a Jeremiah occupied by right, and even grew bold enough to withstand him to the face "in the name of Jahveh."

Thus far Dr Payne Smith, who must be allowed the merit of having presented the traditional opinions on this subject in a very persuasive manner, and of having supported them by new proofs. What explanation of the conflict between the prophets should be substituted in place of this theory is a point which must, in the meanwhile, be left entirely undetermined. It is only after we have learned thoroughly the nature of Israelitish prophecy that we shall be in a condition to give the true solution of that phenomenon. But even at present, it can be shown that the view of Dr Payne Smith is unsuccessful; nay, the proof of this must now at once be given.

His representation which, in the main features, agrees with the common conception, and is recommended besides by its apparent simplicity, places us in fact on a wholly wrong position, from which we can obtain nothing but an unjust idea of prophecy. It is an obstacle which must be removed before we can reach the reality.

Let us begin by referring to some particulars which may be accepted without alteration. It is true that the prophetical office brought with it its own peculiar temptations. The Nabi was thought to proclaim "the word of Jahveh," and was consequently consulted by those who desired to become acquainted with it.[1] The priest also revealed the will of Jahveh, especially by the Urim and Thummim—the sacred lot.[2] The nature of the case would certainly point out in most instances to which of the two recourse must be had; but there do not seem to have been any fixed rules on this subject, so that it often depended on the circumstances, and on the opinion of the individual, whose intervention he should call in.[3] In any case it was far from an uncommon practice for men to repair to the prophet, in order to learn from him the decision of Jahveh, whether concerning public or private affairs. It needs no demonstration to show that the popular conviction which is reflected in that practice was flattering to the prophet himself, and could not but make his office to be coveted in the eyes of many an ambitious person. But was it not therefore to be expected that some who lacked the inward call would seek that office? Even the superstition which attributed to the prophet, not merely knowledge of the future, but also the power of determining its course, may have proved an attraction for some. Ahab, for example, holds Elijah as well as Michaiah ben Imlah responsible for their predictions of misfortune.[4] The widow of Zarephath and the Shunamite lay the blame of the disasters which befel them on the mighty prophets with whom they had come in

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 7 ff.; 1 Kings xiv. 1 ff.; 2 Kings xix. 1 ff.; xx. 12-20; Jer. xxi., xxxvii., xxxviii.

[2] See my "Godsdienst van Israël," i. 99-102 (pp. 96-100, English translation).

[3] It is sometimes doubtful to whom the inquirer repaired in order "to ask of Jahveh,"—to the prophet or to the priest. See 2 Sam. xxi. 1.

[4] 1 Kings xviii. 7 ff.; xxi. 20; xxii. 8, 18, 26-28.

contact.[1] One of Ahab's successors threatens Elisha with death, because he had not averted the siege of Samaria and all the misery which that siege entailed.[2] Certainly these instances show also that the exercise of the prophetical office might sometimes be dangerous; but the dangers, inseparable from every high position, usually intimidate only men of weak minds, and form an additional incentive for those who are conscious of their own powers.

Could the prospect too of pecuniary advantage have seduced some, who had not the inner fitness, to assume the upper robe of hair, the external mark of the prophet?[3] That is not probable. It is true the people who came to consult the prophets brought them presents;[4] and the pious, even without any special inducements, thought it their duty to aid them as much as possible, and to contribute to their means of livelihood;[5] but it does not appear that these emoluments were considerable, and such as to make the prophetical office an object of desire for the avaricious. But, granting all that, the poor among them—and that there were such appears clearly from two instances[6]—were placed, by such acts of beneficence, in a position of dependence on those on whose bounty they had to live. We cannot be surprised that there were some for whom the temptation was too strong, and who therefore lowered themselves to become the obedient servants of their distinguished or powerful patrons.

Besides we must not forget that the association of prophets, from the very fact that it was an association, was exposed, like every other, to the danger of degenerating. How easily does routine creep into such societies, and assume the place

[1] 1 Kings xvii. 17 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 22 ff.

[2] 2 Kings vi. 31. According to the common opinion it is Jehoram who speaks here; but it is much more probable for various reasons that the siege of Samaria happened under Jehoahaz the son of Jehu. See chap. xi. of this work.

[3] Zech. xiii. 4. The hairy mantle of Elijah (2 Kings i. 8, cf. ii. 8, 13, 14; 1 Kings xix. 13) and of John the Baptist (Matt. iii. 4) was therefore the distinctive garb of the prophets. Isaiah, as it appears, went generally clad in a loose upper robe, such as the Israelites wore in days of mourning. Is. xx. 2.

[4] 1 Sam. ix. 7, ff., cf. 1 Kings xiv. 2, 3.

[5] 2 Kings iv. 8, ff., cf. 42-44. It may perhaps be inferred from the 23d verse that it was the custom to present gifts to the prophet on the Sabbath or the new moon.

[6] 2 Kings iv. 1-7; vi. 1-7.

of the spiritual forces which had called these communities into life, and had at first roused them into activity! The danger of such a result was here especially great. If genuine inspiration be wanting, and yet is regarded as indispensable, how easily do men come to substitute for it artificial excitement, or to feign the enthusiasm which they do not possess!

Thus far therefore we have been able to accompany Dr Payne Smith, but here we must part. The distinction between the ordinary and the extraordinary Nabi, as he represents it, is altogether unsupported by the facts; and so too is the comparison which he makes between the ordinary prophets and the clerical order in modern society. If it had been their task to instruct the people, and that regularly, surely a clear indication of such a fact would appear somewhere or other; but in vain do we search for a single trace of such a function. The prophets and, at a later period, the prophets' sons, were not scattered through the land, like the scribes after the time of Ezra, but abode together in their settlements. There they were occupied with their exercises of music and song. There is nothing whatever to show that, as they passed through the surrounding district, they had anything to do with the edification or instruction of the people. Least of all, as already has been made plain to us, does the name which they bear show that such was their office. Nabi is the man inspired by the divinity, not the instructor of others. What was expected of the prophet and sought from him is briefly and justly expressed in the verse of Jeremiah, which served us for a starting point—"The word shall not depart from the prophet." As the elders give counsel, and the priest pronounces his legal decisions, so the prophet proclaims the *word*—of course the *word of Jahveh*. It is characteristic that that is not once said, so much was it held as self-evident that the Nabi was the organ of the deity who inspired him. It is in fact inconceivable that such a title should have been given to men who at the same time were declared not to possess that which gave them their right to bear it.

It is not difficult to discover the motives which have led Dr Payne Smith—and so many others before him—to the conception which they have formed. They would like at once

to limit and sharply to define the domain of the supernatural. They place the great majority of the Nebiim on the outside of that domain, in order to be able the better to uphold the divine mission and inspiration of the small number, especially of the prophets whose writings have been preserved to us in the Old Testament. But the passages which lie before us frustrate any such attempt. According to the conviction of the Israelites—of the contemporaries of the prophets as well as of the writers of the Old Testament—*all prophecy* is a supernatural phenomenon resulting from and explained by the working of Jahveh's spirit. It is we who—whether rightly or wrongly will be seen afterwards—distinguish so rigorously the word of particular prophets, specifically the written prophecies, from the utterances of their contemporaries, and especially from those of their opponents. In the Old Testament itself that boundary line is not thus drawn.[1] The prophets, in the days of Samuel, may have bowed before him, their leader; the sons of the prophets, in the days of Ahab and his successors, may have bowed before Elijah and Elisha, and acknowledged their superiority, but this was not a consequence of any consciousness on their part that they did not belong to the number of those who were inspired by Jahveh's spirit. Does not Elisha, too, always call Elijah his "father?" And are we to suppose that the four hundred prophets who assemble around Ahab and Jehoshaphat, think that their word is not at all "the word of Jahveh?" The contrary is most clearly evident. So is it also in later times. The prophets who are combatted by Micah, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, are not at all inclined to retire before them; they rather retort on their assailants the charges which these bring against them. Here, therefore, the explanation proposed by Dr Payne Smith is, in any case, unsuccessful.

No, if we are to abide faithfully by the testimony of the records, then we must acknowledge that the distinctions, so simple in appearance, by the help of which the phenomena are arranged and explained, are the creations of tradition, and are maintained in its interests. Israelitish prophecy was

[1] The attempt to show it in the words which denote the work of the prophet is a failure also. See p. 42, note 6.

in reality a very diversified phenomenon, and the impression which it made corresponded to its internal variety. Opposition to the word of the prophets was far from being a rare occurrence. How great soever the reverence may have been which the Israelites showed to the prophets, they were still in no way inclined to submit implicitly to the authority of any one of them. They judge them freely, withstand them sometimes to the face, nay, they are not afraid to use force against them. The prophet is "a sign that is spoken against," nay, that must be spoken against, for just as on that occasion, in the reign of Ahab, the "yea" of the one prophet stood opposed to the "nay" of the other, so did it continue to be opposed, at least from the eighth century before our era, not as an exceptional instance, but almost as a general rule. The Israelites could not simply obey, even if they had so wished; they must make a choice—must accept the one Nabi and reject the other.

"But," it may perhaps be asked, "was that a matter of so great difficulty? was it not clearly manifest beforehand what the issue of their deliberations must be? It is true the Israelites had to make a choice, but it was a choice, as with ourselves, between light and darkness, truth and falsehood, good and evil, so that every man who sincerely intended to choose rightly ran no risk of making a mistake." The matter is frequently presented in such a form. Very well! let us be at the pains to inquire if such a mode of viewing the subject corresponds to the reality.

We begin by consulting the Mosaic law. It was, according to the common opinion, the rule of faith and conduct for the Israelites, and would, therefore, be first of all resorted to in the perplexity in which they were involved by the contest between the prophets. And, in reality, the book of Deuteronomy contains two directions which come before us here for consideration. The one is to the effect that the prophet who incites his fellow-citizens to serve other gods, is guilty of a capital crime, and must be stoned to death, even though the sign or wonder come to pass, to which he has appealed in confirmation of his word, because the fulfilment was not to be regarded, in that case, as a proof of his having been sent by Jahveh, but as a trial to which Jahveh subjected his

people.[1] The other enactment stands in still closer connection with the subject with which we are at present occupied. After the legislator has admonished the Israelites to listen, not to the soothsayers and wizards, but to the prophets whom Jahveh would raise up from among them, he prescribes that the prophet who shall speak in the name of Jahveh, a word which Jahveh has not put in his mouth, or who shall speak in the name of other gods, shall be punished with death. Thereafter he proceeds thus:—"And if thou say in thine heart, how shall we know the word which Jahveh hath not spoken? When a prophet speaketh in the name of Jahveh, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which Jahveh hath not spoken."[2] The criterion which the legislator here gives is clear: the prediction which is not fulfilled is not from Jahveh, even though it be uttered in his name. Are we entitled also to take this conversely, and to say, the fulfilment of the prediction is the proof that it has proceeded from the inspiration of Jahveh? It is probable that the legislator would have answered this question in the affirmative, with this reservation, however, that the prophet had spoken in Jahveh's name, and for the promotion of Jahveh's worship.[3]

Did these enactments give the Israelite that which he required, in order to enable him to choose a side in the conflict between the Jahveh prophets, and to make no mistake in distinguishing the true from the pretended prophets? It must not, first of all, be lost sight of that very many in our day deny that Moses is the author of Deuteronomy, the book in which we find the two enactments. They maintain that this portion of the legislation was reduced to writing in the seventh century before our era, and was introduced by Josiah in the eighteenth year of his reign. For my own part, I have no hesitation in adopting this opinion. The opportunity of stating the grounds on which it rests will naturally occur in the sequel of our investigation, and will then be taken advantage of; but at the present stage, we need not involve ourselves in that dispute. The opinion at variance with the traditional view would not indeed have

[1] Deut. xiii. 1-5.

[2] Deut. xviii. 9-22. Along with the great majority of expositors, I apply this passage to the prophets in general. I shall afterwards revert to this point.

[3] Cf. Deut. xiii. 2, 3.

been brought forward if it had been plain, from unambiguous instances, that the laws of Deuteronomy, especially those two which we are at present considering, had been observed before Josiah's reformation. But there is, in truth, no evidence whatever to that effect. We search in vain in the prophetical and historical books for a single trace of the practical influence of the legal enactments which I have just mentioned. But let us assume for the moment that they were in existence, and were not unknown to the Israelite. I remark, in the second place, that even if such was the fact, they were not fitted to rescue him from his perplexity. He could, without any difficulty, distinguish between the prophets of Jahveh and those of the other gods—that the latter were not to be followed was self-evident, and did not need to be prescribed by the legislation. It was in making the choice among *the prophets of Jahveh* that the difficulty lay. The law referred the Israelite to the issue; but all kinds of exceptions could be made in the application of this criterion, as shall be shown afterwards.[1] And, besides, how was he to judge concerning the prophet, before the facts had decided? If he predicted events which could come to pass only in the distant future, or of which a succeeding generation only could be the witness, what judgment, in that case, were his cotemporaries in the meantime to form regarding him? It is further to be noticed, in the third place, that the legislator does not point out by whom his law is to be applied and enforced. He addresses himself to Israel, altogether generally; to the entire community, if the reader will, but just on that account to no one in particular. This is a great and essential want in a practical point of view. If a judge is nowhere indicated to investigate the complaint against the prophet, and to pass sentence upon him, of what avail was it to inquire into the nature of his preaching and to make a complaint against it?

Was it the case that this defect in the law was supplied by custom? Did there exist a tribunal acknowledged through use, which took cognisance of the accusations against the prophet, and listened to his defence? As often as he entered into the temple at Jerusalem, and preached there—

[1] See Chap. ix., below.

which was far from being a rare occurrence—he came under the jurisdiction of the priesthood. From the days of Jehoiada onwards, there were some priests expressly charged with the maintenance of order within the sanctuary, with the temple-police.[1] It was their duty to take the oversight of all who came forward as prophets on their domain, and to put them in prison, or the stocks, in case of their misconduct.[2] So we read in a letter which was received at Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah. But a complaint is made in that same document that the priests had made no use of this power of theirs against Jeremiah.[3] Indeed the authority here referred to was properly concerned only with maintaining order and quiet in the temple. These were, in very many cases, preserved better when the prophet was left unmolested than when it was attempted to make him be silent. In so far as the maintenance of order was concerned, the true prophets might easily be held to be as dangerous as their opponents, if not even more dangerous. The power of the priests has therefore properly little or nothing to do with the question treated in the Deuteronomic laws, and, besides, it did not extend farther than the temple walls.

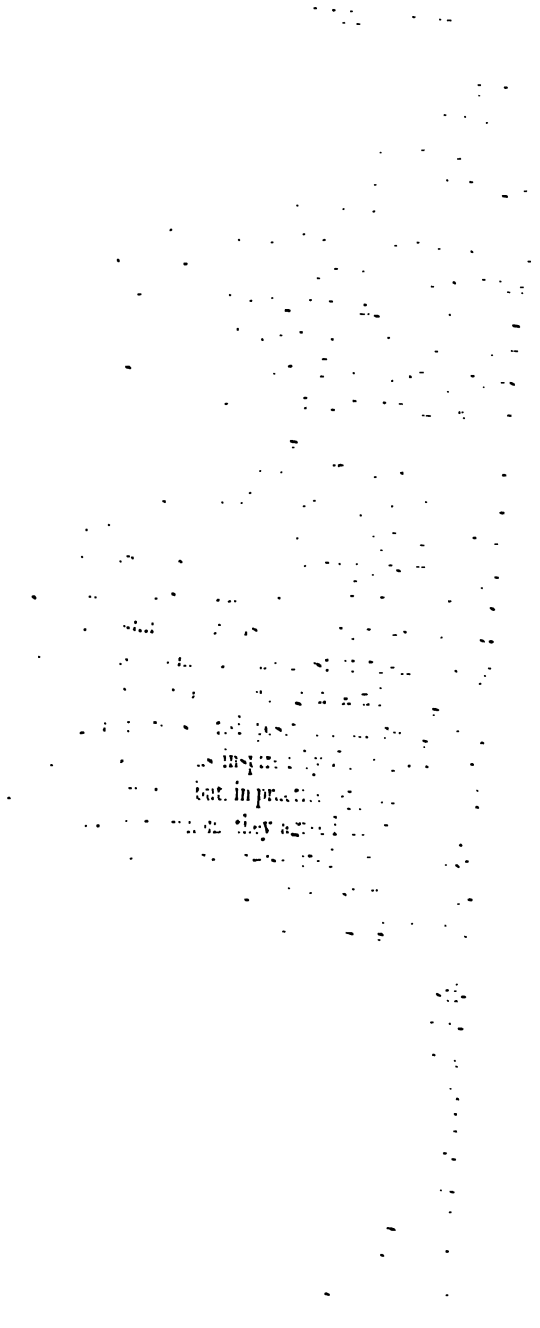
Another communication in the book of the prophecies of Jeremiah, sheds more light on our subject.[4] When he had announced the approaching destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, he was seized by the priests, the prophets, and the whole people, and called to account for his bold language. How dared he to prophesy, in the name of Jahveh, that the sanctuary in Jerusalem would be as that of Shiloh, and that the city would be laid waste and bereft of inhabitants? The princes of Judah, on learning what is taking place, proceed from the king's palace to the temple, where they sit down to take cognisance of the complaint against Jeremiah. It is brought forward by the priests and prophets—Jeremiah has perpetrated an impious deed in speaking against the city chosen by Jahveh, and has therefore rendered himself guilty of death. The prophet's vindication of himself is simple—Jahveh has sent him to prophesy thus against city and temple; he has said nothing more than he was inspired by

[1] 2 Kings xi. 18.
[2] Jer. xxix. 26, cf.; Acts iv. 1; v. 24, 26.
[3] Jer. xxix. 27.
[4] Jer. xxvi. 1-19.

Jahveh to speak. The princes of Judah are satisfied. "This man is not worthy to die, for he hath spoken to us in the name of Jahveh our God." The asseveration of Jeremiah is thus acknowledged by them as true, but on what ground? It is not clear that they required anything more than the unambiguous and re-iterated assertion of the prophet himself, to which, however, his accusers gave no credit. The elders also, who now speak in favour of Jeremiah, bring forward no proofs for the truth of the prophet's own testimony. They remind the assembly that Micah had formerly spoken in the same way against Jerusalem and the temple,[1] and that Hezekiah, far from punishing him on that account, had humbled himself and besought Jahveh's mercy. It was in this manner that the word of Jeremiah also should now be received. That which the accusers of the prophet denied is clearly assumed here as proved, that he was the messenger of Jahveh. The decision of the princes recommends itself to our full sympathy, and so also the plea of the elders. But it cannot escape our notice that there was here no regular trial, and that the criterion supplied by the law is in no way whatever taken into consideration. It cannot be asserted that this incident shows that the indefiniteness of the legal prescriptions was removed by consuetudinary law.

Hence, also, it happened that on other occasions the result was far from being so favourable to Jeremiah and those of kindred sentiments with him. Uriah, the son of Shemaiah, who prophesied against city and temple, "according to all the words of Jeremiah," was brought back by king Jehoiakim to Jerusalem from Egypt, where he had sought refuge, and was slain with the sword.[2] "But," it is added, "the hand of Ahikam, the son of Shaphan, was with Jeremiah that they should not give him into the hand of the people to put him to death."[3] In truth, the question on most occasions was, whether the prophet had protectors powerful enough to ensure his safety against the attempts of those who were exasperated by his preaching. If any one wishes to be convinced of this, let him read the account of Jeremiah's fortunes during the siege of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezar.[4] The dominant party protected and

[1] Micah iii. 12. [2] Jer. xxvi. 20-23. [3] Jer. xxvi. 24.
[4] Jer. xxvii., xxviii.



them.[1] They may be characterised as the opposition party in the prophetical guild. The reason why they assumed that position cannot as yet be explained; but their comparative isolation is so remarkable a fact that we must keep it clearly in view from the commencement, and bear it in mind as we prosecute our investigation.

While we, always provisionally, were regarding Israelitish prophecy as a whole, we find that light has at the same time been shed on the work and character of the men with whom we especially wished to become more closely acquainted—the *canonical* prophets, as we may call them, in distinction from the others. There are still some observations to be made regarding them, which will be of service to us in the future, and which, therefore, find their proper place in this introductory chapter.

We know already that those prophets also proclaimed "the word of Jahveh" to the people, or to those who came to consult them; but sometimes it was not enough for them to utter that "word"—they likewise presented it in a visible form. For this purpose they availed themselves of *symbolical actions*. If we rely upon the narratives which have come down to us, we must assume that those symbols occupied a large and important place in their preaching. Sometimes, indeed, it remains doubtful whether the symbolism which we find described in some of the prophetical books, is a mere literary form or is truly a piece of historical reality. Two examples will illustrate this. Hosea speaks of a marriage into which he entered with an unchaste woman, named Gomer, and of the three children who were born of that union.[2] According to some, this must be understood literally, and agreeably to this view the prophet actually contracted such a marriage, and gave to the children who were born to him symbolical names, for the instruction of his people; others are of opinion that Hosea sets before us here an allegory, and, in this form of his own selection, makes manifest both the sin and the future fate of Israel. The latter view is, in my judgment, strongly recommended by the words of the prophet himself.[3] Jeremiah makes mention of a girdle which he hid by the Euphrates,

[1] See the passages quoted p. 40, notes 1, ff, and p. 49, note 2. [2] Hos. i.
[3] Hos. i. 2; iii. Compare my Hist. krit. Onderzœk, &c., ii. 40, 317 f.

and afterwards brought back.[1] With regard to this account, also, there is the same difference of opinion; that which is regarded by some as the relation of an actual occurrence, is regarded by others as an allegory. There are more narratives of the same kind, the proper import of which is doubtful. But there are others with regard to which there is not the least uncertainty. Thus it will be recollected how Samuel makes his rent mantle a symbol of the rending of the kingdom from Saul;[2] how Ahijah, the Shilonite, divides his garment into twelve parts, and gives ten of them to Jeroboam, in token that ten of the twelve tribes of Israel would acknowledge him as king;[3] how Jeremiah, by the breaking in pieces of an earthen vessel, represents, figuratively, the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah;[4] and how, on another occasion, he appears in the temple with a yoke on his neck, the symbol of subjection to the Chaldaeans, which is as symbolically broken by Hananiah, his opponent.[5] That the prophets made use of such means can need no justification; for just as these symbols, in by far the most cases, were eminently fitted to depict the truth which stood before the prophet's eyes, so in general representations of that nature agreed with the taste of the Orientals, and imparted, therefore, no little force to the impression which the preaching of the prophets made upon them.

Of still more importance is another means which is employed by our canonical prophets, in addition to oral addresses, and for the better attainment of their object. They have not merely uttered the "word of Jahveh," but they have also reduced it to writing. The proofs lie before us. But our authorities permit us to go somewhat further, and to define more exactly the relation in which the speaking and the writing of the prophet stood to each other.

That the prophet of Jahveh is not, if I may so express myself, by nature a writer, is a fact which is clearly apparent. The spoken word has the priority in more than one sense. If we leave Moses, the law-giver, out of account here, as it is only fair to do, then we must acknowledge, on the ground of the facts themselves, that the prophets had laboured for centuries in Israel before one of them wrote down "the word of

[1] Jer. xiii. [2] 1 Sam. xv. 27, 28. [3] 1 Kings xi. 29, ff.
[4] Jer. xix. [5] Jer. xxviii.

Jahveh" for his people. It is not quite settled to what epoch the oldest of our prophetical writings should be assigned. All are agreed that Amos belongs to the reign of Jeroboam II., to about the beginning of the eighth century before our era. Many hold his prophecies to be the oldest of all that we possess, and on good grounds; but, according to some, his book is preceded in order of time by that of Joel, a contemporary of Joash, king of Judah (878-838 B.C.), others place Obadiah still earlier, under Joram ben Jehoshaphat (893-885 B.C.) Nevertheless, be that as it may, two centuries at any rate—according to others, even three centuries—undoubtedly elapsed between Samuel (±1100 B.C.) and the earliest portion of prophetical literature that has been preserved. The supposition that older prophecies once existed in writing but are now lost, has nothing to recommend it. The committing of Jahveh's word to writing marks therefore a later stage in the history of prophecy.

The spoken word claims the priority in yet another sense, inasmuch as it does not appear to have been the case that the prophets ever wrote down their oracles first, and thereafter read them in public. There are indeed some prophecies which, it is almost certain, were never orally delivered; for example, those against the heathen, as well as remonstrances, like those of Ezekiel, which are not addressed to any particular audience, but are evidently intended to be read and pondered; yet these oracles, for the very reason that they never were delivered, are no exceptions to the rule just stated, that the writing never preceded the oral delivery. We deduce this rule both from the fact that the prophet is nowhere represented to us as reading what he had previously written, and also from the nature of prophecy. The Nabi is, and cannot but be, an improvisatore. He acts and speaks under influence of the moment, seized suddenly by the spirit of Jahveh, which is said to fall or spring upon him. The supposition that he had calmly considered his addresses is hardly to be reconciled with the enthusiasm to which he owes his name, the supposition that he had committed them to writing and read them in public can in no way whatever be reconciled with it.

It follows from this, that the written prophecy, when

it was not, as in the cases just mentioned, intended from the beginning to be read, can never be anything else than the *reproduction of the spoken word.* But how is that to be understood? Are we to understand by it that the prophet reproduced literally what he had delivered before his audience? or has he gone to work here with more or less freedom? Without any hesitation, I pronounce for the latter alternative.

In the first place, literal reproduction of the spoken word was an impossibility, in by far the greater number of instances. How could the prophet have been in a condition to remember the very words which he had used, when he stood among the people? When the feelings of the auditors had been aroused by his address, they would frequently interrupt him with shouts of approbation or disapprobation: how could that be reproduced exactly as it had occurred? Without a continually repeated miracle that was in truth almost always impracticable.

In the second place, what motive could the prophet have for confining himself to the literal reproduction of his address? The spoken word had attained its aim, or it had not; the writing of it was a new act, undertaken with a view to other persons, and to their peculiar needs. It would frequently have been unsuitable to write for them in their circumstances the very same thing which had formerly been spoken for the benefit of those who were then present. During the interval of time which had elapsed between the speaking and the writing, the circumstances had perhaps more or less changed. May the prophet not have taken that change into account? There is, in truth, not a single conceivable reason why we should be obliged to ascribe to him such a scrupulosity.

In the third place, all that has been advanced is confirmed by the form of the prophetical literature. Its productions are not all of the same character, in so far as regards the form; nevertheless, in the great majority of cases, they are elaborated with care, some of them even with great art. We shall return to this subject afterwards. Let it suffice for the present to recall to mind that, in most prophecies, the poetical rhythm—the so-called parallelism of the members of the verse—is strictly attended to, that many are divided

into strophes or couplets, and that in some the ending or the beginning of a strophe is marked by a repetition of the same verse.[1] It is utterly inconceivable that the prophets should have spoken in a form marked by such careful consideration.

Finally, we have in the Old Testament one narrative concerning the written redaction of the prophetical addresses. It is contained in Jer. xxxvi. Far indeed from contradicting or weakening the result of the foregoing reasoning, it tends to make the difference between the spoken and the written word considerably greater than we should have presupposed it. Jeremiah had been labouring as a prophet for twenty-three years, before he thought of committing his oracles to writing. After the lapse of that time—it was in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim—he received from Jahveh the command to take a book-roll, and to write in it all the words which Jahveh had put into his mouth against Israel, and against Judah, and against all the nations; it might be that the men of Judah, hearing what Jahveh purposed to do unto them, would repent, and thus avert the threatened evil (vv. 1-3). Jeremiah summons his servant Baruch, dictates to him all the words that Jahveh had spoken unto him, and orders him to read them, in the temple, to the multitude there assembled (vv. 4-7). Jehoiakim is told of that public reading, orders the roll of Baruch to be brought to him, and consigns it to the flames (vv. 20-26). Thereafter, at the command of Jahveh (vv. 27-31), Jeremiah took another roll, gave it to Baruch, and dictated to him "all the words of the book which Jehoiakim had burned; also there were added besides unto them many other like words." The circumstance, mentioned last, is not the least remarkable of the points in that narrative; if what Jeremiah had to do had been to reproduce literally his addresses to the people, then no such supplement could have been admitted. But besides all this, let both the interval of twenty-three years and the service rendered by Baruch be taken into consideration. We could easily imagine the prophets as keeping an accurate register of the revelations which were made to them—in other words, we could regard the prophetical writings as the diaries of their preaching, which

[1] Amos i., ii.; Is. ix. 7—x. 4; Hab. ii. 6-20, are instances of this last.

they had themselves kept. The testimony of Jeremiah goes against such an idea. A specific inducement was needed in order that he should commit his oracles to writing. That which he commanded to be written must have been fitted for the auditory that Baruch would find in the temple, and cannot therefore, for this reason alone, have been a literal reproduction of those discourses which he had formerly delivered. Can the book-roll, which was written in the fourth year of Jehoiakim, have well contained anything else than a survey of Jeremiah's work as a prophet, arranged, it might be, in chronological order? At that time the co-operation of Baruch was simply mechanical; but now that he knew how Jeremiah regarded the written prophecies, what would hinder him on another occasion to work in a more independent manner, and to commit to writing himself either the narrative of Jeremiah's fortunes, or some of his later addresses themselves? In proportion as the prophets themselves exercised less care in preserving in a literal form the discourses spoken by them, in the same proportion was greater scope for free reproduction afforded to the redactors of their preaching—the collectors of the prophetical writings. It is true that, from the nature of the case, Jer. xxxvi. can give us no assistance in answering the various questions to which it gives occasion, but that chapter certainly makes it incumbent on us to state them, and to have regard to them in the explanation of the prophecies.

But enough for the present concerning the prophetical literature and its relation to the preaching of the prophets. I shall add only one remark further, which forces itself upon us as we consider the facts to which I have just adverted. At first the prophets did not write—afterwards they did. They had laboured for centuries in Israel, before they made use of that means. We shall have opportunity afterwards of showing more fully the causes which, in the beginning of the eighth century, led them to adopt that course, and the consequences which their coming forward as writers justifies us in drawing with regard to the nature of their work. At present I must limit myself to pointing out the fact, that so important a change in their manner of working did take place. Their character, therefore, did not, as centuries elapsed, continue in all respects the same. Israelitish prophecy is no

stationary phenomenon, it has its history—a thought pregnant with results, which here can be only mentioned, but which will afterwards be found most serviceable.

We shall not, however, allow this part of our subject any longer to detain us. According to the plan previously laid down, we henceforth devote all our attention to the canonical prophets. We will first of all listen to the testimony which they bear concerning themselves and their relation to Jahveh who sent them. The study of their prophetical self-consciousness transports us at once to the heart of our subject, and for this, as well as for many other reasons, has full right to take precedence of other topics.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CONVICTION OF THE ISRAELITISH PROPHETS WITH REGARD TO THEIR DIVINE COMMISSION.

WHEN we take up the prophetical literature, and peruse its various productions in their order, we notice immediately that it has an entire agreement, in one respect, with every other literature, which, as is the case here, has not sprung into existence suddenly, but has been, so to say, in course of composition for ages in succession. When we compare the prophetical writings with each other, a great difference of language and style becomes apparent. Even the earliest expositors of the Old Testament had observed that fact, and directed the attention of their readers to it. Jerome, the church father, frequently gives very just intimations concerning the characteristics of particular prophets, for example, regarding the abrupt style of Hosea. In the middle ages it was universally acknowledged, more on the ground of Jerome's authority, than as a result of independent observation, that each prophet had his own peculiar manner of speaking and writing. The Protestant theology did not exactly favour the recognition of such facts, as it attended rather to the unity of the whole Bible, and thus to the mutual agreement of its component parts, than to the individuality of the several authors. Nevertheless that also was not denied by the orthodox protestant theologians. Witsius, for example, writes thus:[1] "Let it be borne in mind that the diction of the prophets varies widely, according to the difference, not only of the subjects, but also of the writers. When Jeremiah relates the events of his time, he writes in another style than when he predicts, or bewails the sad fate of his people. Isaiah far excels all the others in the elevation of his language." He

[1] *L. c.* Lib. i., cap. xi., § 11.

afterwards proposes the question, how that variety is consistent with the operation of the Holy Spirit, which all the prophets alike experienced? "It need not be assumed that the Spirit communicated to each of them every particular word that he was to say or write, in such a way that the action of the prophet's mind was of absolutely no service in the consideration and arrangement of the words. How, in that case, could the style vary according to the natural character and the training of the prophets? Let it rather be held that the Holy Spirit acted in a rational way with rational beings, and, adapting himself to the character of every writer, employed the natural endowments of each, and made them serviceable for the object he had in view, in such a way that they, speaking in accordance with their natural character, were so guided by the Holy Spirit, that they did not deviate from what he intended. In consequence of this, Isaiah spake in one way, Ezekiel in another, but both from God."

It will not be necessary to add much to these remarks. The difference is so great, that it does not disappear even in a translation, and can at once be ascertained by anyone. It comes out in a particularly clear manner, in the modes and turns of expression repeatedly employed by some prophets, while they are not once met with in the others. Thus there are, for example, many peculiar expressions which are used again and again by Ezekiel, and by him alone. Jahveh addresses him by the name "son of man" nearly one hundred times; he repeatedly receives the command "to set his face against," &c., and he calls Israel "house of rebelliousness." The individuality of the rest of the prophets may be somewhat less sharply marked, but is nevertheless distinctly recognisable.

It is self-evident that the personal characteristics of the prophet, which are reflected in his manner of writing, are influenced by the period in which he lives. Now it is universally acknowledged, that language and style undergo changes more or less important in the course of centuries. We therefore expect that we shall find the proofs of such changes in the prophetical writings also; and the fact fully responds to that expectation. The *language* of the prophets in the Chaldean and Persian periods is a good deal less pure

and forcible than that of their predecessors in the eighth century, B. C. What a difference, for example, between the language of Isaiah and that of Ezekiel! The influence of the period to which he belongs shows itself likewise in the *style* of the prophet. It cannot well be merely a matter of accident, nor can it be explained simply from the individuality of the writers, that the poetical rhythm is so much more strictly attended to in the earlier prophecies, than in the more recent, nay, that in the latter it is sometimes altogether wanting. It is as if the later prophets rise, only in exceptional cases, to those flights of eloquence which characterize, as if by nature, the earlier seers. It need scarcely be said, however, that we have to do here with a relative difference. The time in which the prophets live, influences them all in one and the same direction; but the one prophet is much more influenced by it than the other. The nature of the one yields to the force of the circumstances, that of the other reacts against it. Thus, for example, Habakkuk and Jeremiah are nearly contemporaries; nevertheless there is a *very* remarkable distinction in form between the two prophets. As regards the form, Habakkuk is much more of a poet than Jeremiah; the last chapter of his oracles contains a hymn, which is characterised as much by its sublimity, as by its faultless rhythm. With this reservation, however, it can be testified of the prophets also, that, as writers, they are the children of their time.

Even on a cursory perusal of the prophetical writings, another phenomenon presents itself to us, which, like the difference in language and style just noticed, deserves to engage our attention for a few moments, before we pass on to our proper subject. Writers who labour among one people, and in one spirit, will naturally take knowledge of each other's work, and show the influence of that knowledge in what they themselves produce. The Israelitish prophets are no exception to this general rule; their oracles afford proof that the one knew and imitated the other.

Before, however, we discuss their mutual dependence, let us say a single word concerning the degree of their independence as a body. According to the traditional view, the Mosaic law is some centuries older than the oldest of the

prophetical books. Hence it is commonly assumed, that the prophets had read and meditated upon the Pentateuch, and the points of contact between their writings and the Mosaic ordinances and narratives are explained by supposing that they followed what they had found there. This method of viewing the facts is applied, not only to the passages in which an acquaintance with the history of the patriarchal and Mosaic times is discernible,[1] but also to the prophetical utterances of religious and moral import, to which parallels, as is often the case, can be adduced from the Pentateuch, especially from the book of Deuteronomy.[2] Nevertheless it cannot be assumed as proved, that such is, in truth, the relation in which the prophets stand to the books of Moses. The remark that was formerly made with regard to the fifth book,[3] applies also to the rest. According to the judgment of many, they belong to a later period, and they are, partly coeval with the writings of the canonical prophets, partly also of a somewhat more recent date. Accordingly, in the estimation of those who adopt that opinion, the mutual relation of the Law and the Prophets is altered—the former becomes dependent on the latter. The independence and originality are, as it were, transposed, and are no longer assigned to the Pentateuch, but to the prophetical literature—a most important inversion of the order of things. It would however be premature, at our present stage, either to accept, or to reject it. We shall have an opportunity, and also be better prepared, to take up the discussion of this important question, at a later stage. At present we confine ourselves to that which is not disputed; and therefore leave also the relation between the prophets and the authors of the psalms, in the meantime undetermined; for the same difference of opinion presents itself with regard to their relation, as exists with regard to that between the Law and the Prophets.

That some of the prophets are dependent on others of their number is doubted by none; it is only concerning the degree of that dependence that any difference of opinion is shown. The very smallest agreement between two prophets, for

[1] See Amos ii. 9, 10; iv. 11; v. 25, 26; Hos. xii. 4, 5, 13; Micah vi. 5, &c., &c.

[2] Cf. *e.g.*, Micah vi. 8, with Deut. x. 12, 13.

[3] See p. 56.

example, the use of the same or nearly the same word, is explained by many as resulting from the one having imitated the other. If that explanation be the true one, then all independence must be denied to the younger prophets, then their writing must have consisted in combining and blending together detached passages which they had read in their predecessors. It is indeed strange, that such a conception could have entered into the minds of learned men, who, in other respects, are not lacking in reverence for the Israelitish prophets. Many similarities must rather be regarded as accidental coincidences, many others as involuntary reminiscences of what had formerly been read or heard. This latter case, however, shows of itself that the prophet was not unacquainted with his predecessors. That appears still more clearly from the numerous passages whose striking agreement admits of no other explanation than direct imitation or borrowing. When the words

> "Jahveh shall from Zion roar,
> And from Jerusalem shall utter his voice."

occur both in Amos[1] and in Joel,[2] no one will imagine this occurrence to be accidental. One of the two prophets has adopted them from the other. Similar instances present themselves from time to time. From the store of unambiguous examples, which is considerable, I give some of the most striking.

Let Isaiah ii. 2-5, and Michah iv. 1-5 be compared. It is at once plain, that the two passages are, at the beginning, almost the same; it is only towards the end that a difference is shown. The beautiful description of the universal peace in Micah v. 4, "They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid, for the mouth of Jahveh of hosts hath spoken," is wanting in Isaiah; yet that which the latter writes in v. 5, agrees so closely with that which follows in Micah (also in v. 5), that it is certain the two verses cannot have originated independently of each other. We may suppose either that Isaiah adopted this prophecy from Micah, or that Micah borrowed it from Isaiah, or—and this is by far the most probable—that both follow one and the same model. In any case, borrowing has

[1] Chap. i. 2. [2] Chap. iii. 16.

here been practised, whether by one of the two prophets, or by both. Something of the same kind may, with great probability, be assumed, with regard to "the oracle against Moab" in Isaiah xv., xvi. The last two verses (chap. xvi. 13, 14), must be regarded as a postscript added by Isaiah to an older prophecy. The distinction drawn between the time at which Jahveh first announced the judgment concerning Moab, and the present time,[1] wherein the term is fixed for the fulfilment of that threatening, is obvious at once. Now Isaiah does not expressly say, that the first announcement was made through another prophet, and as little does he give us to understand, that he himself is the author of the oracle whose realization he expects; but when we take into account that Isaiah xv. 1—xvi. 12, differ in language and manner from Isaiah's prophecies, then we do not hesitate to understand his testimony in vv. 13, 14, in such a way as that he there distinguishes himself from the author of the preceding verses. He thus applies in this case also the method which he employs in chap. ii. 1-5, only on a larger scale. This is the more remarkable, because Isaiah belongs to the older prophets, and least of all borrows from others on account of poverty. We are not surprised then to find the more recent prophets following in the same track. This is universally acknowledged as regards Jeremiah. The comparison of his prophecies against the heathen with the models which the prophet had before him, shows clearly, how he now sometimes imitated them, then again adopted portions of them.[2] In his turn Jeremiah is now sometimes imitated by Ezekiel, at other times again is, as it were, commented on by him.

We may be satisfied with these proofs—a few out of very many—the more readily, because the conclusion to which they lead us is established by the express testimony of the prophets themselves. Ezekiel refers, in no ambiguous terms, to that which Jahveh had spoken "in old time by his servants the prophets of Israel.[3] Zechariah reminds his contemporaries

[1] This opposition does not very clearly appear in the Authorised version but is evident when we translate (v. 13), "This is the word that Jahveh spake concerning Moab *long ago* (v. 14), but *now* speaketh Jahveh, saying," &c.

[2] Compare the Commentators on Jer. xlviii. and xlix. 7-22.

[3] Chap. xxxviii. 17, compare lxxxix. 8.

of the preaching of the older prophets, and warns them not to fall into the sin of their fathers, who, to their hurt, had given no heed to the threatening.[1] Daniel, as we read in the book called after him,[2] discovers in the (prophetical) *writings*, the number of the years which must elapse, according to the prediction of Jeremiah, before the ruins of Jerusalem were restored, while his prophecy of the seventy year-weeks[3] rests wholly on that which his predecessor had uttered regarding the seventy years of the servitude of Judah.[4]

The case admits of no doubt—the canonical prophets are mutually allied and are closely connected with one another. The one may stand more by himself, the other may be more dependent upon his predecessors, collectively they all form, as it were, one school, or they may be likened to the links of one chain.

The phenomena with which we have thus far become acquainted, are anything but exceptional. Was it really necessary then to spend time in considering them? If our investigation had been concerned with any other subject, we might have passed them by, but in the study of the prophetical writings we could not leave them unnoticed. Here they are coupled with the derivation of the prophetical word from another source than the ordinary human knowledge of the prophets themselves. Israelitish prophecy comes forward with a claim to divine origin and divine authority. The canonical prophets, all without distinction, are possessed by the consciousness that they proclaim *the word of Jahveh*, and express that conviction, on frequent occasions, and in the most unambiguous manner.

Wherefore should we furnish an express demonstration of that which nobody doubts? He who is familiar with the prophetical writings will grant at once that such a conviction is universal, and is everywhere either expressed in so many words or involuntarily manifested. In the beginning of Isaiah's prophecies we find the exclamation—

> "Hear O heavens! and give ear O earth!
> For Jahveh hath spoken—
> I have nourished and brought up children,
> And they have transgressed against me."[5]

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[1] Chap. i. 4. Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10.
[2] Chap. ix. 2.
[3] Chap. ix. 24-27.
[4] Isa. i. 2.

And Malachi closes his admonitions with the prediction, "Behold I (Jahveh) send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of Jahveh, and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to the fathers, so that I (Jahveh) may not come and smite the land with a curse."[1] The first and the last word of the collection of the prophetical books are words of Jahveh; from the beginning to the end he is introduced as speaker by men who are persuaded that they can come forward as his interpreters. The separate addresses of the prophets are designated in the titles as "the word of Jahveh that came to." . . . . Again and again the stream of the prophetical discourse is interrupted by such phrases as, "Thus saith Jahveh," or "Thus hath Jahveh spoken," or "utterance of Jahveh,"[2] and many others of the same import. But the better way will be for the reader to open the prophetical writings—in what place is a matter of indifference—he will find everywhere the confirmation of the fact to which our attention has now been directed.

That fact will be put in a clearer light by two particulars, which in appearance are at variance with each other, but which are really in harmony. The first which deserves our attention is that the first person singular frequently denotes in the prophetical writings not the prophet who speaks or writes, but Jahveh. It is superfluous to adduce instances; every page of the prophetical literature furnishes them in great number. That use of the first person is frequently accompanied by the mention of Jahveh's name,[3] which, strictly speaking, would be then only perfectly suitable when the prophet was bearing witness regarding him, or was speaking about him. It is thus most clearly evident that the prophet identifies himself with his sender—that he is thoroughly convinced that he is "the mouth of Jahveh."[4]

Nevertheless—and this is the second particular which I had in view—the prophet sometimes places himself over against Jahveh, and specifically makes a distinction between

[1] Malachi iv. 5, 6.

[2] In Hebrew ne'ûm, properly a participle passive, which may also be translated "oracle."

[3] See *e.g.*, the closing verses of Malachi just quoted.

[4] Compare Jer. xv. 19; Exod. iv. 16; vii. 1.

his own wishes and thoughts and those of his sender. But let the manner in which this is done be carefully marked. The prophet acknowledges that he would gladly speak otherwise than Jahveh prescribes to him. He lays all stress on the fact that his heart rises up against the severe words which are often put in his mouth. If he could yield to the love which he bears to Israel, or consult his own interest, he would speak of prosperity and peace, and not of danger and judgment. It is in Jeremiah especially that we meet with such assurances, which sometimes pass into bitter complaints, nay, into imprecations upon the lot to which he has been subjected. But, nevertheless, the distinction which we find drawn in such passages is, in fact, in perfect harmony with the identification of the prophet with Jahveh, to which we first drew attention. For, let it not be forgotten, in those struggles of which the prophets speak, Jahveh is the conqueror at the end. The conflict has been already fought out, when they make mention of it in their discourses or their writings. They have yielded to his superior might, and they stand before us now as the interpreters of a will which is not their own, but to which, compelled by the force of the truth, they have submitted themselves. Thus, then, even there, where the prophet and his sender could least of all be identified, the prophetical word is the word of Jahveh.

This self-consciousness of the Israelitish prophets is a fact of the very greatest importance. We see here men who can find no words sufficient to declare the might and majesty of Jahveh; who have a deep and lively feeling of their own utter nothingness before him, and, nevertheless, in spite of the distance which separates them from him, declare emphatically that they know his counsels and speak his word. It is true, indeed, that we find the same conviction amongst the other nations of ancient times as well; the prophets of Israel do not stand alone in the belief that a higher power inspires them, and communicates to them what they must proclaim; but such a circumstance does not diminish our interest in that conviction. There is, besides, in the manner in which it is expressed here in Israel, and specifically in the conception of Jahveh's nature and attributes with which it is associated, something that is in itself peculiar, and which compels our

reverence and redoubles our attention. Nothing is, therefore, more natural than that we should extend our investigation further, with the view of fully comprehending, if that be possible, a phenomenon so important. What did the prophets mean, when they declared that it was the word of Jahveh which they proclaimed? Whence the certainty with which they came forward as the interpreters of the god of Israel? These are the questions which we must endeavour to answer out of their own writings.

Let me at once plainly declare, that the study of the prophetical literature does not bring us so far as we could, in fact, wish with regard to these points. More than one question will remain unsolved at the close. The prophets indicate their conviction in a roundabout way rather than explain it, or reveal the ground on which it rests. Still even that negative result has its value, and we obtain besides intimations which are not devoid of importance.

The prophets are *sent by Jahveh*, and that for the purpose of speaking those words which they deliver to their people. This formula, (which is employed by Jeremiah especially[1]) is the most general expression of the prophetical self-consciousness. Wherein this mission consists, or how the prophet obtains the certainty of it, is of course not thereby explained. It remains even undetermined, whether we are to think of one sending once for all, or rather of a commission renewed, as often as the occasion arises, for delivering some particular mandate of Jahveh. But on that point we shall have more to say immediately.

Somewhat less general seems the assurance of the prophet that he has *heard* or *seen* that which he publishes to Israel. The former of these expressions occurs, comparatively speaking, but seldom,[2] unless, indeed, it be in connection with the visions which we shall immediately have to describe more

[1] See Jer. i. 7; vii. 25; xix. 14; xxv. 4, &c., &c.; and in contrast thereto Jer. xiv. 14, 15; xxiii. 21, 32, &c., &c. Compare also Is. vi. 8; Ezek. ii. 3. 4; iii. 6 (and in contrast thereto xiii. 6); Is. xlii. 19; xlviii. 16; lxi. 1; Hag. i. 12; Zach. ii. 8, 9, 11; iv. 9; vi. 15; vii. 12; Mal. iv. 2. A parallel passage is Hag. i. 13, where the prophet is called "Jahveh's messenger," the same name that is given elsewhere in the Old Testament to the higher beings who deliver or execute Jahveh's commands.

[2] Jer. xlix. 14; Is. xxi. 10.

minutely, and in which the voice of Jahveh is usually represented as being heard. In so far, however, as "the word of Jahveh," which the prophet utters, is to be regarded as having been previously heard by him, we find this idea on every page of the prophetical writings. Still, it is not said how the messenger of Jahveh heard the word of his sender, nor on what evidence he recognised it. As little is this evident from the passages in which we read that Jahveh *discloses* his counsel to the prophet, or *reveals* himself to him, or *uncovers* his ear, in order, namely, to make a communication to him.[1] The same phrases are employed with regard to men in their mutual relations, and express, in another form, the same thought which is involved in "the word of Jahveh."

The passages are numerous in which mention is made of what the prophets *saw*, or of what Jahveh *showed* them. The name Chozéh, which is assigned to them also in the prophetical writings, is, as has already been observed,[2] most probably derived from this "seeing." Prophecy in general is denoted by various appellations, which all have the signification of "something seen."[3] This is not uncommon in the titles, as "the vision of Isaiah," "of Obadiah," "the book of the vision of Nahum."[4] But the prophets themselves also use these words. Thus Ezekiel writes—"They shall (in vain) seek *a vision* from the prophet"[5]—while in the similar passage of Jeremiah, to which he here refers—"*The word* shall not perish from the prophet."[6] In Hosea Jahveh testifies that he "has spoken to the prophets, and has multiplied the vision."[7] Micah speaks of "a night without vision," as of a time in which there is no answer from God.[8] Other passages are just as unambiguous.[9]

[1] Amos iii. 7; Is. xxii. 14; Dan. ii. 22, 28, 29, 47; x. 1; compare 1 Sam. ii. 27; iii. 7, 21; ix. 15; 2 Sam. vii. 27.

[2] See p. 43.

[3] They are in Hebrew chizzayôn, machazeh, chazôn, chazûth, mar'eh and mar'ah.

[4] Is. i. 1; Obad. verse 1; Nah. i. 1. [5] Chap. vii. 26. [6] Chap. xviii. 18.

[7] Chap. xii. 11 (in the Heb., but verse 10, auth. ver.) [8] Chap. iii. 6, 7.

[9] See further, for chazôn, Is. xxix. 7; Jer. xiv. 14; xxiii. 6; Ezek. vii. 13: xii. 22-24, 27; xiii. 16; Hab. ii. 2, 3; Dan. i. 17; viii. 1, 2, 13, 15, 17, 26; ix. 21, 24; x. 14; xi. 14. For chazûth, Is. xxi. 2; xxviii. 18; xxix. 11; Dan. viii. 5, 8. For chizzayôn, Is. xxii. 6; Joel iii. i.; Zech. xiii. 4. For machazeh, Ezek. xxiii. 7. For mar'eh and mar'ah, Ezek. viii. 4, and elsewhere; Dan. viii. 16, and elsewhere.

But our authorities allow us to go still further, and to penetrate deeper into the character of these visions. The prophets speak of them, not merely in general expressions, but they also describe them, sometimes, indeed, with great fulness. In Isaiah (chap. vi.), Jeremiah (chap. i. 4-19), and Ezekiel (chaps. i.-iii.), such a "vision" precedes the entrance upon the prophetical career; in that vision the summons of Jahveh comes to them, and they receive the indication, alike of the task which is laid upon them and of the lot which they have to expect. Who does not remember the sublime scene, so strikingly depicted by Isaiah? The descriptions of the two other prophets cannot stand a comparison with it, but, at the same time, they descend not less into details. The visions of which Amos speaks,[1] and a second vision mentioned by Jeremiah,[2] are more simple. These are the only visions with which we meet in the pre-exilic prophets. In Ezekiel, Zachariah the son of Iddo, and Daniel, descriptions of this kind are far more numerous and circumstantial.[3]

We have therefore a superabundance of narratives; yet there is a difference of opinion with regard to the use which we are to make of them. It seems indeed the simplest way of all, to understand the communications of the prophets as being the pure expression of reality, and thus to believe that their description of what they saw and heard, is strictly accurate both as to the matter and the manner. Any other view seems even capricious and unfair: what reason have we to question the historical fidelity of the prophets? But let us not be deceived by mere appearances! The observation which was made in the previous chapter about the spoken and the written prophetical word,[4] applies also to the present case. It is for a definite purpose that Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel give a narrative of what took place when they were called; their account of it is a portion of the writing which they penned for the benefit of their contemporaries, and with a view to their wants. They were no more bound to describe, with strict accuracy, how they were consecrated to their office, than they were either able or obliged to reproduce, in

[1] Chap. vii. 1-3, 4-6, 7-9; viii. 1-3; ix. 1. [2] Chap. xxiv.
[3] Ezek. viii. ff; xxxviii. 1-14; xl. ff; Dan. vii., viii., x. ff; Zech. i.-vi.
[4] See pp. 64-67.

their writings, word for word, what they had spoken to the people at an earlier or a later period. The prophets were, in general, free in the choice of the forms which they should adopt. They could declare "the word of Jahveh," simple and unadorned, but they might also clothe it in such a garb as their own taste and the wants of their hearers or readers seemed to require or to recommend. "The word of Jahveh" which Nathan had to deliver to David was the severe condemnation of the crimes committed by him, and the announcement of the righteous punishment. It lay with himself to determine whether he would declare that "word," as Elijah, for instance, delivered his message before Ahab,[1] or whether he should rather do it in the strikingly beautiful parable of the rich and the poor man.[2] In like manner the prophets might not merely give a visible form to their thoughts—the thoughts of Jahveh—in a symbolical action, but it was also quite within their option to present them in vivid colours in the (fictitious) narrative either of an emblematic deed, or of a vision. Some instances of the former have already been adduced.[3] There was no single valid reason why they should abstain from the latter—the clothing of the word of Jahveh in the form of a vision.

We are therefore entitled, nay obliged, to ask whether they have also made use of this freedom which they possessed? The answer does not seem doubtful. The visions which even so early a writer as Amos sketches for us, give us rather the impression of a well-considered visible representation of his conception of the fate which Israel had to expect, than of a faithful reproduction of the images which he had beheld whilst in an ecstatic state.[4] The elaborate, and even rather overcharged pictures also of Ezekiel, Zechariah, and Daniel, must probably be regarded as products of art. One remarkable proof in favour of this view will be immediately considered—the important part which the angels play in these more recent visions.[5] But apart from that, these pictures

[1] 1 Kings xxi. 17, ff. [2] 2 Sam. xii. 1-6. [3] See page 61.

[4] Thus, for example, Amos viii. 1-3, is founded on a play of words. "Summer fruit" (kaitz), and "end" (kêtz), have in Hebrew almost the same sound. Can the said passage well be anything else, than a representation of this accidental agreement which has been observed by the prophet? [5] See further on pp. 87, f.

exhibit features which are in the highest degree natural and appropriate, when regarded as freely chosen allegorical drapery, but which present great difficulties, or even involve impossibilities when regarded as having been seen by the prophets exactly as they describe them to us. When Jeremiah speaks of "a seething pot which was turned to him from the north," we understand his meaning, a meaning which he himself moreover explains in the words immediately following—"out of the north shall the evil boil forth against all the inhabitants of the land."[1] But what conception can we form of a vision in which the prophet could determine that such was the position or direction of the pot? To mention one instance more, how could Daniel, standing by the river Ulai, *see* that "the little horn of the he-goat waxed exceeding great toward the south, and toward the east, and toward the pleasant land" (Palestine).[2] On the other hand, these words are perfectly clear, when understood as the drapery of the idea that one of the later kings (viz., Antiochus Epiphanes) of the kingdom founded by Alexander the Great, was displaying his power or causing it to be felt, in the direction of Egypt, Babylonia, and Palestine.

With regard to each vision, therefore, we must inquire, how we are to regard it—as reality, or as fiction. Further, even when the probability is in favour of the former view, it cannot at once be assumed as proved that the description corresponds, in all respects, to the vision which the prophet had seen. It is much more likely, from the nature of the case, that he freely reproduced, giving greater clearness and completeness to the picture, according as the circumstances of the time, and the needs of those for whom he wrote, required. It follows from this that our knowledge of the prophetical visions is now somewhat less extended and certain, than at first seemed to be the case. Many of the accounts cannot serve us at all as sources of information, and many of the rest must be used with caution. The main point, however, with which we have here to do is established: the prophets, if not all, at least the greater number of them, saw visions; in

[1] Jer. i. 13, 14, with a slight alteration in the reading of v. 14 (taphuach for tippathach) in consequence of which the same verb will be used here as in v. 13.

[2] Dan. viii. 9, compare v. 2.

particular, they must, according to the concurrent testimonies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, have obtained by means of a vision the certainty that Jahveh had appointed them to speak in his name to Israel. This fact will have to be accepted, even if all the descriptions of prophetical visions could be regarded as fiction, for the fiction must in that case presuppose the reality. The prophets could use this form only when they themselves and their hearers were convinced that Jahveh made known his will, or revealed the secrets of the future, in visions. But we can advance a step farther. The character of those visions also admits of being determined with certainty. They are beheld by the prophet while he is in a state of trance or ecstasy. All the representations coincide in fact with each other, and therefore with the reality, in this, that the prophets *behold* and *hear* things which cannot be discerned by the bodily eye and ear: it is supersensuous forms, images and voices, which they mention in their descriptions. Jahveh seated on a lofty throne in the heavenly temple, surrounded by the Seraphîm, who praise him in the anthem, "holy, holy, holy;" the altar erected in that temple; the touching of Isaiah's lips with a live coal taken from that altar by one of the Seraphîm—all that does not belong to common reality. The prophet was in a state of ecstasy when he perceived these things, heard the words which were addressed to him, and declared himself ready on his part to fulfil the commission with which he was charged. It need scarcely be said, that the call which was addressed to the prophet in such a condition, was for him as real as anything which he perceived with the bodily eye and heard with the bodily ear. According to his inmost conviction, it was Jahveh who showed him these things, whose voice he heard, whose promises were re-echoed in him; but at the same time, he knew well, that all this was visible and audible to *himself alone*. Though such a vision was not accorded to him in solitude, and in midnight stillness, yet those who stood around him would witness nothing of it; they would observe nothing but that the prophet, blind and deaf to all that was happening about him, was brought into contact with a higher world. It is the condition which is referred to in the sayings of Balaam, in the words:—

"Thus speaketh he who heareth the words of God,
Who beholdeth the vision of the Almighty,
Who lieth prostrate, with his eyes opened."[1]

But if, founding upon these facts, we should proceed to assume as a rule, that Jahveh's revelations were all, without distinction, conveyed in this form to the prophet, we should not only be going too far, but we should even come in conflict with the testimony of the historical documents. Yet this rule has been laid down by eminent theologians. Hengstenberg, who, in the first edition of his "Christologie des A. Testaments," taught that the prophet was in an altogether unconscious state, when he received the divine revelations, modified this opinion in the second edition, but still maintained in that also, that the vision was the proper form of revelation.[2] Haevernick,[3] Keil,[4] and others reject his opinion, in so far as he maintained that the intellectual consciousness of the prophet was temporarily weakened or suspended while Jahveh made his will known to him; but at the same time they teach that "the word of God is communicated to the prophet by means of inward intuition, of a spiritual perception." Hengstenberg[5] sees in this view, and not without reason, an inconsistency: if that "inward intuition," that "spiritual perception" is to be understood seriously, if it is anything more than a mere phrase, then it involves also that the revelation possesses an ecstatic character. We can pass judgment on the two representations, that of Hengstenberg and that of Haevernick-Kiel at the same time: the one stands or falls with the other.

They are not altogether without some foundation. The repeated mention of "the visions" to which our attention has already been directed,[6] cannot be accidental. The use of that word in the sense of "revelation" or "prophecy" is important. Hengstenberg, therefore, does not neglect to refer to it. He appeals also further to the comparison of the prophet to a watchman:[7] for just as a watchman, stationed on a height,

[1] Num. xxiv. 4, compare verse 16. [2] See *l. c.*, iii. 2, p. 158, ff.

[3] "Handb. der hist. Krit. Einl. in das A. T.," ii. 2, p. 36, ff.

[4] "Lehrb. der hist. Krit. Einl. in die Kanon. und apocryph. Bücher des A. T.," 2d Aufl., S. 196, f. See also Oehler, "Theol. des A. T.," ii., 186-190. Kueper "Das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes," p. 51, ff., diverges still further from Hengstenberg.

[5] *L. c.*, p. 181. [6] See p. 78.

[7] Mic. vii. 4; Jer. vi. 17; Ezek. iii. 17; Ezek. xxxiii.

looks forth into the distance, and announces at once what he discovers, so the prophet also stands on the watch, and communicates to his people what Jahveh shows him. This image is actually used in that sense on one occasion by the prophet Habakkuk;[1] generally, however, nothing more is meant by the comparison, than that the prophet cares for his people, and warns them against threatening dangers; the word itself does not imply that he stands on the watch for Jahveh's revelations. But it is hardly worth while to dispute about the matter, because although to the texts in which the word "vision" occurs, there were added also the passages in which the prophets are called "watchmen," yet the inference of Hengstenberg would not be justified. It is not shown that "the vision" was the *form*, the only form, of the divine revelation for the Israelitish prophets, or rather the contrary is clear. The ecstatic state is not the rule, but the exception, in the life of the Israelitish prophet. Hengstenberg already exaggerates somewhat, when he deduces from the narratives about the prophets at Ramah, the contemporaries of Samuel and Saul,[2] that the prophets fell, so to say, from one ecstasy into another; but his main fault is that he sees the distinguishing characteristic of the later prophecy also depicted in what took place then and there. That is directly opposed to the impression which the writings of the prophets make upon us. The difference between the prophetical literature and the revelation to the prophets, would certainly have been very great, if the revelation was communicated to them while they were in a state of trance. Where we discover clear marks of reflection, deliberation, and study, may we not confidently infer there the absence of ecstasy? Let it be considered besides, that the prophets are not in the habit of appealing to the visions as to the only or usual means by which the word of Jahveh came to them. We remember that when Jeremiah is called to account concerning one address which had given offence, he does not refer to that one vision in which that specific word of Jahveh was communicated to him, but to the relation in which he stands

[1] Hab. ii. 1, compare the use of chazôn in verses 2, 3. To some extent parallel is Is. xxi. 6, ff.

[2] Sam. x. 5, 6, 10—13; xix. 18—24. See p. 46.

to Jahveh, his sender.[1] In other words, he is conscious that Jahveh has called him, and sent him to Israel, and that the announcement of judgment, which had exasperated his hearers, is the word of Jahveh. His vindication of himself testifies strongly to that inward certainty; and in so far as he himself was concerned, no more was necessary; but for the sake of his hearers, and in the interests of his own personal safety, he would certainly have appealed to the ecstasy in which he had learned Jahveh's will, if such an ecstasy had preceded. Let the reader judge for himself, if the dispute between Jeremiah and Hananiah[2] does not necessarily lead to the same conclusion. The distinction which the former makes between those who prophesy prosperity, and those who prophesy adversity disappears, if the prophet's own judgment is excluded, and his task is limited to the faithful reproduction of that revelation which has been made to him while he was in a state of trance.

The object of Hengstenberg and his followers is perfectly intelligible. They endeavour to point out *a fixed form* in which the word of Jahveh came to the prophet, and to point this out in such a way that there cannot be the slightest difficulty in distinguishing this word of Jahveh from the results to which the prophet's own reflection had led him and the thoughts which had sprung up in his own mind. But the testimony of the authentic documents of Israelitish prophecy does not establish their theory. The certainty which the prophets felt may *sometimes* have been based on the preceding ecstacy or internal vision; that such was always the case is not by any means evident. So often as the vision must be regarded as the freely chosen drapery of the prophet's thoughts, we ought even altogether to reverse the relation. The vision is not then the ground of the self-consciousness of the prophets, but the use which they make of the vision is the consequence of that self-consciousness.

By the rejection of this theory nothing essential is in truth lost *for us*, as will be evident for two reasons. The certainty which the ecstacy could have given to the prophet was first of all purely subjective: he alone knew that he had witnessed a vision, and that he proclaimed the revelation which had

[1] See pp. 58, f. [2] Jer. xxviii. 7—9

been made to him in that manner. We can have no control over the one or the other, but must accept both on his testimony. In the second place, a specific supernatural character can in no wise be ascribed to the trance; its divine origin is not at all self-evident. Phenomena of that nature were far from uncommon in ancient times and in the middle ages, and occur even at the present day. It is true that for a long time people had no hesitation in ascribing them to supernatural influence. They seemed so singular and extraordinary that this explanation forced itself quite naturally on men's minds. What could not be derived from God was therefore regarded as a display of the power of the devil. But we now no longer occupy that standpoint. Ecstasy is now accurately studied, compared with other affections allied to it, and is explained from the human organism itself, specifically from the nervous system. It may be—on that point I determine nothing at present—that the trances of the Israelitish prophets were of a nature altogether different: but that must be proved separately; for ecstasy *in itself* is no supernatural phenomenon. It does not therefore advance us a step in determining the origin of Old Testament prophecy.

It becomes gradually more and more evident that I had some reason, at the beginning of this investigation, to warn the reader against exaggerated expectations concerning the results which it would yield. But we are not yet at the end. According to the uniform representation of our prophetical authorities—and, I may at once add, of the historical books of the Old Testament as well—there is an indissoluble connection between prophecy and *the spirit of Jahveh*. They are related to each other as effect and cause. The prophet is "the man of the spirit."[1] "I will," so Jahveh speaks in the well known prophecy of Joel, "pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and (in consequence of that) your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions."[2] If the wish of Moses, "would God that all the people of Jahveh were prophets," was to be fulfilled, then, as it is expressed immediately afterwards, must "Jahveh put his spirit upon them."[3] One of the prophets testifies—"The spirit of the Lord Jahveh is

[1] Hos. ix. 7 [2] Joel ii. 28. [3] Num. xi. 29; compare ver. 25.

upon me, because Jahveh hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted."[1] These utterances, to which many others might be added,[2] agree perfectly with the representation of Jahveh's spirit and its effects, which we find throughout the whole of the Old Testament. The Israelites were accustomed to attribute to the spirit of Jahveh the sudden outbursts of men's enthusiasm, strength, and courage,[3] no less than the more permanent qualities of wisdom[4] and artistic skill;[5] nothing was more natural than that they should apply this view also to prophecy, and regard, as an effect of the spirit of Jahveh, not merely the ecstasy of the prophet and his transient enthusiasm, but also the invincible might which upheld him in the struggle.[6] Still this conception does not bring us any further in the explanation of the consciousness of the prophets, in regard to their relation to Jahveh. It is again a roundabout intimation of that consciousness, but throws no light upon its origin and nature. "The spirit of Jahveh" is, for the Israelite, the sum of all the influences which proceed from Jahveh. According to a more mechanical view, "the hand of Jahveh" is substituted for that expression,—a formula which is sometimes also used in connection with prophecy.[7] The very fact of the word of the prophet being put on an equality with the word of Jahveh of itself implies that the spirit of Jahveh inspires him, and that he stands under the hand, that is, under the power of Jahveh. We might therefore be prepared to find that these expressions would be used with regard to him.

The conception that the spirit of Jahveh is the factor in prophecy, is accompanied by another idea in some prophetical books, I mean in the more recent. Here Jahveh employs the angels to make his will known to the prophets, in particular to explain to them what they had beheld in a

[1] Is. lxi. 1.
[2] Num. xxiv. 2; 1 Sam. x. 6, 10; xix. 20, ff.; 2 Kings ii. 9, 15; 2 Chron. xv. 1; xx. 14; xxiv. 20; Neh. ix. 30; Ezek. xi. 5; Micah iii. 8; Zach. vii. 12.
[3] Judges vi. 34; xi. 29; xiii. 25; xiv. 6, 19; xv. 14; 1 Sam. xi. 6, etc.
[4] Gen. xli. 38; Is. xi. 2.
[5] Exod. xxxi. 3; xxxv. 31.
[6] See especially Micah iii. 8.
[7] 1 Kings xviii. 46; 2 Kings iii. 15; Ezek. i. 3; iii. 14; viii. 1; xxxiii. 22.

vision. The perusal of a single chapter of Daniel, or of the youngest Zechariah,[1] gives us at once an idea of the office which the angels fulfil. The older theologians did not hesitate to understand such descriptions in a literal sense. They thus —in so far as their attention was directed to the fact that the angels appear first in the later prophetical writings,[2]— assumed that Jahveh at first revealed himself immediately to his messengers, but, in subsequent ages, employed the intervention of angels. Why he did so is a circumstance which, when regarded from their point of view, admitted of no explanation. But, in spite of that, it could have actually occurred, and might also be accepted as a fact by us, if there were not very weighty reasons for doubting the objective character of those visions, and thus also of the angels who appear in them. The visions here referred to are specifically those of the most recent prophets, which are, with great probability, regarded as allegories, as visible representations of the prophetical ideas. They are, on the whole, far too detailed and too much elaborated, some of them even too fantastic and far-fetched, to be accepted as the genuine products of ecstasy. On the other hand, they are quite in harmony with the supposition that those prophets, in conformity with their own taste and that of their contemporaries, have made, as it were, a pictorial representation of that which they had to communicate to them. In these circumstances the appearance of the angels in their visions is also at once explained. Or rather, the conception of those visions as allegorical pictures, derives new support from the manner in which the angels therein perform their part. Is it not a most remarkable fact, that they appear as the messengers of Jahveh to the prophets at the very time in which, as is universally acknowledged, belief in angels began to occupy a larger place in the religious convictions of the Israelites? How natural was it that the prophets should then occasionally introduce the heavenly spirits who surround Jahveh's throne as agents intervening between him and his human messengers! This is now, in a very striking manner, confirmed

[1] See, *e.g.*, Dan. vii. 15 ff., x., or Zech. ii.

[2] Witsius, *l.c.*, i., 27 *sq.*, pays no attention to this circumstance, but then he does not confine himself to the prophets in the stricter sense.

by some minor details, which properly admit of only one interpretation, and now find here their proper place. Among the many narratives of the books of Kings, which make mention of prophets and prophetical revelation, there is only one in which an angel is spoken of as an agent between Jahveh and the prophet, viz., 1 Kings xiii., a chapter which, for other reasons as well, is classed among the very *latest* portions of the history of the Kings.[1] Another fact is still more remarkable. We have two accounts of the numbering of the people under David, and its consequences, one in 2 Sam. xxiv., which was written before the Babylonish captivity, another in 1 Chron. xxi., written after the exile. The latter is not derived from other sources, but is a remoulding of the former. Now, in the later narrative, an angel communicates Jahveh's command to the prophet Gad, while the earlier author is not only silent concerning that angel, but thinks it even superfluous to mention expressly that the message of Gad to David was put in his mouth by Jahveh.[2] If he had not thought that this was self-evident, then he would have written, "And the word of Jahveh came to Gad." The Chronicle writer expresses this same conviction in the forms of his time, thus —"And the angel of Jahveh commanded Gad to say to David." There is yet one other narrative to which I wish to direct attention. It performs for us a double service, since it not only justifies us in regarding some visions as allegorical drapery, but it also shows clearly how it happened that a part came to be assigned to the angels in the revelation of Jahveh to the prophets. In contradiction to the four hundred prophets who had encouraged Ahab to go up to Ramoth in Gilead, Micaiah, the son of Jimlah, announces that Israel will there be defeated and that Ahab will be slain.[3] The king sees in that prediction, so directly opposed to the word of the rest, a new proof that Micaiah has an ill will against him.[4] This prophet now proceeds to explain why it was that the four hundred prophets gave that pernicious counsel, as it seemed to him.[5] "I saw," so he spake, "Jahveh sitting on

[1] See 1 Kings xiii. 18, and p. 15, above.
[2] Compare 2 Sam. xxiv. 18, with 1 Chron. xxi. 18.
[3] 1 Kings xxii. 17. [4] *Ibid.* v. 18.
[5] *Ibid.* vv. 19-23. The Authorized version renders incorrectly, in v. 21 "a spirit." In the original it is "the spirit," *i.e.*, the spirit of Jahveh or the spirit of prophecy.

his throne, and all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left. And Jahveh said, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up, and fall at Ramoth in Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. Then came forth the spirit, and he stood before Jahveh and said, I will persuade him. And Jahveh said unto him, wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he (Jahveh) said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also: go forth and do so! Now therefore, behold, Jahveh hath put a lying spirit in the mouth of all these thy prophets, and Jahveh hath spoken evil concerning thee." This speech of Micaiah is perfectly plain and need give no offence, if we may regard it as an allegory, that is, if the vision has not been actually beheld, but is a creation of the prophet's fancy. It expresses, in that case, his conviction that Jahveh—"who forms the light and creates darkness, who makes peace and creates evil, who does all things,"[1]—has ordained the prediction of the four hundred prophets in order to accomplish Ahab's destruction. All the rest is then the drapery, it is no reality. In fact, what else could such a consultation in the council of heaven be? Can "the spirit" be anything but a personification, and therefore a thing which Micaiah could not have seen? Indeed, the deeper the insight that we gain into the character of the entire representation, the clearer does its allegorical character become. But just for that reason it shows us still further how easily the idea could arise of introducing the angels as announcing Jahveh's will to the prophets. "The spirit" of Jahveh is here represented in the concrete, and thus takes a place at once among "the host of heaven." Whoever, during and after the time of the captivity, wished to express vividly his conviction that Jahveh leads and inspires the prophet, was naturally led to describe him as employing his heavenly messengers. We thus obtain here again the same result to which we were led previously: the intervention of the angels is no explanation of the confidence with which the prophet comes forward as the interpreter of Jahveh, but is a consequence of it. The main point which remains to us is, that the prophet is fully convinced that he is impelled by Jah-

[1] Is. xlv. 7.

veh's spirit, and that he speaks Jahveh's word. He feels himself the confidential servant of Jahveh, as it is expressed by Amos, as it were, in the name of all: "Surely the Lord Jahveh will do nothing, but he revealeth his secret unto his servants the prophets."[1] We have there, then, the fact from which we have to start in our further investigation, and of which we must never lose sight.

For it is a matter of course that we cannot abstain from prosecuting that further inquiry. The problem is only now distinctly proposed; a beginning has still to be made with the solution of it. Or is it considered that we ought simply to acquiesce in the assurances of the Israelitish prophets with regard to the origin and authority of their preaching? They who give us this advice, give it certainly not from thoughtlessness or indolence. They would think that they acted wrongly if they refused to give credence to the prophets. They advert with all emphasis to the moral character of those men. Their antagonists even have done justice to their disinterestedness and the purity of their aims; their whole life testifies that they were thoroughly in earnest regarding the reverence of Jahveh and the submission to his will, on which they insist in their preaching. What then gives us a right to call in question their solemn declarations? Does it not betray an unjust and insulting distrust, if we proceed to test and rigorously scrutinize these declarations as if they proceeded from men whose good faith we may, with impunity, suspect? Have the prophets deserved such treatment at our hands? Let us keep in mind, too, that more than one of them has sealed with his blood the testimony which he bore concerning the relation in which he stood to Jahveh.

It does not, in truth, enter into our minds to throw any doubt on the good faith of the Israelitish prophets. Nevertheless it is a mistake to suppose that an appeal to that good faith can suffice. The dilemma, "messenger of God or deceiver," seems very simple, but is in fact very superficial. Two or three centuries ago, it was allowable to state the problem in that manner; in the present day we should merely betray our own ignorance if we continued to adhere to that formula as expressing the only alternative. Our

[1] Amos iii. 7.

circle of vision has been greatly extended, especially in the last hundred years. Nations and religions, of which former generations knew scarcely anything, have been brought within the circle of our view, and been made the subjects of profound study. The firm foundations of a comparative history of religions have been laid. The development of psychology has kept pace with the extension of our historical knowledge. Experience has taught that, in all other cases, we accomplish nothing, nay, we cause fearful confusion, by assuming the dilemma, "divine truth or human imposture:" and yet are we to be tied down to that for all time, when we have to deal with the religion of Israel? Let us rejoice that this sad necessity has no existence.

But it is really not even necessary to call in the aid of these general considerations. We do not require to go beyond the limits of the Old Testament in order to be convinced that the reality cannot be compressed within the strait-jacket into which the system we are discussing would seek to force it. We have shown already in a former chapter,[1] that, in Israel other gods also, besides Jahveh, had their prophets. I have made repeated mention of the mutual strife of the Jahveh-prophets themselves.[2] Shall we now simply assume it as proved, that divine inspiration remained limited to the men whose writings we possess, and consequently look upon all the others as cunning impostors? Are we justified in passing such a sentence? And yet we must do so, if we determine, either to admit, on the word of the prophets, their claim to divine authority as valid, or to reject it as a presumptuous pretension. Undoubtedly, we have here a difficult problem before us. Evidently Micaiah, the son of Jimlah, was already brought by it into a state of perplexity. He does not however venture to decide that the prophets of Ahab were impostors, or to deny that they spake by the spirit of Jahveh. According to him "that spirit" has gone forth, and "has become a lying spirit in the mouth of the king's advisers."[3] Certainly no one will regard this utterance as a solution of the problem; but still it may serve as a proof that there is here a problem to be solved, or, in other words, that we may not, without farther investigation, accept the testimony of the

[1] See p. 42. [2] See pp. 40, 49, 60 f. [3] 1 Kings xxii. 22.

self-consciousness of the Israelitish prophets, and—much less —summarily reject it.

There is yet another reason, quite sufficient in itself, why we cannot suffer ourselves to approve the demand to acknowledge the canonical prophets, without further investigation, as the messengers of God. We are wont to bring the Old and New Testaments into connection with each other, and to regard them as one whole. Hence we involuntarily identify completely "the God of Israel," in whose name the prophets speak, with "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ," [1] and regard and reverence him as the one true God. The translations of the Old Testament, in which the proper noun Jahveh is understood as a common noun, and is rendered by "the Lord," "l'Eternel," contribute to that conception. What truth it contains will afterwards appear; nothing can be farther from my intention, than to overlook it, or to throw it in the shade; but it is not the proper course to begin with the identification of which I have just spoken. To do so would be to assume as proved that which must first be investigated. Nevertheless it is plain that this colossal assumption forms the foundation of that dilemma, in presence of which it is sought to place us. Is it not the fact that the dilemma disappears immediately on our making a distinction between "Jahveh" and God—a distinction which, in the first instance, must certainly be made? Once more, by admitting that distinction we bind ourselves to nothing. It may subsequently become clear, that the divinity whom the prophets called Jahveh, is the same with Him whom we acknowledge and serve, or, to express it otherwise, that their conception of the Supreme Being does not differ from ours: only we must not, *a priori*, determine that such is the case. We must keep ourselves free, and thus at the same time guarantee the independence of our investigation: for to its independence does it not owe all its value?

But in what shall that investigation, of which we have from time to time spoken, consist? To what end is it to be directed, and what course should it pursue?

The prophets speak "the word of Jahveh." That then is the object of our study. What they lay before us as such, we must

[1] Rom. xv. 16, &c.

examine from different points of view, and test by all the means that are at our disposal. It is only by pursuing this course, that we can form to ourselves a well-grounded judgment upon the character and origin of that word, and upon the authority that the prophets themselves desire that others should ascribe to it. That study, it is obvious, must be many-sided and impartial.

Thus far there is no difficulty, no difference of opinion; but the question, with which we begin, what point of view are we first to select? is not so simple. Would it not be possible to allow *the prophets themselves* to answer it; to allow them to decide what is the main thing in their preaching, and thus to determine on what our estimation of "the word of Jahveh" must be founded? We could in any case make the trial, and, in the first instance, study their writings, keeping this question in view. Nevertheless there are weighty reasons why we do not adopt that method, but rather determine ourselves what at first shall be the main point of our investigation. The question as to *whether the prophecies have been fulfilled, and if so, within what limits,* must, in the first instance, be placed in the fore-ground. Why that may be said to be absolutely necessary, may easily be shown.

We know already the two principal theories regarding Israelitish prophecy,[1] and remember what an important place *the prediction of the future* holds in the one, the supernatural view. In that we find all at once an intimation which we cannot neglect. But besides it is in no way accidental that, in the estimation of the supernaturalists, prediction occupies that place of honour. In assigning to it such a position, they are far from lightly esteeming the great religious and moral truths which the prophets have proclaimed. On the contrary, they value them highly, more highly perhaps than they do the most of the predictions; but as it is their object to prove the supernatural origin of prophecy, they have of course to appeal always, not to its moral and religious contents, but to the predictions and their fulfilment. And they are perfectly justified in doing so. The purity and elevation of the prophetical ideas, regarded entirely in themselves, cannot establish the supernatural inspiration of prophecy; at

[1] See pp. 1—4.

least they cannot do so in our days, when every educated man knows how much that is excellent is to be found in the sacred books, or to put it more generally, in the literature of the other nations of antiquity. The proposition that the moral and religious contents of the books of the Old Testament stand higher than those of any other pre-christian literature, can be defended; but to ascribe to these books, *on that ground*, another origin, an origin specifically distinct, not human but divine, would be in fact nothing more than a mere arbitrary assertion, which could not be justified on reasonable grounds. It is not, therefore, strange, it is rather most natural, that the appeal to the predictions should play so important a part in the contest for and against supernaturalism. If we are in earnest in the wish to obtain certainty with regard to the point about which this conflict is waged, then we must also follow that direction, and place in the foreground the question, "Fulfilled or not fulfilled?" How many a discussion is interminably carried on, without yielding any definite result, because the contending parties have not grasped the main question, or have too speedily let it slip! If we wish to escape that danger, then we must from the beginning confine ourselves to the decisive point, according to which all the rest must ultimately be regulated. A definite and unambiguous result can be obtained only by pursuing the course just now pointed out, which we have thus to take and to follow to the close. We shall afterwards enquire expressly whether we have done justice to the prophets by the choice of that method. It may possibly be true that they required another kind of appreciation than that which depends on the comparison of their predictions with the result, so that we shall have been unfair to them in measuring them by that standard. If that prove to be the case, then the opportunity is still available for us to correct the error, and to employ the test which they themselves acknowledge as valid.

This much is certain, that they who acknowledge the supernatural origin of prophecy will not complain of such a method of conducting the investigation. Let one of them bear witness, as if in the name of them all. Dr Kueper writes thus:[1]—"The claims of prophecy are more distinctly verified

[1] *L. c.*, pp. 30, 31.

by the result of the prediction" (than by miracles). (Compare Deut. xviii. 21, 22) . . . "In the truth of the prediction, established by the result, lies the standard by which it is to be judged; the prophets sent from God are thereby distinguished from those who express merely the thoughts of their own hearts. It may be a question whether there does not exist, even according to Scripture, a natural divination; Ezekiel in particular does not by any means represent the heathen soothsaying as mere deception (chap. xxi. 21); nevertheless the Old Testament, especially the second part of Isaiah, and Daniel, lays stress upon the fact that the God of Israel alone, in contradistinction to the false gods, is able to reveal the future long beforehand, and that he, just on that account, is clearly shown to be the living God" (Is. xli. 21; xliii. 9; xliv. 25; xlv. 21; Dan. i., ii., v.) . . . "The supposition that the word of God spoken by the prophets, is fulfilled, is entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Old Testament. Every one must perceive that the question as to the possibility of definite predictions does not apply to the true prophets as they are depicted to us in Scripture, while a whole series of very definite predictions can, moreover, be pointed to, which criticism is unable to set aside." So sure of his cause does the supernaturalist feel. He cannot then have any objection to our accepting battle on the ground which he himself has appointed.

It may serve still further to recommend the study of the predictions, that it leads us to traverse the whole field of prophetical preaching, and to obtain for ourselves a complete survey of it—such a survey, indeed, as we must wish to get. Whoever collects the prophetical ideas, and arranges them into a system, dissociates them, at the same time, from the form in which they were delivered: at least he runs the risk of giving abstractions in place of the reality. In the predictions, on the contrary, the prophetical conception of Jahveh's attributes and government of the world lies before us in the concrete. While we thus study the predictions from the point of view of their fulfilment, we become acquainted, at the same time, with the religious belief of the prophets and their conceptions regarding the world, and we prepare the way for their subsequent exposition.

The natural result of our method is the division of the predictions into *unfulfilled* and *fulfilled*. They are therefore arranged in those two classes (in chapters v.-vii., and in chapter viii.). I do not deny that such a separation has difficulties of its own connected with it. The boundary line cannot always be drawn with certainty. Many prophecies clearly seem to be partly fulfilled and partly unfulfilled. Such a division of them, moreover, compels us occasionally to dissever what is closely related, or contemporaneous. But these difficulties are unavoidable. Since we have resolved, for satisfactory reasons, to seek for certainty, first of all with regard to the fulfilment, we must acquiesce in the results which necessarily flow from our resolution. It follows, also, naturally from our plan, that the unfulfilled predictions should come first. They are not only the most numerous, but, as regards the supernatural origin of prophetical knowledge, they also lead us at once to the object of our search—viz., a positive and indisputable conclusion. The realisation of a prophecy admits, in most cases, of more than one explanation; the unfulfilled prediction can never be derived from supernatural revelation.[1]

[1] See on this subject chapter viii.

CHAPTER V.

THE UNFULFILLED PROPHECIES.

a.—The Destinies of the Heathen Nations.

AT the beginning of the journey which we are about to undertake, let us survey the difficulties which we shall encounter on our way. They are sufficiently numerous and weighty to dishearten us, at least at the outset.

Our investigation is, in great part, exegetical. In order to be able to test the utterances of the prophets by the facts, so as to arrive at any satisfactory result, we must, first of all, determine their meaning. With regard to that, however, there prevails very often uncertainty, or at least difference of opinion. How could it otherwise be possible that a number of passages which we, without the least hesitation, place in the class of the unfulfilled prophecies, are adduced by others as clear proofs of the most entire agreement between the predictions and the facts? Or, to present the case still more strongly, how otherwise could the fact be explained that Dr Kueper is of opinion that he can dispose of the "unfulfilled prophecies" in less than three pages,[1] while they occupy, in this work, three entire chapters? Will it be necessary for us to fight our way all along, and expressly to defend our interpretation of every prediction against those who reject it and substitute for it another—nay, often every man his own? That would be a fatiguing task, and would require much more space than can be allotted to this portion of our investigation. But can we, then, on the other hand, ignore those explanations which differ from ours, and tacitly take for granted the correctness of our own view? Frequently, nay, usually, such a course must be adopted; but the defect thereby occasioned is greater in appearance than in reality. If I were applying to the utterances of the Israelitish prophets a method of interpretation which was different from the usual

[1] See the work above referred to, pp. 458-460.

one, and deserved to be styled comparatively new or unknown, then it would be incumbent upon me to establish its claim to correctness, and, on the other hand, to refute the more common view. But such is not the state of the case. It is the other interpretations which have need of express justification. It is they which rest on a deviation from principles everywhere else recognised as valid. Theories and rules, of which, in truth, the sole recommendation is that they save the infallibility of the prophets, govern only too often the expounder in determining either the sense of the prophecy, or its relation to the historical reality. What object would it serve to enter upon the discussion of such theories and rules, or on each occasion to rebut their application to the several predictions? The same end is reached, by a much shorter way, through the simple exposition of the actual state of the case. The correctness of my view, as a whole, acquires besides a strong confirmation from the mutual agreement of its several parts; from which it clearly results that, if another meaning is to be ascribed to the prophets than that which is here attributed to them, then we must, not on one occasion only, but time after time, depart from the natural sense of the words. Let the survey which is presented in this and the two following chapters itself furnish the proof of this assertion. The facts themselves must speak. It will only be in exceptional cases that we shall justify the manner in which they are here presented, and criticise the interpretations of others which are at variance with our own.

Another difficulty arises from the conflicting opinions concerning the age of the prophetical books, or of particular prophecies. Thus far, we have not required to choose a side in that controversy. In what is to follow also, the force of the demonstration will frequently be clearly seen to be independent of the dates concerning which a difference of opinion exists. Such, however, is not always the case. And even in those instances in which, if absolutely necessary, we could have left the age of the predictions undetermined, it is useful, for the proper understanding of their import, to assign to them the place which they occupy in the historical development. With this view, I shall therefore at once express the opinion I should form of the manner in which the remains of the propheti-

cal literature ought to be chronologically arranged. The reader will at once perceive that our arrangement occasionally varies from the tradition which rigorously keeps to the headings of the books. If I wished to give a complete vindication of my arrangement, and to answer every objection which has been, or can be, urged against it, then not only would the limits assigned to this book be far exceeded, but the questions also with which we are at present principally occupied would run a risk of being left in the back-ground. The literary criticism of the prophetical books cannot be treated in a cursory manner. That criticism, therefore, I shall not attempt. But at the same time, it is my intention to state briefly the motives which have led me to differ from the traditional views, and to show occasionally the real value of the objections which have been offered against such a deviation. A suitable opportunity for doing so will be afforded when we come, in the course of our investigation, to speak of the main import of a prophecy whose age is disputed. For is it not precisely on account of another conception of its historical meaning, that the tradition with regard to its origin is rejected? It is thus in every respect a natural method of proceeding to combine with the explanation of the prophetical utterances, a brief indication of their probable age.

The following, then, is the order in which the prophets must have succeeded each other. To the first half of the eighth century before our era, belong Amos, Hosea, and the author of Zech. ix.-xi. The time when Micah and Isaiah flourished, is in the second half of the same century; a considerable portion of the book named after the latter must, however, be denied to be his work. Not only the historical chapters xxxvi.-xxxix., but also the whole of the second half, chaps. xl.-lxvi; and besides, in the first half, the prophecies in chap. xiii. 1—xiv. 23; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.—xxvii., and xxxiv., xxxv.—must be assigned to others. No prophetical documents have been preserved to us from the first half of the seventh century, but on the other hand the Chaldean period, which begins about the year 625 B.C., is peculiarly rich in its remains. We assign to that period, and in the following order, the prophets Nahum, Zephaniah, Jeremiah (from 626 till after 586 B.C.), Habakkuk, the author of Zech. xii.-xiv., Joel,

Obadiah, and Ezekiel, which last, as is well known, was carried away captive from Jerusalem with King Jehoiachin, and, five years afterwards, came forward as a prophet among the exiles in Babylonia. Not long before, and immediately after, the end of the Babylonish captivity, the prophecies were written which, as has just been remarked, were, at a later period, wrongly ascribed to Isaiah. Contemporaneous with them is the oracle against Babylon in Jer. l., li. Haggai and Zechariah, that is the writer of Zechariah i.—viii., fulfilled their task after 520 B.C., among those of the captivity who had returned to Judea. Malachi prophesied about a century later. The book named after Daniel is of a much more recent date, having been written shortly after the commencement of the Maccabean revolt, in the year 165 before the Christian era.

The materials which all these books present to us, admit of more than one mode of arrangement and treatment. The simplest method of all would certainly be to examine the prophets one by one, and in pursuing this course we would naturally follow the chronological order. In that case, however, I should necessarily be involved in repetitions, because, as is well known, the prophecies very frequently agree not only in their subject, but also in their contents. I therefore give the preference to another arrangement. We divide the whole of the predictions into *three great groups*, and proceed to examine these in succession. To the *first* group, I assign the prophecies regarding the destiny of the heathen nations; the *second* contains the predictions concerning the judgments pronounced upon Israel; while in the *third* we collect together the expectations of the prophets with regard to Israel's future. If I am not deceived, this plan bears with it its own justification. The only question that may be asked is—Why do the prophecies regarding the heathen come first? It is because their explanation furnishes results which are even less ambiguous than those afforded by the predictions concerning Israel. As in all other subjects, so also in this, it is advisable to ascend from the least controvertible to the more involved problems.

When we combine the predictions concerning the destinies of the heathen, and form them into one group, we but follow the example which is given by some of the prophets them-

selves. To begin with the oldest of them:—Amos threatens, one after another, six neighbouring nations, the Syrians, the Philistines, the Tyrians, the Edomites, the Ammonites, and the Moabites;[1] after which he addresses himself to Judah, and finally to Israel.[2] A similar but more complete series is furnished by Jeremiah, in the 25th chapter of his oracles.[3] The judgment pronounced upon the nations, which is there intimated merely in general terms, is more exactly described in chapters xlvi.—xlix., to which the announcement of Babylon's fall (chaps. l.-li.), is added as an appendix, by Jeremiah himself, according to some, by a younger prophet, according to others. The order of succession in these chapters is as follows:—Egypt, the Philistines, Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Kedarites and Hazor, Elam. An arrangement of the nations which is different still, is adopted by Ezekiel, the entire second part of whose book (chap. xxv.—xxxii.) is devoted to the announcement of their fate. After he has briefly treated of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and the Philistines in chapter xxv., he dwells longer upon Tyre (chap. xxvi. 1—xxviii. 19), casts simply a glance at Sidon (chap. xxviii. 20—24), and closes his survey with a series of predictions regarding Egypt (chaps. xxix.—xxxii.).

It will be noticed that these examples, precisely on account of their mutual difference, leave us altogether free to adopt our own arrangement. We shall fix our attention first on Israel's neighbours, then on the great monarchies with which Israel came into contact in the course of its history, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and the kingdom of Alexander the Great and his successors. In that way, we need not leave a single prediction of any importance undiscussed. Let it be taken into consideration, however, in reading the survey which now follows, that some prophecies concerning the future of the heathen are not treated here, but in chapter vii., because they are inseparably connected with the expectations of the prophets regarding the future of Israel which are there set forth.

The prophets are unanimous in announcing the destruction of the cities of the Philistines. Amos expects it on the ground of their hostility towards Judah, specifically on ac-

[1] Amos i. 3—ii. 3. [2] Amos ii. 3-5; 6-16. [3] vv. 18-26.

count of their selling to the Edomites the prisoners of war taken from Judea.[1] They are reproached by Joel with a similar crime.[2] Ezekiel finds a new cause of complaint against them in their conduct at the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar.[3] Though they give no specific account of the sins of which the cities of the Philistines had been guilty, the oldest Zechariah,[4] Zephaniah,[5] and Jeremiah,[6] are at one with their predecessors in predicting their entire destruction. In what manner, and by what agent, that doom is to be accomplished, is not told us in so many words, although whenever Isaiah and Jeremiah make mention of an enemy out of the north,[7] they intimate, in no doubtful manner, that they are thinking, the former of the Assyrians, the latter of the Chaldeans. This is in itself, without going further, sufficient to prove that the more recent apologists have not the slightest right to represent, as they are wont to do, the *present* destruction of the cities of Philistia as being the fulfilment of the prophetical predictions. Gaza is in existence still; Askelon was a city of some considerable note, at least in the time of the crusades: would not that be in direct conflict with the expectations of Israel's seers? Even in those cases where no limit is specified, the judgment contemplated is plainly one that would be executed *soon*. When delayed for a long period, it ceased to be a judgment, especially in such cases as we find in Amos and Ezekiel, where a specific sin is mentioned as the reason of Jahveh's displeasure. But it is not at all necessary to call in the aid of such general considerations. The punishment of the Philistines takes place, according to the prophets, in the interest of Israel. It is against the people of Jahveh that they have transgressed; it is the people of Jahveh, therefore, that shall reap the fruits of their destruction, take possession of their territory, and incorporate the remnant of them with themselves. In other words, with the prophets the lot of the Philistines forms a contrast to that of the Israelites. In the prophecy of Isaiah, which has just been mentioned, Zion, founded by Jahveh, and a safe refuge for the poor of his people, stands in oppo-

[1] Amos i. 6-8.
[2] Joel iv. 4-8, where they are mentioned along with Tyre and Sidon.
[3] Ezek. xxv. 15-17. [4] Zech. ix. 4-7. [5] Zeph. ii. 4-7.
[6] Jer. xlvii. [7] Isaiah xiv. 29-32, especially v. 31; Jer. xlvii. 2.

sition to Philistia, whose inhabitants perish by famine and sword, while the smoke out of the north lays waste the land.[1] The same prophet expects that the reunited tribes "shall fly upon the shoulder of the Philistines toward the west,"[2] that is, shall extend their dominion in that direction, and make the Philistines subject to them. Zechariah expresses himself just as unambiguously. The end of the punishment will be that

"Also he (the Philistine) will be left for our god
"And shall be as a (subjugated) tribe in Judah,
"And Ekron as the Jebusites."[3]

In this way, the prophet adds, an end shall be made to the hostile attacks on Judah's territory.[4] Zephaniah also keeps his eye fixed on the time in which the remnant of Judah's house shall feed their flocks on the plains of Philistia, and lie down to rest at evening in the houses of Askelon.[5] When we, as is only fair, take into consideration the poetical form of all these predictions, we can then say, that they not only breathe the same spirit, but also agree in their tenor. But it is just as clear, that their meaning is wholly misunderstood by those who represent the present condition of the coast of Philistia as being their fulfilment. It is true, indeed, that scarcely any traces remain of the very ancient glory of the five cities. They have shared in the same fate that has smitten the whole of Palestine. They have been laid desolate or have gradually decayed; after Jerusalem, indeed, but still like her, they too have fallen. But is that then the fate which the prophets had contemplated for Israel's hereditary foe? Their defenders might at least show so much respect for them as not to attribute to them any opinion which is in irreconcilable conflict with their real meaning.

Amos makes Tyre, the capital of the Phenicians, follow the Philistines. Both nations have been guilty of the same trespass against Israel; but, in the case of the Phenicians, the offence is aggravated by their not having been mindful of the brotherly covenant with Israel. Therefore Jahveh shall cast a fire within the walls of Tyre which shall devour her palaces.[6] The oldest Zechariah also fortells that her strong walls and

[1] Isaiah xiv. 30-32. [2] Isaiah xi. 14. [3] Zech. ix. 7.
[4] Verse 8. [5] Zeph. ii. 7. [6] Amos i. 9, 10.

her treasures shall not avail her; the Lord will take possession of her, and will hurl her wealth into the sea, while she herself is burned.[1] These predictions, it will be observed, ar altogether indefinite. Later prophets take them up anew, and define them more exactly; and first of all, Isaiah in the "oracle concerning Tyre," which occupies a whole chapter in the collection of his prophecies.[2] Its purport is perfectly plain. Tyre and Sidon lose their power and their freedom; their inhabitants are urged to save themselves by flight; the colonies withdraw from the dominion of the mother-country; for seventy years Tyre is forgotten, but after that period her trade revives, the gains of which, however, shall not be for her own advantage, but "for them that dwell in Jahveh's presence to furnish abundant food and splendid clothing." We might hope that we should be able to attain to certainty with regard to the realisation of such a description as is here presented: facts like those announced here cannot pass away without leaving some traces; if the expectation of the prophet has been fulfilled, then the memory of the fulfilment must have been preserved. But when we continue our investigation, we find that we are on this occasion disappointed in our hope of obtaining positive results. Doubts have been raised against the authenticity of the whole oracle, but especially of the postscript concerning the restoration of Tyre after seventy years. Difference of opinion also continues to prevail concerning the proper meaning of the prophecy. According to some it was written with reference to the designs of *Shalmaneser* King of Assyria, against Tyre, and announces to him the success of his attempts; others are of opinion that Isaiah expects that the judgment of Jahveh on the haughty mercantile city will be executed by the *Chaldeans*. We must choose between these two interpretations, before we can attain to certainty with regard to the seventy years. The supporters of the one, as well as of the other, appeal to the thirteenth verse, in which the name of the Chaldeans occurs; but almost every expositor has his own method of settling the sense of the verse.[3] Such being the state of the case, it does

[1] Zech. ix. 2-4. [2] Isaiah xxiii.

[3] Compare Rev. T. K. Cheyne's "Notes and Criticisms on the Hebrew Text of Isaiah," pp. 22—26.

not appear advisable to introduce the "oracle concerning Tyre" into the number of our proof-passages. There exist, as shall presently be shown, predictions regarding the fate of that and of the other Phenician cities which are altogether unambiguous; and to these we prefer to devote all our attention. Let this one point only be noted, in order to prevent misunderstanding. Shalmeneser *did not conquer* Tyre. The only witness whom we are able to consult with regard to his undertaking,[1] mentions nothing more than that the Assyrian king blockaded the city for five years; nothing whatever appears of a submission of Tyre following thereon, or even of a cessation of its commerce, and as little, which indeed follows as a matter of course, of its restoration after seventy years.[2] Though it be granted, therefore, that the prophecy of Isaiah refers to another conquest than that which was predicted by Ezekiel, a century and a half later, still we do him no injustice if we pay no further attention to his expectations.

Ezekiel, whom I have just named, had the prophets Joel and Jeremiah for his immediate predecessors in announcing the overthrow of the Tyrians and Sidonians. Joel, after having first predicted the return of those who had been carried away captive from Judah and Jerusalem, and the judgments against the nations by which they had been overcome,[3] speaks with indignation of the conduct of the Philistines and Phenicians, who had helped the conqueror in the sale of his booty: Jahveh will requite them for their base action and will cause their sons and their daughters to be sold to the distant Sabeans; and thus will they be paid back in their own coin.[4] A change must have occurred in the relations between

[1] Menander, as quoted by Josephus, "Ant.," ix. 14, § 2.

[2] As little did Sargon make himself master of Tyre, although the powerful commercial city seems to have acknowledged his supremacy, and to have paid him tribute. Compare Schrader, *die Keilinschriften und das A.T.*, p. 76 f.

[3] Joel iii. 1-3, Auth. ver. (iv. 1-3 Heb.). It is especially on account of these verses that I am now of opinion that Joel must be placed in the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The captivity of which he here speaks can be no other than that of the year 597 B.C., as is shown by Dr H Oort in the "Godg. Bijdr." for 1866, pp. 760-73. Perhaps the first part of the book, chap. i. 1—ii. 27, dates from an earlier period, and Joel has thus, not altogether unjustly, obtained a place among the older minor prophets.

[4] Joel iii. 4-8.

Judah and its neighbours, shortly after this oracle was uttered. In one of the first years of Zedekiah's reign, the kings of Tyre and of Sidon were among those who sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, in order to concert a common revolt against Nebuchadrezzar.[1] Jeremiah takes advantage of their presence to make known to those two kings, and in like manner also to Edom, Moab, and Ammon, that there remained nothing else for them than submission to the Chaldean monarch: if they do not adopt that course voluntarily, then Jahveh will afflict them with the sword, hunger, and pestilence, until he have consumed them by his (Nebuchadrezzar's) hand.[2] According to this prediction, the Phenicians had their fate in their own hands, and could not escape destruction, if they opposed themselves to Nebuchadrezzar. Now Ezekiel, who in general agrees very closely with Jeremiah, is also of the same opinion on this subject. His copious prophecy against Tyre, followed by a brief announcement of Sidon's fall,[3] is beyond all doubt one of the most remarkable passages of the prophetical literature. The song of lamentation over Tyre (chap. xxvii.) especially is an invaluable document for the archæologist. But it is not from that point of view that we now regard this prophecy. We are inquiring as to the expectations concerning the destiny of Tyre, of which it bears witness, in order to compare them with the result. The exegetical inquiry will not detain us long, for, as has been already said, Ezekiel makes known his meaning in a manner altogether unambiguous. He expresses himself so in one of the last months of the year 586 B.C., the year of Jerusalem's fall, while the impression produced by the tidings communicated to him regarding the hostile attitude of the Phenicians towards Israel was still fresh.[4] What he predicts for Tyre is nothing less than entire destruction. The many nations that march against her to battle "shall destroy her walls, and break down her towers." Jahveh "shall sweep away her dust—the layer of earth on which her houses and gardens were placed—and make her a bare rock." Thus she shall become "a place where men spread nets in the midst

[1] Jer. xxvii. 1-3. "The beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim" is mentioned in the first verse by mistake. From verses 3, 12, 20, and chap. xxviii. 1, it is clearly evident that Zedekiah is intended.

[2] Jer. xxvii. 4-8.

[3] Ezek. xxvi. 1—xxviii. 19, and verses 20-23.

[4] Ezek. xxvi. 2.

of the sea."[1] The multitude of nations that execute this judgment are led by Nebuchadrezzar, the king of kings. He shall lay siege to the city, and finally "shall enter in through her gates, as men enter into a conquered town."[2] Then plundering and devastation follow, until Tyre has ceased to exist. In order to show how completely she would disappear, the prophet once more makes use of the image which he had already employed, "Jahveh shall make her a bare rock, she shall be a place where men spread out nets." To this he now adds,—"she shall not again be built, for I, Jahveh, have spoken it."[3] And subsequently—"Jahveh makes her a desolate city, as the cities which are not inhabited."[4] Besides, in the song of lamentation for the destruction of Tyre's commerce (chap. xxvii.) and in the address to the Tyrian king (chap. xxviii. 1-19), there is not a single word alluding to mitigation or delay of the sentence; on the contrary, there are more traits than one which make it as clear as noonday that the prophet is perfectly in earnest in his gloomy predictions concerning the fate of the flourishing and haughty merchant-city.

Now, to what extent did the result correspond to these expectations, and, at the same time also, to those of Ezekiel's predecessors? It is certain that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Tyre, and that the siege lasted for thirteen years in succession[5]—probably from 585 till 572 B.C. *That he captured the city, is nowhere mentioned.* It is true, indeed, it is as little said, that he had to depart leaving his object unaccomplished. It is thus not only possible, but even probable, that Tyre capitulated, and wholly or partially lost her independence; but of her being laid waste, or of the destruction, or even the decay of her trade, there is no evidence whatever. On the contrary, Tyre still remained, even under the Persian dominion, a powerful and wealthy merchant-city, as may plainly appear, for example, from the accounts of her participation in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece.

But we do not need to content ourselves with the silence of the ancients regarding the conquest of Tyre. As regards

[1] Verses 4. 5. [2] Verses 7-10. [3] Verses 11-14. [4] Verse 19.
[5] Philostratus and Menander, as quoted by Josephus, "Jew. Ant." x. 11, § 1. "Cont. Ap." i. 21.

the issue of Nebuchadrezzar's enterprise against her, we can consult a contemporary whom no one certainly will reject as a witness in this inquiry—*the prophet Ezekiel himself.* We have a series of prophecies from him against Egypt (chaps. xxix.—xxxii.), to which we shall soon return. They date from the years 587 and 586 before our era. To the first of these (chap. xxix. 1-16) a postscript is added by the prophet himself (verses 17-21), which, as is clear from the heading, was written in the year 570 B.C. It is sufficiently remarkable to be given here in full: "Son of man"—so Jahveh speaks to his servant—"Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, has caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre; every head is bald, and every shoulder peeled; yet he and his army have received no wage from Tyre for the service which he has (they have?) served against her. Therefore thus saith the Lord Jahveh, Behold I give to Nebuchadrezzar, the king of Babylon, the land of Egypt, that he may take away her abundance, and carry off her booty, and plunder her treasures, and it (the land) shall be for wages to his army. As his wages, for which he hath served, I have given him the land of Egypt, for they (Nebuchadrezzar and his army) have done it for me, saith the Lord Jahveh."[1] We have there, as it seems, an oracle wholly unambiguous. It is not told us in so many words how the siege of Tyre ended; Ezekiel could take it for granted that his contemporaries, for whom he wrote in the first instance, knew that very well. Nevertheless this much is plain, that Nebuchadrezzar did *not* "enter in through the gates of Tyre as men enter into a conquered city,"[2] and that *as little* did his troops carry away the wealth of Tyre and plunder her merchandise.[3] In other words, Ezekiel himself declares here that his expectations concerning the fate of Tyre were *not* realized. The testimony of the facts is, as it were, superfluously confirmed by the prophet.

And yet people are accustomed to reckon the oracle against Tyre among the fulfilled predictions! The method pursued in order to accomplish this is arbitrariness itself.[4] Ezekiel

[1] Ezek. xxix. 17-20. [2] Ezek. xxvi. 10. [3] Ezek. xxvi. 12.

[4] See, for example, Dr A. Keith, *Evidence of the Christian Religion derived from the literal fulfilment of Prophecy* (37th ed.), pp. 487—496; and compare my *Hist. Krit. Onderzoek*, vol. ii. 281.

speaks of "many nations" that Jahveh will cause to come up against Tyre,[1] and means by that an army composed of various nations, the army of Nebuchadrezzar, whom—as if it were his object to guard against the misconception of that expression—he calls "the king of kings."[2] Nevertheless those "many nations" are understood by the apologists as the enemies which have assailed Tyre successively in different centuries. If the Chaldeans occupy the first place among them, the Greeks also, who inflicted such a tremendous blow on the city under Alexander the Great, must have been intended by the prophet, as were also the races which afterwards fought for its possession, on to the age of the Crusades. It is true that Tyre is at present an insignificant fishing village, but can *this* be regarded as the fulfilment of Ezekiel's prediction? Is it not clear as day that it announces the overthrow of the Phenicians as being *close at hand?* Is the name of Nebuchadrezzar mentioned in it without any object? If the prophecy itself left room for any doubt with regard to Ezekiel's meaning, then such a doubt would necessarily be removed by the postscript at least—a postscript which properly belongs to the whole of the prophecies against the neighbouring tribes. It stands there written in so many words, that the punishment of Israel's neighbours, including also the Tyrians and Sidonians, whose destiny has been announced just before, shall precede the return of the Israelites to their native land; they shall dwell there in safety, because Jahveh will have executed judgments on all those of the surrounding nations who spoiled them.[3] Can it be denied, with any show of reason, that the result has contradicted this prediction?

But one difficulty may perhaps still linger in the reader's mind. One of my main proofs may awaken suspicion in him, not because it seems too weak, but just because it appears so strong. How—he may ask—how by any possibility can Ezekiel come forward as a witness against the realisation of his own prophecy? Must there not be some misunderstanding at work here? If he, in the year 570 B.C., had really come to see that his prediction of sixteen years before was not fulfilled, then surely he could not acknowledge that himself! Let it be considered, also, that he puts forward no mere con-

[1] Ezek. xxvi. 3. [2] Ezek. xxvi. 7. [3] Ezek. xxviii. 24-26.

jectures, which he could afterwards retract, concerning the destiny of Tyre and Sidon, but introduces *Jahveh himself* as declaring, in the most unambiguous words, what shall certainly come to pass. If, then, after some years, it was plain to him that Nebuchadrezzar's enterprise had had a different issue, in that case—yes, in that case, he must have begun to doubt the divine origin of his previous prophecy, and have removed it from the collection of his oracles. Or, if he did not adopt that course, then he ought surely to have offered a satisfactory explanation of the opposition between the reality and God's threatening, instead of acknowledging that opposition, as if it were the simplest thing in the world.

This argument admits of no reply, if we assume that Ezekiel entertained the same conception of the character and origin of prophecy that, at a later period, became the prevailing one among Jews and Christians. But it is at once evident that we are not entitled to make this assumption. The prophecy against Tyre, and the subsequent postscript, when viewed in their mutual connection, show clearly that Ezekiel did *not* countenance that conception. In what respects he deviated from it, will appear to us plainly in a following chapter.[1] He has expressed himself without any ambiguity, and may claim that his testimony be accepted by us as it stands, however strange it may seem to us. We may in no case assign to his words any other than their natural sense, because we otherwise see no chance of making them agree with our conception of his prophetical gift.

Almost all the prophecies concerning Syria have relation more or less to the war of the confederate Syrians and Ephraimites against Judah, and can be better treated in another connection.[2] One prophecy regarding Damascus stands more by itself. It is from the pen of Jeremiah.[3] He expects that Nebuchadrezzar shall execute judgment on that city also, in like manner as he has done on other nations and cities. "Her young men shall fall in her streets, and all the men of war shall be destroyed on that day, saith Jahveh of hosts. And I will kindle a fire in the wall of Damascus,

[1] See Chap. ix.

[2] See Chap. viii. Where I shall also discuss Amos i. 3-5, in order not to separate prophecies of a like kind.

[3] Jer. xlix. 23-27.

and it shall consume the palaces of Benhadad."[1] Nothing is known to us of the fulfilment of this prophecy—by Nebuchadrezzar, who in Jeremiah uniformly appears as the agent who executes the judgments of Jahveh.[2] We do not even know what can have given occasion to the prophet to expect that the Chaldean monarch should turn his weapons against the Syrians, who at first had joined him.[3] It is however open to us to assume—though our only reason for it be the prophecy of Jeremiah—that the Damascenes did revolt against Nebuchadrezzar, and were punished by him. But what judgment are we to form about the words of the prophet which immediately precede, and which in the usual translation are thus rendered—"How is the city of praise not left, the city of my joy!" The meaning of the prophet is not altogether certain; but it may be taken as probable, that he here introduces the cities of Syria as the speakers, and puts into their mouths the agonising question: "why might not Damascus have remained, our ornament and our glory?"[4] In that case he conceived that the capture of the city would have, as its result, its permanent desolation—and that although Damascus exists and flourishes to the present day, as the seat of the Turkish Pacha, and a city of more than a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It cannot, to say the least, surprise us that Dr Keith passes over in silence the prophecy against Damascus.

Without dwelling upon the few utterances regarding the Kedarites and other Arabian tribes,[5] of whose fortunes little or nothing whatever is known to us, let us direct our attention to the two kindred nations of Moab and Ammon, which in the Old Testament itself also are frequently joined. Thus, for example, they appear together in the prophecies of Amos,[6]

[1] Ibid, vv. 26, 27; the latter verse is, in part, parallel with Amos i. 4.
[2] Jer. xlvi. 1, 2, 13; xlix. 28-30; and xxv. 15-26.
[3] 2 Kings xxiv. 2; Jer. xxxv. 11. Let it be observed that the Syrians are *not* mentioned in Jer. xxvii. 3.
[4] The majority of the more recent expositors interpret v. 25: "How is she not forsaken (or desolate)!" in the sense "how greatly is she forsaken!" Graf (*Der Proph. Jeremia*, p. 572 f.), is of opinion that the meaning is this—"Ah, would that she were not forsaken, the glorious city," etc. The interpretation on which the opinion stated above regarding the fulfilment rests, is indeed the weakest that the words of the prophet in any way admit.
[5] Isa. xxi. 13-17; Jer. xlix. 28-33; compare xxv. 24, 25.
[6] Amos i. 13-15; ii. 1-3.

Zephaniah,[1] Jeremiah,[2] and Ezekiel.[3] If we add to these farther, an oracle of Ezekiel concerning Ammon,[4] the song of lamentation over Moab by Isaiah[5]—or borrowed by him from an older prophet—and the announcement by an unknown prophet of punishment about to overtake the same people,[6] we have then named all the predictions concerning these two nations. When we compare them with each other, it is at once evident, that the colours are not, in all, of the same shade of darkness; but the main import is one and the same —the two nations shall both be driven away or extirpated, and their cities shall be laid waste. This fate has, in fact, overtaken them, as Dr Keith,[7] following in the footsteps of others, has shown: the Ammonites and the Moabites no longer exist as nations; their former territory is full of ruins. The apologist just mentioned sees in that circumstance a clear confirmation of the divine authority of Old Testament prophecy. He dwells with pleasure on the agreement between the narratives of travellers and the several details of the threats uttered by the prophets. The conclusion, for example, of the chapter on Ammon is characteristic—"'East of Assalt,' including Ammon, are thirty ruined or deserted places, of which the names are given in Dr Smith's Arabic Lists, only two being marked as having any inhabitants (in 1834); *one of which, El Fuhais, we were informed, was also since deserted.*"[8] Does it not seem as if the author is delighted at that desolation, and confidently expects the intelligence that this single desolated city, too, has been entirely bereft of its inhabitants? In that way, the misgovernment of the Turks, and the ferocity of the Beduins become supports to our belief in the divine authority of the Scriptures. But there are other and more weighty objections against this view, as a whole. What Amos and the later prophets predict is something entirely different from that which is now clearly seen to have happened. It cannot be determined with

[1] Zeph. ii. 8-11. [2] Jer. xlviii.; xlix. 1-6. [3] Ezek. xxv. 1-7, 8-11.
[4] Ezek. xxi. 33-37; Heb. (verses 28-32, A. V.)
[5] Isa. xv., xvi; compare p. 73.
[6] Isa. xxv. 10-12. Isa., chapters xxiv.—xxvii., form a whole, and seem to have been written in the first half of the Babylonish captivity. Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz." ii. 144—151. We shall afterwards return to these chapters.
[7] *l. c.*, pp. 260-74, 275-97. [8] *l. c.*, p. 274.

absolute certainty when the desolation of the country of Moab and Ammon began, but so much is certain, that they were still inhabited and flourishing up to the seventh century of the Christian era. Now this is in complete opposition to the anticipations of the prophets. They do not expect that Moab and Ammon shall in the course of ages lose their national existence along with, or even after, Israel, but *that Israel shall be a witness of the destruction of their enemies, and shall reap the fruits of that destruction.* This is already in some measure involved in a prophecy of Isaiah,[1] which, as it concerns the future of Israel, will be considered further on, but still, may be used here provisionally. It is to the effect that the men of Ephraim and Judah reunited and restored to their native land, "shall lay their hand upon Edom and *Moab* and that *the sons of Ammon* shall obey them." Ezekiel also expects, as we have just remarked,[2] that the humiliation of Israel's neighbours, among whom he reckons also the Moabites and the Ammonites, shall precede the return of the people to Canaan. But it is Zephaniah especially who expatiates unambiguously on this point. "As truly as I live, saith Jahveh, Moab shall be as Sodom, and the sons of Ammon as Gomorrah, overgrown with nettles, and a place of salt-pits, and a desolation for ever; *the residue of my people shall spoil them,* and *the remnant of my nation shall inherit them.* This shall come upon them for their pride, because they have reproached and magnified themselves against the people of Jahveh of hosts."[3] Let these words be weighed with all due attention. The prophecy that Israel shall appear as the inheritor of Moab and Ammon, of itself absolutely forbids us to see the realisation of what Zephaniah expected, in the ruin of those nations six centuries after the second destruction of Jerusalem. How can the fate which overtook the Moabites and Ammonites *in reality,* be brought into connection with the single motive which Zephaniah here adduces for their punishment?

The numerous predictions concerning Edom admit of being conveniently divided into two groups. The first embraces

[1] Isa. xi. 14.

[2] Ezek. xxviii. 24-26, See p. 110. The same opposition between the destiny of Israel and Moab is seen in Isa. xxv. 10.

[3] Zeph. ii. 9, 10.

the pre-exilic documents, proceeding from Amos,[1] Isaiah,[2] Jeremiah,[3] and Joel.[4] They contain, in general, the announcement that the Edomites shall be punished for their unbrotherly conduct towards Israel, and that the punishment shall be the desolation of their country and of their principal cities. Jeremiah enters most into details, and includes in his announcement of punishment an older prophecy against Edom, the same that, not long after him, was repeated and elaborated by Obadiah.[5] The predictions, dating from the Babylonish captivity and the period after the restoration of the Jewish state, form a second group. They are distinguished from the earlier oracles most of all by the spirit of greater enmity towards Edom which appears in them. How this had arisen can be shown with absolute certainty. At the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar the Edomites made common cause with the Chaldeans and insulted and maltreated their kinsmen in their deep abasement. That fact is testified by the poet who writes the fourth of the Lamentations[6] and by the author of Psalm cxxxvii.; by the latter in these words—"Remember, Jahveh, against the Edomites, the day of Jerusalem, when they said, lay her bare, lay her bare down to the foundations."[7] But the prophets themselves do not leave us in uncertainty with regard to the origin of their indignation against Edom. Obadiah expressly mentions it, probably while the impression produced by the occurrence was still fresh.[8] In like manner, also, Ezekiel,[9] who afterwards expanded[10] the brief prediction of punishment which he wrote immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. In the same spirit, during the Babylonish captivity, two anonymous prophets express themselves, whose predictions have been introduced into the collection of Isaiah's oracles.[11]

[1] Amos i. 11, 12.

[2] Isaiah xxi. 11, 12. That Edom is meant here is evident from the fact that the voice which the prophet answers calls to him *from Seir*. Instead of *Edom* he writes *Dumah*, a word formed by the transposition of the letters of "Edom;" it signifies *silence*, and thus agrees with the contents of the prophecy, which really gives no answer to the (supposed) question from Seir.

[3] Jer. xlix. 7-22; compare xxv. 21; xxvii. 3.

[4] Joel iii. 19. As to the age of this prophecy, see p. 106, note 3.

[5] See p. 73. [6] Lam. iv. 21, 22. [7] Ps. cxxxvii. 7.

[8] Obad. vv. 10-14, 16. [9] Ezek. xxv. 12-14. [10] Ezek. xxxv.

[11] Isaiah xxxiv. and lxiii. 1-6. We shall afterwards point out the grounds on which chapters xl.-lxvi. of this book, to which portion the latter prophecy

The one especially, the author of Isaiah xxxiv., xxxv., paints in lively colours the desolation of the land of Edom; fearful is "the day of Jahveh's vengeance, the year of recompences for the controversy of Zion;" the country of Edom, bereft of its inhabitants, and transformed into a wilderness, serves as an abode for ever for all manner of ravenous beasts.[1] From the latest of the prophecies concerning Edom we hear still the echoes of these tones. If the mountainous region of the Edomites had become a waste, when Malachi wrote, yet they flattered themselves that they would be successful in building up again the ruined cities. Jahveh answers them by the mouth of the prophet that their labour would be in vain—"They shall build, but I will throw down, and men shall call them, 'land of wickedness,' and 'the people against whom Jahveh hath indignation for ever.'"[2]

Now, how does the case stand with regard to the fulfilment of these expectations? The judgment against the Edomites was certainly not executed before the captivity; we have the later prophecies to prove that. The ambassadors of the king of the Edomites took part in the consultation about a rising against Nebuchadrezzar in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign.[3] Some years later, as we saw, they turned against Judah, and co-operated in the humiliation of Judah and destruction of Jerusalem. To the question whether they were not shortly afterwards punished in their turn by the Chaldean monarch, we must answer in the negative. At least such punishment had not taken place when Ezekiel committed to writing his prophecy addressed "to the mountains of Israel."[4] At that time the Edomites were foremost among the neighbouring tribes that had taken possession of a part of Judah's

belongs, have been denied to belong to Isaiah, and transferred to the period of the captivity. Isaiah xxxiv. and xxxv. form parts of a whole, and depict partly the judgment of Jahveh against the heathen in general (chap. xxxiv. 1-4) and Edom in particular (vv. 5-17), and partly the glorious return of the Israelites to their native land. Their removal to a foreign country, and their abode in it, are not here *foretold*—as would have been the case if Isaiah were the author—but *are presupposed*. The prophet addresses himself (*e.g.* chap. xxxv. 3 ff.) not to a people dwelling along with him in Judea, but to the exiles, in order to encourage and comfort them by the prospect of the approaching deliverance. In addition to this, both language and style differ from those of Isaiah. Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz." ii. 151-154.

[1] Isaiah xxxiv. 9-17.
[2] Mal. i. 2-4.
[3] Jer. xxvii. 3.
[4] Ezek. xxxvi. 1-15.

territory, and had made there, as they thought, a permanent settlement. There is here no humiliation, but, on the contrary, an extension of power.

By this course of events the pre-exilic prophecy of Joel in particular was contradicted. We find in him an unmistakeable contrast between the destiny of (Egypt as well as) Edom and that of Jerusalem. "Edom," he says,[1] "shall be a desolate wilderness, for the violence against the children of Judah, because they have shed innocent blood in their land.[2] But Judah shall be inhabited for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation." It was the very opposite that happened, in and after 586 B.C.: Jerusalem was depopulated, while Edom's territory remained unviolated.

The *second* group of prophetical utterances concerning Edom will occupy us somewhat longer. It strikes us at once that, in this case also, the prospect opened up has, in one point of view, remained unrealized. For the prophets expect that the punishment of Edom shall precede, or at least be simultaneous with, the restoration of Israel. Such is the expectation of Obadiah, who presents in a most distinct manner the contrast between Jacob and Esau.[3] The author of Isaiah xxxiv. places the description of the judgment against Edom immediately before his description of the return of the exiles. Ezekiel also has the same conception, as is clearly manifest from the three prophecies in which he treats of the destiny of Edom.[4] But the result has not corresponded with this expectation,[5] at least so far as we know. And is it not almost inconceivable, that a catastrophe, in a certain sense important, which had befallen Israel's hereditary enemies, should be mentioned nowhere either in the prophetical or historical writings?

[1] Joel iii. 19, 20.

[2] That is in the land of the Edomites themselves. What the prophet refers to is uncertain, but our knowledge of the changing relations of the Judeans to their neighbours is so incomplete that this uncertainty cannot surprise us.

[3] See especially vv. 17, 18, 21.

[4] From chap. xxv. 12-14 (which should be viewed in connection with chap. xxviii. 24-26, the postscript to the collective prophecies against the neighbours of Israel), chap. xxxv. and xxxvi. 1-15.

[5] Isaiah also shared in this expectation (as is plain from the passage already adverted to, chap. xi. 14), as well as Amos, who expects that the consequence of Israel's restoration will be, in the first place, that they "should possess the remnant of Edom, and all the nations over which the name of Jahveh"—as that of their conqueror—"is proclaimed" (chap. ix. 12).

We are at least acquainted with the condition into which the Edomites were brought, nearly a century after the end of the captivity, somewhere about the year 430 B.C. The prophet Malachi introduces Jahveh as speaking thus—"I hated Esau, *and I made his mountains a wilderness and* (gave) *his heritage to the jackals of the desert.*"[1] This cannot be understood of the natural condition of the tracts inhabited by Edom on Mount Seir, although they were, in fact, very barren and unattractive compared with those of Israel,[2] because the prophet speaks of a condition which the Edomites could hope to alter. "Whereas they say," so we read in verse 4th, "we are broken in pieces, but we shall again build up the ruined places,"—these are words which could have no meaning, if, in the preceding verse, the common, and from its very nature the unimprovable, condition of their country had been described. We may go even further, and, with some recent expositors,[3] infer from these words that the Edomites had suffered greatly *not long before*, probably in the war between the Persians and the Egyptians. Only on this supposition do we understand their expectation that they will succeed in repairing the damage referred to. Nevertheless, we know nothing further of this catastrophe. Malachi is the only one, who, at least, alludes to it.[4] But however terrible we may conceive it to have been, it is very difficult to regard it as the accomplishment of the predictions of the Israelitish prophets. This is indeed manifest already from what has been just said concerning the dates which they assigned for the execution of the judgment. But the later history of the Edomites also forbids us to regard the misfortune which befel them in the time of Malachi, as decisive. About

[1] Mal. i. 3.

[2] Gen. xxvii. 39, 40, where the usual renderings need to be amended. We shall return to this passage further on.

[3] Jahn, Hitzig, Kœhler.

[4] This is undoubtedly an objection against the interpretation of Malachi i. 2-4, here maintained. The question occurs to me whether the prophet may not refer to the desolation of Edom's territory, which was foretold by all the earlier prophets, and therefore, according to his conviction, determined in the counsels of Jahveh. The meaning of ver. 3 would thus be, "I have *appointed* his mountains to become a wilderness, and I have *destined* his heritage for the jackals of the desert." The retort of the Edomites in ver. 4 may then be described thus—"Even if we shall be broken in pieces, yet we shall succeed in rebuilding the ruins"—whereon Malachi answers, that for them there is no restoration to be thought of.

the middle of the second century before our era, they inhabited the southern portion of Judea, and were in possession of Hebron, among other places.[1] Judas Maccabæus made war upon them, and inflicted on them some severe blows.[2] They found a still more formidable enemy in John Hyrcanus, who completely subdued them about 130 B.C., compelled them to adopt the rite of circumcision, and incorporated them into the Jewish state.[3] Their subsequent history is well known. Antipater, the servant, and soon the master of the weak Hyrcanus II., and the father of Herod the Great, was an Idumean (or Edomite); and thus in the person of Herod and in his posterity Esau ruled over Jacob. During the Jewish war (66-70 A.D.) the Idumeans took an active part both in the struggle against Rome, and in the terrible civil quarrels by which the unfortunate Jewish nation was then rent asunder. A consequence of this was, that Idumea was laid waste by Simon, son of Gioras, the head of one of the factions.[4] The nation of the Edomites is mentioned no more after the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.): it was partly incorporated with the Jewish nation, partly blended with other Arabian tribes. Meanwhile their former capital, Selah,[5] and a great part of their ancient territory, had already, many centuries before, passed into other hands. In the accounts of the wars carried on by the successors of Alexander the Great, Petra (that is, the rock, the Greek translation of Selah [6]) appears as the capital of the Nabatheans, which it continued to be from that time.[7] The wonderful ruins of Petra, which were first visited by European travellers in this century, bear witness to the flourishing condition of that city during the Grecian period. They have no connection with the Edomites, on which account it is not proper to adduce them as evidences of the judgment executed on that

[1] 1 Macc. iv. 61; v. 65; 2 Macc. x. 15.
[2] See the passages referred to in the previous note.
[3] Flavius Josephus, "Ant." xiii. 9, § 1; xv. 7, § 2.
[4] Josephus, "Wars of the Jews," iv. 9, § 5-7.
[5] It is mentioned 2 Kings xiv. 7 (compare 2 Chron. xxv. 11, 12); Is. xvi. 1.
[6] Diodorus Siculus, xix. 95-98.
[7] A part of Arabia is called after this city Arabia Petræa; the kings of this district bore the name of Aretas (Hareth), which we know also from the New Testament.

nation, as the apologists are wont to do.[1] These are, beyond all doubt, noteworthy vicissitudes. It may especially be regarded as remarkable that the Edomites, probably of their own accord, extended themselves in the direction of Judæa, and so endeavoured to better their condition, while, at a later period, that very migration caused them the loss of their independent existence as a nation. Of an entirely different nature, but not less astonishing, is the revolution in their lot effected by the exaltation of Antipater and his family. By that means they became, in reality, the sovereign people, a disgrace which the Jews were unable for a single moment to forget. When now, after vividly representing all those facts to our minds, we look back upon the prophecies of the Old Testament, is it really possible that we should still in sober earnest enter upon a controversy with regard to their fulfilment? Is it not undeniable that the fortunes of Edom would have been as astonishing to the Israelitish prophets, if they could have witnessed them, as they appear now to us? And at more than one conjuncture in Edom's history, would not their disappointment have equalled their amazement? As we compare the destiny of the descendants of Esau and of Jacob, where do we discover that sharply-defined contrast in which all the prophetical portraitures of the future of both, from the first to the last, issue?

The survey of the prophetical expectations regarding the destiny of Israel's neighbours has been brought to a close. In accordance with the plan previously announced, we now take cognisance of the predictions concerning the destiny of the great monarchies with which Israel came into contact in the course of its history. Egypt, with its neighbouring country Ethiopia, here takes precedence.

We dwell merely for a moment on the views which Isaiah entertained with regard to the future of both these countries. What he announces regarding their conversion to the worship of Jahveh[2] shall not escape our notice at a subsequent stage.[3] We have here to limit ourselves to his expectations concerning the judgment which is to come upon them. The prediction[4] is quite unambiguous that the King of Assyria, accord-

[1] Amongst others, "Keith," *l.c.*, p. 310, ff.
[2] Isa. xviii. 7; xix. 16-25. [3] See below, Chap. vii. [4] Isa. xx.

ing to the heading of the prophecy, Sargon, shall carry the inhabitants of Egypt and Ethiopia away ignominiously out of their land. On the other hand, it is doubtful what the prophet means in the "oracle concerning Egypt," which immediately precedes this prediction in the collection of his divine utterances.[1] He foresees fearful civil contentions, and, as their final result, the subjection of the Egyptians to "a hard master," "a strong king."[2] The most obvious supposition is that the Assyrian king, Sargon, is here intended. According to this interpretation, the two prophecies are parallel, and the one (chap. xix.) only goes somewhat further than the other (chap. xx.), for it not only announces a successful invasion of Egypt by the Assyrians, but also that they should rule over that land. It cannot, as yet, be determined with complete certainty how far the one and the other expectation became historically verified. It is indeed inferred, not unjustly, from the prophecy of Nahum that Thebes was besieged and taken by the Assyrians;[3] but we do not know whether the deportation of a part of its citizens, which Nahum mentions, was of such importance that it can be regarded as the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecy (chap. xx.), nor whether it was followed by a temporary subjection of the whole country to the Assyrian sway. However, even though we should so understand the testimony of Nahum, yet the result would still have only in part corresponded with the prediction of Isaiah; because he expects that *Sargon* shall subdue Egypt, and carry away a part of the population. It is not clear that any such thing happened. In the inscriptions of Sargon mention is made, indeed, of victories over Egyptian armies (in Palestine), but not of the subjugation of Egypt. The supposition that he was the conqueror of Thebes[4] is thus devoid of all foundation, nay, falls entirely to the ground, after the discovery of an inscription of Assurbanipal, in which he, the son of Esarhaddon, and great-grandson of Sargon, boasts that he had captured that city, and had thereby gained a great booty.[5]

[1] Isa. xix. 1-15. [2] Verses 1-4. [3] Nahum iii. 8-10.

[4] This supposition is found in Sir E. Strachey's "Jewish History and Politics in the Times of Sargon and Sennacherib," p. 213.

[5] Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften und das A. Testament," p. 288, ff.; "Records of the Past," vol. i.; "Assyrian Texts," p. 65. The doubts

We can state our judgment concerning the predictions of the Chaldean period with greater confidence. Joel limits himself to the affirmation that Egypt would be laid waste, as well as Edom, without saying by whom this would be done.[1] Jeremiah and Ezekiel express themselves much more distinctly. The former expected, after the decisive battle at Carchemish (Circesium), that the victorious Nebuchadrezzar would invade Egypt and subdue that country.[2] When, some years later, after the murder of Gedaliah, he had removed to Egypt, along with the remaining inhabitants of Judæa, that expectation had evidently not yet been realised. Egypt had not, indeed, recovered from the blow which she had received at Carchemish, but as little had she ceased to contend against the Chaldean monarchy, as, among other things, the events immediately preceding the fall of Jerusalem may show.[3] Nevertheless Jeremiah clung to the conviction that the judgment against Egypt was merely delayed. Immediately after reaching Tahpanhes, he announced to his fellow-exiles that Nebuchadrezzar, the servant of Jahveh, would set up his throne in Egypt, and would put part of the inhabitants to death, and lead away part of them as captives;[4] that, on the same occasion, punishment would be executed on the Jews who had settled there,[5] while the death of the king then reigning, Hophra (Apries), would be the sign that both threatenings would be unsparingly carried out.[6] I have already remarked that Ezekiel is in the habit of following Jeremiah closely. That same phenomenon presents itself here also, as clearly appears from an entire collection of oracles against Egypt, which closes the series of his predictions regarding the destiny of the nations.[7] They are five in number, and date from the tenth to the twelfth year of Ezekiel's captivity—that is, from the time that Nebuchadrezzar laid siege to Jerusalem till shortly after he had taken it.[8] In the twenty-seventh year they were

brought forward in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," ii. 359, n. 9, against the supposition that Nahum had in his view a conquest of Thebes *by the Assyrians*, must give way before this inscription.

[1] Joel iii. 19. [2] Jer. xlvi. 13-28.

[3] The siege of Jerusalem had to be temporarily raised, in consequence of an expedition undertaken by Hophra. Compare Jer. xxxiv. 21; xxxvii. 5.

[4] Jer. xliii. 8-13. [5] Jer. xliv. 12-14, 27. [6] Jer. xliv. 29, 30. Ezek. xxix.-xxxii.

[8] See the dates in chaps. xxix. 1; xxx. 20; xxxi. 1; xxxii. 1, 17.

completed by a postscript occasioned by the result of Nebuchadrezzar's attempt against Tyre.[1] It is plain that the expectations of the prophet had undergone no change worth mentioning in that interval of time. He is convinced that Egypt shall be conquered, plundered, and depopulated by Nebuchadrezzar.[2] He expects, besides, that King Hophra shall perish in the struggle against the Chaldeans.[3] After forty years the kingdom of Egypt shall be restored, but shall not recover its former power and prosperity.[4] Such are the ideas which, in the prophecies referred to, are elaborated by Ezekiel often in a very striking form.

It seems *a priori* incredible that a difference of opinion should exist concerning the realisation of these expectations. Facts so important as those which are announced by both prophets, but especially by Ezekiel, if realised, could not possibly have remained unnoticed, or have passed away without leaving a trace. We have therefore simply to inquire what the ancient writers communicate to us regarding the fortunes and condition of Egypt during the first half of the sixth century B.C., in order to be able at once to determine whether the result corresponded with the prediction of the prophet. And yet the contest regarding this question apparently so simple still continues. Can it be the case then that historical testimonies are altogether awanting? or are they so opposed to each other that we are obliged to hesitate in making a choice between the conflicting accounts? According to my conviction, both these questions must be answered in the negative, and the matter would have been decided long ago, if deeply rooted prejudices had not opposed the acceptance of the result to which impartial investigation necessarily leads. Of that, let the reader himself judge!

Herodotus, the father of history, gives a pretty full account of Pharaoh Hophra, whom he calls Apries.[5] He was, next to Psammetichus, his ancestor, the most prosperous of the Egyptian kings; he reigned twenty-five years, undertook an

[1] Chap. xxix. 17-21, or chaps. xxix. 17—xxx. 19, if it may be thought that chap. xxx. 1-19 is not to be regarded as the sequel of the first prophecy —that is, of chap. xxix. 1-16. See pp. 108, ff.

[2] See, *e.g.*, chap. xxix. 8-11, 19, 20; xxx. 4, 10, 11, 23, 25, 26; xxxii. 3, 9, 10-12, 18.

[3] Chap. xxx. 24; xxxi. 18; xxxii. 31, 32.

[4] Chap. xxix. 12-16.

[5] Lib. ii. 161, *sqq.*

expedition against Sidon, and engaged the Tyrians in a naval battle. His expedition against Cyrene was the cause of his fall. The Egyptian forces, which he had despatched against that city, were defeated, and, on their return to their native country, attributed their defeat to the king, who, as they thought, had sent them to be killed, in order to rid himself of his warlike countrymen, while he retained by him the foreign mercenary troops. An insurrection broke out. Amasis, who was commissioned by the king to suppress it, placed himself at the head of the insurgents, defeated the mercenary forces, took Apries prisoner, and, after some hesitation consented to his death. Notwithstanding the defects which marred the character of Amasis, his reign was, on the whole, very fortunate. Under his government (568-526 B.C.), the kingdom even reached a state of prosperity which had hitherto been unknown. These accounts of Herodotus, which are fully corroborated by those of the other ancient writers, are, as is at once obvious, in some points, in direct opposition to the expectations of the two Israelitish prophets. Hophra did *not* fall in the war against Nebuchadrezzar, Egypt did *not* for forty years remain a wilderness, and afterwards revive as a kingdom of the second rank. But besides, the narrative of Herodotus leaves no room for a temporary subjection of the Egyptians to the Chaldeans, or even for a successful invasion of their country by Nebuchadrezzar. How could Hophra have been able to undertake an expedition against Cyrene in 569 B.C., if in or after 570 B.C., he had been defeated by Nebuchadrezzar? For in this year, the 27th of Ezekiel's captivity, the conquest of Egypt by the Chaldeans had not yet, according to this prophet himself, taken place.[1] Is it not absurd to suppose that it happened immediately thereafter, still in 570 B.C., and, in the following year, had been already forgotten?

What is there now to be placed against this? A narrative by Flavius Josephus in his "Antiquities of the Jews."[2] We have, as is well known, a pretty full account of the murder of Gedaliah and the subsequent events, in the book of the prophecies of Jeremiah.[3] Josephus has that account before him, and follows it closely. From it also he takes the pre-

[1] Ezek. xxix. 17-21. [2] "Ant." x. 9, § 7. [3] Jer. xl.-xliv.

diction that Nebuchadrezzar shall conquer Egypt, shall put some of the Jews who had taken refuge there to death, and lead others away captive.[1] "And this," he proceeds to say, "came to pass. For in the fifth year after the destruction of Jerusalem, which is the twenty-third year of the reign of Nebuchadrezzar, he made an expedition against Coele-Syria, took possession of that country, and afterwards attacked the Ammonites and Moabites. When he had subdued those nations, he fell upon Egypt in order to subjugate it. He put to death the king who was then reigning, and after having set up another, he brought back with him as prisoners the Jews dwelling there, and carried them to Babylon."

Josephus wrote the "Antiquities" about the end of the first century of the Christian era. His accounts of events which happened seven hundred years before, have of course no value, save only when they are derived from competent older historians. The question therefore is, whether this account also has been obtained from such trustworthy sources?

Immediately before his narrative about Nebuchadrezzar, the Jewish historian appeals to Berosus of Babylon, and also to other ancient authorities; but it appears clearly, on investigation, that these predecessors do *not* render him any service *here*, in the account which has just been given. The quotations from Berosus[2] contain nothing which can serve to prove that the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been fulfilled. It is true that Berosus expresses himself as if already in the lifetime of Nabopolassar, Egypt belonged to the Chaldean empire, and was governed by a Chaldean satrap; but, even though this were not altogether unhistorical, it could never be regarded as a realisation of predictions which were all, without exception, written after the period of which Berosus is here speaking.[3] What Josephus himself gives, just before, as the contents of the narrative of Berosus, that the Babylonian (Nebuchadrezzar) became master of Egypt, Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, must be explained from the words of the Chaldean historian which follow that statement, and gives us thus no right to suppose that he had recorded an

[1] See the passages quoted at p. 122, notes 4, 5, and 6.

[2] "Contra Apion" i. 19, 20. "Ant." x. 11, § 1.

[3] That is, after the battle of Carchemish in which, according to his representation, the Egyptians who had rebelled were defeated.

actual conquest of Egypt. In the following chapter,[1] Josephus appeals to the Phœnician archives, for confirmation of the narrative of Berosus—but only in so far as regards the subjugation of Syria and all Phœnicia. Another authority is now brought forward, Megasthenes, who is said to have shown in the fourth book of his Indian history that Nebuchadrezzar surpassed Hercules by his valour and his great exploits, because he had subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia.[2] This is so evidently rhetorical exaggeration, that it cannot properly be used for establishing an historical fact. There is nothing besides, which Josephus confirms by an appeal to his authorities; but then also there was certainly nothing more to be found in them. Josephus has evidently confirmed his own narratives by their authority as often as he saw a chance of doing so. His silence with regard to Berosus (and Megasthenes), in the place where he mentions the conquest of Egypt and the death of Hophra, must be regarded as a sufficient proof that those authors made no mention of such events.

But may he not have obtained them from other sources of information? In that case, it is impossible to say from what source. This supposition therefore has no ground to rest on. It is infinitely more probable that Josephus found the events in question in *the prophecies of Jeremiah*. What was predicted there, *must*, according to him, have taken place, and could thus, with safety, be introduced into the historical narrative. This method is, in no way whatever, surprising—much rather is it a natural result from the dogmatical premisses from which Josephus set out,[3] and on which so many before and after him have proceeded. Do we not see, even in our own day, a Marcus von Niebuhr[4] adding a fourth to the three well-known wars of Nebuchadrezzar against Egypt, simply and solely, because such a fact is necessary for the fulfilment of the prophecy of Ezekiel?[5] It is, in fact, well-known that in other cases Josephus uses quite as great

[1] "Contra Apion" i. 20.

[2] A similar statement is made "Ant." x. 11, § 1, except that there the third book of the *Indica* is mentioned.

[3] See *e.g.*, "Ant." x. 8, § 2, 3.

[4] "Gesch. Assurs u. Babels," S. 216, f.

[5] Ezek. xxix. 17—xxx. 26.

freedom as this.[1] The question can only be whether there are reasons for attributing to him the application of the same method in this instance also. For doing so we have the following grounds :—

a. That he himself expressly declares, that he sees the fulfilment of Jeremiah's prediction, or rather of God's revelation to Jeremiah, in the events which he narrates ;

b. The mention of Coele-Syria, the Ammonites and the Moabites, whose punishment by Nebuchadrezzar is likewise announced by Jeremiah ; [2]

c. The remarkable circumstance, that, in his polemic against Apion, he mentions, indeed, the conquest of Egypt by the Persians and the Macedonians, but does not mention its conquest by Nebuchadrezzar,[3] even although that also would have served to refute the assertion of Apion, that Egypt had been always independent. But in this treatise, he could not use the prophecy as a source of historical information—a procedure which he can readily have allowed himself to adopt in the "Antiquities," when the course of his narrative presented any inducement.

Should we not in truth be amply justified in using much stronger language? There occur in the narrative of Josephus two particulars at least, which are positively untrue. That the Egyptian king (Hophra), was put to death by Nebuchadrezzar is refuted by the narrative regarding Amasis given by Herodotus—about 450 B.C.—a narrative, the trustworthiness of which is doubted by no one. That the Chaldeans conquered Egypt in the year 581 B.C., is irreconcilable with the testimony of Ezekiel, from which it is evident that that conquest had not yet taken place in the year 570 B.C., and with the account of Josephus himself,[4] that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Tyre for thirteen years—probably from 585 to 572 B.C.: the invasion of Egypt cannot surely be regarded as an episode of that

[1] *E.g.*, "Ant." xi. 1, § 2, where he states as a fact what is merely a conjecture of his own, that Cyrus had read the prophecies of Isaiah, and ibid. xi. 8, § 5, where he invents, if not the whole account of the meeting of Alexander and the High Priest Jaddua, yet certainly the communication of the prophecies of Daniel to the Grecian conqueror.

[2] Jer. xlviii. ; xlix. 1-7, 23-27. [3] "Contra Apion" ii. 11. [4] See p. 108, note 5.

siege! The fact is, that the Jewish historian has adopted both these particulars from Jeremiah—the first from chap. xliv. 29, 30; the second from the appendix to Jeremiah's prophecies in which the carrying into captivity of a certain number of Jews is mentioned as having taken place *in the twenty-third year of Nebuchadrezzar*.[1] What then is the use of spending further time upon the narrative of Josephus? We catch him here, as it were, in the very act, and cannot doubt a moment longer as to the source, and consequently, the worthlessness, of his account.

If Flavius Josephus is not to be trusted with regard to matters which he represents to us, in so many words, as having actually happened, much less can he be appealed to in favour of the fulfilment of the prophecies having a wider range than the predictions of Jeremiah, which were present to his mind. The forty years' desolation of Egypt, and the subsequent partial restoration which Ezekiel mentions, find no support even in Josephus. Whoever compares the accounts which the ancients give concerning Amasis with these predictions, must certainly come to the conclusion that the future of Egypt was concealed from Ezekiel, and that the reality did not even remotely correspond to his postulates. It is with nothing better than miserable subterfuges that this conclusion is met. Nay, no scruple is felt in doing violence to the plain meaning of the prophet's words, in order to bring them, at least in some degree, into agreement with the facts. Thus, Marcus von Niebuhr[2] makes the forty years' desolation of Egypt begin with the battle of Carchemish (604 B.C.), in opposition, on the one hand, to the facts, because from 604 to 564 B.C. Egypt was anything but desolate; on the other hand, to Ezekiel himself, to whose mind, in the year 587 B.C.,[3] the desolation of Egypt

[1] Jer. lii. 30. In the preceding verse, the 18th year of the same reign was named. The (second) carrying into captivity referred to there took place after the capture of Jerusalem. The identification of the fifth year after that capture with the 23d of Nebuchadrezzar rests therefore in like manner on Jer. lii. Further, it is not at all said *in this passage*, that Nebuchadrezzar brought his captives *from Egypt* to Babylonia: this is a combination of Josephus.

[2] *L. c.* pp. 71, 90.

[3] The prophecy of the forty years, chap. xxix. 12-16, belongs to the year 587 B.C., according to the heading in ver. 1.

appeared to be still altogether future, and, as indeed is self-evident, was to be preceded by the conquest of the country, which, according to his own testimony, had yet, in the year 570 B.C., to take place.[1] Others see the realisation of the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel in the internal decline of the Egyptian kingdom, which made its subjection to the Persians in 526 B.C. possible, as if the words of the two prophets admitted of such an interpretation.

But enough has now been said on this subject. Dogmatical reasons may for a time prevent the acceptance of the result which we have obtained, but that result itself defies all reasonable contradiction, and will in the end be generally received. Let the reader himself be the judge if this be too bold an assertion.

Assyria occupies a large space, not only in the history of Israel, but also in prophecy. The prophets of the eighth century before our era are unanimous in expecting that the judgment upon their apostate nation shall be executed by the Assyrians. But this point will be more fully discussed further on. Our present object is to inquire what idea they had formed to themselves of the future fortunes of Assyria. Isaiah is the first whom we can expect to express himself on this subject. He announces, as is well known, that the plans of the Assyrians against Jerusalem shall be frustrated, and their armies utterly destroyed in Judea.[2] His remarkable predictions concerning them are indissolubly connected with his conception of the judgment against Judah, and shall thus be considered when that subject comes before us. But what is to happen after that, according to Isaiah? To that question we receive no answer. The overthrow of the Assyrian kingdom is not predicted by the prophet. He does not say a single word about that when he foretells the return of the Israelites to their native country.[3] Nay, a belief in the continued existence of Assyria is actually implied in his ideas of the future of Israel. What else can be the meaning of his expectation that there shall one day be an highway from Egypt to Assyria, and that

[1] Chap. xxix. 17—21.

[2] Isaiah x. 12, 16-19, 25-34; xiv. 25; xxix. 7, 8; xvii. 13, 14. All these passages will be illustrated in chap. viii.

[3] Isaiah xi. 11, ff.

both these kingdoms shall unite with Israel in the worship of Jahveh? "Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance"—thus, according to the prophet, shall Jahveh speak on that day.[1] But such being the case, it cannot have formed any part of his expectations that the Assyrian empire would be replaced by another.

We are the less surprised at this, when it clearly appears that his contemporary Micah entertains the same view. More than one feature in his description of the future has not as yet been sufficiently explained; but so much is certain, that he imagines the reign of the Messiah to be contemporaneous with the Assyrian kingdom. "When,"—so he describes the Messianic period,[2]—"when the Assyrian shall come into our land, and shall tread our soil,[3] then shall we raise against him seven shepherds and eight princes from among the men; they shall depasture the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod with the edge of the sword,[4] and they shall deliver us[5] from the Assyrian when he cometh into our land and treads on our borders." These words admit of only one interpretation. Micah never thought of the complete overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy, he even supposes that, in the future, it will still continue to cherish the same hostile designs against Judah that it had entertained in the reign of Hezekiah.

The agreement of Isaiah and Micah in this conception of Assyria's future gives great probability to the opinion of those who place the prophet Nahum about a century later. His "oracle concerning Nineveh" contains, it is true, some things which might seem to have been written while the impression produced by the invasion of Sennacherib was yet fresh, and therefore still in the reign of Hezekiah;[6] yet it is not unnatural that the tyrannical acts of the Assyrians towards Judah should

[1] Isaiah, xix. 23-25. [2] Micah v. 4, 5.

[3] This is the proper reading, according to Roorda, "Comment. in Vat. Michae ad h. l.," instead of *our palaces*.

[4] According to the common reading, *in the entrances* or *gates thereof*. But compare Roorda on the place, and Rowland Williams, "Hebr. Prophets," i. 188.

[5] Here also I follow Roorda. The common reading has—*and he shall deliver us*.

[6] Nahum i. 9, 11-14; ii. 1, 14.

present themselves with renewed clearness to the mind of the prophet, now that they were, according to his conviction, soon about to suffer the merited punishment of all their sins. And this conviction itself is best explained by our supposing it to have been formed when the Medes were prosecuting their enterprises against Nineveh under their kings, Phraortes or Cyaxares—that is, in the year 638 or 634 B.C.[1] Even a later date still might be assigned, and Nahum might be placed immediately before the conquest of Nineveh by the confederate Medes and Babylonians, probably in 605 B.C.[2] It is not necessary, for our purpose, to enter more deeply into this chronological question, because it is an undeniable fact that Nahum foretells the *destruction of Nineveh*, and describes it as if it were already taking place.[3] We find the same expectation in his contemporary Zephaniah. The universal judgment which he announces shall fall on Nineveh too; the mighty city, which prides herself on her strength, shall become a desolation, dry as a wilderness; flocks lie down on the place where she stood; her ruins serve as a dwelling for the bittern and the night-owl.[4]

History has set its seal on these anticipations. We all have a vivid recollection how, but a few years ago, Nineveh was exhumed as if from her grave. Her exact situation even was unknown for centuries in succession. There was but one respect in which the predictions of Nahum and Zephaniah were not confirmed by the issue. Nineveh was depopulated and became a desolation, in a comparatively brief space, but still not at all at once. Strabo[5] indeed relates that Ninus (Nineveh) disappeared *immediately* after the subversion of the Assyrian kingdom; and Xenophon, with the ten thousand Greeks, could, in the year 401 B.C., pass by her remains without even perceiving that he was in the neighbourhood of ancient Nineveh.[6] She must thus have sustained at once a decisive and irreparable blow by the rise of Babylon, but she

[1] This is the view of Ewald and Hitzig.
[2] Compare Rowland Williams, *l.c.*, i. 431, ff.
[3] See especially Nahum ii., iii., the whole of which should be read, in order duly to estimate the graphic talent of the prophet.
[4] Zeph. ii. 13-15.
[5] Lib. xvi. 1 (Ed. Tauchn., vol. iii., 334).
[6] "Anab.," Lib. iii. 4, § 7-12.

was not altogether annihilated. She is mentioned by Tacitus [1] and Ammianus Marcellinus,[2] writers who are more to be relied on than Lucian of Samosata, when he writes, evidently in an exaggerated and poetical strain: "Ninus is now ruined, and there no longer remains even a trace of her; nay, no one can tell the spot on which she once stood." [3]

I would probably not have called attention to this difference between the prophecy and the reality, if the exaggeration of the apologists had not rendered it necessary to do so. When they assert that the prophecies have been fulfilled *exactly and literally*, and thence deduce far-reaching consequences, we cannot rest satisfied with the *general* agreement between the prediction and the historical fact, but must note also, along with that, the deviation in details, as often as such a deviation is actually apparent.

Nevertheless, it must not be concealed that, according to the judgment of many, such deviations as we believed we had observed in this case, detract nothing from the truth and accuracy of prophecy. It is characteristic, so they assert, of the peculiar manner in which the prophet looked into the future, that in his prospect the distances should, as it were, disappear. *The historian* shows us the course of an affair, the separate links in the chain of events—in one word, the historical process. In the prophet's intuition, the successive circumstances are blended together, and there is no distinction perceptible between the beginning and the final result. Thus, for instance, in the prediction of Nineveh's fate in Zephaniah: the centuries which intervened between her total destruction and the conquest by the confederate Medes and Babylonians, are not taken into consideration by the prophet; her slow decline, ending in total extinction, finds no place in his portraiture of the future; the fatal blow which was inflicted upon her is conceived and represented by him as her complete annihilation.

The present seems to me the most suitable place to explain this whole theory more clearly, and thereafter expressly to form a judgment on it. This might properly have been

[1] "Annal.," Lib. xii., 13. [2] Lib. xxiii., 6.
[3] "Contempl.," cap. 23. Compare M. von Niebuhr, "Gesch. Assurs u. Babels," p. 203.

done at an earlier period, for this theory is applied to the great majority of the predictions which have been treated of in the present chapter, and arranged in the class of those which are unfulfilled. But it seemed preferable first to take cognisance of some of those prophecies, and thereafter of the hypothesis, by the aid of which it is attempted to remove, or at least to explain, the opposition between their contents and the historical reality.

It is of importance, in the first instance, to determine what is properly intended by that theory. A comparison of the writings of its defenders with each other shows at once that they differ among themselves, specifically on one point. According to Velthusen, whose treatise on this subject[1] has formed an epoch, the prophets *describe* the future in perspective—that is, almost as they would have represented it in a drawing. His opinion seems to be that the prophets themselves were not unconscious of the difference between the picture which they drew and the actual course of events. Such was at least the case with Virgil, to whom he refers. That poet knew very well that the historical figures had stood in another order, and in another relation to each other than that in which Æneas beholds them.[2] This much is certain, that many who have embraced the opinion of Velthusen have thus understood and developed his theory.[3] It is scarcely necessary to say that we cannot agree with them. In no way whatever is it manifest that the *representation* of the facts in prophecy deviates from the *conception* formed by the prophets themselves. What possible motive could they have to depict the future—let it be carefully observed not on canvas, but in words—otherwise than they conceived it? A distinction of that nature is arbitrary, and is evidently invented merely to save the infallibility of the prophets.

The case becomes quite different when it is granted that the representation of the prophets and their conception coincide with each other. We confine ourselves henceforward to those

[1] "De optica rerum futurarum descriptione, in Comment. Theol., edd. Velthusen, Kuinoel et Ruperti," vol. vi., 75—116. Compare the explanation of Isa. lxiii. 1-6, in the same vol., pp. 117-194.

[2] "Æneid," lib. vi. 752, *sqq.*

[3] *E.g.*, Hengstenberg, Christol. des A. T., iii., 2 pp. 185 ff.

who are agreed on this point. They differ from each other in details. Kueper, for instance, thinks it is scarcely correct to affirm that prophecy represents the future in perspective. But yet he too is of opinion "that the prophets describe things according to a summary intuition, such as they shall be when the climax is reached, without any indication of the separate parts of the gradual succession of the single facts, and of the times and transitions which intervene between the present and the distant future." [1] The most recent writer also on this subject, W. G. Elmslie, is only half satisfied with the theory of Velthusen.[2] He not only expressly rejects the idea that the prophets have depicted the future otherwise than as it was presented to their minds,[3] but is at the same time of opinion that the peculiarity of their portraiture is imperfectly characterised by calling it "perspective." For they not only make events, which are separated by wide intervals of time, to follow each other immediately ("timeless succession," "perspective superposition"); but they besides bring such facts into causal connection with each other, nay, combine them into a whole, or allow them to coalesce. ("involution").[4]

It is not necessary for our object to take any further notice of these points of difference which occur in the working out of the one theory. It may, in general, be granted that the phenomenon itself which is here presented, is correctly described. That is to say: when we compare the predictions with the facts, we must acknowledge that they frequently stand to each other in that relation which Elmslie, for instance, alleges. But what follows from that fact? It follows, we should think, that there exists a very essential difference between the issue and the prophecy, or, in other words, that the prophecy *has not been fulfilled.* But this is the very thing which the apologists deny. In their view, the difference referred to does not invalidate the worth and the divine origin of prophecy; it is, and continues to be, an announcement of the reality, *real prediction,* although fulfilled in a form and at a time different from what the prophecy itself led us to

[1] *L. c.*, p. 71.

[2] *The Perspective in Prophecy*, "British and Foreign Evangelical Review," No. lxxx. (April 1872), pp. 326-347.

[3] *L. c.*, p. 340, ff.

[4] *l. c.*, p. 330, ff.

expect. With what right is this assertion made?—that is the question on which ultimately everthing hinges.

But this question is answered as soon as it is proposed. In vain do we ask the defenders of the theory which we are considering, for positive proofs in support of their assertion. It is a settled point with them that the predictions, all without exception, have been fulfilled; it is only the *manner* of their fulfilment that is, for them, a subject of investigation. Fulfilled exactly and literally, or in another form and at another period, but still *always fulfilled*—that is their system, in few words. It does not require to be shown at length that this system is for us utterly unsatisfactory, or why it is so. From the historical stand-point on which we have placed ourselves, we perceive nothing to recommend such a view. The case would no doubt be different if the form and the period of the realisation were always a matter of indifference, or, at least, of subordinate importance! But the very opposite is the truth. Of course, in history the same result can sometimes be obtained in more than one way, either all at once or as the issue of a long process; but then in the former case, it bears another character than it does in the latter. One conquered city is depopulated by the enemy, and levelled to the ground; another does not recover from the blow which has been inflicted upon it, gradually loses its resources and its inhabitants, and finally ceases to exist; in this way the condition of both is ultimately one and the same, yet every one will certainly acknowledge that a very essential difference remains here, both as regards the temper of the one conqueror and that of the other, and as regards the impression which the fate of the two cities makes upon their citizens and the rest of the world. It is hardly necessary to apply this to the predictions of the prophets. It is judicial *punishments* which they announce. But the destiny of the heathen nations loses that character, when slow decay takes the place of sudden destruction. Surely none of those who witnessed that decay could regard it, as the prophet wished it to be regarded, as the execution of a sentence pronounced by Jahveh. This reasoning, with the necessary modifications, is fully applicable to the promises of future prosperity. The sequel of our investigation will of itself make that clear. How then can it be wished to

force upon us the belief that prophecies, the aim of which has not been accomplished, have yet been fulfilled?

We arrive by another road at the same conclusion with regard to the invalidity of the theory now under discussion. The "perspective" character of prophecy is often spoken of, as if it were one of its invariable features. This, however, is absolutely contrary to the fact. It is with this, as with the position that beholding, inner intuition, is the fixed form of prophetical revelation. It appeared evident to us before that the supporters of this view attribute to *all prophecies* what is applicable only to very few;[1] the same thing happens in this case which is closely akin to the former. The reader of this chapter does not require any proof that the distinction between earlier and later, or, to speak more generally, that fixed dates are not wanting in the prophecies. The prophets thus show that they perceive very well that dates are anything but indifferent. In a number of prophecies the cardinal thought itself stands or falls with the succession of events therein announced. For example, is the judgment upon one or other heathen nation promised to the people of Israel, and represented as the reparation of the wrongs which they had endured, then the possibility of such a prophecy being realised ceases from the moment that Israel loses its national existence, and thus can no longer reap the fruits of the destruction of its enemies. When we assert, therefore, that prophetical prediction is, as it were, raised above any conditions of time, and that its fulfilment is independent of the form with which it is invested, the prophets themselves directly oppose us. It is clear that they attributed weight, nay, sometimes great weight, to that which is called unimportant, or even altogether indifferent, in order to uphold the opinion that they could infallibly anticipate the future.

We shall not, therefore, allow ourselves to be diverted from our course by the theory now discussed. It owes its existence to the belief in the supernatural origin of prophecy, but cannot set aside the facts which the unprejudiced consideration of the contents of prophecy places before our eyes.

The foregoing remarks simplify our task with regard to the prophecies against Babylon and the Chaldean kingdom.

[1] See p. 83 ff. above.

Nebuchadrezzar, "the servant of Jahveh," entrusted with the execution of his judgments against Judah; the deportation to Babylon as a punishment for the sins of the people; the return to their native country agreeably to the promises of Jahveh—all this is reserved for a subsequent chapter. We confine ourselves here to the predictions concerning the destiny of Babylon itself, and of the monarchy of which it was the capital. The age of most of those prophecies is, up to the present day, a very disputed point. It is agreed that Habakkuk wrote before the fall of Jerusalem. The tyrannical acts of the Chaldeans had made so deep an impression upon him,[1] that already, at the time when they still stood at the summit of their power, he holds their humiliation as altogether certain, and communicates, as by anticipation, the taunting song which those who had been conquered by the Babylonians would raise, when their oppressors were in their turn chastised.[2] On the other hand, opinions are divided concerning the origin of the prophecies directed against Babylon which are found among the oracles of Isaiah and Jeremiah, namely, Isa. xiii. 1—xiv. 23; xxi. 1-10; xxiv.—xxvii.; the passages in Isa. xl.—lxvi.[3] in which the destiny of Babylon is predicted; and Jer. l., li. Nevertheless it is not absolutely necessary for our object to make a choice between the two opinions on this point which mainly attract notice. Whether these prophecies be assigned to Isaiah and Jeremiah, or be placed in the years which preceded, or immediately followed, the return from the captivity, the question always remains, Has the destiny of Babylon corresponded to the expectations which are there expressed? To the treatment of that question, therefore, we proceed at once.

"Babylon is fallen, is fallen!" Such is the cry which the author of one of these prophecies hears when, at the command of Jahveh, he has ascended his watch-tower and looks out for the things that shall come.[4] We find the same conviction also in the other passages, frequently associated both with the announcement that the Medes and Persians shall conquer the mighty city,[5] and with the idea that its

[1] Compare Hab. i. 2-17. [2] Hab. ii., iii., especially ii. 6, f.
[3] Among others, chap. xlvi. 1, 2; xlvii. 1—3, 5—16. [4] Isa. xxi. 9, *a*.
[5] Isa. xiii. 17; xli. 2, 3, 25, and elsewhere in chap. xl.—lxvi.; Jer. li. 11, 28, compare 20-24.

calamity is the humiliation and the confusion of its gods.[1] Thus far the agreement between the prediction and the issue is perfect. But some prophecies go farther in announcing the judgment. The writer of Jer. l., li., expresses at the very beginning his expectation that "out of the north there shall come up a nation against Babylon which shall make her land desolate, and none shall dwell therein; they shall flee, they shall depart, both man and beast."[2] Again and again he repeats this announcement, now in one form, now in another. Thus he speaks to the Chaldeans: "Your mother"—meaning by that expression the nation as a whole—"your mother shall be sore confounded; she that bare you shall be ashamed; behold, she is the smallest of the nations, her land a wilderness, a dry land, and a desert. Because of the wrath of Jahveh it shall not be inhabited, but it shall be wholly desolate; every one that goeth by Babylon shall be astonished, and hiss at all her plagues."[3] And this is repeated more than once in the sequel of the detailed oracle.[4] With this writer the author of Isa. xiii. 1—xiv. 25 entirely agrees, as when, for instance, he predicts: "It (Babylon) shall never be inhabited, neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation; neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there; neither shall the shepherds make their fold there: but the jackals shall lie there, and the owls fill their houses; the ostriches shall dwell there, and the satyrs dance; wild beasts shall howl in the palaces thereof, and dogs in the luxurious dwellings; *and her time is near to come, and her days shall not be prolonged.*"[5] These last words cannot be allowed to escape our notice. They place beyond all doubt, what indeed might be inferred merely from the course of the whole prophecy, that the prophet does not speak of a far distant future, but of the fate which Babylon has to expect after her conquest by the Medes. Almost superfluously, he declares,

[1] Isa. xxi. 9 *b*; xxiv. 20, 21; xlvi. 1, 2; xlvii. 12, ff. Jer. l. 2; li. 44, 47, 52.

[2] Jer. l. 3. [3] Jer. l. 12, 13.

[4] Jer. l. 15 (the walls of Babylon are thrown down); 21, 26 (destroy her utterly [make her *cherem*] that nothing of her be left); 38 (the waters of Babylon are dried up); 39, 40 (entire destruction of the city, as of Sodom and Gomorrah), 45; li. 13 (thine end is come); 25, 26 (an everlasting desolation;) 29, 36, 37, 42, 43, 58 (destruction of the walls of Babylon).

[5] Isa. xiii. 20-22. Compare also Isa. xxv. 2; xxvi. 5.

just as the writer of Jer. l., li., that it shall be with her as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.[1]

These predictions have not been all fully realised, even at the present time, more than two thousand years after they were written. It is long since ancient Babylon ceased to exist, but the not unimportant city of Hillah, and various villages, partly occupy the site on which it formerly stood, and Arabian tribes are accustomed to encamp among its ruins.[2] But suppose that it were (now) otherwise, or became so after some centuries more had elapsed, even in that case we should still have to rank the predictions of Babylon's desolation and entire destruction among the unfulfilled prophecies. Babylon had still a whole history after 538 B.C., the year of its conquest by Cyrus. Already in the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, it was strong and powerful enough to offer resistance for a long time to the Persian forces; nay, the king would have been baffled before its walls, if the stratagem of Zopyrus had not put him in possession of the city.[3] Alexander the Great conceived the design of raising it to be the capital of the Grecian empire. It was one of the distinguished cities of the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, although the neighbouring Seleucia became now a formidable rival to it, so that henceforward it sank more and more into decay. We know from the New Testament of "the elect sister (congregation) in Babylon."[4] But enough; it matters little, so far as the question at issue is concerned, whether some centuries could still be added to these six. The facts, of which I reminded the reader, are more than sufficient to prove that the sentence of extermination which the prophets had pronounced against Babylon was *not* executed. The plain meaning of the prophets is misapprehended, if the lingering process of decay through which the mighty city passed is represented as the fulfilment of their threatenings.

The Chaldean monarchy was succeeded by the Persian. The rise of the latter is hailed with high gratification in the

[1] Isa. xiii. 19; Jer l. 40.

[2] See the note of Rev. T. K. Cheyne, "The Book of Isaiah chronologically arranged," p. 137.

[3] "Herodotus," Lib. iii. 150 *sqq.* Compare M. Duncker, "Gesch. des Alterthums.," ii. 559-563.

[4] 1 Pet. v. 13.

last portion of the oracles assigned to Isaiah (chap. xl.—lxvi.) Its founder Cyrus is called there, "the anointed of Jahveh," and is described as the executor of Jahveh's purpose, as well with regard to Babylon as to the Jewish exiles, and the restoration of Jerusalem.[1] We shall, at a later period, inquire how far he corresponded to the expectations which concerned Israel itself; that he conquered Babylon indeed, but did not doom it to destruction, has but just now been already made clear to us. During the first century after the establishment of the Persian kingdom, some prophets still appeared in Judæa, Haggai, Zechariah (chaps. i--viii.), and Malachi. It would not have been unnatural for them to have expressly declared their views concerning the further fortunes of a monarchy to which Israel was indebted for the restoration of its national existence, and to which it continued to remain in subjection. This however they have not done, at least not in terms so unambiguous as to enable us to test the prophetical utterances by the historical reality. Haggai announces that *within a short time*, heaven and earth, the sea and the dry land shall be shaken by Jahveh: the result of this shaking, which extends to all nations, shall be, that the best portion of them will visit the temple at Jerusalem.[2] In another passage, he predicts that Jahveh shall overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations: the horses and their riders shall fall down, every one by the sword of his brother.[3] These prophecies certainly have reference to the destiny of the heathen, and in so far to that of the Persians also; but Haggai has to do, properly speaking, only with the future of Israel. He says nothing whatever concerning the manner in which this shall be brought to pass. Jahveh shall bless his people and make his temple glorious, but he does not tell us what way he will take to accomplish this object. The anticipations of Zechariah are almost as indefinite. Let the reader, in order to be convinced of this, peruse the vision of the four horns and four carpenters,[4] and that of the four chariots,[5] in which almost everything occurs, that the prophet mentions concerning the

[1] See Isa. xliv. 28; xlv. 1, where the name Koresh occurs; further Isa. xli. 2, 3, 25; xliv. 26, 27; xlv. 2 ff., xlvi. 11; xlviii. 14, 15.
[2] Hagg. ii. 6, 7.
[3] Hagg. ii. 22.
[4] Zech. i. 18-21.
[5] Zech. vi. 1-8.

destiny of the heathen. Malachi confines himself exclusively to combating the malpractices and errors of his contemporaries.

We thus seek, in vain, in these prophets, for predictions concerning the termination of the Persian monarchy. It seems indeed that this most important fact lay beyond the range of their vision. Or is the state of the case otherwise? Are they silent about the destruction of the Persian kingdom, and the empire founded by Alexander the Great, for the reason that another had already spoken before them? Many answer this question in the affirmative, having in view the book of Daniel, which, in their judgment, was written by the prophet of that name, as early as the reign of Cyrus.[1] We actually find there all, and more than all, that we sought. We find recorded in that book not only the appearance of Alexander on the scene, but also his death, and the events which followed upon his death, and that too, at times, in minute detail. Let us begin by taking notice of the predictions which have direct reference to the destiny of the heathen nations; all that exclusively concerns Israel and its future, is reserved for a subsequent chapter.

On two occasions Daniel announces the succession of *four monarchies*, or rather on the first occasion, it is revealed to Nebuchadrezzar in a dream which Daniel afterwards interprets;[2] some years later, he himself beholds the four beasts, symbols of the same four kingdoms, which were formerly denoted by the parts of the image in Nebuchadrezzar's dream.[3] To the question, as to what monarchies are meant here, different answers have always been given. If, however, as is only reasonable, we follow the indications which the author himself gives, then no doubt remains as to his meaning. The four kingdoms are the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian, and the Grecian (that of Alexander the Great and his successors). Let the

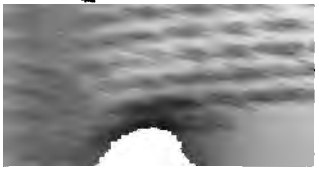
[1] The latest of Daniel's revelations (chaps. x.—xii.), is placed in the third year of the reign of Cyrus, that is, his reign over Babylon (chap. x. 1). The others fall under the reign of Belshazzar (chaps. vii. 1; viii. 1), and of Darius the Mede (chap. ix.). If Daniel was carried away captive to Babylon in the third year of Jehoiakim (chap. i. 1-4), he was already far advanced in years when Babylon was taken by the Persians. On that ground the assumption is made, that he can not well have outlived Cyrus (+ 529 B.C.).

[2] Chap. ii. 31-35, 36-45.

[3] Chap. vii., especially vv. 2-7, compare vv. 17, 19-22, 23-27.

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description given of that kingdom in both revelations.[1] is required by the undeniable fact that the fourth kingdom in the book of Daniel appears as the last, and is immediately succeeded by that of the Messiah,[2] which, according to other and unambiguous passages, follows at once the tyrannical proceedings of Antiochus Epiphanes, one of the kings of the Grecian or Macedonian monarchy.[3]

Without expressing an opinion as yet on this expectation, let us first collect the further declarations of the writer on the future destiny of the heathen nations.

In chap. viii. he portrays the Medo-Persian kingdom under the image of a ram with two unequal horns, which come up the one after the other, the greater after the smaller.[4] This ram was attacked and overthrown by a he-goat, that is, the Medo-Persian monarchy is destroyed by Alexander the Great.[5] The great horn of the he-goat is broken, and four others come up in its place: the kingdom of Alexander is after his death separated into four kingdoms.[6] Out of one of those four horns a smaller horn comes forth, the symbol—as is clear from the writer's own explanation—of Antiochus Epiphanes, whose measures against the temple and the worship of the God of Israel are plainly and exactly pointed out.[7] The time, during which the temple is desecrated, is fixed at 2300 evenings and mornings, that is at 1150 days.[8] Antiochus himself shall be struck by a divine judgment ("without [human] hand.")[9]

[1] Let the reader notice the agreement between chap. vii. 7, and chap. viii. 5—8, 21; xi. 3; and also the circumstance that the fourth beast differs from the three that went before, chap. vii. 7b, 23; as well as the parallelism between chap. ii. 41—43, and chap. viii. 22; xi. 4, 6, 17.

[2] Chap. ii. 34, 35, 44, 45; vii. 13, 14, 23—27. The question as to whether a personal Messiah is announced here, is left, in the meantime, undetermined. In place of "the kingdom of the Messiah," I could also have written "the dominion of Israel."

[3] See chap. viii. 17, 19, 23, and xi. 21—45 (a description of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes), in connection with the immediately following passage, chap. xii. 1—3 (the resurrection of the dead and the glorification of the pious).

[4] Chap. viii. 3, 4, 20.

[5] Chap. viii. 5—7, 21.

[6] Chap. viii. 8, 22. The four kingdoms are that of the Seleucidae, that of the Lagidae, that of Cassander (Macedonia, Thessaly, Greece), and that of Lysimachus (Asia Minor, Cappadocia, and Thrace).

[7] Chap. viii. 9—14, 23—26.

[8] Chap. viii. 14, 26. In the English version the "evening-morning" of v. 14 is incorrectly replaced by "day." That the evenings and mornings are to be counted separately, and thus the 2300 "evening-mornings" are equal to 1150 days, is evident from v. 26.

[9] Chap. viii. 25.

The predictions contained in chap. x.—xii. are, in many respects, parallel with those now mentioned. Cyrus, in whose reign the revelation is placed,[1] is to be followed by three other Persian kings.[2] Of the fourth king it is said, that "he having become strong through his riches, shall stir up all against the realm of Grecia."[3] The establishment of Alexander's kingdom, and its division into four smaller kingdoms, follow immediately thereafter.[4] Attention is now directed, more particularly, to two of these divisions, the southern (Egypt) and the northern (Syria). Some remarkable facts in their history are indicated in a few touches, and indicated in such a way that no reader, who is acquainted with that history, can fail at once to understand what event is intended.[5] Yet more minute and distinct is the portraiture of Antiochus Epiphanes. The first three portions of it agree completely with the known fortunes and acts of that king;[6] on the other hand, the fourth and last expresses an expectation concerning his end, to which the historical reality does not correspond.[7] Further, we do not discover in history the events which, in the prophecy, are represented as following immediately on the death of the tyrant,[8] nor are the dates, which close the whole revelation, quite in accordance with the chronology, which we ascertain from other sources.[9]

[1] Chap. x. 1. [2] Chap. xi. 2. [3] *L. c.* [4] Chap. xi. 3, 4.

[5] Let chap. xi. 5 be compared with the accounts regarding Ptolemy, son of Lagus, and Seleucus Nicator; v. 6 with those regarding Ptolemy Philadelphus and Antiochus II.; vv. 7—9 with the fortunes of Ptolemy Euergetes; vv. 10—19 with those of Antiochus the Great; v. 20 with the account in 2 Macc. iii. regarding Seleucus Philopator.

[6] These are contained in chap. xi. 21—24, 25—28, 29—39. The agreement with the facts does not require to be shown, as it is denied by none.

[7] Chap. xi. 40—45, to be compared with 1 Macc. vi. 1—16. It is plain from the latter passage that Antiochus, after a rather long illness, died in Persia. On the contrary, it is predicted in Dan. xi. 40—45, that he should find his end in Palestine, "the goodly land," v. 41; "the goodly mountain of holiness," v. 45; and should find it at the very moment in which he seemed to have attained the object of all his wishes. This quite agrees with the expectation that he "shall be broken without (human) hand," chap. viii. 25.

[8] Chap. xii. 1-3, to which verses we shall recur in another connection.

[9] There are mentioned in succession 3½ years (v. 7), 1290 days (v. 11), and 1335 days (v. 12). The three intervals have reference to the period which was to elapse between the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem and the dawn of better times. In chap. viii. 14, 26, 1150 days were assigned for the duration of that period. According to 1 Macc. i. 54, iv. 52, there was an interval of exactly three years, that is ($3 \times 354 + 30 =$,) 1092 days

I have purposely heaped all these facts together, as it were, because they must be viewed in their mutual connection, and then also they readily find their proper explanation. When, in accordance with the traditional theory, we assign the book of Daniel to the year 530 B.C., our endeavour to give an account of the phenomena which therein present themselves, is scarcely even half successful. The author of that book, as we saw, knows accurately the history of Alexander the Great and his successors, particularly that of the Lagidae and the Seleucidae; in a special manner, the fortunes of Antiochus Epiphanes and that prince's measures against the Israelitish religion, stand clear and distinct before his eyes. This knowledge has been obtained by him either in the usual way or in a supernatural manner; if the former alternative be true, then he was a contemporary of Antiochus Epiphanes, if the latter, then he may have lived under Cyrus, or even earlier; in the abstract, the one is as possible as the other. But it now is evident, further,—First, that the writer has no knowledge of events which happened in the very last years of Antiochus Epiphanes, or of the place and manner of his death, or of the occurrences which took place after his death; but, on the contrary, with regard to all these things, gives utterance to expectations which were contradicted by the issue. He predicts that 1150 days, or even more, shall elapse between the desecration of the temple and the restoration of the worship; that Antiochus Epiphanes shall be taken away, in Palestine, by a divine judgment; that thereafter the resurrection of the dead and the universal empire of Israel shall follow. His conception of the succession of the monarchies leaves no room for the Roman empire, which yet undoubtedly took the place of that of Alexander and his successors. No demonstration is needed to show that the writer's ignorance of these facts is at once explained, if we assume that he wrote in the reign of Epiphanes, and that in the year 165 B.C. But how can that ignorance be made to agree with the supposition that he was enlightened by supernatural revelation with regard to all the preceding matters? Did that

between the first sacrifice offered on the heathen altar erected by Antiochus and the purification of the temple by Judas Maccabaeus. We shall revert in Chap. vii. to this difference also, which could not be left altogether unmentioned here.

revelation begin to fail him at a certain point? Is it possible to form any rational conception of such a thing?

Along with this, let it be taken into consideration, secondly, that the writer's knowledge of the course of the history before Alexander the Great is not only incomplete, but defective and partly inaccurate. He knows only of four Persian kings, and thrusts in the Median monarchy between the Babylonian and the Persian. Nay, he is in error even with regard to the Babylonian kings, of whom the last is, according to him, Belshazzar, the son, and, as it appears, the successor of Nebuchadrezzar,[1] to whom—we may notice in passing—he is in the habit of giving the later form of the name, Nebuchadnezzar, the use of which by a contemporary is, in every respect, surprising.[2] On the supposition that the author of Daniel wrote in the year 165 B.C., all this in the highest degree natural. In that case it was quite to be expected that only some main points from the remote past should be clearly present to his mind, and that in some particulars his representation of them should be confused. But how does the matter stand if we make him a contemporary and witness of the facts with which he shows that he is not acquainted? The traditional theory concerning the author and the age of the book of Daniel at once fails when we apply this standard. It is inconsistent with the most unambiguous phenomena which present themselves in that book.

Thus there exists no reason why we should modify the result to which the perusal of Haggai and Zechariah had led us. That the Persian monarchy should perish and be suc-

[1] See Dan. v., especially verses 2, 11, 13, 18, 22, 30; vi. 1 (v. 31, *Auth. Ver.*). That Belshazzar appears here as the last king of the Chaldean empire, has been shown in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," ii. 447—49. Compare Baruch i. 11. 12.

[2] Attention has already been directed to this point in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," ii. 459. Dr Pusey ("Daniel the Prophet," 3d ed., p. lxvii. f.) acknowledges that Nebuchadrezzar is the original form, but assumes that the softer form with *n* must have already begun in the lifetime of the king; he refers further to the use of the softer form in the books of Kings and in Ezra. On the monuments, however, the form with *r* occurs exclusively (Schrader in Zeitschr. der D. M. G., xxvi. 124—126). If anywhere, we would have expected it in a book written by Nebuchadrezzar's minister of state, and specifically in the edict, Dan. iii. 31—iv. 34; Heb. (iv. 1—37, *Auth. Ver.*). The form with *n* would, of course, if it stood alone, prove nothing; but, taken in connection with all the other phenomena, it contributes its share to the evidence against the high age of the book of Daniel.

ceeded by another, is an idea which is not found in Israelitish prophecy. What appears in the book of Daniel regarding that, and still later events, is, as regards one portion, not prophecy, but history, which in consequence of the drapery is represented as prediction, while as regards another portion, it is, in truth, an announcement of the future, to which, however, the issue does not correspond.

Of more importance than this result itself is the view of the book of Daniel which is comprehended in it. Objections against this view may readily occur to the reader, to which he finds no answer in what precedes. He can, therefore, suspend his judgment until we have examined the book of Daniel from other points of view also. We shall yet have occasion to deal with it more than once, and shall have the opportunity of testing anew the conclusion which has at present been provisionally reached, and also of confirming its correctness.

CHAPTER VI.

THE UNFULFILLED PREDICTIONS.

b.—The Judgments against Israel.

ACCORDING to the proposed order of treatment, the prophecies relating to the people of Israel follow those which concern the heathen nations. I have already said [1] that the former admit of being separated into two groups. The first comprises the predictions regarding the judgments denounced against Israel.

The course which we have to follow in this chapter lies plainly marked out before us. It is certain that the great majority of the prophets announced Jahveh's judgments upon the people whom he had chosen. If some of them are altogether silent with regard to these judgments, their silence can be easily explained. Thus, for example, the solitary prophecy of Nahum which we possess is devoted to the prediction of Nineveh's overthrow; Obadiah is wholly under the influence of the impression made by the deeds of violence which the Edomites had committed, and is occupied exclusively with the punishment of the perpetrators; some prophecies, belonging to the days which immediately preceded the release from captivity, are limited to the announcement of that great fact. All the rest of the prophets depict, some more, others less, fully, the judgments which should be executed on or among their people. It may be said of the most of them, that such a representation constitutes the chief matter of their preaching. It is only natural that we should hear each of them separately. In that way, another fact besides will of itself come to light. The prophecies regarding the judgments show clear marks of mutual agreement; but, along with that, a difference also has to be noticed. The representation is modified in details, and

[1] See above, p. 101.

is plainly subject to the influence of the changing circumstances of the time. It does not become us to determine anything on that point, *a priori;* but we ought certainly to choose such a method as will enable us at once to perceive the progression in the announcement of the judgments, if such a progression really exists. But for this end, we have only to follow the chronology, and hear the prophets in their order.

Our survey will gain in conciseness and clearness if we combine those among the prophets who were contemporaneous, and thus treat, in succession, Amos and Hosea; the prophets of the Assyrian period (the author of Zech. ix.-xi., Micah, and Isaiah); the prophets of the Chaldean period (Zephaniah, Habakkuk, the writer of Zech. xii.-xiv., Joel, and Jeremiah); Ezekiel and the rest of the prophets during the captivity; and the post-exilic prophets.

We open the prophecies of Amos, but meet there at once with phenomena which oblige us to make a general observation before we proceed to the further consideration of our subject. According to the title of this chapter, the unfulfilled prophecies alone are treated in it. This division of the whole of the prophecies rests on the supposition that, after deducting those which are unfulfilled, there remain some which have actually been accomplished. But when, keeping this division in view, we peruse the oracles of Amos, and, as will be clear afterwards, those of the subsequent prophets, we are perplexed at every step. It is as if they refused to allow themselves to be arranged in this manner in two sharply defined groups. Some take their place, as of their own accord, either on the one or the other side of the line of demarcation; but with regard to not a few we continue to hesitate. They are in a certain sense fulfilled, but yet in another respect they are unfulfilled; and, to make the difficulty still greater, many of them scarcely present themselves as predictions, but rather as earnest reproaches or severe threatenings. It is obvious that all this difficulty is of a temporary nature. It does not prevent us, in any degree, from understanding Israelitish prophecy, and forming for ourselves a definite conviction with regard to its origin. On the contrary, when we reach that subject, in the course of our investigation, this state

of the prophecies in reference to the judgments will be calculated to render us important services. The difficulty, therefore, properly speaking, presses only on the method which we now employ, on the standard of which we make use; and yet we cannot lay aside this standard, which, as the reader may remember,[1] we adopted for very weighty reasons. There remains, therefore, no other course open to us but to proceed as we began. At the same time, however, we shall guard against a rigorous separation of the predictions which alone properly claim to be considered at present, but which are so interwoven with the rest in the prophetical books themselves that they do not well admit of being disjoined from them. We shall therefore always keep our attention directed to the unfulfilled prophecies, but yet shall also mention in this chapter those predictions to which the issue has corresponded, either in whole or in part, and shall not neglect to indicate the prophetical utterances which, for whatever reasons, can scarcely, or not at all, admit of being judged by the relation in which they stand to the later historical facts.

There is also another advantage connected with this combination. This chapter, in which the prophets come before us one by one and in chronological order, becomes, by that means, at the same time a succinct history of their preaching in Israel, at least of the threats of punishment addressed to their nation, which occupy so important a place in their entire work, and shed so much light over their religious and moral convictions.

In was in the reign of Jeroboam II., about the year 800 B.C., that Amos, an inhabitant of Tekoa in Judea, appeared as a prophet in the kingdom of the ten tribes. By the successful wars and vigorous government of that king, Israel had attained to a high degree of prosperity and wealth; but judged from a moral and religious point of view, the state of the kingdom left much to be desired. The poor were oppressed and the victims of extortion. The sensual worship of the nature-gods numbered many adherents. There was no lack of noisy festivals and loud songs in honour of Jahveh, but the people did not trouble themselves about his commands, and imposed silence on those who ventured to urge

[1] See above, pp. 95—97.

them to obedience to his will.[1] Is it surprising that Amos, called to be a prophet in these circumstances, raises his voice in severe reproaches, and predicts to the people a mournful future? He directs his attention, only in passing, to his native country, the kingdom of Judah. He is not blind to the sins which are committed there also,[2] and announces that Jahveh will cast a fire upon Judah which shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem;[3] but he seems to expect that such a severe chastisement will be sufficient to bring the inhabitants of the southern kingdom to repentance, and that the extinction of Judah's national existence will not be required for that purpose. In his prophecy of Israel's restoration, he mentions the "falling tabernacle of David," "of which the breaches shall be closed up, and the ruins raised, when it is built as in the days of old,"[4] which implies that the dynasty of David, in however sunken a condition, shall continue to exist at the time when the better days will dawn. The prospects which the prophet descries for the kingdom of the ten tribes are much more unfavourable. If we were asked, what are the judgments against that kingdom which he expects, we might answer, what are the judgments that he does not expect? For as, before he came forward as a prophet, calamities of all kinds had already smitten "the house of Joseph," without, however, effecting the change for which they were sent,[5] so also in the future the apostate nation shall not be spared one single description of suffering.[6] But again and again Amos reverts to the sorest punishment which could be imagined, the people's *being carried captive to a foreign country.* "Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land."[7] In another passage, he says, "I (Jahveh) will cause you to go into captivity beyond Damascus,"[8] and once more—"I will shake the house of Israel to and fro

[1] These statements can be deduced from the following utterances of Amos quoted in the order of the chapters: Chap. ii. 6—8, 11, 12; iii. 10; iv. 1; v. 7, 10, 11, 12, 21—23; vi. 4—6, 12[b]; viii. 4—6, 10.

[2] Chap. ii. 4; compare vi. 1 and the mention of Beersheba, v. 5; viii. 14.

[3] Chap. ii. 5. [4] Chap. ix. 11. [5] Chap. iv. 6—11.

[6] Besides the passages quoted in the notes immediately following, see chap. ii. 13—16; iii. 11—15; iv. 2, 3; v. 1—3, 16, 17; vi. 8—11; vii. 1—6; viii. 3, 9—14; ix. 5.

[7] Chap. vii. 17; compare chap. v. 5, where the same thing is said of Gilgal.

[8] Chap. v. 27.

among all nations, like as corn is shaken to and fro in a sieve."[1] The promise that Jahveh "shall bring back the captivity of his people Israel,"[2] is founded, of course, on the same conception of the nation's future. The higher classes who now indulge in revelry and excess shall first be smitten by this judgment.[3] If, however, the question is asked, whether the prophet had formed to himself a clear conception of the realisation of this threatening, which agreed with the subsequent reality, we must return an answer in the negative. It was, as may be remembered, the Assyrians who, about eighty years after the appearance of Amos, conquered Samaria, and carried into captivity the flower of the citizens of the kingdom of Ephraim. Now with regard to the Assyrians, Amos nowhere names them, but yet alludes to them on one occasion when he mentions a nation that Jahveh shall raise up, and which shall afflict Israel from "Hamath to the brook of the wilderness" (from the northern to the southern boundary).[4] But it is not said here that this people is destined by Jahveh to deprive Israel of its national existence; it is rather mentioned as one of the many means which he shall employ in order to punish the apostates. And as regards the time when his threatenings should be realised, nothing is plainer than that Amos imagined it to be close at hand. He announces in the same breath that "the high places of Israel shall be desolate, and the sanctuaries of Israel shall be laid waste," and that Jahveh "shall rise against the house of Jeroboam with the sword."[5] There may have been a misunderstanding, or even a malevolent perversion of his words, when it was told to the king that the prophet had dared to predict that Jeroboam would die a violent death,[6] still it is plain that, in the opinion of Amos, the overthrow of the kingdom coincides with the overthrow of the reigning dynasty. This follows also from his answer to Amaziah, the priest of the royal sanctuary at Bethel, who had forbidden him to prophesy on his territory. "Thou shalt," so Amos says to him, "thou shalt die in an unclean land"—to which he immediately adds—"and Israel shall surely go into captivity forth of his land."[7] This

[1] Chap. ix. 9. [2] Chap. ix. 14. [3] Chap. vi. 7.
[4] Chap. vi. 14. [5] Chap. vii. 9. [6] Chap. vii. 11.
[7] Chap. vii. 17.

deportation must happen in the time of the generation then living, if Amaziah is to be one of the victims. For another reason also, we cannot ascribe to Amos any foreknowledge of the future. He has not yet given up all hope that Israel shall be brought to repentance, either in consequence of Jahveh's reiterated threatenings, or by suffering the first of the judgments to be executed upon them. "Seek the good and not the evil, that ye may live, and so Jahveh, the god of hosts, shall be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that Jahveh, the god of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph."[1] If the prophet is in earnest in what he says here—and how can we have any doubt of his sincerity?—then he can have had no *certainty* with regard to the future course of Israel's fortunes, though it be true that, for the most part, he does not venture to hope, and scarcely doubts any longer, that the extreme inflictions which he from time to time anew depicts, are indispensable.

It is of the greatest importance to compare these anticipations of Amos with those of Hosea. The relation of the one to the other comes out clearly in the fact that the Assyrians, who are not named by the former, are repeatedly mentioned by the latter. This seems to indicate that the prophecies of Hosea are further developed and more precise than those of Amos. This conclusion is in complete accordance with the time at which they respectively lived. The herdsman of Tekoa did not, so far as we know, survive Jeroboam II., the only sovereign of the kingdom of the ten tribes who is mentioned in the title of his book.[2] Hosea was later. Although the heading of his book, which makes his labours extend to the reign of Hezekiah, must be regarded as an imitation of the title of the prophecies of Isaiah, and consequently as a later addition; and although the absence of any allusion to the Syrian-Ephraimite war (741 B.C.) seems to justify the supposition that he had disappeared from the stage of history before that most important event; yet even in that case the period of his activity falls between the years 775 and 745

[1] Chap. v. 14, 15; compare also viii. 11, 12, although the hunger and thirst for the word of Jahveh described there can scarcely be regarded as the beginning of repentance, on account of verses 13, 14.

[2] Amos i. 1.

B.C., that is about a quarter of a century later than that of Amos.[1] The position of affairs therefore to which he alludes is also different. Thus he mentions the disorder and dynastic changes which began with the death of Jeroboam I.,[2] and political parties, of which one inclined to Assyria, while the other sought support from the Egyptians against the extension of the Assyrian power.[3]

But let us consider the conception which Hosea formed of the judgment against his nation—for that he expects a judgment follows naturally from his most unfavourable opinion of Israel's religious and moral condition, and is clearly perceived as soon as we become acquainted with his prophecies. He was a citizen of the Ephraimite kingdom, and his attention is almost exclusively occupied with it: still he does not pass by Judah in silence. In his expectations concerning the future of this kingdom, hope and fear seem to contend with each other for precedence. On the one hand, his opinion of Judah is more favourable than that which he forms of Israel. Thus it is said: "I will no more have mercy upon the house of Israel that I should pardon them; but I will have mercy upon the house of Judah, and will save them by Jahveh their god:"[4] with which utterance others coincide.[5] But, on the other hand, he has also serious complaints to make against Judah, and places it more than once on the same level as Ephraim. Jahveh shall pour out his wrath like water upon Judah also. The complaint applies to Judah also that its goodness is as a morning cloud, and as the early dew, which soon vanisheth; the palaces of Judah shall be consumed by Jahveh's fire; he has a controversy with Judah, so that Jacob—or all Israel—must be recompensed according to his doings.[6] Nevertheless, he must still have expected that the extreme severity would not need to be applied to Judah. When he announces that "in the last of

[1] See the fuller development of this point in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 312—315.

See Chap. iii. 4; vii. 7; viii. 4; x. 3, 15; xiii. 10, 11.

[2] Chap. v. 13; vii. 11; viii. 9; xii. 2, Heb. (xii. 1, *Auth. Ver.*)

[3] Chap. i. 6, 7.

[4] Chap. iv. 15, perhaps also xii. 1, Heb. (xi. 12, *Auth. Ver.*) but the meaning of this verse is very doubtful.

[5] Chap. v. 5, 10—14; vi. 4—11; viii. 14; x. 11; xii. 3; Heb. (2, *Auth. Ver.*).

the days" the children of Israel—that is the ten tribes—shall repent and seek Jahveh their god, and *David their king*,[1] it is implied therein that the kingdom of Judah shall then be still existing, and shall be governed by the descendants of David.[2] We derive the same conclusion from another prophecy which looks forward to the re-union of Israel (Ephraim) and Judah, after the dispersion of Israel, but not that of Judah, had been predicted.[3] Let it be remembered that Amos also proclaims only to the kingdom of the ten tribes the deportation to foreign parts. It will immediately be evident to us that Isaiah also shares the same view.

Hosea's expectations regarding the destiny of Ephraim, which have just been made use of for the purpose of comparison, well deserve our express consideration. He has nowhere stated them in a systematic manner. Hosea is a poet, and again and again allows himself to be carried away by his feelings, whether he describes the sins of his nation and the judgments which must follow these sins, or depicts the joyful future which shall afterwards dawn. Such descriptions cannot be taken in a literal sense. The continual change of figures in his language, indeed, of itself, forbids us to do so. As little can we proceed upon the supposition that the prophet is uniformly consistent with himself; least of all in a poet is such perfect consistency to be looked for. Still, when we peruse and re-peruse the prophecies of Hosea, we succeed in discovering in them some leading ideas which recur repeatedly and plainly form the ground of his conviction. It is a settled point with him that the Ephraimite kingdom shall be uprooted, and Ephraim himself go into captivity. In the allegorical narrative with which the series of his oracles opens, the children born of the marriage between the prophet—representative of Jahveh—and the unchaste woman—Israel—receive symbolical names, which express the future relation of Jahveh to Israel. The names are, *Jizreel* ("God

[1] Chap. iii. 5.

[2] See below, Chap. vii.

[3] Chap. ii. 1, 2; Heb. (i. 10, 11, *Auth. Ver.*), compared with Chap. i. 2-9. The words "They shall come up out of the land," refer to the pilgrimages to the common sanctuary, which shall be made from every part of the land.

scatters:" an allusion, at once, to the well known valley of that name, and to the atrocities committed there by Jehu, when he founded his own dynasty and extirpated that of Omri), *Lo-ruchama* ("the uncompassionated"), and *Lo-ammi* ("not my people").[1] The rejection of Israel is clearly expressed in this symbolism. The temporary disruption of the relation between Jahveh and Israel is proclaimed, in an equally unambiguous manner, in Hosea's second allegory. It is there said that "the children of Israel shall abide many days without a king and without a prince, without a sacrifice and without a memorial pillar, without an ephod and teraphim," until they "return and seek Jahveh."[2] Hosea does not say here in what place Israel is to spend these "many days," whether within Canaan or beyond it. That is to him, in a certain sense, a matter of indifference or of subordinate importance: the repentance of Israel is the essential point, and this repentance cannot be brought about unless the nation be, for a time, bereft of everything on which it now relies and prides itself. The form in which he clothes this conviction is connected with the image which he had just before employed,[3] and, for that reason, cannot be regarded as the main point.

We open the second part of the prophecies of Hosea (chaps. iv.—xiv.), and enquire whether that temporary extinction of the kingdom of the ten tribes, with its consequences, be not there more circumstantially stated and defined. In a certain sense it is. The prophet names the countries to which his fellow-countrymen shall be carried captive, *Assyria and Egypt*. We give his own words. "Now," so one prediction runs, "now will he (Jahveh) remember their (the Ephraimites') iniquity, and visit their sins; *they shall return to Egypt*."[4] In the following chapter we read: "They (the Israelites) shall not dwell in Jahveh's land, but *Ephraim shall return to Egypt, and shall eat unclean things in Assyria*."[5] And a little further on: "*Egypt shall gather them up, Môph* (Memphis) *shall bury them*."[6] With the threatening just mentioned of a deportation both to Egypt and to Assyria corresponds the promise—"they shall come, fluttering with

[1] Chap. i. 4, 5, 6, 9. [2] Chap. iii. 4, 5. [3] Chap. iii. 1—3.
[4] Chap. viii. 13. [5] Chap. ix. 3. [6] Chap. ix. 6.

fear as a bird, *out of Egypt*, and, as a dove, *out of the land of Assyria*, and I, saith Jahveh, will place them in their houses." [1]

These passages admit of only one interpretation, and are abundantly illustrated by the circumstances of the time. We have already called to our recollection that there existed in Israel, in the days of Hosea, an Egyptian and an Assyrian party. The prophet condemns, as strongly as possible, this inclination to connection with the foreigner, because he deems it at variance with the relation between Israel and Jahveh. How natural, therefore, that he should commit to both of those heathen kingdoms the execution of the punishment decreed against Israel! There is perfect correspondence between the evil committed and the punishment ordained on account of it, only, when the fact clearly appears, that the two powers on which Israel, disregarding Jahveh, places its reliance, bring not help, but destruction. Yet there are expositors who adopt a different interpretation of Hosea's prediction. They take what he says concerning the deportation *to Assyria* in its natural signification; but they understand the predictions concerning the captivity *in Egypt* in a metaphorical sense. According to them, Hosea will have meant that a new Egyptian slavery was reserved for Israel, which, of course, would have to be endured in a foreign country, but not precisely in Egypt. They think that in this way they can restore the harmony between the anticipations of the prophet and history, which knows indeed an Assyrian but not an Egyptian captivity. But how arbitrary is this interpretation! We need only re-peruse the utterances of the prophet in order to be convinced that they do not at all admit of such an explanation.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that this interpretation finds some support in another passage in Hosea which I designedly mention now for the first time. It occurs in the same prophecy which, as we have just seen, is closed by the promise of a return out of Egypt and Assyria. After Hosea had brought to remembrance the release from Egyptian slavery and the further proofs of Jahveh's love to Israel, he thus proceeds,—" he (Israel) shall not return into the land of

[1] Chap. xi. 11.

Egypt, but Asshur, he shall be his king, because they (the Israelites) refuse to return (or, to repent)." [1] Is it not said here, in so many words, that there is indeed an Assyrian, but not an Egyptian captivity, close at hand? and must we not therefore interpret the other utterances of the prophet in the same way? As regards this latter question, we can consent to interpret them in that way only when those other passages admit of such an interpretation. But now, when it clearly appears that they do not admit of it, we must refrain from every attempt to force upon them a meaning different from that which they plainly have. But, it will be said, in that case the prophet contradicts himself. Certainly he does, and contradicts himself so directly that we have reason to be amazed at it. Many expositors endeavour to remove the contradiction by a different reading or interpretation of chap. xi. 5. They omit the negative, or understand the verse as asking a question; so that it is made to intimate just the reverse of what we first thought that we had found in it. But the difficulty is not to be removed in this manner. The verse clearly contains a contrast between Egypt and Asshur. Why otherwise is there, in the second half, the peculiar construction—"Asshur, *he* shall be his king?" It thus appears that the common reading and interpretation must remain untouched. May it not be the case that the difficulty which they present is not so great as it seems to be at first? Certainly, if the future was presented clearly, and in sharp outlines, to the mind of Hosea, as the messenger of Jahveh, then the fact that he denies here what he affirms there is more than strange. But if his conception was less definite, if he was in uncertainty as regards *the execution of* Jahveh's judgments, then such a contradiction as is here presented can be easily explained. In that case, at one time a carrying away to Egypt; at another the captivity in Assyria, could have appeared to him the most probable. Might it not also have actually been the case that now the one power and now the other power threatened the Ephraimite kingdom? Besides, the asseveration of Hosea that Israel shall not return into Egypt has now a very definite meaning in the connection in which it occurs. Egypt was mentioned just before as the

[1] Chap. xi. 1.—4 (recollection of the past); 5 (announcement of the future).

land in which Israel had dwelt when a child, and had heard Jahveh's call. When it is said afterwards—"he shall not return into the land of Egypt," the meaning of this expression will certainly be that Israel, after its repeated apostasy, must no more reckon on an abode in a foreign land which would come to an end in the same manner as the Egyptian captivity. Let us only read further. Hosea opposes Asshur to Egypt, and opposes him as being the more severe master, because the reason assigned for the subjection of the Israelites to him, and not to the Egyptian, is that "they refuse to return." The prophet is thinking, of course, on their return, or, as we would say, on their conversion, *to Jahveh*. But the play on the words is at the same time evident—"they shall not return . . . because they refuse to return." The Assyrian slavery is therefore clearly, in this connection, the heavier punishment, which Israel has brought upon itself by its impenitence. The sequel of the prophecy confirms us in the opinion that such is the meaning which Hosea intends to convey. It is only towards the end of the chapter that Jahveh recedes from his severe sentence, and declares that he shall even still, in spite of all that has taken place, show compassion.[1] It is thus seen that the prophet does not contradict himself, if, as is only fair, we regard his intention more than the words which he employs. His assurance that Israel "shall not return into the land of Egypt," does not absolutely exclude the deportation of a portion of the people into that land, and does not prevent him from announcing, in the same prophecy, the return of those who were carried away.[2]

It does not need to be expressly shown that the issue of our inquiry into Hosea's expectations confirms the result which we had obtained with regard to Amos. Neither of the two prophets expects the destruction of the kingdom of Judah. Both are convinced that the kingdom of the ten tribes is destined to come to an end. But Amos has as yet no clear conception of that extinction, and, besides, expects it to take place much earlier than it actually happened. The predictions of Hosea are, it is true, more definite than those of his pre-

[1] Let chap. xi. 6—11 be read as a whole, and let special attention be paid to the turn in verse 8, where Jahveh's pity opposes, as it were, the execution of the doom of destruction.

[2] In the passage already mentioned, chap. xi. 11.

decessor, but failed, no less than they, to be fully confirmed by the historical reality. Some Israelites may have *fled* into Egypt, in order to escape the vengeance of the Assyrians, but of Israelites *being carried* thither as prisoners, and of an *Egyptian captivity*, which Hosea, however, undoubtedly announces, history knows nothing.

On the boundary line between our first and second group stands the author of Zechariah ix.—xi., a contemporary of both Hosea and Isaiah. A very brief notice of him is all that is required, because he does not enter into details with regard to the judgment. The two passages which together form the eleventh chapter, must not be regarded as prediction, but in great measure as a poetical and allegorical description of the present,[1] and thus do not come within our plan.[2] The other two prophecies (chap. ix. and chap. x.) treat chiefly of the restoration of Israel, and will find their proper place, therefore, in a subsequent part of our investigation. Nevertheless they contain some materials from which we can gather what conception of the judgment the writer must have formed. *He makes no mention of the overthrow of Judah.* On the contrary, his prediction regarding the advent of the Prince of Peace presupposes the existence of that kingdom, and of Jerusalem, its capital.[3] It is true that immediately thereafter freedom and compensation for their suffering are promised to prisoners, but these prisoners are clearly distinguished from the nation as a whole, because it is Judah and Ephraim themselves who, by the help of Jahveh, shall effect their deliverance.[4] In the second prophecy, also, (which, however, contains more than one obscure trait,) exiles are mentioned whom Jahveh shall bring back into their own land. Yet they do not belong to Judah, but, as the prophet expressly declares, to Ephraim.[5] In saying this, however,

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," ii. 381-383.

[2] We shall return, in the thirteenth Chapter, to chap. xi. 12, 13. Compare Matthew xxvii. 9, 10.

[3] Zech. ix. 9, 10.

[4] Zech. ix. 11—17.

[5] Zech. x. 6-12. The reading of verse 6 is uncertain. It is either, "And I will bring them back," or, "and I will make them dwell" (establish them); so that the Dutch State version, "and I will settle them again" —and still more clearly the English authorised version, "and I will bring them again to place them"—combine the two interpretations between which we have to choose. But whichever of the two we choose, the "bringing

we have not yet said enough. It is more than doubtful if this prophet expected, as Amos and Hosea did, the extinction of the kingdom of the ten tribes. The passage, from which we must infer his opinion on this point,[1] belongs to the years which intervened between the carrying away of the inhabitants of the Trans-Jordanic region by Tiglath-Pileser (739 B.C.),[2] and the fall of Samaria (719 B.C.). There is not one single allusion made to this latter event. The prophet indeed expects the return of the exiles, partly out of Egypt, partly out of Assyria,[3] but he announces, at the same time, that Jahveh shall bring them "into the land of Gilead and of Lebanon"—that is, into those very regions of which the population had been carried away by the Assyrian king.[4] He could not have expressed himself thus if he had been convinced that the entire overthrow of the Ephraimite kingdom, and the temporary captivity of the whole of Ephraim, must precede the return, which is to be coincident with the humiliation of Egypt and Assyria.[5] Could it, then, have been possible that the author of Zech. ix.—xi. had been so deeply impressed with the partial deportation which he had witnessed, that he thought the end of the misery had come already, and now began to look forward to the fulfilment of Jahveh's promises? The phenomena which presented themselves to us in our study of Amos,[6] lead us to answer this question in the affirmative.

The difference which exists among the prophets of whom we have hitherto treated, in no way affords ground for doubting the correctness of our interpretation; because, in the reign of Hezekiah also, the immediate future of the kingdom of Judah is otherwise regarded by Micah than by his contemporary Isaiah.

In the interpretation of Micah's prophecies we can avail ourselves of an aid which we cannot employ with regard to

back" refers in any case to Ephraim only, and not to Judah also. See verses 7-12, where Judah would have been named as well as Ephraim, if its citizens had also been in captivity.

[1] Zech. x. [2] 2 Kings xv. 29. [3] Zech. x. 10.

[4] Ibid., 10b. The last words of this verse, "and it (this land) shall not be sufficient for them," denote that the number of those who return shall exceed the number of those who were carried away—the natural result of the increase announced in verses 7, 8.

[5] Zech. x. 11. [6] See pages 152 f.

other old Testament documents. In the judicial proceedings against Jeremiah, which we have already described,[1] his friends refer to the precedent afforded about a hundred years earlier, in the case of Micah and the pious Hezekiah, in whose reign the former came forward as a prophet. Micah had predicted the desolation of Jerusalem and the temple, and the king, far from attributing this to him as an offence, had, along with his people, besought Jahveh, whereupon "Jahveh had repented him of the evil which he had pronounced."[2] From this narrative it is evident in the first place that Micah's threatening had made a deep impression, and had not been forgotten above a century afterwards in the capital of Judah, which certainly would not have been the case if other prophets had announced the same judgment before him, or along with him. In the second place, the narrative of Jeremiah shows us that his contemporaries applied the prediction of Micah—not to events which were then, in Jehoiakim's reign (608-597 B.C.), still future; but to disasters which would have befallen Jerusalem at a much earlier period, if the threatening had not been recalled at the prayer of Hezekiah. Finally, we may, without rendering ourselves liable to the charge of too great rashness, perceive from this narrative, what was the nature of the impression which Micah's prediction made on those to whom it was addressed; for, though it be not indeed altogether certain, yet it is exceedingly probable that "the elders of the land" were well informed, and gave a true report of that impression. Of how great importance such a testimony is to us, is at once obvious. Generally we are left to ourselves in the study of the Old Testament prophecies. In this particular case we have indeed no authentic interpretation, but still we have a commentary so ancient and proceeding from sources so competent, that we should deviate from it only with reluctance.

But in truth there is nothing in the oracles of Micah which have been preserved to us, that affords a reason for any other understanding of the matter of his preaching. He passes a very unfavourable judgment upon the moral and religious condition

[1] See Jer. xxvi., and above, p. 58. f.
[2] Jer. xxvi. 18, 19.

of Judah, especially of its princes and leaders, and of the capital in which they dwelt.[1] Hence it is that after having in a single word announced the impending desolation of Samaria,[2] he at once turns to "his people," the men of Judah, and predicts to them the approach of the well-merited punishment.[3] His threatenings become ever more and more severe, and finally reach their climax in this apostrophe addressed to the leaders of Israel—"Therefore shall Zion for your sake be ploughed as a field, and Jerusalem shall become ruinous heaps, and the temple-mountain as the high places of the forest."[4] It was these words which were quoted by the elders of Judah in vindication of Jeremiah, and quoted, as is evident at once, exactly in the same sense in which they had been recorded by him. "The elders of Judah" have also judged correctly on this point—that Micah speaks of a judgment which should befall Jerusalem *in the reign of Hezekiah.* We have already observed that the prophet has no doubt as to the continued existence of the Assyrian monarchy, and expects a contest between it and *the restored Israel.*[5] We must therefore surely assume that he expects the execution of the preceding judgment *from the Assyrians.* The reproach also, addressed to the chief men of Jerusalem, that the city would be changed into a ruinous heap *for their sake,* makes us hesitate to ascribe to Micah the idea, that this destiny would not overtake Jerusalem, till a considerable time—about a hundred and fifty years—afterwards.

There occurs, however, in the following chapter of the prophecies of Micah, one expression which seems to overthrow at once this reasoning. The prophet addresses himself there to the citizens of Jerusalem, and asks them, ironically, wherefore they make so great lamentation? Have they not among them a king and their counsellors! Why then are they seized with pangs as a woman in travail?[6] Immediately thereupon he adopts another tone, and tells them that they have only too much reason to be disturbed and to lament:

[1] Chap. i, 5[b], where Jerusalem, according to an amended reading, is called "the sin of Judah," as Samaria is called "the transgression of Israel," ii. 1, 2; iii.; vi. 9-12; vii. 1-6.
[2] Chap. i. 6-8.
[3] Chap. i. 9 ff.; compare ii. 3-5.
[4] Chap. iii. 12.
[5] See above p. 130.
[6] Micah iv. 9.

"Be in pain and bring forth, O daughter of Zion!
For now shalt thou go forth out of the city
And dwell in the fields,
And go to Babylon:
There shalt thou be delivered,
There shall Jahveh redeem thee from the hand of thine enemies." [1]

It is the italicized words in the fourth line of the quotation that I had in view just now, for they announce a carrying away *to Babylon*, or, in other words, the Babylonish captivity, which was out of the question till after the overthrow of the Assyrian monarchy, and which accordingly did not begin till a century and a half after Micah.

Let us not be deceived by appearances! If Micah wrote the words referred to, then he must have intended by them —not the Chaldean monarchy, of which he knows nothing, but—Babylon, as the capital of one of the provinces of the Assyrian kingdom. It is therefore in any case an Assyrian captivity which he announces. This has been correctly seen by many of the more recent expositors.[2] Every other interpretation of his words involves him in self-contradiction. Hence it follows that the question, whether the prophet himself has named Babylon in this place, lies beyond the inquiry as to the limits of his foreknowledge, and is important only from a historical point of view. It was certainly very natural that the later readers of the prophecies of Micah should apply them to the disasters of their own time, and here or there make the prophet's meaning, as they thought, come out somewhat more clearly. The conjecture therefore is not unnatural, that one of those readers should have added the verse in which Babylon is named, or at least the second half of it.[3] Perhaps we do not require even to go this length. Just as two verses before, the words "out of Babylon" are interpolated in the Greek translation,[4] so the tenth verse may have been completed by the one clause, "and thou shalt go to Babylon." There would, in that case, remain for the prophet himself the expectation that Jerusalem

[1] Micah iv. 10.
[2] Not only by Hitzig and Roorda, but also by the orthodox Caspari ("Ueber Micha den Morashtiten und seine prophet. Schrift." P. 165—183.)
[3] Rowland Williams, Hebr. Prophets, I. 150, 185; de Goeje in the "Theol. Tijdschr.," VI. (1872), p. 282.
[4] Mic. iv. 8b.

should fall into the hands of the enemy (Assyria), and the citizens, expelled from the city, should dwell in the open fields, where Jahveh should intervene on their behalf, and deliver them out of the power of the enemy. This expectation harmonizes indeed with the further contents of Micah iv. and v., but seems less darkly coloured than the denunciation against Jerusalem above referred to, which we know also from Jeremiah. But let it not be forgotten that *here*, in chapter iii., the prophet has in view the sinful leaders of the people, and announces to them the calamity which Jahveh shall bring upon the capital *for their sake*, while *there*, in chapters iv. and v., he has to do with the people themselves and with their enemies, the Assyrians. That these enemies shall be abased, and their plans ultimately miscarry, is no less certain to him, than that the great men of Jerusalem shall be punished.[1]

After this digression let us return still for a little to the contemporaries of Jeremiah. They see in Micah the organ of Jahveh; his prophecy is Jahveh's word. They cannot therefore form any other opinion than that Jahveh retracted his threatening, and think this the more reasonable as they know —or at least are persuaded—that Hezekiah prayed that the judgment might be averted. This view of theirs is neither supported nor contradicted by the prophecies of Micah. These prophecies teach us that he encountered much opposition among the people, while other prophets who flattered the passions of the masses, were listened to with applause.[2] But the possibility remains that the popular disposition altered at a later period. The denunciation itself is moreover very positive. It purports, not that Jerusalem may indeed be sometime laid waste, but that it *shall be* laid waste. Then the elders of Judah do not assert that the prediction of Micah was conditional, but that "Jahveh repented him of the evil which he had pronounced." We shall afterwards inquire into the value of this conception. It can, from the nature of the case, find no support in the oracles of Micah.

As little can it be clear from these oracles, whether the

[1] See the further development of these ideas in the "Theol. Tijdschrift," VI. (1872), pp. 285—302.

[2] Chap. ii. 6, 11-13; iii. 5—8.

announcement of the fall of Jerusalem was a thing so bold and exceptional, as we thought it must be, judging from the lively remembrance of it which still continued among the contemporaries of Jeremiah. We see indeed that it was directly opposed to the predictions of "the prophets" who are combated by Micah; but there may have been some, beyond that circle, who stood by him. Whether this was the case must of course appear clearly only from other sources. Now it so happens that the single prophet, whom we can compare with Micah, does not share in his sombre anticipations. *Isaiah is fully assured that Jerusalem shall be spared.* We shall have to recur to this important fact in another connection, but the proof may at this stage be given that, with regard to this point, Micah and Isaiah differ from each other.

Let us first cast a single glance at the expectations of Isaiah, as regards the kingdom of the ten tribes. During the war, waged against Judah by Syria and Ephraim, he predicted to Ahaz that "the land of whose two kings he was afraid—the land of Rezin (Syria), and of Pekah (Ephraim),—would be forsaken," before the child, whose birth he had just announced, before Immanuel, knew to refuse the evil and to choose the good—that is before he had come to the years of discrimination.[1] In so far as Ephraim was concerned, this prediction was not literally fulfilled. Tiglath-pileser did indeed, as I mentioned shortly before, conquer and depopulate a part of northern Palestine (739 B.C.), but the land of Pekah was not "forsaken" within the limit fixed by Isaiah, within four years or thereabouts.[2] That desolation did not happen till twenty years afterwards, when Samaria was captured, and the flower of Ephraim was carried into captivity. That such would be the final result had been, in that interval, more than once declared by Isaiah.[3] But even in these prophecies there appears one point which is not confirmed by the result. "The spoil of Samaria is brought to the king of Assyria," not *before*, but *after* a son of the

[1] Is. vii. 16.

[2] The passage itself, vv. 14—16, shows most plainly that the prophet's definition of the time must be thus understood. Other interpretations will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

[3] Chap. xvii. 1-11; viii. 4; ix. 7—x. 4; xxviii. 1-4.

prophet, born during or shortly after the war, could say—father or mother.[1]

We must still dwell for some moments on one particular point in this group of Isaiah's oracles. According to the common text, he has specified the number of years within which Ephraim is to lose its national existence. The plans —so he speaks to Ahaz—the plans of Rezin and Pekah to dethrone the Davidic dynasty, and to establish a certain Ben-Tabeal as king over Judah, shall miscarry; "for the head of Syria is Damascus, and the head of Damascus is Rezin, *and within threescore and five years shall Ephraim be broken, and be no more a nation;* and the head of Ephraim is Samaria, and the head of Samaria is Remaliah's son (Pekah)."[2] The leading idea of the prophet is clear: Rezin and Pekah have their own territory; they rule at Damascus and Samaria, over Syria and Ephraim, and have no control over Judah. The announcement of Ephraim's fall, in the midst of the development of this thought, sounds very singular; occurring here, it quite interrupts the context. But the limit named therein is, moreover, at variance with the expectation which Isaiah expresses in this same prophecy, that the land of Pekah would be forsaken within four or five years.[3] There is thus every reason to believe that announcement to be an addition by a later hand. In that case, however, there remains still one difficulty. At what time, and for what purpose, was this gloss written? It is conjectured that it alludes to the colonisation of the territory of the ten tribes by the Assyrians, which may certainly, with some justice, be regarded as the decisive blow given to their existence as a nation. But whence, then, are the threescore and five years got? The second book of Kings ascribes the importation of foreign colonists to the conqueror of Samaria,[4] and its testimony is confirmed by the Assyrian monuments.[5] Of course the author of the gloss cannot have thought of this colonisation; it took place about twenty years after Isaiah's conversation with Ahaz. But, according to a later account, Ezar-Haddon

[1] Chap. viii. 4. [2] Chap. vii. 7—9a. [3] Chap. vii. 16.

[4] See 2 Kings xvii. 24, where "the king of Assyria" can be no other than Shalmaneser, who is spoken of in vv. 1—6. The verses 7—23 have been inserted by the latest editor of the Books of Kings.

[5] Schrader, "Die Keilinschriften u. das A. T.," p. 162 ff.

(681—668 B.C.) had continued the work of his predecessor, and had planted military colonies in the cities of Samaria.[1] If it is allowable to assume that the gloss refers to this event, then the "threescore and five years" are probably correct; indeed, it is perfectly natural that they should be correct, for the addition has been made by some one who had witnessed the arrival of the foreign colonists, and considered it to be an event sufficiently remarkable to justify his insertion of a prediction referring to it, in the oracle of Isaiah. That the prophet himself should, as some think, have announced that event, is a supposition altogether inadmissible. He would, in that case, have expressed himself otherwise, and certainly would not have interrupted the course of his own address by the insertion of a circumstance, which is there altogether out of place.

But it is time that we consider the prophecies of Isaiah regarding Judah; his gaze is and continues to be directed to that kingdom; it is only in passing that he occupies himself with Ephraim. These prophecies admit of being arranged in three groups, corresponding to the three periods into which the entire career of the prophet may be divided.

Before and during the war waged against Judah by the allied Syrians and Ephraimites, Isaiah expects that his native country shall be visited by a severe judgment, the just retribution for the many transgressions of which it has been guilty. He does not, in the earliest of his oracles,[2] explain yet precisely how and by whom it will be executed; in passages of a somewhat later date he names the Assyrians, or at least points to them in an unambiguous manner.[3] The most definite representation of the manner in which Judah is to be chastised, is given by him in the same prophecy from which I lately derived the announcement of the impending

[1] Ezra iv. 2. The objections of Schrader ("Stud. u. Krit.," 1867, p. 497 f.), have been afterwards withdrawn by himself. See the work just referred to ("Die Keilinsch."), p. 244, f.

[2] Chap. ii.—iv.

[3] This last is done in chap. v. 26—30. The agreement between the last words of chap. v. 25, and chap. ix. 12, 17, 21; x. 4, has induced Ewald and others to connect these passages, and to determine the order of succession as follows: chap. v. 25; ix. 8—x. 4; v. 26—30. According to this conjecture, chap. v. 25—30, does not refer exclusively to Judah, which, however, is the case if we regard these verses as the continuation of chap. v. 1—24.

fall of Samaria.[1] Its contents have been very correctly summarised by one of the latest expositors in these words: "Assyria and Egypt shall make Judah their battle-field, and destroy every vestige of cultivation."[2] This shall happen *within a few years*, because Immanuel, whose birth is to take place immediately, must, *in his tender youth*, eat milk and honey, for the reason, as is afterwards expressed, that "all who are left in the land shall eat milk and honey," on account of the want of other food which the wasted land does not afford.[3] Such a hostile encounter between Egypt and Assyria was not improbable. But it did not take place. In the reign of Ahaz, and also during the first half of the reign of Hezekiah, Judah continued to be exempt from an Assyrian invasion.

Isaiah does not say what is the fate that would overtake *Jerusalem*, during the period of desolation which he foresees; but this silence of itself shows that he did not think of the capture and destruction of that city and the temple. "Jahveh of hosts *who dwelleth on Mount Zion*,"[4] is the expression which he uses in one of the oracles under this group; an incidental intimation at least that at that time also he must have been firmly persuaded of the inviolability of the fortress to which so high honour had been allotted. He expresses this idea, in so many words, in a prophecy which, according to the heading, belongs to the year in which Ahaz died,[5] but is assigned by many expositors to the time of the struggle against Syria and Ephraim. His words are, "Jahveh hath founded Zion, and there shall the poor of his people find refuge."[6] The meaning of this expression is plain, and is still further illustrated by the contrast which we find here drawn between the fate of the Philistines and that of the capital of Judah.[7]

The prophecies of Isaiah which belong to the first half of Hezekiah's reign form together a second group. They furnish little for our present purpose. The vices which the prophet notices among the inhabitants of Judea, especially among the great, force upon him the conviction that a

[1] Chap. vii. 17—25.
[2] Cheyne, "The Book of Isaiah," p. 25.
[3] The reference of chap. vii. 22 to verse 15 is unmistakeable.
[4] Chap. viii. 18.
[5] Chap. xiv. 28.
[6] Chap. xiv. 32.
[7] Compare above, p. 103 f.

judgment is absolutely necessary.[1] He expects that the Assyrians shall execute it.[2] But it will not go the length of utter destruction. Jahveh has laid in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried and precious corner-stone; he that believeth shall not lose courage.[3] These are, as will be noticed, the same ideas that we have already met with in the previous group.

In like manner also, Isaiah maintains his consistency in the memorable prophecies which he uttered in reference to Hezeziah's defection from the Assyrians and Sennacherib's invasion of Judea. His confidence in the deliverance of Jerusalem from the threatening danger is unwavering.[4] This, however, is not the place to illustrate the utterances which testify to this fact. True, rebuke is not wanting in them, promise is occasionally interchanged for denunciation, but still they cannot be assigned to the class of prophecies announcing judgment. We therefore leave off here, to resume the subject at a later period, in the treatment of the fulfilled oracles. Our object in the view at present taken of the prophecies of Isaiah, has been attained, if the reader clearly sees the difference between him and Micah.

Before we take leave of Isaiah, there is still one difficulty to be removed which has perhaps occurred to some readers. While the prophet has remained steadfast in his belief that Jerusalem shall be delivered out of the hand of Sennacherib, has he not, at the same time, announced its capture and the deportation of its citizens *by the Babylonians?* Ought not this to be noted, were it for no other purpose than to remove erroneous judgments regarding the Assyrian predictions? It is a fact that such an announcement of the Babylonish captivity is ascribed to Isaiah;[5] but it occurs, not among his prophecies, but in a narrative which is found quite in its proper place in the Second Book of Kings, and which

[1] Chap. xxviii. 5-29. The prophecy clearly appears, from vv. 1-4, to have been written shortly before the fall of Samaria (719 B.C.).

[2] V. 11.

[3] V. 16. Isaiah most probably refers to the rock on which the temple of Jahveh was founded, and which, perhaps, was revered as a sacred stone in earlier times. It is plain, from his own words themselves, that he is not thinking of a person: king Hezekiah or the Messiah. The object of trust which he insists upon is Jahveh himself.

[4] Chap. xxix. 7, 8; xxx. 17 ff.; xxxi. 5—9; xxxiii. 10—12; x. 12 ff.; xvii. 12—14; compare xxxvii. 21—35.

[5] 2 Kings xx. 14—17; Isaiah xxxix. 1—8.

has been introduced from that book into the collection of Isaiah's oracles.[1] If this narrative required to be assigned to Isaiah himself, then the prophecy communicated in it could not be allowed to remain without discussion here. But it cannot be assigned to Isaiah. We have here therefore a narrative about Isaiah, which will have to be considered, along with other narratives of a like nature, in a subsequent chapter.

The universal judgment which is expected by Zephaniah, shall, as we formerly saw,[2] strike not only the surrounding nations and the Assyrians, but also Israel. The prophet describes it in very general terms,[3] so much so, indeed, that up to the present day there has been a dispute about the question to what enemies he referred: to the Scythians who wandered through Asia in the reign of Josiah, and also threatened Judea, or to the Chaldeans, who appeared on the stage of history not very long afterwards? Perhaps, in answer to this question, it may with equal justice be said that he referred to both or that he referred to neither. Because though the circumstances of Zephaniah's times may have induced him to come forward as a prophet and afterwards as a writer, yet he does not confine himself to them; they are to him at most the presages of the future which he expects, and yet would so willingly avert in the interests of his nation. It is *the day of Jahveh* which he describes.[4] That formula is as little the invention of Zephaniah, as is the conception which it expresses. Already at a comparatively early period people in Israel must have looked forward to a "day," either a day in the strict sense, or a period of somewhat longer duration, in which Jahveh would, as it were, make himself known and his power felt in a clearer and more striking manner than the common course of things allowed, and which therefore was called "the day of Jahveh." It would be a day of retribution and vengeance for the enemies of Jahveh. The *people* imagined that the other nations would then receive their merited reward, and would undergo the righteous punishment for the suffering which they had caused

[1] Isaiah xxxvi.—xxxix. are, as is well known, not only parallel to, but frequently identical with, 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19.

[2] Above, p. 102 ff.

[3] Zeph. i. 4—9, 10—18; iii. 1—7.

[4] Chap. i. 7, 14—16; ii. 2, 3.

to Israel. The contemporaries of Amos therefore longed for the dawning of this "day."[1] But Amos himself and the prophets in general do not approve of that view. The justice of Jahveh would, according to them, punish also the sins of his chosen people, "the day of Jahveh" would be for Israel also a fearful judgment-day.[2] They describe it as a day of terror. Natural phenomena, each more fearful than the preceding, announce it, or its approach. The darkening of sun, moon, and stars; blood, fire, and pillars of smoke in the heavens; earthquake and flood; all imaginable disturbances of the regular course of things, unite to distinguish "the day of Jahveh's vengeance"[3] from other days, and to mark it as the day on which his awful majesty should be fully revealed.[4] It would betray but a small degree of poetical feeling, if we understood all these figures literally. But the prophet is perfectly in earnest as regards the main thought: that Jahveh's justice shall once be seen and felt by friend and foe. That then is what Zephaniah, who might be called the prophet of the judgment day, expects and makes clear. His eye is not directed to any single fact, and as little to any particular nation. While he, on the one hand, predicts a universal destruction of man and beast, a second deluge as it were[5], he discloses, on the other, a prospect of deliverance, at least for "all the meek of the land."[6] The question as to whether these expectations were fulfilled, is, from its very nature, incapable of being answered with certainty. The business of Zephaniah is not to predict *that which shall be,* but to depict *that which cannot fail to happen,* unless the people repent and forsake their sins.

The study of the writings of the prophets who lived in the middle of the Chaldean period promises us more important results. It will be remembered that the battle of Carchemish (604 B.C.) laid Asia, as far as the boundaries of Egypt, open to Nebuchadrezzar; that Judea was compelled to submit to him not long afterwards; that the defection of Jehoiakim was

[1] Amos v. 18 ff.

[2] See for instance, Isaiah ii. 12; Joel i. 15; ii. 1, 11, 31; Ezek. xiii. 5, &c.

[3] Isaiah xxiv. 8.

[4] Isaiah ii. 19—21; Amos viii. 9, 10; ix. 5; Joel ii. 2, 10, 30, 31; iii. 15; Hab. iii. 3 ff.; Isaiah xiii. 10, 13; xxiv. 18—20, 23; xxxv. 1—5.

[5] Zeph. i. 2, 3.

[6] Zeph. ii. 1—3.

punished by the carrying away of his successor Jehoiachin and many Jews of rank (597 B.C.), and that the rebellion of the king then appointed, Zedekiah—a rebellion undertaken in reliance on the help of Egypt—issued in the fall of the whole kingdom, and the destruction of city and temple. This would therefore be a time of great excitement, in which the prophets had at least no lack of inducements to make themselves heard. Jeremiah, who had already come forward twenty-three years before the battle of Carchemish, and lived through the whole of the Chaldean period, gives us a lively representation of the share which the prophets took in the guidance of political affairs, and of the contest which he had to wage against many of their number. But, in addition to Jeremiah, we possess also three prophetical documents, of small compass, but unquestionable importance, which owe their origin to the circumstances of this time. They are Habakkuk; chapters xii.—xiv. of the book named after Zechariah; and Joel, at least the present redaction of his prophecy, in which an earlier oracle seems to have been incorporated.[1] The precise time in which these documents originated does not admit of being defined with certainty, but the probability is in favour of their belonging to the reign of Zedekiah.[2] We proceed here upon that supposition, because it appears to us to throw most light upon the expectations of these prophets, and we do so with the greater confidence as our conclusions would not require to undergo any essential alteration, although it should be thought necessary to make the time in which they lived some years earlier.[3]

[1] See above, p. 106, note 3.

[2] Compare on Habakkuk my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 365—367; on Zech. xii.—xiv. the same work, II. 385—391; on Joel, see above, p. 106.

[3] On the other hand, the author of Zech. xii.—xiv. would be altogether misplaced here if he was not a different person from the prophet Zechariah ben Iddo who appears in Ezra v. 1; vi. 14, and to whom Zech. i.—viii. is very justly assigned. But it is clear that Zech. chaps. xii.-xiv. no more proceed from the latter than do chapters ix.—xi. (of which we shall treat more particularly in chapter vii.). The principal proofs are chap. xii. 7, 10, 12; xiii. 1, (where the family of David is mentioned by itself, and mentioned always in the foremost place, undoubtedly because it is still reigning); chap. xiii. 2, (where the continued existence of idolatry is pre-supposed); chap. xiii. 2—6, (a passage which is based on a very unfavourable judgment of the prophetical order as a whole, which would not be at all surprising under the latest princes of the kingdom of Judah, while, so far as we know, there was not the least occasion for forming such a judgment about 520 B.C.); chap. xiv. 18, 19,

Connected with the interpretation of both of Habakkuk's prophecies (chapter i., ii., and chapter iii.) there are peculiar difficulties, into the details of which we cannot here enter. But so much is clear, that the announcement of the judgment *against the Chaldeans* constitutes its chief contents. The prophet describes the atrocities of which they are guilty;[1] complains that Jahveh allows them to go unpunished,[2] and receives as Jahveh's answer that judgment shall speedily be executed upon them.[3] These words are of course tidings rich in comfort and encouragement for the inhabitants of Judea, to whom they have to be communicated by Habakkuk.[4] But has the prophet then nothing else to announce to them? Does deliverance alone await them, and not also punishment for the transgressions which they have committed? Habakkuk seems to refer in a few words to the sins of his own nation;[5] he mentions also in passing the disasters which shall befall Judea before the judgment is executed on the Chaldeans;[6] but the punishment of the Chaldeans themselves remains throughout the chief matter for him; he does not seem to have even a suspicion that they are appointed by Jahveh to abase Judah still more deeply, and finally to remove it from the roll of nations. In vain do we attempt to thrust the fall of Jerusalem anywhere into his prophecies. Habakkuk has not even a faint presentiment of it; or rather he denies distinctly that such a catastrophe should be admitted into Jahveh's purposes.

It is in the same spirit that the unknown writer of Zech. xii.—xiv. expresses himself. He agrees with Habakkuk in

(where Egypt is evidently represented as an independent kingdom, not a province of the Persian empire); chap. xii. 11; xiv. 5, (where we have allusions to the mourning for the death of Josiah, and to the earthquake in the reign of Uzziah (Amos i. 1), allusions which would be much more naturally made before the captivity than after it). Besides, there is not in chaps. xii.—xiv. a single sign of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., although the author, as will be evident immediately, in his description of Jerusalem's future destiny, could have, nay, must have, continually alluded to them, if these events had been known to him. The writer of chaps. xii.—xiv. also may very possibly have been called Zechariah, as that name is given in the Old Testament to twenty different persons, and thus must have been very common, which will account for these chapters being combined with chaps. i.—viii. and ix.—xi.

[1] Hab. i. 9-11; compare 14-17.
[2] Chap. i. 12, 13.
[3] Chap. ii. 1—3; compare above, p. 137.
[4] Chap. ii. 2.
[5] Chap. i. 2-4.
[6] Chap. iii. 16, 17.

this respect at least, that he prefers to devote his attention to the punishment of the heathen, and to the joyful future of Judah. Before the better times dawn, however, the people of Jahveh have still to endure heavy trials, but when the distress has reached its climax, then comes also the deliverance. The most interesting feature to us here is the writer's firm confidence that Jerusalem shall not give way before the attack of the heathen which she has to expect. "Jerusalem shall abide established upon her foundations" is the expression in the first prophecy.[1] Her inhabitants have, it is true, sinned grievously, but they shall also humble themselves most deeply,[2] obtain forgiveness on their prayer,[3] and be farther defended and blessed by Jahveh.[4] In the third prophecy (chap. xiv.), the author explains still more precisely his conception of the deliverance of Jerusalem. The nations assemble against her for battle, the city is taken and plundered, the half of the population is carried away into captivity, but "*the residue of the people shall not be cut off from the city*," because, at this very moment, Jahveh appears, to fight against the nations, and the better time dawns in which Jerusalem, regenerated and sanctified, is recognised even by the heathen as the central point of Jahveh's worship.[5] We shall return to these joyful prospects afterwards, but they required to be mentioned here in order that it might appear clearly and distinctly that their realisation is, according to the writer, not to be preceded by the temporary extinction of Judah's national existence. According to his expectation, that disaster will appear to be most imminent, but yet it will be averted by the intervention of Jahveh.

Joel, who for the rest shows great formal agreement with Zech. xii.—xiv.,[6] stands perhaps yet somewhat closer to Habakkuk than the author of these chapters, as regards his conception of Jerusalem's destiny. We know already that the second part of his prophecies especially gives evidence of being a product of the Chaldean period, and thus claims

[1] Chap. xii. 6. [2] Chap. xii. 10-14.
[3] Chap. xiii. 1. [4] Chap. xii. 8.
[5] Chap. xiv. 2., (description of the fate which befalls Jerusalem); 3-7, 12-15, (description of the appearance of Jahveh and its results); 8-11, 16-21, (description of the renewed Jerusalem).
[6] Compare Joel ii. 30, 31; iii. 2, 9-15, with Zech. xii. 2-9; xiv. 1-5, 6-11.

our consideration here. The deportation of a part of the inhabitants of Judah in the year 597 B.C. has taken place when Joel comes forward. Indeed it is first of all on that account that Jahveh will, according to his conviction, visit with retribution both those who were the principal offenders in that act of violence, and the neighbouring tribes which assisted them.[1] The scene of that judgment which extends to all nations is placed by the prophet in the valley near Jerusalem, which he, from this its destination, calls "the valley of Jehoshaphat" (Jahveh is judge).[2] By no one word does he intimate that Judah also shall be stricken by that judgment. On the contrary, "Jahveh shall roar out of Zion and utter his voice from Jerusalem, and the heavens and the earth shall shake, and Jahveh shall be a refuge for his people, and a stronghold for the children of Israel. So shall ye know that I, Jahveh, am your God, dwelling on Zion, my holy mountain, and Jerusalem shall be holy, *and there shall no strangers pass through her any more.*"[3] Here, as will be remarked, the repetition of the event which forced Joel to speak is denied in unambiguous terms: no second carrying away shall succeed the one which happened in 597 B.C.

On this point then there is mutual agreement among the three prophets whose oracles we have consulted. We should have to acknowledge this, even if we were unable to elucidate it more particularly. But we do not need to omit that illustration; for we can compare these prophets with others, their contemporaries, and we discover, then, both such an affinity and such a difference as might be expected in the given circumstances.

It is clear, in the first place, that after the carrying away in 597 B.C., patriotism inspired many prophets not only with the wish, but also with the positive expectation, that the plundered vessels of the temple, and the captives themselves, would within a short time be restored to Jerusalem. In the book of Jeremiah there enters on the stage, as their representative, Hananiah, the Gibeonite, who was not afraid to announce that within two years the sacrilege committed by Nebuchadrezzar would be repaired.[4] Their word found ready

[1] Joel iii. 1-8.
[2] Chap. iii. 2, 9-15.
[3] Chap. iii. 16, 17.
[4] Jer. xxviii. 1-4.

acceptance with the people and their leaders. The powerful party which had already contemplated a rising against the Babylonians in the beginning of the reign of Zedekiah,[1] and which managed to gain its object in the ninth year of his reign, saw in those prophets men of kindred sentiments with themselves, and gladly permitted themselves to be encouraged and stimulated by their exhortations. We intend further on to return to Hananiah and his supporters; but we already know enough to afford us an explanation of the success with which they met. The course which they followed was, in the estimation of by far the great majority of their contemporaries, the truly national one. In that case can it surprise us to find again this tendency, moderated and modified, in Habakkuk, the writer of Zech. xii.—xiv., and Joel? Indignation for wrong endured, aspiration after independence of foreign sway, confidence in Jahveh's power and Jahveh's readiness to fight for Israel: are these sentiments which are altogether to be reprobated? And if they are not, why then should we refuse to acknowledge their powerful influence in the writings of the prophets whom we have just named? Shall that which we gladly notice and applaud in Isaiah deserve to be blamed in them, or even denied to them by a forced exegesis of their words?

We are the less justified in doing this, when it now, in the next place, becomes plain that *Jeremiah* who differs from them, stands alone, or at least almost alone in his conception of the destiny of his people. The difference between him and Habakkuk is of course in itself no reason why we should begin to doubt the correctness of our explanation of their words; we have already, on a former occasion, noted a similar difference among contemporaries. Habakkuk, or Joel, and Jeremiah may just as well have contradicted each other, as Isaiah and Micah. Let us further place clearly before our minds what Jeremiah expects. That can be comprised in a few words: he expects the extinction of the kingdom of Judah, the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, the captivity of the Jews in a foreign land.[2] We shall afterwards develop all

[1] Jer. xxvii. On verse 1, see above, p. 107, note 1.

[2] These sombre anticipations are the counterpart of Jeremiah's most unfavourable judgment concerning the religious and moral condition of the kingdom, a judgment which in no way requires to be confirmed by reference

that more in detail; at present we may be satisfied with this brief summary, of the correctness of which besides no doubt is entertained by any one. Let us further bear in mind that Jeremiah's expectations must have had, and, as a matter of fact, did have a decisive influence on his position as a citizen of the state. At all times, even still during the last siege of Jerusalem, he preached submission to Nebuchadrezzar, and is a sworn enemy to every attempt to restore Judah's independence. No one can deny that he herein followed the voice of his conscience; but as little can it surprise us that his conduct was severely condemned by many, and that he himself was called a betrayer of his native country. Such being the case, we can all the better understand how he trod his path alone. We read of a certain Urijah ben Shemaiah, "that he prophesied against city and land, according to all the words of Jeremiah," but we read also that, by command of king Jehoiakim, he was put to death.[1] Expectations, similar to those that we meet with in Jeremiah, are in the second Book of Kings attributed to the prophetess Huldah,[2] who was consulted by Josiah, after the finding of the book of the law in the temple. Assuming that they are rightly attributed to her—an assumption which in the meantime we leave undetermined—we have still a right to speak of Jeremiah's isolation, especially when we think of the years of Zedekiah's reign when men's feelings were excited even more than previously by the affront that they had shortly before endured, and by the misfortunes of the captives. The complaints are pathetic which Jeremiah pours forth against the difficult and thankless task which has been laid upon him by Jahveh. He curses the day of his birth,[3] he desires nothing better than to retire and keep silence, but Jahveh is too strong for him, and he must go forward, let the cost be what it may.[4] So speaks the man who must fulfil alone the duty to which he believes he had been called. Some nobles afforded him protection,[5] either because they had been altogether

to single passages. He is pre-eminently the preacher of repentance among the prophets. How hard his reproaches sounded in the ears of his contemporaries, we learn *e.g.*, from Jer. vii. and xxvi.

[1] Jer. xxvi. 20-23.
[2] 2 Kings xxii. 12—20.
[3] Jer. xx. 14—18.
[4] Jer. xx. 7—9.
[5] Jer. xxvi. 24, compare 17—29.

converted to his views, or because the policy of submission and peace which he recommended seemed to them the best; but they could not in the end lay the storm which arose against Jeremiah. Men who pursued the same course with him, and *in the name of Jahveh* proclaimed the same view of the course of events, there were none: a new proof therefore that Habakkuk and the two prophets whose sentiments were akin to his, entertaining, as they did, the expectations which we ascribe to them, were suited to the time in which we have placed them. They dissent from Jeremiah, but then he is a solitary combatant, on a post that is well-nigh lost. In that position we shall at a later period purposely contemplate him. His expectations were, generally speaking, realised, and therefore do not require to be more fully discussed at present.

Ezekiel too may be passed by in this chapter almost in silence. He came forward as a prophet six years before the fall of Jerusalem,[1] and the entire first half of the book of his oracles (chaps. i.—xxiv.) belongs, according to the headings,[2] to the reign of Zedekiah. It is occupied almost exclusively with the judgment against Judah and Jerusalem, and would, in so far, be quite in its proper place here. But we know already that Ezekiel is accustomed to follow Jeremiah, and agrees with him, in all particulars, in his view of the moral and religious condition of the nation, and of the necessary results of that condition. That general rule finds confirmation here also. Ezekiel's anticipations concerning the kingdom of Judah and its capital, are, like those of Jeremiah, confirmed by the result. We shall return to them afterwards, and also to the predictions of particulars which have so properly attracted the notice of all who have studied the subject of Israelitish prophecy.

The same prophet who so emphatically threatens in chaps. i.—xxiv., adopts an entirely different tone in the last part of his book (chaps. xxxiii.—xlviii.). The preacher of repentance is here succeeded by the preacher of consolation. It is prospects of restoration, prosperity, and splendour which he discloses. The reason is apparent. The last part (as shown

[1] Ezek. i. 1, 2.
[2] Chap. viii. 1; xx. 1; xxiv. 1.

again by the dates which it gives[1]) belongs to the years of the captivity of the whole nation (586 B.C., and after). The catastrophe had taken place and would now bear its fruits. It is not probable that Ezekiel already saw the favourable results of the judgment, and was convinced that he spake to a converted Israel. No, but he speaks throughout *concerning* an altered people. Because, just as it was a firm belief with his predecessors, so is it also with him, that the judgment must accomplish its end. Jeremiah, adopting this view, goes so far as, already in the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, to take for granted that there is a great difference between the Jews who were carried away to Babylon with Jehoiachin and their brethren who were left in Judea.[2] It is not because these captives were actually better, or had already become better by their brief captivity, but because they were bearing the punishment which, for the others, was still future. In like manner, also Ezekiel, who otherwise had, in truth, no reason to be satisfied with his fellow captives,[3] can proceed, in chapters xxxiii.—xlviii., upon the supposition that Israel had become a different people in the foreign country where they were, and ripe for a better future. On that account, there is no place for announcement of punishment in those chapters.

As little do we seek or find it in the prophecies which were written towards the end of the Babylonish captivity. Some, comparatively few in number, are exclusively occupied with the judgment against Babylon—from which point of view we have already considered them[6]—and with the liberation of Israel. But in the author of Isaiah xl.—lxvi. also, we miss the announcement of the judgment against Israel. There was another mission committed to him, which is at once declared in the opening words, "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people!"[7] In saying so, however, we do not mean that this prophet could speak only of restoration and welfare. The people among whom he dwelt was composed of very dissimilar elements. Besides the true servants of

[1] Chap. xxxiii. 21 ff., compare xl. 1.
[2] Jer. xxiv.
[3] He calls them "the rebellious house," chap. ii. 5, 8; iii. 9, 26, 27, and elsewhere; also xliv. 6. See further, especially xx. 30-40.
[6] P. 136 ff. [7] Isaiah xl. 1.

Jahveh,[1] he knows Israelites who rest contented with the mere rites of the worship of Jahveh,[2] and others still who serve strange gods, and admit of being addressed as "apostates" and "wicked."[3] It is implied in the nature of the case that the blessing and prosperity which Jahveh is preparing for his people are not intended for the latter. The prophet even says so expressly: they shall be witnesses of the benefits which Jahveh bestows upon them that are his, but they themselves shall have no share therein; the portion which awaits them is rather the sword and misery of every description.[4] It will not be expected that we should enter upon an express inquiry into the fulfilment of these announcements: they are the counterpart of the promises which the prophet utters; the simple expression of his belief in Jahveh's holiness and justice which, of course, shall not falsify themselves even at the period when he prepares to redeem Israel from captivity, and cause the new era to dawn. "There is no peace (or prosperity) to the wicked"—is not the prediction of a single specific fact, but the expression of a religious belief which is beyond the control of history. The reader will readily concur with me in this, as well as in the further assertion that such threatenings in no wise conflict with the position advanced above, that in the Babylonian Isaiah, we find no announcement of the judgment *against Israel.* The message which he has to deliver to his people, or more specifically, to all who in truth, and not merely in name, belong to that people, is thus summed up by himself in the opening of his addresses: "Speak ye comfortably to Jerusalem, and cry unto her that her warfare is accomplished; for her iniquity is pardoned, for she hath received of Jahveh's hand double for all her sins."[5]

[1] They are mentioned, chap. liv. 17; lvi. 6; lxiii. 17; lxv. 8, 9, 13—15; lxvi. 14. Of "the servant of Jahveh" in the singular number we shall speak afterwards.

[2] See, for example, chap. xlviii. 1, 2; lviii. 1 ff.

[3] For instance, chap. xlvi. 5—12; lxv. 1—7, 11—15; lxvi. 3—5, 17, 18. Compare also the almost identical closing verses of the three parts, each of nine chapters, into which the whole collection can be divided, chap. xlviii. 22; lvii. 21; lxvi. 24.

[4] See the passages referred to in preceding note, and also chap. l. 11; lvii. 12, 13.

[5] It need scarcely be said that this relation of Isaiah xl.—lxvi. to the prophecies which denounce judgment, affords a very strong proof against the pre-

The preaching of the prophets after the exile is founded on the same religious convictions as that of their predecessors. The covenant-relation between Jahveh and Israel, and the indissoluble connection between sin and adversity, are acknowledged by the former no less than by the latter. But circumstances have changed, and the old truth demands now a new application. Judgment has been executed on the apostate Israel. The people have lived in captivity for about half a century, and had to dispense with the benefits of a proper national existence of their own. That time of heavy trial is now at an end. A new Jewish state, or, if the reader prefer, a Jewish community, is settled on its native soil. It is true, indeed, that there is not yet any reason for gladness; the condition of those who have returned is, in many respects, sad, and must become altogether different when the glorious promises of Jahveh shall receive their fulfilment. On that fulfilment, therefore, the view of the faithful remains fixed. It is not always easy for them to endure the long delay: sometimes tormenting doubt assails them. Naturally, therefore, their attention is directed to the religious and moral condition of the restored nation. So much shortcoming is to be found in that also. May not that be one of the causes why the realisation of the divine promises is so long delayed? Can Jahveh allow the indifference and disobedience of so many to go unpunished? Thus, therefore, they continue still awaiting the judgments of the Righteous One at the very time that they, with earnest longing, are looking for the advent of that pros-

exilic origin of those chapters. If Isaiah, Hezekiah's contemporary, was the author of them, then it would throughout, or at least repeatedly, have clearly appeared that the punishment of Israel was still future. The translators of the Dutch State version felt this, and therefore rendered chap. xliii. 28: "Therefore I *will profane* the princes of the sanctuary, and give Jacob to the curse, and Israel to reproaches." But the connection requires the interpretation of the English authorised version—"Therefore I *have profaned* the princes of the sanctuary, and *have given* Jacob to the curse, and Israel to reproaches." The other passages also in which it has been thought that the announcement of a judgment against Israel is to be found, teach the very opposite, that it has been already executed or still continues. See Is. xlii. 14; xliii. 8—12: xlvi. 1, 2; xlviii. 3 ff., 17; L. 1—3; lxiii. 18; compare lxiv. 9, 10, passages which H. A. Hahn (in Drechsler's Isaiah iii. pp. xvii. f.) adduces, but at the same time is obliged to pervert, in order to make them serve his object. From whatever point of view we regard Isaiah xl.—lxvi., it always appears plain that those prophecies suit no other time than the Babylonish captivity, and differ very essentially from the genuine oracles of Isaiah. See above, pp. 166 ff., and further, the sub-divisions of chapter vii.

perity which He has promised. But the judgments which they expect are only *partial;* the *nation* has already undergone its sentence, and shall, when ripe for them, enjoy Jahveh's blessings.

A few citations from the prophets who lived after the exile may furnish the proof that their ideas are correctly represented in the preceding lines.

As may be remembered, Haggai had at heart the rebuilding of Jahveh's temple at Jerusalem. In the first of his addresses that have been preserved to us, he starts from the temporary distress with which the returned exiles had to contend. The failure of crops and the famine which afflicted them were sent upon them by Jahveh as a consequence of his displeasure at their negligence. As soon as they should put their hand to the work, better days would speedily dawn.[1]

Zechariah, his contemporary and ally, opens the series of his visions with an emphatic reference to the preaching of "the former prophets." Their threatenings were realised, as the fathers themselves, to whom they were directed, had acknowledged in deep penitence. Therefore let the present generation take warning from them. "Turn ye unto me, and I will turn unto you, saith Jahveh of hosts."[2] In a more detailed address,[3] the prophet answers, in the same spirit, the question whether the fast-days, which had been instituted in remembrance of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem, should still be observed. He discloses the prospect of better times, in which their sorrow should be changed into joy. But his promises are conditional. Their realisation is always dependent on the practice of justice and uprightness; a repetition of the sins of their fathers would now also lead to such lamentable disasters as those which were commemorated in the fast-days to which they referred.[4]

Malachi, who prophesied probably about a century after the return, does not doubt the realisation of Jahveh's promises; but all around him, and in different circles, he discovers much that is wrong, and many abuses. He urges the people to reformation with all earnestness, while he threatens the stiff-necked with Jahveh's anger. Let his denunciation of the

[1] Hagg. i. Compare ii. 10—19. [2] Zech. i. 2—6. [3] Zech. vii., viii.
[4] See especially chap. vii. 4—14; viii. 16, 17.

careless priests,[1] and of the neglect in bringing in the tithes,[2] be regarded from this point of view. Two other addresses are still more closely connected with our subject. In the one,[3] he answers those who uttered complaints against the delay of God's judgments. They say, "Every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of Jahveh, and he delighteth in them. Or where (otherwise) is the God of judgment?" Malachi assures them that the judgment-day shall come, to the confusion of the sorcerers, the adulterers, the false swearers, those who oppress the hireling, the widow, and the fatherless, who wrong the stranger, and fear not Jahveh. Against all these Jahveh himself shall appear as "a swift witness." In the other prophecy[4] he refutes those who complained that there was no profit in serving Jahveh, and in humbling themselves before him, nay, who called the rebellious happy: for were not the wicked built up, and did not those escape who tempted Jahveh? Malachi does not deny that there is some ground for this complaint, but he refers to the day of the judgment, in which it will be easy to discern "between the righteous and the wicked, between him that serveth God and him that serveth him not." On that day, unto them that fear Jahveh's name, the sun of righteousness shall arise, while the rebellious shall be consumed. The number of the latter is so great, that the prophet Elijah must be sent before "the great and dreadful day of Jahveh." "He shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers," so that Jahveh may not come and smite the land with a curse.

It is usual to apply this prophecy specifically to the work of John the Baptist. We shall afterwards inquire with what propriety this is done. Our present concern is simply to form an accurate conception of the relation of Malachi to the prophets who lived before the exile. If I am not mistaken, it is as clear as possible that the conception just stated is in exact accordance with the truth. However severe he may be in his judgment of the sins of the people and their leaders, however strong his conviction that the pious alone shall have a portion in Jahveh's promises, Malachi does *not* think that a judgment is yet

[1] Mal. i. 6—ii. 9.
[2] Chap. iii. 7—12.
[3] Chap. ii. 17—iii. 6.
[4] Chap. iii. 13—iv. 6.

required to be executed on *the whole of Israel.* He expects —to express it in one word—a judgment-day similar to that of the popular Christian theology, in which the pious will receive the reward of their faithfulness, and the wicked the punishment of their sins. He is confident, moreover, that Jahveh will prepare his people for that day, so that it may bring, not ruin, but happiness. The question as to the fulfilment or the non-fulfilment of these prophecies is one which, properly speaking, cannot be entertained. The day of judgment, considered in itself as an independent fact, is of course still future; and in so far the prediction of Malachi remains still unfulfilled. But the righteousness of God, or rather the moral order of the world, which is the expression of that righteousness, is, and continues to be, unchangeably the same. Spiritualised, conceived of according to its idea, the prophecy of Malachi is always in process of realisation. As soon as "the pious" and "the wicked" appear, instead of "Israel" and "the Gentiles," as is the case in prophecy after the exile, the question as to the fulfilment of the judgments announced is transferred to other ground—from the domain of history to that of religious and moral experience.

CHAPTER VII.

THE UNFULFILLED PREDICTIONS.

c.—The Future of Israel.

My task in the present chapter will, in one sense, be easier than it has been in the last two. Before entering upon the proper subject of these, a separation had to be made between those prophecies which had, and those which had not, been fulfilled. This was no easy task, especially in the sixth chapter. At present, in treating of the predictions which have reference to the restoration of Israel, I am happily released from that labour. No separation is necessary here; *not one of them has been realised.*

That seems a bold assertion, and yet it is the simple truth. We need only take all those prophecies for what they profess to be, in order to be convinced that they have been contradicted by the result, not only in details but altogether. Our survey will of itself afford proof of this, even though attention is not on all occasions directed to the opposition between the expectation and the reality. Nay, that opposition is, in this case, so palpable that even among those who most strenuously maintain the divine authority of the prophetical writings, there are found some who freely acknowledge it. In their opinion the prophecies now referred to *shall be realised some time*, which of course implies that they are not realised as yet. The return of the whole of Israel to their native country, Israel's supremacy over the nations of the earth, in a word, its *glory*—all this must yet, on the authority of the prophecies, be expected to take place, and shall become reality only in the last days. The expectation of all these events has been designated by a technical term, Chiliasm, properly the desire of the millennium, which

is announced in the Revelation of St John,[1] or more generally, the hope of the literal fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecies of felicity.

We shall make a point of recurring to this Chiliasm in the sequel of our inquiry; but it may be useful at present to take account of the way in which it must be judged. The criticism to which it is open is twofold. It may be asked, in the first place, whether the expectations of the Chiliast have probability in their favour? No one will be forward to assert that such is the case. Neither the settlement of the Jews in Palestine, nor the subjection of the other nations to their supremacy, is indicated by the present condition of the civilised world, or can result from that condition, in a natural way. Besides, the permanent supremacy of a single nation seems almost irreconcilable with the spiritual nature of Christianity. These considerations, however, make very little impression on the Chiliasts themselves, since they, at least if they understand what is in the interest of their own case, will look for the realisation of their anticipations, not from the natural development of affairs, but from the absolute miraculous power of God. On that account also, it is, in the second place, absolutely necessary to test Chiliasm by the prophecies on which it asserts itself to be built. Do the Chiliasts rightly imagine that the predictions of the prophets are still capable of being realised? Or, which comes to the same thing, if the millennium should ever dawn, will the anticipations of the prophets be thereby ratified? These are questions, a reply to which is attended with no insuperable difficulties. This chapter may furnish some contributions to such a reply, without the author being required to show expressly how the matter stands with regard to the possibility of a fulfilment which is still future. The facts themselves, as it seems to me, speak with sufficient plainness.

The assertion, however, that the prophecies regarding Israel's future have not been realised, will suggest to most readers another difficulty. It will be said to me in objection—Is not *Christianity the realisation of these predictions?* Through ages in succession this has been assumed as proved. But when we examine more closely the current

[1] Rev. xx. 1—7.

opinions on this subject, it becomes at once evident that the realisation which was meant is of a peculiar character. Men did not disguise from themselves that the prophecies of the Old Testament required to be *spiritualised* before they could be regarded as having been accomplished in the New. It was therefore taught further, that they were *more than fulfilled*, or, in other words, that the reality under the New Testament Dispensation *far surpassed* the expectations under the Old. Do these positions do justice to the proper meaning of the prophets? Do their anticipations remain intact when they are thus spiritualised, or when their fulfilment is thought to be comprised in the blessings which Christianity has conferred? Was this spiritualisation justified? Was it compatible with the reverence which is due to the meaning of the prophets? These questions also must be kept in view by the reader as he peruses this chapter. It will gradually of itself become manifest to him how they must be answered. For the rest, it is our intention, at a subsequent stage of the inquiry, to consider separately the actual relation between prophecy and Christianity.

There is still one question to be considered before we begin the investigation itself: in what manner are we in this chapter to arrange the abundant materials? We might here also observe the chronological order, as we did in the treatment of the prophecies denouncing judgment. In a certain sense, indeed, we cannot neglect doing so, for we must always proceed in such a manner that the modification or development of the anticipations of the prophets—if any such took place—shall not escape our notice. But it does not hence follow that we must once more hear the prophets in their order. That would become wearisome by its monotony, because the conceptions which they form of Israel's future have, in spite of their mutual difference, much in common, and are, so to say, fashioned according to one and the same pattern. There is thus nothing to prevent us from considering these fundamental features one by one, and for the rest, as we view each of them separately, to take notice of the chronological succession of the prophets. We are in no danger of overlooking anything essential, if we attend to the following constituent elements of the prophetical expectations:—

1. *The return of Israel out of captivity;*
2. *The reunion of Ephraim and Judah;*
3. *The supremacy of the house of David;*
4. *The spiritual and material welfare of the restored Israel;*
5. *The relation between Israel and the Gentiles;*
6. *Israel's undisturbed continuance in the land of their habitation.*

There is one deviation from this order of treatment which it is impossible to avoid. It is in the case of the book of Daniel. The expectations expressed in it fit into this scheme only in part. In so far as they clearly do so, we shall mention them under their proper class; but there will still be some left which will require to be considered separately. We intend to do so in an appendix. It is only in this way that both the agreement and the difference between the book of Daniel and the older prophetical books will appear clear and distinct.

I.—*The Return of Israel out of Captivity.*

We remember what an important position *the deportation of Israel to a strange land* occupies among the punishments threatened by the prophets. We have already remarked that it was the severest threatening which they could utter; but a somewhat fuller consideration of the subject will not be superfluous. In ancient times, country and people were identified in a much greater degree than at the present day. It was only by very weighty and pressing reasons that an individual was induced to remove beyond the boundaries of the land in which he had been born. Banishment was equivalent to being cut off from the community, the deportation of the whole nation, to the extinction of the national existence. In Israel also, as well as elsewhere, the connection was intensified and hallowed by religion. Canaan was the land which Jahveh had given to Israel.[1] Still more important is the fact that Jahveh dwelt in Canaan, specifically

[1] So it appears already in the Decalogue, Ex. xx. 12, and further *passim* in the Old Testament.

on Mount Zion, in the temple which had been built there in obedience to his command. Canaan is thus "Jahveh's land,"[1] all that lies beyond is called "unclean land."[2] Consequently, the worship of Jahveh was made, at least in some instances, almost dependent on residence in Canaan. In one of the narratives in the first book of Samuel, David curses those who "drive him out from abiding in the inheritance of Jahveh, while they say to him: Go hence; serve other gods."[3] Here, as will be noticed, the service of Jahveh is thought to be incompatible with wandering about beyond his inheritance. The request which Naaman makes to Elisha belongs to the same circle of ideas: "Let there, I pray thee, be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth, for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto Jahveh,"[4] in whose honour Naaman purposes to build an altar in Syria—*but with earth carried with him out of Canaan.* I have purposely selected these very significant passages in order to show clearly what deportation from his native land involved to an Israelite. It is true all did not adopt the manner of thinking of which the texts just quoted testify; but even the most highly developed saw an irreparable injury to the religious life also, in removal to a foreign country. This of itself properly implies that the Israelitish prophets cannot have expected any other than a *temporary* exile; Israel, transferred permanently to another country, would, in their estimation, have lost both its nationality and its religion. How could they have imagined that Jahveh had ordained that doom for his chosen people? But there was yet another reason why the prophets must have regarded the captivity as merely temporary. They viewed punishments in general, and this punishment in particular, as a *means of correction;* and, since it was applied by Jahveh, as an *efficient and successful means to that end.* What had not been effected by the disasters with which he had formerly visited Israel, would now be accomplished in a foreign country: viz., *the conversion of the nation,* or rather, of a part of the nation, from which a new people of Jahveh could be developed. On this point no one of the prophets has any doubt, although,

[1] Hos. ix. 3.
[2] Amos vii. 17.
[3] 1 Sam. xxvi. 19.
[4] 2 Kings. v. 17.

as might be expected, one lays more stress than another on this salutary result of the judgment. No one puts it so much in the foreground as Isaiah, who even gave to one of his sons the symbolical name Shear-jashûb, so that it might be obvious to all that one of the fundamental ideas of his preaching was: "a remnant is converted."[1] But the return of Israel to their native land is inseparable from that conversion. How closely the two things are connected is superabundantly clear, from the fact which has been already stated,[2] that both are denoted in Hebrew by one and the same word. "When the cause ceases, then the effect also ceases:" when the transgressions, which had been the cause of Israel's exile, have been expiated by humiliation and repentance, and have been forgiven by Jahveh, then the exile itself also comes to an end. Israel turns in repentance to Jahveh; but Jahveh's dwelling-place is Canaan; the return thither cannot therefore fail to come.

The preceding view, in which I have endeavoured to introduce no single idea which is not expressed in the writings of the prophets themselves, makes us expect to find the anticipation of a return from exile in all of them who either look forward to, or look back upon, a deportation. Such we actually find to be the case. The difference which we remark with regard to this point finds its natural explanation in the different circumstances of each time. Some speak with reference to one or another partial deportation which had already taken place, others refer to the captivity of the whole nation, which they had either announced themselves, or had known from their own experience; but all look forward with eager longing and with confidence to the reparation of that dreadful disaster.

It is not really necessary to establish the truth of what has now been stated by a multitude of references; for Israel's return is presupposed in all that the prophets declare concerning the future glory of their nation. Still it appears advisable to adduce at least a few proof-passages.

We can at once borrow one from Amos. "I shall," so Jahveh speaks, "cause the lot of my people Israel to change, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them, and

[1] Is. vii. 3; compare iv. 3, ff; vi. 13; x. 21, ff., etc.
[2] Above, pp. 157 ff.

they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof;"[1] in that favourable change of condition the return of those who had been carried away must, as is clear from what precedes,[2] be comprised. With regard to Hosea, we know already that he announced the return of the Israelites from Egypt and Assyria, the lands of their captivity.[3] The author of Zech. ix.—xi. agrees almost verbally with him.[4] We may remember that Isaiah does not predict the overthrow of the kingdom of Judah; he knows of no other captives than the inhabitants of the kingdom of the ten tribes, and furthermore the Judeans who on various occasions had been carried away from their native country. He is certain that Jahveh shall assemble them all from the four corners of the earth in order to bring them back to their own land.[5] Micah, who has formed a different conception of the future of Jerusalem, is quite at one on this point with his great contemporary. The population of Jerusalem shall abandon the city, and dwell in the open field; but there they shall be delivered, and redeemed by Jahveh out of the hand of their enemies. Thereafter we find them again in Judea, where they triumphantly repulse the attacks of the Assyrians.[6] This prophet had already on a former occasion, amplifying an old oracle which he adopts, written these words: "In that day, saith Jahveh, will I assemble her that has wandered, and I will gather her that is scattered abroad, and her that I have afflicted. Then make I her that wandered a remnant, and her that was driven away a strong nation, and Jahveh shall reign over them on Mount Zion, from henceforth even for ever."[7] That Joel[8] and Jeremiah[9] express the same expectation, needs no proof. The latter specifies even the duration of the Babylonish servitude, in the well-known prophecy concerning the seventy years of the captivity, which we shall afterwards purposely consider from

[1] Amos ix. 14. According to the more usual interpretation—"I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel." But the Hebrew expression signifies in general to turn the destiny of any one, to restore his previous condition, to give him back his former prosperity. See this shown in "Theol. Tijdschrift," VII. (1873), pp. 520—524.

[2] Amos. ix. 7—9.

[3] Hos. xi. 11; see above, p. 156, ff.

[4] Zech. x. 10, compare vv. 8, 9; ix. 11, 12.

[5] Is. xi. 11, 12.

[6] Mic. iv. 10; v. 2, ff. See above, p. 162, ff.

[7] Mic. iv. 6, 7.

[8] Joel iii. 1—7.

[9] Jer. iii. 14, 18, and *passim*.

another point of view.[1] When Jerusalem had been taken and laid waste, the hope of restoration continued still to live. Obadiah gives utterance to it,[2] and which of the prophets of the exile is silent regarding that hope, which formed the key-note of their preaching?[3]

Most of the prophets are silent regarding the manner in which the return is to take place: it is sufficient for them to know that Jahveh will bring his people again to their native land. But this of itself properly implies the belief, which is also developed more fully by some, that the return of the exiles shall clearly appear to be *the work of Jahveh*. Not by stealth, but gloriously and amid the most evident tokens of Jahveh's presence and protection, Israel begins and completes the journey to Canaan. The descriptions of that march are clearly poetical and hyperbolic; it would be a misapprehension of the meaning of the authors if we understood them literally; but they were undoubtedly in perfect earnest in the expectation of a triumphal march. The writer of Is. xxxiv., xxxv. describes to us an entire transformation of the desert through which Israel pursues its journey—the people find there in superabundance everything that they require—through the wilderness there runs a highway which may not be trodden by the unclean, nor rendered unsafe by any ravenous beast.[4] All this is poetry, but the poetical embellishment of an idea which is a firm conviction of the prophet, and which is thus formulated in the last verse of his oracle: "The ransomed of Jahveh shall return and come to Zion *with shouting;* everlasting joy shall be upon their head; they shall obtain joy and gladness, while sorrow and sighing shall flee away."[5] We find this idea, again, in another form, in the author of Is. xl.—lxvi. Alluding to the exodus out of Egypt, he announces: "Ye shall not go out (of Babylon) with haste, nor go by flight, for Jahveh goeth before you, and the God of Israel bringeth you together."[6] This pro-

[1] Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10. [2] Obad. vv. 17—20.

[3] Among them also is the author of Isaiah xxiv.—xxvii., whose prophecy issues in the announcement of the universal return, Is. xxvii. 12, 13. See also Is. xiv. 1, 2, which clearly belongs to a *prophet who lived during the exile*, since he announces that "Jahveh will *again* choose Israel and *set them in their own land*," without having previously made mention of the deportation. Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," etc., II. 154—157.

[4] Is. xxxv. 1—9. [5] Is. xxxv. 10. [6] Is. lii. 12.

phet says, in so many words, that the desert will afford to the Israelites everything that they can desire, so that they may see and acknowledge "that the hand of Jahveh hath effected this (the deliverance), and the Holy One of Israel hath performed it."[1] He returns more than once to the proofs of Jahveh's faithful care, which shall accompany the people on their journey.[2]

A return of Jewish exiles did, as we know, take place after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus. That this return did not correspond to the expectations of the prophets, and that, in particular, the condition of those who had returned formed a sharp contrast to their predictions, may now at once be assumed as proved, and will appear still more clearly in the sequel. I would meanwhile remind the reader of one single striking fact. Fifteen years after the settlement of the colony in Judea, Zechariah the prophet utters the following complaint: "O Jahveh of hosts, how long wilt thou not have mercy on Jerusalem, and on the cities of Judah, against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years?"[3] So far was the promise of Jahveh from having been then fulfilled, that a prayer could be uttered to turn aside his wrath! Nevertheless the Jews did not doubt of the realisation of those predictions. It never entered into their minds to regard the prophets who had delivered them, as false teachers, or to suspect them of exaggeration. But how then was this belief of theirs to be reconciled with the reality? They had to choose one of two suppositions. They could assume either that the *return* which the prophets had predicted was *still altogether future*, or that *the settlement in Judea* must be regarded *as a beginning of the realisation of the prophecy*. As might be expected, this dilemma is nowhere stated in the Old Testament itself, much less discussed; but at the same time it is sufficiently evident from the writings of the prophets after the exile that they adopted the latter hypothesis. Not in the Israelites who are still dispersed, but in the inhabitants of Judea, not in Babylonia or elsewhere beyond the boundaries of Canaan, but in *Jerusalem*, they see the centre or *core of Israel*. Thither, therefore, shall

[1] Is. xli. 17—20. [2] Is. xliii. 19, 20; xlviii. 21; xlix. 10, 11.
[3] Zech. i. 12, compare vii. 5.

the rest return. By accessions from other quarters, the Jews shall be mightily augmented, and finally correspond to that ideal of a restored Israel, which had been formed by the prophets who lived before and during the captivity.

That such is really the post-exilic conception, is much more clearly shown by a perusal of the writings of that period than from single texts. Let attention be especially directed to the prophecies of Zechariah. He announces, for instance, the increase of the population of Jerusalem, and incites the Babylonian Jews to hasten thither, and so to share the glorious future which awaits the abode of Jahveh.[1] But in fact all his predictions proceed upon this supposition. The community of Jerusalem, represented in the vision by the high priest Joshua, is cleansed from its sins;[2] Zerubbabel, its head, receives the most glorious promises;[3] above all, "the Branch," the ruler of Israel—of whom we shall treat more fully immediately—shall come forth from among them.[4] The author of the book of Daniel also discloses to the Jews *in Palestine* the prospect of better times, as our subsequent investigation will place beyond all doubt.

The length at which I have dwelt on this point may perhaps occasion some surprise; but it is not difficult to show that the question whether the prophecy had or had not reached the first stage of fulfilment was of great importance for the Israelites themselves. The inhabitants of Judea must have highly prized the honour of being regarded as the legitimate heirs of the promise. There were likewise some Jews left in their native country after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., who flattered themselves with the hope that the restoration of Israel would begin with or from them. They said—"Abraham was only one man, and yet he inherited the land; but we are many; the land shall be given to us for an inheritance."[5] The prophet Ezekiel opposes that pretension emphatically, and even with some vehemence.[6] At that time, when the captivity had merely begun, the flower of Israel was thought to be living in a foreign country, as, in fact, those who had been carried away constituted the most developed part of

[1] Zech. ii., especially vv. 6 ff.
[2] Zech. iii.
[3] Zech. iv.
[4] Zech. vi. 9—15.
[5] Ezek. xxxiii. 24.
[6] Vv. 25—29.

the nation. It was gross presumption on the part of those who had been left, to imagine that they were *the nation*. But when, fifty years afterwards, those who had been carried away, at least a portion of them, had returned, the nation's centre of gravity was also transferred from Babylon to Judea. This change in the condition of things was too momentous to be allowed to pass without our notice. And, apart from this point, if our remarks on Chiliasm, in the introduction to this chapter, be remembered, then, in reference to that subject also, it will readily be granted that the question which we have been discussing is not one of indifference. If the Chiliasts even now maintain that the return of Israel to Palestine is still wholly future, they contradict—of course unconsciously—the explanation of the old prophecies which is presented in the Old Testament itself.

II.—*The Re-union of Ephraim and Judah.*

The disruption of the kingdom of Solomon, although demanded at the moment itself by the circumstances, and not unserviceable, on the whole, for Israel's peculiar development, could yet, at a later period, and in reference to its political consequences, be rightly regarded as a national calamity. We are not therefore surprised to find that the hope of the re-union of the two kingdoms was introduced into the prophetical anticipation of the restoration of Israel. The form of the expectation was determined by the circumstances of the time, as the following survey will show.

The prophets of the eighth century before the Christian era, who knew the kingdom of Ephraim from their own personal observation, pronounced a very unfavourable judgment upon its religious and moral condition, and were better pleased, on the whole, with the condition of Judah. We have already seen how this judgment is reflected in their expectations concerning the destinies of the two kingdoms; but their conception of the future is, in its turn, dependent on those expectations. Amos has most probably assumed that the Ephraimites who have escaped from the judgment, and have been brought back to Canaan by Jahveh, would join themselves to Judah, under the rule of the Davidic

dynasty, for which he expects a period of renewed splendour.[1] This prophet does not enter into any further details. We find the same is the case with Hosea. In the last strophe of his book, which is devoted to the description of the future happiness, he is occupied exclusively with Ephraim,[2] but he had previously expressed the expectation that the ten tribes would be again united with Judah. This is implied in his prophecy that the children of Israel, after having been deprived for many days of the guidance of statesmen and priests, "shall repent and seek Jahveh their god, and David their king."[3] But he says besides, in so many words, that "the children of Judah and the children of Israel shall be gathered together, and appoint one head over themselves, and shall come up out of (all corners of) the land (to the sanctuary)."[4] What he intends by the appointment of one head, is not evident all at once; but the re-union of the two kingdoms is here clearly predicted. The author of Zechariah ix.—xi. goes, in a certain sense, still farther. It is as if he cannot imagine any other than the one great Israel, to which Ephraim belongs as well as Judah. He speaks as if the disruption were already healed. The king who enters into Zion "shall reign from sea to sea, and from the river to the extremities of the land," that is over the same territory that had been under the sceptre of David.[5] It is here tacitly understood that the wall of partition between the two kingdoms is removed, and in other passages, the same thought is expressed by the simultaneous mention of both; what is said of Ephraim applies also to Judah, and conversely.[6] This combination is doubly important as occurring in a prophet who had witnessed the war between the two kindred kingdoms, and who regarded the rupture of their "brotherhood" as the greatest punishment ordained for them by Jahveh.[7] Isaiah also had gained the same experience.

[1] See Amos ix. 10 (the sinners die by the sword, the rest are preserved); verse 11 (raising of the falling tabernacle of David); verse 14 (return of the captives).

[2] Hos. xiv. 2—9 (Israel, v. 2 Heb. (v. 1, *Auth. Ver.*) is, according to v. 9 (8, *Auth. Ver.*), Ephraim, as is customary with this prophet).

[3] Hos. iii. 5. [4] Hos. i. 11.

[5] Zech. ix. 10b. [6] Zech. ix. 10a, 13—17; x. 6.

[7] Zech. xi. 14. Whoever considers attentively the use which has thus far been, and is still to be, made of Zech. ix.—xi., will not require any further

Indignation at the attack on Judah and the Davidic dynasty by Pekah and Rezin perhaps made it easy for him to acquiesce in the prospect of the overthrow of the Ephraimite kingdom; but his interest in that portion of Israel was not thereby extinguished. He believes in the conversion of a part, at least, of the Ephraimites,[1] and, as we have already noticed, in their return to the land of Canaan.[2] He proceeds to say after that, "the envy of Ephraim shall depart, and the hostilely disposed of Judah shall be rooted out; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not be hostile to Ephraim."[3] They then further wage war together against their neighbours, and reduce them under their sway.[4]

Such were the ideas of the prophets who had known the kingdom of Ephraim while still in its prime, or had witnessed its overthrow. About a century after them, Jeremiah appears. Is it not a very remarkable fact that he is much more leniently disposed towards the Ephraimites than he is towards his contemporaries, the citizens of the kingdom of Judah? Various causes may have co-operated in leading him to that judgment; among them, also the fact that the citizens of the northern kingdom had, at that time, been already so long in captivity, which, according to Jeremiah's firm conviction, must have produced a favourable effect on their religious condition. But, however this may be, in connection with this disposition of the prophet we are not surprised to find that, in his prophecies concerning Israel's restoration, he expressly mentions the Ephraimites. Thus, for instance, in one of his earliest oracles—which was uttered in the reign of Josiah,[5] although it, as well as the rest, was not recorded in writing till the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim—after having shown that the sins of Judah even surpass those of Israel, he turns himself toward the north, at the command of Jahveh,

proof of the statement, that these three chapters belong to the eighth century B.C., and can have been assigned to the post-exilic author of Zech. i.—viii. only by some misunderstanding. The writer of chapters ix.—xi. takes for granted throughout, the existence of the kingdoms of Ephraim and Judah, and also in his expectations concerning the future, agrees with the prophets who belong to the eighth century. See further my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 380—385.

[1] Is. xvii. 4—11.
[2] Is. xi. 11, 12, and above, p. 192.
[3] Is. xi. 13.
[4] Is. xi. 14.
[5] Jer. iii. 6—iv. 2.

and calls the captives of Ephraim to repentance. If they listen to that call, then Jahveh shall take them "one out of each city, and two out of each family," and shall bring them to Zion.[1] When they have multiplied there, and Jerusalem has become, in the full sense of the term, Jahveh's throne,[2] then "in those days the house of Judah shall be joined to the house of Israel, and they shall come together out of the land of the north to the land that I have given for an inheritance unto your fathers."[3] It will be remarked that here priority is assigned to Ephraim in more than one respect. We again find the same conception, though less fully worked out, in a later prophecy, in which Ephraim is called "the first-born of Jahveh,"[4] who humbly confesses his guilt,[5] and shares along with Judah in Jahveh's blessings.[6] Let it be remembered also that *the new covenant* to which the prophet looks forward with joyful expectation, is entered into by Jahveh "with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah."[7] It is in reference to the Ephraimites also, that the beautiful promise is written, "Behold I will gather them out of all countries whither I have driven them. . . . . And they shall be my people, and I will be their God. And I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me all days, for the good of them and of their children after them. And I make with them an everlasting covenant that I will not turn away from them to do them good; and I put my fear in their heart that they may not depart from me."[8]

Jeremiah's contemporaries among the prophets had not all of them a specific inducement to show clearly their agreement with these expectations concerning the Ephraimites; but their silence is no contradiction. As often as that silence is broken, it is evident at once that Ephraim is not forgotten, and that its union with Judah continues to be an essential element in the hope of Israel's restoration. Obadiah names "the house of Joseph" along with the house of Jacob,[9] and

[1] Jer. iii. 6—11 (the comparison); 12—15 (the call and the promises to the captives of Israel).
[2] Jer. iii. 16, 17. We shall return to these verses afterwards.
[3] Jer. iii. 18. [4] Jer. xxxi. 1—9. [5] Jer. xxxi. 18 ff.
[6] Jer. xxxi. 23 ff.; 27 ff. [7] Jer. xxxi. 31—34.
[8] Jer. xxxii. 37—40. That the prophet thinks here of Ephraim as well follows from vv. 30, 32.
[9] Obad. verse 18.

means by it most probably the tribes which together constituted the northern kingdom. Ezekiel enters more into details. According to him, the Israel of the future consists of the twelve tribes, each of which is to receive its own territory,[1] just as one of the gates of Jerusalem is named after each of them.[2] But in addition to this, he devotes a separate prophecy to the reunion of the two kindred kingdoms.[3] The joining of two sticks appears here as the symbolic representation of the fusion of the two kingdoms—"I make them one nation in the land (Canaan), upon the mountains of Israel, and one king shall reign over them all, and they shall not again be two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms."[4] When united, they enjoy also the spiritual and material blessings which Jahveh bestows upon his people.[5]

We have now arrived at a turning-point in the history of this expectation. The prophets who flourished towards the end of the Babylonish captivity, and lived to see the issuing of the decree which gave permission for the return, make no express mention of the Ephraimites. They too are perhaps intended when the author of Isaiah xl.—xlvi. mentions "Israel," "Jacob," and "the tribes of Israel;" at the same time, no stress whatever is laid on their participation in the future felicity. This silence is not unnatural. The return to their native country is, for the prophets here referred to, a pre-eminently practical and real affair, a vital question. But as such it concerned the captives from Judah, among whom they lived, and not the Ephraimites, who dwelt at a great distance from them, and who, so far as we know, maintained no intercourse whatever with their brethren. So long as the prophets regarded the matter from the practical point of view, they also limited themselves to the Jewish population of Babylonia. Still more must the Ephraimites fall into the background when a return had taken place, a return, however, not of the twelve tribes, as had been announced, but of some members of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi.[6] The new colony regarded itself as the re-

[1] Ezek. xlvii. 13, 21; xlviii. 1—7, 23—29. [2] Ezek. xlviii. 30—34.
[3] Ezek. xxxvii. 15—28. [4] Ezek. xxxvii. 22. [5] Ezek. xxxvii. 23—28.
[6] Ezra ii.; Neh. vii. Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," II. 86 vv. 103 v. ("The Religion of Israel"—Williams & Norgate—vol. II., p. 177 ff. and p. 202 ff.)

presentative of *the whole of Israel.*[1] If that implied on the one hand that the past was neither forgotten nor denied, it must be regarded, on the other, as a proof that those who returned entertained a high self-esteem, and did not think they were absolutely in want of the other tribes. The longer the separation continued, the greater of course became the difference between the kindred peoples, and the less were the inhabitants of Judea inclined to declare themselves, as it were, incomplete, and to make the improvement of their condition dependent upon the accession of the Ephraimites. We expect, therefore, to find the hope of reunion become gradually weaker; and this expectation is realised. Zechariah, who is characterised in general by a close adhesion to his predecessors,[2] speaks on one single occasion concerning the deliverance of the captives of the northern kingdom. "It shall come to pass that as ye, O house of Judah and house of Israel, have been a curse among the heathen, so will I set you free, and ye shall be a blessing: fear not; let your hands be strong."[3] But this expectation cannot have occupied much room in the mind of Zechariah himself. In the other passages in which he describes the future, he makes mention only of Judah.[4] In Haggai, Malachi, and the author of Daniel, we do not find a single trace of the ten tribes. And when we observe how the writer of the Book of Chronicles speaks concerning them,[5] and still more how he omits their history in his narrative,[6] we cannot regard the silence of these prophets as accidental. They may have believed, on the ground of the older predictions, that the Ephraimites were destined to take once more their former position, but that anticipation possessed no attractions for them, and in consequence became gradually fainter. If the authority of the prophetical writings had not opposed such an idea, the conviction would then readily have been entertained, that the ten tribes had forfeited their claims to the realisation of Jahveh's promises.

A remarkable phenomenon is thus presented here. The

[1] Ezra ii. 2; vi. 17.
[2] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 379, n. 1.
[3] Zech. viii. 13. [4] Zech. ii. 12. [5] *e.g.*, 2 Chron. xiii. 3—18.
[6] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 317 v.

prophetical predictions not only remain unfulfilled, but also gradually lose the ground on which, received into the popular belief, they could continue to live. The course of events first contradicts the prophecy and afterwards causes it almost to pass into oblivion.

III.—The Supremacy of the House of David.

In the passages which we have noticed, we found occasional mention of David and his dynasty. None of my readers will be surprised at my devoting a separate paragraph to the expectations of the prophets regarding them. On the contrary, many may have asked themselves why I did not begin with the prophecies relating to the house of David. Such a course would undoubtedly have been in accordance with the view most commonly held of the predictions of the prophets. These predictions are, as is well known, called the Messianic expectations or prophecies, an appellation founded on the idea that the Messiah, that is, the Anointed, the King of David's race, is the central point of the anticipations of the future. Were that the case, it would have been an absolute duty to direct attention, in the first place, to that Messiah. But such is not the case. The word "Messiah" is not used in the Old Testament, *in any one instance*, to denote a descendant of David who shall reign over Israel restored. And, what is more important, in more than one prophetical description of the future, such a son of David does not appear at all, while in many others he in no wise assumes the first place, or is even mentioned only incidentally. Such being the case, it would have been wrong to follow the traditional view, instead of letting ourselves be guided by the phenomena in the study of which we are engaged. In other respects also we must divest ourselves of the current notions on this subject. For reasons which readily present themselves to the mind, the prophetical utterances concerning David and his race are partly understood in a wrong sense, and partly overlooked, so that an unprejudiced investigation brings to light facts which must at first appear to the reader as very singular. Hence it follows that here, more even than elsewhere, the

correctness of my conception, deviating as it does from the common one, must be expressly shown.

The king, who has won his dignity either by his own merits or by the favour of circumstances, naturally wishes it to remain hereditary in his family. We should take for granted that this was the case also with regard to David, though we knew nothing more about him than that he was acknowledged as king by the whole of Israel, after the unsuccessful attempt of Saul to found a dynasty. According to the narratives given in the historical books of the Old Testament, he received from the prophet Nathan the positive assurance that Jahveh would hear his request, and would establish the monarchy in his family.[1] We shall afterwards inquire what truth there is in this. Such a promise is in no way surprising. And even though it had never been uttered, still the hope of the permanency of David's dynasty would gradually become firmer after that dynasty had continued for many decades, while in the northern kingdom one royal family was deposed and succeeded by another. It may be of some service, in considering the expectations of the prophets, to keep this, their natural basis, in mind.

Some of the prophets announce, in fact, nothing else, or nothing more, than that *the family of David shall continue to reign over Israel.* The family of David: that is, as it has been hitherto, so shall it also be in the future: one Davidic king shall be regularly succeeded by another. We should of our own accord understand this to be the meaning of the prophets; but some of them intimate plainly that they are to be understood in this sense, and in no other.

The prediction of Amos, with which we formerly became acquainted,[2] is still somewhat indefinite. After having announced the extirpation of the sinners, he writes: "On that day will I (Jahveh) raise up the tabernacle of David that is falling, and will close up its rents, and I will raise up (restore) its wasted parts, and I will build it, as in the days of old."[3] "The tabernacle of David" is, of course, the house of David, to which the restoration of its former glory is thus promised

[1] 2 Sam. vii. 8—16; 1 Chron. xvii. 7—14. Compare Ps. lxxxix. 4, 5, 20 ff. (3, 4, 19 ff., *Auth. Ver.*).

[2] See above, p. 151.

[3] Amos ix. 11.

here. In accordance with this, the prophet predicts in the following verse that they—the Davidic kings, or the Israelites led by them—"shall possess as heirs the remnant of Edom and all the nations over which Jahveh's name (as that of their conqueror) is proclaimed;" [1] just as their ancestor David had swayed the sceptre over all the neighbours of Israel. In no way whatever is it plain that the prophet is thinking of one special king of David's family. Much less can that have been the opinion of Jeremiah. He rebukes, in one of his addresses, "the shepherds that feed the people of Jahveh," and immediately annexes to the rebuke this prophecy: "I (Jahveh) will gather the remnant of my flock out of all countries whither I have driven them, and will bring them again to their pastures, and they shall be fruitful and increase; and I will set up *shepherds* over them *who shall feed them;* and they (the flock) shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall they be lost, saith Jahveh." [2] The shepherds are the kings, so that Jeremiah here expresses the expectation that Israel shall, in the future, be governed by *princes* (in the plural), who shall be very favourably distinguished from the Davidic kings under whose reign he is living. We shall very soon see what is the relation between this prophecy and the following verses; but let us previously direct our attention to another prophecy which illustrates the one just mentioned. We there find the following promises in succession: "Thus saith Jahveh, David shall never want a man to sit upon the throne of the house of Israel." [3] And once more: "If ye can break my covenant with day and night . . . then shall also my covenant be broken with David my servant, that he should not have a son to reign upon his throne." [4] Immediately thereupon Jahveh promises that he "shall multiply the seed of David his servant, and the Levites who serve him," as the stars of heaven.[5] Finally, there is further the promise that Jahveh shall never "cast away the seed of David, so that he will not take any of his seed to be rulers (in the plural) over the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." [6] These declarations are altogether unambiguous; the prophet who makes them does not expect one single king of David's

[1] Amos ix. 12. [2] Jer. xxiii. 3, 4. [3] Jer. xxxiii. 17.
[4] *Ibid.*, vv. 20, 21. [5] Verse 22. [6] Verse 26.

family, but an unbroken succession of Davidic kings. Let it be further observed, that he speaks in the very same manner concerning the Levitical priests as he does concerning the descendants of David [1]—surely a proof that the latter present themselves to his mind as princes succeeding each other. But by whom has this prophecy been written? It stands in the name of Jeremiah, and is, moreover, still attributed to him by some expositors of the present day; [2] but others discover in it ideas, and especially forms of expression, which are not characteristic of Jeremiah, and therefore maintain it to be an addition by some other person.[3] They assume that a later prophet in the time of the Babylonish captivity expanded the oracle of Jeremiah,[4] first, by repetition of a promise which he found in another passage of that prophet; [5] and, secondly, by a fuller illustration and elaboration of its contents.[6] For my own part, I hold the latter opinion to be the more probable, but, at the same time, think that we are fully entitled to regard this later prophet as a very competent expositor of Jeremiah. I have no hesitation, therefore, in ascribing the expectations regarding the permanency of the Davidic dynasty, which we have heard him express, to Jeremiah also, with whose predictions about the "shepherds," from which we started, they in truth altogether harmonise.

We have thus prepared the way for a right understanding of the words which immediately follow the prediction about the shepherds just mentioned (Jer. xxiii. 3, 4,), and which appeared to the later prophet from whom the second half of Jer. xxxiii. is derived, important enough to be repeated and commented on. While doing so, he made at the same time some slight changes in the expressions of his predecessor, for which reason we begin by putting the two passages in parallel columns and comparing them.

[1] Vv. 17, 18; 21; 22; 24.
[2] Among others, by K. H. Graf, Jeremiah, pp. 421 ff.
[3] Compare my "Hist Krit. Onderz.," II. 204 f., and the writers quoted there. In the Greek version of Jeremiah, chap. xxxiii. 14—26 does not appear.
[4] Jer. xxxiii. 1-13.
[5] Chap. xxxiii. 14—16, to be compared with chap. xxiii. 5, 6.
[6] Chap. xxxiii. 17—26.

JER. xxiii. 5, 6.	JER. xxxiii. 15, 16.
Behold, the days come, saith Jahveh, that I raise unto David a righteous branch, and he shall reign as a king and be prosperous, and shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In his days shall Judah be delivered and Israel shall dwell in safety, and this is his name whereby he shall be called, *Jahveh our righteousness.*	In those days, and at that time, will I cause a branch of righteousness to sprout forth unto David, and he shall execute judgment and righteousness in the land. In those days shall Judah be delivered and Jerusalem shall dwell in safety, and it is this (=this is the name) whereby she shall be called, *Jahveh our righteousness.*

In the reading of Jer. xxiii. it remains doubtful to whom the symbolic name "Jahveh our righteousness" is assigned, whether to "the righteous branch" or to Israel; the words equally admit of either application. But in Jer. xxxiii. "Jerusalem" is substituted for "Israel," and at the same time the masculine pronoun is changed into a feminine. In the latter passage therefore "Jahveh our righteousness" is an appellation of Jerusalem; but then too in the former, it is an appellation of Israel. Hence it follows that, at present, treating as we are of the dynasty of David, we need not concern ourselves further with that appellation.[1] On the other hand, we seek here an answer to the question, what does Jeremiah mean by the "righteous branch," or "branch of righteousness?" Does he think of one single descendant of David, or of David's posterity in general? The Hebrew word (tsemach) is a collective noun, and thus favours the latter interpretation. This is besides in harmony with the immediately preceding prophecy of Jeremiah about the "shepherds," and, as we saw just now, with the old commentary which we have before us in the second half of Jeremiah xxxiii. We cannot therefore have any hesitation: Jeremiah is throughout self-consistent, and shows here also that he expects the maintenance of the Davidic dynasty and at the same time its regeneration, in consequence of which it produces *righteous* kings.[2]

The grounds on which this conclusion rests are so firm

[1] See thus below, section iv. of this chapter.

[2] Compare Graf as above, pp. 303—305. The common explanation finds support in the words, "and he (tsemach) shall reign as king," which seem to refer to one individual. But the prophet could also have expressed himself thus if tsemach was regarded by him as a collective noun. Because, although he thought then on kings, yet at any given time, there would be only one king reigning. See the explanation of Jer. xxx. 21 on the following page.

that it is proof against an objection, the comparative weight of which, however, cannot be denied. It is taken from the prophecies of the post-exilic Zechariah, who on two occasions makes mention of the "branch" (tsemach), and does so in such a way as to show clearly that he is thinking of *one specific person*.[1] It is undeniable that he has before his mind the oracle of Jeremiah, but is it his intention to *explain* it? and, if so, is that explanation *correct*? It may indeed be the case that Zechariah uses the *words* of his predecessor, but uses them as a vehicle for *his own thoughts*. And it is also possible that he is mistaken in his interpretation of Jeremiah's prediction. We cannot therefore in consequence of his utterances—to which we shall shortly return—allow ourselves to abandon that explanation of the prophecy of Jeremiah to which we were obliged to give the preference.

According to the analogy of that prophecy we now explain another also, of the same author, which otherwise leaves room for a difference of interpretation. After having announced the restoration of Israel, Jeremiah thus proceeds: "And his (Israel's) lord shall be from himself, and his ruler shall come forth from the midst of him, and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me; for who would (otherwise, *i.e.*, if I did not expressly give permission) pledge his heart (*i.e.*, risk his life) to approach unto me? saith Jahveh."[2] The main ideas of the prophet are obvious at once: Israel shall be governed not by strangers but by a native king; that king shall stand in the closest relation to Jahveh, and have free access to him, as if he were at the same time a priest. If we did not know from other passages that Jeremiah expected such Israelitish kings, we might readily imagine that one single ruler was mentioned in this prophecy; but with the knowledge we have gained, we maintain that here also he thinks of the regenerated dynasty of David, and expresses characteristics which shall be applicable to each of the kings which it produces.

We feel the greater confidence in proposing this interpretation, since it is clear that it finds support in a preceding verse of the same prophetical discourse. Jeremiah foretells

[1] Zech. iii. 8; vi. 12.

[2] Jer. xxx. 21.

that the Israelites shall no more be subject to strangers, but "they shall serve Jahveh their God, and *David their king whom I will raise up unto them.*" [1] When the prophet wrote these words he had most probably before his mind the utterance of Hosea, with which we are already acquainted, "Afterwards shall the children of Israel return and seek Jahveh their god, and David their king." [2] On two occasions besides in the Old Testament we find the same expectation in the same form, and in both cases in Ezekiel. To his denunciation of the shepherds of Israel he appends the promise, "I (Jahveh) will set up one shepherd over them (the sheep), who shall feed them, even *my servant David;* he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd; and I, Jahveh, will be their God, and my servant David prince among them." [3] In another passage in which he announces the reunion of Judah and Ephraim, he predicts first that "one king shall be king to them all," [4] and afterwards more definitely; "And *David my servant* shall be king over them, and they all shall have one shepherd;" [5] a prediction which a moment later is thus expanded: "they shall dwell therein (in Canaan), they and their children and their children's children for ever; and *my servant David shall be prince over them for ever.*" [6] It is obvious that all these passages require one and the same interpretation: but what is that interpretation? It has been thought that the prophets, and specifically Ezekiel, may have expected the return of David to life:[7] but of this there is no evidence whatever. If they had wished to express that notion, they would certainly have chosen different and wholly unambiguous terms. The idea of the resurrection of the dead was, in my view, altogether unknown to them; but, even according to the opinion of those who ascribe to them a knowledge of it, it was not so common that it could be denoted by the merest hint. We must therefore interpret the words otherwise, and understand them, either of *a second David*: a king like to him in power, talent, &c.; or of *the Davidic house.* This latter explanation most readily presents itself.[8] In

[1] Jer. xxx. 9. [2] Hos. iii. 5. [3] Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.
[4] Ezek. xxxvii. 22. [5] Verse 24. [6] Verse 25.
[7] Hitzig, "der Prophet Ezekiel," p. 265 f.
[8] Compare 1 Kings xii. 16; Ps. cxxxiii. 2 (Aaron=the high priests of Aaron's race.)

Hosea it is the only one possible, since he conceives, as we formerly saw,[1] the dynasty of David to be still seated on the throne. But in like manner also in the case of Jeremiah, who indeed shows distinctly that he expects kings of David's family. And as regards Ezekiel, it will shortly be clear to us that this explanation is in entire harmony with the ideas which we find him express in other passages.

It may have been already observed that on two occasions he gives to "David, Jahveh's servant," the title of *prince* (Heb. Nasi).[2] We find this "prince" again in Ezekiel's description of the new Israelitish state,[3] to which we shall, further on, direct our attention as a whole.[4] When we consider everything that the prophet says regarding him, we can then see in him merely a king like all other kings; he is not unjust and covetous as the princes that reigned over Israel before him;[5] but, in all other respects, he is similar to them. He has his appointed revenues,[6] he defrays the expenses of a part of the offerings,[7] he himself offers even sin-offerings,[8] he is supposed to have sons to whom he can resign a part of his territory, the same as he can to his servants, on the condition that it returns to him in the year of release;[9] it is expressly enjoined that he may not appropriate any of the people's land.[10] All this is perfectly unambiguous. Ezekiel does not think of one single prince, but he gives rules in general for "the prince in the new Israelitish state," that is for those who shall there attain in succession to the rank of prince. In his description he *takes for granted* that there will be such a prince in the regenerated theocracy. And he could do this because he had previously announced that "David, Jahveh's servant," would appear as such. It is thus, at the same time, plain that the explanation which we gave of that earlier prediction is the correct one. If the prophet had thought of one single king, a second David, then he would undoubtedly have assigned to him a position in the Israelitish state altogether different from that of a distinguished and highly honoured official such as "the prince" is depicted in Ezek. xl.—xlviii.

[1] Above, pp. 154 f.
[2] Ezek. xxxiv. 24; xxxvii. 25.
[3] Ezek. xl.—xlviii.
[4] See below, § iv. of this chapter.
[5] Ezek. xlv. 7, ff.
[6] Ezek. xlv. 7; xlviii. 21, 22.
[7] Ezek. xlv. 17.
[8] Ezek. xlv. 22; xlvi. 4, 12.
[9] Ezek. xlvi. 16, 17.
[10] Ezek. xlvi. 18.

The prophecies not yet discussed in which Ezekiel expresses his expectations concerning the house of David, confirm the result already attained, or at least are not opposed to it. To a severe denunciation of Zedekiah,[1] the prophet appends the promise that Jahveh shall plant a twig of the cedar (*i.e.*, a descendant of the house of David) upon a high mountain, where it shall grow into a goodly tree in which the birds nestle.[2] The family of David has thus still a future and shall reign: more than this is not said here; the appearance of one single king must have been regarded as the realisation of the prophecy, but equally so, the restoration and continuance of the royal dynasty. The same is the case also in another oracle in which, in like manner, the humiliation of Zedekiah is followed by "the coming of him who has the right," that is, who is qualified to assume the kingly dignity.[3] The prophet does not enter into details; the explanation of his words also is not quite certain; but that which most readily presents itself to the mind is to suppose here an allusion to the same future of the house of David, of which he had previously prophesied.[4] The idea which he formed of it must be learned by us from the other, less indefinite, passages which were explained above.

Hitherto we have found no one prophetical utterance which contains more than the expectation of the permanency or the restoration of the dynasty of David. But, at the same time, it was plain to us that Jeremiah and Ezekiel *individualise*, as it were, that expectation, and express themselves in such a way that their words could apply as well to one single Davidic king as to each one of the Davidic kings. This is the more natural because their predecessors had already prophesied of one such king, and that without indicating that they regarded him as one of many or as the first of a whole series. Was it then their opinion that that king would remain the only one? Did they assign to him a reign without end? From the silence which those prophets maintain with regard to this point, we cannot answer these questions with

[1] Ezek. xvii. 1—10 (the riddle); 11—15 (the explanation); 16—21 (the explanation more fully illustrated).
[2] Ezek. xvii. 22—24. [3] Ezek. xxi. 32, Heb. (v. 27, *Auth. Ver.*)
[4] Compare also Ezek. xxi. 31 (26 *Auth. Ver.*) with xvii. 24; the contrast there is altogether the same as here.

certainty. Besides, it is not by any means settled that they had one and the same opinion on this subject. Let us, however, hear and consider their own words; it is only after having done so that we can endeavour to form an opinion about what they themselves have either left altogether unsettled, or at least in regard to which they have not expressed themselves in an unambiguous manner.

The first prophet who comes under our notice here is the oldest Zechariah, the writer of chaps. ix.—xi. After having foretold the humiliation or the subjugation of the neighbouring nations, and the safety of Judah from their attacks,[1] he thus addresses Jerusalem: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion! shout, O daughter of Jerusalem! behold, thy king cometh unto thee; righteous and triumphant is he; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I (Jahveh) will cut off the war-chariot from Ephraim, and the war-horse from Jerusalem, the battle-bow also shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace to the nations, and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the river to the limits of the land."[2] The meaning of the prophet admits of no doubt. The king of whom he speaks shall first carry on war against the enemies of Judah; after that, he returns in triumph[3] to his capital; but, as is plain from his entrance itself, never again to march forth to war. He is seated upon an ass, the animal distinctive of a time of peace; he exhibits himself, not as a stern and haughty warrior, but as one of that humble or lowly class whom the prophets were accustomed to protect against their oppressors.[4] The carrying on of war has now therefore come to an end for ever. The king of Judah speaks peace to the nations, and exercises his dominion undisturbed over the extensive region which David had formerly ruled.[5]

Between this anticipation and the expectations of Micah more than one point of contact is to be observed. It will be

[1] Zech. ix. 1—8. [2] Zech. ix. 9, 10.

[3] So the word ought to be rendered instead of "having salvation," or "saving himself," which the Hebrew cannot possibly signify. Translated literally it would be "saved," namely in the struggle against the enemy, therefore remaining the conqueror in that. The same position also is referred to by the preceding predicate, "righteous," *i.e.*, declared by Jahveh's sentence to be in the right, as was evident from the issue of the war.

[4] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," I. 67 v., English translation, I., pp. 61—63.

[5] This part of the prophecy has been already illustrated, pp. 160 f.

remembered that he announces the desolation of Jerusalem, and makes the better times for Judah begin in that humiliation.[1] In connection with this, he expects the king over all Israel, to come, not out of Jerusalem, for that shall perhaps be still a heap of ruins,[2] but out of "the house of Ephrath," that is, out of the family of the Ephrathites, which was settled at Bethlehem, and from which David had formerly sprung.[3] But here are the very words of the prophet, with the necessary explanations: "And thou, house of Ephrath, little (scarcely large enough) to be among the thousands (the families) of Judah, out of thee shall come forth unto me one (destined) to be ruler in Israel, whose outgoings are from of old, from the days of antiquity.[4] Therefore shall he (Jahveh) give them (the men of Judah, especially the inhabitants of Jerusalem) over (to their enemies) until the time when the mother (of that ruler) shall have brought forth, and the remnant of his brethren (who have proceeded, like him, from the tribe of Judah) shall repent along with the children of Israel (the Ephraimites). And he (the ruler) shall stand (take his station) and feed in the strength of Jahveh, in the majesty of the name of Jahveh his god, and they shall dwell (peacefully), for then shall he be great unto the limits of the land, and that shall be peace. . . ."[5] But I need not write out the remainder of the prophecy, because we know already that Micah expects a renewed attack of the Assyrians after the return of the whole of the Israelites into their native country, but is at the same time convinced that it shall be repelled and avenged.[6] What he means by the words "and that shall be peace," is evident also from the sequel of this same propheti-

[1] See above, pp. 161 ff., and p. 192. [2] Micah iii. 12.

[3] Instead of "Bethlehem Ephrathah" in Micah v. 2, we must read "Beth-Ephrathah," *i.e.*, house or family of Ephrath, or the Ephrathites (compare 1 Sam. xvii. 12; Ruth i. 2). See this shown by T. Roorda, "Comment. in Vat. Mich.," p. 91 sqq.

[4] Literally "from the days of eternity;" but Micah does not mean this in an absolute, but only in a relative, sense, just as he uses the same words, in the same relative sense, in chap. vii. 14, 20. "The house of Ephrath" was indeed one of the smallest, but, at the same time, one of the oldest families. After having adverted to that insignificance, Micah calls the attention of his readers to that high antiquity also. With "outgoings" in the plural may be compared the Latin "origines alicujus."

[5] Micah v. 1-4 (2-5 *A. V.*) Compare my remarks in the "Theol. Tijdschr.," vi. (1872), p. 292. f., 300 f.

[6] See above, p. 130.

cal discourse.[1] Such a period of universal peace is portrayed also in the beautiful oracle which both Micah and Isaiah have borrowed from an older prophet.[2] It is therefore essentially the same image, that namely of the Prince of peace, which is present to the mind both of Zechariah and Micah.

Richer, and comprising many more characteristics, is the representation of the king from David's family which Isaiah gives us. All the qualities which serve for ornaments to a ruler are found united in him. Let us again listen to the prophet himself, and let us first of all hear the prediction which he utters while the war was being carried on against Judah by the confederate Syrians and Ephraimites.[3] To the northern regions of Palestine, which were then already occupied by the Assyrians, or were to fall into their hands within a short time, he announces the restoration of their former prosperity. Their oppressors shall be destroyed in a battle terrible as that of Gideon against the Midianites. "For," so Isaiah goes on to say, "unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be called *wonderful-counsellor, mighty god, divider of spoil, prince of peace;* to the increase of the government and peace there is no end, on the throne of David and over his kingdom, to establish it and to support it with judgment and justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of Jahveh of hosts will perform this." The prophet speaks as if the birth of that king already belonged to the past; but this is to be explained by the firmness of his belief and the liveliness of his imagination, which place the future before his eyes as if it were already present. He does not say expressly that this king shall be a scion of the Davidic family; still this is undoubtedly his meaning, as may be deduced both from the mention of David's throne and kingdom, and from a later prophecy which we shall notice immediately. The name which he assigns to the future ruler is to be regarded as an attempt to comprise his eminent qualities within as brief space as possible. That brevity is gained at the expense of clearness, can hardly surprise us. The first and the last of the four members of which the name consists, are

[1] Micah v. 9, 10 (10, 11 *Auth. Ver.*).
[2] Micah iv. 3, 4; Is. ii. 4.
[3] Is. ix. 6, 7; (5, 6 Heb.)

unambiguous. The second ("mighty god"), viewed in itself, might have afforded some ground for the conjecture that a supernatural ruler was present to the mind of the prophet; and that the more because the same name is employed elsewhere to denote Jahveh.[1] But this conjecture is not confirmed: all the other features point to a king of human origin. We are obliged, therefore, to maintain that Isaiah wishes to bring out as strongly as possible how greatly the ruler whom he expects shall excel all common princes in majesty, and therefore describes him as a mighty god among the children of men. With the same intention the author of Zech. xii.—xiv., for example, writes that "the tottering ones among the citizens of Jerusalem shall be as David, and *the house of David as God, as the angel of Jahveh before them.*"[2] The preposition "as," which this prophet employs, is naturally omitted by Isaiah, since he gives nothing more than the name which is bestowed upon the new king, in order to express the qualities which are seen in him: that name itself is a comparison. The third member (literally "father of spoil," that is, spoil-divider) is explained otherwise by many: their explanation is "father of eternity" or "everlasting father;" and they discover in that the idea that the expected king shall be for a lengthened period the father or benefactor of his people. But it is very doubtful whether the two Hebrew words can express this meaning.[3] My interpretation is recommended both by the following or last member, "prince of peace," and by the connection of the discourse. For the hope of the destruction of the Assyrians, which Isaiah had just before expressed, must rest on the expectation that Israel shall be led by the king whom he describes immediately afterwards: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given." It is therefore not more than natural that this child is also portrayed as a triumphant warrior. When a period of undisturbed peace follows, just as in Zech., chap. ix., the end of the war, then the spoil-divider becomes prince of peace.

[1] Isa. x. 21; compare Deut. x. 17; Jer. xxxii. 18.
[2] Zech. xii. 8.
[3] The second word, which must frequently be translated by "eternity," has undoubtedly also the signification of *spoil, e.g.*, Gen. xlix. 27^{b}; Zeph. iii. 8; and in Isaiah himself, chap. xxxiii. 23, *Authorised Version*—"prey."

The subsequent portion of the prophecy needs no elucidation. The only question that can still be asked is, What does the prophet mean when he says that the king shall establish and maintain his kingdom "from henceforth, even for ever?" But we would rather defer answering this question until we shall have taken cognisance of the later prophecy of Isaiah which has been mentioned already, and which is clearly seen, at the first glance, to be parallel with that which we have just been discussing.[1] After the prophet has announced Jahveh's judgment upon the haughty Assyrians,[2] he describes the future which after that shall dawn upon Israel. First of all, he mentions the appearance of a king of the family of Jesse: "There shall come forth a sprout out of the stem of Jesse, and a shoot shall grow out of his (Jesse's) roots." Just as Micah goes back to "the house of Ephrath," so Isaiah here goes back to Jesse, that is, to the earliest, and as yet undistinguished, beginnings of the Davidic house. In this way it appears the more plainly that *Jahveh* raises up this future ruler; his power appears unmistakeably, alike in the humiliation of the mighty, and in the exaltation of the lowly. In the sequel of the prophecy, also, the ruling idea is, that the descendant of Jesse is indebted to God for everything. It is said: "The spirit of Jahveh shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and courage, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Jahveh. And he shall have pleasure in (or feel himself attracted by) the fear of Jahveh, and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears. Thus shall he with justice judge the lowly, and with equity give sentence in behalf of the oppressed in the land; he shall smite the land with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked; and righteousness shall be the girdle of his loins, and faithfulness the girdle of his reins."[3] This description, which needs no illustration, is followed by the celebrated picture of the universal harmony in nature: the wolf dwelling with the lamb, and the leopard lying down beside the kid.[4] That transformation is accompanied by the moral regeneration of Israel: "They shall not

[1] Isa. xi. 1—5.
[2] Isa. x 5—34.
[3] Isa. xi. 1—5.
[4] Isa. xi. 6—8.

do evil, nor destroy on all my holy mountain, for the land [1] shall be full of the knowledge of Jahveh, as the waters cover the sea." [2] And then the prophet returns once more to the king who is expected by him. "In that day," he writes, "shall the offspring of Jesse,[3] which stands there as an ensign for the peoples, be resorted to for counsel by the nations, and his resting-place (or residence) shall be (full of) glory." [4] In other words, while the descendant of David rules over his own people with righteousness, he is, at the same time, an oracle for the other nations, and the presence of their envoys confers splendour upon his dwelling-place. For the rest we already know by what deeds his reign shall be characterised. The predictions which follow immediately, concerning the return of the captives, and the reunion of Ephraim and Judah, have been previously discussed.[5]

When we consider these prophecies of Zechariah (ix.—xi.), Micah, and Isaiah together, it is clear at once that they contain *much more* than the announcement of a happy period which, after having endured for a longer or shorter space, shall come to an end, and be succeeded by less prosperous times. No; the age which they foretell is endless; when once it has dawned, it continues on undisturbed; everything that is now taking place is destined and calculated to prepare for it, while that age itself is the destination of Israel. "From henceforth, even for ever," is David's kingdom established and maintained. It would, therefore, be in irreconcilable opposition to the meaning of the prophets if we supposed that the king whom they announce shall be succeeded by princes of a baser quality. If he has descendants and successors, then they are necessarily like to him, the inheritors both of his virtues and of his prosperity. There is properly nothing to prevent us from ascribing such an expectation to the prophets: nay, more, Zechariah and Micah do not give us the smallest reason to understand their meaning otherwise. The king whom they announce is described

[1] "The land," and not "the earth," as is clear from the preceding words, "all my holy mountain."

[2] Isa. xi. 9.

[3] We find in the text "the root of Jesse," which is explained as "the shoot out of the root of Jesse" (ver. 1). A bold mode of expression! The text is perhaps corrupt, and instead of "root," "shoot" ought to be read.

[4] Isa. xi. 10.

[5] See above, pp. 192 and 198.

as one of the children of men, but therefore seems also, of necessity, to partake of mortality, the lot of them all. In Isaiah, also, he is no supernatural being. Nevertheless his appearance is accompanied, as we have seen, by very important changes in the world. The beasts of prey lay aside their savage nature, and dwell in concord with the cattle and the human beings that they formerly sought to seize. In the same way the prophet could imagine that human life also should then, in that new period, have an altogether different career. The removal of mortality forms no greater revolution in the course of earthly events than the removal, for instance, of the enmity between man and the serpent. It is thus possible that Isaiah attributed an endless reign to the king himself whom he expected, so that he himself would establish and maintain David's kingdom "from henceforth, even for ever." Still the prophet does not expressly declare that he wishes to be understood in this sense. A different explanation of his words is consequently not excluded. And, after a calm consideration of the reasons for and against, we shall probably agree with the opinion of one of the latest expositors, who, in a note to the words just quoted ("from henceforth, even for ever"), says: "Either the Messiah shall be immortal, comp. xxv. 8, a Babylonian prophecy, or, more probably, that nothing shall interrupt the regular succession of the kings of his house, comp. 2 Sam. vii. 13."[1]

It is therefore clear that there exists no essential difference between these prophets and the two representatives of the Chaldean period, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with whose predictions concerning the royal house of David we are already acquainted. It only remains for us now to show how the expectations of these older prophets were understood after the captivity. This can be done in a few words, as the plan of the present work forbids us to go beyond the limits of the Old Testament, save in exceptional cases. Haggai, Malachi, and the author of the book of Daniel, make no mention whatever either of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, or of the one conspicuous descendant of David. The only one who, in this respect, walks in the footsteps of his predecessors is Zechariah (chaps. i.—viii.). It is not undesignedly that I

[1] Cheyne, *l. c.*, p. 34.

have at once brought him into connection with those predecessors, for his dependence on their prophecies is undeniable, and appears clearly, at the very first glance, from the form with which he invests his anticipations. The symbolical announcement of the removal of the sins of Israel, in which the high priest Joshua appears as the representative of the people, contains, among other things, the promise that Jahveh "will bring forth his servant, the Branch."[1] In the original, the word is "tsemach," with which we have become acquainted in Jeremiah,[2] from whom Zechariah, beyond all doubt, borrows it. But he either understands it in a way different from that in which we thought it required to be understood, or—for this also is possible—he uses it in another sense than that in which, even in his view, it was employed by Jeremiah. At any rate, the additional words "my servant" prove that he is thinking of one individual, one single descendant, therefore, of David's family. For the rest, he does not, in this prophecy, enter into details with regard to him. The quotation from Micah, with which it is closed,[3] of itself proves, even to superfluity, that he has before his mind the blessings which were connected by the former prophets also with the restoration of the Davidic dynasty. In another oracle, his expectation is somewhat more fully elaborated, and, though borrowed from the prophet's predecessors, is, at the same time, clearly seen to possess characteristic features of its own. By command of Jahveh, he makes a crown out of the gold and silver which some Babylonian Jews had brought to Jerusalem, and places it upon the head of Joshua, the high priest. On that occasion, he delivers to him this word of Jahveh—"Behold a man whose name is Branch, he shall grow up out of his place and shall build the temple of Jahveh. He shall build the temple of Jahveh and he shall wear the decoration, and shall sit and rule upon his throne; and he shall be a priest upon his throne, and a counsel of peace (or peaceful consultation) shall exist between them both (*i.e.*, between the king, Branch, and the priest)."[4] Here

[1] Zech. iii. 8.
[2] See above, p. 206.
[3] Zech. iii. 10; compare Micah iv. 4.
[4] Zech. vi. 12, 13. Others translate the last words thus: "There shall also be a priest on his throne, and peaceful deliberation shall exist between

also, as will be noticed, there is the announcement of one single king. To judge by the name which he bears, he shall be one of David's descendants, but at the same time he shall be invested with the priestly dignity; nay, Joshua, the high priest, is his representative, and receives the crown destined for him. In any case, therefore, the descendant of David is placed in the background. Did Zechariah expect the appearance of this ruler within a comparatively short period? We should conclude that he did so from the task which he assigns to him, the rebuilding of Jahveh's temple. A new period evidently begins with him: as little here, as in the earlier prophets, is the "Branch" a transitory phenomenon, an episode in Israel's history. Whether or not it may be thence inferred that Zechariah assigns to the Branch himself an endless reign, must again be left undetermined by us, because the prophet does not express himself on that point. Probably, however, that is not his conception: "the man whose name is Branch" will, no doubt, have been regarded also by him as the first of an unbroken succession of rulers like to him.

I might have here closed the review of the expectations of the prophets concerning the dynasty of David. No prophetic utterance of any importance has remained unmentioned. But I think I must still keep the reader's attention fixed for some moments on the same subject. The reason why this is necessary will be plain immediately.

I noticed just now in passing that Zechariah is the only post-exilic prophet who makes mention—and that even only cursorily—of the restoration of the house of David. The silence of the others is even in itself noteworthy, but acquires double significance now when we can show that, in the case at least of some of them, it is not accidental. Let us first consider the Babylonian Isaiah, the author of chaps. xl.—lxvi. On one single occasion he mentions David's name, and that in connection with the promises of Jahveh to him and his

them both." This interpretation has in its favour the words "between them both," which suggest to us rather two persons than two offices of the same person; but the order of the words in the Hebrew and the well known sympathy of Zechariah for the priesthood recommend the other explanation. Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," ii. 116 f. (English translation, ii. pp. 213 f.)

family. He says to the captives—"If you turn your eyes to Jahveh and betake yourselves to him, then shall your soul live, and he shall make with you an everlasting covenant (and give you) *the sure mercies shown to David.*"[1] Does the prophet mean, as some are of opinion, that the promises made to David shall then be realised? that, in other words, his family shall in the future be raised again to the throne? This is improbable. He is speaking *to the captives* and announces what Jahveh shall give to *them*. Hence also after having reminded them of the fact that the nations were subjected to David by Jahveh, he addresses himself anew to the Israelites, and promises to them that their exaltation to glory by Jahveh shall have as its result the adhesion of unknown peoples.[2] The prophet's meaning, therefore, is that the blessings formerly promised to David shall now be bestowed on the whole of Israel: power, dominion, and splendour become their portion in the future of which he speaks. Here, then, the very remarkable phenomenon presents itself, that the expectations concerning the dynasty of David become disjoined from their proper object, and are transferred to the whole people. If this happened only in this place, we should not have thought ourselves justified in deducing general consequences from it; but it is not done here only: in other places also the second Isaiah transfers both the task and the splendour of David's descendants to others, and these the better portion, the flower of the Israelitish people, whom he is accustomed to denote by the name of *the servant of Jahveh*. He himself gives us clearly to understand that he means by this name Israel or Jacob.[3] At the same time, it follows from the description of "the servant of Jahveh" that by this name are denoted only those Israelites who respond to Jahveh's free grace and to their calling.[4] Especially does it apply to those who proclaim Jahveh's will and counsel, that is, to the prophets.[5] Now it is said of that true Israel that it has the mission "to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to

[1] Isa. lv. 3. [2] Isa. lv. 4, 5.
[3] Isa. xli. 8; xlii. 19-24; xliv. 1, 2, 21; xlv. 4; xlviii. 20; xlix. 3.
[4] See *e.g.* Isa. xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1-7, and in the following chapters the contrast between the "servants of Jahveh" and the apostates or indifferent, Isa. liv. 17; lvi. 6; lxiii. 17; lxv. 8, 9, 13-15; lxvi. 14.
[5] Isa. xliv. 26; xlviii. 16; l. 4—10; lxi. 1—3.

bring back the preserved of Israel,"[1] or, as it is elsewhere expressed, "to open the blind eyes, to bring out those who are bound from the prison, and those who have sat in darkness from the dungeon."[2] This is not the only, it is not even the principal task of "the servant of Jahveh;" he has besides, as we shall see afterwards, a vocation to fulfil as regards the heathen world. But inasmuch as the restoration of Israel is committed to him, as it is in the two passages just quoted, therefore he assumes, in so far, the position which the king of the family of David occupies in the earlier prophets. Also as regards the glory which he has to expect, the servant of Jahveh is the counterpart of the son of David. This will of itself be obvious to us, when we consider, as we shall do immediately, his influence upon the heathen.[3] We may now already have become convinced that the king of the family of David does not disappear, as if by accident, in the prophecies of the Babylonian Isaiah: he is there replaced by another.

But it would justly cause surprise if I left the matter here, and passed over in silence the objections which are urged against this view. There still continue to be many who identify "the servant of Jahveh" with the descendant of David of the older prophets, or at least are of opinion that the Babylonian Isaiah, in some particular places, specifically in the celebrated passage Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12, denotes by that appellation one single person who, in that case, can, it is said, be none other than the expected king of David's family. The decision of this dispute depends altogether on the stand-point which we occupy. Every one who submits to the authority of the New Testament must take the side of those who contend for the Messianic interpretation of the passage now mentioned, and of sundry other passages relating to "the servant of Jahveh."[4] But in our present inquiry the exegetical arguments are exclusively to be taken into consideration. Now these arguments favour most strongly the interpretation which I defend. It is the prophet himself who informs us that "the servant of Jahveh" is a title of honour of Jacob or Israel,

[1] Isa. xlix. 6a. [2] Isa. xlii. 7. [3] See below, § v. of this chapter.
[4] See Matt. xii. 18-21; viii. 17; Acts viii. 32, 33; 1 Pet. ii. 22-24; and below, Chapters xiii. and xiv.

and how we in his spirit are to determine what is comprehended in that idea.[1] This is done in a manner so unambiguous, that there remains properly no room for denial or doubt. Hence the collective interpretation of the phrase is now almost universally acknowledged as being well founded. But, it is asserted, this does not exclude the supposition that Isaiah has *now and then* one single person in view, who is preeminently the flower of Israel, or, to use the expression of Delitzsch,[2] the summit of the pyramid of which the whole Israelitish people forms the broad basis. And in truth it is undeniable that "the servant of Jahveh" is sometimes described as if he were one individual, and nowhere so strongly as in Isa. lii. 13—liii. 12. But if "the servant" is, according to the prophet himself, a *collective* term, then surely we must assume that he has there no one person in view, but consciously individualizes "the servant," *as one person*, and in order to depict his destiny in vivid colours, describes him *as an individual*. This is the only view which is in harmony with the facts as they lie before us. Moreover there are not wanting features, even in that passage, which prove that the prophet has really before his mind, not one individual, but a category or group of men. Once in it a pronoun in the plural number is used in reference to "Jahveh's servant;"[3] more than once the particulars which the prophet mentions must be distributed among the different persons who together constitute the *collective* number.[4] But though it were granted for a moment, that one individual was meant in Is. lii. 13—liii. 12, yet it would even then be absolutely inadmissible to identify him with the future king of the family of David. Because, first, in that passage also, as everywhere

[1] See the passages referred to, p. 220, notes 3 and 5, and the commentaries upon them.

[2] *Der Prophet Jesaia* (Bibl. Comment. über das A. Testament iii. 1). p. 414.

[3] These last words of Isa. liii. 8, literally translated, run thus, "For the sin of my people there is a plague *for them*," *i.e.*, "on account of the sin of my people they are plagued or stricken."

[4] This is the case with chap. liii. 9, where the burial of "the servant" is, not foretold, but mentioned, when viewed in connection with v. 10, where it is said of him, "he shall see his seed, he shall prolong his days, and the work of Jahveh shall prosper by his hand." Compare also v. 8 ("the servant cut off out of the land of the living"), with v. 11 (recompence is made to him for the toil and the suffering which he had to endure).

else in the fortieth and subsequent chapters of Isaiah, "the servant of Jahveh" is already present;[1] secondly, in no way whatever does the prophet intimate that he is speaking about a descendant of David; and thirdly, what he communicates regarding the destiny of "the servant" does not admit of being harmonized with the description of the scion of David given by Isaiah and Micah. These considerations are so conclusive, that the dissimilarity of the two representations is placed beyond all doubt. They have nothing more in common than the two points to which attention has been already directed (p. 220 f.). But then also it is certain that "the servant of Jahveh" is not the Messiah; he comes forward in his stead.

A somewhat similar phenomenon is presented in the book of Daniel. It cannot become plain to us till afterwards, that the passages in which some have thought that they found the Messiah denoted by this his name, do not make even the most distant allusion to him. On the contrary, it must be observed here, that the writer not only leaves the son of David unmentioned, but substitutes another in his place. The reader will remember the vision in which the four successive universal monarchies are represented under the image of as many beasts that rise out of the abyss.[2] After judgment has been executed upon the fourth beast—the Grecian monarchy, more specifically Antiochus Epiphanes—there appears "with the clouds of heaven one like to a son of man" before the throne of the Eternal: "To him is given dominion, and glory, and royal power, and all people, nations, and languages, shall bow down before him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion which passeth not away, and his kingdom is imperishable."[3] Who is it that is meant here? The usual answer is: the Messiah, the descendant of David, who had been formerly announced. But this explanation, although capable of being reconciled with the author's own words, if that were necessary, is yet in

[1] The suffering of "the servant" is partly past, partly it still continues, his glory is future. The prophet assumes this stand-point uniformly in chaps. lii. 13—liii. 12. Beyond all doubt, therefore, we have to seek for "the servant" among his contemporaries. Besides he directly addresses him in chap. lii. 14.

[2] Dan. vii. Compare above, pp. 141—143, where also attention was directed to the agreement between chaps. vii. and ii.

[3] Dan. vii. 13, 14.

no way whatever recommended by them. Because when the angel who explains the vision to Daniel has, at the close of his explanation, arrived at the scene which is sketched in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses, he expresses himself thus: "And the kingdom, and the power, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heavens, shall be given to the *people of the saints of the Most High;* his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall bow down before him and be subject to him."[1] In other words, as the four beasts represent heathen kingdoms, so the form "like a son of man" represents the *Israelitish nation*: it receives the dominion. That the nation, in its turn, shall be governed by a king, the descendant of David, is certainly possible, but the writer does not say so, either here or anywhere else, and least of all is it to be inferred from the symbolism employed by him. In the person of the son of man the *Israelitish people are crowned.*

If I am not mistaken, our view of the second Isaiah and of the book of Daniel establishes the general observation with which this paragraph commenced. If the expectation of a descendant of David formed the centre-point of Israel's anticipations of the future, then it would necessarily appear everywhere, or could be absent only by accident. But we have seen plainly that the contrary is the case. Isaiah, chaps. xl.—lxvi., and the book of Daniel, are full of predictions regarding Israel's glory: but they do not name the Messiah; nay, more, they transfer his work and his glory to the people, or to a portion of the people. This is in the highest degree natural, if the hope of his appearance be something incidental. In that case, as it was a product of the circumstances of the time, of the fact of the prophets having lived under the dynasty of David, so also could it be modified with those circumstances, or even altogether disappear, without the cardinal matter being lost. But how can this phenomenon be accounted for, if the son of David is the proper object of the prophetic expectation? We were, therefore, not in error when, acknowledging the great importance of the utterances regarding the Davidic dynasty, we yet thought we had no right to concede to them the foremost place.

[1] Dan. vii. 27.

IV.—*The spiritual and material welfare of restored Israel.*

The prophets, with a predilection easily explicable, expatiate upon the blessings which Jahveh shall bestow upon his people, after they have returned from captivity. What subject could possess greater attractions for them? What other gave so ready an opening for poetic expatiation and ornament? We are therefore by no means surprised at the wealth of material which is available for us in the treatment of this portion of our survey. But that very abundance brings with it its own peculiar difficulties. We may not overlook anything which is at all of importance, and yet, on the other side, we must continue to study brevity. It is not easy to satisfy both of those demands. Another difficulty arises from the poetical character of the descriptions of Israel's future given by the prophets. We must of course take that into account, and guard against a plain and literal conception of what the seers of Israel have expressed in figurative language more or less elevated: but not less do we require to beware of spiritualising or explaining away their expectations. Will it always be our good fortune to succeed in drawing, with certainty, the boundary line between the literal and the figurative interpretation?

We wish at least to make the attempt to overcome these difficulties. We can have no better aid in so doing than to compare the prophecies with each other, a procedure which the method followed here involves of itself. That which remains doubtful, so long as we keep our attention fixed on one single oracle, is frequently settled at once, when we illustrate the one from the other.

In the heading of this section, I have mentioned first the spiritual and then the material welfare of restored Israel. If we were to regard exclusively the space occupied by the description of each, we should rather give precedence to the material blessings. But we do not adopt this course for several reasons. Spiritual prosperity is less adapted for copious description than material well-being; there is not therefore much implied in the fact that the latter occupies so much larger a space than the former. Besides, we must not

forget that the close connection between restored Israel and Jahveh is *taken for granted* by the prophets, even in those places in which they do not expressly mention it, or at least do not enlarge upon it. Let the reader remember the remarks which we formerly made [1] on the connection between conversion and returning: the captives who have returned to their native land have experienced the salutary influence of Jahveh's chastisement, and are thereby cured of their former backslidings. It is thus really self-evident that their religious and moral condition corresponds to the demands of Jahveh. But let us examine in what manner the prophets, on different occasions, bear express testimony to this, and what comes mainly into the foreground in their indications concerning this subject.

Hosea, who delights to represent the relation between Jahveh and Israel as a marriage, avails himself of the same figure also in describing the future. "I (Jahveh) will betroth thee unto me for ever: yea, I will betroth thee unto me in righteousness, and in judgment, and in loving-kindness, and in mercies; so will I betroth thee unto me in faithfulness, and thou shalt know Jahveh." [2] There is an entire agreement between this promise of Jahveh and the dispositions which the prophet elsewhere ascribes to the people after it had repented and been restored; as, for instance, where Israel declares that it will no longer place its confidence in Assyria nor on war-horses, nor will desire to worship the work of its hands as gods; [3] or where it is introduced as saying, "After two days (*i.e.*, after a short time) will he revive us, in the third day he will raise us up, so that we may live in his presence. Thus let us observe, let us strive to know Jahveh: sure as the morning dawn is his rising, and he shall come to us as the rain, as the latter rain which pours down upon the earth." [4] It is essentially the same ideas which we find in the successors of Hosea. Isaiah mentions, besides the knowledge of Jahveh, the unblamable relations of the restored Israelites with one another. They "shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain; for the land shall be full of the knowledge of Jahveh, as the waters cover the sea." [5]

[1] See above, pp. 190 ff. [2] Hos. ii. 21, 22, Heb. (19, 20, *Auth. Ver.*)
[3] Hos. xiv. 4, Heb. (3, *Auth. Ver.*) [4] Hos. vi. 2, 3. [5] Is. xi. 9.

In another passage, he declares that they who have been left in Jerusalem, who have escaped from the judgment and have been enrolled unto life, shall be called *holy*, that is, dedicated to Jahveh, because all uncleanness and blood-guiltiness shall be purged away by the spirit of Jahveh, the spirit of judgment and of destruction.[1] According to Zephaniah, truth and uprightness are the most obvious characteristics of the people who have been purified by Jahveh's judgments. "I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people, and they shall trust in the name of Jahveh. The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity, nor speak lies, neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth; for they shall feed and lie down, while none shall make them afraid."[2] His younger contemporary, the author of Zech. xii.—xiv., shows that the sin and uncleanness which still cleave to the house of David and the citizens of Jerusalem, shall in the future be purged away: a fountain shall be opened for both, for washing away sin and for purification;[3] idolatry and false prophecy, the product of the spirit of uncleanness, shall be then rooted out;[4] thus shall all Jerusalem and Judea, with everything that is found therein, be dedicated to Jahveh, and become his dwelling-place, as formerly the temple alone had been, from which the Canaanite—the merchant—is now excluded.[5] On the other hand, in Joel, the emphasis is laid on the abundant outpouring of Jahveh's spirit, the spirit of genuine prophetical inspiration. Who knows not his beautiful prediction: "Afterward, I (Jahveh) will pour out my spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions. Yea, upon the servants and the hand-maids in those days will I pour out my spirit."[6] This prediction again is closely allied to that of Jeremiah concerning the new covenant which Jahveh will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah.[7] The past shall then be forgotten: "I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remem-

[1] Is. iv. 3, 4. Compare also the song of praise of those to whom grace has been shown by Jahveh, in Is. xii.
[2] Zeph. iii. 12, 13. [3] Zech. xiii. 1. [4] Ibid. vv. 2—6.
[5] Zech. xiv. 20, 21. [6] Joel iii. 1, 2, Heb. (ii. 28, 29, *Auth. Ver.*)
[7] Jer. xxxi. 31—34.

ber their sin no more." An entirely changed state of things comes into existence. The covenant made at Sinai is repealed. Jahveh now "puts his law in the inward parts of the Israelites, and writes it in their hearts." Now "they teach no more every man his neighbour, saying know Jahveh, for they shall all know him from the least of them unto the greatest of them."[1] We hear the echo of these striking words in the book of Jeremiah's spiritual kinsman, Ezekiel, although the contrast between the Sinaitic and the new covenant is not so fully brought out by him as by his predecessor. After the Israelites have returned from captivity, and have cleansed their native land from all traces of idolatry, Jahveh "gives to them one heart,[2] and puts a new spirit within them; he takes the stony heart out of their flesh, and gives them an heart of flesh, so that they may walk in his statutes, and keep his ordinances and do them, in order that they may be his people and he may be their God."[3] In another passage the same promise is repeated with the addition: "And I (Jahveh) will put my spirit within you, and so cause you to walk in my statutes, and keep my judgments, and do them."[4] The closing verse of the celebrated prophecy of Israel's resurrection contains the same promise—"I shall put my spirit in you that ye may live, and I shall place you in your own land."[5] That the revivifying of the dry bones which Ezekiel so strikingly describes in this prophecy, is a symbol which represents the restoration of Israel's national existence, may now be regarded as settled. The prophet is not thinking of the return of the slain to life; he himself tells us that in so many words.[6] But since his explanation of the vision is closed with the words just quoted, it is clearly shown that in the estimation of Ezekiel also, the political restoration and the spiritual regeneration of Israel are inseparable.

[1] Jeremiah expresses the same expectation symbolically when he declares that the restored Jerusalem shall be called "the Throne of Jahveh" (chap. iii. 17), and thus shall have no more need of the ark of the covenant (v. 16), or when he assigns to the future Israel the name "Jahveh (is) our righteousness" (chap. xxiii. 6), which a later prophet transfers to Jerusalem (chap. xxxiii. 16, and above, p. 205 f.)

[2] The change of a single letter gives us what is probably the right reading—'another heart'—corresponding to "a new spirit."

[3] Ezek. xi. 19, 20; compare xiv. 11, and the exhortation, xviii. 31.

[4] Ezek. xxxvi. 26—28. [5] Ezek. xxxvii. 14. [6] *Ibid.* vv. 11—13.

But this may suffice as a description of the spiritual side of the anticipations of the prophets as to the future of their people. An examination of the later writings would add no new characteristics to those already given.[1] We shall require to dwell longer on the prophetical descriptions of the material prosperity of the Israelites, the true meaning of which will besides have to be maintained occasionally against interpretations differing from our own.

Restored Israel enjoys *peace and safety.* The reader will remember that the King, of David's family, who reigns over the people of Jahveh, is portrayed as a prince of peace, or denoted by that appellation,[2] and will thus expect to find this feature appearing also in the descriptions of Israel's condition. Nor is this expectation disappointed. The classical passage is the well-known prediction which we read in Micah, the greater part of it also occurring in Isaiah :—" He (Jahveh) shall judge among many peoples, and rebuke strong nations even to afar; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into sickles; nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more; and they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid, for the mouth of Jahveh of hosts hath spoken it."[3] If emphasis is here laid on the *universality* of the peace, in other passages prominence is given to the idea that *Israel* shall enjoy this peace: war-chariots, horses, strongholds,—which were always disapproved of by the prophets as tokens of want of trust in Jahveh,—shall be done away in the future, and shall not be desired again by the people,[4] because Israel is safe under the powerful protection of Jahveh. For, " thus saith the Lord Jahveh, When I shall have gathered the house of Israel from the nations among whom they were scattered, then shall I glorify myself in them (that is, by the deliverance and the return of the Israelites), in the sight of the heathen, and they shall dwell in their land that I have

[1] Compare Isa. lx. 21; lxv. 25[b]; Zech. vii. 3. The author of Isa. xxiv.—xxvii. describes the regenerated Israel as " righteous and keeping truth" (chap. xxvi. 2), and affirms that their sins are forgiven (chap. xxvii. 9).

[2] Zech. ix. 9, 10; Micah v. 5; Isa. ix. 6, and above, pp. 211 ff.

[3] Micah iv. 3, 4; Isa. ii. 4.

[4] Hos. ii. 18[b]; Micah v. 10, 11, 14[b]; Isa. ix. 7.

given to my servant, to Jacob; and they shall dwell safely therein, and build houses, and plant vineyards, and dwell safely, inasmuch as I have executed judgments on all their neighbours who robbed them, and these shall know that I, Jahveh, am their (the Israelites) god."[1] Ezekiel speaks here specifically of Israel's neighbours, that is, of the nations against whom the preceding prophecies are directed.[2] The nations at a greater distance have not so plainly experienced the might of Jahveh, and thus are not afraid to essay an attack upon the people whom he has restored. Thus Israel's safety is still threatened after the return, but it is not really disturbed, for immediately after the enemy has crossed the borders of Canaan, Jahveh interposes and destroys them. It is this expectation which is developed by the prophet in a very full prophecy,[3] a prophecy which stands almost alone in the Old Testament. It is addressed to Gog, in the land of Magog, the prince of the nations Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal, which are not elsewhere brought into connection with Israel, just as it is here only that their common leader appears. He forms the plan of marching against Israel at the head of an innumerable host; he is joined by other and commercial nations, who are certain of his triumph and eager for plunder. But immediately after he has arrived in Canaan, he is smitten by the wrath of Jahveh, and annihilated with all his forces. The spoil which falls into the hands of Israel is immense; the number of the slain is incalculable, and the bodies are all buried for fear of the pollution of the land; the impression made on the neighbouring nations by this terrible judgment is profound.[4] The prophet himself intimates that this violent attack on the returned captives had been already mentioned by his predecessors.[5] But we find no such utterances in the prophecies which have descended to us, unless we may assume that Ezekiel applies to events which even for him were still in the future, the predictions of the conflicts of the heathen with Israel before its dispersion, and, *a fortiori*, before its restoration, because they had not been realised at the begin-

[1] Ezek. xxviii. 25, 26.
[2] See above, p. 110, and elsewhere.
[3] Ezek. xxxviii., xxxix.
[4] See *e.g.* chap. xxxix. 7, 11-16, 21-29.
[5] Chap. xxxviii. 17, compare xxxix. 8.

ning of the captivity.[1] The cardinal thought, however, which is expressed by Ezekiel in this altogether peculiar form, the inviolability of the restored Israel, or Jahveh's care for the safety of his people, would undoubtedly have obtained the concurrence of all the rest of the prophets. One of them, Micah, even expresses it in his own way when he predicts that the attempt of Assyria to cross Israel's boundaries after the restoration of the Davidic government, shall not only be frustrated but shall also be punished by the desolation of the land of Assyria.[2] The difference between this representation and that of Ezekiel is too great to admit of their being identified, but they both agree entirely in the cardinal idea just mentioned.

We shall immediately, when we discuss the relation of Israel to the heathen, find an opportunity of illustrating and completing this part of our survey. At present we may proceed to state as the second blessing ordained by Jahveh for his people, *the fruitfulness of the land and the abundance of food and drink.* Express mention of this blessing is made by Amos, the earliest of our witnesses. At the same time in which the falling tent of David is raised up, "the plowman shall overtake the reaper, and the treader of grapes him that soweth seed, and the mountains shall drop new wine, and all the hills shall melt . . . They (the Israelites) shall plant vineyards and drink the wine thereof, make gardens and eat the fruit of them."[3] There is no doubt as to what the prophet really meant. The new wine which drops from the mountains, the plougher who overtakes the reaper, the treader of grapes who overtakes the sower of seed: we have there poetical figures employed by him—but employed by him in order to express that abundant provision will be made for the corporeal wants of restored Israel. If it formerly had been not seldom harassed by drought, locusts, and famine, in the days which were to come, such like plagues would no more appear, and uninterrupted plenty would be their portion. The same expectation is cherished by Hosea. According to him, Jahveh makes a covenant

[1] In that case we might suppose that such passages as Zech. xii., xiv; Joel iii. were present to his mind.

[2] Micah v. 4, 5, Heb. text, (verses 5, 6, *Auth. Ver.*).

[3] Amos ix. 13, 14.

with the beasts of the field, the fowls of heaven, and the creeping things of the ground,[1] so that they may not trouble his people nor destroy their stores. Heaven and earth (the sunshine, the rain, and the fertility of the ground) co-operate to multiply corn, new wine, and oil.[2] The same blessings which Jahveh had formerly withdrawn from the Israelites in order to bring them to repentance,[3] are now bestowed upon them in the most liberal manner. Somewhat similar is the meaning of the prophet when at the close he introduces Jahveh as saying, "I will be as the dew unto Israel, and he shall blossom as the lily and strike out his roots as Lebanon. His branches shall spread, and his beauty shall be as the olive tree, and his fragrance as Lebanon. They that dwell under his shadow shall return,[4] grow corn and flourish as a vine, his (Israel's) renown shall be as the wine of Lebanon."[5] This again is poetry; and it would be folly to understand every expression literally, but it would be quite as much a misapprehension of Hosea's meaning if we transferred to the spiritual domain what is here said of Israel's prosperity. According to his expectation, the people shall possess and enjoy in abundance every thing that it needs and can desire, and shall be everywhere renowned as an example of Jahveh's generous care. Such is also the anticipation of Jeremiah. The mountains of Samaria are planted with vines and produce fruit abundantly.[6] The whole of the descendants of Jacob "shall flow together to (the enjoyment of) Jahveh's blessings, (of) corn, new wine, and oil, (of) sheep and cattle; and their soul shall be as a watered garden, and they shall no more languish. Then shall the virgin rejoice in the dance, and the young men and the old together; for I (Jahveh) will turn their mourning into joy, and will comfort them, and bestow upon them gladness for their sorrow. And I (Jahveh) will satiate the soul of the priests with fatness, and my people shall be satisfied with my goodness."[7]

But why should I transcribe more proof passages? We already know enough of the expectations of the Israelitish prophets to be assured that they all have either expressly

[1] Hos. ii. 18. [2] Hos. ii. 21, 22. [3] Hos. ii. 8, ff.
[4] Or "shall again grow corn." [5] Hos. xiv. 6—8, Heb. (5-7, *Auth. Ver.*)
[6] Jer. xxxi. 5. [7] Jer. xxxi. 12—14.

mentioned or tacitly taken for granted the abundance of "corn, new wine, and oil." [1] One of the images which they are accustomed to employ may further be briefly illustrated here. The second Zechariah foretells that "in that day"—that is when Jahveh shall have destroyed the enemies, and assumed the sole government, of his people—"living waters shall go out from Jerusalem; half of them toward the Eastern Sea (the Dead Sea) and half of them toward the Western (the Mediterranean) Sea: in summer and in winter shall they flow." [2] The purpose which those streams are to serve is intimated by the prophet, when a moment afterwards he writes: "The whole land from Geba to Rimmon, south of Jerusalem, shall be changed, and become like the plain (of Jordan)." [3] As that plain owed its fertility to the river which watered it, so shall also the stream of living waters which goes out from Jerusalem, irrigate in an easterly and westerly direction the land that was naturally parched, and promote a luxuriant vegetation. Of course the business of the prophet is with that fertility, and not with the stream which produces it; the stream is noticed merely as a means. The same thing is true of Joel's prediction, the first half of which is almost parallel with that of Amos,[4] and the second half agrees with the announcement of Zechariah: "In that day the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and all the streams of Judah shall flow with water, and a fountain shall come forth of the house of Jahveh, and shall water the acacia valley" [5] (probably in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem). We must form a somewhat different judgment concerning the more copious prophecy of Ezekiel.[6] With him also the stream goes out from the temple,[7] and brings with it fertility and abundance. On both its banks "grow all (kinds of) fruit trees, whose leaves fade not and whose fruits are never consumed, and which bring forth new fruit from month to month; because the waters of the stream come forth out of the sanctuary; and the fruit shall serve for food, and the leaf for medicine." [8] But the description

[1] Compare Zech. ix. 7. Isa. xxxii. 15-20; lxii. 8, 9; lxv. 9 f., 13 f., 21-23; Zech. viii. 12, f., &c.
[2] Zech. xiv. 8. [3] Zech. xiv. 10, [4] Amos ix. 13b.
[5] Joel iii. 18. [6] Ezek. xlvii. 1-12. [7] *Ibid.*, vv. 1, 2, 12.
[8] *Ibid.*, v. 12; comp. v. 7.

of the place where the brook rises, of its increasing depth, of the abundance of fish which it contains,[1] is so exact and detailed, that the prophet evidently thought of an actual stream. This is pointed at in the prophet's expectation that the waters of the Eastern (or Dead) Sea shall be healed by the brook which runs into them.[2] This feature, borrowed from the reality, forbids us to conceive of the brook itself as being merely a symbol of fertility. Ezekiel is therefore here, as, in truth, he is also elsewhere in his prophecies, more realistic than his predecessors: their poetry becomes, in his hands, prosaic matter-of-fact.

The hope of the *multiplication* of the Israelites is closely allied to these expectations concerning their future condition. Apart from the book of Daniel—of which more will be said afterwards—once in the prophetical literature we find the expectation expressed, that the slain Israelites shall return to life in order to share in the future prosperity.[3] The anonymous author knows very well that "the dead do not revive, nor do the shades rise;"[4] but yet, at the same time, he ardently wishes that Jahveh would make an exception in favour of "his dead." The rest of the prophets do not participate in this expectation; but they entertain no doubt that the people, gathered together by Jahveh himself out of all the places of their captivity and placed in circumstances so favourable, will be a numerous people, and gradually become more so. Some of them expressly direct attention to that point. This is done by the post-exilic Zechariah, with specific reference to Jerusalem. He writes, that in the future "Jerusalem shall lie open (without walls and gates) on account of the multitude of men and cattle therein." Then, Jahveh saith, "I will be unto her for a wall of fire round about, and will be for a glory in the midst of her." This remarkable increase of the population is explained by the concourse of Israelites who till then were living in exile, but who, after the execution of judgment upon their oppressors, would flock in great numbers to the temple-city.[5] The same prophet expects, further, that the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall attain to a great age—a blessing

[1] Ezek. vv. 1, 2, 3-5, 9, 10.
[2] *Ibid.*, verse 8.
[3] Isa. xxvi. 19.
[4] *Ibid.*, verse 14.
[5] Zech. ii. 8-13, Heb. (4-9, *Auth. Ver.*). Compare viii. 7, 8

which, as will be remembered, was always highly prized by the Israelites, and which, therefore, we are not surprised to see introduced into the representation of the future felicity. "Thus saith Jahveh of hosts, there shall yet old men and old women sit in the streets of Jerusalem, and every man with his staff in his hand, because his days are many. And the streets of the city shall be full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof."[1] The second Isaiah had already prophesied in the same spirit. "There (at Jerusalem) shall be no more an infant of (only) few days, nor an old man who filleth not up his days, for (he who dies as) a child dies an hundred years old, and the sinner (who dies) an hundred years old, is cursed"—that is, is deemed to be smitten by the curse and cut off on account of his sin, if he does not reach a greater age.[2] The anonymous writer who has just been quoted—the author of Isaiah xxiv.—xxvii.—had gone still further; in the blissful age which is about to come, Jahveh will not only wipe away tears from every face, but "will also annihilate death for ever."[3] The majority of the prophets, however, do not enter into such particulars, but confine themselves to the announcement that Jahveh shall multiply his people, either already during the captivity, or after their return, especially by the accession of those who had at first been left behind in foreign countries. Thus Jeremiah supposes, as we have already remarked,[4] that some chosen out of various lineages and families shall constitute the first population of Jerusalem; when they "have multiplied and increased," then Judah joins with Israel, and they come together out of the north, to the land that had been given for an inheritance unto their fathers.[5] The grandest conception of the arrival of those brethren from distant countries is formed by the second Isaiah. The messengers of Jahveh go forth to the most remote nations, and there proclaim his glory; the consequence of which is, that all those nations bring the Israelites dispersed among them, to Jerusalem, "upon horses, in chariots, in litters, upon mules and upon dromedaries," as a present to Jahveh.[6] In another passage he exclaims: "Lift up thine eyes (O Jerusalem), look

[1] Zech. viii. 4, 5. [2] Isa. lxv. 20. [3] Isa. xxv. 8.
[4] P. 199. [5] Jer. iii. 14, 16, 18. [6] Isa. lxvi. 19, 20.

in all directions, and see: they are all gathered together, and they come to thee; thy sons come from afar, and thy daughters are borne on the arm."[1] Again, it is the heathen who conduct them, and, as we shall more particularly see immediately, bring still other gifts to Jahveh besides this costly present.[2]

The points which we have mentioned hitherto are common, if not to all, at least to the most of the prophets; but some of them, in addition, introduce into their description of the future state of the people particulars which we do not find in the others. To this class belongs the celebrated description in Isaiah of the great revolution which shall take place in the brute creation: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the panther lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, while a little child shall lead them; and the cow and the she-bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and the sucking child shall play beside the hole of the adder, and the weaned child shall stretch out the hand to the lurking-hole of the basilisk."[3] There are properly no sufficient reasons why this prophecy should be understood figuratively. It is followed immediately, it is true, by the announcement of the moral renovation which Israel shall undergo,[4] but it is not clear that this was already present to the mind of the prophet when he described the undisturbed concord in nature. Analogies for such anticipations are not wanting in the Old Testament.[5] The Babylonian Isaiah also seems to have understood the prophecy of his great predecessor literally; he adopts it in part, and does so in such a way that it does not occur to us to interpret his words spiritually. He writes that "the wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock; and as for the serpent—dust shall be its food; they shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith

[1] Isa. lx. 4; comp. verse 9.
[2] *Ibid.*, vv. 5, ff.
[3] Is. xi. 6-8.
[4] Is. xi. 9.
[5] According to Gen. i. 30, beasts at first fed only on herbs. From Gen. vi. 12, 13, the transgression of this original ordinance appears to be assumed as one of the causes which led to the general deluge; it is also only after the deluge that man receives express permission to use animal food (Gen. ix. 3, compared with i. 29).

Jahveh." [1] The last words seem here to refer to the ravenous beasts mentioned just before, and the meaning of the prophet appears to be, that the peace and concord on Jahveh's holy hill shall not be disturbed even by the beasts of the field.

That we are justified in ascribing such highly-pitched expectations to the second Isaiah at least, is shown also by other expressions of his which have been preserved to us. The prediction that the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall attain such an extreme old age [2] is preceded by the announcement: "Behold, I (Jahveh) create new heavens, and a new earth; and the former things shall not be thought of any more, nor come into mind." [3] There is a retrospective glance at this again in the promise afterwards made: "Like as the new heavens and the new earth, which I make, continue before me, saith Jahveh, so shall your seed and your name continue." [4] When it is perceived how the prophet himself brings this new creation into the very closest connection with the state of Israel and of Jerusalem,[5] we are tempted to see in these words nothing more than an oriental hyperbole, which would in that case denote a complete revolution in the political circumstances which then existed; but in that way we would dilute the actual meaning of the prophet. He can scarcely indeed have thought of an entire renovation of the whole existing state of things, but he could never have used poetical expressions which actually signify something of that kind, if he had not been of opinion that the deliverance and exaltation of Israel would be accompanied by radical alterations in the course of nature, all of which would, as is self-evident, further the interests of Jahveh's elect people. He himself has not said, and therefore we cannot determine, how far that change would proceed; but this circumstance detracts nothing from the certainty of our interpretation, which is besides confirmed also by other passages. In the prophetical descriptions too of the judgment upon the enemies of Israel, there is not only mention made of signs in heaven which shall announce or accompany the appearance of Jahveh,[6] but sometimes also

[1] Is. lxv. 25. [2] See above, p. 234 f. [3] Is. lxv. 17.
[4] Is. lxvi. 22. [5] See especially Is. lxv. 18, ff.
[6] Joel ii. 30, 31; iii. 15; Ezek. xxxii. 7, 8; Is. xiii. 10; compare above, p. 171 f.

the destruction of the existing order of things is spoken of, the rolling up of the curtains of heaven, and other similar images besides.[1] We would again be wrong if we should understand this literally, but still it shows clearly how great the dimensions were which the change expected by the prophets had assumed in their eyes. Had not the first Isaiah already expressed the expectation that "in the day in which Jahveh should bind up the breach of his people, and heal the stroke of their wound, the light of the moon would be as the light of the sun, and the light of the sun sevenfold [as the light of the whole week]?"[2] In other words, all nature is subject to Jahveh, and is subservient to his plans relative to Israel; her operations are modified or intensified, as it seems good to Jahveh, in view of the wants of that people.

The expectations of Ezekiel also have been introduced into our sketch of Israel's spiritual and material welfare, in so far as they agree in their main features with those of the other prophets; but Ezekiel has, besides, his own anticipations which do not admit of being comprehended in the ordinary scheme, and yet in all respects deserve to be known. We find them especially in the last nine chapters (xl.-xlviii.) of his prophetical book. Ezekiel treats there, in succession, of the temple of Jahveh,[3] the regulation of the public worship,[4] and of the land of Canaan and its division among the twelve tribes of Israel.[5] He gives partly a description of what had been shown to him in the vision with regard to various points, and partly discourses and exhortations addressed to the people, and relating to the realisation of his plans. The prophet's aim in all this is perfectly clear. He wishes the Israelites, after their return to their native land, to carry into execution the ordinances which he communicates to them in the name of Jahveh. With regard to the building and regulation of the temple he says so himself in so many words;[6] but all the rest also is intended either as a prophecy of what Jahveh will bring to pass,[7] or as a rule for the whole people, for the

[1] Is. xxxiv. 4; li. 6.

[2] Is. xxx. 26. The last words are wanting in the Greek version, and are probably a later addition.

[3] Ezek. xl. 5—xliii. 12.

[4] Ezek. xliii. 13—xlvi. 24.

[5] Ezek. xlvii., xlviii.

[6] Ezek. xliii. 10, 11.

[7] See, for instance, the description of the temple-fountain, Chap. xlvii. 1-12.

priests and for the prince, whose rights and duties are detailed by him. The chapters mentioned have only to be read in order to produce in the mind of any unprejudiced person, the conviction that such is their object. An entirely different conception of them has, however, been formed, both in ancient and modern times, and they have been regarded as a symbolical or allegorical description of the future theocracy. The main objection against the literal explanation has been that the captives, when they did return, did not guide their proceedings at all by the ordinances of Ezekiel; nay, in so far as we know, did not even think of their obligation to carry them into execution. That fact is undeniable, but what does it prove against the literal interpretation of Ezekiel's prophecies? The termination of the captivity did not at all correspond to the expectations which he entertained regarding it. To mention only one thing: it was not the twelve tribes that returned, but some families of Judah, Benjamin, and Levi. Although they knew Ezekiel's book, and had no doubt of his having been sent by Jahveh—yet they could not think of carrying his regulations into effect, since they had evidently been written with reference to a state of matters altogether different. They probably thought that, as Jahveh had delayed the full realisation of his promises, so the application of his ordinances concerning the regulation of the temple, the public worship, and the theocracy, must also in the meantime be deferred. The fulfilment of Ezekiel's wishes, therefore, continued for them to be something only to be realized in the future. If Christian expositors could have accepted the same view, they would never have departed from the natural interpretation. But that was by no means the case. The permanent existence of the temple, the Levitical priesthood, the sacrifices, the division of Canaan among the twelve tribes, &c., were things altogether irreconcilable with their conception of the true theocracy. It was really on this ground alone that they denied that Ezekiel had meant all this literally—as if it was permitted to the expositor to pervert his author so as to make him give expression to ideas in accordance with the expositor's own opinions! Ezekiel's attachment to the temple and to the worship, to Jahveh's "statutes and laws," and, in general, to the priestly concep-

tion of Jahvism, is so clearly apparent, that the attempt to bring him into agreement with our more spiritual view of religion may be called desperate. To this must be added that the allegorical interpretation of Ezek. xl.—xlviii. necessarily suffers shipwreck on one of two rocks. If it be applied only to the main points, then it gives no reason whatever for Ezekiel's copiousness, and for his entering into minute details; then, in other words, by far the greatest portion of his description must be regarded as superfluous ornament. If, on the other hand, it attempt also to explain the more minute features and interpret them spiritually, then the allegorical interpretation falls of itself into the grossest arbitrariness, and, contrary to the intent of its supporters, makes the prophet ridiculous. Without the slightest hesitation, therefore, I choose the side of those who contend for the literal interpretation of his prophecy.

The object which we have in view does not require us to analyse the whole of it: the extent of the new temple, the form of the altar for burnt-offerings, the commands about offerings and festivals, the ordinances relating to the ceremonial purity of the priests, the sons of Zadok, may be passed over in silence; it is sufficient for us to know that Ezekiel expressly treats of all these points. Let us remember, besides, that he prescribes rules regarding the prince also who shall reign over restored Israel.[1] It then only remains for us to take a closer view of his expectations concerning the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan. He first defines the boundaries of the land which is to be inhabited by them;[2] these agree, in part, with the limits assigned in the Mosaic law,[3] but yet are described independently of of that law. It is then prescribed that the strangers who have joined themselves to the Israelites shall receive an inheritance with them, and shall receive it in the portion of the tribe in which they are settled.[4] After that, the abodes of the several tribes are marked out. Parallel lines are drawn from west to east across the whole country, which divide it into nearly equal strips. Seven of these, beginning at the north and coming southwards, are assigned to the tribes of Dan, Asher,

[1] Above, p. 209.
[2] Ezek. xlvii. 13-20.
[3] Num. xxxiv. 1-4.
[4] Ezek. xlvii. 21-23.

Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, and Judah.[1] The next strip, as we shall immediately see more fully, is reserved for Jahveh and his representatives. The five remaining strips are destined for Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulon, and Gad.[2] The regulations regarding the portion of Jahveh are as follows:—A square of twenty-five thousand reeds in breadth and length, forming the centre of that strip, is assigned for public worship and its requirements, and is again divided into three rectangles. The uppermost, or northern rectangle, twenty-five thousand reeds long and ten thousand reeds broad, is destined for "the sons of Zadok," who, according to Ezekiel, are alone qualified to discharge the priestly functions; in the middle of this rectangle the temple is placed. The second, of the same dimensions as the first, is to be inhabited by the rest of the sons of Levi. There remains now a rectangle twenty-five thousand reeds long and five thousand broad. The central portion of this, a square of five thousand reeds in length and breadth, is occupied by the holy city (four thousand five hundred reeds long and broad) and the open space which surrounds it. The two remaining rectangles to the east and the west of the city—each ten thousand reeds long and five thousand broad—are cultivated, and their produce is devoted to the support of the sanctuary.[3] But, as will be remembered, the whole of the strip between Judah on the north and Benjamin on the south is not entirely taken up by the square of twenty-five thousand reeds in length and breadth; there is land left on both sides of it. Ezekiel assigns this to the prince,[4] who, as has been formerly observed, provides for his own maintenance, and defrays the expense of a part of the offerings, from its produce. In each of the four sides of the holy city three gates are placed, which are named after the twelve tribes. But while Manasseh and Ephraim are reckoned separately in the division of the country, they are here combined under the one name Joseph, in order that Levi also may be able to give his name to one of the gates.[5] The whole description is closed by the announcement that in that day the city should be called, *Jahveh is there.*[6]

[1] Ezek. xlviii. 1-7.
[2] Ezek. xlviii. 23-28.
[3] Ezek. xlviii. 8-20.
[4] Ezek. xlviii. 21, 22.
[5] Ezek. xlviii. 30-34.
[6] Ezek. xlviii. 35.

also his people; and, conversely, whoever acknowledges Israel's sovereignty, pays homage also to the power of Israel's god. The correctness of this view will become still more evident in the course of our survey. If we allow ourselves to be guided by the *data* of the prophetical literature itself, we must first fix our attention on Israel's dominion over the foreign nations.

Amos, the oldest of our witnesses, mentions it. He writes that Jahveh shall restore the fallen dynasty of David to its former splendour, "that they (*i.e.*, the kings of David's family or the Israelites led by them) may inherit the remnant of Edom and all the nations over whom his (Jahveh's) name (as that of their conqueror) is proclaimed."[1] This is, as will be seen, purely a political expectation. The express mention of the Edomites is undoubtedly connected with the still unavenged grounds of complaint against that people to which the prophet had previously referred.[2] The "calling of Jahveh's name" can hardly signify anything more, in this connection, than the proclamation of his sovereignty over those other nations also. The acknowledgment of it is, for the rest, entirely coincident with their subjection to Israel, and has as yet no religious significance. Our judgment would have to be altogether different, if the text which the Greek translator had before him could be regarded as the original one. With him the prediction runs thus: "that the residue of men may seek after (the Lord), and all the nations upon whom my name is called;" and it is in this form that we find it again in the Acts of the Apostles, where, in the account of the first synod at Jerusalem, it is put into the mouth of James.[3] But the reading of the Greek translator cannot bear comparison with the Masoretic or common text of the Old Testament. He has made a mistake with regard to one letter, and, in consequence of that, has put "seek after" instead of "inherit;" and, further, by incorrect vocalisation, he has changed "Edom" into "men." The erroneousness of his reading is plain at once from this, that "the nations over whom Jahveh's name is proclaimed" necessarily form a part of "the residue of men," and therefore could not be mentioned separately.

[1] Amos ix. 12. [2] Amos i. 11. [3] Acts xv. 16, 17.

Hosea, the immediate successor of Amos, need not detain us: he makes no mention of Israel's sovereignty over the other nations. On the contrary, the oldest Zechariah expresses an expectation which at once reminds us of the prediction which has just been considered. His description of the judgment to be executed upon the neighbouring tribes is closed with the announcement that the Philistine shall be cleansed from his blood-guiltiness, and impurity; then "shall also he be left for our God, and shall be as a (subject) race in Judah, and Ekron as the Jebusite,"[1] who, as will be remembered, continued, long after the conquest of Jebus by David, to exist as a subjugated, but yet, to a certain extent, independent tribe in Israel.[2] The main idea is still the same here as with Amos: the subjection to Israel of a neighbouring and hitherto hostile people; but it is plain at the same time how very readily that subjection might be regarded as a bringing to Jahveh. The Philistines are not only left for the God of Israel, but are also cleansed from their sins before they come into closer relation to him. A conversion in the proper sense of the word may not yet be meant here; the way leading to the anticipation of it is, however, already half traversed.

Let us now observe that this anticipation of Israel's sovereignty over other nations continued always to exist, although, as was to be expected, it became modified from time to time according as the political circumstances altered. Thus Isaiah expects that the reunited Judeans and Ephraimites shall subdue the Philistines, spoil the sons of the East, and extend their dominion over the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.[3] According to Micah restored Israel shall not only be safe from the Assyrians, but shall also chastise them in their own country.[4] Two centuries later, the Babylonian Isaiah gave a glowing description of the homage that would be paid to the Israelites by the heathen. He writes:—"The products of Egypt, and the wares of Ethiopia and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over unto thee (Zion or Israel), and they shall be thine; after thee shall they go, in chains

[1] Zech. ix. 7.
[2] 2 Sam. xxiv. 16, 18; 1 Kings ix. 20, 21; Ezra ix. 1, 2
[3] Is. xi. 14.
[4] Mic. v. 5, 6.

shall they march on; in thy presence shall they bow down themselves, and to thee shall they make supplication." [1] In another passage Jahveh saith, "I will lift up my hand to the nations, and set up mine ensign to the peoples that they may bring thy sons in their bosoms, and carry thy daughters on the shoulder. And kings shall become thy foster-fathers, and their queens thy nursing-mothers, they shall bow down their faces to the earth before thee, and lick the dust of thy feet. Thus shalt thou know that I am Jahveh, and that they who hope in me are never ashamed." [2] Similar expectations are worked out, in a manner still much more detailed, in a subsequent prophecy, the whole of which ought to be perused.[3] That this prophecy has been written by a poet, and that thus every feature must not be understood literally, is indeed self-evident; but if the prophet has not written down meaningless phrases, he must have intended to convey the idea that the visible protection which Jahveh affords to Israel in the future, shall compel the nations to pay homage and to minister to them. Let the reader carefully consider such utterances as these:— "Strangers shall build thy (Zion's) walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee, for in my wrath have I smitten thee, and in my favour have had mercy upon thee." [4] And again: "For the nation and the kingdom that will not serve thee shall perish, and the nations shall be utterly wasted." [5] But the whole prophecy is properly a continuous proof that the second Isaiah is perfectly in earnest as regards the expectation of Israel's supremacy. We shall see immediately how this expectation is connected in his case with the anticipation of the Jahveh worship being propagated among the heathen.

Even in the latest of the prophetical writings, the exaltation of Israel to the throne of the world is announced with undiminished confidence. The reader will remember my previous remarks concerning the Son of Man in the book of Daniel.[6] He will thus also know in how strong and unambiguous expressions the subjection of "all kingdoms" to "the people of the saints of the Most High" is there foretold, and

[1] Is. xlv. 14.
[2] Is. xlix. 22, 23.
[3] Is. lx. 1-17; compare lxvi. 19, 20.
[4] Is. lx. 10.
[5] Is. lx. 12.
[6] See above, pp. 223, f.

... nations and languages shall bow before the ... the representative of Israel. Prophecy continued ... close, consistent with itself in the expectation of ... future.

We should, however, be in danger of forming an incorrect judgment regarding that anticipation, if we did not bear in mind the connection, which has been already pointed out, between subjection to Israel and the acknowledgment of the supreme power of Jahveh. These two ideas are, as we have seen, inseparable. It does not, however, follow from this that they have been held by all prophets in equally high estimation, and have been placed in the same mutual relation. With one prophet, the supremacy of Israel is the natural result of the homage paid by the nations to the majesty of Jahveh, which is regarded as the principal matter; with another, on the contrary, the acknowledgment of Jahveh's supreme power seems to be highly valued, chiefly because it leads to the glory of Israel. Sometimes with the same prophet the one point of view alternates with the other. We wish at present to notice those prophetical utterances in which most emphasis is laid on the religious side of the relation of the heathen to Israel, but while doing so we shall find from time to time opportunity of observing how this is incapable of being separated from the more political view.

No one certainly will be surprised that we start from the celebrated and beautiful prophecy which, originating probably with an older prophet, has been adopted both by Isaiah and Micah. It is there said[1]—"In the last of the days shall the mountain of Jahveh's temple be established on the top of the mountains, and be higher than the hills, and peoples shall flow unto it. And many nations shall go and say: Come, let us go up to the mountain of Jahveh, to the temple of the God of Jacob, that he may teach us of his ways, and we may walk in his paths, for out of Zion goeth instruction, and the word of Jahveh from Jerusalem." We already know what follows: it is the announcement of the universal peace, which I have noticed in another connection.[2] There can be no a difference of opinion concerning the meaning of the prophecy here transcribed. The prophet may be

[2] Above, p. 229.

understood to have meant figuratively what he says about the exaltation of Zion on the top of the mountains; at any rate his object is merely to indicate the higher dignity of the temple-mount, and the universal acknowledgment of that dignity: the place to which all go up in order to pray and offer sacrifice must of course be so situated as to be a conspicuous object to all. On the other hand, the pilgrimage to the temple on Zion must be understood literally. The heathen seek there *Jahveh*, instruction, that which proceeds from his priests, the word, that which is uttered by his prophets; but they seek him *there*, because they are convinced that he dwells on Mount Zion, and reveals himself to those who seek him there. We should deprive the prophecy of its meaning and force if we attempted to explain it spiritually, and to remove from the scene which it discloses to us the temple, the very centre of the theocracy.

Micah limits himself to the adoption of this utterance, and does not return, in the course of his prophecies, to the anticipation therein revealed. In Isaiah, on the contrary, we find more than one prediction which may be regarded as an echo of the words adopted by him from his unknown predecessor. Thus he announces that the Ethiopians shall bring presents to Jahveh of hosts, and bring them to the place which bears his name—to Mount Zion.[1] The connection in which this announcement appears renders it probable that the defeat of the Assyrians, effected by the intervention of Jahveh, shall be the means of inducing the Ethiopians to show this mark of homage. The prophet cherishes a similar expectation with regard to Egypt. "There shall," he writes, "be five cities in the land of Egypt, speaking the language of Canaan, and swearing by Jahveh of hosts."[2] Jahveh shall also have an altar in the midst of Egypt, and a pillar on the border of that land—signs of the relation in which the God of Israel shall stand to the Egyptians: when they cry, He shall send them a saviour, and deliver them.[3] And—Isaiah continues—"Jahveh shall be known to the Egyptians, and the Egyptians shall know Jahveh on that day; and they shall serve him with sacrifice and meat-offering, and shall vow vows unto Jahveh, and perform them."[4] The expectation of the prophet

[1] Is. xviii. 7. [2] Is. xix. 18. [3] *Ibid.*, vv. 19, 20. [4] *Ibid.*, v. 21.

rises still higher: "On that day shall there be a highway out of Egypt to Assyria; Assyria shall have intercourse with Egypt, and Egypt with Assyria, and Egypt shall serve (Jahveh) with Assyria. On that day shall Israel be the third (in the alliance) with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the land, wherewith Jahveh of hosts blesseth in these words: Blessed be Egypt, my people, and Assyria, the work of my hands, and Israel, mine inheritance." [1] Objections which must be acknowledged to have a certain weight, have been alleged against the genuineness of that part of the prophecy concerning Egypt, from which all these quotations are taken. Still they are not sufficient.[2] It is not the weakest evidence in favour of its being a production of Isaiah which is obtained from the closing verses; must they not have been written at a time when Assyria and Egypt were contending with each other for the mastery? If they are of a later date, then it must be assumed, at least, that their author has transferred himself to the stand-point of Isaiah—just as he has made Isaiah's idiom his own, and imitates it. It seems hazardous to ascribe to the supposed interpolator so much deliberation and art.

The genuineness of another of Isaiah's prophecies, which occurs at the close of the oracle concerning Tyre,[3] seems to me to be less certain. The announcement of the deep humiliation of the mighty merchant city is there followed, as I have already noticed, by the prediction of her restoration "after seventy years." [4] Her position then, however, will be entirely different from what it had been formerly. If before she had conducted her commerce for her own advantage, after Jahveh shall have visited her, "her gain and her hire shall be consecrated to Jahveh; it shall not be treasured nor laid up; her gain shall be for them who dwell (or who are seated) before Jahveh's countenance, for rich food and for sumptuous clothing." [5] The probable meaning is, that the riches of Tyre shall flow into the treasury of the temple of Jahveh, and be used for the benefit of the priesthood. But it rather surprises us to find such an expectation in a prophet like Isaiah, who elsewhere shows little interest in the lot of

[1] *Ibid.*, vv. 23-25. [2] Compare my "Hist. krit. Onderzoek," ii. 74 f.
[3] Compare above, p. 105 f. [4] Is. xxiii. 17. [5] *Ibid.*, v. 18.

the priests of Jahveh. And further, it does not escape our notice that a conversion of the Tyrians themselves is not taught here; the business of the prophet is more with their gains than with themselves. This too does not harmonise with the ideas which we find in Isaiah. We are therefore inclined to regard this part at least of the prophecy against Tyre as a later postscript, and to assign it to the post-exilic period.

Zephaniah occupies a much higher stand-point. Already in his prophecies announcing judgments, he sketches, with a single touch, the impression which the punishments ordained by Jahveh shall make upon the heathen. After having threatened Moab and Ammon, he proceeds to say: "Terrible is Jahveh unto them; for he destroyeth all the gods of the earth, and before him bow down, everyone from its place, all the islands of the nations."[1] We cannot, however, determine from these words how far the anticipations of the prophet reach. The sequel shows that it is something more than a transient alarm which he here describes, because the whole denunciation of judgment is closed with this prediction: "Then will I (Jahveh) give to the nations other, pure, lips,[2] that they may all call upon the name of Jahveh, and serve him with one consent."[3] Scarcely anywhere in the old Testament is the expectation of a conversion of the nations more clearly expressed. As the announcement of Israel's future[4] formerly considered led us to form a high opinion of Zephaniah's moral ideal, so this prophecy of his regarding the heathen testifies to his very catholic view of Jahvism.

Nor are the traces of such a view wanting in Jeremiah, whose anticipations of the future of the heathen are, however, less clear, perhaps for the very reason that he takes into account the conditions which the heathens themselves will require to fulfil before Jahveh can enter into a closer relation with them. But let us bring together the different utterances of this prophet. The announcement of the

[1] Zeph. ii. 11.
[2] Literally "turn to the nations pure lips."
[3] Zeph. iii. 9.
[4] *Ibid.*, 11—14, and above, p. 227. The meaning of v. 10 is uncertain; but it probably refers to the Israelites dispersed in distant countries.

tion of Jahvism, is so clearly apparent, that the attempt to bring him into agreement with our more spiritual view of religion may be called desperate. To this must be added that the allegorical interpretation of Ezek. xl.—xlviii. necessarily suffers shipwreck on one of two rocks. If it be applied only to the main points, then it gives no reason whatever for Ezekiel's copiousness, and for his entering into minute details; then, in other words, by far the greatest portion of his description must be regarded as superfluous ornament. If, on the other hand, it attempt also to explain the more minute features and interpret them spiritually, then the allegorical interpretation falls of itself into the grossest arbitrariness, and, contrary to the intent of its supporters, makes the prophet ridiculous. Without the slightest hesitation, therefore, I choose the side of those who contend for the literal interpretation of his prophecy.

The object which we have in view does not require us to analyse the whole of it: the extent of the new temple, the form of the altar for burnt-offerings, the commands about offerings and festivals, the ordinances relating to the ceremonial purity of the priests, the sons of Zadok, may be passed over in silence; it is sufficient for us to know that Ezekiel expressly treats of all these points. Let us remember, besides, that he prescribes rules regarding the prince also who shall reign over restored Israel.[1] It then only remains for us to take a closer view of his expectations concerning the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Canaan. He first defines the boundaries of the land which is to be inhabited by them;[2] these agree, in part, with the limits assigned in the Mosaic law,[3] but yet are described independently of of that law. It is then prescribed that the strangers who have joined themselves to the Israelites shall receive an inheritance with them, and shall receive it in the portion of the tribe in which they are settled.[4] After that, the abodes of the several tribes are marked out. Parallel lines are drawn from west to east across the whole country, which divide it into nearly equal strips. Seven of these, beginning at the north and coming southwards, are assigned to the tribes of Dan, Asher,

[1] Above, p. 209.
[2] Ezek. xlvii. 13-20.
[3] Num. xxxiv. 1-4.
[4] Ezek. xlvii. 21-23.

Naphtali, Manasseh, Ephraim, Reuben, and Judah.[1] The next strip, as we shall immediately see more fully, is reserved for Jahveh and his representatives. The five remaining strips are destined for Benjamin, Simeon, Issachar, Zebulon, and Gad.[2] The regulations regarding the portion of Jahveh are as follows:—A square of twenty-five thousand reeds in breadth and length, forming the centre of that strip, is assigned for public worship and its requirements, and is again divided into three rectangles. The uppermost, or northern rectangle, twenty-five thousand reeds long and ten thousand reeds broad, is destined for "the sons of Zadok," who, according to Ezekiel, are alone qualified to discharge the priestly functions; in the middle of this rectangle the temple is placed. The second, of the same dimensions as the first, is to be inhabited by the rest of the sons of Levi. There remains now a rectangle twenty-five thousand reeds long and five thousand broad. The central portion of this, a square of five thousand reeds in length and breadth, is occupied by the holy city (four thousand five hundred reeds long and broad) and the open space which surrounds it. The two remaining rectangles to the east and the west of the city—each ten thousand reeds long and five thousand broad—are cultivated, and their produce is devoted to the support of the sanctuary.[3] But, as will be remembered, the whole of the strip between Judah on the north and Benjamin on the south is not entirely taken up by the square of twenty-five thousand reeds in length and breadth; there is land left on both sides of it. Ezekiel assigns this to the prince,[4] who, as has been formerly observed, provides for his own maintenance, and defrays the expense of a part of the offerings, from its produce. In each of the four sides of the holy city three gates are placed, which are named after the twelve tribes. But while Manasseh and Ephraim are reckoned separately in the division of the country, they are here combined under the one name Joseph, in order that Levi also may be able to give his name to one of the gates.[5] The whole description is closed by the announcement that in that day the city should be called, *Jahveh is there.*[6]

[1] Ezek. xlviii. 1-7.
[2] Ezek. xlviii. 23-28.
[3] Ezek. xlviii. 8-20.
[4] Ezek. xlviii. 21, 22.
[5] Ezek. xlviii. 30-34.
[6] Ezek. xlviii. 35.

even anything in it which was well *intended* could be recommended to Israel for imitation.

As in the previous section we had to assign to Ezekiel a place by himself, so here the *second Isaiah* has a claim to be considered separately. As regards the future sovereignty of Israel over the nations, he agrees, as we have already seen,[1] with the other prophets, if indeed his expectation is not still more intense than theirs. It may, therefore, be said to be doubly remarkable that in the same prophet—or at least in the same division of the book named after Isaiah—ideas are expressed or, if it be preferred, indications are given regarding the propagation of Jahvism among the Gentiles, which excite our admiration on account of their universalistic tendency. But let us take cognisance of the facts themselves.

The servant of Jahveh, who, in the fortieth and subsequent chapters of Isaiah, repeatedly comes forward as acting, and is also introduced as speaking, is no longer a stranger to us.[2] We remember the task which he had to fulfil among, and for the benefit of, his own people. Not less clearly is a mission assigned to him by the prophet with regard to the gentiles. But it is not so easy to determine the nature of the influence which he exercises upon them; for we find two views of it, the mutual connection of which is not at once obvious.

In one series of passages *the glorification* of the servant appears as the means which Jahveh employs in order to make a deep impression upon the gentiles, to fill them with astonishment or admiration, and thus to induce an union with Israel. Thus, for instance, at the close of an address which is put into the mouth of the servant of Jahveh: "Thus saith Jahveh, the Redeemer and the Holy One of Israel, unto him who is contemned in soul, whom the people abhor, the servant of rulers, to him kings shall look up with awe, and princes shall stand up and bow themselves down, because of Jahveh who is faithful, and because of the Holy One of Israel, who hath chosen thee."[3] And still more clearly does this appear in the beginning of the celebrated passage which describes the sufferings of the servant of Jahveh: "Behold, my servant shall be prosperous, he shall be exalted, shall be high and distinguished. According as many were astonished at thee—

[1] See above, p. 244, f. [2] See above, pp. 220—223. [3] Is. xlix. 7.

so deformed, beneath the human, was his visage, and his form less than that of the sons of men—so shall he make many nations exult, and kings shall shut their mouths before him; for that which had not been told them shall they see, and that which they had not heard shall they observe."[1] That will happen, because, as it is expressed towards the end of this prophecy: "Jahveh shall give him (the servant) a portion among the mighty, and he shall divide the spoil with the strong"[2]—words which perhaps must be understood figuratively, but which even then denote that the servant of Jahveh shall be glorified in a manner obvious to all.

What appears in these two passages as the consequence of the exaltation of Jahveh's servant, is elsewhere brought into immediate connection with the restoration of Israel, or of Zion. Then indeed "shall darkness cover the earth, and gross darkness the peoples, but over thee (Zion) shall Jahveh arise (as a light), and above thee shall his glory be seen. And nations shall go to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising."[3] There is nothing surprising in this agreement; for if there is no essential difference between "the servant of Jahveh" and the true Israel, his exaltation coincides with that of the whole people, and *vice versâ*.

In yet other passages it is *Jahveh himself* who is the object of the homage of the Gentiles, it is his temple which is the goal of their pilgrimages; but what impels them thither is, again, the restoration and glory of Israel, in which Jahveh has displayed in a dazzling manner his power and faithfulness. Thus, after having shown the fulfilment of his prophecies, Jahveh calls to the Gentiles: "Turn unto me, and be ye saved, all ye ends of the earth, for I am God, and none else. By myself I have sworn; righteousness hath gone forth out of my mouth, and a word which shall not be turned aside: before me shall every knee bow, by me every tongue shall swear! Men shall say: Only in Jahveh have we salvation and strength; to him shall men come, while all who are incensed against him shall be put to shame. In Jahveh shall all the seed of Israel be justified, and shall glory."[4] In these last words the prophet returns to the

[1] Is. lii. 13—15. [2] Is. liii. 12.
[3] Is. lx. 2, 3; compare also chap. lv. 3-5 (above, p. 219 ff.)
[4] Is. xlv. 22—25.

national standpoint, which he appeared for some moments to have forgotten; but yet only in appearance, for in truth it is the realisation of Jahveh's promises to Israel which leads the nations to the acknowledgment of his might and majesty. And so also is it elsewhere, in three or four passages, which it is not necessary to transcribe here.[1] How inseparable the salvation of Israel and homage paid to Jahveh are, in the mind of the prophet, is shown finally, in the very clearest manner, by this utterance which is immediately preceded by the announcement of the restoration of Israel: "This one shall say, I am Jahveh's, and that one shall call by the name of Jacob, and another shall engage himself to Jahveh,[2] and use the name of Israel as a surname."[3] In other words, it is the same persons who devote themselves to the service of Jahveh, and who have been so deeply impressed by the blessing bestowed upon his people, that they use the name of Israel as a title of honour, and desire for each other the privileges of Israel.

Thus far we have found in the second Isaiah merely parallel representations which contain one and the same thought, though expressed in different forms. But in another series of passages an active part is assigned to the servant of Jahveh, and he comes forward as *the preacher of the true religion among the nations.* Let it be remembered[4] that he is not unfrequently described as a prophet, as a confidential minister and interpreter of Jahveh, in accordance with the fact that the prophets occupied a foremost place among the faithful servants of Jahveh. In this character he now shows himself also to the Gentiles. Let the reader carefully consider the following utterances. Jahveh is represented as saying: "Behold my servant whom I uphold, mine elect in whom my soul is well-pleased; I put my spirit upon him: *judgment shall he preach to the nations.* . . . He shall not faint nor be crushed *till he have established judgment on the earth, and the dwellers on the sea-coasts wait for his instruction.*"[5] In perfect agreement with this, the servant of Jahveh addresses himself to the Gentiles: "Hearken unto me, ye dwellers on the sea-coasts, and listen ye nations that are far

[1] Is. li. 4, 5; lvi. 7, 8; lxvi. 18, 23.

[2] Literally "shall mark his hand with (or, write upon his hand), *for Jahveh.*"

[3] Is. xliv. 5. [4] Compare above, p. 220, f. [5] Is. xlii. 1, 4.

off," after which he describes how he was called by Jahveh, and the lot which had befallen him. In this address the two-fold task of the servant is next described thus: "It is too little that thou shouldst be my (Jahveh's) servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to bring back the redeemed of Israel; therefore have I appointed thee for a light of the nations, that my salvation may reach unto the end of the earth."[1] This again is in entire accordance with the preceding description, in which Jahveh says to the servant: "I have called thee in righteousness, and hold thy hand and keep thee, and set thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the nations."[2]

But is there in truth anything different taught here than is taught in the passages which represent the glory of Jahveh's servant as the turning-point in the disposition of the nations towards Jahveh and his people? Is not the servant of Jahveh "a light of the nations" just through the vicissitudes which he experiences, and which have made so deep an impression upon the spectators? Such questions have been asked, and attention has besides been called to the fact—which indeed is undeniable—that the supposed prophetical mission of the servant is referred to only on two occasions, while, on the contrary, his exaltation and the influence which proceeds from it, are treated repeatedly and in the most unambiguous manner. Notwithstanding this, I am of opinion that this conception of Isaiah's meaning must be rejected as incorrect. It is quite true that the ideas of the prophet on this subject are not fully developed. Whether he has formed in his own mind a clear conception of the manner in which the servant of Jahveh shall labour among the heathen, is more than doubtful. But still the indications which he gives cannot be reasoned away. *The servant of Jahveh*—who, it must not be forgotten, is a prophet of Jahveh—*comes forward in his prophetical character also among the Gentiles,* The influence which he exercises is certainly in part mechanical, but at the same time is ethical. We are accustomed to place the one *in opposition to* the other. The second Isaiah does not do that, and, further, he had no need to do so, inasmuch as the exaltation of the servant of Jahveh, although the work *of Jahveh,* is yet founded on the moral and religious

[1] Is xlix. 6. [2] Is. xlii. 6.

state of *the servant himself*.[1] The prophet could thus expect that the servant of Jahveh would labour in the same spirit and in the same direction in which his fortunes should, in accordance with the will of Jahveh, exercise an influence upon the Gentiles.

VI. *The undisturbed continuance of Israel in the land of their habitation.*

The question may perhaps be asked why is attention still fixed upon this point? Has it not already been clearly seen by us that the Israelites would enjoy peace and security after their return to their native country?[2] Undoubtedly it has, and the subject which I wish now to bring before the reader is immediately connected with what was then set forth: but still it must be disjoined from it, and treated separately, because it is of so great importance in itself, and places the whole of the prophetical expectations in their true light.

It is well known that the return of Israel out of captivity is for the great majority of the prophets a future event, which they foretell with more or less of detail, or—what is true especially of the prophets of the exile—pourtray in colours more or less brilliant. But all those predictions agree in regarding the return of Israel as final and definitive. *Their settlement in Canaan is to be followed by no new dispersion.* On the contrary, one of the characteristics of the new condition of things which begins with their return, is precisely this, that endeavours on the part of the enemies of Israel to destroy once more their national existence, shall either entirely cease, or, if they are attempted, shall result in the disappointment and humiliation of those who make them.

The very earliest of the prophets known to us unambiguously expresses this view. His description of the return and of the fertility of Canaan is followed immediately by the words, "And I (Jahveh) will plant them (the Israelites) in their land, and they shall not again be plucked up out of their land, which I have given them, saith Jahveh, thy god."[3] All the prophets are at one with Amos on this point. The only difference is that some express or even

[1] See especially Is. liii. 4 ff. [2] See above, pp. 229—231. [3] Amos ix. 15.

elaborate this idea, while others presuppose it, or limit themselves to a single indication regarding it. In Hosea, Jahveh declares that he shall make a covenant with Israel "even for ever."[1] "I will"—so runs his promise in the oldest Zechariah[2]—"I will encamp before my dwelling against (every hostile) army, against every one who passeth through and cometh back, and *no exactor of tribute shall pass through their land any more*, for now I have seen with mine eyes (the calamities of Israel or the oppressive acts of the enemy)." The government of the future king of Israel has, according to Isaiah,[3] no end; it endures "from henceforth even for ever." In like manner Micah announces that Jahveh shall reign on Mount Zion "from henceforth even for ever," over the Israelites, brought back to their native land by him.[4] In the numerous and detailed prophecies of Jeremiah regarding Israel's restoration there is nowhere a place for the thought that this restoration is nothing more than temporary, and shall be followed by a new captivity. Having referred to the regular course of the heavenly bodies, Jahveh there declares: "If these steadfast ordinances shall depart from before me, then the seed of Israel also shall cease from being a people before me for ever."[5] With this harmonises the expectation already known to us, that the kings of the house of David and the Levitical priests shall discharge their functions uninterruptedly and for evermore.[6] According to Joel, "Judah shall be inhabited for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation."[7] His contemporary also, the second Zechariah, conceives of the regenerated Jerusalem as imperishable, when he writes—"They (the Israelites) shall dwell in it, and there shall be no more a curse, and Jerusalem shall dwell in safety."[8] We need not stop to consider Ezekiel. With him also there is nowhere any room for the idea that the new theocracy, the regulation of which he so fully describes, should be destined in its turn to be destroyed. Though it is almost superfluous to do so, I may remind the reader of his oracle concerning Gog,[9] and of this one statement out of many—"The nations shall acknowledge that I, Jahveh, do sanctify Israel, when

[1] Hos. ii. 19. [2] Zech. ix. 8. [3] Is. ix. 7. [4] Micah iv. 7
[5] Jer. xxxi. 35, 36; compare chap. xxx. 8, 9.
[6] Jer. xxxiii. 17—26; compare above, p. 204 f. [7] Joel iii. 20.
[8] Zech. xiv. 11. [9] Ezek. xxxviii. f. and above, p. 230 f.

my sanctuary shall be in the midst of them (Israel) *for evermore.*"[1] Finally, the prophets also who appeared towards the end of the Babylonish captivity are altogether of one mind with their predecessors as regards this point. It may even be asserted that they cast from them as far as possible every thought of a repetition of the suffering which they themselves had experienced. Let us hear, for instance, this address to Jerusalem: "Arouse thee, arouse thee, array thyself in thy strength, O Zion; array thyself in thy splendid robes, O Jerusalem, thou holy city! For henceforth there shall no more come into thee the uncircumcised and the unclean;"[2] or this emphatic assurance—"Jahveh hath sworn by his right hand, and by his strong arm, never will I any more give thy corn to be meat for thine enemies, nor shall strangers drink thy new wine, for the which thou hast laboured."[3] But let the reader simply peruse again the predictions which have been previously quoted in this chapter.[4]

Now, a partial return of the Jews to their native country did indeed, as we all know, take place in the year 536 B.C. In what manner was this event regarded by the later prophets? We have already seen that they looked upon it as the beginning of the fulfilment of the ancient prophecies.[5] It was not *the* return which the earliest prophets had announced: the difference between their expectations and the historical reality was too great for any man to entertain that notion. But those previous anticipations had *begun to be* realised, and what was lacking in that realisation would very soon be supplied. This is the unanimous conviction of all the post-exilic prophets, from Haggai down to the author of the book of Daniel; and therefore, in accordance with this conviction, *none of these prophets announces a new captivity.* There is no vestige of an expectation that those who had returned should once more be compelled to abandon their native soil. Let only the attempt be made to force that idea anywhere into the post-exilic prophecies, and it will be seen that it is impossible to do so. They are all essentially in harmony with the prediction—in form so peculiar—of the book of Daniel, that the fifth or Israelitish universal

[1] Ezek. xxx. vii. 28. [2] Is. lii. 1. [3] Is. lxii. 8.
[4] See especially p. 231 f. [5] Above, pp. 194—196.

monarchy shall endure "for ever, even for ever and ever."[1] The dawning of the age of felicity is still in the future, but the time of preparation has begun. No new beginning requires to be made. The fulfilment of the prophecies shall be the completion of the work of which the foundation has been laid by Zerubbabel and Joshua, in and after the year 536 B.C.

The importance of the whole of this survey is at once obvious. It now clearly appears, in a manner which is indisputable, that we were justified in ranging the prophecies regarding the future of Israel under "the unfulfilled predictions." The reality has contradicted the expectation with regard to every particular which is advanced in those prophecies. The return of the captives formed a sharp contrast to the brilliant anticipations of the prophets; the re-union of Judah and Ephraim never took place at all; the restoration of the Davidic monarchy was not once attempted; neither in the material nor spiritual domain did the condition of those who returned correspond to the lofty expectation; and no one can pretend to say that the sovereignty of Israel over the nations, or the accession of the Gentiles to Jahvism, are events which have ever been realised. We see here facts against which all arguments are shattered. But if it should still be asserted that the realisation of all these predictions was only *delayed* and *postponed*, and if, in support of this assertion, appeal should be made to the post-exilic prophets who have viewed the matter in this light, then how are we to judge concerning the events of the five centuries after Malachi? concerning the subjection, first to Alexander the Great and his successors, and afterwards to the Romans? above all, concerning the second great exile of Israel, which began in the year 70 A.D., and continues to the present day? These are facts which none of the prophets has contemplated; not even (in the year 165 B.C.) the author of the book of Daniel, who, though he knows the Grecian domination from his own experience, yet does not even suppose that it will be followed by a Roman oppression, much less that the latter will end in a new dispersion of all Israel. The time is now past for speaking of a *postponed* realisation of the promises. Who-

[1] Dan. vii. 14, 18, 27; ii. 44.

ever, at the present time, still expects the restoration of the Israelitish nation, as the prophets have described it, expects *another thing altogether* than that which they announced. They predicted the termination, the glorious termination, not of the present, but of the former captivity of the Israelites. The existing state of things, of which we all are witnesses, is in irreconcilable opposition to their expectations. No one can appeal to their authority, either to recommend or to justify his fancies concerning the future of Israel as a people.

Appendix.—I just now mentioned a point about which the same ideas are expressed in the book of Daniel as in the older prophetical writings; and more than once, in the course of our study, I was able to call attention to the agreement between the author of Daniel and his predecessors.[1] But that writer has also expectations peculiar to himself, which do not run parallel with the anticipations of the rest of our witnesses, and consequently could not be introduced into our survey without violating its unity. This will surprise no one who takes into consideration the time in which the writer lived, and the circumstances of an altogether extraordinary character under which he wrote. On the other hand, these individual features deserve our fullest attention. I need not therefore offer any further justification for here combining, and, in so far as may be necessary, explaining them.

The peculiarity of the predictions of the book of Daniel comes out perhaps most strongly in the ninth chapter. We start from that, the rather because it will show us at the same time the process by which the expectations of the author were formed.

In the first year of the reign of Darius the Mede, Daniel read in "the scriptures," that, in the oracle of Jeremiah,[2] *seventy years* were appointed for the ruins of Jerusalem, *i.e.*, the restoration of the city was announced to take place after the lapse of that period.[3] He turns himself in prayer to God, confesses the sins of his people, and entreats for compassion.[4] Thereupon Gabriel appears, and declares that he has been sent by God to enlighten the prophet.[5] The oracle which he

[1] See p. 223 f., p. 245. [2] Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10.
[3] Dan. ix .1, 2. [4] Vv. 4—19. [5] Vv. 20—23.

communicates is most closely connected with the prophecy of Jeremiah, which was mentioned in the beginning of the chapter. Its object evidently is to show how that word of God concerning the seventy years was intended, and in what sense it is to be realised. But now it substitutes for the seventy *years*, seventy year-*weeks* (*i.e.*, four hundred and ninety years). Is the writer then of opinion that the prediction of Jeremiah would not be (or had not been) fulfilled after seventy common years? Undoubtedly he is. And this judgment does not surprise us, if it be the case that he knew what happened at the end of the captivity in and after the year 536 B.C. We have already seen that, according to the prophet Zechariah, the wrath of Jahveh continued to rest upon Israel even after the settlement of the new colony in Judea.[1] Proceeding upon that same conviction, our author could arrive at the conclusion that the prediction of Jeremiah must be differently understood; that Jeremiah had spoken not of common, but of sabbath-years, or year-weeks. But let us now hear how that view is presented by the angel in Dan. ix. The amended translation of his words is as follows:—

(*V.* 24). Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and the holy city, in order to complete the apostasy and to fill up the measure of sins; in order to expiate the transgression and to bring in everlasting righteousness; in order to confirm vision and prophet, and to anoint a most holy. (25). Know then and understand: from the going forth of a word to restore and to build Jerusalem till an anointed one, a prince, shall be seven weeks; and for sixty-two weeks shall it be restored and re-built, with streets and moats, and that in troublous times. (26). And after the sixty-two weeks shall an anointed one be cut off, and there is none for him; and the city and the sanctuary shall be profaned by the people of a prince who shall come, and whose end is in the overflowing; and on to the end there is war, a determined measure of desolations. (27). And one week shall confirm the covenant for the most, and the middle of the week shall cause sacrifice and oblation to cease, and upon the end of the astounding abomination, and till the

[1] See above, p. 194.

decreed destruction, it (the destruction) is poured out upon that which astoundeth.

There is more than one expression in this oracle which causes great difficulty to the expositors, and which, after all the labour expended on its explanation, continues to be of doubtful meaning; but the intention of the whole is plain, and indeed would never have been misapprehended, if dogmatic considerations had not obscured the judgment. Jeremiah had announced the restoration of Jerusalem after seventy years. It is thus *a priori* probable, that, according to the author of Daniel, the golden age of Israel would dawn after the lapse of the seventy year-weeks, or 490 years, which he substitutes for the seventy years. This is actually expressed in an unambiguous manner in verse 24: in the seventy year-weeks the unrighteousness (of the enemies of Israel) shall reach its climax;[1] at the end of that period, "eternal righteousness" shall be "brought in," "and the prophecy (of Israel's felicity) be confirmed (by the issue)." After it has thus been declared what the final result of the entire development shall be, the course of the events during the seventy year-weeks is more minutely described in verses 25—27. For that purpose they are divided into three parts, of seven weeks, of sixty-two weeks, and of one week, which together make up the whole (7 + 62 + 1 = 70). It is obvious that these sub-divisions follow each other in the order here indicated. At the end of the seven weeks stands "an anointed one, a prince" (ver. 25[a]); during the sixty-two weeks Jerusalem is rebuilt (ver. 25[b]); the remaining last week is treated of most fully (vv. 26, 27), and treated in such a way that it is first said what shall take place in the beginning of that week (v. 26); after that, what must happen during the whole week, and what shall begin to take place in the middle of that week (v. 27). In the closing words, which are very obscure, there is mention made of "destruction" or "overthrow," but neither the "everlasting righteousness," nor the "confirmation of vision and prophet," nor the "anointing of a most holy," (all which were named in v. 24), is more minutely described. The writer has thus evidently thought it sufficient to mention those promises of felicity at the beginning, and then, further, limited

[1] Comp. Dan. viii. 23.

himself to the description of what—especially during the seventieth week—should precede their fulfilment.

But what is the point of departure? Where do the seventy year-weeks begin? The writer answers (v. 25), "from the going forth of a word to restore and to build Jerusalem." It is not said *from whom* that word goes forth; and just because of that, it most readily occurs to the mind to think of Jahveh,[1] but also specifically of that word of Jahveh to which the whole prediction is attached, that is of the prophecy of Jeremiah relating to the re-building of Jerusalem.[2] In this way moreover the beginning of Daniel's seventy year-weeks coincides with the commencement of Jeremiah's seventy years—which certainly is most natural, not to say, absolutely necessary. It may be said to be very singular that the defenders of the genuineness of the book understand by "the going forth of a word," the later promulgation of a royal decree, either that of Cyrus (536 B.C.), or of Artaxerxes Longimanus (457 B.C.);[3] because it would thence follow that Daniel had been enlightened by God as regards the duration and course of a certain interval, but had been left in uncertainty with respect to the *beginning* of that period. Was not the whole revelation, in that way, rendered illusory?

Let us now endeavour to determine more exactly the three subdivisions of the period of seventy year-weeks. Before doing so, however, I may observe, that we must, in this attempt, proceed much more upon *the facts* which the writer gives than upon *the dates which he assigns to them.* These latter would very easily lead us on a wrong track; because we are not sure that the author follows the same chronology as that which has now been fixed for us by the scientific study of history. He may have thought that some periods were of shorter or longer duration than they were in reality. Nay, there is no probability in the expectation that his reckoning should exactly coincide with ours. If the author, as has already clearly appeared to us to be the case,[4] wrote his book in the year

[1] Compare in v. 23—"at the beginning of thy prayer a word (or commandment) went forth," namely, from Jahveh.

[2] Therefore to Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10, already mentioned above p. 262, note 2, or to chap. xxx. 18; xxxi. 38, which are of a later date.

[3] Compare Ezra i. 1-4; vii. 12-26.

[4] Pp. 145, f.

165 B.C., how could he determine accurately what space of time separated him, for example, from the end of the Babylonish captivity? Was it not therefore very likely that he would be mistaken in defining that interval?

Let us inquire then whether the facts which are presented in the oracle afford us the certainty which we seek. The last year-week seems to be the least doubtful. "The middle of that week shall cause sacrifice and oblation to cease" (v. 27). This evidently refers to the suspension of the public worship in the temple of Jerusalem, in the month Chisleu (December) of the year 167 B.C., which is also mentioned elsewhere in the book of Daniel;[1] and, a thing which especially deserves our attention, there also the space of three-and-a-half years (=the half of a year-week) precedes the time of the end,[2] as here it precedes the close of the seventieth, or last year-week. This combination is confirmed by the further fact that, in Dan. ix. 27, as in other places also, the "astounding abomination," *i.e.*, the little altar intended for the offerings to Jupiter Capitolinus, which was placed on the altar of burnt-offerings by command of Antiochus Epiphanes, is brought into immediate connection with the suspension of public worship.[3] Further, everything that is told us in verses 26, 27 of the last year-week coincides with the supposition that the middle of this last year-week falls in December 167 B.C., and therefore its beginning in June 170 B.C. At the beginning of those seven years, "an anointed one is cut off, and there is none (anointed one) for him,"—the high priest Onias III. is murdered at Antioch in 170 B.C.;[4] so long as he lived, he was undoubtedly the lawful high priest in the estimation of the pious Jews; they cannot well have acknowledged Jason, who replaced him as early as 174 B.C., and who in his turn was expelled by Menelaus in 171 B.C. There was thus from 170 B.C. no high priest, a fact which the writer indicates in his note—enigmatical on account of its brevity—"and there is none for him." After having mentioned the death of Onias, the author thus proceeds: "and the city and the sanctuary shall be profaned by

[1] Chap. vii. 25; viii. 11, 12; xi. 31. [2] Chap. vii. 25; xii. 7.
[3] Compare chap. viii. 13; xi. 31; xii. 11.
[4] 2 Macc. iv. 29—38. The author of Daniel also alludes to this fact, chap. xi. 22.

the people of a prince who shall come." Jerusalem was actually taken and plundered by the army of Antiochus Epiphanes, once in 169 B.C., and again in 167 B.C.[1] That this monarch is here designated as "the prince who shall come," cannot surprise us in the least, since his appearance has been already expressly announced in chapters vii. and viii. The words which follow also, "and his end is in the overflowing," refer to Antiochus, and specifically to the divine judgment upon him which the writer expects.[2] The closing words of verse 26, "and on to the end there is war, a determined measure of desolations," need hardly any explanation: it is perfectly obvious that they describe to us the disturbances and battles which harassed Judea from 169 B.C., and especially after 167 B.C. There thus remains only the beginning of v. 27, "and one week shall confirm the covenant for many," or, according to others, "for one week, he (the prince that shall come) shall confirm the covenant for many." "The covenant" is probably the covenant between Jahveh and his people. Elsewhere also the author expresses the conviction that the hostile measures of Antiochus had, contrary to his intention, the effect of confirming the worship of Jahveh.[3]

Thus the description of the seventieth year-week corresponds in all its various features with the history of the years 170—163 B.C. There is only one point of difference. After the last week has elapsed—not earlier, but also not later—the author expects the destruction of the "astounding abomination," v. 27^{b}, and contemporaneously with that the dawning of Israel's golden age (v. 24). In reality, the temple at Jerusalem was purified, not three and a half but three years after the suspension of the public worship;[4] but neither at that time, nor half a year later, did that great revolution in favour of the Jews, which is here announced, take place. This relation of the prediction to the reality finds its satisfactory explanation *exclusively* in the supposition that it had been written *after* the cessation of the daily sacrifice (December 167), and *before* its restoration (December 164). Other

[1] 1 Macc. i. 20-28; 29 ff.; 2 Macc. v. 1-20.
[2] Dan. viii. 25 (compare "the end" in vv. 17-19).
[3] Chap. xi. 32, 33.
[4] Compare 1 Macc. iv. 52, with i. 54, 59.

passages allow us to determine still more exactly the time at which the book was composed, and to assign it to the year 165 B.C. [1]

The traditional interpretation of Dan. ix. 26, 27, is, on the other hand, irreconcilably opposed on all points to the words of the writer. It sees in the "anointed one," v. 26, Jesus, and finds here the announcement both of his atoning death, and of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in the year 70 A.D. But every one sees that the text does not permit such an explanation. In verse 26th the cutting off of an anointed one and the profanation (or destruction) of city and temple are mentioned in immediate juxtaposition, and both these events are placed after the sixty-two weeks, which come after the first seven, that is, in the beginning of the seventieth week, the middle of which is first mentioned in verse 27th. According to the Messianic interpretation, verse 26th refers to the death of Jesus, which happens in the middle of the last year-week; and to the destruction of Jerusalem, which took place *thirty-five years after the last year-week!* The words, "and there is none for him," are perverted to: "and it (*i.e.*, his death) is not for him" (but for others)—a meaning which they never can have. Contrary to the evidence, moreover, the words "and his end" are made to refer, not to "the prince who shall come," but to the city and temple, which, besides, is contrary to all rules of grammar. As regards the close of verse 26th, and the beginning of verse 27th, let the reader consult on these words the defenders of the Messianic interpretation, who manifestly do not know what to make of the facts mentioned there. "Causing sacrifice and oblation to cease" (verse 27) is regarded by them as the result of the expiatory death of Jesus, which has rendered the sacrifices superfluous and powerless. Nevertheless the writer does not name the expiatory offerings at all, and, according to the parallel passages,[2] he evidently refers to the suspension of the daily morning and evening sacrifices; these were not abolished in the middle of the seventieth year-week, but were regularly offered until the year 70 A.D.; if the author had meant that

[1] See above, p. 145 f. The beginning of the Maccabæan rising lies already behind the author, according to chap. xi. 34.

[2] Dan. viii. 11; xi. 31; xii. 11.

those sacrifices would have no more virtue, he would undoubtedly have said so, and not have asserted that the middle of the week "would make them cease." But we have already said enough upon this subject. It is in fact astonishing that the Messianic interpretation of verses 26th, 27th, though abandoned by J. C. K. Hofmann, Delitzsch, and other defenders of the genuineness of the book—still continues to find supporters, nay, is even maintained by Dr Pusey in a tone of triumph.[1] I have not disguised the uncertainty and the difficulties which still remain on our view, but it least of all becomes the defender of the traditional interpretation to make merry with them. The smallest of the forced explanations which he allows to himself outweighs all our difficulties combined.

We now turn a few steps back on our way, and inquire what the oracle contains regarding the preceding sixty-nine weeks. "From the going forth of a word to restore and to build Jerusalem to an anointed one, a prince, are seven weeks" (verse 25). That is to say, from the oracle of Jeremiah till Cyrus, forty-nine years elapse. Cyrus is also called the anointed of Jahveh in the second Isaiah;[2] the seven year-weeks which here precede (is it his appearance as king of the Persians? or the promulgation of his edict in favour of the Jews?) agree very well with the actual chronology; immediately after him the writer mentions the rebuilding of Jerusalem, which in truth proceeded from him. The second half of verse 25th treats of the sixty-two weeks which now follow. Of course it contains no complete history of them. Everything it contains is comprised in the restoration and building up of Jerusalem, but in troublous times. If the author characterises all that period—of 434 years—as a troublous or straitened time, he does so with a view to the future, which, according to his conviction, awaits the city. The lot of Jerusalem had, in truth, been much subject to vicissitudes, still years of repose and comparative prosperity had not been wanting. But the most flourishing state to which she had attained might, when compared with her destination, be left out of account;

[1] *Daniel the Prophet* (3d edition, 1869), p. 164 ff., especially p. 228 f.
[2] Is. xlv. 1.

for had not one slavery ceased only to make room for another?

Although we may think that the author could have said something more concerning those seven weeks and sixty-two weeks, yet the little that he does say presents no real difficulties in the way of the interpretation. The Messianic view, on the contrary, sees itself here also compelled to do violence to the text, in order to maintain itself. The supporters of that view translate verse 25th differently, and their translation runs thus: "From the going forth of a word to restore and to build Jerusalem till Messiah, the Prince, are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks—it (Jerusalem) is restored and built up with streets and moats, and that in troublous times." The slightest consideration is sufficient to show that this interpretation is untenable. If the author had wished to say that sixty-nine year-weeks must elapse before the coming of Messiah, the Prince, he would also have written that, and would not have mentioned seven weeks and sixty-two weeks. In order to justify that division, it is assumed[1] that the period of seven weeks must exhibit a character essentially different from that of the sixty-two weeks: the restoration of Jerusalem in troublous times shall already have been fully accomplished during the seven weeks. But no one can get this meaning out of verse 25th. If—in opposition to the accents, that is, to the punctuation of the original—the "seven weeks and sixty-two weeks" be combined, then the second half of the verse stands altogether by itself, without any connection with that which goes before—which constitutes a new objection against the whole of this interpretation. If, however, in spite of this, that second half is brought into connection with the first, then it is self-evident that the restoration of Jerusalem in the troublous times must extend over the 7 + 62 weeks, and not merely over the seven weeks. What could possibly justify us in limiting that restoration to the first-mentioned period, that of seven weeks? To this must be added still further, that "Messiah, the Prince," is an utterly indefensible translation. The words are—"an anointed, a prince"—without the article. It is asserted, indeed,

[1] See, *e.g.*, Dr Pusey *l.c.*, p. 174 f.

that "anointed" (mashîach, Messiah) was the universally received appellation of the approaching king of David's family; but this assertion is untrue: no one trace of any such use of this word can be pointed out anywhere in the Old Testament. And still this catalogue of errors is not complete. The mention of the sixty-two weeks in the beginning of the 26th verse, proves, in the first place, that this period stands by itself in the 25th verse also: if the seven weeks and the sixty-two weeks are to be combined there, then sixty-nine weeks would have been mentioned in the 26th verse. Then, further, the 26th verse states that after the lapse of the sixty-two year-weeks, "an anointed (mashîach, without the article) is cut off." It seems clear as noon-day that this is a different person from "an anointed, a prince," in the 25th verse. What man ever expresses himself thus: "till A. B. are 7 + 62 weeks," and immediately thereafter, "after 7 + 62 weeks A. B. is cut off?" Why is it not said at once that A. B. will be cut off after 7 + 62 weeks? To that must now be added, both that the writer himself clearly designates *two* persons, by writing first *mashîach nagîd*, thereafter *mashîach* alone, and that the second *mashîach* could not have been without the article, if the person designated by it had been already mentioned. In short, here also one exegetical blunder is heaped upon another in order to maintain the traditional interpretation.

On the other hand, the supporters of that interpretation appeal to its perfect agreement with the numbers in Daniel's prophecy. The most of them assume the edict of Artaxerxes I. in favour of Ezra,[1] issued in 458 or 457 B.C., to be the point of departure. In this way the beginning of the seventieth year-week will fall in 25 or 26 A.D., in which year it is assumed—though in opposition to the most recent scientific investigations[2]—that Jesus, or his forerunner, John the Baptist, appeared. The death of Jesus is then placed three and a-half years later, in the middle of the seventieth year-week. But now the destruction of Jerusalem, which the writer—according to the interpretation of his words now under

[1] Ezra vii. 12—26.

[2] See especially Th. Keim, "Gesch. Jesu von Nazara," I. 615-33; III. 479—502.

consideration—places in the seventieth year-week, occurs in reality thirty-eight or thirty-seven years later! Surely this one fact is, in itself, sufficient to confirm our judgment upon the value of the chronological argument. Although we should accept the altogether arbitrary interpretation of verse 26th and 27th, there yet remains so great a difference! The choice of the point of departure has been already discussed.[1] Truly, the result obtained by the forced interpretation of the oracle does not reward the trouble.

We on our side readily grant, that our interpretation of Dan. ix. 24—27 does not agree fully with the chronology any more than it rests upon it. But this signifies, in other words, that the writer of the book of Daniel had formed another conception of the duration of the different periods than we hold at the present day. The prophecy of Jeremiah dates from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, 604 B.C.[2] The writer places Cyrus seven year-weeks after that, *i.e.* in 555 B.C. This is tolerably accurate. If it be assumed that he was thinking of a later oracle of Jeremiah (see note 2), then the seven year-weeks bring us to the year 544, or 537 B.C., that is, still nearer to the issuing of the edict in favour of the Jews, 536 B.C. Up to this point therefore, there is no difficulty. But now the interval between Cyrus and the death of Onias III., comprising in fact 385 years,[3] is estimated by the writer as being sixty-two year-weeks, that is, 434 years. We cannot reconcile this difference. It is true indeed that the difficulty is at once removed, and the chronology brought into perfect order, by the supposition that the seven year-weeks do not precede the sixty-two, but run parallel with them;[4] but that supposition, although approved of by eminent expositors, seems to be irreconcilable with the words of the author, and cannot therefore be admitted.

[1] See p. 265.

[2] That is, if the author had in view Jer. xxv. 11, 12; see v. 1 of that chapter. On the other hand chap. xxix. dates from a period subsequent to 597, probably 593 B.C.; chapters xxx., xxxi., from the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, 586 B.C.

[3] That is, if we reckon from 555 to 170 B.C. If we count from 544 or 537 B.C., the interval is 374 or 367 years.

[4] From 604 to 170 B.C., there are 434 years, that is 62 year-weeks; while between 586 and 537 B.C. there intervene precisely 49 years, that is 7 year-weeks.

The *genesis* of the whole oracle is however placed in the clearest light precisely by means of this difference. The violent acts of Antiochus Epiphanes led the writer of the book of Daniel to the conviction that now the measure of the abominations of the Gentiles was at last full, and the golden age of Israel would immediately dawn. He thought that Jeremiah could not have spoken of seventy years, for, if he had, would not his prediction have been fulfilled? The opinion, that seventy sabbath-years, or year-weeks, had been meant, forced itself upon him, and in connection with this, the belief that that period was now drawing to a close. All the rest followed now as a matter of course. The interval between the death of Onias III. and the desecration of the temple at Jerusalem comprises three-and-a-half-years: thus the beginning and the middle of the last year-week were both pointed out, and at the same time, it was certain that the joyful future of Israel would begin three-and-a-half years after the profanation of the temple. But then also in the year that Onias died (170 B.C.) sixty-nine year-weeks *must* have elapsed since the prediction of Jeremiah, and these were again divided into seven, and sixty-two year-weeks, in the way already known to us. How natural is it, that this chronology should not fully correspond to the reality!

The characteristic of the book of Daniel consists therefore in this feature, that in it the prediction of the future *is founded upon the writer's interpretation of the oracle of Jeremiah.* The idea which the author forms of that future is the product of his meditation upon the older prophecies, of his inquiry into "the Scriptures."[1] And this is true not only of the one prediction in chap. ix. 24—27, but of the whole of his expectations. His interpretation of the seventy years of Jeremiah is "l'idée mère" of his whole book. All the predictions which occur in it correspond, in the leading features, with that conception of the future, of which the ninth chapter of Daniel shows us the origin. The half year-week, borrowed from Jeremiah, reappears again and again in different forms, and occasionally with slight modifications;[2]

[1] Dan. ix. 2.

[2] Dan. vii. 25; xii. 7; compare viii. 14, 26; xii. 11, 12 (1150, 1290 and 1335 days).

the conviction that the measures of Antiochus Epiphanes "complete the apostasy" or "the transgression," and thus immediately precede the commencement of the time of felicity pervades the entire book.[1]

The reader can have now no difficulty in connecting what was previously said concerning the prophecies of Daniel[2] with our present view, and in thus gaining a complete idea of the expectations of the author. I merely mention further that he describes the overthrow of Antiochus Epiphanes more expressly in chapter xi. than in chapters ii., vii., viii., ix., but in the first-mentioned chapter he shows also all the more clearly that this event is for him still future, and that he had formed to himself an idea of it which was contradicted by the reality.[3] The opposition between the history, and his expectations of the events immediately following the death of Antiochus, is equally palpable. He imagines that the sovereignty of Israel shall then commence, and further develops this idea in the last chapter of his book. We there read that at that time, when Antiochus "comes to his end,"[4] Israel shall pass through a terrible crisis, days of trouble such as it has never known; but Michael the archangel shall have regard to the interests of Israel, and the people are delivered, that is all those who not in name merely, but in truth belong to the people of Jahveh, "whose names are found written in the book" (chap. xii. 1). Then many of the dead awake, some to everlasting life, others to everlasting abasement (verse 2), while the teachers of the people, who have shown an example of fidelity to Jahveh, and have led others to imitate them, shall receive their reward, and shine as the stars (verse 3). In this manner then is opened the new epoch in the history of mankind which the writer expects. "The everlasting life" to which the "many" awake, is the permanent sovereignty which he had already promised to "the people of the saints of the Most High."[5]

In order to remove the opposition between these anticipations and the historical reality, it has been asserted that the

[1] Dan. vii. 8 f., 21 f., 25 f.; viii. 9—14, 23—25; xi. 21 ff.
[2] See above, pp. 141—147.
[3] Dan. xi. 40—45 compared with chap. ii. 34 f., 44 f., vii. 8—11, 24—26; viii. 9—14, 23—26; ix. 26, 27.
[4] Dan. xi. 45. [5] Dan. vii. compare above, pp. 145—147.

author here casts a glance into the far distant future which even now has not dawned. But the text rebuts any such explanations. The writer knows no interval between the death of Antiochus, which is the end of the Grecian monarchy, and the exaltation of Israel above all nations, peoples, and languages. The prophecies of the glory of Israel have not been fulfilled, and can no more be realised. This conviction, which was forced upon us in the study of the writings of the older prophets, is corroborated, in every respect, by the contents of the book of Daniel.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FULFILLED PREDICTIONS.

OUR survey of "the unfulfilled predictions" of the Israelitish prophets has been brought to a close. If I may allow myself to entertain the supposition that it has, as a whole, convinced the reader, then it will have clearly appeared to him that the prophets, not on one or two occasions, but *repeatedly*, nay, in so far as regards the future of their people, have *throughout*, opened up prospects to which the reality has not corresponded. He cannot certainly rest contented simply with that result. He will remember that these same prophets came forward in Israel with the assurance that they proclaimed "the word of Jahveh." The very predictions, which have been contradicted by the result, are by them attributed to Jahveh. How is this to be explained? Did those men arrogate to themselves a position which did not belong to them, or were they the victims of self-delusion?

We have here very natural questions, the answers to which, as it would seem, scarcely admit of being postponed. I cannot however yet proceed to discuss them. The very heading of Chaps. v.—vii., is based upon the assumption that besides the unfulfilled there are also *fulfilled predictions*. We found also such prophecies in the course of our inquiry; but though that had not been the case, we should still be convinced of their existence: for how could the Israelitish prophets have acquired that reputation for foreknowledge which they possess in so large a measure, if the issue had not, actually and frequently, corresponded to their expectations? But if there are then such fulfilled predictions, it follows also as a matter of course, that we must take cognisance of them before we can draw up our final verdict with regard to the sending of the prophets by Jahveh. We might justly be charged with

onesidedness, nay, with intentional injustice, if we, though it were even only provisionally, formed a judgment, before such important testimonies had been heard and weighed.

But what course of procedure shall we now adopt? Shall we confine ourselves, in this chapter, to enumerating and illustrating the realised prophecies, as we have done in chaps. v.—vii. with the unfulfilled predictions? The maintenance of impartiality seems indeed to prescribe that method; but it has this great disadvantage that it does not advance us one step in what properly constitutes our object—namely, to obtain a just conception of Israelitish prophecy. Instead of simply adopting that course, we must now endeavour at the same time to give unity to the results of our investigation, or, in other words, in our study of the fulfilled prophecies, to take account throughout of what results directly from the opposition between the reality and so many other predictions.

The case stands thus: the question before us requires us to make a distinction which was briefly noticed at the end of the fourth chapter, but which now can, and must, be more fully justified. Certain conclusions may, at once, without further reasoning, be drawn *from the unfulfilled predictions*. They are utterly irreconcilable with the traditional view of the divine inspiration of the prophets; and therefore this conception may, without further argument, be regarded as altogether untenable. But the testimony of *the realised prophecies* is far from being so unambiguous. From the nature of the case, the agreement between the prediction and the event admits of more than one explanation. It must first be proved that the prediction actually preceded the event. If that proof is given, the agreement itself can be derived either from the divine inspiration of the prophet, or his right discernment of the course of events, or the influence which the prophecy itself exercised on the dispositions and actions of those who became acquainted with it—if, for this possibility also cannot be excluded, it is not to be regarded as accidental. It is obvious indeed, that we must not proceed in an arbitrary manner in choosing between these various explanations: it must be shown distinctly on every occasion, on what ground we prefer the one to the other, or indeed—for this case also may

occur—refrain from making any definite choice. In deciding, we must be guided by a careful consideration of the prophecies themselves and of their historical back-ground.

As we have already in the sixth chapter arranged the prophets chronologically, and listened to them in the order of time, so that we might be in a position to understand aright the prophecies of judgment which were there discussed, so shall we also now place their fulfilled predictions in the framework of their time, in order to comprehend their value, and to obtain light with regard to their origin. But this historical investigation will frequently fail to lead us to the point which we wish to reach: in more than one case it does not suffice to remove uncertainty. We may therefore, without any hesitation, take into account also what was formerly made clear to us with regard to the realisation of the other expectations of these same prophets. We cannot assume the appearance of being still ignorant of these men and their anticipations. How should we be justified in thus limiting ourselves? If we wish not merely to collect, but also to comprehend, the facts, then we must neglect no single phenomenon which gives, or promises to give, light. And who does not recognise, that the uncertainty, which still remains with regard to this or that expectation, so long as it is viewed in itself alone, often vanishes just then, when we bring it into connection with other, less ambiguous, utterances of the same author? If these should exclude the supernatural explanation, then the question which is presented to us for answer is this: is that explanation absolutely required by the fulfilled expectations? are they an insoluble enigma, unless they are derived from divine inspiration? The problem then which we have to solve will, in the present chapter, frequently be reduced to that form.

We shall follow, as I have said, the order of time; but it will not be necessary once more to go through the whole series of the prophets. It so happens, that it is just the three great prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, who offer for our consideration the greatest number, and the most noteworthy, of the realised predictions. The rest easily admit of being brought into connection with theirs—especially with those of the first two—and of being discussed in combination with them.

It is self-evident that it must be our endeavour to be *complete;* still it is very possible that the reader will search in vain, in this chapter, for some predictions which he thought he should find treated here. If that disappointment relates to the prophecies which appear in the historical books of the Old Testament, then let him remember, that these will, in accordance with our plan, be discussed further on; if, on the other hand, he misses some predictions contained in the prophetical books, then he may take it for granted, that, according to my view, they require to be regarded differently, and either have been already discussed in chaps. v.—vii., or will be treated in a subsequent chapter on "the New Testament and the Old Testament prophecy." In order however to avoid even the appearance of caprice or partiality, I wish to discuss expressly all the passages which have been collected by Tholuck[1] as proofs of the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy, or, if this be not done, to give, in the notes, the reasons why they are passed over in silence.

Isaiah, the son of Amos, had for some years already been discharging the functions of a prophet, when the Syrian-Ephraimite war, for which preparation had been made during the reign of Jotham, broke out in one of the earliest years of his successor, Ahaz.[2] Rezin of Damascus and Pekah of Israel formed an alliance against the kingdom of Judah, and aimed at nothing less than the dethronement of Ahaz, for whom they wished to substitute a certain Ben-Tabeal as their vassal.[3] Their enterprise presented immediately such a formidable aspect, and was at first crowned with such success, that Ahaz and his people feared the worst.[4] Isaiah then received from his Sender the command to go into the presence of the king, and announce to him the miscarriage of the

[1] The parts of this work—"Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen" (2e Aufl., Gotha, 1867), which chiefly come before us here—are § 11, "Die Prädiktion," especially I., "Die Gränzen der Prädiktion;" II., "Die Namen- und Zahlen-Prädiktionen;" III., "Die Sach-Prädiktion," (p. 105-134), with which § 10, "Die prophetische Weissagung" (p. 78—105) ought to be compared. See also Küper, *l.c.*, pp. 441—460, and H. Graetz, "Geschichte der Juden," i. 371—378, where an excursus is devoted to—*Die Bewährung und Erfüllung der Weissagungen der israëlitischen Propheten.* Attention is given, in the sequel of this chapter, to all passages of any importance, quoted in this most recent plea (1874) in favour of the foreknowledge of the prophets.

[2] 2 Kings xv. 37; xvi. 5-9, 17, 18. [3] Is. vii. 6. [4] Is. vii. 2.

design of the allied Syrians and Ephraimites.[1] It is not expressly said that the prophet delivered this message to Ahaz, but it may however be assumed as certain that he did so. If the king then showed plainly that he gave no credence to the prediction of Isaiah, we can understand, in that case, why the prophet urged him to ask a sign from Jahveh, his god; a sign in the depth (in the under-world) or in the height.[2] This proffer testifies undoubtedly to the faith of Isaiah in the certainty of his prophecy, and to his immovable confidence in the help of Jahveh. We cannot, however, deduce more than this from what he said. Ahaz refused to ask such a sign, probably because he did not wish to bind himself in any way to the prophet, so that Isaiah was not put to the proof which he had declared himself prepared to submit to. He then gave a sign himself, and that in these words which have formed such a fertile subject of debate: "Behold, the damsel becomes pregnant, and beareth a son, and she shall call his name Immanuel (with us is God). Milk and honey shall he eat until he knows to reject the evil and choose the good. For before the boy knows to reject the evil and choose the good, the land, whose two kings thou fearest, shall be forsaken."[3] It is at once obvious that this latter event, and much more so, the birth of Immanuel which precedes it, is expected by the prophet *within a very short time*. If any doubt could still exist on this point, it would be removed by the almost contemporaneous prophecies which we now proceed to consider.

In chapter viii. we read that Isaiah, by command of Jahveh, gave to a child that was born to him the symbolical name: Maher-shalál-chash-baz, that is, "hasty spoil, speedy prey": "for," so it is said, "before the boy shall know to cry my father, or my mother, the wealth of Damascus and the spoil of Samaria shall be brought before the king of Assyria."[4]

About the same time the prophet announced that Damascus would be bereft of its inhabitants, and would become a ruinous heap; that the cities beyond the Jordan would be laid waste,

[1] Is. vii. 3—9. We have already (p. 167, f.) discussed verse 8, so that we need not now consider it further.

[2] Is. vii. 10, 11. Probably verse 11[b] must be read thus: "Make it deep down to the underworld, or high upwards," *i.e.*, specify a sign where thou wilt, in hell or in heaven.

[3] Is. vii. 14—16.

[4] Is. viii. 1—4.

and that the stronghold (= Samaria) would be removed from Ephraim, and the kingdom out of Damascus; while the remnant of the Syrians would suffer the same fate as the glory of Israel.[1]

These passages leave no doubt with regard to the meaning of Isaiah. After the lapse of a few years, the total ruin of Syria and Israel will have been accomplished. As the name of his son denotes the destiny which shall overtake the two kingdoms at the hands of the Assyrians, so is "Immanuel" the symbolical expression of the succour which Jahveh shall afford to Judah against the two allied powers. Therefore the birth of Immanuel is called *a sign*, just as Isaiah himself and his children are "for signs and for wonders in Israel;"[2] because their symbolical names indicate what Jahveh designed for his people.[3] Everything hinges on *the name* Immanuel, not, as was formerly thought, on the birth of that child, or on the pregnancy of its mother. The prophet does not even remotely indicate that this will be, in any respect, different from the common course of nature. Neither does the circumstance that he shall feed upon milk and honey distinguish him from the other inhabitants of Judea; on the contrary, it is said of all that are left that they shall eat milk and honey,[4] and shall do so in consequence of the miserable condition of their country during the years of Immanuel's childhood. For the prophet expects that Judea shall be the theatre of a conflict between Egypt and Assyria, and shall suffer terribly under it, so that agriculture will be stopped, and the rearing of cattle in the uncultivated fields alone be profitable. It shall be a time such as Judah had not experienced since the disruption of the kingdom after the death of Solomon.[5] What was thus at first said regarding Immanuel alone is afterwards extended to the whole people.

It cannot now be a matter of difficulty for us to form a well-founded judgment upon the fulfilment of these prophecies of Isaiah. One part of them has, another part has not, been realised. Damascus was taken and depopulated by Tiglath-Pileser, the Syrian kingdom was incorporated with the Assyrian

[1] Is. xvii. 1—3. [2] Is. viii. 18.

[3] Compare besides Is. viii. 3, also chap. vii. 3 (Shear jashûb = a remnant is converted), and the name Isaiah (salvation of Jahveh) itself.

[4] Is. vii. 22. [5] Is. vii. 17—25.

monarchy. Pekah also felt the rod of the Assyrian, and had to resign to him a portion of his territory. All this took place within the limit fixed by Isaiah. But, in contrast with this, we find not only that Damascus was not destroyed, but that the kingdom of Israel continued still to exist for about twenty years, and that the desolation of Judea by the Assyrian and Egyptian armies did not take place. The conclusion hardly requires to be stated. Supernatural revelation is not to be thought of here: it is not needed in order to explain the one part of the prophecy, while it would render the other, the unfulfilled part, an insoluble enigma. On the other hand, the supposition, that to an immovable confidence in the inviolability of Zion, the city in which Jahveh dwelt, Isaiah joined a clear discernment of the political situation of those days, accounts fully for his anticipations. No extraordinary acuteness was at all necessary in order to see that the Assyrian monarch would not permit the formation of one powerful confederacy extending from Libanus to Egypt. If the enterprise of Rezin and Pekah was instigated or supported by Egypt—a thing far from improbable[1]—then it was the more to be expected that Tiglath-Pileser would frustrate and punish it. The attitude of Ahaz also may show us that the expectations of Isaiah were founded on the historical situation. It will be remembered that he had called in, and paid dearly for, the help of Tiglath-Pileser. His eye and that of the prophet are both directed to one point, Nineveh; but while the timid king expects help from that quarter against the enemies who were too strong for him, the courageous prophet sees in the Assyrian only the instrument which Jahveh employs in order to chastise the presumptuous attack upon his people and sanctuary.

Still more remarkable than the prophecy of Isaiah concerning the destiny of Damascus, is, in appearance, that of his predecessor, Amos. It would be written about half a century before the Syrian-Ephraimite war, but is, nevertheless, more exact, in one point, at least, than that of Isaiah, who lived in the time of that war. Jahveh is represented as saying that, on account of the transgressions of Damascus, the punishment threatened against her shall not be turned aside. One of

[1] Compare above, p. 157, and for the reign of Hosea, the last monarch of the kingdom of the ten tribes, 2 Kings xvii. 4.

those sins is expressly mentioned: "They (the Syrians) have threshed Gilead with threshing-wains of iron," that is, have been guilty of fearful cruelties in their wars in the region beyond Jordan.[1] "So will I therefore," Jahveh proceeds to say, "throw a fire into the house of Hazael, which shall devour the palaces of Benhadad. And I will break the bar of Damascus, and root out the inhabitants from the plain of Aven, and the sceptre-bearers from the house of Eden, *and the people of Aram shall be carried away into Kir*, saith Jahveh."[2] The main point in this prediction, as bearing upon the object we have in view, is the last part. The writer of Kings tells us that Tiglath-Pileser hearkened to the request of Ahaz, "went up against Damascus, subdued it, and *carried it* (*i.e.*, carried the inhabitants) *to Kir*, and put Rezin to death."[3] Not only the captivity of the Damascenes, but the district into which the Assyrian transported them, is thus so long before pointed out by the prophet. Here, at least, the very nature of the prediction seems to exclude every other explanation than that of a supernatural communication. That the Assyrians should extend their sway over Syria and Palestine; that, in accordance with their custom, they should transfer a portion of the inhabitants of those countries to other quarters; all this could easily have been anticipated by Amos;[4] but how could he know that the people of Aram would be sent just to Kir?

Nevertheless we see again in this case also how easily we may allow ourselves to be deceived by appearances. For it is plain that Amos really intended something else than to point out the place in which the Arameans would have to settle. In the last page of his book we find a sentence which is evidently connected with his prophecy against Damascus. He is there combating the Israelites, who, on the fact of Jahveh having redeemed them from Egypt, built the hope that he would permanently help them, and permit them to continue in the land which he had bestowed upon them. "Are ye not as the sons of the Cushites unto

[1] Compare Judges viii. 16; 2 Sam. xii. 31; from which passages it is clear that the Israelites themselves, at least in former ages, subjected their enemies to treatment equally inhuman.

[2] Amos i. 3—5.

[3] 2 Kings xvi. 9.

[4] He predicts captivity also to the Ammonites (chap. i. 15).

me? Have I not brought up the sons of Israel out of Egypt, and (*i.e.*, but likewise) the Philistines out of Caphtor, and *the Arameans out of Kir?*"[1] When, therefore, the deportation of the Arameans to Kir is announced in the prophecy previously discussed, the meaning of this phrase is, in other words: their rule in the country which they at present possess, shall come to an end; they shall return to the land from which they had originally come. In the mind of Amos, therefore, Kir is something different from the *accidental* destination of the Aramean prisoners; their deportation thither is, according to him, determined by their previous history, and has at the same time an evident *symbolical* signification. The *idea* which Amos expresses in his prediction is fully satisfied, if the Arameans cease to be the ruling nation in Damascus, and these regions revert to the condition in which they were before the arrival of the foreign invaders. But, further, if the Arameans actually came from Kir, in that case their transportation thither could no longer be regarded as a mere arbitrary procedure on the part of Tiglath-Pileser; the Assyrian monarch had then a specific reason for transferring them to Kir and nowhere else, the same reason which led Amos to point it out to them as their destined place of abode. Understood in this sense, the agreement between the prophecy and the historical fact still continues to be a most remarkable coincidence, but it ceases to be an inexplicable miracle.

But enough has not yet been said. It is, to say the least, uncertain whether the inhabitants of Damascus were actually transported to Kir. The mention in the narrative, which I have just now quoted from the second book of Kings, of the place to which the Damascenes were carried away, so far from being necessary, is in some degree perplexing. Nobody would imagine that anything was wanting, though the passage ran thus: "And he (Tiglath-Pileser) went up against Damascus, and took and depopulated it, and put Rezin to death." The question thus arises, whether it may not be that the single word *Kirah* (to Kir) was originally a marginal note taken from Amos i. 5, and afterwards inserted in the text. I would not, however, have proposed this question, obvious as it really is,

[1] Amos ix. 7.

if the word referred to had not been wanting in the Greek version of the Old Testament, at least in the oldest and best manuscripts.[1] Can this omission be regarded as accidental? Is it not rather highly probable that this version has preserved to us the most ancient reading?

I may, finally, remind the reader that the prophecy of Amos against Damascus does not stand alone. It is the first in a series of predictions regarding the neighbours of Israel, some of which at least have not been confirmed by the result.[2] This fact is in perfect harmony with that explanation of the first-mentioned prediction founded on natural grounds; but how can the opposition between prophecy and history in the other oracles be explained, if, judging by the appearance, we derive the first from supernatural inspiration? If we be right in doing this, must not the same theory be applicable to the entire series of prophecies? With the greater confidence, therefore, we rely upon the result obtained with regard to Amos i. 3—5.[3]

We now approach a second, and not less important period in the prophetical career of Isaiah. After Ahaz, sorely pressed by the Assyrians and Ephraimites, had applied to Tiglath-Pileser with the prayer: "I am thy servant and thy son (protégé), save me"[4]: Judah was a dependant and a tributary of the Assyrians. At first Hezekiah acquiesced in that relation; but he eagerly looked for an opportunity of throwing off the yoke, and at last renounced his allegiance.

[1] Namely, in the Codex Vaticanus, and other MSS. referred to by Holmes and Parsons *ad. h. l.* The Alexandrian manuscript has here, as elsewhere, been corrected according to the common reading of the original. The conjecture of Rowland Williams ("Heb. Prophets," I. 42), that "to Kir," in Amos i. 5, is an addition made by a later editor of the prophecies of Amos, in conformity with the result, lacks the support which my supposition derives from the Greek text of 2 Kings xvi. 9, and does not do justice to Amos ix. 7.

[2] Compare the remarks in pp. 102 ff., upon the prophecies against the Philistines, Phenicians, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites.

[3] I need only notice in passing the assertion of Graetz (*l.c.*, pp. 372 f.) that the earthquake mentioned in Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5, must have been predicted by Amos two years before it happened (chap. ii. 13—16; iii. 12—15). It is certainly told us, and quite truly, that he actually *came forward* as a prophet two years before that event (chap. i. 1); but that he then *predicted* it is by no means clear, and least of all from the verses referred to of chaps. ii. and iii., which, even according to Graetz himself, were written after the earthquake.

[4] 2 Kings xvi. 7.

... step brought him and his kingdom to the brink of ... ction; but, in the very hour of danger, Isaiah showed ... in all his greatness.

... the book named after him, we find various prophecies introduced which have reference to the memorable contest between Hezekiah and the Assyrians; but, from the nature of the case, they give us only a partial knowledge of the course of events. In order to understand them aright, and with the help of the intimations which they afford, to extend and to free from foreign elements our conception of the course of the facts, we absolutely require an *historical frame* in which the prophecies may be placed. But this want also is provided for: the second book of Kings contains a copious narrative of the events—a narrative which is also inserted in the collection of the prophecies of Isaiah.[1] It is at once seen to form a favourable contrast to the generally meagre accounts of political occurrences. Isaiah himself comes forward as an actor in it,[2] and thus far also, it promises us the very thing which we were seeking.

It is obvious, however, that we cannot adopt this narrative without some previous inquiry. Such a step is forbidden by the importance itself of its contents; while it would, moreover, be opposed to the rule to which we have attended throughout, in this part of our study, namely, to borrow our materials from the prophets themselves, and not from the narratives about them. But that antecedent criticism will very soon clearly appear to be anything but superfluous, and therefore it needs no further justification.

More than one question which arises, with regard to the narrative in second Kings, has long ago been answered with sufficient certainty. The careful comparison of the two redactions demonstrates that the one in Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix. is, in every respect, inferior to the other. The hymn of Hezekiah,[3] taken from some other source—probably from a collection of sacred songs—is an important addition, for which the minister deserves our thanks; but, for the rest, it is evident that he has allowed himself to use great liberties,

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 13 to xx. Isa. xxxvi.—xxxix.

[2] 2 Kings xix. 2, 5, 6, 20, 21. Isa. xxxvii. 2, 6, 7, 21, 22.

[3] Isa. xxxviii. 9-20. The heading in verse 9 at once reminds us of the headings in the Psalms.

and has, here and there, even mutilated the narrative which he had before him, by transposition and abridgement.[1] The purity and originality of the text in second Kings, even in themselves, render it probable that the narrative is in its natural place there, and therefore has been borrowed from the history of the kings by the collector of Isaiah's prophecies, and not, conversely, taken from the book of Isaiah by the author of that history. Closer investigation fully establishes the correctness of this inference. We cannot conceive the passage, 2 Kings xviii. 13—xx. 19, as wanting in the book of Kings; in other words, we cannot suppose that that book ever existed without such accounts of the reign of Hezekiah as there appear. They show, besides, sufficient agreement, in form and contents, with other narratives in first and second Kings to justify us in regarding them as essential and original portions of those books. But we may even go farther. The paragraphs which tell us of the healing of Hezekiah,[2] and the embassy of the Babylonian king, Merodach Baladan,[3] have so close a resemblance, in so far as character and form of expression are concerned, to the very latest pieces in the books of Kings, that we have no hesitation in ascribing them, along with these pieces, to one author, and that the last redactor of those books.[4] Such being the case, it follows therefore at the same time, that the narrative, *in its present form*, belongs to the sixth century before our era, or, in other words, is about a hundred and fifty years later than the events which it records.

Up to this point we move on firm ground. But the questions in which we are most interested are not yet answered. We may, for the moment, pass over the two paragraphs just mentioned, concerning the healing of Hezekiah and the embassy of Merodach Baladan: they will have to be discussed in a subsequent chapter, along with the other accounts of the prophets and their work. We would rather at present wish to obtain certainty with regard to what preceded

[1] Compare especially Isa. xxxviii. 1-8, 21, 22, with 2 Kings xx. 1—11, and further my *Hist. Krit. Onderz.* ii. 92-96, where the two texts are compared verse by verse with each other.

[2] 2 Kings xx. 1—11; Isa. xxxviii. 1—8, 21, 22.

[3] 2 Kings xx. 12—19; Isa. xxxix.

[4] Compare Schrader in de Wette's *Einl.* i. (8th ed., 1869), p. 355.

these occurrences; namely, the campaign of Sennacherib, with all its attendant circumstances.[1] The narrative of that campaign undoubtedly makes a very favourable impression; it is animated and vivid, entering into particulars, and apparently written, if not by an eye-witness, at least by a well-informed author.[2] We are thus inclined, at first, to follow blindly the guidance of this writer. But still that must not be done. His communications, however precious, must be used with the necessary caution. It is, in the first place, undeniable that they do not give us, what we should certainly have obtained from an eye-witness, a clear insight into the progress and mutual connection of the facts. Difficulties of all kinds, as will immediately be evident to us, are left unsolved.[3] In the second place the chronology is not accurate: the author places the campaign of Sennacherib in the fourteenth[4] year of Hezekiah, that is, in 714, or according to another reckoning, in 711, B.C. But at that time Sargon was still reigning; Sennacherib did not ascend the throne till 705 B.C.; his expedition against Egypt and Judah must, most probably, be placed in the year 701 B.C., so that, instead of the fourteenth, the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Hezekiah ought to have been named. It is impossible to imagine that we have here an error of a copyist (compare note 4, below); but how, then, can a blunder so remarkable have originated with regard to such an important fact? Could there also have been, in the fourteenth year of Hezekiah, an Assyrian invasion, with which a subsequent invasion, that conducted by Sennacherib, is here confounded? This is a conjecture which receives support from two quarters. In one of his inscriptions, Sargon boasts of having subdued the

[1] 2 Kings xviii. 13—xix.; Isa. xxxvi., xxxvii.

[2] Let attention be given *e.g.* to 2 Kings xviii. 14—16 (the amount of the tribute imposed upon Hezekiah); 19 ff. (various particulars in the addresses of the Assyrian envoys); xix. 20—34 (detailed prophecy of Isaiah).

[3] This is acknowledged, among others, by Sir E. Strachey, *Jewish History and Politics*, &c., p. 307—an acknowledgment the more deserving notice, as that author is inclined to ascribe the historical narrative in Isa. xxxvi—xxxix. to the prophet himself (p. 302, f.). Would that we were only so fortunate as to possess the account of such a competent eye-witness!

[4] 2 Kings xviii. 13; Isa. xxxvi. 1, with which 2 Kings xx. 6[a]; Isa. xxxviii. 5, agree, because, as Hezekiah reigned twenty-nine years (2 Kings xviii. 2), the promise that his life would be prolonged for fifteen years must have been given in the fourteenth year of his reign. That promise is made in the year of Sennacherib's campaign, according to 2 Kings xx. 6[b] = xix. 34.

kingdom of Judah.[1] Victories, of which the Assyrian envoys vaunt in presence of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, were gained, not by Sennacherib, but by Sargon.[2] It appears, in fact, therefore to be the case, that two different *events* have coalesced into one, in the narrative in second Kings. An attempt has even been made to point out two different *accounts* in it, the one being the account of the military expedition of Sargon, the other of that of Sennacherib.[3] This attempt, however, does not seem to have been successful, but it has shown still more clearly than before, that the narrative contains data mutually conflicting, and leaves more than one question unsolved. In these circumstances, nothing remains for us but to acknowledge, that this narrative is separated from the events themselves by a certain interval. It may be older, much older even, than the accounts which the last redactor has himself committed to writing; the author may have had the advantage of an unadulterated tradition, and perhaps of some authentic documents, but still he was not a contemporary. His communications must, therefore, be carefully weighed one by one, and can be accepted as correct only when they receive support from other sources of information.

The reason why all this has been so expressly brought out, will be evident immediately. The judgment which we form of the prophecies of Isaiah and their fulfilment depends in fact entirely upon the relation in which we place ourselves to the narrative in 2 Kings, which relation is, in its turn, determined by the result of our inquiry into the time in which the author lived.

The contents themselves of the narrative require only to be recalled to memory by a brief sketch. Which of us has them not vividly before his mind? Sennacherib enters Judea at the head of a numerous army. One after another the fortified cities fall into his hands. The battle with Egypt,

[1] Schrader, *die Keilinschriften u. das A. T.*, p. 254, ff.; A. H. Sayce, in the undermentioned dissertation, p. 18, f. This is fully confirmed by the later discoveries of G. Smith, see his *Assyrian Discoveries* (1875).

[2] Schrader, *l.c.* p. 201, f.; Sayce, *l.c.* p. 23, f.

[3] Sayce, *Critical Examination of Isaiah* xxxvi.—xxxix., *on the basis of recent Assyrian discoveries*, in the *Theological Review*, No. XL. (Jan. 1873), pp. 15—31.

the powerful ally of Hezekiah,[1] has still to be fought, but the heart of the king of Judah is already stricken with terror. While Sennacherib was besieging Lachish, a fortress of Judea, on the way to Egypt, an embassy came to him from Hezekiah. The Jewish monarch confessed his offence, declared his readiness to pay the fine which might be imposed upon him, and actually collected the three hundred talents of silver and the thirty talents of gold which the Assyrian prince required from him.[2] Did Sennacherib, after the past had thus been atoned for, make new and much heavier demands, without any cause being given for this by Hezekiah; or, on the other hand, had Hezekiah departed from that complete submission which he had declared himself ready to make? The narrative leaves us in uncertainty on these points. This alone is certain, that not long afterwards the representatives of the Assyrian monarch appeared before Jerusalem with a formidable force, and demanded the surrender of the city. The importance which they attached to a speedy compliance with their demand, is evident from the fact that they endeavoured by cogent argument to convince the courtiers of Hezekiah who came to parley with them, of the impossibility of offering effectual resistance, and indeed even attempted to persuade the citizens of Jerusalem who witnessed the interview, to abandon Hezekiah to his fate, if he should be foolish enough to reject the capitulation.[3] When their demand was nevertheless refused, and tidings of that refusal reached Sennacherib, who, in the meantime, had departed from Lachish and was besieging Libnah, he made still another attempt to dissuade Hezekiah from his purpose of defence. In a haughty epistle

[1] The alliance with Egypt is repeatedly mentioned, and severely condemned, by Isaiah. See especially xxix. 15, 16; xxx.; xxxi. 1—xxxii. 8.

[2] 2 Ki. xviii. 14—16. This account does not appear in the parallel narrative, Isaiah xxxvi. Was it omitted by the redactor of Isaiah, chaps. xxxvi.—xxxix., as being rather dishonouring to Hezekiah? It is generally supposed that it was. But it ought to be noticed 1st. that the name of Hezekiah is written differently in vv. 14—16 from what it is in v. 13, and vv. 17 ff., not Hizkijáhu but Hizkijah; 2nd. that in the sequel there is no reference whatever to the submission of Hezekiah, and the fine paid by him, not even in 2 Ki. xix. 8 (Is. xxxvii. 8), for this may refer to Chap. xviii. 17, (Is. xxxvi. 2). I do not venture to deduce any specific inferences from these facts, but I thought attention should be called to them. The tribute paid by Hezekiah is also mentioned on the Assyrian monuments. ("Schrader," *l.c.*, p. 197, f.)

[3] 2 Ki. xviii. 17—37 (Is. xxxvi. 2—22).

he reminded him of the conquests of the Assyrian kings, and asked him if he presumed to promise himself a better fate than that which had overtaken all those princes and countries ?[1] The historian declares in plain language the reason which induced Sennacherib to repeat his demand instead of immediately commencing hostilities: tidings had reached him that Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, had marched to attack him.[2]

It was in these circumstances then that Isaiah was summoned to give his opinion on the course which Hezekiah should pursue, and on the result of the undertaking of Sennacherib. It was in conformity with the word of Jahveh announced by him, that the representatives of Sennacherib were sent back without attaining the object of their mission, and that the second summons also was unsuccessful. There is no reason whatever for entertaining any doubt on these points; but the question as to how Isaiah expressed himself on those two occasions demands an express investigation.

The second and fuller address which the historical narrative puts into his mouth,[3] can stand the test in every respect. The character of its language is that of Isaiah, its contents, as we shall see immediately, agree in the main points with the contents of his prophecies which were delivered at that time, while there does not appear to be any cause for suspecting that the former have been derived from the latter. On the contrary, the first[4] and shorter utterance with regard to the destiny of Sennacherib is much more specific than any other prediction of the prophet, while, on the other hand, it is in entire accordance with that which the same narrator tells us in a historical form regarding Sennacherib.[5] After all the preceding considera-

[1] 2 Ki. xix. 1—7 (rejection of the demands of the Assyrian envoys); 8—13 (renewed attempt of Sennacherib). Compare Is. xxxvii. 1—7, 8—13.
[2] 2 Ki. xix. 9; Is. xxxvii. 9.
[3] 2 Ki. xix. 20—34; Is. xxxvii. 21—35.
[4] 2 Ki. xix. 6, 7; Is. xxxvii. 6, 7.
[5] We give here the two passages: "Behold I arouse a spirit within him (Sennacherib), and he hears a rumour, and *returns* to his own land, and I cause him to fall *by the sword* in his own hand." 2 Ki. xix. 7; Is. xxxvii. 7). "And Sennacherib king of Assyria went and *returned* and dwelt in Nineveh. And while he was worshipping in the temple of Nisroch, his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, smote him *with the sword*." (2 Ki. xix. 36, 37; Is. xxxvii. 37, 38).

tions, it follows, as a matter of course, that we do not take this utterance into account in our further inquiry.

The word of Jahveh which Isaiah announced after the letter of Sennacherib had been received, is directed partly to the Assyrian king himself, and partly to Hezekiah. Jerusalem, it is said, laughs at the threats of Sennacherib. He exalts himself in pride against Jahveh, instead of considering that he is indebted to him for all his victories. For that self-exaltation Jahveh shall punish him. "I will," he saith, "put my hook into thy nose, and my bridle into thy lips, and I will turn thee back by the way by which thou hast come." The prophet then addresses Hezekiah and his subjects. Their complete deliverance would not yet at once begin: in the current year, and in the following one, they would still have to feed themselves with the corn which would grow of itself in the uncultivated fields: not till the third year would they be able to sow and reap regularly. But though their deliverance was thus delayed, they might remain calm. The remnant of the Israelites would become the germ of a flourishing people; the restoration of the nation would proceed from Jerusalem. It therefore had nothing to fear from Sennacherib. "He shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow therein; he shall not approach to it with shields, nor cast up a bank against it. By the way that he came shall he return; but into this city shall he not come, saith Jahveh."[1]

This prophecy is, on the one hand, far too independent and peculiar to admit of being regarded as an imitation of other genuine oracles of Isaiah. The sowing and reaping first in the third year[2] is not found again elsewhere in the prophet, and as little, the prediction that matters would not go the length of an actual siege of Jerusalem.[3] Isaiah had on the contrary previously announced that the Assyrian army would completely invest and blockade the capital, nay occasionally he seems even to intimate a partial conquest of Jerusalem.[4] These points of difference cannot be reconciled with the supposition that the author of the historical narrative has placed our oracle in the mouth of Isaiah. In that case he would

[1] 2 Ki. xix. 20—34 (Is. xxxvii. 21—35).
[2] 2 Ki. v. 29 (Is. v. 30). [3] 2 Ki. v. 32 (Is. v. 33).
[4] Compare Is. xxix. 1—8; xxx. 19, 20; xxxi. 4, 5; xxxii. 14; also xxii. 1—14, a prophecy, however, which is interpreted in different ways.

certainly have adapted himself much more closely to the genuine oracles.

But, on the other hand, it agrees in the main points with those genuine oracles. The prophet has always remained consistent with himself in the expectation that the attack of the Assyrians would terminate in bitter disappointment, nay, in their utter destruction. Let the reader peruse, for example, the well-known denunciation of punishment directed against the pride of the Assyrians, contained in the tenth chapter of his oracles,[1] or these words in a closely related passage:—"I (Jahveh) will break the Assyrian in my land, and upon my mountains tread him under foot; then shall his yoke depart from off them (the people of Judah), and his burden be removed from off their shoulders."[2] He elsewhere compares the issue of the projects of the Assyrians against Jerusalem to the awaking of a hungry man who has dreamt that he has eaten, or of a thirsty man who has dreamt that he has drunk, and then with pain becomes conscious of the reality.[3] In another passage still, we find the prediction that the Assyrians shall be as many waters which shrink back at the command of Jahveh, as chaff which is carried away by the whirlwind. "In the evening-tide, behold, there is dismay (among the Jews); before the morning he (the Assyrian) is no more. This is the portion of them that spoil us, and the lot of them that rob us."[4]

The question now is, How are we to judge of the fulfilment of these predictions? Does that fulfilment really require us to assign a supernatural foreknowledge to Isaiah?

Many do not hesitate to answer this question in the affirmative. Delitzsch[5] writes: "We who perceive something more than an oratorical figure in the prophetic expression, 'thus saith Jahveh,' hear in this the language of a man who was raised above the level of that which is naturally possible, and to whom God, the creator of history, had imparted his secret counsel." But how is this to be reconciled with the fact which Delitzsch acknowledges immediately afterwards, and which we ourselves have just noticed, that Isaiah, although

[1] See *e.g.* vv. 12, 16—19, 25—34. [2] Isa. xiv. 25.
[3] Isa. xxix. 7, 8. [4] Isa. xvii. 13, 14. See also chap. xxxi. 8, 9.
[5] "Der Prophet Jesaia," p. 367 f.

always convinced that Sennacherib would be baffled before Jerusalem, yet cherished other expectations with regard to the siege of that city, at an earlier period, than he did at a later? Delitzsch calls this a "mounting upwards" of prophecy; but that is an "oratorical figure," by which we must not allow ourselves to be led on a wrong track. It still continues to be a fact that Isaiah, in his message to Hezekiah, denies what he had previously asserted. How is this to be brought into unison with his initiation into the hidden plans of God? In the same degree as this modification of the prophet's expectations appears to us to be natural, when we regard his knowledge as proceeding from the course of events, is it inexplicable, when we interpret literally his expression, "thus saith Jahveh."

But besides this, doubts which we cannot lightly set aside, now arise with regard to the realisation of the prophecy. The opinion that the prediction of Isaiah has been confirmed, as it were, by God himself, is undoubtedly supported by the manner in which the destruction of the Assyrians is communicated to us in the historical narrative. Immediately after the account of the message of the prophet to Hezekiah, it is said: "(And it came to pass that night), and the angel of Jahveh went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred fourscore and five thousand men, and when men arose early in the morning, behold, they were all lifeless corpses. And Sennacherib, king of Assyria, broke up his camp, marched away, and returned and dwelt at Nineveh."[1] This narrative leaves on the reader the impression that the announcement of the divine judgment was immediately followed by the execution; for even though the words, "and it came to pass that night," be omitted, still "the angel of Jahveh" appears on the stage to confirm the prophecy of Isaiah; and if these words are regarded as a genuine portion of the text of the narrative, the impression is still stronger. Nevertheless the event cannot have happened in that manner. Let the reader consider, on the one hand, that when Sennacherib summoned the capital, for the second time, he was encamped, not before Jerusalem, but before Libnah;

[1] 2 Kings xix. 35, 36 (Isa. xxxvii. 36, 37). The words "and it came to pass that night" do not occur in the text of Isaiah.

and on the other, that Isaiah himself does not at all anticipate such a speedy accomplishment, as is evident from his prediction that the sowing and reaping would not commence till the third year.[1] It is, therefore, universally assumed that a certain interval elapsed between the prophecy of Isaiah and the total destruction of Sennacherib's army; but in that case one of the supports of the view which regards the prophecy as a supernatural fact, falls to the ground.

But we must attend not only to the position, but also to the *contents* of the narrative regarding the destruction of Sennacherib's army. "The angel of Jahveh," who here appears as the agent, points to a plague which broke out among the Assyrians;[2] but if we ask *where and when* this happened, we receive no reply. Delitzsch is of opinion that the words "in that night" must refer to the first night after the Assyrian army appeared before Jerusalem.[3] That the catastrophe took place there, is, he thinks, evident from the unambiguous predictions of Isaiah himself, in which Judea is named as the place of Sennacherib's humiliation.[4] Here, then, the truth of the prophecy is not proved from the history, but, on the contrary, the history is constructed on the basis of the prophecy. Thenius,[5] and Professor G. Rawlinson,[6] to whose opinion Delitzsch here opposes his own, can, at least, adduce historical testimonies in favour of their view. According to them, *Pelusium* was the place where the disaster occurred. The expedition of Sennacherib was directed against Egypt: the report of the approach of Tirhakah[7] will have incited him to march thither with all speed; according to Flavius Josephus,[8] Berosus related that Sennacherib waged war on all Asia and Egypt; finally, Herodotus learned from the Egyptians that, at the prayer of the priestly king Sethos, the Arabians under Sennacherib were arrested at Pelusium, and had to retreat without effecting their object, because the

[1] 2 Ki. verse 29; Is. verse 30.
[2] Compare Exod. xii. 23; 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 ff.
[3] "Der Prophet Jesaia," p. 370; 2 Kings xix. 35 (Isa. xxxvii. 36) refers in that case to vv. 33, 34 (Isa. vv. 34, 35).
[4] Especially from Isa. x. 32—34; xiv. 25.
[5] "Die Bücher der Könige," p. 399. [6] "Five Monarchies," ii. 445.
[7] 2 Kings xix. 9 (Isa. xxxvii. 9).
[8] "Antiq.," X. 1, § 4. The passage of Berosus himself is unfortunately lost, but Josephus gives the chief purport of it.

mice had gnawed the strings of their bows.[1] If, as is generally assumed, the mice are a symbol of the plague, then, according to Herodotus, that pestilence broke out at Pelusium. The narrative of Sennacherib himself—which betrays, only too plainly, the inclination to represent the expedition against Palestine and Egypt as having been successful—is not opposed to this view. According to that narrative, the Egyptians will have suffered a defeat at Altaku (Eltekeh?), from which, however, the Assyrians gain no spoil, nor derive any advantage; for they do not penetrate into Egypt, and very soon commence their return march.[2] Some reverse or other must, therefore, have befallen them after that victory at Altaku; and why not, according to the account given by Herodotus, on the confines of Egypt? Be that as it may, the disaster, which may have overtaken them in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, could never have been of that decisive and complete character which we should readily ascribe to it from the account in the Old Testament. The number of one hundred and eighty-five thousand dead men is also undoubtedly an exaggeration. There is still something more. We had just now a difficulty in acknowledging the entire authenticity of the answer which Isaiah is represented as having given to the messengers sent by Hezekiah;[3] but with so much the greater confidence do we assume as an historical fact, what is there predicted concerning Sennacherib, that he "shall hear a rumour and (in consequence of that) shall return to his own land." Reference is unquestionably made here to the rumour of an insurrection in another part of the extensive kingdom of Assyria, as more than one did break out in Sennacherib's reign, and naturally would break out on the opportunity afforded by the reverse which he sustained in the war against Egypt. A new element thus appears in the fact which we are engaged in investigating, and it is evident, more clearly even than before, that the narrative in 2 Kings is incomplete, and consequently gives a different impression from that which most probably we should have obtained from the occurrence itself. Perhaps the more exact particulars were unknown to the narrator himself; but, in

[1] "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 141.
[2] "Schrader," *l.c.*, p. 171 ff.
[3] 2 Kings xix. 6, 7 (Isa. xxxvii. 6, 7).

any case, he leaves them unmentioned, in order to fix attention exclusively on what, in his estimation, is the main point —the intervention of Jahveh in the struggle of Assyria against Israel. While he is endeavouring to place that in the clearest possible light, there evidently occurs to his mind one of Isaiah's prophecies which I recently quoted: "In the evening-tide, behold, there is dismay; before the morning, he (the Assyrian) is no more."[1] I do not dispute that the writer is entitled, in perfect accordance with his aim, thus to express himself; but I must indeed object, when his words are understood in a sense totally different from that which he intends; when the formula of his religious belief is regarded as an exact impress of the historical reality, while it still cannot be denied that it lends no countenance to such a view, and leaves unanswered all those questions concerning time, place, and circumstances, which we usually raise with regard to that reality.

We are now, if I am not deceived, prepared to draw the conclusion. The question we ask is this, is the complete self-confidence with which Isaiah announces the failure of Sennacherib's enterprise altogether inexplicable, unless we suppose that the future was revealed to him in a supernatural manner? My answer is in the negative. That confidence rests properly on the conviction that Israel has been chosen by Jahveh, and Zion is his dwelling-place. But in order to continue to hold that belief, and to express it with boldness, at a given time, the prophet must see clearly and distinctly the possibility that Sennacherib might return without accomplishing his purpose. That possibility, however, was present, and present in such a manner that, under the influence of Isaiah's religious confidence, it must become probability, nay, certainty, for him. The dangers inseparable from every campaign in a distant land, were, in this specific case, more than doubled by the power of the enemy against whom the enterprise, in the first place, was directed (Egypt allied with Ethiopia), and by the inclination of the vassals of the Assyrian monarchy in the east (Media and Babylonia) to separate themselves from Nineveh—an inclination which was certainly as well known in Judea as in Egypt. With Isaiah's belief in the inviolability of the national existence of Israel, all

[1] Isa. xvii. 14.

these circumstances became so many presages of Sennacherib's approaching retreat. According as the facts became more distinctly disclosed, so also did his idea of the future become more definite. But he always, and not least when the danger had reached its highest point, expressed his confident trust with clearness and power. It was he who persuaded Hezekiah and his people to persevere when the superficial spectator deemed resistance desperate. That perseverance made the deliverance possible. If Hezekiah had yielded to Sennacherib's repeated summons, the fate of his kingdom would have been sealed. *Isaiah, by his faith, saved Judah*, and confirmed the truth of his own apophthgem—"If ye do not hold fast (confide), ye shall not stand fast."[1]

The supernatural explanation of the prophecy of Isaiah is not required by the facts. Farther than this our conclusion does not extend. But if now we take into consideration besides, what has already become plain to us regarding the relation which the predictions of Isaiah bear to the facts,[2] then that negative is changed into a positive conclusion. In other words, it then clearly appears that the supernatural explanation is not only superfluous, but also inadmissible.

Let us not neglect to notice how this conclusion is confirmed specifically by the ideas entertained by Isaiah, and his contemporary Micah, concerning the destiny of the Assyrian monarchy. In contradistinction from Nahum and Zephaniah, who prophesied a century after them, they proceed on the supposition that Assyria shall continue to exist.[3] This supposition is very natural, if their expectations regarding the future are dependent on the facts which they see before them in the present; but it is more than singular, nay, it is altogether inexplicable, if the veil which keeps the future hidden was, in their case, withdrawn.

[1] Chap. vii. 9b. The paranomasia, in the original, is in this way, in some degree at least, rendered.

[2] See *e.g.*, above, p. 102, ff., and elsewhere. The result obtained there is not overthrown by the appeal of Tholuck (pp. 117—119) to Is. xx.; xvi. 14; xxi. 16. The assertion that the predictions contained in these passages were strictly fulfilled, rests on no historical testimony whatever; it is simply a postulate of Tholuck's theory. Compare above, pp. 120—121, 112—114. We shall inquire, in a subsequent chapter, on the prophets in the historical books, whether Isaiah did indeed foretell, according to 2 Kings xx. 6; Is. xxxviii. 5, that fifteen years should be added to the life of Hezekiah. (Tholuck, p. 116, f.).

[3] See above, pp. 129, 130.

But would not Micah's prophecy of the deportation of the inhabitants of Jerusalem to Babylon[1] overthrow all this reasoning, and prove that he at least saw farther, and transported himself into a time in which the Assyrian kingdom had fallen, and had been succeeded by the Chaldean? We know the answer already,[2] and we merely remind the reader of it here because the defenders of supernaturalism are accustomed, even still, to appeal to that prediction of Micah.[3] If the prophet did mention Babylon—which is very doubtful—he mentioned it certainly not as the capital of a new empire, but as a city belonging to the Assyrian monarchy. Though Micah may have formed another conception of the immediate future of Jerusalem than Isaiah, as indeed we have already seen clearly that he did, yet he is entirely in accordance with him in the expectation that Assyria shall be a witness of Israel's restoration.

In discussing the fulfilled predictions of Jeremiah, we desire to follow Tholuck.[4] His survey, which is intended to prove that "prophetical prediction constantly precedes the successive stages of history as it develops itself," shall be first presented in its main features, in order to be thereafter subjected to a careful criticism. For the sake of perspicuity, I divide that survey into smaller portions, which we can afterwards examine one by one.

I. Jeremiah had scarcely come forward as a prophet in the thirteenth year of Josiah (626 B.C.), when he threatened his people with the appearance of an "enemy out of the north."[5] This enemy can be none other than the Chaldeans, who, it is true, had not yet made themselves independent of Assyria, and as yet appeared not in the least dangerous to the kingdom of Judah, but who nevertheless must be meant by Jeremiah, because in his later prophecies he describes the Chaldeans in

[1] Mic. iv. 16.

[2] See above, pp. 161, ff.; the remarks made there (p. 170, ff.) on Is. xxxix. (2 Kings xx. 12—19) are applicable here also.

[3] Tholuck, *Die Propheten*, p. 88, f. Compare also Graetz, *l.c.*, I. 374.

[4] See *Die Propheten*, p. 121—125, compared with p. 94, f., 111—114.

[5] Chap. i. 13, 14; iv. 5—7, 13, 15—17, 29; v. 6, 15—17; vi. 1—5, 22—25. Graetz, *l.c.*, I. 375, agrees with Tholuck in the interpretation of these passages.

the same way as he had described the northern enemy in the earlier predictions;[1] there was, besides, no other power then in existence which he could indicate in this way; least of all could he have thought of the Scythians, who had abandoned Palestine, five years before his appearance as a prophet, and had no intention whatever of returning thither.

II. In his earliest addresses, Jeremiah mentions besides a punitive judgment which the Egyptians should execute on the apostate kingdom of Judah. "Also the sons of Noph (Memphis) and Tahpanhes shall depasture the crown of thy head."[2] That prophecy was fulfilled about twenty years later, when Pharaoh Necho defeated and slew Josiah in the valley of Megiddo, and subjugated his kingdom.[3]

III. In the fourth year of Jehoiakim, Necho was defeated at Carchemish by Nebuchadrezzar. Shortly before and after that important event, which was very soon followed by the subjection of Judah to the Chaldeans, Jeremiah announced, in the most unambiguous terms, the desolation of Jerusalem, of the temple, and of all Judea.[4]

IV. To the same year, the fourth of Jehoiakim, the celebrated prophecy of the seventy years belongs. Nebuchadrezzar, so it is said,[5] shall reduce under his power Judah and the neighbouring nations: "all that land shall be for a desolation and a wilderness, and all these nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years. But when the seventy years are fulfilled, Jahveh shall visit upon the king of Babylon, and upon that people (the Chaldeans) their sins, and upon the land of the Chaldeans, and make it a perpetual wilderness." Jeremiah is evidently altogether certain of the length of this period, just as it is his firm conviction, that Nebuchadrezzar, in spite of all opposition, shall obtain and keep the territory assigned to him by Jahveh. In the beginning of Zedekiah's reign, he announces to the ambassadors of Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Zidon, who had met at Jerusalem, that the attempt of those tribes to extricate themselves from the dominion of the Chaldeans would be in vain: "they shall serve the king of Babylon, his son, and his son's son, until the time of his land

[1] Compare especially K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, pp. 16—19.
[2] Jer. ii. 16.
[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 29, ff.
[4] Jer. vii., f., *e.g.*, viii. 1; xxvi.
[5] Jer. xxv. 9 ff.

also has come, and many nations and great kings shall make him their servant." [1] At the same time he exhorted the Jewish captives in Babylon, by a letter, to reconcile themselves to their destiny. For not till "seventy years have been fulfilled for Babylon, shall Jahveh visit them, and fulfil to them his promise to bring them back to Jerusalem." [2] It has been erroneously imagined that these "seventy years" may be understood as indicating simply a long period. It was evidently the intention of Jeremiah to specify the exact duration of the captivity; and this was also the view which was taken of his prediction at a very early period.[3] It is besides fully confirmed by the result, for between the fourth —or, according to another Old Testament account,[4] the third, —year of Jehoiakim and the return, sixty-eight years actually elapsed, or according to another calculation, that of Hengstenberg, precisely seventy years.

V. The occurrence also, of which we have an account in Jer. xxxvi., belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim.[5] The prophecies of Jeremiah which Baruch had written from his dictation, were publicly read in the temple, brought under the notice of the king, and destroyed by him, but afterwards written out anew. On that occasion the prophet foretold to the king that "he would have none who should occupy the throne of David, and that his dead body would be thrown out, and exposed in the day to the heat, and in the night to the cold." [6] "After a reign of eleven years,"—Tholuck writes—"Jehoiakim fell into the hands of the Chaldeans, and died a miserable death (597 B.C.)."

VI. He was succeeded by his son Jehoiachin whose mother stood at his side. To them the prophet brings this word of Jahveh, "Sit down in lowliness, for your splendid crown falls from your head; the cities of the south are shut up, no man openeth them; Judah is carried away captive, wholly carried away captive." [7] After a reign of three months,

[1] Jer. xxvii. 1 ff. [2] Jer. xxix. 10.
[3] Ezra i. 1; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 21; Zech. i. 12. [4] Dan. i. 1.
[5] v. 1. The public reading takes place, according to v. 9, in the ninth month of the fifth year of Jehoiakim, but Tholuck (p. 112), assumes with Movers ("Die Phönizier" II. 1, p. 423), that this month coincides with December of the year in which Nebuchadrezzar had gained the victory at Carchemish.
[6] Jer. xxxvi. 30. [7] Jer. xiii. 18, 19.

the young prince with his mother was transported to Babylon.[1]

VII. In the reign of Zedekiah, the preaching of Jeremiah, who (compare iv.) recommended submission to Nebuchadrezzar, and earnestly warned against revolt, encountered opposition from the most of the prophets of those days. Jeremiah therefore wages a continual war against them. His encounter with Hananiah the Gibeonite (Jer. xxviii.), is well known, at the end of which he announced to him a speedy death which was to happen in that same year. Hananiah did actually die in that year in the seventh month.[2]

VIII. It is, perhaps, under the impression produced by this occurrence, that Zedekiah resolves not immediately to execute the plans of rebellion against Babylon, and he himself visits that city.[3] We have already seen how Jeremiah, at that time, exhorted the captives in Babylon (compare iv.). To complete what was there said, we may add that, at the same time, he committed to writing his expectations regarding the fall of Babylon,[4] and caused that prophecy to be read, in the neighbourhood of Babylon, by one of the princes who accompanied Zedekiah.[5]

IX. A few years later Hophra mounts the throne of Egypt, a warlike prince; who at once shows himself inclined to resume the war with the Chaldeans. Zedekiah, urged by his courtiers, seeks his help and throws off the yoke of Nebuchadrezzar. Jeremiah continues self-consistent in his stern disapprobation of this step, and in predicting that Judah shall thereby bring on herself the extinction of her national existence.[6] Zedekiah is powerless to submit anew to the Chaldeans, in accordance with his advice: the urgency of the princes and prophets to persevere in resistance is too strong for him. The prophecy of Jeremiah is realised. The Egyptian troops sent to relieve Zedekiah are defeated; Jerusalem is taken, the temple burned, and the remnant of the population of Judea carried away prisoners.

We have now reached the end of Tholuck's survey. I have presented it to the reader not only for its own sake, but also

[1] 2 Ki. xxiv. 8, 15. [2] Jer. xxviii. 17.
[3] Jer. li. 59. [4] Jer. l. 1—li. 58. [5] Jer. li. 59—64.
[6] See among other passages Jer. xxi. and xxxvii. f.

in order that he may learn from it, how strongly the supernatural view of prophecy recommends itself at the first glance. He involuntarily asks himself what can be adduced against these facts? On closer investigation, one or more things may perhaps have to be set aside; but is not the series which still remains more than sufficient to confirm the correctness of Tholuck's view as a whole?

Such indeed seems to be the case. And yet it is from no caprice, that here also we refuse to submit. We cannot do otherwise. Tholuck adopts a course in which he has been preceded and followed by many others; he leaves out of reckoning a number of facts which are of the very greatest moment, and consequently assigns to others an importance which, on closer consideration, it is evident that they do not possess. The prophecies which remain to us are certainly very remarkable, but they do not justify the inference which has been deduced from them. We now proceed to develop these positions more at length.

1st. Tholuck tacitly assumes that we possess the prophecies of Jeremiah in the very same form in which they were publicly uttered by him, from the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah downwards. This however is not the case. The contrary clearly appears from a narrative proceeding from Jeremiah himself, or from Baruch his assistant, which has been inserted in Jer. xxxvi. It was not till the fourth year of Jehoiakim, twenty-three years after his appearance as a prophet, that he caused his oracles to be committed to writing by Baruch.[1] Now it is certainly *possible*, in the abstract, that Jeremiah could even then reproduce literally what he had said in the preceding years; but it is, at the same time, *exceedingly improbable* that he was in a condition to do so. And besides, such a verbal reproduction would have been *superfluous*, nay, utterly *at variance with the object* which he had in view. He wished, by the public reading of his prophecies in the temple, to bring the Judeans to repentance;[2] but then the exhortations and warnings must also be so formulated that they would admit of being applied to the position in which his countrymen were at the time. The book-roll written by Baruch might indeed reproduce faithfully the main

[1] Compare above, pp. 65—67. [2] Jer. xxxvi. 3, 5—7.

contents of the earlier addresses, but not the references to place and time which they embraced; Jeremiah might, nay, must omit these.

Regarded from this point of view, the predictions concerning the "enemy out of the north" lose the miraculous character which Tholuck seems to regard as constituting their chief value. It is the most probable supposition that they originally referred to the Scythians, whose predatory incursions in and around Palestine are, on good grounds, assigned to a later period than that in which Tholuck is inclined to place them.[1] But as these predictions were read in the temple of Jerusalem, in the fourth or fifth year of Jehoiakim, they would necessarily be transferred by the hearers to the Chaldeans. It does not however in any way follow from this, that Jeremiah had prophesied regarding them at a time when they had not yet appeared upon the stage of history. In truth there is nothing at all to show that he did. It is not the rise of the enemy out of the north, but his appearance in Judea, and the punitive judgment which he shall execute there, that is foretold by the prophet.

That single utterance also concerning Egypt,[2] on which Tholuck lays stress, assumes another aspect, as soon as we consider that it was committed to writing in the fourth year after the battle of Megiddo. But besides, Tholuck takes a wrong view of it. It refers, not to the future, but to the past. The prophet reminds his hearers, how the people of Israel, in spite of their close relation to Jahveh, were frequently—as a punishment for their apostasies—treated as aliens and slaves, and appeals, among other instances, to the evil which the Egyptians had inflicted upon the people of Jahveh.[3] The hearers of Baruch probably applied this also to the victory gained by Necho, but when the prophet uttered the address in the reign of Josiah, he could not have thought of that Egyptian monarch.

2nd. No one will certainly ascribe decisive weight to the narrative of Jeremiah's encounter with Hananiah the Gibeonite, which is recorded in the twenty-eighth chapter.

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," &c., II. 176 f., and above, p. 171.
[2] Jer. ii. 16.
[3] See vv. 14, 15, and the commentary of Graf on the passage.

Many a threatening of the wrath of the deity, such as we find there, has been ratified by the issue in as striking a manner, either because it produced a deep impression on the imagination of him whom it concerned, or by accident, as it is called.[1] Such announcements are preserved in memory, just in those cases when they are confirmed by the facts, while if the event is different, they speedily pass into oblivion. Who would then, from this one account, venture to deduce consequences which would lead him, elsewhere, into great perplexity? Besides we have no certainty that the agreement between Jeremiah's prediction and the result was so striking as it now appears to us. The narrative which lies before us was composed not immediately after the encounter, but after Hananiah's death which is mentioned in the last verse. Even if it were written by Jeremiah himself,[2] still it has not been preserved to us in its original form, as the manner of writing the proper names, and other deviations prove.[3] We therefore do not know whether the death of Hananiah in that year was in fact foretold in terms so unambiguous.

3d. The assertions of Tholuck regarding the fate of Jehoiakim and Jehoiachin teach us how absolutely necessary it is to submit to a rigid test the proofs in favour of the foreknowledge of the prophets. If we may proceed on the historical accounts about these kings, then the former, after having been the vassal of Nebuchadrezzar for three years, rebelled against him. The consequence of this step was that Chaldean forces, aided by auxiliary troops from the neighbouring tribes, invaded his kingdom, and disturbed the last years of his reign. Nebuchadrezzar does not seem to have then had an opportunity of punishing him more severely, and subduing him altogether. At least we do not read that he conquered Jerusalem or dethroned Jehoiakim. On the contrary it is said that "Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, and Jehoiachin, his son, reigned in his stead." But at the very time when this happened, the Chaldean monarch must have already been on the march against Judea. For three

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," &c., II. 196. Matthes, "De pseudoproph. Hebræorum," pp. 66, ff.

[2] See v. 1. "In this year—spake Hananiah to me," &c.

[3] See my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," &c., ii., pp. 197.

months later Jehoiachin saw himself necessitated to open the gates of Jerusalem to the Chaldean besiegers, and the punishment for Jehoiakim's revolt was inflicted upon him, his mother, and a large portion of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who were all carried away to Babylon.[1] This narrative given in 2 Kings is confirmed, in its main features, by the historical allusions in the prophecies of Jeremiah, while it is not contradicted by them in any one point; on that account therefore, but not less also because of its internal probability, it may be regarded as perfectly trustworthy. What right, then, has Tholuck to assert that Jehoiakim "fell into the hands of the Chaldeans, and died a miserable death?" This is nowhere related, and was not once predicted by Jeremiah. He had in fact only announced that Jehoiakim should have no honourable burial,[2] or, as it is elsewhere expressed,[3] that "he should be buried with the burial of an ass, dragged forth and cast far without the gates of Jerusalem." That this actually happened may be assumed as probable, for the very reason that the predictions of Jeremiah, of so positive a character, have been preserved; but it is not proved that the Chaldeans, who knew nothing of Jeremiah, subjected the dead body of their rebellious vassal to such ignominious treatment. Why may we not rather suppose that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, embittered against the covetous and unjust king,[4] had taken upon themselves the execution of the judgment threatened by Jeremiah? But however this may be; after Jehoiakim had revolted from Nebuchadrezzar and had *not* been punished by him, the prophet could easily foresee, that his consort and his son would suffer the fate which would have been assigned to himself, if death had not intervened. The prophecy contained in Jer. xiii. does not therefore require to be explained on supernatural principles.

4th. The same observation is true of that whole circle of predictions to which Jer. xiii. belongs. It is indeed very remarkable that, from the fourth year of the reign of

[1] 2 Ki. xxiv. 1—17, from which 2 Chron. xxxvi. 5—10 differs only in so far as Jehoiakim also is described as having been carried away captive (vv. 6, 7). We shall immediately return to this divergence.

[2] Jer. xxxvi. 30; see above, p. 301. [3] Jer. xxii. 19.

[4] Jer. xxii. 13—17.

Jehoiakim, Jeremiah saw in Nebuchadrezzar "the servant of Jahveh," the agent who was to execute Jahveh's judgments. We have already seen on what grounds that conviction really rested.[1] In the eyes of the prophet, Judah is, in the highest degree, culpable; immorality, idolatry, and mere outward worship of Jahveh extort from him continually the bitterest complaints and reproaches. It is with him thus a firm conviction that the righteous retribution cannot fail to come. But then indeed he must also assume that Nebuchadrezzar has been ordained by Jahveh to execute it. After the battle of Carchemish he was evidently the destined ruler of Western Asia. Accordingly Jeremiah announces his victories, and exhorts his fellow-countrymen to bow themselves beneath Jahveh's rod, and not to withstand "the servant of Jahveh." It is well known that this exhortation found no acceptance; that Jehoiakim threw off the yoke of the Chaldeans, and that Zedekiah, urged on by his courtiers, planned in the very beginning of his reign,[2] the revolt which he carried into effect in his ninth year. Very naturally Jeremiah condemned these designs in the severest terms, and opposed them with all his might. Even during the siege of Jerusalem, he persevered in his opposition, and urged his countrymen to submission, in a manner which could scarcely be approved of, if his conviction had rested on any other basis. The facts have justified him, and shown that submission to the foreign ruler was the only means whereby Judah's national existence could be saved. But was this a matter so difficult to be perceived? Was there not rather a great measure of political and religious blindness needed in order to believe, with Jehoiakim, Zedekiah, their princes and prophets, that Judah would be victorious in the struggle with her more powerful adversary? Let it be once more repeated: the difference between Jeremiah's anticipations of the future, and those of his opponents was not founded on the greater or less clearness of their insight into the political condition of those days, but on the difference of religious and moral development which existed between them, and of which their judgment on the claims of Judah to Jahveh's favour was the natural result. But the effect of

[1] See above, p. 177, note 2.

[2] Jer. xxvii.

this difference was that Jeremiah saw things as they really were, while the opposite party yielded themselves to all kinds of illusions. We willingly give Jeremiah the credit which is due to him on that account; but it is impossible for us to see the proof of the divine origin of his expectations in the fact that they were realised.

5th. But how then is his prophecy about the duration of the captivity to be explained? Before answering this question we must direct attention to one particular in Tholuck's survey. He ascribes the prophecy against Babylon [1] to Jeremiah, and thus assumes that the prophet, in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah, wrote down his ideas regarding the fate which that kingdom had to expect, and communicated them to Seraiah at least, when the latter was about to accompany the king on his journey to Babylon.[2] When I treated previously of the realisation of this prophecy, I could leave the question of its authorship undetermined.[3] It then appeared clearly that it makes no distinction between the capture and the destruction of Babylon, and, in so far, must be ranked among the unfulfilled prophecies, whether it be ascribed to Jeremiah or to a younger prophet. But in the former case, the opposition between the prediction and the issue becomes still stronger; because the author of Jer. l., li. expects that the judgment will be executed on Babylon *within a short time*.[4] Such an expectation, entertained in the fourth year of Zedekiah, would have been a mistake. We should, notwithstanding this, feel ourselves obliged to ascribe the prophecy to Jeremiah, if it otherwise showed itself to be his production. But that is not the case. The historical situation which it presupposes is not that of the beginning of the sixth century B.C. The author, too, does not live within, but out of Palestine, probably in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon.[5] In addition to this, such a prediction of Babylon's fall does not at all fit into the circle of ideas in which

[1] Jer. l. 2—li. 58. [2] Jer. li. 59—64a.

[3] See above, pp. 136—139.

[4] Jer. li. 33, compared with the calls to flee out of Babylon in chaps. l. 8, 16, 28; li. 6, 45.

[5] Israel is in captivity according to Jer. l. 4—7, 19, 20, 33, 34; li. 34, 35; the enemies of Babylon are addressed as being present, Jer. l. 3, 9, 14—16, 26, 27, 41—44; li. 11, 12, 27, 29.

Jeremiah moved at that time, in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah. We know already that, about this time, he urged submission to Nebuchadrezzar, and maintained unceasing opposition against the prophets who preached rebellion, and who announced the immediate return of the captives carried away in 597 B.C. But surely he could not, in that case, have, at the same time, written down a prophecy like that in chapters l. and li., in which there is not a single word of repentance and submission, and, on the contrary, the destruction of the haughty capital, and the liberation of the captive Israelites are depicted as being close at hand. "If Jeremiah had written the oracle against Babylon, especially the repeated announcements of the approach of her enemies, and the calls to forsake her and flee; if, in a document of that compass, he had introduced no single exhortation to patience, no single warning against overstrained hopes—would he not then have contradicted himself to the face, and exposed himself to the just censure of the prophets whom he combated?"[1]

Nevertheless I by no means deny that Jeremiah ascribed then, in the first years of Zedekiah, as he had done before, only a temporary supremacy to the Chaldeans, and hoped for better times to Israel. We now proceed to inquire in what form he has clothed these expectations.

6th. According to the common opinion, which is also maintained by Tholuck, Jeremiah intended, in the well-known prophecy of the seventy years, to specify the exact duration ot the Babylonish captivity, and the issue has fully corresponded with the declaration which he makes. There are however weighty objections against the two subdivisions of this proposition.

a. The seventy years occur twice in Jeremiah, once in chap. xxv., a prophecy which belongs to the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and again in chap. xxix., a letter to the captives in Babylon, which was sent probably eleven years later, in the fourth year of Zedekiah, or at least about that time.[2] This repetition is regarded as proving that Jeremiah foresaw,

[1] See my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," &c., II. 232.

[2] Jer. xxv. 11, 12; xxix. 10. No difference of opinion exists about the date of chap. xxv.; chap. xxix. belongs, according to vv. 1—3, to the first years of Zedekiah; the comparison of chap. xxviii. 1 with li. 59 leads to the supposition expressed in the text.

not merely a long-continued captivity in general, but a slavery of exactly seventy years. But such a view is unjust. If Jeremiah had wished to state the definite duration of the Chaldean rule, he would not have named, in his letter, the very same number that he had given in his prophecy eleven years before. He could repeat his previous announcement without alteration only if it was his sole object to express the idea, that *a long time*, more than a generation, must elapse, before Israel could be restored. This conclusion receives confirmation from two quarters. The captives in Babylon reproduce the main purport of Jeremiah's letter to them, in the following words: "he sent unto us to Babylon saying—*a long time has to elapse*"[1]—without mentioning the number of years itself, which they therefore do not appear to have understood literally, or at least did not regard as the main point. The prophet himself announces elsewhere—but in an address which apparently belongs to the same fourth year of Zedekiah, in which he wrote his letter—that the nations then subjected to Nebuchadrezzar would serve that king, his son, and his grandson.[2] This agrees very well with the servitude of seventy years, if we understand the two prophecies as denoting indeterminate periods. If we do not so understand them, they are then utterly incapable of being reconciled with each other, and moreover the last mentioned prophecy becomes directly contradicted by the facts. Nebuchadrezzar was, in 561 B.C., succeeded by his son Evil-merodach, who, after two years, was put to death by his brother-in-law Neriglissar. Laborosoarchod, the son of Neriglissar, ascended the throne four years afterwards (555 B.C.); he reigned however only for nine months, when Nabonedus or Nabunita usurped the supreme power, which he held till the destruction of the Chaldean monarchy (538 B.C.). This Nabunita did not belong to the family of Nebuchadrezzar.[3] The time fixed by

[1] Jer. xxix. 28. [2] Jer. xxvii. 7.

[3] Such is the account given by Berosus (p. 68, Ed. Richter), who calls him one of the inhabitants of Babylon, and states that he had taken part in the conspiracy against Laborosoarchod, and was appointed by his fellow-conspirators to take the place of that monarch. It is self-evident that the statement of Herodotus (I. 188) can have no weight as opposed to this account by one who was a native of the country and possessed of accurate information. According to the Grecian historian, Labynetus (Nabunita) is

Jeremiah, therefore, in the words; "the king of Babylon, his son and his grandson," if understood literally, reaches no farther than to 555 B.C.—when seventeen years had still to elapse before the commencement of the reign of Cyrus over Babylon, and the end of the captivity. In truth, the apologists should have thought twice before putting in the foreground the strict fulfilment of the prophecies as the criterion of their value. That Jeremiah in the year 595 B.C. had no knowledge of the succession of the kings of Babylon till 538 B.C., is certainly the most natural thing in the world: nobody *a priori* expected the contrary, or could think of reproaching the prophet with this ignorance. It is the apologists who, through their zeal for the supernatural interpretation of prophecy, make Jeremiah appear to have arrogated to himself that foreknowledge, and to stand before us put to shame, when it is now seen clearly, that he did not possess it.[1]

In the foregoing demonstration I have proceeded on the supposition that Jeremiah did actually predict the seventy years' servitude, and that on two occasions, once in chap. xxv. and again in chap. xxix. Objections however have been offered against this view. Dr Rowland Williams is inclined to assign the whole prediction to the later readers of the prophecies of Jeremiah.[2] But if that were the case, how are we to account for the number seventy? Instead of that round number, an interpolator would rather have given accurately the true duration of the captivity. Besides, there is nothing whatever in chap. xxix. to justify the supposition

the son of Labynetus and Nitocris, and there is no mention made of either Nebuchadrezzar or Belshazzar. It is therefore a singularly unfortunate idea of Dr Payne Smith (The Holy Bible, &c., Vol. V., p. 460, f.) to adduce the erroneous and defective account of Herodotus as a proof of the realisation of Jeremiah's prediction.

[1] In support of his opinion that the seventy years of Jeremiah are intended to indicate the precise duration of the captivity, Tholuck appeals (p. 114 f.) to Is. xxiii. 15; asserting that what is said there must have reference to the condition of Tyre during the Chaldean supremacy, and that it was very nearly realised, because the Chaldean kings, reckoning from Nebuchadrezzar to the death of Nabunita, reigned sixty-six years. But, in this assertion, the fact is overlooked that Nebuchadrezzar, in no case, obtained possession of Tyre in the beginning of his reign. The city had certainly not fallen into his hands before 572 B.C.; between that year and the end of the Chaldean monarchy only thirty-four years elapsed. See p. 106, ff. Besides, the whole interpretation of Is. xxiii. on which Tholuck's proof rests, has been already shown to be very doubtful. Compare above, p. 105, ff.

[2] "The Hebrew Prophets," II. 183, 239, f.

of interpolation. There is, in any case, much more appearance of truth in the opinion of Hitzig[1] and Graf,[2] that Jeremiah himself inserted in the letter to the captives the fixed period of seventy years which would have to elapse before their deliverance, and that some one else introduced it into chap. xxv. also. The text of this chapter—the Hebrew especially, but the Greek also, though in a less degree—is undoubtedly corrupted in various places by glosses. Besides the prediction of the end of the Chaldean servitude is not quite in its right place in an announcement of the judgment which was to be executed by the Chaldeans on Judah and other kingdoms. For these reasons, I also think that *the repetition* of that prediction is exceedingly doubtful. But in an investigation regarding both the proper meaning of the prophet and the realisation of his prediction, it seemed to me advisable to take as a basis the common text, the genuineness of which is not doubted by Tholuck and those who think with him. If I had considered the prediction in chap. xxix. exclusively, the problem would have been simplified, but the solution would have been the same.

b. Of still greater importance is the question whether the prediction of Jeremiah, whatever its intention may be, is fully corroborated by the facts. They who answer it in the affirmative place the commencement of the captivity in the fourth or third year of the reign of Jehoiakim (604 or 605 B.C.), and its termination in 536 B.C., so that really there remains no difference worth mentioning between the period assigned by Jeremiah and the historical reality. When, however, we examine this calculation more narrowly, it is clearly seen to rest on incorrect premises.

It was in the year 604 B.C. that Jeremiah for the first time mentioned the seventy years. He says himself in so many words at what time they would commence. "I will," saith Jahveh, "take all the families of the north and Nebuchadrezzar the king of Babylon, my servant, and bring them against this land and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all these nations round about, and will utterly destroy them (make them *cherem*), and make them desolation

[1] "Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt" (2 Aufl.), p. 187, f.
[2] "Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt," p. 325, ff.

and hissing and perpetual ruins. And I will destroy from among them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness. . . . And this whole land shall be ruins and desolation, and all these nations shall serve the king of Babylon for seventy years."[1] When we compare this oracle with the course of events which is known to us, it is really clear at once that this course did not altogether correspond to the view formed by Jeremiah. He evidently expects that Nebuchadrezzar will *at once* inflict a fearful blow on Judah and the neighbouring nations, and that the period of their subjection to his sovereignty shall at the same time begin. But things did not thus turn out. Jehoiakim, by his voluntary submission, averted the first violent attack of the Chaldean power. Afterwards he himself revolted, in consequence of which the first deportation took place in 597 B.C., and this was followed, in 586 B.C., after the rebellion of Zedekiah, by the second deportation and the destruction of the city and temple. *This course of events was not foreseen by Jeremiah in* 604 B.C. We must also add that as he had formed an idea of the commencement of the period of seventy years different from that which the reality has presented, so also had he formed an equally erroneous idea of its termination. This has been shown already, and does not require to be again proved.[2]

Where now does the period announced by Jeremiah begin *in reality?* This question does not admit of being answered with indisputable certainty, because history and the view of the prophet do not altogether correspond to each other. The beginning of the seventy years cannot however be placed before the first deportation (597 B.C.). Let the reader once more peruse the strong expressions which Jeremiah employs! Understood literally, they properly apply much better even to the year when Jerusalem was destroyed, 586 B.C. But if we see in them the prophetic description of the state of things which began with the submission of Jehoiakim—probably 603 B.C. —we then do not at all do justice to their meaning. In 597 B.C., Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Chaldean king, and the flower of the population of Judea was, with Jehoiachin and his mother, carried away captive. Then,

[1] Jer. xxv. 9—11.

[2] See above, pp. 198, f.; 204, f., &c.

but most certainly not earlier, the Babylonish captivity commenced.

If the year 536 before our era is the *terminus ad quem*, then the captivity lasted sixty-one years. Others place the return of the captives in 538 B.C., and thus arrive at a period of fifty-nine years. In either case the difference between the prophecy and the reality is too great to allow us to speak about strict fulfilment.

Our conclusion would necessarily be quite different, if any distinguished Jews had been transported to Babylon so soon as in 605 B.C. That such an event really happened is assumed on the authority of the book of Daniel, which begins with the words: "*In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim* . . . came Nebuchadnezzar . . . unto Jerusalem, and besieged it."[1] As the result of that siege, Jehoiakim himself, and, along with him, a number of members of the royal family, are supposed to have been carried away into "the land of Shinar."[2] The second book of Chronicles confirms this account, inasmuch as we there read that Nebuchadnezzar "bound him (Jehoiakim) in chains in order to carry him to Babylon"[3]—a design which, in the opinion of the writer, he most probably carried into effect. But it is an established fact that this so-called first deportation did not take place. It is not mentioned either in the second book of Kings or in the appendix to Jeremiah's prophecies.[4] What is more: Jeremiah himself knows no earlier deportation than that of Jehoiachin in 597 B.C. It surely will not be assumed that he passed any event of such importance over in silence? Though he must also have mentioned it elsewhere, yet he could not at least have been silent regarding it in his oracles which belong to Jehoiakim's fourth year, in chap. xxv. therefore. But, on the contrary, he has nothing else to speak of but a judgment still *future*. A year later, in Jehoiakim's fifth year, the punishment is still impending.[5] Before this testimony of a contemporary, the accounts in second Chronicles and Daniel should necessarily

[1] Dan i. 1. [2] *Ibid.*, verse 2. [3] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6.

[4] See 2 Kings xxiii. 36–xxiv. 7, and the enumeration of the captives in Jer. lii. 28-30.

[5] Jer. xxxvi. 9. In the ninth month of that year a fast is proclaimed and Baruch reads the prophecies of Jeremiah in the temple, in the hope that "the house of Judah would hear all the evil which Jahveh *purposed to do unto them*, and be converted and obtain forgiveness." (*Ibid.*, verse 3.)

give way, even if they otherwise appeared to deserve confidence. With the greater readiness we set them aside, now that, from other quarters also, there arise so many insuperable objections against their credibility.[1]

The result therefore which has been already expressed remains unshaken: the prophecy of the seventy years of captivity cannot be regarded as *literally fulfilled* prediction. But may it not still be regarded as *fulfilled* prediction? Undoubtedly it may. The restoration of Israel indeed, in 536 B.C., in no degree corresponded to the lofty expectations of Jeremiah, but certainly the foundation of a new Jewish state was laid in that year. But *this* realisation of the prophetical prediction can no more be regarded as a miracle than the confirmation by facts of his announcement of judgment to which I have already (4th) called attention. The hope of a return home did not need to be awakened by Jeremiah. In the beginning of Zedekiah's reign it was so lively even among the captives in Babylonia, that he thought himself obliged to repress them.[2] But he tried to moderate their hope, not to extinguish it: the time would come, however considerable the period which might have to intervene, when it would be realised by Jahveh.[3] He expressed himself in the same spirit, when, after the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the whole nation was carried away into captivity.[4] His promises made at that time a deeper impression, because they were pronounced after the realisation of the threatenings which he had formerly uttered. They were accordingly held in remembrance. What we saw before with regard to Ezekiel is true of the pious exiles in general: they viewed their sojourn in a foreign land as provisional: their eye remained directed to Jerusalem and to the signs of the times, which seemed to announce the dawning of a new day. Immediately after the appearance of Cyrus (558 B.C.), the conjecture will have been awakened among them, that he was the deliverer of Israel who had been appointed by Jahveh. Every new victory gained by him confirmed that presentiment; and when Cyrus, in 538 B.C., conquered Babylon, it became certainty. It was a

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 166 f., 446 f.; K. H. Graf, *die gesch. Bücher des A. T.*, p. 182.
[2] Jer. xxix. 4 ff. [3] *Ibid.*, verse 10, ff. [4] Jer. xxx.—xxxiii.

matter of course that the Persian conqueror became aware of this, and it was only natural that he hastened to respond to the expectation which the Jewish exiles cherished regarding him. He proceeded to assume the honourable part which was contemplated for him by the Jewish nation the more readily, because the satisfaction of their wish was also demanded by political reasons. Judea lay on the borders of Egypt, a country which certainly was then already partly dreaded, and partly coveted, by the newly established Persian monarchy. It was thus in the interest of Cyrus to people that province with men who owed everything to the Persians, and had everything to fear from their enemies: he could place implicit reliance on their fidelity. In the permission to return which was granted by Cyrus there is thus nothing whatever that can surprise us. Given the wish of the Jews to see their native land again, and their confidence in the fulfilment of that wish, and then all the rest follows as a matter of course. But that confidence was, though not altogether, yet certainly in a great measure, the work of Jeremiah. *By its moral influence, his prophecy of Israel's restoration effected, or at least very powerfully promoted, that restoration itself.*

The Chronicle-writer certainly meant something different when he wrote[1] that "in the first year (of the reign) of Cyrus, king of Persia (over Babylon), *in order to fulfil the word of Jahveh by the mouth of Jeremiah*, Jahveh stirred up the spirit of Koresh," viz., to issue the edict in favour of the Jews. On his religious standpoint, he does not trouble himself about the immediate causes of the fact which he relates: Jahveh has freed Israel, and thereby has set the seal on the promise which he had made by the mouth of Jeremiah; this is sufficient for him. The psychological explanation which we seek, and in this case also find, does not of course exclude that religious view, but completes it. And this is true not only of the Chronicle-writer, but also of those who lived at the time when Babylon was conquered by Cyrus and when his edict was issued, especially of the second Isaiah, the author of chapters xl.—lxvi. It is a well-known fact that he appeals repeatedly and with special emphasis to the fulfilment of Jahveh's prophecies, as a sufficient proof of the

[1] 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22, and, from the same author, Ezra i. 1.

omniscience and omnipotence of Jahveh.[1] What prophecies presented themselves to his mind, when he did so, does not admit of being always determined with certainty. From the appearance of Cyrus and the revolt of the Persians against the Medes (558 B.C.) till the time when he wrote, immediately before the conquest of Babylon (538 B.C.), about twenty years had already elapsed. If, as was just now assumed as probable, the hope in the triumph of Cyrus and in the liberation of the Jews through his intervention, was at once awakened and openly expressed in the year 558 B.C. (after the revolt of the Persians)—whether by the Babylonian Isaiah himself, or by men of kindred sentiments—then he could, so many years later, point already to these predictions and their almost complete fulfilment. But with still greater right could he hold up the prophecies of Jeremiah before the worshippers of the idols, and challenge them to produce any such proofs of the foreknowledge of their gods. Undoubtedly he thinks then of these older oracles also when he mentions what Jahveh has announced, "long before" and "from ancient time," by his servants the prophets.[2] However this may be, nothing is more natural than that the course of events confirmed him in the belief of Jahveh's omnipotence and omniscience, and thus, at the same time, inspired him with firm confidence in the future. Proceeding on the twofold supposition that the Israelitish prophets were the interpreters of Jahveh, and that Jahveh, the only true God, governed the world with a view to, and in the interest of, "Israel his servant, and Jacob whom he had chosen," he must have written exactly as he does write, about Cyrus and his victories, the destiny which Babylon had to expect, and the future of Israel. The reality remained, as we formerly saw,[3] far below his expectations, and thus forbids us to

[1] Let the reader, bearing this in mind, peruse Isa. xl.—xlviii. as a whole, and especially chap. xli. 1—7, 21—29; xlii. 9; xliii. 8—13; xlv. 19—21; xlvi. 8—13; xlviii.

[2] Chap. xlv. 21; xlvi. 9, 10. Where the prophet elsewhere looks back to the beginning of the captivity, he uses the same expressions, chap. xlii. 14; lvii. 11; lviii. 12.

[3] See above, pp. 137, ff.; 194; and elsewhere. The opinion of Graetz (*l.c.* p. 375, f.), who arranges these prophecies rather among those which have been fulfilled, and regards them as clear proofs of the "foresight" (Vorschau) of the Israelitish prophets, does not require to be refuted at length. The *desolation* of Babylon, he writes, would not have happened if Nabonedus

acknowledge the suppositions on which he proceeds, as being well-founded. We can no more adopt his ideas regarding the divine inspiration of the prophets, as they appear there, than his conception of the government of the world. From our standpoint, the natural—historical, and psychological—connection of the facts, takes the place of the immediate intervention of Jahveh. Consequently we must, as it were, translate the utterances of the second Isaiah into another language—out of the Semitic into the Japhetic, as Bunsen expresses it. But that translation we *are able* to make: these utterances contain nothing possessing the character of fact for which we are not able fully to account on our view of the connection of the events.

If we had, on the contrary, to assign these utterances to the contemporary of Hezekiah, they would always be enigmatical, nay, altogether inexplicable. It is indeed very singular that the opposite opinion still continues to find defendants. It is self-evident that if Isaiah, the son of Amoz, foretold not only the Babylonish captivity but also the liberation of the Jews by Cyrus, he possessed a foreknowledge more than human; and, in the contest on behalf of Jahveh and against the idols, he could, with the fullest right, appeal to this prediction, *as soon as it was confirmed by the issue.* Before that time he could not, of course, do so: what man proves his gift of prediction by an appeal to the *supposed* fulfilment of his anticipations? How could Isaiah, about 700 B.C., triumphantly maintain the omniscience of Jahveh, on the ground of facts which were to take place 150 or 160 years afterwards? Yet this is the part which the defenders of the unity of the book of Isaiah force him to play.[1] I have used the expression "force him" intentionally,

had submitted voluntarily and become the vassal of Cyrus: how could the prophets know that he would not do this? This argument proceeds on the supposition that Babylon *was laid waste* by Cyrus; where is such a statement to be found? "Least of all," he continues, "could it be expected that Cyrus would let his eye fall on the insignificant little band of Jews who were lost in the crowd of nations subdued by him, as a drop of water is lost in the sea." But what if this insignificant little band of Jews turned to Cyrus, and brought its concerns under his notice? That step was surely indicated, nay, imperatively demanded, by the circumstances.

[1] Of course this is done only from want of consideration. The writer of the article *Isaiah* in Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible" says, in a note on

for the passages themselves protest loudly against such a conception of the historical standpoint of the author. He does not foresee the captivity, but he lives in the captivity, and addresses the captives as his contemporaries. The appearance of Cyrus and his first victories over the Medes and their vassals, over the Lydians, over Nabunita himself, do not for him belong to a distant future, but to the past. Babylon has not yet fallen into the hands of the Persian conqueror, but its subjection is imminent. Such is the basis on which the author of Isa. xl. ff., I do not say, places himself, but on which he actually stands. Flavius Josephus could overlook this, and, proceeding on the tradition which assigned these chapters also to Hezekiah's contemporary, could arrange the facts in his own way, and explain the favourable disposition of Cyrus from his astonishment at oracles so old and so true.[1] In his days criticism had not yet been born, and exegesis was in its infancy. But what was permissible to him is now no longer allowed. We must examine more keenly, and discriminate more accurately. In this case, at least, the truth then becomes at once apparent, that the author of Isa. xl. ff., wrote shortly before the termination of the Babylonish captivity; he looks back upon Jeremiah, and is the living and irrefragable proof of the moral influence which the prophecies of that great predecessor had exercised upon contemporaries and posterity.

I have now placed my view over against that of Tholuck, and I calmly leave to the reader to make his choice between the two. I shall only make one observation more. In a previous chapter we took cognisance of the expectations of the prophets who were contemporaries of Jeremiah.[2] These seemed to us to be capable of a *psychological* explana-

the passages quoted above (I. 886, *n.c.*): "It is difficult to acquit the passages above cited of impudent, and indeed suicidal mendacity, if they were not written before Cyrus appeared on the political scene." This difficulty is, as we have seen, imaginary. The writer does not perceive that, on the other hand, the Isaian authorship of chaps. xl., ff., involves an inexplicable difficulty.

[1] "Ant.," xi. 1, § 1, 2. To a certain extent the Jewish historian could appeal on this point to Ezra i. 2—4, inasmuch as the author of this narrative also had before him Isa. xl., ff., and ascribes to Cyrus expressions borrowed from these chapters. Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 101, f..

[2] See above, p. 174, ff.

tion, just as above we thought that we could give account of Jeremiah's anticipations without being obliged to have recourse to the theory of mechanical inspiration. In other words: our theory is plainly applicable to the mutually opposed predictions which lie before us in the Old Testament; and is not that fact its best recommendation? Let us not forget: if we think ourselves necessitated to derive the prophecies of Jeremiah from the supernatural communications supposed to have been granted to him, then we must, on the other hand, deny, not only in the case of Hananiah the Gibeonite, but also in the case of Habakkuk, of the author of Zech. xii.—xiv., and of Joel, that they had received any revelations from God, and we must stigmatise the confidence with which they, too, appeal to such, as being either self-deception or imposture. The psychological explanation, and it alone, releases us from this painful obligation, and permits us to do justice to all sincere prophets of Jahveh, without our being required to disguise the opposition existing between their several convictions.

If Jeremiah stood almost alone in Jerusalem in the reign of Zedekiah, he had in Babylonia an advocate of kindred opinions in the person of *Ezekiel*, who had been carried thither as a captive in the year 597 B.C., and who, according to the heading of his book,[1] came forward, five years afterwards, as a prophet. The predictions regarding the fate of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah, which appear in the first half of that book (chaps. i.—xxiv.), are, *in general*, parallel with those of Jeremiah uttered during the last years of Judah's national existence, and, *in so far as they are parallel*, have been already explained by the preceding investigation.[2] They rest, in fact, just like those of Jeremiah, upon an exceedingly unfavourable judgment of the religious and moral condition of the inhabitants of Judea.[3] In consequence of this judgment, Ezekiel also sees—and herein he coincides still with Jeremiah—in the schemes of revolt from Nebuchadrezzar an

[1] Ezek. i. 2. [2] See specifically on this point, pp. 306—308.

[3] The prophet is, from chap. viii. and onwards, engaged almost throughout in depicting and rebuking the sins of Judah, sometimes with a specific view to his contemporaries, sometimes, more generally, to the people of Israel.

opposition to the decree of Jahveh; he most sternly disapproves of these plans, and regards it as beyond a doubt that they shall issue in the total destruction of the State.[1] How peculiar, soever, the form may be in which Ezekiel utters the expectations entertained by him, yet *in so far as they coincide with those of Jeremiah* in their contents, they have been already sufficiently illustrated.

But it will not have escaped the notice of the reader that, in what has just been said, the agreement between Ezekiel and Jeremiah has been twice, in some degree, restricted. Indeed, the book of the prophecies of Ezekiel contains also, especially in the first half (chaps. i.—xxiv.), predictions to which nothing corresponding is to be found in Jeremiah. These occupy an important place among the proofs of the supernatural origin of the prescient insight possessed by the Israelitish prophets. In Tholuck, also, they stand prominently forward.[2] I shall lay them before the reader, more fully than they are communicated by him, in order thereafter to subject them to a strict investigation.

The predictions to which I allude, refer, in the first place, to the fate of Zedekiah. By command of Jahveh, Ezekiel prepares for himself the equipment of a captive, and removes it to another place in the sight of his countrymen. In the evening he makes, in their presence, an opening in the wall of his house, through which he himself goes out; at the same time he covers his face, so that he does not see the ground. The signification of this transaction is explained to him on the following morning: "As I have done"—so he is charged by Jahveh to say to his fellow-exiles—"so shall it be done unto them (the inhabitants of Jerusalem and Judea in general): as prisoners shall they go away into captivity. And the prince who is among them shall take (his equipment) upon his shoulder in the twilight, and shall go forth; they shall dig through the wall to open an outlet for him; his face shall he cover that he may not see the ground with his eye. And I (Jahveh) will spread my net over him, and he shall be taken in my snare; and I will bring him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, but that land he shall not see, and there he shall die."[3] The fate of Zedekiah corresponded

[1] See *e.g.* chap. xvii. 11—21. [2] *L.c.*, pp. 107—109. [3] Ezek. xii. 3—13.

with this prediction, even to the minutest particulars. When the hope of the relief of Jerusalem had fled, he endeavoured, along with some trusty followers, to save himself during the night by flight. But the Chaldeans pursued him, captured him in the plain of Jericho, and brought him to Riblah, in the land of Hamath. He was there arraigned before Nebuchadrezzar. The sons of the unfortunate prince were slain before his eyes; and then he himself was deprived of sight, and conveyed to Babylon.[1]

Another prediction regarding Zedekiah is somewhat less detailed, but still in the highest degree remarkable. After having represented his perfidy symbolically,[2] the prophet in plain terms announces the fate which awaits him: "He has rebelled against Nebuchadrezzar, by sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they (the Egyptians) might give him horses and much people: shall he prosper? shall he escape that doeth such things? to break a covenant and yet escape? As truly as I live, saith the Lord Jahveh, in the land of the king who had made him king, and whose oath he has violated, whose covenant he has broken, beside that king, in the midst of Babylon, he shall die."[3] The aid which the Egyptian prince shall send him, during the siege of Jerusalem, is of no avail,[4] because the violation of the covenant sworn in the name of Jahveh must be avenged: "he (Jahveh) shall spread his net over him (Zedekiah), and take him in his snare, and bring him to Babylon, and there enter into judgment with him for the breach of faith which he hath committed against him (Jahveh)."[5]

Ezekiel's anticipations of the future, with regard to the fate of Jerusalem also, are very deserving of notice. Tholuck directs attention to chap. xxi., where the prophet represents Nebuchadrezzar as standing at a point where two roads separate, and considering which road he should take, that to Jerusalem, or that to Rabbath-Ammon. The lot decides that he shall march against Jerusalem, which is now actually besieged. It is taken; the king, too, suffers the punishment which had been destined for him; and thereafter the judg-

[1] Jer. xxxix. 4—7; lii. 7—11; 2 Kings xxv. 4—7.
[2] Ezek. xvii. 1—10.
[3] *Ibid.*, vv. 15, 16.
[4] *Ibid.*, v. 17.
[5] *Ibid.*, vv. 18—20.

ment is also executed on the Ammonites.[1] The chapter which contains these particulars is without date, but the one immediately preceding is assigned to the seventh year of Ezekiel's captivity,[2] when there were still two years to run to the beginning of the siege of Jerusalem, and four to the fall of the city. But the precise period in which his anticipation would be realised was shown to the prophet in Babylon by Jahveh. In the ninth year, on the tenth day of the tenth month, he received the command to write down that day, "because on this same day the king of Babylon has encamped against Jerusalem."[3] That same date is given in the account of the reign of Zedekiah.[4]

There is another revelation parallel to this last. On the day just named,[5] Ezekiel's wife died. By command of Jahveh the prophet refrained from all signs of mourning, and he announced to his fellow-exiles that the fall of the city and temple would so prostrate them, that they in like manner would refrain from lamentations and wailings. The prophet was thus an example to them of the speechless anguish which was in store for them; and he had also to continue to be such, because he might not open his mouth until the day on which the capture of Jerusalem should be made known to the exiles by a fugitive from that city.[6] In a later chapter we find the following narrative, which has a direct reference to this command: "On the fifth day of the tenth month of the eleventh[7] year of our captivity, there came unto me one that had escaped out of Jerusalem, with the tidings: 'The city is taken.' And the hand of Jahveh was upon me in the evening, afore he that was escaped came, and he (Jahveh) had opened my mouth until he (the fugitive) came to me in the morning."[8] It will be remembered that, with the Israel-

[1] Ezek. xxi. 23—27 (18—22, *Auth. Ver.*). On v. 32 (27, *Auth. Ver.*), see above, p. 210.

[2] Ezek. xx. 1.

[3] Ezek. xxiv. 1, 2.

[4] 2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4; compare xxxix. 1.

[5] At least if Ezek. xxiv. 15 ff. is synchronous with vv. 1—14.

[6] Ezek. xxiv. 26, 27.

[7] "The eleventh year" should be read instead of "the twelfth year." Jerusalem was taken on the 9th day of the 4th month of the 11th year (Jer. lii. 6), so that if we amend the text, there still remain six months for the journey of the fugitive—a period more than sufficient. Compare Ezek. xxvi. 1.

[8] Ezek. xxxiii. 21, 22.

ites, the day began in the evening. The prophet, therefore, did indeed remain dumb *until the day on which the fugitive reached him*, but—a fact which, properly speaking, was never announced in chap. xxiv.—was informed of his arrival by divine revelation some hours before.

We have now laid before the reader the predictions of Ezekiel, which no one will indeed be surprised to find are usually adduced as proofs of the supernatural foreknowledge of the prophet. They evidently do not stand on the same footing as the rest of the fulfilled prophecies: Ezekiel receives divine revelations also about particulars which are subordinate and, in themselves, matters of indifference; he foresees and announces the accidental. But, it will be said, so much the more plainly does it appear that here, at least, every attempt to explain prophecy on natural principles *must* necessarily fail: let the trial be only made to deduce the prediction regarding the fate of Zedekiah from Ezekiel's own reflection and power of combination!

Assuredly I shall here carefully refrain from any such attempts; and yet I *cannot* grant that the supernatural explanation is, in this case, the only one possible. It seems rather to come, on various points, into conflict with undeniable facts.

It is, at the very first, surprising that the prophet who here seems to give clear tokens of a foreknowledge so extraordinary, utters elsewhere expectations regarding the destiny of the heathen nations, and the future of his own people, which are entirely contradicted by the course of events.[1] Is it not exceedingly singular that God has left his prophet in ignorance of matters so important as the conquest of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar, and the issue of that monarch's wars against Egypt, and at the same time has revealed to him the fact that Zedekiah would be deprived of sight, and the day on which the siege of Jerusalem should begin? But the phenomenon presented here must really be yet otherwise charac-

[1] See this shown in chaps. v.—vii., especially p. 238, ff. Tholuck includes (p. 125 ff.) the predictions of Jeremiah and Ezekiel concerning Egypt and Phœnicia in the class of *fulfilled* prophecies; though he does not disguise that, in doing so, he anticipates that section of his inquiry in which the unfulfilled predictions are treated. The refutation of his proof is given in chap. v. See especially pp. 106—111, pp. 122—129.

terized. Ezekiel is not only ignorant of the course of mundane events, he also represents that course incorrectly, and writes down as "the word of Jahveh" predictions to which the issue has not corresponded. How are we to reconcile with this the prescience which he seems to manifest in the passages of which we are now treating? Does Jahveh reveal, at one time, truth, at another time, error?

The supernatural theory has thus been already shown to be insufficient: it explains *some* passages, but makes of *others* an inexplicable enigma. Supposing it granted that we could not further explain the fulfilled predictions of Ezekiel, yet, even on this ground, we should be compelled to object to the view which attributes them to supernatural revelation. We should then rather be obliged to place them in the category of those enigmatical phenomena which are comprised under the names "presentiment" and "magnetic vision." Tholuck adduces a single instance of this kind—which appears to him to be perfectly credible—by the side of which the foreknowledge that Ezekiel seems to manifest, vanishes into nothing.[1] Such facts are not usually regarded as proofs of divine inspiration. What right then have we to regard them as such in the case of Ezekiel, who yet shows clearly, in other instances where he also comes forward as a prophet or inspired man, that he does not know the future?

But the whole of this argument proceeds on a supposition which shall immediately be seen to be incorrect. I said, "supposing it granted that we could not further explain the fulfilled predictions of Ezekiel:" but the truth is, that we really can explain them. Almost as soon as we look at them for this purpose, we discover a number of particulars which necessitate us to form a judgment on the predictions referred to altogether different from that which we entertained when we looked at them only superficially.

We have, on more than one occasion, been convinced of the great importance of the distinction between the *spoken* and the *written prophetical discourse;*[2] but nowhere does this importance appear more clearly than in the question which we are now discussing.

The prophecies of Ezekiel are not all furnished with dates:

[1] *L. c.* p. 106 f.

[2] See pp. 64—67 and 303 f.

in the first half of his book (chaps. i.—xxiv.), we find only four, in which the fifth, sixth, seventh, and ninth year of the captivity of Jehoiachin (and Ezekiel) are mentioned in succession.[1] If we can assume that these headings indicate exactly or approximately the time at which all the prophecies by which they are each respectively followed, were uttered, then chapters i.—vii. belong to the fifth, viii.—xix. to the sixth, xx.—xxiii. to the seventh, and chap. xxiv. to the ninth year. The two predictions regarding the fate of Zedekiah will, in that case, date from the sixth year (592-1 B.C.), while the description of the siege of Jerusalem will have been committed to writing in the seventh year (591-0 B.C.). In order to recommend this view, reference is made to the fact that mention is made, on several occasions, in this first half of the book of Ezekiel, of visits paid to him by the elders of Israel:[2] the discourses which have been preserved are the addresses themselves which the prophet delivered to them, and must thus be assigned to the date which is specified for these meetings in the house of Ezekiel.

We may suffer all this to pass without objection, until it appear plainly that such cannot be the case. But, in truth, unambiguous facts *forbid* us to assign the prophecies in question to the years mentioned above or to nearly corresponding dates. For

1st. In chap. xvii. Zedekiah's revolt from Nebuchadrezzar and his covenant with Egypt are—not announced as future, but—*presupposed*. This comes out with sufficient clearness even in the riddle which the prophet here propounds,[3] but is expressed quite unequivocally in v. 15: "He has rebelled against him (Nebuchadrezzar), by sending his ambassadors into Egypt that they (the Egyptians) might give him horses and much people." Now it is perfectly true that Zedekiah had already *concerted* plans for rebellion before the ninth year of his reign; but he had not carried them into effect; and in the account given by Jeremiah of these earlier plans, there is nothing communicated to us of a covenant (or even of negotiations) with Egypt.[4] The conclusion is obvious: Ezek.

[1] Chaps. i. 2; viii. 1; xx. 1; xxiv. 1.
[2] Chaps. viii. 1, and xx. 1 (specification of time likewise), and chap. xiv. 1.
[3] Ezek. xvii. 7.
[4] An ambassador of the Egyptian king does not appear among the envoys

xvii. was *not* written between the two dates which are indicated by the headings in chapters viii. 1; and xx. 1.

2nd. As little does the second half of chap. xxi. date from the seventh year (591-0, B.C.), which is named in the heading of chap. xx. The commencement of the threatening against Ammon runs: "Thus saith the Lord Jahveh to the sons of Ammon, *and to their reproach*,"[1] that is, "with regard to the reproachful speeches uttered by them." We learn the meaning of this from the prediction of Ammon's overthrow, which stands first in the series of Ezekiel's prophecies against the heathen.[2] It is altogether parallel with the threatening in chap. xxi., but plainer with regard to that "reproach." The Ammonites—so the prophet assures us—have exulted over the fall of Jerusalem and the sanctuary of Jahveh, and rejoiced at the humiliation inflicted upon Israel; therefore shall Jahveh stretch out his arm against them, and give them up to pillage. Again, the conclusion is not for a moment doubtful: the second part of chap. xxi. cannot have been written before 586 B.C. The hostile disposition of the Ammonites must first have been made manifest in deeds, before Ezekiel could announce to them the punishment which would be inflicted on that account. In the years in which they were still conspiring with the Jews against Nebuchadrezzar,[3] such a threatening would have been absurd.

There is nothing that can be adduced in opposition to these facts: the predictions in question do not belong to the years in which the headings seem to place them.[4]

But what then are we to think? In what manner is the contradiction, which we here encounter, to be solved?

There is only one hypothesis which gives light here. I

of foreign princes to whom Jeremiah addresses his warning discourse (Jer. xxvii. 3). Egypt is not mentioned in the whole chapter, which would be inexplicable, if the prophets had incited to the rebellion, looking to Egypt for assistance (vv. 9, 10, 14—18).

[1] Ezek. xxi. 33, Heb. (28 *Auth. Ver*).

[2] Ezek. xxv. 1—7; compare above, pp. 112—114.

[3] Compare Jeremiah xxvii. It may be inferred from Zeph. ii. 8—11, that the Ammonites (and Moabites) had also previously uttered arrogant language against Judah; but the rebuke of Ezekiel belongs, in any case, to a later period, and does not need to be illustrated from other quarters, when his own utterances explain it.

[4] On chap. xix. 14, a verse which leads to the same conclusions, see my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 302, n. 11.

present it with some hesitation, because appearances are against it. Many will at once be inclined to reject it as—a subterfuge, by the help of which I try to escape from the dogmatical conclusions to which the literally-fulfilled prophecies of Ezekiel ought to have led. But this prospect must not restrain me. The difficulties are there and do not admit of being evaded. I leave it to the reader himself to judge whether the solution which I present to him is not the only one possible. If it is the only one, then it must be accepted, in spite of the appearances which plead against it.

The passages of Ezekiel explained above contain *no real predictions*. Whatever he may have *spoken* to his fellow-exiles in the years preceding the destruction of Jerusalem, he has *written* the prophecies which we now possess, *after that catastrophe*, without troubling himself in the least about literal reproduction of his oral preaching.

It is perfectly certain that the book of the prophecies of Ezekiel forms one whole, systematically planned; it is not a collection of loose documents, dating from different years, but the product of literary art. The three parts (chaps. i.—xxiv., xxv.—xxxii., xxxiii.—xlviii.), each delineate to us one side of Ezekiel's prophetical action; the announcement of the judgment on Israel, the prediction of the destiny of the nations, the prophecy of Israel's blissful future. They are most closely connected with each other, especially the first and the third parts. The introduction to the last mentioned (chap. xxxiii.) begins with a general view of the office and duties of the prophet, just as what are properly the prophecies of judgment in the first part (chaps. iv.—xxiv.) are preceded by a paragraph of like tendency.[1] To this there is attached a vindication of the righteousness of Jahveh, entirely parallel to what was said on that subject in the first part.[2] Then follows the narrative concerning the coming of the fugitive from Jerusalem, which refers to the close of that same first part.[3] Finally, there is besides, in the same chapter, a notice of the manner in which Ezekiel was received by the captives, in accordance again with what

[1] Chap. xxxiii. 1—9; iii. parallel with 16—21.
[2] Chap. xxxiii. 10—20; parallel with xviii., xiv. 12—23.
[3] Chap. xxxiii. 21, 22; parallel with xxiv. 25—7, compare p. 323, f.

had been formerly said on the same point.[1] In the sequel the announcement of prosperity to "the mountains of Israel" (chap. xxxvi. 1—15), for example, is a counterpart of the denunciation addressed to these same mountains (chap. vi.). There is, to express the matter briefly, such a close internal connection between chaps. i.—xxiv. and chaps. xxxiii.—xlviii., that the redaction of the first chapters cannot be separated from that of the last by any considerable interval. In other words, chapters i.—xxiv. cannot have been committed to writing in the years mentioned in the headings, but must have been written at the same time or nearly so as chaps. xxxiii.—xlviii., which were not completed till in or after the twenty-fifth year of Ezekiel's captivity.[2]

Now, it is certainly conceivable that Ezekiel remained quite faithful to history and chronology, in the composition of his book, and therefore reproduced his older oracles exactly as they had been uttered by him many years before; but it is evident that he did *not* think himself obliged to follow such a course. The reader will remember the remarks lately made on chaps. xvii. and xxi., and must at once apply them to chap. xii., which is very closely akin to chap. xvii.[3] Let him farther consider the visits of the elders of Israel which are occasionally mentioned in the first part: they belong manifestly to the literary drapery.[4] The prophet evidently does not at all concern himself with the historical reality: for the benefit of his *readers*, to admonish and arouse them, he sketches with the utmost possible freedom a picture of his former labours, which must form a harmonious and striking whole in order to effect its object. That requisite it fully satisfies, but does not reproduce the facts exactly as they happened.

Though it may be impossible to reconcile such a method of procedure with our notions of literary good faith, yet it was not uncommon in ancient times, and specifically in Israel.

[1] Chap. xxxiii. 23—29, a prophecy intimately connected with the arrival of the fugitive, is followed immediately by chap. xxxiii. 30—33 parallel with chap. ii. 2—7.

[2] Chap. xl. 1. According to chap. xxix. 17, the postscript to the prophecies against Egypt, chap. xxix. 17—21, was written two years later.

[3] Above, p. 326 f.

[4] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 297 f.

Just as well as the authors of the book of Daniel, and of Jer. l., li., for example, could put their own expectations into the mouth of older prophets, so could Ezekiel also allow himself, in the interest of his readers, to deviate from the reality, and to group his facts in such a way as he thought serviceable for attaining the object which he had proposed to himself. Besides, the supposition that he did proceed thus is in entire conformity with what we know of his method as a writer. Let the reader recall to his recollection the inquiry formerly instituted, as well with regard to the symbolical actions, as with regard to the visions of the later prophets and the part which the angels fulfil in them.[1] Ezekiel, with full consciousness of what he is doing, makes a very ample use of the right to clothe his ideas in this freely chosen form. Provided only that the thoughts which he presents proceed from the spirit of Jahveh, he expresses them without any hesitation in such a way as the interests of his readers seem to demand, without troubling himself about the misconception which may, and indeed must, be produced from understanding his words literally.

The application of all this to our present subject is obvious. We express ourselves too weakly when we say that we have no certainty that Ezekiel predicted the fate of Jerusalem and of Zedekiah so long before and so exactly. We must go farther, and assert that the influence of the events themselves on the later redaction of the predictions can be here and there pointed out with the finger, and, according to analogy, must be everywhere assumed to exist. In so far as the prophecies of Ezekiel differ essentially from those of the earlier and later prophets in their character and their fulfilment, they are not real predictions, but historical reminiscences in a prophetical form, *vaticinia post eventum*.[2]

[1] See above, pp. 61, ff.; 80—82, 88—91.

[2] Following the steps of Ewald ("Prophet. des A. B.," II. 202—218) and Hitzig ("Der Prophet Ezechïel," p. vii., ff.), I have expounded and defended this view of the book of Ezekiel in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II., 295—306. J. Fürst agrees with that view in the chief points, in his "Gesch. der Bibl. Literatur," II., 610, ff. L. Zunz goes much further: first in his "Gottesd. Vorträge der Juden" (1832), pp. 157—162, and now lately in the "Zeitschrift der D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft," vol. xxvii. 676—681, 688, he endeavours to make it probable that Ezekiel should be brought down to the Persian period, more definitely to the years 440—400 B.C. This is not the proper place for judging this opinion.

Our investigation regarding the fulfilled prophecies is herewith brought to a close. The promise given in p. 279 has been performed. The proofs discussed by Tholuck are not taken from prophets later than Ezekiel. He does, indeed, remark farther, that the exact prediction of the fortunes of the Lagidæ and Seleucidæ in Dan. viii. and xi., ff., should not, in his view, present any sufficient objection against the exilic origin of the book of Daniel;[1] but, for the rest, he does not deny that this book is later, and that both these chapters contain no real prophecies, but a history of the past in the form of a prediction. Our investigation led to the same result,[2] so that we do not need to dwell further on the book of Daniel. As little do we need to notice the post-exilic prophets Haggai and Zechariah; because the assertion of Graetz[3] that their predictions regarding the glory of the second temple and the union of many Gentiles with Israel[4] have been "literally fulfilled," needs no express refutation. The accession of many proselytes from Syria, the countries on the Euphrates, Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, however remarkable, is no realisation, at least no literal realisation, of the expectations of those prophets: let the reader only observe the manner in which they represented the future to themselves.[5] The partial agreement between their anticipations and the subsequent reality—as part of which we now also reckon Christianity and its propagation among the heathen—is not, on this account, in any degree accidental. There is an inward connection between the immoveable faith of men like Haggai and Zechariah, and the victories which their religion gained in a gradually widening circle. Their confidence might be called the prophecy and the guarantee of the triumph of Judaism. But this is something different from what Graetz means: as proofs of the superhuman prescience of the Israelitish prophets, the passages to which he appeals have no value whatever.

We therefore now hasten to sum up, in a following chapter, the result of the whole inquiry into the relation between prophecy and the reality.

[1] *L.c.*, p. 109. [2] See above, pp. 141—147, 262—275.
[3] *L.c.*, p. 376. [4] Hagg. ii. 6—9; Zech. vi. 15; viii. 20—23.
[5] See Hagg. ii. 6, 21, 22; Zech. vi. 12, 13, 15 ("and they who dwell far off shall come and build in Jahveh's temple"), viii. 14, 15, 19.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PREDICTION OF THE FUTURE AND THE RELIGIOUS BELIEF OF THE PROPHETS OF JAHVEH.

WE now return to the point to which I have already directed attention at the commencement of the previous chapter.

According to their own solemn and reiterated assurance, the canonical prophets speak "the word of Jahveh." And yet with regard to the future both of the heathen nations and of their own people, they utter predictions which have *not* been realised. It is true indeed that there are, on the other hand, prophecies to which the issue has corresponded, but it appeared clearly to us, in the study of these fulfilled predictions, that they could by no means be regarded as decisive evidence of the supernatural origin of the knowledge possessed by the prophets, while, on the other hand, such an origin is directly contradicted, nay, *expressly excluded, by the unfulfilled predictions.*

Were then, it may be asked, the Israelitish prophets *deceivers?* They put themselves forward as interpreters of the divinity, while it is plain from the contents of their addresses, that they gave expression merely to their own subjective, fallible conception of the future course of events! Their "thus saith Jahveh," far from inspiring us with reverence, makes us suspicious of their good faith, and casts a dark shadow over their whole work.

Is this then the only conclusion which remains for us? It is frequently represented to be so; and especially by those who, on whatever grounds, deny the correctness of the results which we have obtained. The consequence to which our view must, as they assert, necessarily lead, is even one of their main proofs against the truth of that view. But we must not allow ourselves to be alarmed. It is perfectly true that to represent the Israelitish prophets as deceivers is as

absurd as it is offensive; we oppose such an opinion with all the strength of our conviction; we must be wilfully blind, if with their writings before us, we dare pass such a judgment upon them. But I also deny in the very strongest terms, that the result of the preceding investigation should drive us to any such conclusion. The dilemma which is held up to us—either interpreters of God in a supernatural sense, or deceivers—must even in itself inspire us with suspicion by its absolute character, and moreover falls to the ground as soon as we study further the prophetical writings. To that further study we therefore now proceed. I have from the beginning warned the reader against the error of supposing that the criticism of the predictions was identical with a complete estimation of the contents of the prophetical literature.[1] It thus follows naturally that we should not confine ourselves to that criticism, but should now, from other points of view as well, survey the field which lies before us.

Before proceeding to do so, I would make two remarks, which have reference to predictions in general, and which, on that very account, could find no place either in chapters v.—vii., or in chapter viii., where the predictions were considered one by one. They will serve at the same time to round off our previous investigation, and to prepare for what is to follow.

I wish, first of all, to direct attention to the *conditional character of the prophetical predictions.* Sometimes there can be no doubt with regard to that. When the prophet himself says: "*unless ye* repent, then, &c.," or conversely: "*if ye* obey my exhortations, then, &c.,"—in all these and such like cases the condition is plainly presented, and the result of compliance or the contrary as plainly shown. But proof exists that the positive prediction also—especially the announcement of judgment, and of course also the promise—was regarded as conditional. The prophets and their hearers proceed on the supposition that every change in the religious and moral condition of men has, as its immediate result, a corresponding modification of Jahveh's disposition and purposes. A most remarkable example of this has already come before us.[2] The—very positive—announcement of the fall

[1] See above, pp. 94—97, f.

[2] See above, pp. 161—167.

And again x. 5 it is promised that we shall find the following utterance: 'your ways are not my ways, and my ways are not your ways, saith Jahveh: as the heavens are high above the earth, so are my ways high above your ways, and my ways above your ways.'[1] It is by no means my opinion that these passages annul those formerly quoted, in which repentance is attributed to Jahveh, or even furnish a proof that these latter are not meant seriously or literally. In a historical investigation like this, such a mode of reasoning would be utterly out of place. I only wished to call attention to the fact that the theory of Retribution, while it claims to be founded in the Old Testament, comes into conflict with many passages in the Old Testament itself, and indeed offends the religious consciousness of some pious Israelites. Much less can it satisfy us. We can scarcely do any thing else than regard the—expressed or understood—conditional character of prophetical prediction as a proof of its *human* origin. But we shall not anticipate our further investigation: we shall very soon return to this most important point.

The *alternation in the announcements of one and the same prophet* is most intimately connected with the conditional *character of* the prophecies. I speak of "alternation" not of "development" or "increasing clearness." These too are not wanting,[2] and would probably appear still more plainly, *if we possessed* the prophetical addresses in the very form in which they were delivered orally, and could besides always arrange them with certainty in their chronological order. *But at present* I have something different in view. The *same* calamity is, to the same people, represented at one time as inevitable, at another as capable of being averted by conversion and devotion to Jahveh. Among the Israelitish prophets, Jeremiah is the only one of whom we possess a *biography*, or at least something which resembles a biography. But it is precisely in him that this alternation appears very strongly, and that in such a way, that it can scarcely be regarded as anything else than the revelation of the alternating moods of the prophet's mind.

Let the twenty-fifth and thirty-sixth chapters of Jeremiah

[1] Is. lv. 8, 9. [2] See above, pp. 292, 293.

be compared. Both belong to the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim.[1] According to the one, the punitive judgment cannot possibly be longer deferred: for twenty-three years Jeremiah had preached to his people the word of Jahveh; other men of God also had, without ceasing, exhorted to repentance; all had been in vain; Judah had not hearkened to Jahveh, but had provoked him by its godlessness; now therefore the hour of recompense also had struck.[2] But at the same time the prophet receives this command from Jahveh: "Take thee a book-roll, and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee concerning Israel, and concerning Judah, and concerning all the nations, from the day on which I spake unto thee, from the days of Josiah even unto this day. It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the evil which I purpose to do unto them; that they may return every man from his evil way, and that I may forgive their transgression and their sin."[3] A year afterwards, Jeremiah expresses the same hope, in a conversation with Baruch: "It may be they will pour forth their supplication before Jahveh, and will return, every one from his evil way, for great is the anger and the fury that Jahveh hath announced against this people."[4]

This example by no means stands alone. Chapters vii. and xxvi. of Jeremiah's prophecies likewise belong to the reign of Jehoiakim. The prediction of judgment is here expressly said to be conditional. Jeremiah is to proceed to the temple, and there speak what Jahveh shall put into his mouth, without keeping back anything: "perhaps they will hearken, and turn every man from his evil way, and I repent of the evil which I purpose to do unto them because of the wickedness of their doings."[5] In agreement with this, the widely diverse consequences which obedience and disobedience to Jahveh respectively involve, are sketched in the sequel.[6] "If ye"—so the promise runs—"positively amend your ways and your doings; if ye do justice between a man and his neighbour, oppress not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, shed no innocent blood in this place, and walk not after other

[1] Jer. xxv. 1; xxxvi. 1.
[2] Jer. xxv. 3—8.
[3] Jer. xxxvi. 2, 3.
[4] Jer. xxxvi. 7.
[5] Jer. xxvi. 1—3.
[6] Jer. xxvi. 4—6, and parallel to that, vii. 3—15.

gods to your hurt, then will I cause you to dwell in this place, in the land which I gave to your fathers, from eternity even to eternity."[1] But it is still, as if Jeremiah himself did not believe in the possibility of these exhortations being followed and carried out; for to the sketch of the sins of which Judah is guilty, he adds: "Because ye do all these deeds, saith Jahveh, and I, from the early morning onward, have spoken unto you, but ye heard me not, and have called you, but ye answered not —therefore will I deal with this house which is called by my name, wherein ye trust, and with the place which I gave to you and to your fathers, even as I have dealt with Shiloh."[2] And a few moments later, Jahveh forbids him to pray for his people, for "I will not hear thee;"[3] nay, he foretells to him, "thou shalt speak all these words unto them, but they will not hearken to thee, and call unto them, but they will not answer thee."[4]

The impossibility of the judgment being averted is here grounded on the evidently incurable impenitence of the people; *if* Judah were willing to hear, then the punishment might still be averted, but it is certain that Judah will not hear. If even this view is not quite in harmony with the hope expressed so clearly in the beginning of the same prophetical discourse, much less is the latter reconcilable with the conviction, that the overthrow of Judah has been already irrevocably determined, on account of the transgressions of Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah. Jeremiah expresses that conviction in chapters xiv. and xv., which again belong to the reign of Jehoiakim,[5] and the contents of which may be thus reproduced: Want and misery prevail everywhere in Judea; if the sins of the people are the cause of that misery, then let Jahveh show mercy; but his will is now to punish, and he forbids the prophet to pray for his fellow-countrymen; Jeremiah casts the blame on the prophets who lull the people asleep, whereupon Jahveh announces to them the same punishment as that which shall also strike the people. Jeremiah now ventures to intervene with a prayer for the deliverance of his people, but Jahveh assures him that even the

[1] Jer. vii. 5—7. [2] Jer vii. 13, 14. [3] Jer. vii. 16.
[4] Jer. vii. 27. [5] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz." II. 189, f.

prayer of Moses and Samuel would not avert the judgment, and that the sin of Manasseh, in which Judah had persevered, should not escape the merited punishment.[1] The expressions are altogether unequivocal: "I make them to be a terror to all the nations of the earth, *because of Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, king of Judah, for what he did in Jerusalem.* For who shall have pity upon thee, Jerusalem? and who shall bemoan thee? and who shall go aside to ask after thy welfare? Thou hast forsaken me, saith Jahveh, and art gone backward; therefore do I stretch out my hand against thee, and destroy thee; *I have become weary of repenting*" (that is, of reconsidering my threatenings of punishment).[2]

A sharp contrast to this prophecy is presented by another, which is likewise assigned to Jeremiah, and is even referred by many expositors to the reign of Jehoiakim.[3] It contains an emphatic exhortation to fidelity in the observance of the commandment regarding the sabbath, followed by the most glorious promises. "If ye," saith Jahveh, "diligently hearken unto me, and bring in no burden through the gates of this city on the sabbath day, and hallow the sabbath day by doing no work therein, then shall there enter through the gates of this city kings and princes seated on the throne of David, riding in chariots and on horses, they and their princes, the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and this city shall continue to eternity. . . . But if ye will not hearken unto me to hallow the sabbath day, and to bear no burden, and not to enter in on the sabbath day through the gates of Jerusalem, then will I kindle a fire in the gates thereof, which shall devour the palaces of Jerusalem, and shall not be quenched."[4] As will be observed, the promise here is quite as positive as the threatening. If Jahveh had prescribed nothing else than the sanctification of the sabbath, and no single transgression had yet been recorded in the catalogue of Judah's sins, the prophet could scarcely have expressed himself more strongly. If the words quoted indeed proceed from him, then it must be assumed that he wrote them down when he was wholly impressed with the sanctity of the sabbath rest; that having remarked the manifold violations of this one commandment,

[1] Jer. xiv. 1—xv. 10.
[2] Jer. xv. 4—6.
[3] Jer. xvii. 19—27.
[4] Jer. xvii. 24, 25, 27.

he for the moment makes everything dependent upon it. In a man of a sensitive and excitable nature like Jeremiah, such a temporary one-sidedness can easily be understood; he neither is, nor does, anything by halves. But such alternations seem to be altogether inconsistent with the strictly-objective conception of the expression, "thus saith Jahveh." We cannot, however, forbear stating that the authenticity of this sabbath-prophecy, though acknowledged by almost all expositors, is in truth doubtful. Geiger[1] and Rowland Williams[2] have referred to the close agreement between the demands made here and the spirit of the post-exilic period, and have thence concluded that the paragraph was introduced into the roll of Jeremiah's oracles in order to recommend the reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah. Probably they have right on their side. But if we agree with them, it is not because Jeremiah discloses other anticipations here than he does elsewhere, but because such a high estimation of one single ritual prescription can hardly be reconciled with the rest of his utterances regarding the will of Jahveh.[3]

Under the reign of Zedekiah, also, the prophet manifests the same inconsistency which we have thus far remarked in him. Sometimes he appears not yet to have given up all hope: if the Jews who are left, with their king at their head, would be willing to remain subject to Nebuchadrezzar, then they have nothing further to fear from him: "serve the king of Babylon and ye shall live! Wherefore should this city become a ruin?"[4] Because, in general, "the nations which bow their necks under the yoke of the king of Babylon and serve him, those nations will I (Jahveh) let remain in their own land, and they shall till that land, and dwell therein."[5] Even during the last siege of Jerusalem, he thinks it still possible to avert the catastrophe. So at least we understand his promise to Zedekiah: "Thou shalt not die by the sword; in peace shalt thou die, and according to the burnings of thy fathers, the former kings who have gone before thee, shall they make a burning for thee also, and

[1] "Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel," p. 95 ff.
[2] "Hebrew Prophets," II. 155 ff.
[3] See *e.g.* Jer. vii. 5, ff., 22, 23. On the other hand, Jer. xvii. 19—27 agrees with Isa. lvi. 1—7, and numerous passages of Ezekiel.
[4] Jer. xxvii. 17. [5] Jer. xxvii. 11.

at the same time they shall lament thee, saying, 'Ah, Lord!' for I have spoken a word, saith Jahveh."[1] The fulfilment of the promise depends upon a condition which is not expressed, at least in the text as it is now, the condition, namely, that Zedekiah should submit to Nebuchadrezzar.[2] But if Zedekiah resolved to adopt this course, and in consequence of doing so, died, and was mourned, as king, then Jerusalem also must be spared. Jeremiah, therefore, at that time, regarded this result as still possible; nay, some months later, he had not altogether abandoned this hope. He then answered Zedekiah, when that prince asked him to declare to him the word of Jahveh: "If thou goest out to the princes of the king of Babylon, then shall thy soul live, *and this city shall not be burned with fire*, and thou shalt live, and thine house. But if thou goest not out to the princes of the king of Babylon, then shall this city be given into the hands of the Chaldeans, and they shall burn it with fire, and thou shalt not escape out of their hand."[3] But with these prophecies we find others alternating, in which the fatal issue is depicted, in unambiguous terms, as being altogether inevitable. This is done in the answer given by Jeremiah to the messengers who had been sent to him by Zedekiah, the whole of which should be read.[4] The deliverance of Jerusalem is not thought of here for a moment; there is merely a prospect of escaping with life opened to those who leave the city, and go over to the Chaldean besiegers.[5] "I have," saith Jahveh, "set my face against this city for evil and not for good; into the hand of the king of Babylon shall it be given, and he shall burn it with fire."[6] Quite as positive is the denunciation which Jeremiah uttered, when the siege of Jerusalem was raised for a time, and the Chaldean army had marched to meet Pharaoh Hophra.[7] This passage is remarkable also for another reason. The besieged had just before been guilty of scandalous perfidy; the promise to set free their male and female slaves, which had been made in the time of distress, had been retracted by them when the danger was passed. Jeremiah now announces the fall of Jerusalem *on*

[1] Jer. xxxiv. 4, 5.
[2] See my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 201 f. (N. 14).
[3] Jer. xxxviii. 17, 18.
[4] Jer. xxi. 1—10.
[5] Jer. xxi. 9.
[6] Jer. xxi. 10.
[7] Jer. xxxiv. 12—22.

the ground of the perjury of its inhabitants. It is, therefore, self-evident that he thinks that fall inevitable. But is it not very remarkable, in connection with all that precedes, that here all stress is laid on this one fact, and the rest is lost sight of? The indignation which is shown there tends to the honour of the prophet; but is it not at the same time a striking proof that his subjectivity has an essential influence upon the contents of his predictions? Is it not as if in this elevation and depression, in this alternation of hope and fear, we hear the beating of his human heart?

I have not yet mentioned the prophecy which, from the point of view now chosen, is the most important of all.[1] It is probably the oldest of Jeremiah's predictions belonging to the reign of Zedekiah, and therefore precedes chronologically all the utterances which have just been discussed.[2] A comparatively favourable judgment is pronounced here regarding the captives who had been carried away shortly before; in any case, a happy future awaits them, because Jahveh shall have mercy upon them, and bring them back into their land.[3] On the contrary, the sentence passed on those who were left is very severe. They are compared to the bad figs that could not be eaten, which Jeremiah declares that he had seen in the vision. "As with the bad figs, which are not eaten because of their badness, so shall I," saith Jahveh, "deal with Zedekiah king of Judah, and with his princes, and with the residue of Jerusalem which has been left in this land, and with them who dwell in the land of Egypt. I will appoint them to be a terror and a plague to all the kingdoms of the earth, to be a reproach and a proverb, a taunt and a curse in all the places whither I shall drive them. And I will send against them the sword, the famine, and the pestilence, till they be consumed from off the land that I gave unto them and to their fathers."[4] Let the reader compare with this passage the almost contemporaneous prophecies already discussed! Is it possible to explain the difference here presented otherwise than from the—very natural—ebb and flow in the temper and in the judgment *of the prophet himself?*

[1] Jer. xxiv.

[2] Jer. xxiv. 1: "Jahveh showed me . . . after Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon had carried away captive Jeconiah," &c.

[3] Jer. xxiv. 4—7.

[4] Jer. xxiv. 8—10.

It would be in the highest degree unjust to reproach him for the weakness and the one-sidedness which he has in common with all men. It is not, therefore, for the purpose of placing him in an unfavourable light that we have brought out their influence on the form and contents of his predictions. No; our indication of this influence is directed against those who refer to God the prophecy as it there lies before us. In truth, they know not what they do. They ought, out of reverence for God's perfection, not to make him responsible for the natural results of man's limited nature.

There is no other prophet but Jeremiah whom we can thus accompany step by step in his career. The proof that the prophets in general spoke under the impression of the moment, and judged the same state of things at one time more, and at another less, favourably—that proof cannot be given. But there is nothing whatever which would lead us to see in Jeremiah an exception to the rule. What, therefore, we have plainly seen in him, we apply to the others also. We shall be answerable also for the conclusion which results directly from this application. If prophecy shows, in this way, marks of the subjectivity of the prophets, then they must have been conscious of it, at least to a certain extent. If they have in reality spoken in indignation or in anger, or under the impression produced by one specific fact, they will also have remembered this at a later period, and have judged their own word accordingly. In this way some light begins already now to dawn upon a phenomenon to which I formerly referred.[1] We heard Ezekiel himself acknowledge that his announcement of the fall of Tyre was not confirmed by the issue. That seemed to us irreconcilable both with the infallibility of prophecy, and with the assurance of the prophet that he announces the word of Jahveh, and nothing else. That is quite true; but what if it now appears plainly that Jeremiah also introduces into the collection of his oracles expectations which are at variance with each other, and assigns the one as well as the other to Jahveh? What if he calls that the "word of Jahveh" which was manifestly suggested also by the circumstances, and coloured by the temper,

[1] See above, pp. 108—111.

of the moment? But we shall return immediately to the declaration of Ezekiel now indicated.

We now widen the circle of our investigation. We have already too long confined our attention exclusively to the predictions and their realisation. We began with the study of them, not because the prophetical writings themselves led us to adopt such a course, but because we ventured to think that that investigation would lead us to clear and indisputable results, both in regard to the prophecies themselves, and especially in reference to the current theories concerning their origin. We see no reason to complain of this course of our study. The motives which led us to make that choice seem valid, and the results which we have obtained are not despicable. But we are now bound to hear *the prophets themselves* also regarding our arrangement of the materials. They must tell us whether we do them justice, when we place their predictions and the fulfilment of these predictions in the foreground. We wish to learn from them in what relation their predictions stand to the whole of their preaching and work. Our study of this point shall certainly not lose anything by the fact that we only begin it now, after we have taken cognisance of the contents of the prophecies and of their relation to the historical reality.

We can here proceed on an observation which has already forced itself upon us, while we were discussing the prophecies regarding the judgment upon Israel.[1] To the question, "fulfilled or not fulfilled," we received from time to time no clear or unambiguous answer. Nay, what is of greater significance, more than one paragraph of the prophetical writings, which yet treats of the future, scarcely admits of being regarded as *prediction*. This would be wholly inexplicable, if prediction had been the chief object of the prophets. On the other hand such a phenomenon is in the highest degree natural, if they had another task, a different aim. But such is indeed the case. Their business is not to communicate what *shall* happen, but to insist upon that which *ought* to happen. The maintenance of the Jahveh-worship as they comprehended it—that is what they had in view in the whole course of their activity.

[1] See above, pp. 149 f.

No objection is really entertained by any one against this general description of the aim of the prophet's work. It cannot be asserted in sober earnest that the prophets appeared among their people in order to satisfy curiosity—or, if the reader prefer, the interest—felt regarding the future: their discourses do not, by any means, convey such an impression. Every page of their writings shows them to have been censors of morals and preachers of repentance. They themselves say so; Micah, for example, when contrasting the tendency of his own work with that of the prophets whom he combats, thus characterises it: "But I am full of power, of the spirit of Jahveh, the spirit of judgment and courage, *to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.*"[1] Jeremiah, in his turn, lays down this general rule: "The prophets who have been before me from ancient times till now, have prophesied to many lands and mighty kingdoms of war, misfortune, and pestilence,"[2] or, in other words, they were preachers of judgment, and in so preaching, they fulfilled the task committed to them, and furnished the proof that they had been sent by Jahveh. It is here taken for granted that the religious and moral condition, both of the Gentiles and of Israel, was very defective and insulting to Jahveh. Whoever perceived and expressed that truth; whoever consequently announced the judgment of Jahveh in its different forms,—that man, just by that characteristic, was shown to be the interpreter of Jahveh. On the contrary, the prophet who prophesied of prosperity (that is, who did not insist on conversion, and expected no punishment) would be known to have been sent by Jahveh only when his word had come to pass.[3] So Jeremiah speaks, of course in the firm conviction that such a joyful message would be contradicted by the issue, to the shame of him who had delivered it.

The inference from this does not seem doubtful. The prediction of the future possesses a secondary importance for the prophets themselves. It is not the end at which they aim, but the means which they employ. In their spirit, it must be regarded as threatening or promise, as impressive warning or powerful encouragement.

For the present, I refrain from giving any fuller specification

[1] Micah iii. 8. [2] Jer. xxviii. 8. [3] Jer. xxviii. 9.

of this result. It is evident, at a glance, that it is capable of two interpretations: the prediction may be intended strictly and literally, notwithstanding the subordinate position assigned to it, or it may also be understood less rigidly and strictly, for the very reason that it is not the principal point. Which of these two views is the true one cannot appear clearly till afterwards.

I now remark farther that prediction is not only of secondary importance for the prophets themselves, but is also *dependent on something else*, if, indeed, it is not *derived from something else*. Its contents are determined by the *conception* which the prophet has formed of *Jahveh's nature and attributes*. How could it be otherwise? Jahveh can do nothing which is opposed to his nature; but again, conversely, he must do that which results from his nature. We have there propositions, of which every believer will approve, and to which undoubtedly the prophets also assented. Their conception of the future therefore was always dependent on their conviction regarding Jahveh's nature. It was indeed possible that they might know, by supernatural revelation, *more* of the future than could be deduced by legitimate inference from their ideas regarding the nature of Jahveh; but it was impossible that the matter of their predictions could ever be opposed to their concept of God—if I may be allowed to employ here this philosophical term.

As regards this point, however, we must not remain satisfied with an appeal to the nature of the case. It appears further positively, that prediction is dependent on the way in which the prophets regard Jahveh's nature and attributes. This is apparent *first of all*, from the mutual agreement of the two; that which Jahveh, according to the prophets, *shall do*, is in perfect harmony with that which, according to their conviction, he *is;* but it is apparent *no less* from the conditional character of the predictions to which I lately directed attention. The realisation of the threatenings and promises is, we saw, made (or at least thought) to be, dependent on the moral condition of those to whom they were directed. Jahveh is always self-consistent, but, for that very reason, he retracts his promises and threatenings as soon as the state of things has become different in consequence of conversion or apostasy; if he

did not act thus, he would, according to the conviction of the prophets, cease to be righteous. In other words, *the realisation* of the prophecy is always dependent on Jahveh's nature. Must not then its purport also be determined by that nature? It is at least the most obvious course to assume provisionally that such is the case. Let me add to these considerations, *in the last place,* that the alternation or dissimilarity also of the prophetical predictions seems to indicate that they are dependent on something else. It is at least explained at once and perfectly, when we regard these predictions as *postulates,* as the application to specific persons, conditions, and occurrences of a universal rule, of a certain firm conviction regarding Jahveh's relation to Israel, or to men in general. But I reserve till a later time the farther development of this idea, which would lead us too far from our present subject.

Enough has been already said to convince us of the high importance, nay, of the absolute necessity, of an inquiry into the theology of the prophets, if I may, for the sake of brevity, thus designate their ideas about Jahveh, his nature, his attributes, and the manner in which they are revealed in the government of the world. It is obvious that we have enough for our object, when we know the chief points, and that we do not need to involve ourselves in the study of th particulars, for example, of the peculiar opinions of this or that prophet. We have besides only to occupy ourselves with those attributes of Jahveh which exercise a direct influence on the government of the world; all that lies beyond cannot of course have produced any effect on the expectations of the prophets. Let the following brief sketch be regarded from this point of view.

The prophets' conception of Jahveh's nature can be most easily deduced from their doctrine about the position of Jahveh in reference to Israel. Jahveh has placed himself in a particular relation to Israel, he has redeemed that people out of Egypt, established them in Canaan, and has continuously revealed himself to Israel. His power extends farther, and embraces all mankind as well as the entire natural world; but in this wider domain he shows himself the same as in his guidance of Israel, in which narrower sphere he merely exhibits more distinctly his nature and his

attributes. In so far as he makes upon the people chosen by him demands different from those made upon the rest of the nations, these requirements result directly from the covenant into which he has entered with Israel.

Jahveh is *the holy one* ("Kadhôsh.") Whatever this attribute may have been originally,[1] it has become with the prophets a *moral* quality. It is not to be regarded as one of the many excellences of Jahveh, but rather as the fundamental character of his nature. It is thus also self-evident that it is no inactive attribute, but manifests itself powerfully in the outer world. As the *Holy one*

Jahveh *hallows* Israel,

And he claims *to be hallowed by Israel.* These two ideas do not admit of being rigorously kept distinct, but it will be conducive to perspicuity to develop them separately.

The hallowing of Israel by Jahveh consists in his choosing that people out of, and separating them from, the other nations, and dedicating them to his service.[2] But this service again is in accordance with his holy nature. He is worshipped by means of sacrifices and festivals in the temples and sanctuaries consecrated to him. The prophets however attribute little value to these solemnities and to external worship in general.[3] On the other hand they insist on purity of conduct, on honesty, on righteousness, practised towards the poor and the weak also, on love manifested in acts.[4] Obedience to Jahveh's will, hearkening to his instruction ("thorah," commonly rendered by "law,")[5] consists, according to them, in the performance of these virtues.

The hallowing of Jahveh by Israel is reverential awe towards him, the fear of his name.[6] That these dispositions should be converted into deeds, into a life, in short, in accordance with Jahveh's moral commands, is a matter of course.

[1] See this subject more fully discussed in chap. xv.

[2] Amos ii. 9, 10; iii. 1; Hos. xi. 1; xii. 9; xiii. 4; Is. i. 4 (the Holy One *of Israel*) &c., &c.

[3] Amos v. 21—23; Hos. vi. 6; Is. i. 11—14; Micah vi. 6—8; Jer. vii. 21—23.

[4] See the passages quoted in my "Godsdienst van Israël," I. 65, note 1. (I. 60, 1st note, English Translation), and especially Amos v. 14, 15; Hos. x. 12; xii. 7; Is. i. 16, 17; Micah vi. 6—8.

[5] See *l. c.*, vol. I., p. 60, f. (vol. I. pp. 55, 56, English Translation).

[6] Is. viii. 13; xxix. 23.

It might have seemed superfluous to direct attention expressly to this, if the prophetical conception of awe for Jahveh, and of truly reverential trust in him, had not possessed characteristics peculiar to itself. One of these cannot remain unnoticed here. Jahveh requires that Israel should acknowledge him in all his majesty, and confide exclusively in him. All that resembles self-exaltation and reliance on their own strength is sin in the eyes of Jahveh. Let the reader regard from this point of view the prophets' disapprobation of the building of fortresses, of the procuring of cavalry, of covenants with foreign nations; and similarly, especially in Isaiah, the war waged against all that is eminent, high, and powerful.[1] These ideas are based upon an opposition which we can very well understand, though it is one which we are not accustomed to make. We look upon wealth and power as gifts of God, the possession of which *may* indeed lead to self-exaltation, but still does not always produce that result, and is therefore, in itself, innocent. The prophets go further. In their view, human power stands *opposed* to that of Jahveh, and he is served by the contempt of *that* power. The experiences gained in Israelitish society have undoubtedly contributed to the rise and development of this idea. It was in the higher classes that the prophets found the most to blame; it is the sins of these classes against which their denunciations of punishment are chiefly directed; with the simple and lowly their preaching found in general much more acceptance. This could not possibly fail to exercise an influence upon their judgment of the qualities and prerogatives which distinguished the great from the small. But in addition to this, there was also their conception of Jahveh's nature. It has often been said that theism almost always inclines either to deism or to pantheism. There can be no doubt of the direction in which the prophets' conception of God leans; it is towards deism, towards the separation of God and nature, of God and mankind. It was—it may be said—an important part of their office to be on the watch, and warn, against the identification of these two. Is it any wonder that they fell

[1] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," I. 39—43, 67—69 (I. 36—39, 61—63, English Translation).

occasionally into the opposite extreme, and thought that the glorification of Jahveh lay in man's powerlessness, humiliation, and helplessness? But whatever opinion may be formed regarding the causes from which this peculiarity of the prophetical mode of thinking is to be explained, so much is certain that we were not at liberty to overlook it. A knowledge of the opposition, which runs through the prophets' mode of thinking, is absolutely indispensable for the right conception and estimation of it.

The Holy One of Israel is at the same time *the righteous*.[1] Jahveh rewards goodness and punishes wickedness. That this is the conviction of the prophets needs no proof. It will also, expressed thus generally, hardly meet with any contradiction, because it coincides with the recognition of a moral government of the world. But what ideas did the prophets entertain regarding the nature of that reward and that punishment? We have here a very important question, to which we desire, especially with an eye to our present purpose, an unequivocal answer. But it cannot be difficult to find such an answer. Submission to the prescriptions of Jahveh is, according to the prophets, rewarded by *material* blessings, and, on the contrary, disobedience to them is punished by *material* calamities. According to the traditional view, their preaching is founded on the Mosaic law. If this is true, then, at least, they will not have had any doubt at all regarding this connection, for it is taught in the Law as clearly as possible. Already in the Ten Commandments, a long life in the land given by Jahveh is said to be the reward of him who honours his parents.[2] But above all in Lev. xxvi. and in Deut. xxviii., xxx., prosperity and adversity are placed over against each other as the consequences, appointed by Jahveh, of loyalty and disloyalty to him.[3] The defenders of the authenticity of the Pentateuch gladly direct attention to the numerous prophetical utterances which agree with these threatenings and promises. In so far they are right, as the prophets have indeed represented in the same

[1] "The holy god sanctifies himself by (shows himself holy in) righteousness." Is. v. 16.

[2] Exod. xx. 12; Deut. v. 16.

[3] See especially the parallel passages, Lev. xxvi. 3—13; Deut. xxviii. 1—14; and on the other side, Lev. xxvi. 14—39; Deut. xxviii. 15—68.

way the reward of piety and the punishment of disobedience. No doubt can be entertained on this point. Isaiah describes the commission which Jahveh gives to his prophets, in this manner: "Say, with the righteous it is well, for the fruits of their deeds they enjoy. Alas! with the godless it is ill, for recompense of what he does is given to him."[1] The prophecies of judgment, and the announcement of prosperity, which the preceding chapters of this work adduce, at least in their main features, can be regarded as the commentary on this commission. We have still a very clear recollection of the manner in which Jahveh's anger becomes manifest in all kinds of physical disasters: drought, failure of crops, famine, pestilence, disasters in war, and captivity, are the punishments appointed by him. On the other hand he blesses his own with abundance of corn, wine, and oil, spares and prolongs their life, grants them victory in battle against their enemies, and reduces these foes under their sway. The quotation of any passages is here entirely superfluous; every page of the prophetical writings furnishes numerous examples. We have only to state that there is no reason to regard either the threatenings or the promises of the prophets as figurative; and as little to see in the disasters and blessings of which they hold out the prospect, nothing more than types, vivid representations of the general notions, designated by the terms bad fortune and good fortune. Of course everything is not to be literally understood. The prophets are poets, and the plain prosaic interpretation does them injustice. But they are perfectly in earnest in their doctrine about the connection between the moral condition and the worldly fortunes of the Israelites. We are not at all justified in transferring to an entirely different, to a spiritual sphere, either their threatening of punishment, or their announcement of felicity.

The righteousness of Jahveh, the nature and manifestation of which I have just described, is announced by the prophets with reference to an entire nation. They address themselves, at least as a rule, not to single individuals, but to Israel. In accordance with this, the punishments which they announce are *national calamities*, the rewards which they

[1] Is. iii. 10, 11.

promise are *national blessings*. But, however deeply penetrated with a sense of the unity of the Israelitish nation and the joint responsibility which connected all its members, they yet never failed to notice the immense difference which presented itself to view within the limits of that one whole. What influence had this on their conception of Jahveh's rewards and punishments? Their representation is, in general, this: the judgment shall overtake and destroy the godless; Jahveh's faithful servants shall be spared; the future felicity is destined exclusively for those who shall devote themselves to Jahveh with all their heart. It could scarcely escape their notice that this distinction, however natural and just, presented great difficulties if viewed in the light of actual experience: in how many instances were the innocent struck along with the guilty by the national calamity! This is not the place to give a full exposition of the manner in which the prophets thought on the whole of this problem. That it really was a *problem*, on the stand-point assumed by them, we may learn from Ezekiel. He, as is well known, expressly declares his conception of the righteousness of Jahveh.[1] His utterances have a very positive sound. He teaches that there is the most absolute agreement between a man's moral condition, as that exists at any given moment, and Jahveh's determinations regarding him. The righteous man shall live, that is, shall not be afflicted by the judgment which strikes the wicked; but his virtue is of no avail to others, not even to those who are most closely related to him, and profits himself only so long as he perseveres in it. So also on the other hand: the godless man shall die, that is, shall perish in the judgment; but his children shall not participate in his misfortune, unless they deserve such a doom by their own wickedness; and if he himself turns from his sin, then his wickedness is no more remembered, and the punishment is averted from him. What the prophet is thinking of when he places "life" and "death" over against each other in these prophecies, we may learn especially from the first of them.[2] When, he saith, a land sins against Jahveh, and is punished by him—with the sword, famine, noisome beasts, or pestilence—then shall righteous men, such as Noah,

[1] Ezek. xiv. 12—23; xviii.; xxxiii. 10—20. [2] Ezek. xiv. 12—23.

Daniel, and Job, who dwell in that land, "deliver their own souls," that is, shall escape all these punishments, shall not lose their life through them; but even their sons and daughters shall not be spared. It is thus apparent that Ezekiel is thinking of physical calamities, sent by Jahveh, and makes every man's share in them dependent upon the manner in which he conforms to the moral requirements of Jahveh. But is it not therefore also as clear as noon-day that his utterances are nothing more than the necessary corollaries of the dogma once assumed? They are certainly not derived from experience. That bore witness to the fact which the Israelites expressed in their proverb: "the fathers eat sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."[1] Ezekiel opposes this proverb with all the force of which he is capable; it sounds as blasphemy in his ears; he places in opposition to it the most positive asseverations of the contrary. But he does not refute it. His whole demonstration amounts merely to declaring that it *can not* be true. But what, if it nevertheless is true?

I have here fallen involuntarily into a criticism of one of the most important elements of the prophetical conviction. Indeed, we cannot withdraw ourselves from that criticism. But I must be permitted to make a single remark upon the idea of the prophets regarding confidence in Jahveh, and true reverence for him, before we proceed to examine, with the requisite fulness, their conception of Jahveh's righteousness. I have already indicated, in my exposition of those ideas, that they do not agree with ours.[2] The greatness of the difference is striking. How is it to be explained? Was the divine government really another thing for the Israelites than it is for us, so that they *were bound* to neglect what we *could not* disregard without tempting God? Was there really, at that time, *another rule* for estimating power, greatness, and distinction, than holds good with us? Or have we here to do with a subjective conviction of the prophets, which we can respect, it is true, but not approve? The latter supposition is, beyond all comparison, more probable than the former; but as I can imagine that this will not be universally acknowledged, we shall, in the meantime, suspend our judgment on

[1] Ezek. xviii. 2. [2] Above, p. 349.

the point. The ideas entertained by the prophets regarding the righteousness of Jahveh can, from their nature, be much more easily tested, than their mode of thinking about the character of genuine trust in God. Both run in lines so parallel, that the rejection of the former must, of itself, lead to the condemnation of the latter, while, conversely, the acceptance of the first will result in the recognition of the second. We proceed, therefore, to pass a judgment upon the doctrine of the prophets regarding Jahveh's rewards and punishments, in the conviction that it will shed light also on the other point now discussed.

Without the slighest hesitation, I express my opinion of this doctrine. While paying homage to the *earnestness* of the prophets' conception of the righteousness of Jahveh, we must positively deny its *truth*. We do so on the ground of experience: for experience, in the most unequivocal manner, contradicts the assertion, that the outward fortune either of a nation or of the individual, is determined by the moral condition of the one or the other. It teaches that God causes his sun to rise on the good and the bad, and sends rain on the just and the unjust. That the sword, the famine, the noisome beast, or the pestilence should spare the pious and strike the godless—of such a condition of things experience knows nothing, absolutely nothing.

But, it may perhaps be asked, is this a refutation of the doctrine of the prophets? They have not, surely, announced that, universally and in every case, the outward condition of nations and men affords a standard for judging of their relation to Jahveh and his will? If their preaching is understood in this way, then their meaning is misapprehended in two respects. *First* of all, by inverting their assertion: they prophesy that Jahveh shall punish and reward in this manner, by calamities and prosperity, but in saying so they do not mean that every calamity or every blessing is to be regarded as the manifestation of his anger or of his approbation. In the *second* place, the prophets do not treat of the laws which Providence follows in determining the destinies of mankind, but of the special guidance of Israel by Jahveh. Surely it will not be asserted, that what is true of the latter, must also necessarily be applicable, to the full extent, to the former wider domain!

These objections must be weighed with all the exactitude possible. The importance of the question with which we are engaged is unmistakably great. We owe it, in justice to the prophets, both to reproduce their view with perfect precision, and to be on our guard not only against incorrect representation, but also against involuntary misconception.

As regards the first objection to our view, we must acknowledge at once, that it is not always permissible to invert the proposition which is placed before us for judgment, and in this way to test it. But, *in this specific case*, the prophets themselves at least would not object to our adopting such a course; or rather they set us the example of doing so. Let the reader examine how Amos regards the disasters by which Israel had been already smitten at the time in which he prophesied.[1] Famine, drought, blight, mildew, and locusts, pestilence and earthquake, had succeeded each other; in the view of the prophet they were so many punitive judgments, intended—but unsuccessfully, as appeared by the result—to bring Israel to repentance. So speaks one of the oldest prophets. But the post-exilic Haggai does not judge otherwise. Drought and stunted growth make the harvest of his contemporaries a failure; it is because they are negligent in building the temple, "therefore the heaven withholds the dew, and the earth her fruits."[2] Indeed, we cannot be surprised to find the prophets expressing themselves in this manner. If they had made the distinction, which the apologists of the present day force upon them, if they had thus assumed two categories of national disasters—the common disasters and those appointed by Jahveh as punishments—then they must have expressly said so, and they could not have abstained from declaring their opinion regarding these *common* disasters. These latter calamities could not, in that case, be regarded as proofs of Jahveh's displeasure. But what judgment, then, was to be formed regarding them? This question could the less be suffered to remain unanswered, because the people knew nothing of that distinction, and therefore must have thought that, when the prophets spake of famine, pestilence, &c., they were referring to the same phenomena which every one at that time knew by his own

[1] Amos iv. 6—11. [2] Hag. i. 5—11.

experience. This farther consideration also must not be overlooked: although *in our days* the misfortunes which the prophets threaten, may have become comparatively rare, *then* and *in Israel*, they were only of too frequent occurrence. It was therefore next to impossible to understand the language of the prophets otherwise than we do, when we find in it the expression of what they held as being the universal rule.

The remarks made above serve also, in part, to refute the second objection; for the prophets speak too much in general terms to admit of our regarding them as having thought of the special dispensations of Jahveh with regard to Israel, and of them alone. But there are still other reasons which render it impossible to accept such a view. The prophets pass judgment on the heathen also; to them also they announce the judgments of Jahveh. In doing so, they at first place themselves entirely on the Israelitish stand-point, and make the future of the heathen dependent on their conduct towards Israel. It might therefore be asserted that, in these predictions also, they express not their conception of the moral government of the world, but their belief regarding what Jahveh will do exclusively in the interest of Israel. But this position cannot be maintained. Amos, whose horizon is still somewhat limited, who announces the judgments of God only to the neighbours of Israel, yet includes among the sins whose punishment he expects, one transgression also which was committed, not against Israel, but by Moab against Edom.[1] Isaiah, as we formerly saw, is repeatedly occupied with the Assyrians, and in like manner also with Egypt and Ethiopia. Jeremiah embraces a still wider circle in his threatenings, especially in chap. xxv. It is, in truth, the *universal system of divine government* which is described by these prophets, and by the others along with them. Israel always continues, in their view, to be the pivot around which history revolves. But this does not imply that those dispensations of Jahveh's which concern Israel, and have Israel in view, constitute a separate system in the midst of the general government of the world. Of such a dualism, of such an *imperium in imperio*, there is nowhere any evidence what-

[1] Amos ii. 1; while in chap. i. 3, 6, 9, 11, 13, reference is made to the conduct of the neighbouring tribes towards Israel.

ever. We should force upon the prophets ideas altogether strange to them, if we were to distinguish the moral order of the world in general from the order which they describe.

But supposing the case were otherwise, what would be gained by showing that the prophets made such a distinction? Can it be asserted in sober earnest, that the agreement between men's lot in life and their moral state, which existed *nowhere else*, was actually met with *in Israel?* It is really superfluous to enlarge on this question; because an answer in the affirmative would involve in it that, in consequence of the peculiar relation between Jahveh and Israel, the course of nature was modified, not occasionally, but uniformly, in so far as it had an influence on Israel's lot. That no trace of such modification anywhere appears, does not require to be declared. Indeed it is plain, on the contrary, that in Israel also a striking contrast was frequently remarked between men's moral state and their lot in life. We mention only a few of the numberless texts which refer to this point. The popular proverb to which I have already called attention was: "The fathers eat unripe grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." The prophet Jeremiah does not venture to deny the truth of this saying—which he yet could have done, and must have done, if everyone had received a reward according to his works. On the contrary, according to him, the proverb was true *for the present*, but a time would come when it would be used no more, for then "every one shall die for his own iniquity, and every man who eateth sour grapes, his teeth shall be set on edge."[1] When the same Jeremiah exhorted his fellow exiles in Egypt to abstain from idolatry, the assembled multitude said to him in reply: "As for the word which thou hast spoken unto us in the name of Jahveh, we do not hearken unto thee. Rather we will certainly fulfil the word which has gone forth out of our mouth, and burn incense in honour of the Queen of heaven, and pour out drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem: then were we satisfied with bread, and were prosperous, and saw no evil. But since we have left off to burn incense in

[1] Jer. xxxi. 29, 30.

honour of the Queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her, we have wanted everything, and have been consumed by the sword and by the famine."[1] On his side, Jeremiah sees in the desolation of Judea the punishment appointed by Jahveh for the nation's idolatry;[2] but he is unable to reply to the reasoning of his opponents. Indeed he could not assert that the generation then living were more culpable than their forefathers. The reformation of Josiah—to which event the Egyptian exiles allude, when they speak of the cessation of the offerings in honour of the Queen of heaven—had actually effected a great improvement; and yet it had been followed by a series of disasters which reached their climax in the utter extinction of the kingdom of Judah. We are of course far from approving the view of history taken by Jeremiah's opponents, and from ascribing, with them, the misfortunes of Israel to the anger of the Queen of heaven. What we assert is merely that they, *on their standpoint*, are not in the wrong, and that Jeremiah cannot appeal to the facts in favour of his view. But does not all this imply that even in the history of the Israelitish people, search was made in vain for that agreement between the outward lot and the relation to Jahveh, which the prophets regarded as the manifestation of Jahveh's righteousness? If anyone still entertains a doubt on this subject, let him recall to mind the complaints about the prosperity of the godless and the calamities of the righteous with which the Psalms overflow, or the book of Job, the theme of which is precisely the suffering of the pious, or finally, the asseveration of the Preacher that "all things come alike to all, to the righteous and the godless, to the good, and to the clean, and to the unclean, to him who sacrificeth and to him who sacrificeth not: as is the good so is the sinner, he who sweareth, as he who feareth an oath."[3] Malachi had to contend with people who declared: "Everyone who doeth evil is good in the eyes of Jahveh, and in them he delighteth;"[4] "we call the proud happy; yea, they who work wickedness are built up; although they tempt God, yet they escape."[5]

[1] Jer. xliv. 15-18.
[2] *Ibid.*, vv. 20-23.
[3] Eccles. ix. 2, compare verse 11.
[4] Mal. ii. 17.
[5] Mal. iii. 15.

No one certainly will wish to defend the disposition to which these complaints testify; but even the men most greedy of material rewards could not have uttered them, if harmony between men's moral state and their lot in life had been, in Israel, anything more than a mere postulate of faith. Again the prophet does not attempt to show the groundlessness of these complaints, but refers to "the day of Jahveh," when even those who now thought themselves wronged "should see the difference between the righteous and the godless, between him who serveth God and him who serveth Him not."[1]

The exceptions which could be alleged against our judgment on the prophets' conviction regarding the righteousness of Jahveh, are now clearly seen to be without foundation. That judgment itself, therefore, remains intact. We are now fully justified in bringing it into connection with the results of our previous investigation. How perfectly it agrees with these results is obvious at once. To express it briefly: the prophetical prediction of the future now presents itself to us as the necessarily incorrect conclusion drawn from premises which themselves were only half correct. It now no longer surprises us that the investigation, instituted in chapters v.—vii., led to so negative a result. We might have foretold that such would be the case, if we had begun by studying the prophets' way of thinking concerning Jahveh's government of the world. Now the conclusion formerly obtained is *explained*, and thus at the same time *confirmed*, by the result of that study.

This result gives, moreover, a satisfactory explanation of two phenomena, to which we have previously referred, but which we could not at that time quite clear up.

The points to which I allude are these. When we make the prophetical predictions subordinate to the religious convictions of the prophets, it becomes intelligible to us, *in the first place*, how they could attach so little value to their own consistency. It would, indeed, be more than singular that they should have disclosed, at one time one prospect of the future, and at another time a different one, or even—as for example Ezekiel[2]—should have simply retracted

[1] Mal. iii. 18. [2] Chap. xxix. 17—21; compare pp. 110, 111, and 343.

prophecies formerly uttered, if they had seen, in the announcement of what was to happen, their own proper office, or even an essential part of their office. On the other hand, this variation can be easily explained, if it is properly *the righteousness of Jahveh*, which they preach and apply. In that case the fulfilment of their predictions can be, to themselves, to a certain extent, matter of indifference; that is to say, the fulfilment in this or that specific form, at that specific time. It is to them a settled truth that Jahveh is righteous, and not less, that at some period his righteousness shall be revealed in a dazzling and unmistakable manner; but *how* and *when* this revelation shall take place, is a question of subordinate importance. Just as in the case of Jeremiah and Malachi,[1] they appeal from the present, in which the distinction between the righteous and the godless often fails to be discerned, to the future, when this distinction would be obvious to all; so also, when their anticipations were not realised, they will have easily satisfied themselves with the thought that the fulfilment would doubtless occur at a later period. In truth it makes *a very essential difference*, whether any event is estimated *in and on account of itself*, or as *the form in which something else is revealed*. In the first case, its non-realisation is a bitter disappointment, and, for him who announced it, a painful humiliation; but this bitterness and this pain are not felt when recourse is at once had to the conviction: if it is not fulfilled now, then it will be fulfilled at a later time; the righteousness of Jahveh endures, and *must* positively some time come to light.

In the *second place*, the disagreement of the prophets with each other finds its natural explanation in the fact, that the prediction was dependent on the religious conviction of the prophets. It has already become clearly apparent to us that the Israelitish prophets of Jahveh, on more than one occasion, stood opposed to each other. The most of our canonical prophets had again and again to contend anew against fellow-prophets who, as well as they, bore the name of *nabi*, and announced the word of Jahveh, and were moreover commonly reverenced by the people as the interpreters of the deity in a far higher degree than they themselves were.

[1] See above, pp. 357 ff.

The "yea" of the one was opposed to the "nay" of the other, and conversely.[1] But this is not all; the canonical prophets themselves also differ from each other; Isaiah and Micah are not at one with regard to the destiny which awaits Jerusalem; Jeremiah sees the future of the kingdom of Judah in much darker colours than either Habakkuk, or Joel, or the author of Zechariah xii.—xiv.[2] I have already remarked that the conflict between the canonical and the so-called false or lying prophets is accounted for very imperfectly, or rather not at all, if we regard all the latter, without distinction, as cunning impostors, who passed themselves off as interpreters of Jahveh for the sake of gain or other base motives.[3] Much less does the mutual difference between the canonical prophets admit of being cleared up this manner. On the other hand, both that conflict and that difference are at once explained when we take into account the influence of the prophetical conception of Jahveh's character and attributes. For it results from the nature of the case that even they, who agreed perfectly in their ideas of these attributes, would sometimes differ from each other in the judgment which they formed of the religious and moral condition of their contemporaries, and then of course also in the expectations which they entertained with regard to their future. It is one rule which they apply, but not with the same result, because their estimation of the object which falls under the rule is not the same. The difference becomes still greater, when the rule itself which is applied is not altogether the same. And such a case is actually presented here. All the prophets, without distinction, believed both in the election of Israel by Jahveh and in the holiness and righteousness of Jahveh; but, very naturally, the relation between these two convictions was not exactly the same with the one as with the other. *One* placed the election in the foreground, and made the revelation of Jahveh's righteousness subordinate to it; or, what amounts to the same thing, conceived of it as especially operative against the enemies of Israel. *Another*, on the contrary, took the holiness of Jahveh as his starting-point, and came to the conclusion that even the chosen people should not be spared. Any farther development of these ideas seems

[1] See pp. 48 ff. [2] See pp. 164 f., 169 f., 174 ff., 307 ff. [3] See p. 92.

superfluous. When, in a former chapter, I noted the difference between Jeremiah and his contemporaries, I remarked that it directly indicated a difference of judgment regarding the condition in which Judah then was.[1] That was, in another form, the same opinion which I at present defend. That the one found that condition tolerable, while the other judged it so unfavourably, arose really from the fact that with the first Jahveh's holiness and righteousness were tempered by his relation to Israel, while the second, just reversely, was firmly convinced that Jahveh must be manifested as the Holy and Righteous above all to the covenant-people. The two modes of looking at the subject, which I have here contrasted with each other as sharply as possible, had of course each its own shades, and could thus come into combination with each other in very different ways, so that our view accounts not only for the directly conflicting predictions, such as those of Hananiah and Jeremiah, but also for the less striking divergences which present themselves to our notice when we compare the canonical prophets with each other. Frequently the difference is clearly seen to be of such a kind that we should be very unwilling to make a choice between them; sometimes again we choose our side with ease, and unhesitatingly call the one judgment superficial or one-sided, the other unexceptionable and correct. But even in the latter case we disapprove without condemning—that is, without assailing the moral character of those whose estimation of the circumstances we reject. It is indeed no small recommendation of our view that it relieves us from the duty of passing upon men of whom we know nothing evil—a sentence which leaves nothing good remaining in them.

And yet I have not stated the chief recommendation of that view. The principal difficulty itself which was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, but which then had to be left unsolved, is now removed, as with one stroke, by this view of the prophetical predictions. The great self-confidence with which the prophets published their threatenings and promises as the "word of Jahveh," is now no longer an enigma to us. If their predictions had had no foundation in their religious belief, then in order to utter them in Jahveh's name, they would

[1] See pp. 172—179; compare 306, ff.

have required a definite warrant, and one, so to say, renewed on every occasion. If this warrant was not forthcoming, they would then either have had to announce their expectations as their personal anticipations, or would have been guilty of presumption, if they had, notwithstanding, prefaced them with their "thus saith Jahveh." But the matter assumes a different aspect now that the prediction of the future also may, on good grounds, be regarded as a result of the religious conviction of the prophets. It could now be no object of doubt for themselves. It must have been as certain to them as their religious belief itself, which had grown along with their whole inner life, and had become inseparable from it. The "thus saith Jahveh" must have flowed from their mouth quite involuntarily and naturally, for did they not *know* that Jahveh the God of Israel was the Holy and Righteous? Even the disappointment of the expectations thus expressed could not perplex them or make them doubt of their being in the right; because, as we recently remarked,[1] they limited that disappointment, at once and as of course, to the form of their anticipations, and remained as firmly convinced as before of the truth of the matter itself.

We must not disguise from ourselves the importance of these views. They involve nothing less than a revolution in our understanding of Israelitish prophecy. In a former chapter we dwelt on the form of the prophetical revelation, on the calling of the prophets, on their visions, and on the (objective) marks of their having been sent by Jahveh. The extreme difficulty of proceeding upon these things was already clear to us then: the ground on which we had hoped to find firm footing seemed from time to time to reel beneath us.[2] We now think ourselves justified in going further and stating the proposition: whatever final judgment may be pronounced upon these phenomena, the key to the interpretation of prophecy is certainly not to be found in them. It plainly appears to be a peculiar form in which the inner life of the prophet revealed itself. *The earnestness and the warmth of his religious and moral conviction*—that is the chief matter. It is that which makes the true prophet, because it accounts for the confidence with which he comes forward as an interpreter

[1] See above, p. 360.

[2] See above, pp. 77, ff.

of Jahveh. It defines the rank which each *nabi* occupies by right in the guild to which he belongs. Our judgment regarding them cannot be made to depend upon the visions which they had in common, and which, moreover, at a later period were employed as literary drapery, nor upon the realisation of their predictions, which indeed was something purely incidental: it can rest on nothing else than on the measure of depth and purity which we assign to their religious belief, when we compare them with their contemporaries. We seek in vain for another criterion, in vain for a better standard, by which to compare the prophets with each other.

I confine myself, for the present, to the indication of these ideas. The difficulties which our inquiry had suggested could not be allowed to remain altogether unsolved, and are now actually removed. It becomes us to rest content with this result for the present. Afterwards, when our whole subject has been discussed, I shall return to the points here indicated, and endeavour to show fully and clearly their importance for the correct explanation of Israelitish prophecy.

CHAPTER X.

THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A PART of our programme is now finished. We have studied the canonical prophetical literature from one specific point of view, have afterwards surveyed it from other points, and finally have determined, at least provisionally, the result of that inquiry. But at this stage we are not yet, by any means, at the end of our task. Besides the prophets whose writings we possess, many others came forward in Israel, of whom the historical books of the Old Testament give us an account. We must become acquainted with these men also; of them, too, we must form a judgment. But the *criticism of the sources* must precede the formation of that judgment. For, as we have already noticed,[1] we are not certain that the words and actions of these prophets have been handed down to us quite truthfully in the historical books. It is obvious at once that, on account of this uncertainty, a troublesome and difficult piece of work is laid upon us; but we cannot think of seeking to escape from it. The narratives concerning the prophets and their labours, given by the Israelitish historians, *demand* the most accurate study, both on their own account and in their connection with the prophetical literature. It would be as inexcusable to accept them indiscriminately as it would be to reject them without examination. The very uncertainty which cleaves to them compels us to seek a solution.

We shall begin at once by reminding the reader of the contents of these narratives. It will be allowable, in doing so, to have regard to the necessary brevity, as the texts are in the hands of every one, and, in general, do not require any detailed illustration.

But we here immediately meet with a slight difficulty.

[1] See above, pp. 31 ff., 33 ff.

Where is such a review to begin? The answer would require to be: with Samuel, if we allowed ourselves to be guided entirely by a well known annotation in the first book called after him,[1] according to which the appellation "prophet" was not in use before the reign of Saul, but "seer" was employed instead. But it is doubtful if we should attribute so much importance to this difference of title. If we did so, we should also come into conflict with the evidence of other Old Testament passages, and be chargeable with the appearance at least of incompleteness. For the present, therefore, we shall not trouble ourselves about this annotation, to which, however, we shall require to return in another connection. But what then is to be our point of departure? The patriarchal, or pre-Mosaic period, in which no Israelitish people yet existed, is excluded as a matter of course, although, on one single occasion, the title of "nabi"[2] is given to one of the patriarchs, viz., to Abraham. This is clearly a figurative use of that appellation, which need the less detain us, because we shall have to examine, in the present chapter, the accounts given concerning the revelations to the patriarchs. But Moses himself: is he not one, and indeed the most eminent of all the prophets with whom the historical books of the Old Testament make us acquainted? In a certain sense, he is. Here and there he is called a "nabi,"[3] or placed on the same footing with prophets.[4] It is certain, however, on the other hand, that an altogether exceptional rank is assigned to him among, or even above, the prophets.[5] He assumes a peculiar position also inasmuch as the writing in which, besides his laws, his prophecies also have been communicated to us, is assigned to him by tradition, as its author. It does not therefore seem advisable to introduce him into the circle of our investigation, which is, besides, wide enough already. The inquiry regarding the prophets and prophecy in Israel must not expand into a history of Israel's religion. For the sake of completeness, it

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 9.
[2] Gen. xx. 7.
[3] Deut. xviii. 15, 18; xxxiv. 10—12. Hos. xii. 14, Heb. (13, *Auth. Ver.*)
[4] Jer. xv. 1. Ps. xcix. 6.
[5] Compare Num. xi. 24—29; xii. 6—8, and the passages in which Aaron comes forward as the interpreter or prophet of Moses, Exod. iv. 15, 16; vii. 1.

may be merely mentioned here that there is interwoven with the Mosaic legislation more than one prophetical discourse, which lays before Israel the promises and threatenings of Jahveh, and makes the future of the nation dependent upon the fidelity with which they shall follow the commands of Jahveh,[1] while both "the song" and "the blessing" of Moses which are introduced into Deuteronomy[2] bear a predictive character.

But the reasons which oblige us to assign a separate place to Moses, do not apply to his contemporary Balaam, whom we therefore mention here first, in the chronological order. He is nowhere called "prophet" in the Old Testament; on one occasion, indeed, he is termed "the soothsayer;"[3] but still it is testified of him in the most unambiguous terms that he spake the word of Jahveh.[4] In highly poetic language he repeatedly blesses the nation of Israel and announces its grand destination[5]—as that first began to be realised in the reign of David. It is not from any caprice that our thoughts are directed to that monarch specifically, without excluding on that account the succeeding kings. David is suggested to us, because Balaam knows that Israel shall be ruled by a king;[6] he announces that he shall be higher than Agag[7]—a name which, perhaps, was borne by all the princes of the Amalekites, but at least by that one prince who was taken prisoner by Saul, and was put to death by Samuel;[8] he predicts that Amalek shall utterly perish,[9] and that the Moabites, "the sons of the war-tumult,"[10] and the Edomites shall be subjected to Israel,[11] events which did not take place till the time of David, or even later;[12] finally, he makes

[1] See, among other passages, Exod. xxiii. 20—33; Lev. xxvi., and also the two introductions to the Deuteronomic legislation, chap. i. ff., and v. ff., as well as the addresses with which it is closed, chaps. xxviii., xxix., xxx.

[2] Deut. xxxii. 1—43 and xxxiii.

[3] Josh. xiii. 22.

[4] Num. xxiii. 5, 16, etc.

[5] Num. xxiii. 9—11, 21—24; xxiv. 5—9, 17—19.

[6] Num. xxiv. 7 (also xxiii. 21?).

[7] Ibid.

[8] 1 Sam. xv.

[9] Num. xxiv. 20.

[10] Num. xxiv. 17. According to the common rendering: "the children of Seth," but see Jer. xlviii. 45, according to which passage the text in Numbers must be amended. The title, whatever the explanation of it may be, refers to the Moabites.

[11] Num. xxiv. 17—19.

[12] On Amalek, see 1 Sam. xxx. 16; according to 1 Chron. iv. 42, 43, the last remnant of this people was not destroyed till the days of Hezekiah. The

mention of the conquests of the Assyrians, and discloses, in prospect, the judgment which shall overtake them also.[1] If Balaam's prophetic glance is thus in nowise bounded by the horizon of the Mosaic time, his fortunes also are altogether extraordinary. Who does not remember how Jahveh made his will known to him directly, and what befell him on his way to Balak?[2]

In the farewell speeches of Joshua,[3] we hear the echo of the addresses which Moses had delivered to Israel shortly before his death. For the rest, no single prophet comes forward in the book named after him. The curse pronounced against him who should venture to rebuild Jericho,[4] an imprecation which was afterwards fully verified by the result,[5] is uttered by the leader himself. There is as little mention of prophets in the period immediately succeeding his death. Deborah is called a "prophetess,"[6] but she belongs properly to the Judges of Israel. The triumphal song which was sung by her and Barak,[7] is occupied not with the future, but with the past. Before Gideon undertakes the office of Judge, Jahveh sends a prophet in order to direct attention to the cause of the nation's misery, their apostasy from the service of Jahveh;[8] it is not mentioned that he also announced the deliverance. But from this period begins, in the historical books of the Old Testament, the series of predicting prophets, if I may so denote the most obvious feature of their work. A man of God, whose name we do not know, reproves Eli, the priest at Shiloh, for his slackness in restraining the transgressions of his sons, Hophni and Phineas, and foretells to him not only the death of these two sons on one day, but also the humiliation of his house, and the rise of "a faithful priest, who shall do according to that which is in the heart and in the soul of Jahveh, for whom Jahveh shall build a sure house (that is, in whose

victories gained by David over Moab and Ammon are mentioned 2 Sam. viii. 2, 3, 14.

[1] Num. xxiv. 21—24. [2] Num. xxii. 9—12, 20, 22—35.
[3] Josh. xxiii., xxiv. [4] Josh. vi. 26.
[5] 1 Kings xvi. 34. [6] Judg. iv. 4. [7] Judg. v. 1.
[8] Judg. vi. 8—10. Bertheau is wrong in finding a prophetical address also in chap. ii. 1—5. The "messenger of Jahveh" mentioned in verse 1, is, according to the usage of the language, "the angel of Jahveh." See below.

family he shall make the priesthood hereditary), and who shall walk before the face of Jahveh's anointed for ever." The remaining descendants of Eli shall come to this priest (and his successors) with the humble petition for any office, the scanty revenues of which might keep them from dying of hunger.[1] Every one knows the events by which, in succession, this prediction was realised: the death of Hophni and Phineas in the battle against the Philistines, the murder of the priests at Nob, the deposition of Abiathar, and the elevation of Zadok to be head of the priesthood in the temple of Jerusalem.[2]

It is told of Samuel, in the beginning of the history of his public life, that "he grew, and Jahveh was with him, and let none of all his words fall to the ground,"[3] *i.e.*, confirmed them all by the result. Numerous proofs of this confirmation are furnished in the narratives about him. He announces the approaching execution of the judgment on Eli's house;[4] the deliverance of Israel from the Philistine oppression, a deliverance which thereupon commences immediately, when Jahveh's thunder scatters the hostile bands;[5] the exaltation of Saul to be king;[6] his rejection by Jahveh, and the appointment of David to succeed him on the throne.[7] The evening before the battle on Gilboa, in the dwelling of the Witch at Endor, Samuel's shade appears in order to foretell that Saul and his sons shall fall by the sword of the enemy; an event which actually happened.[8] How "Jahveh was with Samuel" appeared clearly also in the national assembly, in which he resigned his office of Judge, when his words were corroborated by the sudden bursting forth of a thunderstorm.[9]

The principal events in the life of David also were announced beforehand by prophets: the death of the child which Bath-sheba had borne to him, and the family disasters which should befall him afterwards, by Nathan;[10] the pestilence by which Israel should be afflicted as a punishment for the census ordered by David, by Gad.[11] The former also

[1] 1 Sam. ii. 27—36.
[2] 1 Sam. iv. 11; xxii. 6—23; 1 Kings ii. 27.
[3] 1 Sam. iii. 19.
[4] 1 Sam. iii. 11—14.
[5] 1 Sam. vii. 3 ff., 10, 11.
[6] 1 Sam. x. 1 ff.
[7] 1 Sam. xiii. 10—14; xv. 16 ff.; xvi. 1—12.
[8] 1 Sam. xxviii. 16—19; xxxi.
[9] 1 Sam. xii. 17, 18.
[10] 2 Sam. xii. 1—25.
[11] 2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi.

foretold to him that the sovereignty should be hereditary in his family, and that Solomon should build the temple.[1]

It would seem that under the reign of Solomon the prophets appeared less on the foreground. It is only towards the end of his reign that one of them appears on the stage of history, *Ahijah the Shilonite*, who announces to Jeroboam the son of Nebat, that after Solomon's death he should reign over ten of the twelve tribes.[2] When Jeroboam had, at a later period, incurred the displeasure of Jahveh, it was the same Ahijah who foretold to his consort not only the death of her child, the sick Abijah, but also the destruction of the whole royal house, nay, even the deportation of Israel out of their country, as a punishment for their continuing in the sin of Jeroboam.[3]

But this latter prophecy is preceded chronologically by other predictions. Without dwelling upon *Shemaiah* who, by command of Jahveh, arrested the attempts of Rehoboam to subject the ten tribes,[4] we at once fix our attention upon that remarkable chapter, 1 Kings xiii. *Two unnamed prophets* come forward here as interpreters of Jahveh. The one, from Judah, announces the desecration of Jeroboam's altar by a descendant of David, named Josiah, and as a sign of the truth of this prediction, declares that that altar shall be immediately rent asunder.[5] The sign was realized immediately; three centuries and a half afterwards, the prophecy itself was fulfilled.[6] The other prophet, who dwelt at Bethel, foretells to the man of God from Judah, that his body shall not be buried in the sepulchre of his fathers, and as this prophecy was fulfilled on the self-same day, under altogether extraordinary circumstances, he establishes the truth of what the deceased had predicted with reference to the altar of Jeroboam at Bethel, and the sanctuaries "in the cities of Samaria."[7]

Like that of Jeroboam, the dynasties of Baasha and of Omri had also their prophets of misfortune. The doom which

[1] 2 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xvii. [2] 1 Kings xi. 29—39.
[3] 1 Kings xiv. 1—16, to be compared with vers. 17, 18; chap. xv. 25—30.
[4] 1 Ki. xii. 22—24; 2 Chron. xi. 1—4. [5] 1 Ki. xiii. 2, 3.
[6] 1 Ki. xiii. 5; 2 Ki. xxiii. 15, 16.
[7] 1 Ki. xiii. 20—23 (compare verse 24, ff.), and 30, 31. Compare 2 Ki. xxiii. 17—19.

had been announced to the former by *Jehu, the son of Hanani,* was executed upon his son Elah by Zimri.[1] After a reign of only seven days, Zimri was supplanted by Omri, who overcame his rival Tibni, and succeeded in getting himself acknowledged king over the whole realm, and in maintaining the power which he had gained. It was under the kings of his race, under his son Ahab, and his grandsons Ahaziah and Jehoram, that first of all *Elijah,* and after his ascension to heaven, *Elisha,* gained for themselves imperishable renown, as champions of the worship of Jahveh, and as the interpreters of his will. We need here advert only to the main points in the copious narratives regarding them : the details are known to every one. The three years' famine, which afflicts the country in the reign of Ahab, is announced by Elijah.[2] During this period, his own means of subsistence are provided in a miraculous manner;[3] after its expiration, he gains, by the help of Jahveh, a brilliant victory in the contest against the priests of Baal, and the rain comes down at his prayer.[4] Shortly thereafter a manifestation of Jahveh is vouchsafed to him on Horeb,[5] and the exaltation of Jehu to be king of Israel, and of Hazael to be king of Damascus, is announced to him beforehand.[6] The narrative of his work breaks off here, but *an anonymous prophet* comes in his place, who foretells to Ahab his two victories over the Syrians;[7] the compassion shown by him afterwards is severely reprobated by *another anonymous prophet.*[8] But when Ahab, instigated by Jezebel, had been guilty of taking away Naboth's life, and had taken possession of his vineyard, it is again Elijah who announces to him the extirpation of his house, his own violent death, and the ignominious end of Jezebel.[9] When Ahab humbled himself in consequence of this announcement, the destruction of his dynasty was postponed, and information of that respite was communicated to Elijah.[10] Still the historian does not neglect to call attention to the fact, that the threatening of punishment against Ahab himself—which was once more repeated by *Micaiah son of Imlah* shortly before its fulfil-

[1] 1 Ki. xvi. 1—4, compare vv. 8—14. [2] 1 Ki. xvii. 1.
[3] 1 Ki. xvii. [4] 1 Ki. xviii. [5] 1 Ki. xix. 1, ff.
[6] 1 Ki. xix. 15—18. [7] 1 Ki. xx. 13, ff., 28, ff. [8] 1 Ki. xx. 35—43.
[9] 1 Ki. xxi. 17—24. [10] 1 Ki. xxi. 27—29.

ment[1]—was verified by the issue,[2] just as afterwards Jezebel was stricken by the judgment which Elijah had foretold to her.[3] In like manner, according to the word of the same prophet, the sickness of Ahaziah terminated in his death.[4] This is the last prediction of Elijah which is recorded in the Old Testament; it is followed immediately by the account of his ascension to heaven in the sight of Elisha, who henceforth takes his place as the head of the prophets of Jahveh.[5]

The history of Elisha is an uninterrupted series of miraculous deeds,[6] which he performs partly for the benefit of the disciples of the prophets and in the interest of his people, partly for the maintenance of Jahveh's honour and for the punishment of those who mocked him or his messenger. The prediction of the future is an essential element in many of these recitals of miracles. It was in conformity with the word of Jahveh spoken by him, that the kings of Israel, Judah, and Edom were delivered from the hazardous position in which they were placed in their expedition against Mesha, king of Moab;[7] that Samaria, when besieged by the Syrians, was rescued from the threatened destruction, and that righteous punishment overtook the mocker, who attempted to turn the prophet's prediction into ridicule;[8] that Hazael made himself master of the throne of Syria, and that defeat after defeat was inflicted by him and his son Benhadad upon Israel in the reign of Jehu and Jehoahaz;[9] and finally, that Joash the son of Jehoahaz waged a successful war against the Syrians, and paved the way for the prosperity which the nation enjoyed in the reign of Jeroboam II.[10] Jehu, the founder of this new dynasty, was anointed to be king by one of *the disciples of the prophets*, sent by Elisha, and was assured beforehand of the successful issue of his enterprise against the house of Omri.[11]

From this time, the accounts given by our historians of the prophets and their predictions become more scanty. It is mentioned in a single word that the promises of Jahveh, which *Jonah, son of Amittai*, had delivered, were verified by

[1] 1 Ki. xxii. 17—28.
[2] 1 Ki. xxii. 38, compare 2 Ki. ix. 25, 26.
[3] 2 Ki. ix. 30—37.
[4] 2 Ki. i. 14—16, compare verse 17.
[5] 2 Ki. ii. 1—18.
[6] 2 Ki. ii. 19—viii. 15.
[7] 2 Ki. iii. 16—19.
[8] 2 Ki. vi. 24—vii. 20.
[9] 2 Ki. viii. 7—15.
[10] 2 Ki. xiii. 14—19.
[11] 2 Ki. ix. 1—10.

the victories of Jeroboam II.[1] It is the same Jonah who plays the chief part in the book called after him, and which has been incorporated in the collection of the twelve minor prophets. Who does not know the narrative of his wonderful fortunes? It will be further remembered, that the averting of Jahveh's threatened punishments by the repentance of those against whom they were directed, is the leading idea of the unknown writer.[2] His narrative stands altogether by itself among the writings of the prophets, or indeed in the Old Testament, and is therefore mentioned here only for the sake of completing our survey: I wish, at a later stage, to show the true signification of that book.

We have already discussed, in part, the account which is given us a few chapters further on (2 Kings xviii.—xx.) of the action of *Isaiah* during the reign of Hezekiah.[3] It must now be further mentioned, *first*, that the prophet, according to the author of that narrative, predicted to Hezekiah his approaching recovery from a dangerous illness, and the addition of fifteen years to his life, and confirmed the truth of this prophecy by a sign—the retrogression of the shadow on "the degrees of Ahaz;"[4] and, *secondly*, that after Merodach-Baladan, who was then king of the Babylonian realm, had sent an embassy to him to assure him of his friendship, the prophet announced to Hezekiah that all his treasures and his descendants should be carried into Babylon.[5] This threatening, in a modified form, was repeated and expanded by *anonymous prophets* under Manasseh, the successor of Hezekiah,[6] as it was afterwards by the prophetess *Huldah*, who gave, as her reply to the messengers of Josiah, that the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem was irrevocably determined, but would not be executed till after the death of Josiah.[7]

The accounts given by the Chronicle-writer regarding the prophets and their work have been pointed out in the notes, in so far as they are parallel with those of the older books. He communicates, however, in addition, some particulars about them

[1] 2 Ki. xiv. 25.
[2] Jonah iv. 2. Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," II. 412 ff.
[3] On 2 Ki. xix. 6, 7 (Isa. xxxvii. 6, 7) compare above, p. 291.
[4] 2 Ki. xx. 1—11 (Isa. xxxviii.) [5] 2 Ki. xx. 12—19 (Isa. xxxix.).
[6] 2 Ki. xxi. 10—15; 2 Chron. xxxiii. 10, 18, 19.
[7] 2 Ki. xxii. 12—20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20—28.

which are not given in these books; and he even mentions prophets of whom we know nothing whatever from other sources. On the other hand, he passes by in silence some of those who belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, as he confines himself to the fortunes of Judah. The following is a summary of the communications which are met with in his books alone:—*Shemaiah* comes forward as a prophet, not only at the beginning of Rehoboam's reign, but also later, in order to announce Shishak's invasion of Judea;[1] *Jehu, son of Hanani*, who, according to the First Book of Kings, was a contemporary of Baasha, is the interpreter of Jahveh's displeasure at the alliance of Jehoshaphat with Ahab;[2] Jehoram, son of Jehoshaphat, receives a letter from *Elijah*, in which the painful sickness which is to prove fatal to him is foretold.[3] It is only in Chronicles that mention is made of *Azariah, son of Oded*,[4] and *Hanani*,[5] in the reign of Asa; of *Jahaziel*[6] and *Eliezer*,[7] contemporaries of Jehoshaphat; of *Zechariah, son of Jehoiada*,[8] under Joash, and of *anonymous prophets* in the reign of Amaziah.[9] It is mostly short addresses, announcements of doom, threatenings or promises, which are communicated to us by these men. That they were established by the facts, in so far as the case required, is on each occasion either expressly mentioned or tacitly understood. Let the reader consult the passages themselves.

The historical books, which give us information regarding the return from the captivity and the later fortunes of the Jews, furnish us with little or nothing for our present purpose. The only prophets whom they name are Haggai, Zechariah, and some contemporaries of Nehemiah. It is told of the first two, that they energetically promoted the rebuilding of the temple;[10] of the others that they opposed Nehemiah and attempted to undermine his authority.[11] These particulars are remarkable, but they are not of the same character with the work of the prophets in the pre-exilic period, as that is depicted to us in the Old Testament. For

[1] 2 Chron. xii. 5—8.
[2] 2 Chron. xix. 1—3.
[3] 2 Chron. xxi. 12—15. We shall afterwards return to the chronological difficulty which is here presented.
[4] 2 Chron. xv. 1 ff.
[5] 2 Chron. xvi. 7—10.
[6] 2 Chron. xx. 14—17.
[7] *Ibid.*, vv. 35—37.
[8] 2 Chron. xxiv. 20 ff.
[9] 2 Chron. xxv. 7 ff, 14 ff.
[10] Ezra, v. 1 ff; vi. 14.
[11] Neh. vi. 10—14.

it is impossible to deny that the narratives of the Books of *Samuel*, *Kings*, and *Chronicles*, in which the prophets of Jahveh come forward as actors and speakers, show great mutual agreement, and leave one and the same impression on the reader. What that impression is, scarcely requires to be described. For that which may perhaps be less obvious to some when they read the Old Testament itself,—since the accounts referred to do not always succeed each other, but are interrupted by other narratives,—is now clearly presented to the mind, after we have gone through them all at the same time. This is also the reason why we have combined them in so brief a sketch, and have connected them in one—for the rest, rather dry—survey. Who now can fail to be struck by the complete agreement between the predictions of these prophets and the historical reality? Who does not agree that a foreknowledge altogether extraordinary is ascribed to these men? Who does not perceive that the deeds which they perform are in harmony with the knowledge which they exhibit, and testify directly to the supernatural character of their work in Israel?

Before we develop these thoughts more fully, we wish to expand the circle of our view, and to introduce into it a number of facts which may be said to border upon the work of the prophets, and indeed are so closely related to it that the question may have been more than once suggested, whether they too should not have been placed in the survey of the actions and words of the prophets which has been laid before the reader. For it is clear, when we go through the historical books of the Old Testament, that the predictions which are put into the mouth of the prophets regarding the future course of Israel's fortunes do not stand alone. Close by the stream of prophetic prediction there flows another which moves in the same direction, and now and then mingles its waters with it. *Jahveh himself* discloses the future of his people, either by revealing himself immediately to them or their representatives, or by the mouth of persons who are not represented to us as prophets, and who do not even bear that name, but who nevertheless speak as temporary organs of Jahveh. What is meant here will be best shown by the narratives themselves, which I again

bring under the notice of the reader in chronological order. I thus fulfil, at the same time, my promise to revert to the divine revelations in the narratives regarding the patriarchal age; for there is no reason why we should not begin at as early a period as possible, in this part of our investigation. It will even very soon be clear to us that the phenomena with which we are concerned, present themselves especially in the first book of the Bible, which we now at once proceed to open.

Though we do not look for any predictions regarding Israel and its destination in the chapters of Genesis which precede those (xii—l.) containing the biography of the patriarchs, yet we find there something which at least prepares the way for them. Already, in the second narrative of the creation,[1] a promise of Jahveh is supposed to be read, which should be thus interpreted. Jahveh-God utters there the curse upon the serpent, and adds to the curse these words:—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; this (seed) shall lie in wait for thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for his (that seed's) heel."[2] But the expositors, who find a spiritual conflict and its issue here indicated, translate otherwise: "the posterity of the woman shall *crush* thy head, and thou shalt *crush* his heel." In this way it becomes possible for them to explain the passage thus: Between man and the principle of evil (or Satan) shall be waged a war which shall terminate in the entire defeat of the evil principle (or the Evil One), but shall inflict a dangerous wound on man himself. But it is obvious that the verb "to crush" is not suitable here, as it cannot be used of the bite of the serpent; that the spiritual interpretation gives no account of the conflict, not only between the woman and her offspring and *the serpent*, but also between that offspring *and the offspring of the serpent;* that, finally, this spiritual interpretation has not the very slightest foundation in the text of the narrative. The ser-

[1] Gen. ii. 4 ff.

[2] Gen. iii. 14, 15. The signification "to lie in wait for," or "to seek to strike," is assigned to the Hebrew verb (shûph) according to the Sept. and Targûm of Onkelos. It is thus allied to shaaph, which occurs in Amos ii. 7, Ps. lvi. 2, lvii. 4, and signifies "to snort, to fall upon." The corresponding Arabic verb signifies, in the 5th form, "to lift up the head and raise up the eyes," and in the 8th form, "to look out towards with uplifted head."

pent is—a serpent and nothing more.[1] The punishment pronounced on it is executed upon the real serpents, which, in fact, "go upon their belly, and eat the dust of the earth all the days of their life."[2] Finally, the conflict, which is so picturesquely represented to us in the curse on the serpent, is nothing else than the perpetual battle between man and his dangerous creeping enemy, which is indeed fought in such a way that man aims his attack at the head of the serpent, while it tries to strike the man in the heel. Gen. iii. 15, when thus interpreted, has no connection with our subject, and must lose the name of "Protevangelium" or "Paradise-promise," which it owes to the traditional but positively incorrect view.

In the sequel of the narrative which serves for an introduction to the history of the patriarchs, a trait occurs which is rightly understood as referring to Israel's destination. When Noah, after being mocked by his son Ham, is taken under the charge of Shem and Japheth, he pronounces the curse, not as might be expected upon Ham, but upon Ham's son Canaan, and blesses both his other sons in this wise:

> "Blessed be Jahveh, the god of Shem,
> And let Canaan be a servant to them!
> May God enlarge Japheth,
> So that he may dwell in Shem's tents,
> And let Canaan be a servant to them!"[3]

When it is considered that Canaan represents his descendants, that is, the inhabitants of the land of Canaan,[4] no hesitation will be felt in granting that Shem appears here as the ancestor of Israel, a nation which, at a later period, subdued the Canaanites. With reference therefore to that people, Jahveh is here called "the god of Shem," or what amounts to the same thing, Shem is the elect of Jahveh. It is

[1] It is said to be "more subtle than any beast of the field" (Gen. iii. 1), and is cursed "above all cattle and above every beast of the field" (vs. 14).

[2] Compare Micah vii. 17; Is. lxv. 25.

[3] Gen. ix. 25—27. In verse 26, the words are, "be a servant to *them*," because Shem's posterity also is kept in view. In verse 27, there is great similarity in sound between "may enlarge" and "Japheth" in the original; in "may he dwell," the subject is not God, but Japheth; his dwelling in Shem's tents is the result of the enlargement which was promised to him, and certainly involves participation in the blessings of Shem. The translation, "and let him dwell in tents *of name*," or "*of renown*," is at variance with the context.

[4] Compare Gen. x. 15—19.

merely a hint which is here given, but a hint which will be forthwith elucidated in the narratives about the forefathers of Israel.

Many particulars in these narratives, directly connected with our subject, would well deserve to be fully explained: but at present our chief concern is to obtain a view of the thread of prediction, which runs through these narratives; and this object will be best gained by our not dwelling on the single prophecies longer than is absolutely necessary. We shall, moreover, at a later stage, return to some of the most important.

From the very beginning, a numerous posterity, and the possession of the land of Canaan as an inheritance, are promised to the patriarchs by Jahveh himself. The promises referring to these subjects readily admit of being divided into two groups, which are indicated in the note below.[1] The promises of the second group are distinguished from those of the first, not only by their characteristic use of certain words,[2] but by the express mention of kings who shall come forth out of Abram and Jacob, and by the change of their names into Abraham and Israel.[3] Although Ishmael, the son of Hagar, Abraham's first-born, is, according to these passages, placed below Isaac the son of Sarah, yet a numerous offspring and an extensive territory are promised to him also for the sake of Abraham.[4]

There is one promise which interpreters usually separate by a very sharp line of demarcation from those made by God in regard to Israel's settlement in Canaan. It is a promise which is from time to time repeated, and which, according to the usual translations of Genesis, and a well known citation in the New Testament,[5] purports that all the families of the earth (or all the nations of the world) *shall be blessed* in the patriarch, to whom Jahveh speaks, or in his seed, or also, in

[1] To the first group belong Gen. xii. 7; xiii. 14 ff; xv. 5 ff, 13—16; xviii. 10 ff; xxvi. 24; xlvi. 3, 4; to the second, Gen. xvii. and xxxv. 9—15.

[2] The author of the narratives of the second group is the so-called Elohist, who places the revelation of the name "Jahveh" in the Mosaic period, and does not use that name in his accounts of earlier ages. In Gen. xvii. 1, "Jahveh" should most probably be changed into "Elohîm" (God).

[3] Gen. xvii. 6; xxxv. 11; xvii. 5; xxxv. 10.

[4] Gen. xvi. 10—12; xvii. 18—21.

[5] Gal. iii. 8. Compare Acts iii. 25.

him and in his seed.[1] In these words, theologians find the idea that the blessings bestowed on Abraham and his posterity should at some time be extended to the other families and nations; in other words, that they should obtain a share in the spiritual blessings which originally were enjoyed by the chosen of Jahveh alone. But the independent expositor is utterly unable to grant that such is the meaning of the passages in Genesis, which have been referred to. If the author had wished to say, "the nations of the earth *shall be blessed,*" he would have used a different form of the verb.[2] The words must be translated, "the families of the earth (or the nations of the earth) *shall bless themselves* (or one another) *with Abraham,*" that is, shall wish for themselves, or for one another, the blessing which Jahveh bestowed upon him.[3] He shall be so prosperous, his posterity shall be so numerous and fortunate, that nothing better or higher can be imagined than the enjoyment of what he or his race possesses.[4] This is undoubtedly a comprehensive promise. It stands, according to the writer himself, in close connection with Abraham's fidelity to Jahveh, which, as it became more conspicuous, had also a claim to larger recompense.[5] But it is not of another kind than the promises regarding the descendants of the patriarchs and their settlement in Canaan, with which we first became acquainted. Whoever finds in it, not something more, but something of an

[1] The promise is made to Abraham, Gen. xii. 2, 3; xviii. 18; xxii. 16—28 (once "in thee," once "in him," and once "in thy seed"); to Isaac, Gen. xxvi. 3, 4 ("in thy seed"); to Jacob, Gen. xxviii. 13—15 ("in thee and in thy seed"). The five passages differ further, inasmuch as in the 3d and 4th, another form (hithpael) of the Hebrew verb, "to bless," is used than that (niphal), which occurs in the 1st, 2d, and 5th.

[2] The pual form which is altogether unequivocal, and is far from being uncommon in the Old Testament. (Judges v. 24; 2 Sam. vii. 29; Ps. cxii. 2; cxxviii. 4; Pro. xx. 21; xxii. 9: and in the participle, Num. xxii. 6; Deut. xxxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xvii. 27; Job. i. 21; Ps. xxxviii. 22; cxiii. 2).

[3] In this way the Niphal and Hithpael forms receive their proper power (compare for the latter, Deut. xxix. 18; Is. lxv. 16; Jer. iv. 2; Ps. lxxii. 17); and also the usual meaning of the phrase is retained, of which meaning Gen. xlviii. 20 gives unequivocal evidence. "To bless in," or "with anyone," signifies to wish for one's self or for others the blessing which the person in question enjoys.

[4] For this reason, Abraham is called, Gen. xii. 2, a blessing, *i.e.*, a person whose name serves as a formula of blessing. Compare the use of "curse" in Num. v. 21, 27; Jer. xxiv. 9; xxv. 18; xlii. 18.

[5] Compare Gen. xviii. 19; xxii. 16; xxvi. 5.

altogether different nature, forces upon the writer of Genesis ideas which are in truth foreign to him.

The reader needs only to be reminded in passing, that as Jahveh declared the destination of the patriarchs and their posterity, so also he directed their fortunes, and made known to them his will, for the most part in dreams.[1] But the fact deserves special mention that Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, on their death-beds, or at least towards the time of their departure, declare to their sons or descendants the determinations of Jahveh concerning the future. Of this character we must consider the benedictions to be, which are put into their mouths, blessings parallel to those uttered by Noah, on which we have already dwelt. Thus Isaac blesses Jacob and Esau in Jahveh's name—at least if the prediction which he addresses to Esau may be characterised by the name of blessing.[2] Thus too, Jacob adopts Manasseh and Ephraim, sons of Joseph, into the class of his own sons, and announces that Ephraim shall be more numerous and powerful than Manasseh.[3] Thus, further, Jacob reveals to his sons "what shall happen to them in the last of the days," and describes their future relation to each other, and the situation of the territory which the tribes called after them should occupy.[4] Thus, finally, Joseph, before his death, confirms the promise of God, that he should lead the Israelites out of Egypt, and bring them into Canaan.[5]

Perhaps my brief summary of the contents of "the blessing of Jacob" will excite a certain surprise in the minds of some of my readers. It may be thought that by far the most important prophecy which it contains, the announcement of the coming of Shiloh, the prince of peace from the tribe of Judah, seems to have been passed over in silence. As commonly translated, the 10th verse is to this effect: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and to him shall the nations be obedient."

[1] Gen. xx. 6 ff; xxxi. 10, 11, 24, 29; xxxvii. 5 ff, &c.

[2] Gen. xxvii. 27—29, 39, 40 (cf, xxv. 23, 27—34). Expositors are now almost agreed that the translation of verse 39 should be, "*away from* the fatness of the earth shall thy dwelling-place be, and *destitute* of the dew of heaven from above." What follows in verse 40 entirely agrees with that which history teaches of the Edomites' manner of life, and their changing relations to Israel.

[3] Gen. xlviii. 1—20. [4] Gen. xlix. 1—28. [5] Gen. l. 24, 25.

If this interpretation of the original were correct, then this part of the blessing would indeed have deserved separate mention. It would, in that case, reach further than the rest of the benedictions, and would disclose, besides, a prospect of the subjection of "the nations" to Shiloh, which would far surpass in importance the main subject, the settlement of the tribes in Canaan and their condition in that country. But it is impossible to approve of this common translation. Both in the preceding and in the following verses (verses 8, 9, and verses 11, 12), the poet treats of the tribe of Judah, its political preponderance, and the fertility of its territory. The surmise thus suggested that verse 10th has also reference to the same subject, is fully confirmed by its contents. Shiloh is, beyond all doubt, the well-known town of that name, the seat of the ark of Jahveh during the period of the Judges. The translation of verses 8—10 must run thus:

Thou art Judah,[1] thee shall thy brethren praise;
Thy hand is upon the neck of thine enemies:
Before thee shall the sons of thy father bow down.
A lion's whelp is Judah:
From the prey, my son, thou hast arisen;
He has crouched and lain down as a lion
And as a lioness: who shall raise him up?
The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the leader's staff from between his feet,
Until he comes to Shiloh[2]
And peoples are subject unto him.

The meaning evidently is, that Judah shall go on, as he has begun, shall continue to show himself a commander and leader, shall neither rest nor lay down the leader's staff until he finally enters into Shiloh, and until there, at the common sanctuary, the rest of the tribes acknowledge his supremacy, and pay homage to him as their chief. The idea, indicated in the third line, is thus more fully worked out here. The poet doubtless cherishes great expectations regarding the tribe of Judah, but still remains within the circle to which his other benedictions are confined.[3]

[1] That is, the praised one. The meaning is, the reality shall correspond to thy name.

[2] Or "enters into Shiloh." Compare 1 Sam. iv. 12, where the two words occur, connected in the same manner.

[3] The judgment which may be passed on the interpretation here presented is not dependent upon the answer to the question about the origin of Gen. xlix. 1—28. For my own part, I have no hesitation in regarding

So wide, then, is the space which prediction, uttered by Jahveh himself, or in his name, occupies in the narratives about the patriarchs. When we pass from Genesis to the subsequent books, we see, as was to be expected, an alteration in this respect. The period of the partial fulfilment now begins. It is from this point of view, therefore, as will be remembered, that the calling of Moses, the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, the fortunes of the people in the wilderness, and their settlement in Canaan also are regarded. It is unnecessary to quote passages. As regards Moses himself, every one knows that Jahveh speaks with him "mouth to mouth," and that he "beholds the appearance of Jahveh"[1] —in contradistinction, however, from all his contemporaries —so that what was not uncommon in the patriarchal period is vouchsafed to him as an exception. Moses is the mediator between Jahveh and Israel. He stands also on the same footing as the patriarchs in this respect, that before his death he not only comes forward as an earnest preacher of repentance, but also reveals the future of Israel and the destiny of the several tribes.[2]

The immediate communications of Jahveh are still less frequent in the narratives which have reference to the fortunes of Israel after the conquest of Canaan. We are told that, when the tribes neglected to conquer completely the territory assigned to them, "then the angel of Jahveh came up from Gilgal to Bochim."[3] He reminded the people of the injunctions regarding their relation to the Canaanites, and foretold that the transgression should not remain unpunished; that Jahveh would not drive out the heathen, so that they would become enemies to Israel, and their gods prove a snare to Israel. In this manner, at the beginning of the periods of the Judges, their history is described, at least in its main features, by the messenger of Jahveh. Not dissimilar is the account which precedes, and serves for an introduction to, the narratives about the Judges, Jephthah and Samson.[4] When the children of Israel were oppressed by the Ammonites and by the Philistines, they confessed their guilt before Jahveh and

that passage as the work of a poet who lived in the last years of the period of the Judges. Compare "Theol. Tijdschrift," VI. (1872), pp. 663—668.

[1] Num. xii. 8.
[2] Compare above, p. 367.
[3] Judges ii. 1—5.
[4] Judges x. 10—16.

besought his compassion. Jahveh replies that he has already repeatedly delivered them, and now refuses again to intervene, telling them that they can seek help from the idols to whose service they have addicted themselves. The Israelites have nothing to allege against this sentence, but still repeat their prayer, and purify themselves from the service of the idols. "Then the soul of Jahveh could not endure the misery of Israel," and, as the sequel shows, he raised up to them a deliverer in the person of Jephthah.

We now pass over a very considerable period—which, however, occupies a correspondingly larger space in our survey of the work of the prophets—and thus come to the reign of Solomon. According to the accounts given in 1st Kings, Jahveh appears to him on three occasions in order to unfold to him, as it were, the plan according to which he should govern. When he had made known his wish to rule his people justly, by the help of Jahveh, the assurance is given to him that his prayer is heard, and that wealth and a long life shall be bestowed upon him in addition.[1] The narrative of the building of the temple is interrupted by the statement that Jahveh said to Solomon: "Concerning this house which thou art building, if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my commandments to walk in them, then will I perform my word unto thee which I spake unto David thy father, and I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel."[2] A similar revelation is made to him after the completion of the great work, except that more express reference is now made to the consequences which disobedience to Jahveh would entail; for if Israel turned aside from following him, they would be driven out of their land, and the temple would be laid desolate on account of their sins.[3]

There is once more a long interval, and then we hear again the echoes of Jahveh's voice. Jehu has rooted out the house of Omri, and executed a fearful slaughter among the worshippers of Baal. "Then said Jahveh to Jehu, because thou hast

[1] 1 Ki. iii. 5—14 (2 Chron. i. 7—12).
[2] 1 Ki. vi. 11—13 (wanting in 2 Chron.).
[3] 1 Ki. ix. 2—9 (2 Chron. vii. 12—22).

duly executed what is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in mine heart, therefore shall sons of the fourth generation of thy descendants be seated on the throne of Israel."[1] It scarcely requires to be said that the issue set the seal on this prophecy.[2]

Our survey of the divine revelations which were made to the forefathers of Israel or to Israel itself, without the intervention of the prophets, is now brought to a conclusion. Is a long demonstration still needed to prove that these revelations show a very close affinity with the discourses of the prophets which are transmitted to us in the same historical books? The agreement is so great that, as I already remarked, we actually do not know sometimes with which of the two categories we are dealing. The address of "the angel of Jahveh" at Bochim might as well have been spoken by a prophet, and is indeed put into the mouth of a prophet by one of the latest expositors.[3] They are the same ideas which in the book of Judges are uttered in the first instance by a prophet, and afterwards by Jahveh himself.[4] Thenius[5] and Rawlinson[6] observe in notes on the promise to Jehu, which has just been mentioned, that it was delivered "probably by the mouth of Elisha,"—a conjecture which is not supported by the text, but which is in so far very reasonable, that similar promises or threatenings also are elsewhere uttered, not by Jahveh himself, but by the prophets in his name. It is then assuredly not by accident that the revelations of Jahveh and the addresses of the prophets are found, as it were, to alternate. The former are the rule before prophecy exists, or at least is established in Israel, and become the exception when the envoys of Jahveh follow each other in regular order. The vacant space between David's contemporaries, Gad and Nathan, and Ahijah the Shilonite, the prophet who consecrated Jeroboam to his office, is filled by the predictive dreams which are vouchsafed to Solomon.

But enough has already been said to enable us to draw our conclusion. According to the historical books of the Old

[1] 2 Kings x. 30. [2] 2 Kings xv. 12.
[3] Judges ii. 1—5, and above p. 368, n. 8.
[4] Compare Judges x. 10—16 with vi. 8—10.
[5] "Die Bücher der Könige," p. 320.
[6] "The Holy Bible with Commentary," Vol. III. 54.

Testament, *Jahveh himself comes forward as an actor and a speaker* in the history of Israel, and of the patriarchs, Israel's forefathers. Sometimes he intervenes immediately, and we hear, as it were, his own voice; at other times he employs the agency of his servants the prophets; but it is always *Jahveh himself* who stands before us as acting and speaking. No essential distinction is made between the Sender and those sent by him. For this reason their deeds reveal a supernatural might, their words a supernatural foreknowledge, the might and foreknowledge of Jahveh himself.

Such, then, is the conception of the prophets and of prophecy which is found in the historical narratives of the Old Testament. No doubt will be entertained concerning the correctness of our representation—the less so, because it is confirmed by various particulars which appear in these same narratives.[1] But with the more seriousness therefore have we to consider the question, whether or not *this conception is historical?* The two following chapters are devoted to the answering of this question.

[1] Attention may shortly be directed here to one of these particulars. The function of the *priestly oracle* or of the *sacred lot* is perfectly analogous to that of the prophets in the historical books. The Septuagint reading of 1 Sam. xiv. 41 sheds the necessary light on the mode of conducting the former. Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," Vol. 1. 100 ff. ("Religion of Israel," Vol. I., 96 ff.). It brings what is hidden to light with unerring certainty, and gives infallible indications with regard to the future, as is clear from Josh. vii.; 1 Sam. x. 20—24; xiv. 36 ff.; xxiii. 2 ff., 9 ff.; xxx. 7 ff., &c. It is sometimes doubtful whether it is a prophet or the priestly oracle that is consulted—*e.g.*, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. This is, also, in fact, a matter of indifference to the historian, because it is always *Jahveh himself* who makes known his will, whether by the prophet or by the priest.

CHAPTER XI.

CONTINUATION. DOUBTS REGARDING THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Is the representation of the prophets and prophecy, given in the narratives of the Old Testament, historical or not? Such was the question proposed at the close of the last chapter. It is a question of the utmost importance, although it is too often entertained in a less serious spirit than it deserves. The common Bible reader can hardly be blamed for accepting as pure history what is laid before him as such; but such a simple belief is inexcusable in a scientific investigation. For that, a strict criticism of the tradition is not only permissible, but also obligatory. And yet how often do we see it either neglected or carelessly undertaken! No one can be ignorant of the fact that objections have been brought forward against the credibility of the narratives in question, but people think themselves quite able to set aside some of them, and then it is readily assumed that the remainder will not be found to rest on any better foundation, and, in view of the possibility that the contrary may turn out to be the case, comfort is found in the thought that the incorrectness or uncertainty of this or that particular does not throw doubt on the main point on which, properly speaking, everything depends. Are not all the Israelitish historians, it is asked, unanimous in regard to that point? Is not the direct and immediate revelation of Jahveh brought out with equal clearness in them all? Is it not everywhere vividly depicted to us? By considerations such as these men try to quiet their own minds and the minds of others. And further they acquire from these considerations the boldness to fashion to themselves, from the very narratives of the Old Testament, an

image of Israelitish prophecy, and to bring this with them to the study of the writings of the prophets. The current view of the nature of prophetical revelation is really derived from the historical books, and applied to the prophetical literature. We have guarded ourselves against this last error, because it appeared plainly to us, at the beginning, that the accounts of the historians offered *less certainty* than the testimonies of the prophets themselves.[1] But of course we cannot let the question remain in this state. On the contrary, the circumspection which we then observed, compels us now to go further; and, whatever may be neglected by others, not to rest on our part, until we know what we are to hold regarding the representation of the Israelitish historians.

This is certainly a very comprehensive and exceedingly difficult task. The survey given in chapter x. contains a very great number of narratives and shorter accounts. They claim, one by one, a full and accurate investigation. With regard to not a few of them, important questions of all kinds arise, which are more easily proposed than answered. In attempting elsewhere to discuss, as they deserve, some of the most important narratives, I endeavoured to be as brief as possible, and yet could not avoid devoting to each one individually an article of some extent.[2] It is self-evident that we cannot adopt this method here. We must, whether we will or not, treat here, in a more general way, the questions which present themselves. It will be only occasionally that we shall be able to permit ourselves, by way of example, to illustrate more expressly some single narrative. But notwithstanding this necessary limitation, we hope to attain our object. Even the facts of a more general nature, to which we confine ourselves, speak loudly and distinctly. It is only essential that we should form an accurate conception of them, and accept, without reservation, whatever follows therefrom. The order which is adopted, for that end, in this and the following chapter, may be left to bear with it its own justification.

[1] See above pp. 32 f.

[2] See the journal "'Nieuw en Oud' for interpreting the contents and the spirit of the Bible," for 1860 and following years.

As soon as we consider, with an unprejudiced eye, the narratives about the prophets and prophecy, and the writings in which they appear, certain phenomena present themselves which authorise the question, whether these narratives do really bring with them a sufficient guarantee of their truth? Attention has already been directed to some of them, when we vindicated our plan of making the prophetical literature our starting point; but it is only now that they can be fully exhibited and placed in their true light.

It is evident, *in the first place*, that the accounts embraced in our investigation, far from having been composed by contemporaries, date all, without exception, from the period when the prophetical predictions, with which they make us acquainted, had been fulfilled. This is universally acknowledged with regard to the great majority of them, but it cannot admit of a doubt in respect to one single narrative. Proceeding upon what is assented to by everyone, let us show that this rule is applicable to all the accounts which are included in our survey.

The books of Chronicles were written *after the Babylonish captivity*. According to my own conviction, they cannot be older than the middle of the third century before our era; but this point we may leave at present undetermined. No one places them before the time of Ezra, in whom many see the author of these books. Between the writer and the most recent prophecies which he alone mentions, there intervenes, therefore, a period of at least three centuries.

The last fact, which is communicated to us in the books of Kings, is the liberation of the exiled king, Jehoiachin, from his prison by Evil-Merodach, the successor of Nebuchadrezzar (561 B.C.).[1] Even those who see in this account a later addition,[2] acknowledge that the redactor of these books wrote in the time of the Babylonish captivity. Let the reader bring into connection with this admitted fact, some of the predictions communicated to us by this writer! It now becomes plain that the account of the two unnamed prophets, contemporaries of Jeroboam I., was written after the reformation of Josiah; that the prediction of Ahijah to Jeroboam's

[1] 2 Kings xxv. 27—30.

[2] K. H. Graf, "die gesch. Bücher des A. T." p. 110, with whom others agree.

wife was recorded in writing after the deportation of the ten tribes; as the announcement that the descendants of Jehu, to the fourth generation, should occupy the throne of Israel, was written down after the murder of Zachariah by Shallum,[1] and the prophecy of Huldah concerning the judgment upon the kingdom of Judah, after the death of Josiah and the fall of Jerusalem.[2] We must be on our guard against too hasty inferences, but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact itself.

The age of the books of Judges and Samuel is not so undisputed as the period in which the author of Kings lived. There is very much to be said in behalf of the unity of the final redaction of all these writings. But even those who do not accept this unity must grant that the books of Samuel were written after the rise of an independent kingdom of Judah,[3] and that the Assyrian captivity is mentioned in Judges.[4] If we wished to enter more into details, the proofs of a later origin of both books would become greatly multiplied;[5] but what is stated above is sufficient for our present purpose. It is now clear—to mention some one point—that the writer of the book of Judges lived long after the end of the period of the Judges, and that Samuel had been dead at least a century, when the accounts which we possess regarding his prophetical career, received their present form.

Finally, as regards the Pentateuch, it has already become evident to the reader again and again, that the tradition which assigns the five books to Moses, appears to me to be untenable. I shall, in the following chapter, come back upon one of the principal objections to it. I merely remark here that *the settlement of the Israelites in Canaan*, though, as is self-evident, still represented as a future event in the addresses and laws which are ascribed to Moses, is, in more than one

[1] 2 Kings xv. 10.

[2] 1 Kings xiii; xiv. 6—16; 2 Ki. x. 30; xxii. 15—20; all these accounts are mentioned in chapter x.

[3] 1 Sam. xxvii. 6. [4] Judges xviii. 30.

[5] "The book of the upright," into which the lamentation over Saul and Jonathan was introduced, belonged to the sources from which the compiler of the books of Samuel drew his materials (2 Sam. i. 18). A very considerable period must have elapsed before so widely different accounts of Saul's elevation to be king, and of David's magnanimity to Saul, as lie before us in 1 Sam. viii.—xii. and xxiv., xxvi., could have been formed. These are merely two proofs out of very many which might have been adduced.

place,[1] so clearly *pre-supposed*, that the reader asks himself, how by any possibility the books in which such accounts appear, could be assigned to a writer who did not live to witness that settlement? We need not, for the present, go further. In judging such narratives as those contained in Num. xxii.—xxiv.,[2] and the predictions made to the patriarchs,[3] it is just the chief question whether they were not in truth committed to writing after the passage across the Jordan, and not before it. If the former be the case, these accounts also form no exception to the rule which I have just laid down; they were written not before, but after the fulfilment.

The question, however, remains whether the interval of time, occasionally of considerable length, between the origin of the books and the facts with which they make us acquainted, really furnishes a ground for doubt. It may be said that the historical books were, indeed, not put into their present form until so late a period, but had not the authors older—why not even contemporary—documents at their command, and did they not often transfer these to their pages unaltered? What should hinder us from applying this to their communications about the prophets also? and if we do so, does not the first objection fall to the ground altogether?

In the abstract this argument no doubt claims consideration; but when we look closely at the narratives referred to, it becomes evident at once, that they cannot be maintained in this way. They exhibit, on the contrary, in a greater or less degree, all the characteristics of later accounts. To these belongs—and thus we come to the *second* ground of doubt—their mutual discrepance. We do not at present take into consideration the minor variations which present themselves when we compare the narratives of the Chronicle-writer with those of his predecessors, for example, that of 1 Chron. xxi. with 2 Sam. xxiv. There are points of difference of much more importance. The reader will remember the particulars concerning Balaam and his predictions, which, in the previous chapter, we borrowed from Num. xxii.—xxiv. It

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," &c., I. 22—27. Among the clearest passages are Gen. xxxvi. 31; Exod. xv. 13, 17; Lev. xxvi. 34, 35; Num. xv, 32; Deut. iii. 14.

[2] See above, pp. 367 f.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 377, ff.

is self-evident that they can be accepted as historical only if they can abide the test of a rigorous investigation. But we encounter difficulties, both when we compare the three chapters in question with other narratives, and when we consider carefully their contents themselves. It is true, the main substance of what they communicate to us regarding Balaam is confirmed by three accounts which we find elsewhere;[1] but in opposition to this stands the fact, that in the Pentateuch itself,[2] and in the book of Joshua,[3] an altogether different representation of Balaam's person and fortunes is given, which can in no way whatever be brought into agreement with Num. xxii.—xxiv. *Here* we read that after having uttered his predictions, Balaam "returned to his place;"[4] *there* that he dwelt among the Midianites, and lost his life in the war which was waged against them. *Here*, it is Balak, *the king of Moab*, who summons him to curse Israel; *there* it is said, that by his word, the Midianite damsels seduced the Israelites to apostasy from Jahveh. There was evidently more than one tradition in circulation about the part played by Balaam, and also about the people to whom he had stood in relation. On a careful perusal of Num. xxii. this conjecture is confirmed. Here it is Balak who is the actor, just as in the two following chapters. But, singularly enough, he makes "the elders of Midian" partakers with him in his dread of Israel,[5] and along with his ambassadors, the elders of Moab, "the elders of Midian," also are once mentioned,[6] while in the very next verse, as afterwards, the Moabite elders alone appear.[7] It is as if by way of concession to the other tradition which connected Balaam with the Midianites, that the latter are mentioned just twice—very probably not by the narrator himself, but by a later editor who revised his account. This phenomenon again does not stand by itself; Num. xxv. is based upon a narrative, according to which Israel participates in the idolatry of the Moabites, and in the unchaste worship of their deity Baal-

[1] Deut. xxiii. 5, 6; Josh. xxiv. 9 (which passages however differ from Num. xxii.—xxiv. in this, that they lay great stress on the inclination of Balaam himself to curse Israel); Micah vi. 5.
[2] Num. xxxi. 8, 16. [3] Josh. xiii. 22. [4] Num. xxiv. 25.
[5] Num. xxii. 4. [6] Num. xxii. 7.
[7] Num. xxii. 8, 14, 21; compare xxiii. 6, 17

Peor.[1] In the revision, however, the Moabites are replaced by the Midianites, and the latter have become so much the principal personages, that they are marked out for punishment as the only guilty people;[2] just as in like manner in the account of the war of extermination waged against them, the responsibility for Israel's transgression is laid upon them, and on their adviser Balaam.[3] Thus the main point in the narrative given in Num. xxii.—xxiv., the connection of Balaam with Balak, is directly contradicted by other accounts. Besides,—apart from what has been already observed about the Midianites having been interpolated,—that narrative is now clearly seen not to be from one hand. The last sayings of Balaam[4] combine so loosely with those which precede, that they can hardly be ascribed to the original author, while the well-known episode of Balaam's ass[5] harmonises badly with what precedes, and lies likewise under the suspicion of having been added at a later period.[6]

It is thus evident that the important narrative given in Num. xxii.—xxiv. does not at all present that certainty which we may reasonably desire in an historical statement. As little do the accounts of Samuel, in the first of the books named after him, correspond to this requirement. To the questions how Samuel succeeded in his attempts to raise Israel out of its humiliation, and to deliver it from the oppression of the Philistines; what part he took in the election of Saul to be king, and on what grounds he afterwards broke with Saul, and deemed him unworthy to found a dynasty—to these questions we find in 1 Sam. vii. ff., at every step, two answers which absolutely exclude each other, in the estimation of every unprejudiced person.[7] When we

[1] Num. xxv. 1-5; compare Deut. iv. 3.
[2] Num. xxv. 6-15; 16-18.
[3] Num. xxxi. 16.
[4] Num. xxiv. 20-24.
[5] Num. xxii. 22-25.
[6] Balaam had (verse 20) gone on the journey in accordance with the command of God, and yet God's anger is kindled because he went with the envoys (verse 22). If vv. 22—35 were from the original author, then proper reason would have existed for the emphatic warning in verse 35, which is not now the case.
[7] The following passages are at variance with each other:—1 Sam. vii. 13, 14, and ix. 16; x. 5; xiii. 19-23;—1 Sam. viii.; x. 17-27; xii. and ix. 1—x. 16, while still a third representation really serves as a basis to chap. xi.;—1 Sam. xiii. and xv. See this more fully shown in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," i. 227-229.

free ourselves altogether from the authority of the letter, we succeed, though not without difficulty, in forming a probable representation of the succession and true character of the events. But to maintain the narratives as they lie before us, is a thing not once to be thought of. And that the less, because the phenomena, which they present to us, recur in other accounts of 1 Samuel, namely, in the narratives about David's coming to the court of Saul, about David's flight, about his residence at the court of Achish, and about the manner in which he spared Saul's life.[1] With regard to these particulars also, the one narrative stands *opposed* to the other, and that in such a way that the thought of harmonising the conflicting traditions cannot be entertained. It is therefore plain that the compiler of the books of Samuel had widely varying accounts before him, and that, being unable to make a choice between them, he placed, in accordance, indeed, with the Semitic method of writing history, the mutually conflicting narratives alongside of each other, without, at least as a general rule, altering any thing in them. In adopting this method, he has done us a great service. We have now at our disposal the same materials for constructing history which he could employ. But as he did not succeed in combining them into a harmonious whole, so we also fail to do so. *The particulars* on which everything hinges in the investigation which we now institute, remain doubtful. The historical reality, which is the very thing we wish to know, lies far behind the narratives, can be gathered from them merely approximatively, and can be reproduced only in its main features.

When we pass from Samuel to his great successors in the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., to Elijah and Elisha, we meet, not indeed with the same, but still with as suspicious phenomena. The letter of Elijah to Jehoram, king of Judah, which the writer of the Chronicles communicates to us,[2] has either been invented, or—for even this supposition has been resorted to—was written by Elijah from heaven. According to the older accounts, he had departed from the stage of history and been succeeded by Elisha as early as in the reign

[1] See my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," pp. 227-231, where 1 Sam. xvi. and xvii.; 1 Sam. xviii.—xx.; 1 Sam. xxi. 11-16 and xxvii ff.; 1 Sam. xxiii. 19—xxiv. 23, and xxvi. are compared with each other.

[2] 2 Chron. xxi. 12—15.

of Jehoshaphat, the father of Jehoram;[1] in order to deny this, recourse must be had to a very forced and unnatural interpretation of these accounts.[2] But, it may be said, we can, without any great loss, give up this one narrative of the Chronicle-writer, which stands altogether by itself; the books of Kings are our chief source of information regarding Elijah and Elisha; if the narratives which we find there are removed beyond reasonable doubt, nothing more is left for us to wish. These narratives, however, are far from satisfying this condition. Thus it has been rightly observed that the commands which Elijah receives at Horeb[3] raise expectations in the reader's mind to which the sequel of the narrative does not correspond. The prophet does indeed attach Elisha to his person, and thus marks him out as destined to occupy his place,[4] but he neither anoints Hazael to be king of Damascus, nor Jehu to be king of Israel; the former act is performed by Elisha,[5] the latter by one of the disciples of the prophets, acting under Elisha's orders.[6] It is thus plain that the writer —I had almost said, considering the plan and character of his beautiful narrative, the poetical narrator—of 1 Ki. xvii.—xix. arranges the events and persons in a chronological connection different[7] from that adopted by the compiler of 2 Ki.

[1] When Jehoshaphat took part with the Kings of Israel and Edom in the expedition against the Moabites, Elisha was already acting as a prophet (2 Kings iii. 11 ff.) The narrative of that expedition follows the account of Elijah's ascension (2 Ki. ii. 1—18) and of the miracles with which Elisha commenced his career as the successor of Elijah (vv. 19—25).

[2] Prof. Rawlinson ("The Holy Bible," &c., III., 328 cf. 4, 11) supposes that 2 Kings ii. has been placed earlier than the order of time would warrant, and that Elijah was still alive when the expedition against Moab took place; accordingly he translates 2 Kings iii. 11, "who *pours* water on the hands of Elijah." But if the author had wished to express this, he would have written the participle instead of the past tense (*ha-jotsék* instead of *asher-jatsak*). Now it is quite evident that he regards Elisha as the *successor* of Elijah. And this is also, beyond all doubt, the opinion of the author of 2 Kings ii. Let the reader consider vv. 9 ff, and vv. 15—18, 19—22, 23—25. The position of chap. ii. thus perfectly corresponds with the contents of that chapter, and the hypothesis of Rawlinson, invented for the sake of the Chronicle-writer, is thereby refuted.

[3] 1 Ki. xix. 15—18.

[4] 1 Ki. xix. 19—21. The expression in verse 16 ("Elisha shalt thou anoint to be prophet *in thy room*") is another objection against the hypothesis of Prof. Rawlinson which was combated in note 2.

[5] 2 Ki. viii. 7—15. [6] 2 Ki. ix. 1 ff.

[7] Let the reader not neglect to observe that not only in 1 Ki. xix. 15, 16, but also in verse 17 Elisha is mentioned *after* Hazael and Jehu, and, at least in verse 17, also executes *after them*, Jahveh's punitive judgment upon Israel.

ii. 8 ff., who makes all the great actions of Elisha precede the extirpation of the house of Omri by Jehu, and the elevation of the latter to the throne (2 Ki. ix., x.). That the arrangement of the facts, which results from the above-mentioned commands to Elijah, is something more than an inference rashly drawn and resting on the too literal interpretation of the words of the historian, is clear also from other sources. The death of Elisha occurs in the reign of Joash,[1] that is forty-five years after Jehu ascended the throne, and as many years more as had already elapsed since the commencement of the reign of Joash.[2] His prophetical career thus extended over a period of about fifty years under Jehu and his dynasty. If he had already come forward as a prophet in the reign of Jehoram, Jehu's predecessor, which in itself is *not* likely, then certainly his acts done in Jehoram's reign could have been only the prelude to those which he performed afterwards. And yet, as I have already remarked, the compiler of 2 Ki. ii. ff., places all the narratives about him before the account of Jehu's revolt, so that for all that period of fifty years there is nothing left to record of him but the mention of his last sickness and his death. Such an arrangement of the events is certainly improbability itself; when modified according to the indication which, as we thought, was found in the commands given to Elijah at Horeb, it becomes much more credible. But can we allow ourselves so great freedom with regard to the narratives in 2 Kings? Do they admit, without violence and caprice, of being transferred to another period than that in which the compiler has placed them? Without hesitation, I answer these questions in the affirmative. There can be no doubt that the most of the accounts of Elisha's acts are very imperfectly connected with each other,[3] and are characterised by an entire absence of

[1] 2 Ki. xiii. 14—19.

[2] Jehu became king in 884 B.C., and reigned 28 years; Jehoahaz, in 856 B.C., and reigned 17 years, therefore till 839 B.C. (2 Ki. x. 36; xiii. 1).

[3] The statement that the bands of the Syrians came no more into the land of Israel (2 Ki. vi. 23), is immediately followed by the account of the siege of Samaria by the Syrians (2 Ki. vi. 24 ff.), just as the account of the healing of Naaman (2 Ki. v.), which represents to us (vv. 6, 7) Israel as being subject to Syria, and leads us to expect the most favourable disposition of the Syrian court towards Israel, is followed immediately by the statement that the Syrians are unceasingly making predatory incursions

historical precision. They mention "the king of Israel," "the king of Syria," without the addition of their names,[1] and on one occasion Benhadad, without it being clear which Syrian king is intended, whether the older or the younger monarch of that name.[2] This shows, on the one hand, that these accounts date from a later period, and, on the other, it emboldens us to place them where they appear to us best to fit in. To that must be added that the political situation, which is presupposed in the most of the narratives about Elisha, did exist under Jehu and Jehoahaz, but not under Jehoram, and that the relation of the prophet to "the king of Israel" becomes altogether inexplicable if we think that Jehoram is thereby intended.[3] In short, however bold it may appear, we are, in truth, fully justified in rejecting, in so far as this point is concerned, the representation of Elisha's proceedings which the compiler of Kings gives us, and in substituting another in its room. But it is obvious that narratives, with regard to which we *must* allow ourselves so great freedom, lack entirely the characteristics of contemporaneous documents, and, so to say, take their place, of their own accord, in the category of the later, and only in part historical, accounts.

The study of the narratives themselves fully confirms this judgment regarding their age;[4] but, agreeably to the plan of this survey, we do not enter into details. With regard to

into Canaan (2 Ki. vi. 8 ff.). According to 2 Ki. v. 27, Gehazi is punished with life-long leprosy, but, 2 Ki. viii. 1—6, he has familiar intercourse with the king of Israel.

[1] See 2 Ki. v., vi. 8—23; 24—vii. 20. The remark made in the text is, of course, not applicable to 2 Ki. iii. and viii. 7—15.

[2] 2 Ki. vi. 24. The elder Benhadad appears in 1 Ki. xx.; 2 Ki. viii. 7, 9; the younger, son of Hazael, the murderer of the forementioned Benhadad, in 2 Ki. xiii. 3, 24, 25. It is generally inferred from 2 Ki. vi. 32, that "the king of Israel" in this narrative is Jehoram, the son of Naboth's murderer; but Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, may just as well be intended; how justly Jehu might be called "the murderer" is shown by 2 Ki. ix., x.; compare Hos. i. 4. If, however, the writer had Jehoram in view, it would merely follow that he was under a mistake. In the reign of that king, Israel was not in the condition described to us in 2 Ki. vi. 24—vii. 26.

[3] 2 Ki. iv. 13; vi. 8 ff., 21; viii. 4 ff.; which passages suppose that the prophet is on good terms with the king, and has much influence with him. The narrative 2 Ki. vi. 24—vii. 20, is an exception to the rule, which can be easily explained.

[4] Compare, as regards the accounts about Elisha, my article in "Nieuw en Oud," 1871, pp. 391—426, where also the particulars just touched upon above are more fully handled.

the accounts given in the historical books about the prophets and prophecy, there is still a general remark to be made, which is connected with the two previous observations. It was plain to us, *firstly*, that the historical books in which the accounts appear, were composed long after the events of which they testify had happened; *secondly*, that the narratives about the prophets, themselves contain elements at variance with each other, and thus stand at a considerable distance from the persons whom they describe to us; we now observe, *in the third place*, that many of these narratives betray their later origin by their language, style, and contents, and most probably owe their present form only to the redactors of the books in which we find them.

Let us attend, in the first place, to the Chronicle-writer. The similarity which the addresses put by him into the mouth of the prophets show, both to each other and to the discourses of the other persons whom he introduces as speaking, is universally acknowledged.[1] It is equally obvious that all these speeches, the shorter and the longer alike, possess in language and manner the characteristics of the author himself. But even as regards the contents, the agreement is almost always striking. Azariah, the son of Oded, speaks about the religious condition of the kingdom of Israel, and about the indissoluble connection between faithfulness to Jahveh and prosperity, and between apostasy from his worship and adversity, altogether in the manner of the Chronicle-writer who communicates his speech to us.[2] These phenomena, viewed in their mutual connection, scarcely leave room for more than one explanation. What older accounts regarding the pre-exilic prophets were available to the Chronicle-writer cannot be determined, but it is *altogether certain* that the speeches which he makes them utter are *his own work*, as well as the letter of Elijah, which we mentioned above,

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 320 n. 6.

[2] 2 Chron. xv. 1 ff., and the commentary of Bertheau on the passage. Bertheau rightly remarks that the speech of Azariah presupposes, not one individual period, but the whole, of the history of Israel, "and that in so far as *the Chronicle-writer* could survey it, for it appears clearly from this speech itself, that he reproduces, in his own fashion and in his own words, the speech of the ancient prophet."

and which in like manner contains more than one expression by which we recognise the Chronicle-writer at once.[1]

What has been said above is, with the modifications demanded by the nature of the case, fully applicable also to the author of the book of Kings. The predictions of Ahijah about Jeroboam, of Jehu about Baasha, of Elijah about Ahab, and of Elisha's messenger about the house of Omri,[2] agree with each other in the use of a number of expressions, for the most part very characteristic. To be convinced of this, the reader only requires to peruse them in succession.[3] "In the abstract, it is certainly possible that the later prophets have imitated Ahijah, but in all likelihood such is not the case, because, 1st, the older prophets were not in the habit of committing their oracles to writing; we do not find a single instance of their having done so before the eighth century—or, if Joel might have been a contemporary of Joash, king of Judah—before the middle of the ninth century; 2dly, the imitation would have been here very slavish, and often not much more than a repetition of what had been previously said. Rather than attribute so little originality to men like Jehu ben Hanani, Elijah, and Elisha (by whose commission the disciple of the prophets speaks in 2 Ki. ix.), we would ascribe the similarity of their addresses to tradition and to the writer." The question, then, still remains, Who is this writer? is he the compiler of the Book of Kings himself, or may he be an author who lived long before him? Our answer must be: If he was not that compiler himself, he was certainly one of his immediate predecessors, a man who occupied the same standpoint as he did. In reading the prophetical utterances communicated by him, we again and again come upon ideas which we are unable to refer to the time in which they are represented as having been expressed, and to regard as being in the spirit of the older prophets, but with respect to which we know, on the other hand, that they were cherished by the historian and those of like sentiments

[1] Compare Graf, "Die gesch. Bücher des A. T.," p. 146 f. To the instances mentioned by him may be added the word *rekûsh* (2 Chron. xxi. 14) which occurs also in 1 Chron. xxvii. 31; xxviii. 1; 2 Chron. xx. 25: xxi. 17; xxxi. 3; xxxii. 29; xxxv. 7 (Ezra i. 4, 6; viii. 21; x. 8).

[2] 1 Ki. xiv. 6—16; xvi. 2—4; xxi. 20—24; 2 Ki. ix. 6—10.

[3] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 279, n. 4, from which the words which follow in the text are borrowed.

with him. Ahijah the Shilonite manifests a reverence for David and his race, and for the temple of Solomon, which is incompatible with the revolt of the ten tribes, and the approval of that revolt by Ahijah himself.[1] Still less ambiguous on this point is the testimony of 1 Ki. xiii., the story of the two unnamed prophets, from Judah and from Bethel. We hear the latter speak of "all the temples of the high places *in the cities of Samaria*,"[2] while it appears that that city was not built till half a century afterwards;[3] the expression is a very late one, and occurs in other places only where the author of the book of Kings himself speaks.[4] As this author betrays himself here by a single phrase, so we recognise him, elsewhere in the narrative, by the thoughts which he expresses. The judgment therein pronounced about Jeroboam and his measures regarding the public worship is that of the historian himself;[5] it is altogether in the spirit of the reformation of Josiah, whose name, as we may remember, is mentioned in the narrative;[6] before the time of Hezekiah, who first attempted the reformation,[7] which was effected by Josiah a century afterwards, we nowhere discover in the history—which is not to be confounded with the historical narratives[8]—any trace of the belief that no offering was to be made outside of the one sanctuary, the temple of Jerusalem; and yet the stern disapprobation of the conduct of Jeroboam is based upon that belief.[9]

I have purposely dwelt at somewhat greater length on the books of Kings, without indeed exhausting the matter for remark,[10] because they contain precisely the most important

[1] 1 Ki. xi. 32, 33[b], 34, 36, 38[b], 39. [2] 1 Ki. xiii. 32.
[3] 1 Ki. xvi. 24. [4] 2 Ki. xvii. 24, 26; xxiii. 19.
[5] See the passages in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 270, n. 15.
[6] 1 Ki. xiii. 2. [7] 2 Ki. xviii. 4.
[8] The account, in Joshua xxii., of the misunderstanding between the transjordanic and the other tribes rests on the supposition, that the laws concerning the one sanctuary (Lev. xvii.; Deut. xii., &c.) existed at the time of the settlement in Canaan, and had become familiar to the minds of the Israelites, but on that account cannot be regarded as historical.
[9] Especially in verse 32. The curse pronounced against the altar (verse 2) may have originally stood in connection with the height and the form which Jeroboam gave to it, at variance with the enactment in Exod. xx. 24—26. But as it occurs here, immediately after 1 Ki. xii. 26—33, it must undoubtedly be regarded as a condemnation of Jeroboam's form of worship as a whole.
[10] On 2 Kings xviii.—xx., see above pp. 286 ff.

predictions, with regard to which we would, first of all, desire to obtain certainty: a narrative such as we have just considered, that given in 1 Kings xiii., is of the very greatest importance for the knowledge of prophecy, and must be, for valid reasons, either absolutely acknowledged as history, or rejected as unhistorical, before we can reach our goal. The accounts in the books of Samuel and Judges are both less numerous and of less decisive importance, so that we do not require to occupy ourselves with them at present. Moreover, the most of them do not here come so prominently into consideration. We have already seen that the accounts regarding Samuel are self-contradictory.[1] That implies that they are not from one hand, and therefore also have not been written by the latest author, but have been adopted by him without any, or with very little, alteration. In general, the redactor appears much less on the foreground in the books of Samuel than in Kings; it is no wonder therefore that we do not recognise him at all so plainly in the prophetical addresses of the former as in those of the latter books. The book of Judges has much greater agreement with the book of Kings; but then in that book also we again perceive at once an intimate affinity between the views entertained by the writer himself and the several prophetical discourses which he communicates to us.[2]

No one certainly will doubt the importance of the objections to which, as is evident from the preceding pages, the representation given of the prophets and prophecy in the historical books is liable. We would, however, readily attach less weight to these objections, if the representation referred to was *in itself* credible. But the opposite is the case. It is, we should rather say, overwhelmed with insuperable difficulties.

The actions and predictions of the prophets in the historical books have a supernatural character. Is that feature then to be regarded as the chief objection connected with them? By no means. Our inquiry is in fact concerned with the very question, whether the asserted immediate intervention of

[1] Above, pp. 392 f.

[2] Compare the passages considered in our survey (pp. 368, 382, ff.) with the introduction of the author himself, Judges ii. 6—iii. 6, and the kindred remarks which precede the accounts of the several Judges.

Jahveh in the guidance of Israel's fortunes can be considered as historical or not. In that inquiry, therefore, we can proceed as little upon the supposition of the truth, as of the falsity, of supernaturalism. Still the chief objection is most closely connected with the supernatural character of the prophets and their predictions, because it lies in *the difference between the canonical prophets and the prophets in the historical narratives of the Old Testament*—in other words, in the fact that the latter stand at as great a distance from the former, as the supernatural from the natural.

No one indeed will think of denying that difference. It has already become clearly obvious to every one who has thus far followed the course of our investigation. In the prophetical literature we find no single trace of the *miracles* which occupy so large a space in the biographies of many prophets, especially of Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha. On the contrary, that which the prophets themselves communicate to us, directly or incidentally, concerning the relation in which they stood to the people and to their opponents, distinctly excludes the supposition that they had supernatural powers at their command. The fortunes, for example, of Jeremiah—the prophet whom we know best—become, on this supposition, a perpetual enigma. But however important this difference may be, it is overshadowed by that which exists between their *respective predictions*. Those of the prophets of the historical books extend far beyond their political horizon, are characterised by definiteness and accuracy, enter into the more minute particulars, and are all, without distinction, strictly fulfilled. On the other hand, the predictions of the canonical prophets—but it is unnecessary to carry out the antithesis. It is absolute and complete. The facts, with which we became acquainted in chapters v.—viii., speak loudly and unequivocally.

Are we simply to allow so great a difference to remain as it is? Can we not only recognise the canonical prophets as real historical characters, as it is indeed self-evident that we must, but may we also regard the prophet of the historical books in the same light? Or is the latter specifically excluded by the former?

There is one way in which the defence of the representa-

tion given in the historical books may be attempted. The defenders may try to show that this representation does not run parallel to the testimony of the prophetical literature, and thus does not *require* to agree with it; in that case, the difference, instead of being an objection against, becomes rather a proof of, the fidelity of the Israelite historians. Now, such a demonstration seems capable of being easily furnished.

We have already dwelt expressly on the points which distinguish the one group from the other.[1] Speaking generally, the prophets of the historical books precede, in order of time, the canonical prophets. Only some few of them (Jonah ben Amittai, Isaiah, Huldah) belong to the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., and were thus contemporaries of the men whose oracles we possess. The great majority of them are older, and are representatives of that period in the history of Israelitish prophecy, when the custom of committing the spoken word to writing did not yet exist. That the introduction of this custom denotes a modification in the character of the prophetical work we have also formerly observed.[2] Elijah and Elisha are essentially different men from Hosea and Micah, for instance. Is not this undeniable difference more than sufficient to account for the distinction which presented itself to us when we compared the sources of information? "Other times, other manners," and, we may add, other needs. Was Jahveh bound to reveal himself in one and the same way in the successive periods of Israel's history?

In this manner the attempt might be made to maintain, at the same time, the two conflicting representations of the action of the Israelitish prophets. There is, however, little reflection needed to convince us that success is not to be obtained in this way. At the very first, it seems suspicious that the few prophets of the eighth and seventh centuries, of whom the historical books give an account, stand in power and foreknowledge on the same footing—not, as we should expect, with the canonical prophets, but with their predecessors, who are described to us in the narratives concerning the previous ages. It is true, indeed, that it is only a few particulars which are communicated to us regarding them, but these few speak plainly. Let the reader remember the

[1] See p. 62 f., 66. [2] See *l.c.*

sign which Isaiah gives to Hezekiah, and his predictions about the lengthening of the life of that king, and the deportation of his posterity to Babylon;[1] and further, the prophecy of Huldah about the destruction of the kingdom of Judah.[2] There is really nothing more needed to enable us to perceive that the proposed solution is unsuccessful. But besides, in that solution, stress is laid, in a very one-sided manner, exclusively on the changes which prophecy underwent in the course of time, and its essential unity is altogether overlooked. The prophets of all ages have this in common, that they come forward as interpreters of Jahveh, and announce his "word." There is certainly not the very slightest ground for the conjecture that this "word of Jahveh" may have borne another character in the eighth and subsequent centuries, than it did in those which preceded. If it was thought—quite arbitrarily, indeed—that such a difference might be assumed, it would then surely consist in this, that "Jahveh's word," when it was not only uttered, but also committed to writing, was, in a more proper sense even than before, the word *of Jahveh.* That is to say, the chronological explanation of the distinction between the canonical prophets and those of the historical books, implies that the former must have manifested a higher degree of foreknowledge than the latter, while the very opposite appears to be the case.

The conclusion is not for a moment doubtful. The two representations of prophecy which lie before us in the Old Testament do not admit of being reconciled. *A choice must be made between the two.*

The justice of this conclusion is, in a certain sense, acknowledged by all. There is no one who allows the divergent representations to stand alongside of each other unreconciled. Every one agrees that they cannot possibly differ from each other except in unessential points or in form. Consciously or unconsciously, therefore, the attempt is made to shape the one according to the other, until they have become essentially one. In this way the defenders of the traditional view of the Israelitish prophets and their work act, when, proceeding upon the historical narratives, they place the canonical prophets in the frame-

[1] See above, p. 373. [2] See above, p. 373.

work which they found there provided, and consequently attribute characteristics to the "word of Jahveh" spoken by them which, in reality, it does not possess. We do not require to express once more an unfavourable opinion of that method; yet the striving after unity, after harmony between the two representations, must command our approval. Nay, we would join in the effort, if we saw a chance of reconciling the irreconcilable.

We therefore repeat what we have already said, *a choice must be made.* But to that we can at once add, that the choice no longer needs to be made; the case has been already decided. They alone who do not yet see the facts plain and distinct before them, can hesitate, or still continue to seek after means for reconciling the two representations. He, who knows the real state of the question, asks or doubts no longer. The testimony which the canonical prophets deliver concerning themselves, is, from its own nature, irrefragable; the narratives of third parties, even though they were also ear-and-eye witnesses, can never be so. Least of all can the historical narratives of the Old Testament maintain the contest against the authentic sources of information. If the writings to which they belong had originated at the time in which the work of the Israelitish prophets was carried on; if the narratives themselves corroborated each other, and mutually agreed; if they, in form and contents, were manifestly independent of the subjective views of the later writers who transmit them to us, in that case—yes, in that case—we should perhaps hesitate before we expressed our judgment. But the proof has been given in this very chapter that the reality corresponds to no one of these suppositions. We may not, therefore, waver; our conclusion must be:

The representation of the prophets and of prophecy in the narratives of the Old Testament is not historical.

CHAPTER XII.

CONTINUATION. THE REPRESENTATION OF THE PROPHETS AND PROPHECY IN THE NARRATIVES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT HISTORICALLY EXPLAINED.

The representation of the prophets and of prophecy in the narratives of the Old Testament is not historical.

I dare not expect an immediate assent to this negative conclusion, even from those who have followed with approval the demonstration given in chapter xi.

In spite of the objections brought forward, the testimony of the historical books of the Old Testament continues to be too powerful for them. Do not the accounts—they will say—which these books give about the prophets and their work, agree with each other in the great essential point, and are they not moreover corroborated by what is communicated to us regarding Jahveh's own intervention in the direction of Israel's fortunes? Let it be granted that objections more or less weighty can be alleged against many of the narratives; nay, let it be freely acknowledged that these objections are not fanciful, and do not admit of being removed; yet is it not the fact, on the other hand, that the accounts of the Old Testament historians point, as it were, in one direction, and corroborate each other, at least in that one point with which we are concerned? Whence this agreement; whence, to speak more generally, all these narratives themselves, if they are not rooted in—*the historical reality?* How do you account for their origin, while you deny to them this indispensable foundation?

These questions are not unnatural, and we cannot close our ears against the justice of the demand which is therein expressed. In truth, in every historical inquiry the question ultimately comes to be, *what view of the facts best accounts*

for the historical documents which lie before us, for their origin and for their contents? These documents always form the test. If proceeding upon that view of the historical reality, to which we had given the preference, we succeed *in explaining* these documents, then, but not till then, have we proved the correctness of the conclusion. As regards the narratives about the prophets, so long as we get no farther than the negation, *not historical;* and have given no answer to the question, *but what then?* we can hardly expect, and certainly do not ask that our conclusion be accepted.

But I think I am able to satisfy that demand. It seems to me that the proof can be given, that the conclusion we have drawn from the investigation briefly comprised in chapter xi., is in perfect harmony with the history of the historical books of the Old Testament, and becomes corroborated by it. Of course conviction on this point is not to be attained without once more inspecting those books. Still this is only in appearance a deviation from our subject. So far from its being so in reality, the consideration of the Israelitish historical literature from the specific point of view which we now choose, could not have been omitted, although it had been less imperatively demanded by the investigation on which we have now entered; it belongs, beyond all doubt, to our task, if we wish to become fully acquainted with Israelitish prophecy, and are unwilling to lose a single ray of that light which the Old Testament itself sheds upon it. I do not need immediately to explain how this is to be understood; it will very soon become evident to us.

We choose our point of departure in the phenomena which present themselves to us when we read the Pentateuch with attention, and specifically in that most remarkable fact which even a man like Delitzsch, in spite of his conservative tendencies, and of his predilection for the authenticity of the Mosaic writings, has been obliged to acknowledge. In the introduction to his widely read *Commentar über die Genesis*, following the example of many others, he directs attention[1] to the alternating use of the two names *Jahveh* and *God* (*Elohîm*), from Gen. i. to Exod. vi. He shows that, on the supposition of these chapters being from one hand, it has

[1] Pp. 29 f. of the 3d edition.

been attempted in vain to explain this alternation from the difference in signification between the two names—a difference which he yet, as a matter of course, freely acknowledges. He comes, finally, to the conclusion that this alternation must be owing to a difference in the authorship. "It is," he writes,[1] "probable that, in Gen. i. to Exod. vi., we have before us two different modes of historical composition,"—the Elohistic and the Jahvistic. It is in fact evident, apart from the use of the divine names, that the Elohistic portions are clearly distinguished from the Jahvistic, among other points, by peculiarities of language and style. "It appears thus actually to be the case, that two distinct streams of historical writing run through the whole of the Pentateuch, which admit of being distinguished, as far as Exod. vi., by the different use of the divine names, and by other peculiarities connected with it." When we follow attentively the course of these streams, we arrive—still according to Delitzsch—at this representation of the origin of the Mosaic writings. "Some man such as Eleazar, the son of Aaron, *the priest*, wrote—after Israel's settlement in Canaan—the great (Elohistic) work, which begins with Gen. i. 1, and introduced into it the Book of the Covenant, and a short account of Moses' last addresses. . . . A second person, such as Joshua, who was *a prophet*, and spoke as a prophet, or one of the elders, on whom the spirit of Moses rested, and many of whom outlived Joshua, completed this work . . . and introduced into it the whole of Deuteronomy (written by Moses), by the study of which book he had moulded himself."[2]

We do not require to express our opinion at present on the particulars of this theory of Delitzsch. He has well perceived and expounded the essential point to which we wish, in the first instance, to confine ourselves. The Pentateuch has been written partly in a priestly, partly in a prophetical spirit—but in that case, it has certainly also been written partly by priests, partly by prophets. If, for the present, we separate these two component parts only in the mass, and leave the subdivisions out of view, then there belong to the *priestly documents* not only the laws in the second half of Exodus (chaps. xxv.—xxxi., xxxv.—xl.),

[1] P. 36 f. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

in Leviticus, and Numbers, but also the allied historical narratives, both in Genesis and in the first half of Exodus and in Numbers. On the other side, we have the *prophetical* narratives, which even in Genesis are characterised by the use of the name Jahveh, and are scattered in various parts of Exodus and Numbers, with the Book of the Covenant incorporated in them (Exod. xx.—xxiii.), and almost the whole of Deuteronomy. For the correctness of this division as a whole—we shall very soon return to the particulars—Delitzsch comes forward as a witness, at once competent and above suspicion.

It will be seen at the very first that these ideas regarding the distinction in character between the materials composing the Pentateuch are incompatible with the tradition about its Mosaic origin. Indeed this origin has been, as we saw, in a great measure surrendered by Delitzsch, who maintains it only as regards the Book of the Covenant and Deuteronomy. But we shall very soon examine this point more fully. At present we confine ourselves to the phenomenon which has been so justly placed by Delitzsch in the foreground, viz., the two historiographical streams, the prophetical and, alongside of that, the priestly conception and description of the history of Israel. That is a fact of the very greatest importance, and may be called the key to the explanation of the historical literature of Israel. Because, as was to be expected, it is not confined within the limits of the Pentateuch; elsewhere also in the Old Testament the two streams flow side by side. It is on this point that, starting from "the books of Moses," we wish at present to fix our attention.

The books, which follow each other in our common editions of the Bible, and are usually comprised under the collective title of "the historical books"—from Joshua to Esther inclusive—are, in the Hebrew text of the Old Testamant, separated by their position into two groups. Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings belong to the second division of the Old Testament, named *the Prophets*, and together constitute a subdivision called *the former Prophets;* the well-known prophetical books, with the exception of Daniel, belong to the second subdivision, *the latter Prophets*. On the other hand, the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah,

and Esther are incorporated in the third division of the Old Testament, which bears the name of "*the Writings*" or "*the sacred Writings.*" This is not the place fully to account for this arrangement of the historical books, It is undoubtedly connected with the time in which they originated; "the Prophets" are, speaking generally, older than "the Writings," and already formed a completed collection at a time when the whole of the latter did not yet exist. What strikes us most at present is that the arrangement in two different divisions coincides with a difference in spirit and character. The Books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings are called "the former Prophets," and are in fact prophetical in their origin and tendency; the other historical books, namely the Chronicles—to which, for our present object, we can confine ourselves—are not included among "the Prophets," and indeed do not belong to them; they are written in a priestly spirit and strain.

In the further development of the first of these propositions we are somewhat embarrassed by the Book of Joshua, because it is very closely connected with the Pentateuch, and is more nearly akin to it than to the following books from Judges to Kings. What is true of this last collection does not apply fully to Joshua. It will therefore be better to pass this book over in the first instance, and to come back upon it shortly when we once more proceed to examine the Pentateuch.

The reasons which induced the compilers of the Old Testament canon to place the older historical books among "the Prophets," can no longer be determined with absolute certainty. Was it the case that they attended more to the contents than to the character of these books? Might the determining motive have been that the actions and the words of the prophets occupy so large a space in these books, specifically in Samuel and Kings? It is not improbable that such were their reasons. But still we are permitted to approve of and to welcome that arrangement, because it at the same time does full justice to *the spirit* of these historical books. In truth, that spirit manifests itself at once in the fact that they place the work of the prophets of Jahveh so much in the foreground, and make the prophets come forward as the principal

persons in more than one period of the history of Israel. This would certainly not have been the case if these writers had been political men, royal annalists for instance, such as acted under David, Solomon, and Hezekiah, and probably also under the rest of the kings.[1] Even they could not have been silent about the prophets; they exercised too great an influence on the course of public affairs to be thus passed over. But it is as good as certain that they would have been less copious in their communications regarding them, and especially that they would have frequently placed them in another light than that in which they now appear. The figures of Samuel, Nathan, Ahijah, Elijah, and Elisha could have been depicted, as we now behold them standing before us, only by prophets, or at least by prophetical men, penetrated with the prophetical spirit, and moulded by it.

By prophets, or at least by prophetical men: is not, it may be asked, this last clause superfluous? Why not simply assume that the authors of the books from Judges to Kings were actually prophets? There is, indeed, no single valid objection against such a supposition; but just because it is a "supposition," and nothing more, I think it safer to express myself less definitely. That the Israelitish prophets always acted as historians, at least from the time of David to the termination of the kingdom of Judah, has been usually regarded as a conclusion which could be drawn with certainty from the books of Chronicles. The Chronicle-writer does, in fact, at the end of the biography of particular kings, frequently name "the words of" one or another prophet, in which his readers will be able to find mentioned either all the acts of that king, or the rest of his acts which have not been introduced into the Chronicles.[2] Thus, according to the usual interpretation of these references, the biography of David —to mention *some* instances—would have been written by Samuel the seer, Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer;[3]

[1] The Hebrew official title is *mazkîr*, and occurs in 2 Sam. viii. 16; xx. 24; 1 Ki. iv. 3; 2 Ki. xviii. 18, 37.

[2] See the complete list of these references of the Chronicle-writer in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I., pp. 306, ff. The passages in which prophets are named in connection with the biography of the kings are 1 Chron. xxix. 29; 2 Chron. ix. 29; xii. 15; xiii. 22; xx. 34; xxvi. 22; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18, 19.

[3] 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

that of Solomon by Nathan, Ahijah, and Jedi (Iddo?);[1] that of Jehoshaphat by Jehu, the son of Hanani.[2] If this could be assumed as proved, it might be inferred from it, without hesitation, that the prophets had made it a rule to put down in writing an account of every important event which happened in their days. But has the Chronicle-writer in truth intended to say what has been read in his words? On one occasion he asserts, quite unequivocally, that Isaiah has written the acts of Uzziah, the first and the last[3]—without, however, referring to that writing, so that it is neither evident that he himself had seen it, nor that he supposes it to be known and available to his readers; but on every other occasion in which he appears to name prophets as biographers of the kings of Judah, he means, according to the interpretation of the passages which best merits adoption, something essentially different. He is, I mean, in the habit of referring either to "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah,"[4] or to "the words of" one or another prophet; nowhere does he mention the two together;[5] the particulars, for which he refers to that "book of the kings of Israel and Judah," are of the same nature as those which, according to other passages, appear in "the words" of the prophets.[6] All this gives rise to the supposition that these "words" have not an independent existence alongside of "the book of the kings," but are very closely connected with it. The writer does, in fact, tell us that "the words of Jehu ben Hanani have been introduced into the book of the kings of Israel,"[7] and mentions elsewhere "the vision of Isaiah ben Amoz in the book of the

[1] 2 Chron. ix. 29. [2] 2 Chron. xx. 34. [3] 2 Chron. xxvi. 22.

[4] This title, with insignificant variations, occurs in 2 Chron. xvi. 11; xx. 34; xxiv. 27; xxv. 26; xxvii. 7; xxviii. 26; xxxii. 32; xxxiii. 18; xxxv. 27; xxxvi. 8.

[5] The single exception to this rule (2 Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19) is one only in appearance. For, instead of "the words of Chozai," we should read, with the Septuagint, "the words of the seers" [as is done in the Authorised Version]. It is plain, then, from verse 19, that these "words" contained particulars concerning the idolatry of Manasseh, while verse 18 shows that they were introduced into "the book of the kings."

[6] Let the reader compare with each other the passages referred to in p. 410, n. 2; and p. 411, n. 4. It would in vain be attempted to ascribe other contents to "the words" of the prophets than to "the book of the kings." As these "words" contain political details, so this book also treats of the prophets and their work.

[7] 2 Chron. xx. 34.

kings of Israel and Judah."[1] We have, on account of the facts of which the reader has just been reminded, to see in this, not the exception but the rule. "The words" of the prophets are sections, paragraphs as it were, furnished with a title of their own, in "the book of the kings of Israel and Judah." It is only on this supposition that the references of the Chronicle-writer are fully explained. Now it is certainly possible, even according to this opinion, that these sections were written by—or at least ascribed to—those prophets whose names stood above them. In favour of this view, an appeal could even be made to the statement quoted above, that Isaiah wrote the acts of Uzziah.[2] But such an interpretation is not necessary. The expression, "the words of A. B. the prophet," can, according to the idiom of the author, also signify "the narrative concerning A. B. the prophet." "The words" of particular kings are mentioned repeatedly, by which nothing else can be meant than the "account of that king," the things which befel him; in one word, his history. The same is true of the formulæ, "the prophecy," and "the vision" of particular prophets. The heading, "*the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite*, might, for example, be placed over 1 Ki. xi. 26—40; "*the vision of Isaiah ben Amoz*," above 2 Ki. xviii. 13—xix.; although Ahijah wrote nothing whatever of the first passage, and Isaiah only one part (chap. xix. 20—34) of the second. It follows from all this, that the Chronicle-writer does not come forward as a witness in favour of the assertion, that it belonged to the function of the prophets to write the history of their people. There is nothing to hinder us from assuming that many of them did so. If the Chronicle-writer was well informed, Isaiah, to give a special instance, wrote an account of the acts and fortunes of Uzziah. Many chapters of the book of the prophecies of Jeremiah can also contribute to prove that the prophet occasionally either committed to writing, with his own hand, the most important incidents of his life, or took care that this should be done by one of his disciples. But these facts, however great their importance may be, do not form a fixed rule. We cannot go further than to consider it to be very probable that the prophets took a share in writing history.

[1] 2 Chron. xxxii. 32. [2] 2 Chron. xxvi. 22.

We should not have been justified in passing over in silence the communications of the Chronicle-writer concerning the literary activity of the prophets; but, as regards our object, it is pretty much a matter of indifference whether we assign the authorship of the books from Judges to Kings to the prophets themselves, or rather to their disciples and to persons of kindred sentiments. In either case, that which appears to us to be the chief matter is accounted for—viz., *the spirit* in which these books are written—*the peculiar view* of the direction of Israel's fortunes, which is conspicuous in them—in one word, *the pragmatism* of the authors. In order to become acquainted with this character of the books, we have, of course, in the first place, to attend to those passages in which the authors speak in their own persons, and indicate the point of view from which they contemplate the facts. Intimations with regard to this occur, scattered here and there, in their writings; on a few occasions, the manner in which the writers looked at the events is more fully expounded.[1] These more detailed contemplations are distinct and unambiguous. It is beyond dispute that we find in them the prophetical interpretation of the destiny, the transgressions, and the fate of Israel. It was for the same truths, which are here maintained and illustrated from the history of the nation, that the prophets of Jahveh in Israel wrought and contended.

But we can give greater definiteness to this result. However close their mutual connection and affinities, the prophets of Jahveh have still their individual characteristics, and admit of being combined in different groups according to the character of their preaching. The seventh century had other requirements than the eighth, and apprehended the one truth in another manner than the preceding age had. Would it be also possible to define the group to which the prophetical historians belong? We might already gather that from the time in which they lived,[2] but it appears moreover quite distinctly from their own words. They are men of kindred sentiments with Jeremiah. Their standpoint can be still more particularly described as *Deuteronomic*. Every one knows that, in the Deuteronomic exhortations and laws, the relation of Israel to Jahveh is, in some degree, otherwise apprehended, and the

[1] Judges ii. 6—iii. 6; 2 Ki. xvii. 7—23, 34—41. [2] See above, p. 388, f.

worship of Jahveh by Israel otherwise regulated, than we find them to be both in the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.—xxiii.) and in the ceremonial or priestly laws. In particular, along with the adoration of Jahveh alone, *the worship of Jahveh in the one sanctuary* is placed in the foreground, and earnest warnings are given against the custom of the Canaanites who had their "high places" everywhere, and offered sacrifices upon them.[1] But it is this very standpoint that the latest authors of the prophetical histories occupy. This is true specifically of the author of the book of Kings. It can be said, without the slightest exaggeration, that for him *Deuteronomy* is the standard by which he measures the kings of Israel and Judah. What he emphatically blames in the great majority of them, and again and again brings forward as the cause of the misfortunes, both of the ten tribes and of Judah, is just this, that they both tolerated or favoured idolatry, and maintained or restored the "high places."[2] The agreement between these verdicts and the fundamental ideas of Deuteronomy—an agreement which naturally shows itself also in the style of writing—is so striking that many of those who regard the author of *Deuteronomy* as a contemporary of Josiah, identify him with the latest redactor of the books of Kings.[3] But we do not require to go further into this subject at present. Let it merely serve as a proof of the intimate connection between the spirit of the prophetical historian and the Deuteronomic legislation. The significance of that fact will, I may add, be soon shown still more at length.

With the prophetical narratives, we must now—were it only to give us assurance that we are on the right way—compare the Chronicles, which, as we saw, were not included among "the prophets" by the compilers of the Old Testament canon. The difference between these two classes of writings becomes immediately quite obvious, even on a superficial observation. Without wishing to decide whether the Chronicle writer belonged to the priests, or rather to the Levites, we conclude

[1] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," I. 432 ff. (Vol. ii. pp. 23 ff. English translation).

[2] See the passages referring to this point in my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 270.

[3] Thus Graf, Colenso, and others.

at once that he was *a minister of the temple at Jerusalem.* There is really no one who gainsays this. Proofs of all kinds, too many almost to enumerate, place this beyond all reasonable doubt. His silence regarding the kingdom of the ten tribes, his evident predilection for religious ceremonies, the copiousness of his communications about priests and Levites—all this shows that his heart is devoted to the temple and the temple-worship.[1] His pragmatism also is in perfect harmony with this fact. It does not need to be said that this pragmatism stands in no *opposition* whatever, at least in no absolute opposition, to that of his prophetical predecessors. Besides the belief in the election of Israel by Jahveh, and all which that implies, he has the doctrine of rewards and punishments in common with them.[2] But in his hands everything is modified and coloured after his own peculiar fashion. The temple-minister appears everywhere consistent with himself. Let the reader notice, for example, how he regards the revolt of the ten tribes, and what judgment he forms about their divine worship.[3] Let it be remarked further how he elaborates and applies the above-mentioned doctrine of rewards and punishments: the strictness with which he makes punishment follow transgression, and, conversely, restoration follow repentance,[4] distinguishes him, in a very essential manner, from the prophets, and is characteristic of the influence which his office exerts upon his views of things. For can it be by mere accident that the *priest* in these matters descends to minute points, whilst the *prophet* confines himself to the maintenance of the truths of the faith in their great features? It rather seems to us most natural that something formalistic is mingled even in his conception

[1] Compare again my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 317 ff.

[2] See above pp. 350 ff.

[3] 2 Chron. xi. 15; xiii. 4 ff.; xxv. 7 (compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 328 f.).

[4] Strengthened by the Levites, and the pious Israelites, who had abandoned the kingdom of Jeroboam I., Rehoboam and his subjects serve Jahveh *three years* (2 Chron. xi. 17; xii. 1), during which period they enjoy great prosperity (2 Chron. xi. 17—23; xii. 1). Thereafter they forsake Jahveh, for which they are punished by the invasion of Shishak, in the fifth year of Rehoboam (chap. xii. 1—5). Humiliation follows upon this punishment (verse 6), and the promise of restoration again follows this humiliation (verses 7, 8), and the result corresponds with the promise (verses 12, 13). The history of the most of the kings of Judah is composed in accordance with this scheme. Thus we immediately have that of Asa (chaps. xiv., xv.). For more instances see *l.c.* pp. 330—332.

of Jahveh's righteousness. Is it not just the attachment to the external and to the form, which, in Israel too, distinguishes the priests from the prophets?

Thus, then, the history of the Israelitish monarchy was first written in the prophetical, or, to speak more precisely, in the Deuteronomic spirit, in or shortly after the Babylonish captivity; and was, at a later period, related anew in the priestly spirit, after the great reformation of Ezra and Nehemiah. In the historiography of this period, the priests were subsequent to the prophets. In the Pentateuch (and in the book of Joshua), the priestly and the prophetical narratives are found alongside of each other. Can they be in these books contemporaneous, as Delitzsch, for instance, would have them to be?[1] or can the priestly "stream" be even older than the prophetical? The first supposition is altogether undeserving of adoption, especially in the form in which it is defended by Delitzsch: it entirely fails to do justice to the numerous phenomena which compel us to place the final redaction of the Pentateuch (and Joshua) very long after the time of Moses.[2] But the second, though it is still maintained by the majority of critics, is also indefensible. The grounds on which it has been assumed hitherto that the priestly—from Gen. i. to Exod. vi., the Elohistic—narratives and laws constitute the real kernel of the Pentateuch (and Joshua), are utterly insufficient. There is every reason for regarding them, on the very contrary, as being the later and the latest portions of the Pentateuch (and the book of Joshua). The comparison of the Deuteronomic laws and historical narratives on the one hand, and of the priestly legislation and historiography on the other, shows in the very clearest manner that the latter are subsequent to the former. An investigation of the particulars, in which of course we cannot here engage, establishes what we might expect on the ground of analogy. The prophetical conception and description of the patriarchal period, of the work of Moses, and of the settlement of Israel in Canaan, precedes the priestly in chronological order. The latter is the revision of the former in a priestly spirit, which, excepting that there is a difference to the disadvantage

[1] See above, p. 407. [2] See above, pp. 389, f.

of the Chronicle-writer, shows great agreement with the conception of the latter.[1]

We have hitherto confined ourselves to distinguishing, quite in general, the prophetical and the priestly historiography; and it has now become evident to us with how much justice the distinction is made. We must now proceed further, and expressly devote ourselves to taking a closer view of the prophetical narratives. In doing so, it becomes evident at once that though they show a mutual affinity, and thus are rightly combined and placed collectively over against the priestly narratives; yet they also differ again from each other. Here too we can start from the Pentateuch. Its prophetical elements clearly form two groups, which we may conveniently call the Jahvistic and the Deuteronomic. The points of distinction between the latter and the former have been already pointed out.[2] To what was said before it must now be added, that the Deuteronomic group is the younger. To a certain extent, this is universally acknowledged. Many laws of the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.—xxiii.) reappear in Deuteronomy, but generally so modified and recast, and enforced by such reasons, that the Deuteronomic edition is at once clearly seen to be the later.[3] In the same way the recapitulation of the history of the journey through the desert, in the opening chapters of Deuteronomy, presupposes the prophetical narratives on the same subject in Exodus and Numbers. These narratives are, in Deuteronomy, sometimes modified in a remarkable manner.[4] In different parts of the book of Joshua, the later additions, allied in form and contents to Deuteronomy, can be distinguished, without any difficulty, from an older prophetical narrative.[5] The prophetical portion of the Pentateuch (and Joshua)

[1] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," II. 65—83, 96—102. (Vol. II. pp. 157—173, 192—201, English translation).

[2] Above, p. 413.

[3] Compare, *e.g.*, Exod. xxi. 1—6 with Deut. xv. 12—18; Exod. xxiii. 10, 11 with Deut. xv. 1—11; Exod. xxiii. 8 with Deut. xvi. 19, 20, &c.; Graf, "Die gesch. Bücher des A. T.," pp. 19—24.

[4] Compare, *e.g.*, Deut. i. 9—18 with Exod. xviii. 19-26; Num. xi. 11—29; Deut. i. 20—46 with Num. xiii., xiv.; Deut. iv. 9—14; v. 19, ff. Heb. (22 ff., Auth. Ver.) with Exod. xix., xx.; Deut. ix. 7—x. 11 with Exod. xxxii.—xxxiv.; Graf, *l.c.*, pp. 9—19.

[5] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," I., 450. (Vol. II., pp. 39 f., English translation.)

plainly consists thus of two layers, of which the lower, or more ancient, is the Jahvistic; the upper, or more recent, is the contribution of the Deuteronomist.

The foregoing view of the prophetical documents and their mutual relation is quite independent of our ideas about the time in which the Jahvistic and the Deuteronomic elements were written. It can be assented to by critics who differ very much from each other in determining the age of these constituent parts. But they who take this view generally combine it with the position that the Jahvist wrote in the eighth, and the Deuteronomist in the second half of the seventh century B.C. Indeed the proofs in favour of these dates are very strong, and the last mentioned date especially is recommended by reasons drawn from all quarters.[1] We have no hesitation, therefore, in adopting it as our own. Our further investigation will, of itself, still more recommend it. It already finds some support in what has just been said. For is it not remarkable that it is precisely with Deuteronomy that the prophetical authors of Judges and Kings who wrote in, or shortly after the Babylonish captivity, show the greatest agreement? In the prophets of the eighth century, in Amos and Hosea, in Isaiah and Micah, we discover no trace of any influence exercised by that book; in the prophetical literature of the close of the seventh century, in the writings of Jeremiah, for example, we see that influence very distinctly. How natural is this, if Deuteronomy was given to the world just at that time! After it had appeared and had been introduced by Josiah, it must indeed have made itself powerfully felt. The Deuteronomic colouring of the "former Prophets" finds its explanation at once in the time in which they originated. They did not arbitrarily attach themselves to one particular portion of the Mosaic law—that law lying before them as a whole—but they based their view of Israel's past on that redaction of the Mosaic legislation, which had sprung shortly before their day out of the necessity of the time, and had been adopted by the leaders of the people.

But just as Deuteronomy has not thrust aside the previous

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I. 149-152, and "Godsdienst van Israël," i. 423 ff. (vol. II., pp. 15 ff., English translation).

prophetical legislation and historiography, so neither have the Deuteronomic redactors of the historical books substituted their own conception and description of the past for those of their prophetical predecessors. In these books we still possess also the older prophetical narratives which answer to the Jahvistic documents in the Pentateuch. In the opinion of some, we could go further and say, that they have, partly at least, a common origin with the Jahvistic documents and have proceeded from the same pen. The arguments to which these writers appeal are for the most part derived from the language, and on this account alone are less calculated to be expounded and estimated here. Besides, the question of authorship is for us one of subordinate importance, compared with the inquiry, whether two such layers as we noticed in the Pentateuch, can be distinguished also in the historical books. Now, if the question be put thus generally, it can be answered without any hesitation in the affirmative. The separation of the constituent parts of these books cannot be effected everywhere with the same certainty. It is further improbable that they stand everywhere in the same relation to each other. But nothing is clearer than that here and there older prophetical narratives, almost or altogether unaltered, have been introduced by the later redactor.

It would be desirable, if this mode of compiling the historical books could be made evident by some instances, and if, by way of example, one or more of the older documents, and alongside of them the additions of the later prophetical author, were laid before the reader. But, even without doing so, we can easily form a conception of the mutual relation of the two layers. Let us take, for example, the narratives concerning the reign of Solomon in 1 Kings ii.—xi. If it were our object to make a complete analysis of these chapters, we should require to direct attention to the repetitions which occur in them, and to the accounts which in some respects do not altogether agree with each other. They furnish the proof that the author (or authors) has (or have) drawn from more than one source. But this we can let alone for the present. That which now especially interests us is the pragmatism of the writer (or writers). How is the person of Solomon portrayed, how are his tendencies judged, what is the view taken

of the connection between his reign and the events which preceded and followed it? It is not difficult to perceive that no single answer can be given to these questions. Judgments of two different kinds alternate with each other. Their mutual relation may be thus described. The one, evidently the older author, is highly prepossessed in favour of Solomon, describes his riches and prosperity with undisguised partiality, and represents them as proofs of Jahveh's favour and approbation. The other does not directly contradict all this, but still does not fully assent to it; his eyes are open to the dangers to which such tendencies as that of Solomon exposed himself and his people; he inserts here and there a reservation, or an earnest warning, and ends by exhibiting to us the reverse side of the whole picture. It is in itself indeed conceivable that one and the same author, himself divided between admiration and disapproval, should adopt the one and the other tone alternately; but when we see how they are interchanged in 1 Kings ii.—xi., it is clear that such is not the case, and that we have actually here two conceptions before us, coming from two prophetical authors who do not altogether occupy the same stand-point. We give a few instances by way of proof. We no sooner look at the last injunctions of the dying David, than we perceive that they lack unity. The earnest exhortation to live faithfully in accordance with the law of Moses, and thus to ensure the fulfilment of Jahveh's promises,[1] has no connection whatever with what follows. It has evidently been interpolated by some one, who felt—not without cause—that something was wanting in the words of David, and supplied that want in his own spirit. The following chapter furnishes us with a second instance. The author who committed to writing the narrative of Solomon's dream,[2] saw nothing strange or wrong in the sacrifice at Gibeon. He calls with satisfaction the high-place there "the great high-place," and mentions the "thousand burnt offerings which Solomon offered upon that altar."[3] If he had regarded that sacrifice as illegal, he certainly would not have associated the revelation of Jahveh with it. It is therefore a different author who prefaces the whole narrative with an apology for Solomon's conduct and a

[1] 1 Kings ii. 3, 4. [2] 1 Kings iii. 4-15. [3] *Ibid*, verse 4.

censure of the whole worship on the high places.[1] Perhaps this writer has also modified, in some degree, the conclusion of Jahveh's address to Solomon.[2] Nor has he suffered the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the temple[3] to remain untouched; it even seems to have been, in great measure, added by him. But we recognise him especially in the account which follows of a second revelation of Jahveh to Solomon.[4] The chief thing in it is the very grave doubt whether Solomon and his descendants shall continue to be faithful to Jahveh, and whether the temple, which has now been completed, shall be preserved by him. If ye and your sons turn aside from me and serve other gods, then—it is said[5]—"will I root Israel out from off the face of the land which I have given them, and the temple which I have hallowed to my name, will I cast away from my sight, and Israel shall be a proverb and a jeer among all the nations. And this temple shall become a ruinous heap,[6] and every one who passeth by it shall be astonished and shall hiss at it, and men shall say, wherefore hath Jahveh done thus to this land and to this temple? And men shall answer, because they forsook Jahveh, their God, who led their fathers out of the land of Egypt, and attached themselves to other gods, and worshipped and served them, therefore hath Jahveh brought upon them all this evil." With this the narrative ends. The other possibility, that Solomon and the kings after him would correspond to the requirement of Jahveh, is neither enlarged upon nor even again taken up. It is as if such a possibility was out of the question. Is not this an unequivocal indication of the time in which the author of the narrative lived? Could he have written it in this manner, if he himself had still trusted or even hoped that Israel's national existence and Jahveh's dwelling-place would be preserved? It is a mistake to think that such ideas were current in Israel before the seventh century B.C., or so far back even as

[1] *Ibid.*, vv. 2, 3.

[2] In verse 14, namely, the lengthening of Solomon's life is made to depend upon a condition: "and if thou walkest in my ways, keeping my statutes and commandments, as thy father David did walk, then," &c. This is in the manner of chapter ii. 3, 4, and not in harmony with the conception of the older author.

[3] 1 Kings viii. 22-61. [4] 1 Kings ix. 1-9. [5] *Ibid.*, vv. 7-9.

[6] According to an amendment of the original.

the days of Solomon. It is a just and shrewd remark of Graf,[1] that the account—which we also have discussed on more than one occasion—of the judicial procedure against Jeremiah,[2] is irreconcilable with the supposition that such threatenings as are here addressed to Solomon, were, then, in the reign of Jehoiakim, recorded in writing and open to be read by every one. The defenders of the prophet would certainly not have required to appeal to a single utterance of Micah, which was speedily retracted, if, according to existing historical documents, the entire destruction of Jahveh's dwelling had been *from the very commencement* regarded and represented as being in all respects a possible event. The whole passage, which we are now discussing, belongs to the latest expansion of the biography of Solomon, and is thus, with the fullest justice, distinguished from its original redaction.

Similar remarks are readily suggested to us by the close of Solomon's biography.[3] The author has connected and, as far as possible, harmonised, his communications with the preceding narrative, by deducing, at the beginning, the transgressions of Solomon from his marriage with foreign wives, and transferring them to the time of his old age.[4] But from the threatenings of punishment which follow these statements,[5] and still more from the accounts given about the adversaries of Solomon, it is distinctly manifest that this is nothing more than a harmonistic representation of the author, a concession on his part to his predecessors, who had depicted Solomon as a pattern of wisdom, and an object of Jahveh's favour. What is told us about Hadad the Edomite gives us the impression that Solomon must have suffered much annoyance from him, certainly not only towards the end of his reign.[6] Of Rezon it is said expressly that he was Israel's enemy "all the days of Solomon."[7] The account of Jeroboam and his meeting with Ahijah[8] at once discloses to us what we certainly should not have expected after reading the preceding chapters, that the renowned administration of the great king had roused much discontent and bitter feeling, and had driven, even in his life-

[1] "Die gesch. Bücher des A. T.," p. 103.
[2] Jer. xxvi.
[3] 1 Kings xi. 1—40.
[4] *Ibid.*, vv. 1—6
[5] *Ibid.*, vv. 9—13.
[6] *Ibid.*, vv. 14—22.
[7] *Ibid*, vv. 23, 24.
[8] *Ibid*, vv. 25—40.

time, a portion of his subjects into revolt. As I have already remarked, the author to whom we are indebted for these precious disclosures, makes every possible effort to avoid contradicting, while he seeks to complete, the older accounts. In truth, however, his standpoint is different from that of the authors of these narratives. He is of kindred sentiments with the Deuteronomist, who, in the law regulating the duties of a king,[1] borrows from the person of Solomon the traits by which he depicts the Israelitish king, who does *not* correspond to the will of Jahveh.[2] If he had designed the entire picture, it would have been coloured quite differently from what it now is; it would form a consistent whole, and—a considerably less brilliant whole.

To this one instance others might be added, from which it would at the same time be plain that the mutual relation of the successive layers of the prophetical historiography is by no means the same everywhere. The conflicting accounts in 1 Samuel, to which attention has already been directed in another connection,[3] have certainly not had their origin in the same period. In the beautiful narrative of Saul's visit to Samuel, and his being anointed to be king,[4] we see, without hesitation, the older prophetical conception, which has been connected with the later, or, as others represent the matter, has been taken over by the author of the later conception, and, as it were, fitted into his framework. In this later representation the desire for a king is severely censured as a departure from Jahveh, and the dark side of the monarchy is forcibly placed in the foreground.[5] In the older, there is acknowledgment of the authority of Samuel, but also of the divine calling of the king; in the later, there is throughout a sharp contrast between the prophet and the king, which is altogether in favour of the former.[6] In the older—we might thus be able to illustrate, and at the same time to explain, the mutual relation between the two narratives—in the older, a contem-

[1] Deut. xvii. 14—20.
[2] Compare on this subject my "Hist. Krit. Onderz.," I., 149, f.
[3] Above, p. 393. [4] 1 Sam. ix. 1—x. 16.
[5] 1 Sam. viii.; x. 17—26; xii.
[6] The exaggerated description of Samuel's merits in 1 Sam. vii. 13, 14, is at variance with the passages mentioned in note 4, but may very well have been written by the later author of 1 Sam. viii., &c.

porary of Uzziah is speaking; in the later, one of the seers who lifted up their voice against Manasseh.[1]

But enough to show that, in the "former Prophets," we are fully justified in making a distinction between the later and the older prophetical historiography. They permit us to ascend still higher and, as it were, to cast a glance at least into the workshops in which tradition was fashioned. I allude to some traces of the participation of the *schools of the prophets* in forming that representation of the past, which is given in the historical books. They show themselves especially in the narratives about Elijah and Elisha. The account of Elijah's ascension[2] has most probably been derived from the tradition of the schools at Beth-el and Jericho, the disciples of which play a part in it. The miraculous deeds of Elisha are partly placed in the circle of the sons of the prophets—his multiplication of the widow's oil,[3] his making the mess of wild gourds wholesome,[4] his satisfying many with a small quantity of bread,[5] and his recovering the sunk axe.[6] Is it not a very natural supposition that the narratives about these incidents were propagated in the same circles? So also the accounts in which Elisha's servant—certainly also one of the sons of the prophets—appears as an actor,[7] or Gehazi, likewise a servant of the prophet, occupies a not always honourable position:[8] what is communicated to us to the disadvantage of the latter has evidently an admonitory tendency, as if it was directed against the dangers to which the follower of the prophet was exposed;[9] a very natural thing if this narrative also lived in the schools of the prophets before it was recorded in writing! From the same point of view still, we may consider two other narratives. *Unconditional obedience to Jahveh's command the duty of the prophet:* these words might be put as a heading not only above the account which tells us how one of the sons of the prophets was punished with death for refusing to inflict a wound, according to the command of Jahveh, on one of his companions,[10] but also above the middle portion

[1] 2 Kings xxi. 10 ff. [2] 2 Kings ii. 1—18. [3] 2 Kings iv. 1—7.
[4] *Ibid.*, vv. 38—41. [5] *Ibid.*, vv. 42—44. [6] 2 Kings vi. 1—7.
[7] *Ibid.*, vv. 8—23. [8] 2 Kings iv. 8—37 (compare viii. 1—6); v.
[9] 2 Kings. v. 20—27. [10] 1 Kings xx. 35, 36.

of the narrative, already discussed, concerning the prophet from Judah and the one from Bethel, the contemporaries of Jeroboam I.[1] The tendency of the latter narrative I formerly explained in these words:[2] "The man of God from Judah—so the writer repeatedly teaches us[3]—has received from Jahveh a specific and unambiguous command: he must, without tasting anything at Beth-el, return homewards by another road than he had at first taken. The temptation to transgress this command now assails him. At first he withstands it manfully. Hear his answer to Jeroboam: 'If thou wilt give me half thine house, I will not go in with thee, neither will I eat bread nor drink water in this place.'[4] He has already commenced his homeward journey, when he is overcome by fatigue. He sits down under an oak, and there he is found by the prophet out of Beth-el.[5] He begins by rejecting the invitation of the latter.[6] But now temptation in another form allures him: Satan arrays himself as an angel of light; the old prophet pretends that a messenger from Jahveh has commissioned him to take to his own house the man of God from Judah; the latter rashly gives credence to this assurance; Jahveh has not recalled his command, and yet the prophet acts at variance with it. Severe punishment immediately follows this disobedience. Jahveh announces it by the mouth of the old prophet, and on the same day it is also executed. If we regard these several details in their mutual connection, we do not hesitate to describe the intention of the narrator as follows: He wishes to exhort the prophets to implicit obedience to the command of Jahveh, to warn them against the temptation to deviate therefrom, and to direct their attention to the dangers to which every case of disobedience exposed them. We might call this portion of 1 Kings xiii. a fragment of a Mirror for Prophets. There are more narratives in the books of Kings which deserve this title,[7] among which there is one at least which manifests great agreement with 1 Kings xiii.[8] Would it be rash

[1] 1 Kings xiii. 7—30.
[2] In the Journal "Nieuw en Oud," 1869, pp. 470, 471.
[3] 1 Kings xiii. 8, f., 16, f., 21, f.
[4] *Ibid.*, verse 8.
[5] *Ibid.*, verse 14.
[6] *Ibid.*, verses 16, 17.
[7] Reference is made here to 2 Kings vi. 8—23; iv. 8—37; v., which passages have been lately mentioned.
[8] 1 Kings xx. 35, 36.

to suppose that they have sprung from the schools of the prophets? I do not mean that 1 Kings xiii., as it now lies before us, originated there. In its present form that chapter is evidently the work of the latest redactor of the books of Kings, who introduced it into this part of his work with a special aim.[1] But we may conjecture that its present form was preceded by an older redaction, which had for its principal subject, not Jeroboam and his altar, but the prophet, his transgression, and his end. This older form of the narrative would have been produced in the schools of the prophets. It was precisely in these schools that the exhortation therein expressed was needed. The particular form also in which the second and severest temptation assails the man of God from Judah, the deceitful appeal to a revelation of Jahveh, transports us into the schools of the prophets—in which 'revelations' at variance with each other could not have been wanting, and therefore the admonition was very suitable, in no case to deviate from 'the word of Jahveh' which each had received for himself."

We should nevertheless, in all probability, form too low an estimate of the influence of the schools of the prophets, if we limited it to the propagation of narratives with which they themselves were mixed up and concerned. It is true we possess but very meagre information about these institutions, and are limited to conjectures as regards their action. But the little which is certain leads us, nevertheless, to assign to them an important share in the formation of Israel's national tradition. "It shall come to pass"—so Samuel says to Saul[2]—"when thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, and before them shall go forward harp, drum, flute, and cithern, while they prophesy" (that is, give vent to their prophetical enthusiasm). Certainly we are not to regard the particulars communicated to us here as forming an exception to the rule. On the contrary, music will have uniformly played an important part in the associations of the prophets. Now music and song go always together. We therefore presume that the prophets glorified Jahveh in songs. Why not also that some of those songs were com-

[1] Compare above, p. 399.

[2] 1 Sam. x. 5.

posed by themselves? The triumphal ode on the victory over Jabin and Sisera is ascribed to Deborah,[1] "the prophetess,"[2] while the close affinity between poetry and prophecy will surely be denied by none. Is not the written prophetical discourse rhythmical and poetical? There is thus nothing against, but rather everything in favour of, the supposition that poetry had zealous students in the schools of the prophets. But might we not then assume that the history of Israel frequently furnished these poets with material for their lays? There was nothing more natural than that they, in glorifying Jahveh, should recall the memory of events, such as the departure out of Egypt, the march through the Red Sea, the conquest of the Transjordanic region, and of Canaan, and thus, at the same time, endeavour to rouse the national spirit. We freely acknowledge that these are nothing more than conjectures; but have they not historical probability in their favour? Is there any other conception of the action of the schools of the prophets which better merits adoption than this?

But let us now leave the region of conjecture, and recall to mind that there existed in Israel at least two, and perhaps more collections, into which either historical lays alone, or historical lays along with others, were introduced, *the Book of the wars of Jahveh*,[3] and *the Book of the upright*.[4] Besides the poetical pieces, of which it is expressly asserted that they were borrowed from one of these books, perhaps other poems also, which we now read in the Old Testament, have been taken from them.[5] It is clear, both from the remains which have been preserved to us, and from the titles

[1] Judges v. 1. According to Graetz, "Gesch. der Juden," I., p. 114, n. 1, this heading rests on a mistake, and the song has been composed, not by Deborah herself, but by one of her contemporaries; the translation in verse 7 ought to be, "until that thou, Deborah, didst arise, that thou didst arise a mother in Israel." This opinion seems to me to be very well worthy of adoption. But Judges v. 1 preserves its value as a testimony regarding the connection between poetry and prophecy. (Compare also Graetz, p. 111, f.)

[2] Judges iv. 4. [3] Num. xxi. 14.

[4] Joshua x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18. The Hebrew term *sépher ha-jashár* may signify "the book of *the right*" (*e.g.*, in Jahveh's eyes), or "of *the right man*," of him who is as he ought to be. Perhaps *jashár* has been selected as a title (just as *jeshurûn* in Deut. xxxii. 15; xxxiii. 26), because it has some letters in common with *Israel*, and may be thought to explain that proper name.

[5] *E.g.*, Exod. xv.; Judges v.; Ps. xviii., &c.

of the two collections, that they were compiled, not merely in the interest of history, but also with a national-religious aim. By whom else—let us repeat the question—could they have been compiled if not by prophets, or—which comes to the same thing—by men inspired with their spirit? It is, indeed, an exceedingly natural supposition that the songs, which had both arisen and had at first been orally transmitted in the associations or schools of the prophets, were committed to writing in the same circles, at a subsequent period, when literary activity began to spread. We cannot determine, with certainty, when this took place. These collections may very probably have been begun, although not definitively completed, in the eighth century B.C., or, perhaps, still earlier. But the work of clothing tradition in a poetical garb, and the recitation of the historical ballads with the accompaniment of music, had undoubtedly been then practised for a considerable time. Although, from the absence of historical records, we are unable to define the limits of that earlier period, or to penetrate more deeply into the character of the work which was then accomplished, it is not, in itself, unimportant to know that such a period preceded the redaction of the older prophetical narratives, and that in all probability, even then, the prophets of Jahveh already gave the tone.

We have performed a long journey, and, if I do not altogether deceive myself, have had before us a number of very important facts. But it is therefore now time to pause, and to take account of what we have observed. It, indeed, seems already as if the thread of the investigation, in which we were engaged, had long slipped from our hands.

This, however, is only in appearance. The results obtained in this chapter are most closely connected with the question to which we are seeking an answer.

They tend, *in the first place*, to complete our knowledge of the prophets and their work in Israel. Hitherto we had beheld them acting only, or at least principally, as preachers of religion. It has now become evident to us that they laboured, in another way also, for the same end. They preserved for their people the remembrance of the past, and

interpreted the lessons which that past conveyed. That lay, as we can now easily perceive, altogether in their way. In their addresses they refer, not on a single occasion, but repeatedly, to history. They could not, however, there enter into particulars, or they had to confine themselves to bringing prominently into view some striking features. The demands of the present were too urgent to permit them to go further. But what they had to neglect as preachers to the people, they accomplished in another capacity. The service which they thus performed for Israel was inestimable. Who have obtained more profit from their narratives—the contemporaries whose wants they had in view, or the posterity whose wishes they, as it were, anticipated,—does not admit of being determined. They have obtained the most indisputable claims on the gratitude of both.

We should so judge, even if the prophets had confined themselves to preserving and recording in writing the historical traditions. But they have done more. *They have*—to express it in one word—*given to Israel its history.* The illustration and development of this proposition will show us, at the same time, from what second point of view the results, obtained in this chapter, are to be regarded as important.

There is an error with which we all begin, and which we unlearn only with difficulty. We demand from the historical writer—most of all from the eye- and ear-witness, but yet from him also who stands at a greater distance from the facts—that he shall exactly reproduce the reality, and we imagine that nothing can be easier for him than to satisfy this demand. To express it more briefly: we regard the historical writer as a funnel through which the facts flow to us. Hence, whenever it is clear that he has not answered this expectation, we are ready to accuse him, either of ignorance—which, in order to be justified, ought to have been openly acknowledged — or of bad faith and wilful deception. It is only gradually that we come to perceive that we had been requiring what was impossible. When our eyes have been once opened, the unreasonableness of the demand with which we had begun, seems to us palpable, and we can scarcely forbear smiling at our own sim-

plicity. Is it not, in fact, as clear as noon-day, that, even of the circumstances which we ourselves have witnessed, we can give nothing more than our own conception? and that this conception is determined and governed not only by the circumstances themselves, but also by our own development, by our own convictions, wishes, and sympathies; in one word—by our whole personality? Yet in the case which I have here supposed, the chances are very favourable: the historical writer can hardly be more than an eye-witness. But let an interval, shorter or longer, be placed between him and the facts of which he gives an account; let it be assumed that he has to enlighten his readers, not concerning facts which are indifferent, but on a subject which inspires himself with the most lively interest; let it be conceived that he writes, not as an individual, but as a representative of the order, or class to which he belongs; let it be supposed, finally, that, in composing his narrative, he has a definite aim in view, which he would not, for anything the world could give, wish to miss; let these conditions be granted, and will it be imagined that his representation *can possibly* be a faithful impress of the reality? Of the two factors which are engaged in the formation of every narrative concerning the past, the reality and the narrator's subjectivity, the former is, in a noticeable degree, weakened by the growing distance in time, while the influence of the latter is increased in a still greater measure. *Must* not this then, in very many cases, become predominant?

What I have presented here as a pure supposition is applicable to the ancient, and specifically to the Israelitish historians, or rather to them before all others. In our days, the individuality of the historical writer is held in check, as it were, by public opinion. This demands from him truth, nothing but truth, and shows itself severe in the maintenance of this requirement, and in the punishment of every sin against it. In antiquity, in Israel as well as elsewhere, the case was different. The historian could then move much more freely. Attention was directed more to the spirit in which he wrote, and to the tendency of his narrative, than to the truth of the entire representation, and to accuracy in the details. Historical writing was still in its infancy. If we, as is only fair, proceed upon the facts themselves, and leave

out of account what may appear to us to be desirable, we must affirm that what we now would call the sole end was then viewed as a means, and, conversely, that what we, at most, could consider as an incidental advantage, was then regarded as the principal object. The object was, to express it in one word, the training of the reader in this or that religious or political direction. In the estimation of the writer, the account of what had occurred was subordinate to that end, and was therefore, without the least hesitation, made to subserve it.

I spoke just now of the facts by which we must allow ourselves to be guided in judging of the character of Israelitish historiography, to the exclusion of what we ourselves might think desirable. We have in truth become acquainted with them already, but it will certainly not be a superfluous work to combine them once more, to adduce some examples for illustration, and thus to bring out more clearly their proper significance.

We arrive at a definite conclusion soonest with regard to the priestly historiography in Israel, because we ourselves still possess in great part the very materials which were at its disposal, and thus can point out, as it were with the finger, the manner in which it has altered them. In order to make its method distinctly visible by a very striking example, I have already referred elsewhere[1] to the narrative of the Chronicle-writer, regarding the elevation of Joash to the throne of his fathers, which, as is plain from the contents themselves, is nothing else than a recasting of the older account, which lies before us in the second Book of Kings.[2] How great liberties has the later author here allowed himself! Instead of the royal bodyguard which performed the chief part, according to 2 Kings xi., he has substituted the priests and Levites, whom the older narrative does not mention at all. He carefully removes every appearance of the pollution of the temple by strangers. The covenant between Jahveh, the king, and the people becomes, with the

[1] "De godsdienst van Israel," I. 26 (I. 24, English Translation); compare my article: "Eene omwenteling in het koninkrijk Juda," in "Nieuw en Oud," for 1869, pp. 89—108.

[2] 2 Chron. xxii. 10—xxiii. 11, and 2 Kings xi. Compare the commentaries of Thenius and Bertheau.

priestly author, a covenant between Jehoiada, the people, and the king.[1] But enough: if anyone desires more particulars, let him consult as carefully as possible the two narratives themselves. The result, which his comparison will furnish, may be freely used by him as a standard for judging the Chronicle-writer, because he elsewhere uses his sources of information in the very same way as he does here.[2] In his hands history is, in the most proper sense of the word, made to serve the purpose of glorifying the temple and the temple ministers, and of awakening the religious feeling of his readers.

Is it really necessary still to vindicate expressly the application of this result to the accounts given by the same author regarding the prophets and their work? One of these accounts has already clearly appeared to us to be unhistorical.[3] They are all more or less suspicious, because the persons whose words they communicate, express themselves in the language of the historian.[4] We are thus fully justified in assuming that in these accounts he continues to be consistent with himself. Here also he has his readers in view, and makes it his object to strengthen in them the conviction that Jahveh is a righteous judge, and to educate them in fidelity to his service. He puts his own conception of the course of events, and of the tendency of the divine government, into the mouth of the prophets whom, on the ground of tradition, he represents as coming forward before the kings or the people. This is the only view which is in accordance with his character as a historian, and with the narratives themselves.[5]

The Chronicle-writer does not stand alone. The authors of the priestly narratives in the Pentateuch had preceded him in the very free treatment of tradition, and of the accounts of their prophetical predecessors. But I cannot at present pursue this subject further.[6] Because we must not forget

[1] Compare 2 Chron. xxiii. 16 with 2 Kings xi. 17.

[2] *E.g.*, 1 Chron. xiii., xv. xvi., compared with 2 Sam. vi.; 1 Chron. xxi. compared with 2 Sam. xxiv.; 2 Chron. vii. 1—3 compared with 1 Kings viii. 54 ff.; 2 Chron. viii. 12—15 compared with 1 Kings ix. 25, &c., &c.

[3] Above, pp. 393, f. [4] Above, p. 397.

[5] Compare above, pp. 414, ff.

[6] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," ii., 65—83, 96—102 (English Translation, vol. ii., 157—173, 192—201).

that the prophetical histories most nearly concern us here. We now therefore turn to the consideration of their contents.

Our task now at once becomes less simple. The assistance of which we could avail ourselves in forming a judgment of the priestly narratives in Chronicles and the Pentateuch, here deserts us. It is only in exceptional cases that we can compare the prophetical narratives with the accounts on which they are wholly or partially founded. Consequently our conclusion of itself becomes less definite and firm. Let us, however, proceeding with caution, try how far we can succeed.

I mentioned just now, as an exception to the rule, the cases in which we can compare the later prophetical narrators with their predecessors and authorities. The reader knows already what accounts I had then in view. He will remember that we not only find occasionally in the historical books, the later narratives or remarks alongside of the older,[1] but that we can also avail ourselves of a later independent redaction of some facts of which the older prophetical representation has been preserved: what is narrated in the books of Exodus and Numbers regarding Israel's abode in the wilderness, is partially repeated by the Deuteronomist in the addresses which serve as an introduction to his legislation.[2] The first-mentioned inserted narratives and remarks of themselves furnish the proof that the later prophetical author goes to work with great freedom. Let the reader remember what the Deuteronomic writer adds to the older accounts about Solomon, and how his judgment concerning that king is therein reflected. Shall we now assume that in doing so, he simply allows himself to be guided by what he found in his sources of information? In that case we should have to suppose, that the particulars which he communicates to us had by some accident remained unknown to his predecessor, or had been omitted by him. What a singular circumstance have we here! The narrative of Jahveh's second revelation to Solomon[3]—which, if it accurately reproduces the actual circumstances, must have been put into writing by Solomon himself, or by his command—was for ages in succession unknown to any one, and is exhumed by a writer with whose manner of thinking it from

[1] Above, pp. 419 ff. [2] Above, p. 417, n. 4.
[3] 1 Kings ix. 1—9; compare above, pp. 420 ff.

first to last coincides! Is there any man who can reconcile himself to such a gross improbability? Every thing is in favour of the view, that the narrative now referred to, and the others which are on the same footing with it, are not only as regards the form, but also as regards the contents, the work of the Deuteronomic redactor. While he therewith enriches the older narrative, he in no ways disowns his prophetical character. His eye is fixed upon the readers for whom his work is designed. It is his own personal conviction which he wishes to imprint upon their hearts: the revelation of Jahveh to Solomon is the freely chosen drapery of his religious conception.

The modified repetition in the book of Deuteronomy, of the earlier narratives, speaks no less distinctly; although the author of that book can generally do full justice to the differing view which he takes of the men and events by confining himself to slighter alterations. How little he considers himself bound by the authority of his predecessors is at once evident in the first chapter, where he combines in one single picture the narrative of the appointment of the judges by Moses, and another account relating to the seventy elders who receive a portion of the spirit of Jahveh which rests upon him.[1] His reverence for Moses—and not either a more accurate account or a better tradition—leads him to represent the sending of the spies to Canaan, as the result of a request which the people made to that effect, while, according to the earlier narrative, it was planned and executed by Moses himself, and that at the command of Jahveh.[2] In like manner he communicates to us that Jahveh had become angry with Moses on account of (or because of the guilt of) the Israelites —a particular which does not appear in the older account.[3] But let the reader himself compare the parallel passages.[4] He will very soon be convinced that the Deuteronomist not only recasts in his own mould the narratives of his pre-

[1] Deut. i. 9—18, compared with Exod. xviii. 13—26, and Num. xi. 14—17. Compare Graf, "die gesch. Bücher des A. T.," p. 16.

[2] Compare Deut. i. 22 with Num. xiii. 2.

[3] Compare Deut. i. 37, 38; iii. 23—26; iv. 21, with Num. xiii., xiv., also with Num. xx. 1—13, which passage, however, appears to be later.

[4] See also the treatise of Dr W. H. Kosters "de historie-beschouwing van den Deuteronomist" (Leiden, 1868.)

decessors, but takes the liberty also of making all those expansions and modifications, which appear to him to be necessary for the object which he has in view. We do not mean to impute this to him as a fault: what right have we to prescribe to him how he is to conceive and execute his task? But this much is self-evident: since it is now clear from the documents themselves, that he did not think himself bound by tradition, we, on our part, cannot regard the particulars which he presents to us, as an enrichment of our historical knowledge. They teach us who the Deuteronomist was, how he thought, what object he had in view in writing: the reality they do not reproduce.

But, as I have already said, it is only in exceptional cases that the mutual comparison of the earlier and later documents lends us its important services in forming a judgment of the prophetical narratives. Ought we, however, on this account, to abstain from forming an opinion? It seems to me that analogy gives us light enough. The method followed by the priestly authors in the books of Chronicles, and in the Pentateuch, of itself awakens the suspicion that their prophetical predecessors will have allowed free play to their subjectivity: why should the latter have imposed on themselves rigid conditions, while the former plainly appear to move so freely? This suspicion now becomes fully confirmed by the facts which have just been called to recollection. Wherever we can check the prophetical authors, we see them following a method similar to that which, at a later period, was applied by the priests and Levites. For the latter, we feel less sympathy. The motives which governed them in recasting and expanding the older narratives are neither so noble nor so purely religious. But this should not prevent us acknowledging that their manner of treatment does not differ essentially from that of the prophetical authors. If the Deuteronomic reconstruction of the earlier narrative was less thorough-going than, for instance, that of the Chronicle-writer, the explanation of this circumstance is simply that the Deuteronomist stood nearer to his predecessors than the Chronicle-writer to the "former prophets." It is nothing more than a difference in degree, for which the circumstances at once account. The priestly and the prophetical historians

agree in this, that history is for them a means, not an end; and that thus they have no scruple in allowing their own convictions and wishes to exercise an influence on their representation of the past.

Now, if this is clear beyond dispute, as often as an opportunity is afforded us of employing the earlier documents themselves for the purpose of comparison, surely we must assume that it will be true in those cases also where we cannot make use of that expedient. There is nothing whatever which gives us a right to make a sharp distinction, for instance, between the Deuteronomic and the Jahvistic narrator, and to ascribe to the latter another method than that which was applied by the former. In his case too, and in the case of the older prophetical historians in general, there thus existed the same disposition to subordinate facts to ideas that we have found in their successors. The narratives are, *in the first place*, a reflection and striking representation of the religious belief of their authors, and only *in the second place* are they testimonies regarding the historical reality. This reality is *nowhere* to be found perfectly pure and unmixed in these narratives, in so far as they are anything more than dry chronicles; it is *always*, though in a greater or less degree, coloured by the subjective conviction of the narrator. All this, as is self-evident, is not only also applicable, but is especially applicable, to the accounts of the work of the older prophets, and of Jahveh's revelations to the men of ancient time. It is precisely in these accounts that the authors must have expressed their view of the manner in which Jahveh guided the fortunes of Israel; nowhere did it find a more appropriate place than here. But if these things are so, then also—and this is the result of our whole demonstration—*the representation given of the prophets and prophecy in the historical narratives of the Old Testament* is no testimony regarding, but is itself *one of the fruits of the real Israelitish prophecy.*

Before we once more present in combination all that has already been adduced in favour of this proposition, we may be permitted to illustrate it by a few examples. It cannot be our purpose to gain the reader over as if by surprise. He must know what is involved in the proposition which is

placed before him. And this is shown much better by a couple of instances than by a long course of reasoning.

According to a well-known narrative in 1 Samuel, after Saul had been rejected, David was designated and anointed by the prophet Samuel to be king of Israel, before he had had an opportunity to distinguish himself, and while he was still feeding his father's flocks.[1] The religious conviction on which this account is based might be expressed by us in these words: it was Jahveh who chose and raised up David to be the king of Israel. That the prophets thought thus, needs no proof; that we agree with them, is self-evident. But with us this conviction would be altogether independent of the manner in which David was raised to the throne. Even if he had attracted attention to himself by his heroic deeds, and had furnished the proof that he was the man to make Israel great and mighty, even then also we should call him the prince designated by God, and his appearance a providential dispensation. But with the Israelitish prophet, the conviction regarding the selection of David became, as a matter of course, transformed into a fact. At one definite moment David must be pointed out by Jahveh himself in the most unambiguous manner as the future successor of Saul. That is the origin of the narrative which we are discussing. Samuel acts in it as Jahveh's representative, or rather, Jahveh himself acts, and employs the prophet as his half unwilling instrument. David, the chosen one, is not only the youngest of the sons of Jesse, but also for the moment still so insignificant, that his father does not think of sending for him out of the field until Samuel shows that he wishes it: so entirely is the choice exclusively the work of Jahveh! This anointing of David by the prophet cannot be regarded as an actual occurrence. Along with the appearance at the court of Saul, which is immediately connected with it,[2] it is distinctly *excluded* by the narrative of David's combat with Goliath, from which it is clear that Saul does not know him, that he himself is in no way conscious of his grand destination, that his brothers—in the midst of whom he is said to

[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 1—13, continuation of 1 Sam. xv., and introduction to 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23.

[2] 1 Sam. xvi. 14—23.

have been anointed[1]—know nothing whatever of it.[2] This judgment is confirmed by a number of other proofs.[3] We are glad of that for David's sake: his position at the court of Saul becomes false and unbearable, if from the very beginning he had to regard himself as a pretender to the crown. "If we acknowledge 1 Sam. xvi. as historical, we must assume that David, while he was an honourable man, and conducted himself as such, carried about with him the feeling that he was an intriguer. Let it not be said that David required only to wait till the will of God should be realised. For is it not plain that he did not do so? But, moreover, how was it possible that he could do so? Was it in his power to know the future, and yet to act as if he did not know it? We can really go still further. If David knew his destination, and yet at first refused to become the king's son-in-law,[4] his conduct was characterized by feigned humility. If he knew what issue God had destined, he acted foolishly and unjustifiably, nay, as a betrayer of his country, when he fled to Achish, the Philistine king.[5] The more clearly we place before ourselves David's position and state of mind, the more distinctly evident does it becomes to us that where God thus interferes in the course of events, be it even by merely raising, in a mechanical way, the veil which conceals the future, at that point history ceases; because human freedom and responsibility are then out of the question . . . . ." But enough to make it manifest that the rejection of the account of David's anointing as an historical fact, which is required by the narratives, is, from a psychological point of view, not merely recommended, but a matter of absolute necessity. In the narrative with which we are engaged, we neither can nor may see anything else than the palpable expression of the prophetical view of the manner in which Jahveh directs the fortunes of his people. It is no testimony regarding Samuel the prophet, but the garb in which a prophetical conviction is arrayed.

The book of Judges furnishes us with a second instance.

[1] 1 Sam. xvi. 13.

[2] See 1 Sam. xvii., especially, vv. 26 f., 28 f., 55—58.

[3] Compare my article, "David aan het hof van Saul" in "Nieuw en Oud," Vol. VI. (1864), pp. 55—73. The sentences, quoted above immediately afterwards, occur there, p. 72 f.

[4] 1 Sam. xviii. 18, 23. [5] 1 Sam. xxi. 10 ff., xxvii. 1 ff.

The reader will remember the account given by the author of the circumstances which, according to him, preceded the appearance of Jephthah.[1] Did Jahveh actually reveal himself to Israel in such a manner as is there told us? We have, at the very first, some difficulty in receiving as reality the very anthropomorphic representation of Jahveh's character, which the account gives us. But passing over this: how can such a conversation as this have taken place? How shall Jahveh have spoken to Israel, and Israel to Jahveh? We are not at liberty to substitute for Israel their elders or representatives, and for Jahveh one of his prophets: if the writer had meant that, he would have said it, and would necessarily have described the whole transaction in a different manner. The conclusion must be: what is here narrated is no historical fact. Or rather, to express it positively: it is the author of Judges who is speaking here, and who prefaces the last part of his book by a new introduction, but—and here is the only difference between this passage and the general introduction, chap. ii. 6—iii. 6—clothes it now in the freely chosen form of a dialogue between Jahveh and Israel. It is thus no account of a revelation made by Jahveh to his people at that specific conjuncture, but the expression, in a striking form, of the conviction entertained by the prophetical writer regarding the divine direction of Israel's fortunes.

In these two instances there remains absolutely no historical fact, after we have separated the prophetical ideas. This is also the case elsewhere, or at least the *residuum* of fact is very small. The rule, however, is, that the events themselves must —or at least can readily—be accepted as reality, and that they have merely been placed by the prophetical author in a specific light, brought into a providential connection, conceived and represented in a religious aspect. We have, for example, absolutely no right to deny that David caused Israel to be numbered, and that a pestilence broke out while the census was in progress;[2] that a famine of three years' duration prevailed in the reign of Ahab;[3] that Ahijah, Jehu ben

[1] Judges x. 6—16; above p. 382, f.

[2] 2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi.; compare "Nieuw en Oud," 1870, pp. 505—525.

[3] 1 Kings xvii. 1; xviii. 1.

Hanani, Elijah, and Elisha laboured in the kingdom of the ten tribes, and that they wrought in the direction which characterises them also in the narratives in which they appear as actors. It is impossible to give general rules for the separation of historical, less historical, and altogether unhistorical elements; but in many particular cases, criticism will attempt this division with a favourable result—if it only chooses the point of view which is indicated to it by our preceding investigation.

Some instances may here also supply the necessary illustration. There can be no doubt that Josiah sent messengers to consult the prophetess Huldah, after Hilkiah had found the book of the law in the temple.[1] The manner in which she is indicated by the narrator shows that he was well informed.[2] We thus also willingly believe that Huldah, by her answer, confirmed the contents of the book of the law, and strengthened Josiah in his design of carrying it into effect. But it is very improbable that she expressed herself according to the tenor of the answer which we now have. She represents the destruction of the kingdom of Judah as inevitable, and expects no other result from the penitence of Josiah than the postponement of the catastrophe till after his death. Truly a sad encouragement to the king in the difficult task which he was about to undertake! On this occasion, at least—so we should be inclined to judge—the veil which hides the future had no need to be lifted up. But Huldah did not speak in this way—at any rate if her advice was followed by Josiah. He puts his hands manfully to the work, and with untiring exertion brings it to a close. His enterprise against Necho bears witness to the greatness of his excitement.[3] He expected, without doubt, to preserve his people also by executing the commands of Jahveh. It became evident only afterwards that he could not have averted the mischief. The redactor of the books of Kings expresses that by anticipation, in the answer of Huldah, in whose address distinct traces of his peculiar modes of expression occur.

[1] 2 Kings xxii. 12—20; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 20—28.
[2] 2 Kings, verse 14; 2 Chron., verse 22.
[3] 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 20; compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," I. 451—453 (41—43, Vol. ii., English Translation).

Nearly the same remarks apply to the well-known predictions of Isaiah regarding the recovery of Hezekiah, and the deportation of his posterity to Babylon.[1] It is very probable that the prophet encouraged the sick king, gave him hopes of recovery, and indicated the proper remedies to be applied. But as to the lengthening of his life by fifteen years precisely, not less and also not more—can it be thought likely that Isaiah knew that such should be the case, and comforted Hezekiah with that prospect? May such an—unreasonable and unnecessary—deviation from the common course of things be acknowledged by us as a fact, on the authority of a writer who lived more than a century after Hezekiah's death?[2] Nothing seems plainer than that the author of the books of Kings, who makes no distinction between the prophet and his sender, has worked up the tradition concerning the cure of Hezekiah into a picture in which Jahveh himself appears acting as Lord of life and death—just as in the narrative immediately following, he makes himself known as the omniscient One, before whom the distant future lies disclosed. There is no real connection between the reception of the—positively historical—embassy of Merodach-Baladan by Hezekiah, and the captivity of his descendants in Babylon; but nothing is more natural than that at a later period, *post factum*, the early contact of Judah and Babylon was found to be remarkable, and that the prediction of the final issue was associated with it. Isaiah himself, as clearly appeared to us formerly, cherished expectations altogether different.

Will not also the beautiful narrative about David's dealings with Nathan concerning the building of the temple[3] be first perfectly explained, when we can regard it as a free manipulation, in a prophetical spirit, of an old tradition? Attention has been directed elsewhere to the contradiction between the beginning and the sequel of the narrative: the building of the temple, which at first was condemned as being opposed to the wish of Jahveh, is afterwards regarded as an honourable task, and as a privilege for the descendant of David who

[1] 2 Kings xx. 1—11, 12—19; Is. xxxviii.; xxxix.

[2] In Hezekiah's song of thanksgiving, Is. xxxviii. 9—20, no allusion is to be found to the extraordinary promise, which, according to the narrative, he had received.

[3] 2 Sam. vii.; 1 Chron. xvii.

shall perform it.[1] From that fact it follows at once, that we have here no account from the first hand before us; but for the same reason it follows also that the address of Nathan can be no more literally authentic than the prayer of David. The opposite view would imply, in truth, that they themselves had provided for the recording of their words in writing—which certainly may be said to be in the highest degree improbable. It is therefore a later writer, who places himself upon the stand-point first of the prophet, and afterwards of the king, but who, as was to be expected, in doing so loses sight neither of the experience which he had derived from the past, nor of the anticipations which were thereby opened up. Indeed, it is not difficult to recognise here the hand of such a writer. It is seen at the very first in the promise which Nathan delivers to David.[2] The temple is mentioned there only in passing.[3] The chief matter is the contrast between the period of the judges, which was full of vicissitudes and often disastrous, and the steadfastness of the Davidic dynasty, which course was also a blessing for the people. The prophetical author is already acquainted with several Davidic kings, among them some also who had forsaken Jahveh,[4] but, at the same time, he has learned from experience, that Jahveh does not altogether withdraw his favour from them, and that he punishes with gentleness the family which he had chosen. So also the David who, in the second part of the narrative, pours out his heart before Jahveh,[5] is not the real, but the ideal David, as he lived in the mind of the prophets of the eighth century. The historical David could not have possessed such an absolute certainty regarding the future of his

[1] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israel," i. 327, f. (vol. i. p. 329, f. English Translation.)

[2] 2 Sam. vii. 8—16; 1 Chron. xvii. 7—14.

[3] 2 Sam. verse 13; 1 Chron. verse 12. In the latter book it is mentioned also in verse 14, but in the purer text of 2 Sam., verse 16, it is not Jahveh's but David's house which is spoken of.

[4] 2 Sam., verse 14 (omitted in 1 Chron., verse 13). It will be remarked that I understand "thy seed" in verse 12, ff. as a collective, in spite of verse 13, which seems to refer to Solomon alone. Indeed this verse is a parenthesis which could very well be dispensed with, and which perhaps was inserted when the promise concerning the Davidic dynasty was brought into connection with the design of David to build a temple. All the rest not only *can*, but *must* be applied to the whole lineage of David. See also verse 18, ff.

[5] 2 Sam. vv. 18—29; 1 Chron. vv. 16—27.

house as lies at the foundation of this prayer.[1] The ideas which are here uttered regarding the election and privileges of Israel, and about the unity of Jahveh, are those of the prophets just mentioned. The supposition that one of them introduces David as speaking, and indicates to the Israelites the point of view from which they must regard both their relation to Jahveh and the rule of David's descendants—that supposition accounts for every particular, and is not burdened with a single essential difficulty.

I think I may trust that my opinion has now been sufficiently illustrated. But—is it also proved? According to my view, the proposition which was expressed above (p. 436.) contains nothing more than what flows directly from the facts previously stated. We have only to recall them to remembrance, and to bring them into connection with each other, in order to see at once that they issue in that conclusion.

In this and the preceding chapter it is proved:—

That the prophetical narratives form a portion of writings, the authors of which stood at a distance from the facts which they communicate to us;—

That they are frequently at variance with each other, and thus, at the utmost, can be regarded as historical only in part;—

That many of these narratives, including the words of the prophets incorporated in them, are not only the work of the later prophetical authors as regards the form, but fully agree with the mode of thinking of these authors, as regards the contents.

It was evident to us, further, from the documents themselves, that while the prophetical historians sketched the past of Israel, they not only felt themselves compelled to labour for the religious education of Israel—a thing which results at once from their stand-point—but they thought themselves also justified in making their description of Israel's fortunes subordinate and subservient to that object. The considerations which would restrain *us* from treating history in such a manner, or would impede *us* in doing so, had for them no existence.

We were convinced, finally, that the materials which were

[1] Compare 2 Sam. xv., ff. and xx.

available to them—those especially which the earlier prophetical authors could use—must have allured them, as it were, to embody in their narratives their own religious views. The tradition of the schools of the prophets had preceded them in embellishing and elaborating more than one feature in the life of the prophets. In the same schools the popular tradition was treated poetically and religiously. Moreover, that popular tradition itself—at least if it followed in Israel the laws which governed its development elsewhere—would not even at first be a mere expression of the reality, but would magnify and modify it, and give it a supernatural colouring. The prophets therefore trod a beaten path, when they gave free reins to their belief, and used history as a vehicle for their own ideas.

Whoever seriously considers all this, cannot, in my opinion, entertain any doubt. Our inquiry was directed to *the origin* of the representation of the prophets and prophecy which lies before us in the historical narratives of the Old Testament. We admitted that the validity of our objections against that representation should not be acknowledged until we had succeeded in showing, in a satisfactory manner, how it arose.[1] That requirement has now been satisfied. Israelitish prophecy itself, especially the labour which it bestows on the history of Israel, *fully explains* the descriptions which we could not allow to be regarded as reality.

If any one still doubts, let him take an instance anywhere, and test our result by bringing it into connection with the narratives for which it has to account. As often as we have expressly discussed one of these narratives, in the course of our investigation, the result has been satisfactory. A complete examination of all is not to be thought of;[2] but it would only tend to corroborate what is already established. Even the most enigmatical accounts receive the necessary light when they are viewed from the stand-point which we have adopted. The predictions of Balaam, for instance, conceived of as products of the Mosaic time, are not only opposed to analogy, but are also partly unintelligible and purposeless.[3]

[1] Above, p. 405 f. [2] Compare above, p. 387.

[3] The predictions of Balaam concerning Israel's future are uttered in the hearing of—Balak and the Moabite elders. But many of these prophecies (*e.g.* Num. xxiv. 17—19; 20—24) would have been altogether unintelligible even to the Israelites themselves.

The narrative, of which they constitute the main substance, gives rise to objections which, on the supposition that it contains pure history, can in no way be removed.[1] But place the narrative and also the predictions in the eighth century before our era, and both are completely elucidated, and furnish invaluable contributions to our knowledge of the ideas which were then current in Israel.[2] So is it also with the book of Jonah: when, in accordance with the indications which the book itself gives us, we assign it to a post-exilic author, a contemporary of Ezra and Nehemiah, and see in him not a writer of history, but a teacher of his people, for whom Jonah ben Amittai is nothing more than a means; one who—to express it in one word—presents to us, not an account of anything that actually happened, but a parable in the form of an historical narrative,—when we do this, the book from beginning to end is *explained*. The historical interpretation on the contrary—but surely it is unnecessary to examine it once more! It is now a long time since it has become hard for its defenders to kick against the pricks.[3]

A further item might yet be added to our demonstration. The proof can be furnished that the freedom which we ascribe to the prophetical historian is supported by analogy in a still larger measure than has now been made clear to us. But enough has been said for our purpose. We have already seen that the recognition of an essential difference between the prophets and the prophecies of the historical books on the one hand, and the canonical prophetical literature on the other, is beset with insuperable objections, and in connection with that, we pointed out that such a difference is really accepted by none.[4] The reader now knows how it is removed by us. Before the canonical prophets, those of the historical books must give way. The narratives regarding the latter retain their value, but not as documents of pure history. For us their character is altered. They take their legitimate place in the history of prophecy, as an expression of the

[1] Compare H. Oort, "Disp. de pericope Num. xxii. 2—xxiv. Hist. Bileami continente," p. 51—81.

[2] See *Ibid.*, p. 88, ff., 110, ff.

[3] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderzoek," &c., vol. ii., 405—415, and "Godsdienst van Israël," ii., 149, f. (vol. ii., 243, f. English Translation).

[4] Above, pp. 400—404.

spirit of their authors. They teach us much less concerning the past than we at first supposed. But we readily acquiesce in this disappointment of our expectations. Because what we now deduce from them is indeed reality; what they formerly seemed to offer us had no claim to that appellation. In the fancied knowledge of history we have become poorer; with the facts we are better acquainted.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

A.—The Unhistorical Explanation.

WE have again reached a resting-point. Starting from an express examination of the fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecies (chapters v.—viii.), we came, at least provisionally, to a definite result with regard to the prophets themselves and their work (chapter ix.). It subsequently became evident to us that the prophets and prophecy are indeed differently represented in the historical narratives of the Old Testament; but at the same time that this representation, far indeed from necessitating a modification of our conception, must give way to the view which we adopted, and, when historically explained, serves to recommend it (chapters x.—xii.). But now that we have advanced so far, an objection is alleged against us, weighty enough, as is asserted, to lead to the rejection of the result which we have obtained. *The entire New Testament* is held up before us, and it is thought that our conclusions are at once overthrown, as by one blow.

At the beginning of our investigation, we, without any hesitation, rejected the demand to take the New Testament for our point of departure in the study of the prophecies. But that does not prevent us from taking cognizance of it now. It is even a necessity for us to place in the clearest light the relation which our view of Israelitish prophecy has to that of Jesus and the apostles. And though this were not the case, yet from the moment that an attempt is made to refute us by an appeal to their authority, we are bound to listen, and either to defend ourselves or to yield. This latter alternative, however, is to be adopted only when the former is clearly seen to be an impossibility. For we are now no

[1] Above pp. 22—25.

longer free. We have, proceeding by the legitimate way, obtained definite results, and we cannot surrender them until it is distinctly shown that they are untenable. It is not *we* who have arbitrarily formed a certain conception, which we, as arbitrarily, could exchange for a different one. No! we keep our position, like a soldier at his post, by the facts which we have seen and felt, until we are convinced that we are in the wrong. In those who attempt to drive us from it we see *our opponents*, unless they should succeed in showing us that we had allowed ourselves to be deceived by appearances.

But let us hear what those opponents allege against us. There are two facts especially to which they direct our attention. They are closely connected with each other, but yet admit of being separated.

It is, *in the first place*, the common conviction of all the writers of the New Testament, that the Old Testament is inspired by God, and is thus invested with divine authority. The remark made, as it were in passing, in a passage of the fourth Gospel, that "the scripture cannot be broken,"[1] is assented to by all the writers without distinction. In accordance with this they ascribe divine foreknowledge to the Israelitish prophets. And far indeed from limiting this foreknowledge to generalities, and thus depriving it of all its importance, they refer us repeatedly to the agreement between specific prophetical utterances, and single historical facts, and have no hesitation in declaring their conviction, both that the prophet spoke of these specific facts, and that they, under God's direction, occurred "in order that the word of the prophet might be fulfilled." It is unnecessary to support these statements by quoting passages: such passages are, as every one knows, very numerous, and they will come, as a matter of course, under our view in the sequel of our investigation.

Here then is, at the very beginning, a first objection which the New Testament places in our way. Its judgment concerning the origin and nature of the prophetical expectations, and concerning their relation to the historical reality, may be regarded as *diametrically opposed* to ours.

[1] John x. 35.

But supposing it to be granted that this contradiction could be weakened, or its importance removed, then the objection would still remain, *in the second place*, that the actual fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy lies before us in the New Testament. In a former chapter, we examined the fulfilled predictions, and were then of opinion that the great majority of them could be explained on psychological grounds. But can a similar attempt be made, with any hope of success, with regard to the prophetical expectations which have been realised in the person, the work, and the fortunes of Jesus? Does not the entire New Dispensation form, as it were, the divine seal attesting the anticipations of the prophets, as regards the future of Israel and of all mankind? Critical objections are of no avail here. Although the prophecies were denied to be the works of those men whose names they bear, or were assigned to a much later period than that in which the historical narrative places them, yet chronologically they precede the establishment of Christianity and the birth of Jesus. But if that be the case, is not the cause thereby decided in their favour? Is not their supernatural origin then proved by the facts themselves? [1]

The two objections are, as it will be noticed, not of the same character; the first is more of a dogmatic, the second of an historical nature; the latter is thus also quite independent of the stand-point which is taken, and must be considered by all without distinction—which cannot be said of the former. But, on the other hand, the two objections are indissolubly connected. The Old Testament prophecies can be regarded as being fulfilled by and in the New Testament, only when the New Testament view and interpretation of prophecy is regarded as correct. If, on the contrary, our rejection of the New Testament method of interpretation is necessary, and

[1] See this idea more fully developed and employed to maintain supernaturalism by Prof. Stanley Leathes, both in "The witness of the Old Testament to Christ" (the Boyle Lectures for 1868) and in "The religion of the Christ, its history and literary development considered as an evidence of its origin" (The Bampton Lectures for 1874). Those who know the real state of the question do not need to be informed expressly that the Lecturer, while declaring that he leaves undetermined the traditional ideas about the age and meaning of the documents, yet takes these for granted throughout, so that no single adherent of the historico-critical interpretation can assent to his argument. Compare "Theol. Tijdschrift" for 1869, pp. 445—451.

rightful, the complaint that the New Testament is not taken into account in our enquiry into the realization of prophecy, falls to the ground. Everything, therefore, depends upon *the estimation which is formed of the manner in which the writers of the New Testament have viewed and understood the prophecies.* If we succeed in forming a well-founded judgment on this point, we shall know also what weight ought to be assigned to the objections just mentioned.

The study of the exegesis of the New Testament authors is important also from another point of view. It does not stand alone. It has had great influence on that current conception of the prophecies of which we reminded the reader at the very beginning of our investigation.[1] Our final decision with regard to that conception, which has not yet been arrived at, will be determined, not indeed altogether, but still in some measure, by our relation to the New Testament. We have thus an additional reason for defining that relation with the utmost possible accuracy.

It thus becomes evident at the outset, that we as little think of slighting the objections derived from the New Testament, as we are inclined to yield to them without further discussion. On the present occasion also, we wish to deliberate calmly, to look at the facts one by one, and to come to a decision without undue haste. Our opponents indeed will not be satisfied with this deliberate mode of procedure. If we listen to them, the question which is here presented is exceedingly simple and capable of an immediate decision. Everything depends on our making a choice. We must either abandon our own view of the work of the Israelitish prophets, or, if we are unable to take that step, we must deny all value to the twofold testimony of the New Testament, even to the life and the word of Jesus. There is no third course.

Against such absolutism we cannot earnestly enough protest. It has indeed an air of determination and decision: accept or reject! no half measures, no tergiversation! But in truth such a demand is, in this as in other cases, a sign of superficiality and narrowness of view. Those who make it, simply neglect all sorts of distinctions, which are of much importance with a view to the final decision. It cannot be thought

[1] Above, pp. 1—4.

an unprofitable task briefly to justify this opinion. If I should succeed in doing so, the reader will be the more inclined to give attention to the subsequent investigation.

Let him therefore, first of all, place once more before his mind what is required of us, when we are called upon to abandon the view of the work of the Israelitish prophets which was formerly expounded. Is it in our power to make this surrender? Was not that conception founded upon the facts themselves, which do not admit of being reasoned away? There is, moreover, no proportion between the demand made upon us and the argument to which our opponents appeal. The great majority of the prophecies, which have clearly appeared to us to be contradicted by the issue, deal with matters altogether outside of the New Testament, and are not even incidentally touched upon in it. And yet shall we be obliged, without having heard one single objection, to sacrifice our interpretation of these prophecies and our judgment about the relation in which they stand to the reality? The demand is in fact absurd. If the New Testament compels us to retrace our steps, its authority can in no case reach farther than the—comparatively few—prophecies to which it extends; the predictions, concerning which it says nothing whatever, remain altogether unaffected by it, along with all the consequences which flow from them.

We ask, in the second place, if it deserves approval that in the treatment of this question the New Testament is regarded as one indivisible whole? Are the different writers perfectly alike as regards their appeal to the prophecies and their judgment as to the realization of them? It is of course possible that they are so, but it has not as yet been proved. Nay, it appears even that our opponents themselves are not fully convinced of that unanimity. They at least take the liberty of passing over some particular interpretations of prophetical utterances, which the Evangelist Matthew and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews propose to us, and of omitting them in their own conception of the process of the revelation of the future by the prophets. This is reasonable only when it is permitted to regard such interpretations as the individual opinions of the authors in question. If, on the contrary, the whole New Testament forms one single

authority, such distinctions admit of no justification whatever.

There is, finally, still a third point to which we must attend. I have already adverted, in the early part of this work, to the difference between the interpretation and the application, between the exposition properly so called and the homiletic employment of the passages of the Old Testament.[1] That difference is universally acknowledged, so that we may count upon the assent of all when we wish to see it taken into consideration in our present inquiry also. This, too, is beyond contradiction that fixed rules must be followed, that no caprice can be allowed, in deciding about what the New Testament writer intended with his quotation. But is this universally acknowledged rule always followed in practice? Are the grounds on which the one citation is regarded as an authentic interpretation, the other as a homiletic application of the passage of the Old Testament, always objective in their character? We may be allowed to doubt of this. In two successive chapters of the Gospel according to Matthew, a passage from Isaiah[2] and another from Hosea[3] are quoted, the former preceded by the formula: "Now all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying;"[4] the latter by the words: "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying."[5] Nothing is therefore more manifest than that *the Evangelist* puts the two prophecies on the same footing, and brings them in the very same manner into connection with the person and the fortunes of Jesus. Nevertheless, the Messianic interpretation of *Isaiah's* prophecy is, on the authority of the New Testament, maintained as the only true one, while scarcely anybody thinks of viewing the passage of *Hosea* also, as a prediction regarding the child Jesus. Is this consistent, on the stand-point on which our opponents place themselves? Have they not, by such a procedure, forfeited their right to demand submission to the New Testament?

There is still something else to be added, of which, however, the real significance and force cannot be recognised till

[1] Above, p. 23, f.
[2] Is. vii. 14; Matt. i. 23.
[3] Hos. xi. 1; Matt. ii. 15.
[4] Matt. i. 22.
[5] Matt. ii. 15.

afterwards; it can at present be merely indicated. Our opponents acknowledge, by word and deed, that the writers of the New Testament have frequently no intention whatever of explaining the prophetical utterances which they quote. But at the same time, they maintain that these writers *generally* give us the authentic interpretation of the passage of the Old Testament. For that very reason they demand that our conception should give way to theirs, that the view which they entertain should be substituted for that which we have arrived at. In one word; the New Testament has, for them, authority *in the domain of exegesis.* Does this, however, result from the nature of the case? Is that the ground on which the writers of the New Testament are at home? They are popular teachers, founders or preachers of a new religion. Does this imply that in the domain of scientific research—for to that the exposition of the Old Testament belongs—they proclaim infallible truth? Or do we not rather confuse things dissimilar in their nature, when we assign to them the function of deciding upon grammatical and historical questions? It is sufficient for me at present to have put these questions. What the answer must be, will become evident to us afterwards.

It is now time to begin the inquiry itself. The New Testament has been placed before us, and we have been asked on account of it, to reconsider the results which we had gained. It has already become evident to us that our relation to that demand is determined by the judgment which has to be passed upon the exegesis of the New Testament writers. We proceed, therefore, to test that exegesis, and to do so first of all by viewing it in the light of the scientific method. Are the quotations drawn from the Old Testament by the writers of the New, of such a nature that we can acknowledge them as an exegetical authority? The answer, for which I shall immediately adduce the proofs, is, as decided as it can be—*certainly not.* These citations do not satisfy the requirements of the grammatical and historical interpretation. If we are in earnest in the maintenance of these requirements, it is impossible for us to assign any authority to the New Testament authors *in this domain.* Because:—

1st, they generally use not the original text, but a trans-

lation which often reproduces the original either imperfectly, or entirely misrepresents it;

2d, they often quote so freely that the results which they deduce from the text of the Old Testament can have no claim to universal assent;

3d, they interpret, not unfrequently, according to the sound, without troubling themselves about the connection of the ideas, or the stand-point of the original writer; in one word, unhistorically.

I now proceed to establish these three propositions by the needful examples. I say, by *examples*, because I do not at all intend to treat the subject exhaustively; such a course is by no means required for the object which we now have in view: one single sufficient instance would in itself be fatal to the opinion of those who oppose us with the New Testament; much more then the numerous passages which we shall go through. I select these examples from the whole of the New Testament: the difference between the New Testament authors, which has just been noticed, does not require to be taken into consideration *here;* we shall afterwards recur to that point in so far as is necessary. There is still something further which we must defer to a later stage. It is not our business at present to form a just estimate of the use made of the Old Testament in the writings of the New. Can that use afford ground for modifying or rejecting the results previously obtained? Can the writers of the New Testament make a claim to exegetical authority? These are the questions to which we confine ourselves in the first instance, and to which we seek an unambiguous answer. For that reason also, the matters on which the answer depends have been formulated as sharply as possible in my three propositions. I would rather be chargeable with the appearance of undue severity towards the writers of the New Testament, than by placing their exegesis at once in the proper light, contribute to occasion a misunderstanding with regard to its scientific value. Before its *actual* importance can be pointed out, its *imagined* authority must be overthrown.

1. The text of the Old Testament is, as a rule, quoted in the New Testament according to the Greek translation, commonly called the Septuagint. This fact no longer re-

quires any proof. Any one may convince himself of it, for instance, by a glance at Mr Turpie's tables in his work "The Old Testament in the New."[1] There exists then with regard to this point also no difference of opinion worth mentioning. A German scholar, who has subjected the whole of the citations in the epistles of Paul to a very exact examination, comes to the conclusion that an unacquaintance with the Septuagint is shown in only two of the eighty-four, while of the remaining eighty-two there are only twelve which vary *essentially* from the said translation.[2] Another, whose book is itself a continuous proof that he would gladly give a different testimony—begins by acknowledging "that the Old Testament citations are for the most part either borrowed word for word from the Septuagint, or at least agree with that translation. The passages which are evidently taken directly from the Hebrew text form a minority which is hardly worth noticing (sind in einer fast verschwindenden Minorität)."[3]

If, now, the Greek translation was an accurate reproduction of the original, or if, where it varies, it followed a better text than that which has been preserved to us in the manuscripts and editions, this use of it would be nothing surprising, or would even testify to the accuracy of the New Testament writers. But the contrary is true. In the two hundred and seventy-five passages of the New Testament which contain citations from the Old Testament, of course only a comparatively small portion of the Old Testament occurs. Yet we notice in them more than one divergence of the Septuagint from the original, which either is of very doubtful value or merits distinct disapproval, whether it be that the translator had an incorrect text before him, or that he did not understand his original, and therefore gave a wrong rendering of it.

To the first category belong, for example, Heb. xii. 6 and Matt. xv. 9 (Mark vii. 7). The first passage runs thus: "for whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, *and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth;*" the original is: "for whom

[1] Williams and Norgate, 1868.

[2] *De V. T. locis a Paulo apostolo allegatis* scripsit Ae. F. Kautzsch (Lips. 1869). See *Ibid.*, p. 109, f.

[3] E. Bohl, *Forschungen nach einer Volksbibel zur Zeit Jesu* (Wien, 1873), p. 1.

Jahveh loveth he chasteneth, *even as a father the son in whom he delighteth.*"[1] The Greek translator read the same consonants as now, but with different vowels (ceēb instead of ceâb). Was this also a more correct reading? Probably not: the comparison of Jahveh to a father is not only attractive and beautiful, but is also required or presupposed by the subsequent words "the son in whom he delighteth." Isaiah had said of his contemporaries: "and their fear toward me (Jahveh) is a precept of men which they have been taught."[2] The Greek translator read the word signifying *is*, by the change of a single letter, as *vanity*, and then rendered the passage somewhat more freely: "but in vain do they worship me, teaching men's commandments and doctrines." The forced combination of the words proves of itself that he was mistaken—although the thought which he makes the prophet utter is in no way at variance with his manner of thinking. The evangelists Matthew and Mark follow his translation, with this slight alteration at the close: "teaching doctrines which are commandments of men."

The examples to which I now proceed to direct attention are of more importance.

In the beginning of his proof of the exalted nature of the Son of God, the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews quotes the words: "and let all the angels of God bow down before him," or "worship him."[3] It has been thought that these words are found in Ps. xcvii. 7,[4] of which the Greek translation runs: "bow down before him (worship him), all his angels." But if the author had had these words before his eyes, he certainly would not have used the conjunction *and*, which does not fit into the connection of his discourse, and is therefore without doubt borrowed from the text which he followed. His citation is taken literally from the Greek version of Deut. xxxii. 43, that is, from an addition therein made to the Hebrew text of "the song of Moses," the spuriousness of which is, according to the vast majority of critics, quite certain.

The promise to Abraham: "with thee (making use of thy name) shall all the peoples of the earth bless themselves" (or

[1] Pro. iii. 12.
[2] Is. xxix. 13.
[3] Heb. i. 6.
[4] So *e.g.*, Mr Turpie, *l.c.* p. 159.

each other)[1] is understood differently by the Greek translator, who renders it thus: "in thee shall all the peoples of the earth be blessed." The Apostle Paul adopted this interpretation from him,[2] and thus naturalised it in the Christian world.

The poet who composed Psalm xl. wrote, according to the Hebrew text: "In sacrifice and meat-offering thou (Jahveh) hast no pleasure; ears hast thou bored for me" (verse 7, 6, *Auth. Ver.*), meaning thereby that God had bestowed upon him organs to understand and receive his will. It is not improbable that the Greek translator understood the true meaning, and gave a correct rendering, of this verse. But in that case the text of his version has been corrupted by one of the earliest transcribers, for in all manuscripts it now runs: "offerings and gifts thou hast not desired, but a body hast thou prepared me."[3] In the Epistle to the Hebrews the same reading is followed,[4] and is presupposed in the explanation which the writer appends to his quotation.[5]

One instance more, and we may regard this point as settled. Every reader of the Bible must be struck with the great difference between an utterance of Amos, at the end of his prophetical book, and the citation of the passage in the speech which, according to the Acts of the Apostles, was spoken by James at the synod at Jerusalem.[6] The cause of the variation has already been shown:[7] the Greek translator, from whom the quotation in the Acts is borrowed, has, by supplying the wrong vowels, read one word Edom as adám (man), and consequently rendered "the residue of men," instead of the "residue of Edom;" he has further read a letter incorrectly in the Hebrew verb which signifies "to inherit," so that he thought he recognised in it the verb meaning "to seek." This double mistake readily

[1] Gen. xii. 3, compare xviii. 18. See the explanation of these passages above, pp. 378—380.

[2] Gal. iii. 8.

[3] The text now runs: . . . . οὐκ ἠθελήσας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. But ἠθελήσας σῶμα may very well be an error in writing for ἠθελήσας ὠτία (writing the σ twice, and changing τι into μ).

[4] Heb. x. 5—7.

[5] See verse 10: "By which will we are sanctified by the offering of *the body* of Jesus Christ once (*i.e.*, once for all)."

[6] Amos ix. 11, 12; Acts xv. 16, 17.

[7] Above, p. 243.

explains the whole difference. Its importance is at once apparent to every one who reads the discourse of James as a whole; for he wishes to show that the prophets had already announced what had now actually taken place: God has looked upon the heathen, and chosen from among them a people for Himself.[1] *According to the Greek version*, Amos does really reveal the prospect of such a future; but *the original* cannot be understood in this sense. It speaks merely of the restoration of the Davidic dynasty, and of the extension of its rule over the surrounding peoples, first of all over Edom, and then over the nations over which the name of Jahveh—as that of their conqueror—is proclaimed. All attempts to explain away this difference must, from their very nature, prove a failure. The opinion that the Septuagint may have reproduced a purer text than the Massoretic is not worthy of a serious refutation.[2]

2d, The citations from the Old Testament are only in rare cases literally exact. They almost always vary less or more from the Greek version, which evidently was present to the mind of the New Testament writer, without thereby always coming nearer to the Hebrew text. It would be absurd to complain of this freedom in quoting. The authors of the New Testament were under no obligation to reproduce verbally what they read in the Old Testament, if they only expressed the same thoughts which were there presented. We can the less think of blaming them for the deviations which they allowed themselves to make, when we consider that, if not always, yet certainly on many occasions, they quoted *from memory*. We have our Bible beside us; we

[1] Acts xv. 14 15, compare verse 19.

[2] At the close of this paragraph, I may be allowed to quote the words of a witness who is above suspicion—Prof. Dr J. H. Kurtz. He proposes the question, if the Greek translator has correctly reproduced Ps. xlv. 7 (6 *Auth. Ver.*), and thereon observes: "It is true that the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews has quoted and made use of the passage according to the rendering which he had before him in the Septuagint. But still this does not prove the indubitable correctness of that rendering. For *the New Testament authors in general, and the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews in particular, take their Old Testament proof passages and confirmatory citations always from the Septuagint, even when, as beyond all dispute is frequently the case, the passage in question is an inaccurate and erroneous translation*, and make corrections only where such a false rendering would establish something wrong also for the objects which they contemplate." (*Zur Theol. der Psalmen* (Dorpat, 1865), p. 53 n.)

have only to take it up. In their days it was otherwise. It is, to say the least, doubtful, whether they all, without exception, possessed a complete copy of the Holy Scriptures. The comparing of the original with the translation, which we make without the least trouble, was certainly for the most of them exceedingly difficult, if not impracticable.

It is not, therefore, to those numerous divergences, which have little or no effect upon the meaning of the citation, that I wish to direct attention. But along with these, others of a less innocent nature occur. The alterations introduced, designedly or undesignedly, by the New Testament writers are often *very essential.* They affect the thought of the Old Testament author, substitute something else in its stead, give it a specific direction, or limit it in such a way that it is made to apply to one single object. It was with regard to such modifications that I thought myself justified in asserting that they cannot but exert an influence on the judgment formed regarding the inferences which are deduced from the citation. For him who adheres strictly to the original, these inferences have no force as proofs.

Examples may be borrowed from the most of the books of the New Testament. Not to fatigue the reader needlessly, I shall confine myself to some instances from the Pauline Epistles, which I shall illustrate so far as is necessary; the rest, which I leave the reader himself to investigate more minutely, I shall refer to in a foot-note.

"He who trusteth shall not flee away." These words of Isaiah,[1] rendered in the Septuagint, "he who trusteth shall not be ashamed," we find quoted twice by Paul,[2] and once again in the first epistle of Peter;[3] but on each occasion with a small, but very significant, addition, "he who trusteth *in Him* shall not be ashamed." The passage is found in this form in many manuscripts of the Septuagint also, on which account some are of opinion that the Greek translator himself added the words "in Him;"[4] but it is a much more probable supposition that they have found their way into these manuscripts from the New Testament. Be this as it may, the words "in Him" make it possible to understand the

[1] Chap. xxviii. 16[b].
[2] Rom. ix. 33; x. 11.
[3] 1 Pet. ii. 6.
[4] *E.g.*, Kautzsch, *l. c.*, p. 81.

trusting, of which the prophet speaks, as trusting in *the Christ*; if they are omitted, then, of course, he means trusting in *Jahveh*. The application of the passage quoted stands and falls with the alteration which Paul has either introduced himself, or has borrowed from the Septuagint.

In the same epistle to the Romans, Paul, while engaged in comparing the righteousness which is of the law with the righteousness which is of faith, borrows a description of the latter from the book of Deuteronomy.[1] With what right he does so we leave at present undetermined; we have now only to attend to the freedom of his citation. Two variations especially come there under our notice. Paul writes: "Who shall ascend into heaven?" while the original has: "Who shall ascend for us into heaven, *and take it* (the commandment), *and proclaim it to us, so that we may perform it?*" The words which the apostle leaves out would, of course, have prevented him from explaining the words which he adopts in the manner following: "that is, to bring the Christ down." In the original, there follows (verse 13); "Neither is it (the commandment) beyond the sea that thou shouldest have to say: who shall cross over the sea for us, and take it (the commandment) for us, and proclaim it to us, so that we may perform it?" The words corresponding to these, given by Paul, are: "(nor say in thy heart) who shall descend into the abyss? that is to bring up Christ from the dead" (or because this would be the same as denying that Christ had been already raised or awakened from the dead). The remark made above is true also with regard to the words which the apostle leaves out. But besides this, in place of crossing over the sea, he has put descending into the abyss, a conception altogether different, on which, however, the use which Paul makes of the words of the law-giver absolutely depends: if he had adhered to the original, the application of the passage to the resurrection of the Christ from the dead would have been out of the question.

Of less importance, but still very remarkable, is the free quotation of a passage from the biography of Elijah. The complaint of the prophet, that God's messengers have been killed and his altars overthrown, so that he alone has been

[1] Deut. xxx. 11—14; Rom. x. 6—8.

left, is answered by Jahveh commanding him to anoint Hazael to be king of Syria, Jehu to be king of Israel, and Elisha to be a prophet. "It shall come to pass," so it is said further, "that him that escapeth the sword of Hazael shall Jehu slay; and him that escapeth from the sword of Jehu shall Elisha slay. Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel, all knees that have not bowed before Baal, and every mouth which hath not paid homage to him."[1] The meaning is not for a moment doubtful: the judgments to be executed by Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, of course strike the wicked: "all the sinners of my people," saith Amos, "shall die by the sword;"[2] only those faithful to Jahveh, seven thousand in number—a round sum of course—shall be spared, and shall remain after the punishment has been executed. But of this narrative Paul takes the first verse, the complaint of Elijah, and the last, the prophecy concerning the sparing of the seven thousand, and cites them in such a way that he brings the two into immediate connection with each other.[3] For in place of "I will leave," he writes: "I have reserved to myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee before Baal." Elijah complains: "I am left alone;" God replies: thou art mistaken, there are still seven thousand faithful men remaining. Of this opposition, or, if it be preferred, of this correction of Elijah, there is no trace to be found in the original. True, *the inference* may also be derived from it that Elijah was not the only servant of Jahveh, and had therefore been guilty of exaggeration in his despondency; but, in the quotation as given by Paul, this stands in the foreground as the real chief matter. It deserves also to be noticed, that the interpretation of the Apostle has not been without influence on the modern translations of the Old Testament; among other instances, in the Dutch States Bible and the English Authorised Version, the address of Jahveh to Elisha is—at variance with the grammar and connection—rendered thus: "yet I have left."

In the following chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, Paul quotes a prophecy of the second Isaiah, which runs thus: "There shall come a redeemer for Zion and for them who turn away from their transgressions in Jacob, saith

[1] 1 Kings xix. 14—18. [2] Amos ix. 10. [3] Rom. xi. 2—4.

Jahveh. And as for me, this is my covenant with him, saith Jahveh. . . ."[1] Partly in consequence of his following the Septuagint, these words are thus reproduced by the Apostle: "There shall come *out of* Zion the Redeemer; *he shall turn away transgressions from Jacob.* And this is unto them the covenant on my part. . . ."[2] The difference is, as will be perceived, not unimportant; yet it is thrown into the shade by a second deviation. In the prophet the mention of the covenant between Jahveh and his people is followed by these words: "My spirit that is upon thee, and my words which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouth of thy seed, nor out of the mouth of thy seed's seed, saith Jahveh, from henceforth and for ever." All this is left out by Paul, and instead of it we find the following description of the covenant: "when I shall take away their sins"—words which are borrowed from the Greek translation of another prophecy which has been introduced into the book of Isaiah.[3] Of course the question is not whether the Apostle is justified in indicating the forgiveness of sins as being the substance of the covenant of grace. We can assent to this with all our heart, but at the same time deny that he is entitled to appeal to the words of the prophet in support of that opinion.

Paul is equally free in applying an utterance of Isaiah regarding the Assyrians to the phenomena which manifested themselves in the earliest Christian congregations, specifically at Corinth. Israel—so we read in the prophet—would not listen to Jahveh; "therefore with stammering lips and in another tongue will he speak to this people, to whom he had said, 'This is the resting-place! Cause now him that is weary to rest! And this is the refreshing!' Yet they would not hear."[4] Because this obstinacy was repeatedly displayed, therefore Jahveh would now employ other and stronger measures, and proclaim his will by the Assyrians, for to them the prophet's words apply. The Apostle sees in the "speaking with tongues" a counterpart of the means then used by God, and allows himself, in connection therewith, to modify somewhat the words of Isaiah, so that their fitness to be

[1] Is. lix. 20, 21.
[2] Rom. xi. 26, 27.
[3] Is. xxvii. 9.
[4] Is. xxviii. 11, 12.

applied to that phenomenon may be more distinctly obvious.[1] Nevertheless the leading idea is still preserved in the passage so modified. But when he closes his citation with the words: "and yet for all that they will not hear me, saith the Lord"—he altogether reverses the idea of Isaiah, in whose prophecy the disobedience does not follow Jahveh's speaking in another tongue, but precedes it, and is the cause of it. Paul deviates here not only from the original, but also from the Greek translation.

I wish to show, in the words of Mr Turpie, how the case stands with regard to a subsequent citation. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians the following words, among others, occur, as if borrowed from the Old Testament: "And I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."[2] Mr Turpie is very justly of opinion that when Paul wrote these words, he was thinking —not of any one utterance of Jeremiah,[3] or of Ezekiel,[4] but —of 2 Sam. vii. 14, where Jahveh says of David's posterity: "I will be to him for a father, and he shall be to me for a son." "The nearest is 2 Sam. vii. 14, from which it differs in being stated directly, not objectively, and plurally, not singularly, and also in adding καὶ θυγατέρας 'and daughters.' Now it may be objected that 2 Sam. was said of Solomon, whereas Paul is not speaking of him at all. In answer to this let it be sufficient to state that Paul applies generally what is there stated particularly, and that, for whatever reason such language was used in that instance, for the same could it be used in any other application; in other words, if GOD addressed these words to Solomon on condition of his obedience, on fulfilment of the same conditions, could not the same language be applied?"[5] I do not now discuss the value of this reasoning. That it is required is a sufficient proof of the very great freedom with which the Apostle here quotes the Old Testament.

Finally, let me adduce one instance more from the Epistle to the Ephesians. "Unto every one of us in particular"— so we read there—"is given the grace according to the measure of the gift of the Christ." The writer wishes to explain this

[1] 1 Cor. xiv. 21. [2] 2 Cor. vi. 18. [3] Jer. xxxi. 1, 33.
[4] Ezek. xxxvi. 28. [5] *L. c.* p. 63.

"gift of the Christ," more fully. Therefore these words follow: "Wherefore he saith (or, wherefore it is thus said in Scripture), when he ascended up on high he led captive a captivity, *he gave gifts unto men.*"[1] This citation is borrowed from the Greek version, in which the first half is read exactly in this way, except the change of the second person into the third, which was required in the Epistle by the connection. But the second half of the verse runs in the translation, as in the original: "Thou hast *taken* gifts among the men," that is, *received* gifts from the men in token of homage. The expositors strive to show that the idea of the Psalmist is not modified, but more fully elaborated and developed in the Epistle: the gifts are received in order to be again given away. Singular reasoning, when it is considered that it is the gifts of God or of the Christ of which the writer is treating. But let us grant that the citation can in this way be justified; nevertheless, *as a citation*, it is more than free.

Enough has already been said to put the justice of the second proposition beyond reasonable doubt.[2] We come now to a still more important point, the criticism of the exegetical method of the New Testament writers.

3d. Before entering upon the subject of this section, I may be permitted once more to remind the reader of the limits within which the investigation in this chapter is confined. It is not our object, at this stage, to give the reader a complete insight into the use which the writers of the New Testament make of the Old, and thus to enable him to form a fair

[1] Eph. iv. 8, compare Ps. lxviii. 19 (18).

[2] Let the reader compare, in addition to the above, Matt. i. 23, and Is. vii. 14 (the 3d per. pl. instead of the 3d per. sing. of the original, or the 2d per. sing. of the Septuagint); Matt. ii. 6, and Micah v. 1 (more than one divergence, especially that at the beginning concerning the smallness of Bethlehem); Matt. xi. 10, and Mal. iii. 1 (addition of "before thy face," and change of "before me" into "before thee"); Matt. xxvi. 31 [Mark xiv. 27], and Zech. xiii. 7 ("I will smite the shepherd," instead of "smite ye," or "smite thou the shepherd"); John ii. 17, and Ps. lxix. 10 (9), (in the original, "has consumed me;" in the citation [according to the oldest and best MSS.] "will consume me"); Acts i. 20a, and Ps. lxix. 26 (25) ("their dwelling" is changed into "his dwelling"): Acts ii. 17, 18, and Joel ii. 28, 29 (the citation has "in the last days," for "afterward;" v in verse 18, "the men-servants and the maid-servants" are changed, whether or not according to the Septuagint, into "my men-servants and my maid-servants."); Acts vii. 43, and Amos v. 27 ("beyond Babylon" has taken the place of "beyond Damascus").

estimate of it. Before we can reach that point, we must first know with what right their exegesis is put in opposition to ours, and the demand is made that ours must give way to theirs, or adapt itself to it. We can, of course, listen to that demand only if it clearly appears that their interpretation of Scripture is both of the same description as ours and superior to it. If, on the contrary, it can be proved that in many cases, the New Testament exegesis does *not* correspond to those rules of sound exposition which are universally recognised, and are from their nature indisputable, it is surely out of our power to comply with such a demand. But such a proof can in fact be given. The writers of the New Testament do not trouble themselves about laws, of the validity of which no one among us has any doubt. The examples will demonstrate this. I say examples, because here again completeness is not to be thought of. I shall first take some instances from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and from some other books of the New Testament, in order thereafter to direct attention specifically to the use which is made here and there of the so-called Messianic Psalms.

If we wish to become acquainted with the method of the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, it will be expedient to begin by attending to his explanation of Ps. xcv., an explanation which he puts forward not incidentally, but expressly. This psalm itself appears to us simple and clear. The poet calls upon himself and his people to raise a song of praise in honour of Jahveh, and to worship Him (verses 1—6). For Jahveh is not only "our maker" (verse 6), but also, "our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand" (verse 7ª). When he had written down these words, he recollected how ill Israel had up to the present time responded to this care of Jahveh. Hence the first exclamation of warning: "to-day if ye would hear his voice!" (verse 7ᵇ), and then the more detailed elaboration of that wish with his eye on the lessons taught by history (verses 8—11):—

> Harden not your heart, as at Meribah,
> As in the day of Massah in the wilderness,
> Where your fathers tempted me,
> Yea, proved me, and saw my deeds;

Forty years long[1] I loathed that generation,
And I said, they are a people erring in heart,
And they know not my ways;
Therefore I sware in my wrath,
They shall certainly not enter into my resting-place!

Here the poet breaks off. He does not think it necessary to make the application: it was obvious. All that he utters in verses 8—11, relates to the Israelites in the wilderness; for they suffered the punishment here referred to; against them was directed the threatening confirmed by an oath, that they should not enter into Jahveh's resting-place, the land of Canaan, but should die in the wilderness.[2] But if they were punished so severely, the contemporaries of the poet could not delude themselves regarding the fate which awaited them, if they, in their turn, were stiff-necked and disobedient.

Let us now consider how these verses of the psalm are understood and applied in the epistle to the Hebrews.[3] Let me assume that the reader has once again attentively perused the whole argument of the writer. It will then have become evident to him that it is very involved, and it will certainly no longer surprise him that it has already cost the expositors much toil and trouble. Nevertheless, we can still succeed in following the course of the thoughts, and in discovering therein these several stages, which I wish to indicate, and, at the same time, to judge from the point of view of modern exegesis.

1. The psalm is assigned to David.[4] Such is also the case in the heading prefixed to the Greek translation, but not in the original. To this last we adhere. In the psalm nothing whatever can be pointed out which favours the supposition of its Davidic origin. It is, beyond all doubt, a post-exilic poem. Were it not that the writer to the Hebrews followed here—as everywhere else—the Septuagint version, no one would have thought of assigning an earlier date to the psalm.

2. While in the psalm—see above—the Israelites in the wilderness are clearly *distinguished* from the poet's contem-

[1] In the Epistle (chap. iii. 9), these words are connected with those which precede, while those which follow are introduced by "wherefore." But in iii. 17, we find, "with whom was he angry forty years long?"

[2] Compare Num. xiv. 21—25, 28—35; Deut. i. 34—36, passages which the poet undoubtedly had in view.

[3] See Heb. iii. 7—11 (the citation), 12—iv. 10 (the interpretation and application).

[4] Heb. iv. 7.

poraries, to whom he addresses the warning: "If, to-day, ye would hear his voice! harden not your hearts!"—in the epistle to the Hebrews, this distinction disappears. There is here a *parallelism throughout* between the Israelites in the wilderness and the persons to whom the poet speaks. The exhortation addressed to the latter was delivered to the former also; the promises and threatenings intended for the former were applicable also to the latter.[1]

This is a point of the very greatest importance—the real key to the writer's exegesis. But that its importance may be more clearly perceived, let the reader take, in connection with it, the two following closely allied observations.

3. The persons whom the poet addresses are, of course, his contemporaries, or more generally, his countrymen. But according to the writer to the Hebrews, the psalm was written *for Christians*, at least, for those among them to whom his epistle is addressed.[2] This, indeed, cannot surprise us. *The Holy Ghost* speaks in this psalm;[3] *God* opens in it a new epoch, in which entrance into his rest is once again granted.[4] The more in earnest the writer is in this assurance, the less difficulty he also sees in transferring—not circuitously, as we should do, but—directly, the words of the psalm to the Christians.

4. The rest or resting-place which the psalmist mentions can be none other than the land of Canaan; the oath of Jahveh, which the poet knew from the narrative in the book of Numbers, was sworn with exclusive reference to the entrance into that land. But the writer of the epistle to the Hebrews understands this "rest" differently. God calls it "my rest." In consequence of this, it is brought into connection with his resting after the six days' creation;[5] participation therein—or, in other words, the entrance upon a life of blessedness with God—still continues to belong to the future, after Israel, under the command of Joshua, has entered into Canaan;[6] the Christians also, who now constitute "the people of God," may hope for it.[7] The close connection between this view and the two preceding points

[1] This is evident from the whole demonstration, especially from chap. iv. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10.

[2] Chap. iii. 12, 13; iv. 1 ff. [3] Chap. iii. 7. [4] Chap. iv. 7.

[5] Chap. iv. 3b, 4. [6] Chap. iv. 8. [7] Chap. iv. 6a, 9, 10.

(2 and 3) is quite obvious. As soon as the writer proceeded to apply to the Israel of a later period, and to Christians also, the words, "they shall not enter into my rest," or rather, the promise of which this threatening is the reverse side, he must understand "the rest of God" in a different, a spiritual sense. But conversely also: as soon as a higher, spiritual signification is assigned to "the rest of God," it is an obvious course to make the promise of entrance into this rest (and therefore its reverse side also, the threat of exclusion from that rest) refer no longer to the contemporaries of Moses alone, but also to the generations following.

5. We thus, especially by combining the last three points, arrive at the following representation of what the writer to the Hebrews found expressed in Ps. xcv., and endeavours to impress upon the readers of his epistle. The person of the poet, David, his contemporaries, the circumstances in which the psalm was written, are matters which, for him, all recede into the background. The poem contains the words of God, intended not for one period, but for all ages, most of all for them who lived in the time of the fulfilment of the prophecies, for Christians. Full of this idea, the writer overlooks the distinctions which are made in the psalm; they have for him no existence. The whole psalm—including that which is introduced into it as a word of God concerning the contemporaries of Moses—is prophetical. On that account, this word acquires greater dimensions, and allusions are found in it to promises, the full realisation of which was still future when the epistle was written. The readers could apply to themselves the warnings contained in the psalm, but so also could they do with regard to the promises of bliss which it supposes, as they are there presented. The promise of entrance into God's rest is applicable to them; but so also is the threatening that access to it shall be refused to them, if they, like their forefathers, are disobedient and unbelieving. Let them therefore, while the "to-day" indicated by God in the psalm still continues, exhort one another daily, so that none may become hardened and be struck by the same judgment.[1]

Thus the writer read and interpreted the Old Testament. In reverence for his moral earnestness, in sympathy with his

[1] Chap. iii. 12—14, &c.

anticipations of the future, I desire to yield to no one. But prepossession in favour of his ideas must not be allowed to affect the impartiality of our judgment upon his exegesis. So long as we hold by the stable laws of hermeneutics, laws which are raised above the suspicion of caprice and above contradiction, we must disapprove of an interpretation such as he gives. We cannot do otherwise. His deviations from the clear meaning of the words can be pointed out with the finger. As *exegetes*—and it is only in this capacity we are now judging—we can neither embrace nor excuse such an interpretation as this, but must openly condemn it.

We can now be briefer regarding other instances of the same or at least a similar method. It is universally acknowledged that the theme of the poet, the author of Ps. viii., is the littleness and at the same time the greatness *of man*. It is also agreed that the words (verse 6 [5]): "Thou hast made him a little less than God," express the idea that man has been exalted by Jahveh so far above all the rest of creation that there is only a short distance between him and the divinity. The writer to the Hebrews introduces into his epistle the verse just quoted along with the verse which precedes and that which follows it.[1] Instead of "a little less than God," he writes with the Septuagint, "a little less than the angels." Still this divergence can in itself scarcely be attributed to him as an error: the Hebrew word ("elohîm") signifies divinity in general, so that the Greek translation does not reproduce the meaning of the poet altogether incorrectly, when it substitutes for the deity the higher, divine spirits—called in the Old Testament itself "the sons of God."[2] In any case, it is of more importance that the writer to the Hebrews, 1stly, sees the Messiah in "the man" and "the son of man," of whom the poet speaks, and 2dly, understands the words "a little less than the angels," as "having become for a short time less than the angels."[3] These are two de-

[1] Heb. ii. 6—8 = Ps. viii. 5—7 (4—6). [2] Gen. vi. 2; Job. xxxviii. 7.

[3] This appears in the very clearest manner from the writer's argument in verses 8b, 9. When he writes: "now we see not yet all things put under *him*," Jesus is indicated by the pronoun "him." The next verse is equally unambiguous. "But (already) we see him who, for a short time, became less than the angels, Jesus, for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour." In other words, the prophecy of the psalm has been already fulfilled in part, and therefore shall, without doubt, be altogether realised.

viations from the meaning of the poet, which as little admit of being justified as they can be reasoned away by a modified interpretation of the quotation in the epistle.

In the same chapter the first half of the words of Isaiah: "Behold, I and the children whom Jahveh hath given me are for signs and for wonders in Israel because of Jahveh of hosts who dwelleth on Mount Zion,"[1] is put into the mouth of the Christ,[2] and applied as a proof that "he who sanctifies (Christ), and they who are sanctified (believers) are all from One (from God), for which cause he (Christ) does not think it beneath him to call them "brethren."[3] This is perhaps the strongest instance in the whole Epistle of quotation according to the sound. It surely does not require any argument to show that the words of Isaiah refer to himself and to himself alone.

There are already among the citations in chap. i. of the Epistle, several which give just cause for objections. Thus some verses of Ps. cii., which beyond all doubt are addressed to Jahveh himself, are adduced in proof of the superior dignity of the Son of God as compared with the angels.[4] In this case it is difficult even to say what has led the writer to this interpretation. May it have been the word "Lord" at the beginning of the citation, a word which had gradually become among Christians the regular title of Jesus? It has been adopted from the Greek version and does not occur in the original.

But if we were to proceed in this way, it might look as if the Epistle to the Hebrews was the only book of the New Testament the exegesis of which suggested weighty difficulties. It does indeed afford numerous and striking instances of interpretation which we, from our stand-point, cannot approve; yet these are not wanting in other books also.

We find at once that they are not wanting in the writings of the Apostle Paul. Let us use by way of introduction an example which seems pre-eminently fitted to teach us, how Paul viewed the Old Testament, and what influence the point of view chosen by him had upon his exegesis. As a proof of his proposition that the congregations should provide for the support of the preachers of the Gospel, he adduces the pre-

[1] Is. viii. 18.
[2] Heb. ii. 13.
[3] Heb. ii. 11.
[4] Heb. i. 10—12; Ps. cii. 26—28 (25—27).

scription of the law: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn.[1] Does he bring this forward as a striking analogy according to which congregations had to act? or as an argument from "the less to the greater" in this way: if even the ox is not to be deprived of the opportunity of taking food while he labours, how much less should the man, who is performing his work, be deprived of it? He does neither the one nor the other. The Apostle declares expressly that the legal prescription cannot be apprehended literally, but must be understood figuratively. "Doth God take care for oxen?"—he asks,[2] or rather—for according to the rules of grammar, the meaning of the original is this: "God surely does not take care for oxen." He thus at the same time makes us acquainted with the motive which leads him to his interpretation: in his view the Law is too sacred, too divine, to admit of his finding in it enactments about such every-day matters. His conviction about the origin of Scripture leads him, at least in this case, to a misconception of the historical meaning of its utterances.[3]

The well-known allegorical interpretation of the accounts given in Genesis about Sarah and Hagar[4] might serve for confirmation of this remark. But there are other passages to be mentioned where the exegesis of the Apostle not only departs from or rises above the historical meaning, but distinctly contradicts it. Let the reader recall to mind our previous remarks upon a citation from Deuteronomy in the Epistle to the Romans.[5] The modifications which the apostle there allows himself to make, are in themselves of sufficient importance to destroy the demonstrative force of the citation. But the fundamental idea of his reasoning also cannot be permitted to stand. The Deuteronomist treats of "the commandment which Moses this day prescribes to Israel;" that commandment must, as is self-evident, be obeyed; with almost superfluous reiteration he reminds them of that very fact three times in succession. It does not need to be brought down out of heaven and proclaimed to us, *that*

[1] 1 Cor. ix. 8, ff.; Deut. xxv. 4. [2] 1 Cor. ix. 9.

[3] The saying of Philo Alexandrinus (*De sacrif.* Opp. p. 251) is altogether parallel, "because the Law is not for the benefit of irrational animals, but for the benefit of those who have understanding and reason."

[4] Gal. iv. 21—31. [5] Rom. x. 6—8; Deut. xxx. 11—14, above, p. 460.

we may do it; it is unnecessary to cross the sea, and fetch that commandment from thence, and declare it, *that we may do it*; "for the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, *in order to do it.*" On each occasion, Paul omits these last words, and he could not, in fact, have introduced them, because they would have overthrown his whole demonstration. He had described the righteousness which is of the law, in terms borrowed from the law itself: "the man who *hath done* these things shall live in them."[1] *In opposition to that*, he places now the righteousness which is of faith: if here the matter again depended upon *the doing*, the whole antithesis was destroyed. Are we then, in order to acquit the apostle, to take refuge in the assertion that he does not intend to interpret the passage from Deuteronomy? May it not be that he clothes his own ideas in words borrowed from the Old Testament? More than one expositor of note has maintained this opinion. But it does not admit of being defended. The reasoning of the apostle is meaningless, if it is not regarded as *proving something*, and that, the proposition which immediately precedes: "for Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believeth."[2] With this, not only the following verse, but the whole subsequent train of reasoning is connected by a "for." This "for" has relation to the quotation from Deuteronomy also, because otherwise Paul does not give what he promises. The words, "the man who hath done these things shall live in them," can surely never prove that "Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to everyone who believeth"? If we wish to vindicate the Apostle's exegesis, we must give up his logic; if we wish to justify his logic, we must abandon his exegesis. The latter alternative is the only one which is in accordance with the facts themselves.

"To Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not 'And to his seeds,' as with application to many; but as with application to one, 'And to thy seed,' which is Christ." So Paul writes in the Epistle to the Galatians.[3] More than one question arises with regard to these words. What passage, or passages, of the Old Testament has the Apostle in view? He is treating of promises spoken *to*

[1] Rom. x. 5; Lev. xviii. 5. [2] Rom. x. 4. [3] Gal. iii. 16.

Abraham and his seed, given *to* Abraham and his seed; he thinks specifically of one passage in which the words "and to thy seed" occur. It follows from this that Mr Turpie,[1] for example, is wrong in finding here a quotation from Gen. xxii. 18 ("in thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed"). Neither can the passages which are parallel to this[2] be intended. Paul is thinking rather of the promises that the land of Canaan shall be given for an inheritance to Abraham *and his seed.*[3] It follows from this, however, that he understands these promises in a wider and spiritual signification—a view which cannot be justified before the tribunal of historical exegesis. But another difficulty is of more importance. The Apostle thinks it remarkable that, in the passages of Genesis to which he refers, Abraham's seed, in the singular, is mentioned, and proceeds to build an argument upon it. In spite of all that has been brought forward to recommend or excuse this interpretation,[4] we cannot do otherwise than agree with Meyer when he calls the conclusion of Paul "purely Rabbinical and destitute of any objective force as proof."[5] A plural also could undoubtedly have been employed in Genesis; for instance, "to thee and to thy sons." That this was not done strikes the Apostle as remarkable, and leads him to make an observation which, as "seed" is a collective form very frequently used, had better have remained unwritten.

We shall not now consider that passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians which was previously discussed,[6] so that we may have room for handling four quotations which occur in the Gospel according to Matthew. In the first chapter, the account of Mary's being with child of the Holy Ghost, and of the announcement to Joseph of the birth of Jesus, is followed by the well-known reference to the prophecy of Isaiah: "Now all this was done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken of the Lord by the prophet, saying, *Behold, the virgin*

[1] *L.c.*, p. 11.

[2] Abraham alone is spoken of in Gen. xii. 3; xviii. 18; Isaac's seed in xxvi. 3, 4; Jacob and his seed in xxviii. 13—15.

[3] Gen. xiii. 15; xvii. 8. Thus, following the steps of others, Kautzsch, *l.c.*, p. 20, f.

[4] Especially by Tholuck "das A. T. im N. T." (6th Edition, 1872) pp. 53—66.

[5] Krit. exeg. Kommentar über das N. T., on the passage.

[6] Eph. iv. 8; Ps. lxviii. 19 (18); above, p. 463, f.

shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel (which, being interpreted, is God with us)."[1] We have seen already[2] that Isaiah is speaking[3] about a child which shall soon be born: the desolation of the territory of the kings of Syria and Ephraim shall, according to his expectation, have been fully completed before Immanuel has reached the years of discernment.[4] Moreover, his birth is announced as a sign which Jahveh shall give to *the king* (Ahaz) *and his house*[5]—which, of course, is utterly incompatible with the supposition that the prophet has an eye to a far-distant future. Still this is not all. The Evangelist finds in Isaiah the prediction that *the virgin* shall be pregnant and bear a son. If he had been asked in what the sign announced by the prophet consisted, he would undoubtedly have answered: in the birth of Immanuel *from a virgin*. He may have been led to this interpretation from the fact of the Greek translator having substituted the Greek word *parthenos* ("virgin") for the Hebrew ha-'almah ("the marriageable damsel," or "young woman"). It does not, however, follow from this that the translator understood the prophecy of Isaiah in the same way as the Evangelist did; much less can the prophet himself have wished to express that idea. The sign which he mentions consists in this, that a young woman, who at that moment became (or was) pregnant, shall be able to give to her child the symbolical name "God with us;" or, in other words, in this, that *within a year* the condition of the Davidic kingdom shall have experienced such a change that the joyful mother can express in this form her belief in Jahveh's presence and help. The comparison of the parallel passages leaves no doubt as to this being the prophet's meaning.[6] But while elsewhere he gives symbolical names to his own children, he here speaks quite generally: *the damsel* becomes (or is) pregnant, and bears a son, and calls his name "God with us"—his object being thereby to indicate that *every young mother* shall, at the time intimated by him, have reason to testify her confidence in God's help. In a subsequent prophecy he resumes this idea, and does it in such a

[1] Matt. i. 22, 23.
[2] See above, pp. 166—169.
[3] Is. vii. 14.
[4] *Ibid.*, verses 15, 16; compare verse 22.
[5] See verses 13 and 14[a].
[6] Compare Is. vii. 3 (x. 20, 21); viii. 3, 4, 18.

manner that the interpretation now given is fully confirmed.[1] We need not therefore say anything further in order to show that Matthew's interpretation cannot be vindicated. He not only severs the prophecy from its historical connection, but also puts into it a meaning which Isaiah himself never at all contemplated.[2]

The quotation to which I now proceed to direct attention, may be called an abandoned post. For it is universally acknowledged that the words of Hosea: "Out of Egypt have I called my son,"[3] refer to the deliverance of Israel from the Egyptian bondage, and contain no prophecy regarding the return of the child Jesus out of Egypt. Attempts have been made to justify this citation[4] by remarking that Israel is the *type* of the Messiah, so that what is true of Israel may be applied also to the Messiah. But even though it could be shown that the Evangelist thought he had found in Hosea such a type, and not a direct prediction, still little would be hereby gained. For unless typology is to degenerate into mere caprice, the requirement must be rigorously maintained that an *actual* agreement between type and anti-type be shown, and that everything which is accidental and unessential be excluded. This condition is not here fulfilled. As regards Israel, Egypt is the land of servitude; as regards the child Jesus, it was a temporary refuge; the calling out of Egypt is thus also an entirely different thing with the Evangelist from what it is with Hosea.

[1] Is. viii. 8—10. In verse 8 the prophet calls Judea "thy land, O Immanuel!" referring to the promise of deliverance which was implied in the sign mentioned in chapter vii. 14. Judea shall indeed be overflowed by the Assyrians, but no apprehensions need be entertained regarding its utter destruction, because in Judea "Immanuel" has been born. The same thought is expressed in verse 10, but now with a reference to Pekah and Rezin: their counsel shall be defeated, their word shall be frustrated, for (Immanuel) "God is with us."

[2] The explanation of Is. vii. 14, defended here, which in the main agrees with that of T. Roorda, *Orientt.* i. 130-134—appears to me to be more worthy of acceptation than the other non-Messianic interpretations, but cannot be regarded as beyond all doubt. The negative: the prophet did not think of the Messiah, is quite certain. To be able to say, with like certainty, whom he meant by ha-'almah, we would have required to have been ourselves present on the spot. Compare the similar opinion of Diestel in Knobel, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 4te Aufl. p. 70.

[3] Hos. xi. 1. The whole verse runs:

"When Israel was a child, I loved him,
And out of Egypt I called my son."

[4] Matt. ii. 15.

We have to make similar observations with regard to another citation in the same chapter. In the lamentation caused by the murder of the children in Bethlehem, Matthew sees the fulfilment of the words of Jeremiah—"A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted because they were not."[1] In the prophecy this mourning has reference to the depopulation of the land of Israel, in consequence of the war and deportation into captivity. Rachel is at the same time also comforted with the prospect of the future return of her children. Is there anything more than a superficial resemblance between this poetical and beautiful conception and the isolated fact to which the Evangelist applies the words of Jeremiah?

We shall require to dwell somewhat longer on the use which the same writer makes of an utterance of the earliest Zechariah, the author of chapters ix.—xi., whom we already know as an older contemporary of Isaiah.[2] He tells us that the Jewish chief priests and elders, after Judas had thrown back to them the thirty pieces of silver, the reward of his treachery, scrupled to cast them into the treasure-chest, and instead of doing so, bought the potter's field, to be a burial place for strangers, for which reason it was called "the field of blood" unto this day.[3] To this he adds: "Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah, the prophet, saying, And they took the thirty pieces of silver, the price of him that was valued, whom they had valued on the part of sons of Israel, and they gave them for the potter's field as the Lord appointed me."[4] These words do not occur anywhere in Jeremiah; his name will thus have been mentioned by mistake for that of Zechariah, in whom we really find an utterance which, though not exactly the same, yet resembles this, and is plainly the one here referred to. It forms part

[1] Matt. ii. 17, 18; Jer. xxxi. 15.

[2] See above, p. 197, n. 7, and elsewhere. [3] Chap. xxvii. 3—8.

[4] Chap. xxvii. 9, 10. The Greek words are rendered literally, and are in general quite plain. The only doubtful point is the meaning of the words ἀπὸ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, "on the part of sons of Israel." According to Meyer (on the passage) the reference is to Judas, who had given the chief priests occasion to fix the price of Jesus at thirty pieces of silver, for which reason also the article is wanting. Perhaps the meaning is, that the chief priests acted in the valuation of Jesus as in the name of the Israelites.

of an allegorical picture,[1] a vivid representation of what had happened in the kingdom of Ephraim about the middle of the eighth century B.C., in which the prophet comes forward as the representative of Jahveh—just as Hosea does in chapters i. and iii. of his prophetical book, which show great agreement, as regards form, with this portion of Zechariah. We cannot here enter upon an explanation of the particulars of this picture;[2] the last verses especially possess an interest for us. The prophet—always speaking in the name of Jahveh—asks to be paid off by the Ephraimites, whose shepherd he had been; they give the small remuneration of thirty silver shekels. Thereupon Jahveh says to him: "Throw it to the treasure-chest! A rich recompence which I have been thought to merit at their hands!" The prophet obeys this command: "And I took the thirty shekels of silver and threw them away in the house of Jahveh to the treasure-chest."[3] Finally, according to the last verse, the second shepherd's staff also is broken, in token that the brotherhood between Judah and Israel is severed (and that the Syrian-Ephraimite war shall now immediately break out).[4] No one will deny that these verses, thus understood, cohere well with each other, and afford a very intelligible meaning. But if the reader will give himself the trouble of opening the common translation, it will immediately be evident to him that mine deviates from it considerably. Instead of "to the treasure-chest," he will find there "for the potter." And, in truth, the Hebrew word which occurs twice in verse 13 (*ha-jotsér*) is the usual word for "the potter." But it is as clear as day that this word is out of place here, and gives no sense whatever,—not even when we try to illustrate it from the particulars which Matthew communicates to us. For surely it does not require any proof to show that "to throw for the potter" cannot signify to employ the thirty shekels, or cause them to be employed, for the purchase of the potter's field! In order to bring these words into connection with this fact, the Evangelist has in truth completely modified them,

[1] Zech. xi. 4—14.
[2] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderzoek," II., 381, 382, f.
[3] Zech. xi. 12, 13. [4] Zech. xi. 14.

and written, "and they gave them for the potter's field." Moreover, the close of verse 13 shows that the supposed "potter" must be found in "the house of Jahveh." Is this not sufficient in itself to convince us that the word so translated must have another meaning, or—for this also is possible—must be replaced by another word? Fortunately, we do not need to search long for something better. The consonants in the Hebrew text are perfectly correct; the vowels, which were not inserted for six or more centuries after the beginning of our era, alone require to be amended. For *ha-jotsér* read *ha-jotsár*, which latter form represents the usual pronunciation of *ha-'otsár*, "the treasure-chest."[1] Everything is now clear. The treasure-chest is in "the house of Jahveh;" the treasure-chest is the natural depository for the remuneration which the prophet receives as the representative of Jahveh; if that remuneration be too insignificant to be carefully laid away within the chest, it must at least be thrown towards it. All difficulties are thus solved in such a way by this simple emendation, that its justness is liable to no doubt. But is not our judgment on Matthew's exegesis thereby already determined? It is really self-condemned by the modifications in the text which it necessitates, and without which it could never admit of being considered. But besides this, no explanation,—not even Hengstenberg's[2]—of Zechariah's prophecy, which maintains or implies the correctness of the application made of it by the Evangelist, can at all be tolerated. It is perfectly perspicuous when we bring it into connection with the state of the kingdom of Ephraim about the middle of the eighth century B.C. with the same circumstances therefore in which Zech. ix. and x. also find their explanation. It becomes a series of enigmas, when we abandon the historical ground, and attribute to the prophet general ideas with which the use made of his words in Matthew is compatible. If the rules of exegesis may avail here also, then the interpretation given by the Evangelist is to be rejected without hesitation, as being at variance with grammar and with history.

[1] Those who know Hebrew do not need to be reminded that the *aleph* between two vowels was pronounced as *jod*, so that *ha-'otsár* would sound *ha-jotsár*, and therefore could also easily be so written.

[2] "Christol. des A. T.," III., 1, pp. 410—73.

To these instances of the exegesis of the New Testament writers, I wish to add yet a second series, which shall be composed exclusively of their interpretations of the *Psalms*, and specifically of those Psalms which owe the name of *Messianic Psalms* partly to the use which has been made of them in the New Testament.[1] The consideration of the quotations taken from these will not only serve, on the one hand, to complete the investigation in which we have just been engaged; but will also prepare the way, on the other, for discussing the prophetical contents of the Psalms, a subject which I have designedly deferred till now, because it is indissolubly connected with the decision upon the value of these citations.

The Psalms which in the New Testament are understood as prophecies regarding the Messiah, or at least are applied to the historical Christ, readily admit of being divided into two groups.

To the first group belong the poems in honour of the king of Israel, whose power and grandeur they depict and celebrate (Psalms ii., xlv., cx.).

The second group is composed of the Psalms, which, according to the citations, refer to the suffering Messiah, or rather, indeed, introduce him as the speaker. We shall see immediately that the right to be placed in this group is disputed in the case of more than one Psalm. Still, if we at present consult the New Testament alone, we must assign to this group Psalms xvi., xxii., xl., xli., lxix., cix., and, in a certain sense, Psalm cxviii. also.

Of these Psalms some verses, or occasionally a single verse, are quoted as a prophecy concerning the Christ, or as containing words of the Christ—generally without the difficulties in the way of such an explanation, which can be drawn from other parts of the same Psalm, being discussed or removed. The same objections which I was lately obliged to bring against more than one interpretation of the prophetical word are thus frequently—not always, but frequently—applicable also to the use made of these verses of Psalms.

[1] According to the common opinion, Psalms viii., xcv., cii., the quotations from which in the Epistle to the Hebrews have been already criticised, do not belong to the Messianic class; although Psalm viii. is not really viewed and used in Heb. ii., otherwise than *e.g.* Ps. xl. in Heb. x. (compare above p. 455, f.). I must, however, after the few observations in pp. 469, f., omit any further consideration of this Psalm.

The Psalms of the first group do not come into consideration here so much as those belonging to the second. The *relative* justice of the Messianic understanding of Psalm ii. and cx. is apparent. It is true that when we read Psalm ii. without any prepossession, we perceive at once that it is not an ideal, and a still future, but an actual, king who is celebrated in it. The opening of the poem was suggested by what the poet[1] saw happening around him, by what he viewed with his bodily eye (verses 1—3):

> "Why do the peoples rage,
> And the nations meditate vanity?
> The kings of the earth rise up,
> And the princes have plotted together
> Against Jahveh and against his anointed.[2]
> Let us (they say) burst asunder their bands,
> And cast their fetters from us."

In the sequel of the Psalm, also, there is nothing which would not suit the Israelitish king. In the third strophe (verses 7—9) he himself is introduced as speaking, and these words among others are put into his mouth: "Jahveh hath said unto me, 'Thou art my son, to-day have I begotten thee.'" The twofold use made of these words in the New Testament[3] must not mislead us into assigning to them a meaning so exalted that they cease to be a declaration of Jahveh regarding the theocratic king of Israel.[4] The last verse gives still less ground for such an interpretation.[5] We

[1] The Psalm is anonymous in the original; but in Acts iv. 25, David is named as the author. He who assigns authority to the New Testament in questions such as this, has of course no choice here. But the Psalm itself bears witness not for, but against, its Davidic authorship. See especially H. Hupfeld, "Die Psalmen übersetzt u. ausgelegt," I. 16 ff.

[2] The quotation, according to the Septuagint, in Acts iv. 25, 26, ends here.

[3] In Heb. i. 5; v. 5, these words are regarded as an address of God to his son in his pre-existent state; in Acts xiii. 33, they are brought into connection with the *resurrection* of Jesus, and therefore understood as the formula in which the Messianic dignity is conferred upon him. The latter interpretation (compare Acts ii. 36) is more in accordance with the meaning of the Psalmist. See the following note.

[4] Compare Hupfeld on Psalm ii. 7. We have a parallel passage in Psalm lxxxix. 27, where Jahveh says of David—

> "I will also make him my firstborn,
> Supreme over the kings of the earth."

[5] The translation "Kiss (or do homage to) the son" is at utter variance with the grammar. The meaning is stilll doubtful. But that a call to attach themselves *to Jahveh*, or to do homage to *Jahveh*, is required here, is most clearly evident from the sequel of the verse.

do not, however, overlook the fact that the poet who composed the second Psalm, although proceeding upon a reality, yet, just because he is *a poet*, rises far above the reality. The historical king whom he has in view—Uzziah, perhaps?[1]—assumes, as it were, larger proportions, and becomes, as depicted by him, an ideal. Connecting points therefore are not wanting for applying this poem to the Messiah.

Very much the same is true of Psalm cx., that is, if we find ourselves at liberty, following the guidance of many of the more recent expositors, to deny its Davidic authorship, and assign it to a poet who was not king himself, but who speaks about and to his king.[2] That the priestly dignity also is assigned to this king (verse 4) cannot lead us to place him altogether outside of the series of the Israelitish princes. For it is historically certain that in the first ages of the monarchy these princes also offered sacrifice and blessed in the name of Jahveh; functions for which the priests were only at a later period thought to be exclusively competent.[3] In this psalm, however, least of any, are the poetical and ideal features wanting, and thus the Messianic interpretation of it very readily suggested itself.[4]

The case is somewhat different as regards Ps. xlv. Only once in the New Testament is a part of it quoted, as addressed to the Messiah. In his argument to prove the superiority of the Son of God to the angels, the writer to the Hebrews appeals to verses 6, 7,[5] and these he reproduces according to the Septuagint, which here agrees with the original, as follows: "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever; a sceptre of righteousness is the sceptre of thy kingdom. Thou hast

[1] Compare my "Hist. Krit. Onderzoek," III. 291 f.

[2] See *Ibid.*, 259, 292.

[3] Compare "De Godsdienst van Israël," I. 336 f., and elsewhere, (in its English form "The Religion of Israel," I. 137 ff.).

[4] It is expressed or understood in Acts ii. 34, 35; 1 Cor. xv. 26; Heb. i. 13; v. 6; vii. 21. Moreover, Jesus proposes the question (Matt. xxii. 44; Mark xii. 36; Luke xx. 42, 43) how David could call the Messiah "Lord," if the Messiah was his son? Here the Davidic authorship of the Psalm is assumed as well-known, and so also is the Messianic interpretation. But the question put remains unanswered, so that we do not know how Jesus himself solved the contradiction which he had observed in the popular view.

[5] Unless otherwise indicated, the verses of the Psalms now quoted are numbered according to the Authorized Version.

loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore God, thy God, has anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows."[1] The predicate "God" is assigned to the person here addressed. Does not this circumstance absolutely forbid us to see in him an earthly king? In truth, the question at first causes us perplexity. We are inclined to answer it in the affirmative. There are no passages in which the Hebrew word *elohîm* is clearly applied to man.[2] But on the other hand, it is plain from the sequel, where the king's fellows are mentioned, that he is an earthly ruler. This is put beyond dispute by the rest of the psalm. It is a poem written on the occasion of the king's marriage, and contains various individual traits which enable us to indicate its age and the name of the king whom it celebrates: it must have been written in the kingdom of Ephraim, probably in honour of Jeroboam II.[3] But how then are we to decide about the words, "Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever?" Attempts have been made—not without reason as we now know—to find a better interpretation to these words, but, in my opinion, they have not succeeded. One single word seems to have dropped out of the Hebrew. The poet wrote: "Thy throne God *has established* for ever and ever."[4] In this way the harmony between the different parts of the psalm is at once restored. The ideal conception, and so much the more the Messianic interpretation, which were already contradicted by the further contents, find now no longer any support even in verse sixth. It is at the same time very natural and intelligible that the writer to the Hebrews should have appealed to that verse in favour of his thesis: considered by itself, it is a recommendation of his view. The question can

[1] Heb. i. 8, 9.

[2] On "elohîm" in Exod xxi. 6, xxii. 8, 9. see "De Godsdienst van Israël," I. 495, (in its English form, "The Religion of Israel," II., 83 f.). Reference might have been more justly made to Ps. lxxxii. 6 (compare John x. 34). But Hupfeld, in his commentary on this Psalm, has shown it to be at least very probable that higher beings, the guardian angels of nations and tribes, are there addressed. Even though this were not the case, yet Ps. xlv. 6, where "elohîm" is the title of one single being, would not be altogether parallel.

[3] Compare "Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek, III., 291. The traits to which allusion is made in the text are to be found in verse 8 (palaces of ivory), verse 9 (the king's consort, &c.), verse 16 (the king preceded by his fathers, and followed by his sons).

[4] Compare J. Olshausen, "die Psalmen," p. 201 f.

only be, whether it is allowable thus to disjoin a part of a whole from its connection. This is done elsewhere also by the New Testament writers. But while, in Psalms ii. and cx. for instance, their interpretation of one single verse is not directly contradicted by that connection, such is certainly the case in Psalm xlv. The Messianic interpretation of this last poem does not admit of even a relative justification.

When we proceed to the discussion of the Psalms of the second group, we come on much-disputed ground. It is of the highest importance that we determine our exact position thereon. One of the first things necessary for attaining this object will be to keep the different questions duly separate. The question, therefore, whether these Psalms are Messianic or not, does not at present come under discussion. We wish now merely to discover how the New Testament writers use them, and at the same time to direct our attention to their interpretation of the verses which they quote from them. All the rest I leave alone for the present, to be resumed and settled, partly still in this chapter, and partly in the next. In this survey, I follow the order of the book of Psalms.

In the Acts of the Apostles, we find quotations from Psalm xvi. in two places; in one, of verses 8—11, in another, of the second half of verse 10, and the words are quoted as having been spoken by David "of (*εἰς*) the Christ."[1] On both occasions the Greek version is followed, the correctness of which precisely in verse 10 can be fairly questioned. The original is as follows:—

> "Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Hades,
> Thou wilt not suffer thy pious one to see the pit."

According to another reading, "thy pious ones to see the pit," but the singular agrees better with the first half of the verse. The Greek translator wrote:

> "Thou wilt not leave my soul in Hades (or in the power of Hades),
> Nor wilt thou suffer thy holy one to see corruption."

And it is precisely on the variations of this translation from the original that Peter, in the Acts, founds his interpretation.[2] In that we are compelled to differ from him: the poet ex-

[1] Acts ii. 25—28; xiii. 35.

[2] Acts ii. 29—31. There, and in chap. xiii. 36, "corruption" (*διαφθορά*), is understood in the sense of putrefaction.

presses his confidence that he *shall not die*, that God *shall not abandon* him to Hades, that he shall not behold *the pit*, that is, the grave. On what might happen to him after his decease, he does not think at all.

The use made of Psalm xxii. gives no occasion for such remarks. Jesus, when on the cross, adopts as his own the opening words of the Psalm;[1] the complaint about the parting of the garments is brought by an Evangelist into connection with what happened on Golgotha.[2] Some words from the last part are quoted in the Epistle to the Hebrews as words of the Christ.[3] In all these cases no deviation from the words or the meaning of the original is to be seen.

It has already appeared plainly to us how the case stands with regard to the citation from Psalm xl. in the Epistle to the Hebrews.[4] Besides the deviation from the Hebrew text which was then discussed, we find yet another verse in which both the Hebrew original and the Greek translation are departed from. In both of these the first clause of verse eighth runs as follows: "In the performance of Thy will I take delight," whereupon follows very fitly, "and Thy law is in my inmost parts." But the writer to the Hebrews does not introduce this second clause, and connects the first with the preceding verse, in this manner: "Lo, I have come . . . to perform Thy will, O God."[5] It would scarcely be worth while to direct attention to this modification in the arrangement of the words, if it was not connected with the use which the writer makes of this Psalm. In the words, "Lo! I have come to perform Thy will," he sees a contrast to the preceding—"Offerings and gifts thou wouldst not." Thence flows the decision at which he arrives: "He (the Messiah speaking in the Psalm) abrogates the first (the offerings) in order to establish the second (the performance of God's will)." In the poem itself the antithesis is not so absolute.

According to the fourth Gospel, Jesus saw in the treachery of one of his apostles the fulfilment of the scripture: "He

[1] Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 34; compare Ps. xxii. 1.

[2] John xix. 24, compare Ps. xxii. 18. The same quotation occurs also in Matt. xxvii. 35, but only in the "Textus Receptus" and the translations which follow it. All the old manuscripts leave it out.

[3] Heb. ii. 12; compare Ps. xxii. 22.

[4] Above, p. 457.

[5] See not only Heb. x. 7, but also verse 9.

who eateth bread with me hath lifted up his heel against me." It is a citation from Psalm xli., where we read: "He who eateth my bread has used me most treacherously,"—at least, according to the most probable understanding of the words.[1] The slight variation—not "my bread," but "bread with me," —is plainly used to make the agreement between the complaint of the poet, and the event to which it is applied, still more distinctly visible.

The quotations from Psalm lxix. are comparatively numerous. Of verse ninth—"Zeal for thy house hath consumed me, and the reproaches of them who reproach thee have fallen on me," the first half is applied to Christ in the gospel according to John, the second half is similarly applied in the Epistle to the Romans.[2] Further in this epistle verses 22 and 23 are quoted as a curse uttered by David, the fulfilment of which the apostle perceives in the dullness and obduracy of his Jewish contemporaries.[3] Another trait from the same imprecation (verse 25), is cited by Peter in the Acts, having been suggested by what had happened to the traitor.[4] Finally, the words, "they hated me without cause," which appear in the fourth gospel as "written in the law of the Jews," seem also to be borrowed from the fourth verse.[5]

Besides the imprecation from Psalm lxix. first mentioned, there is also a second applied in the Acts to Judas: "Let another take his office" or "overseership." It is taken from Psalms cix.[6] and belongs there to a whole series of maledictions. The quotation rests on the supposition that they are directed by the poet (or by the Messiah, whom he introduces as the speaker) against his enemies. It is, however, the question whether this view be the correct one. The poet rather appears in verses 6—19 to enumerate the curses which his enemies heap upon him, for which reason also the third person singular is used in these verses, while the poet's enemies are always spoken of in the plural (verses 2—5, 20, 25, 27—29). The

[1] John xiii. 18, compare Ps. xl. 9.
[2] John ii. 17 (with a slight variation, see above, p. 464, n. 2); Rom. xv. 3.
[3] Rom. xi. 9, 10.
[4] Acts i. 20 (again with a slight variation, above, p. 464, n. 2).
[5] John xv. 25. Ps. xxxv. 19, or xxxvii. 19, or cix. 3, might also, however, be thought of.
[6] Acts i. 20; compare Ps. cix. 8.

poet, however, hurls back upon his haters these maledictions uttered against him, for to verses 6—19 he subjoins:

> "Let this be the reward of my adversaries from Jahveh,
> And of them who speak evil against my soul."

Or, in other words: that the lot which they wish me may befall themselves! Thus the poet is not free from vindictiveness; but he has not been guilty of devising those numerous and sometimes frightful imprecations which precede. It needs no proof to show that Peter, as introduced in the Acts as speaking, would have withheld his quotation, if he had been acquainted with this interpretation of the Psalm, which, for the rest, so well deserves to be accepted.[1]

In conclusion, let me say a single word upon Psalm cxviii. The speaker in this psalm—is it the people of Israel or one of their leaders?—thanks Jahveh for the help accorded to him. Jahveh has heard him, and has been to him a deliverer (verse 21). Thereupon follow the well-known words: "the stone which the builders had despised has become the cornerstone: from Jahveh has this come; it is a wonder in our eyes" (verses 22, 23). This figure is repeatedly applied to Jesus and his rejection by the rulers of the people.[2] Notwithstanding this, it may be doubted whether the psalm—I mean according to the New Testament—can be included among the Messianic—and that just because we have before us here a figurative expression which, from its nature, admits of being applied to more than one person or event. It is on this account, also, that very many expositors who allow themselves to be guided by the authority of the New Testament in their interpretations, deny, in spite of the numerous quotations, the Messianic character to this psalm.

As is self-evident, much still remains to be asked with regard to all the psalms which we have had to introduce into this series. But before I attempt to solve these questions, the result of the investigation concerning the exegesis of the New Testament writers must first be summed up.

[1] Let the reader observe also, how, in verses 3—5, the poet contrasts his own gentle and pacific disposition with that of his enemies. It is almost inconceivable that he should immediately thereafter burst forth into maledictions. The want of the words "they say" in the beginning of verse 6 is no objection. See *e.g.*, Ps. ii. 3.

[2] Matt. xxi. 42 (Mark xii. 10, 11; Luke xx. 17), Acts iv. 11; 2 Pet. ii. 7.

The reader who recalls to mind the three propositions with regard to the citations in the New Testament (p. 453, f.), and now considers that they have been proved, nay, more than proved, by a number of indisputable examples, must also acknowledge with me that the exegesis of the writers of the New Testament cannot stand before the tribunal of science. To the requirements which we impose, and with the fullest right, upon the expositor of the Old Testament, and which we cannot possibly abandon, because they are the result of the whole preceding development of Christian theology—to these requirements the New Testament interpretations do not correspond. When we state the question thus, or, in other words, so long as we regard and judge the authors of the New Testament solely and only as expositors of the writings of the Old Testament, we stand, in fact, in presence of this dilemma: we must either cast aside as worthless our dearly-bought scientific method, or must for ever cease to acknowledge the authority of the New Testament *in the domain of the exegesis of the Old.* Without hesitation we choose the latter alternative.

The conclusion thus arrived at leads in its turn to consequences which find their proper place in this chapter.

In the first place, it enables us to form a definitive judgment upon the prophetical contents of the Psalms; it brings us, *in the second place,* to a final decision upon the traditional view, previously stated,[1] of the gradually ascending predictions of the Israelitish prophets.

We formerly saw what conception the prophets formed of the future of their people.[2] It would certainly be more than strange if no sort of trace of their expectations was found in the book of Psalms. Must not the community of Israel—from whose bosom the Psalms have proceeded, and who used them in their assemblies in the temple—have felt an interest in the promises of the prophets, and longed for their fulfilment? It is indeed evident that such was also the case. More than one psalm, or part of a psalm, is, as it were, the echo of the

[1] Above, pp. 2—5.

[2] Above, pp. 186, ff.

prophecies of Israel's blissful future,[1] while in other parts of the collection we find again the announcement of judgment, modified according as the standpoint of the poet differs from that of the prophet.[2] Sometimes one single sub-division of the prophetical expectation is treated poetically, as, for example, in Psalm lxxxvii. the idea that Jerusalem shall become the religious centre of the world. The prophecy also concerning the permanency of David's dynasty is again taken up in the Psalms and brought into connection with its later abasement. The poet who wrote Psalm lxxxix. makes this the theme of his meditation. He first reproduces its purport by a few touches, and afterwards in a poetical amplification.[3] The portraiture of the misery in which Jahveh's anointed now lives, passes over into a prayer for the restoration of his prosperity, and the maintenance of the divine promises.[4] A subject nearly the same is treated in another form in Psalm cxxxii. The Psalmist recalls to memory what David had done to augment the glory of Jahveh's worship; how he had transferred the ark to Jerusalem, and had prepared a dwelling for it.[5] He then repeats the promises concerning David and his house.[6] In this way he works out the prayer with which the poem begins: "O Jahveh, think upon David, upon all his afflictions,"—a prayer which is afterwards repeated thus: "For thy servant David's sake turn not away the face of thine anointed."[7]

If we place ourselves on the Old Testament stand-point, or, in other words, attend to the actual aim of the poet and to that alone, then such Psalms as the two last mentioned are the genuine Messianic ones. Strictly applied, this appella-

[1] Besides the Psalms to be mentioned immediately, see, among others, Ps. ix.; x. 14—18; xiv. 7; xviii. 49, 50; xxviii. 8, 9; xxxv. 27, 28; xlvi.—xlviii.; li. 18, 19; lxvii.; lxviii. 29—35; lxix. 35, 36, &c.

[2] *E.g.*, Ps. xxviii. 3—5; xxxv. 19—26; l. 16—22, &c. &c. On a careful consideration of the passages which are cited in this and the preceding note, it is plain that we are right in regarding them as the echo or reverberation of the preaching of the prophets. The originality is on the side of the prophets; the psalmists have appropriated their ideas, which they apply and elaborate. Compare my Hist. Krit. Onderz., III., 329, f.

[3] Ps. lxxxix. 2—4, 19—37.

[4] Ps. lxxxix. 38—45, 46—51.

[5] Ps. cxxxii. 2—9.

[6] Ps. cxxxii. 11—18. In accordance with what precedes, the promises to Jerusalem, Jahveh's dwelling-place, are here fused with those to David into one whole.

[7] Ps. cxxxii. 1, 10.

tion cannot be assigned to Psalms ii. and cx., which we lately discussed,[1] nor to the closely allied Psalms xx., xxi., lxxii., which have not been mentioned hitherto simply because they are not quoted in the New Testament. The objection to giving these poems such a title is, that they are addressed to a real king. It is true, they proceed upon a very lofty notion of the kingly office in Israel, of its relation to Jahveh, and of its task among the people chosen by him. They thus contain also more than one expression which, understood literally, does not apply to the historical king; more than one wish which, certainly even according to the poet's own conviction, could not be realised in him. Let Ps. lxxii. be read from this point of view. But notwithstanding this, it is not allowable to sever these psalms, as it were, from their historical connection, and to substitute for the real king the ideal king, the expected Messiah. The poets' own words oppose such a substitution. That would be a misapprehension of the character of their language, which is poetical and for that very reason hyperbolical. On the other hand—it has been already acknowledged above[2]—these poetical features are so many points to which the higher or Messianic interpretation can be attached.

But how, then, are we to judge concerning those Psalms in which the suffering Messiah, or the Messiah glorified by suffering, is supposed to be found? Everything depends here on the stand-point on which we place ourselves. If we begin with the Messianic idea of the prophets, and compare with it the figure which comes into view in these Psalms, then we cannot even imagine that they have reference to the expected king of David's race. Such a conception is opposed, in the first place, by the undeniable fact that the poets of these Psalms speak *concerning themselves*, and now and then—but this makes no essential difference—concerning themselves and those who are of kindred sentiments, and who share their lot. We search in vain in Psalms xvi., xxii., and the rest which belong to this category, for any single trace of the change of persons which would have taken place, if it was not the poet but another who was the subject either of the whole psalm or a portion of it. To that must be added, in the second place, that the person of the sufferer in

[1] Above, p. 480, f. [2] Above, p. 481.

these psalms bears no resemblance whatever to the Messiah of the prophets; nor is the prophetical Messiah at all like the sufferer in the psalms. That the latter should be a king, the ruler over the restored Israel, does not in any way appear. And, on the other hand, those traits which come out most strongly in the psalms,—the suffering, the humiliation, the mockery—are wanting in the prophetical representation of the Messiah. In one word, they who interpret the poems of this group historically—and the historical interpretation is the only true one—cannot possibly regard them as Messianic psalms.

But what then, it may be asked, has been the cause of the Messianic interpretation? Here the New Testament has exercised a powerful influence. Particular verses were found quoted there, as containing words of the Messiah, or predictions regarding his lot. Sometimes even an attempt is made to prove that these verses do not admit of any other than the Messianic interpretation. After Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, has cited Ps. xvi. 8—11, as words of David regarding the Christ, he proceeds thus: "Men and brethren, I may freely say unto you of the patriarch David, that he is both dead and buried, and that his sepulchre is with us unto this day. He must therefore, since he was a prophet, and knew that God had sworn with an oath to him, that of the fruit of his loins one should sit on his throne, have foreseen and spoken of the resurrection of the Christ, that he 'was not left in Hades, neither did his flesh see corruption.'"[1] In the same spirit is the explanation given by Paul in a subsequent chapter of the same book, after quoting Ps. xvi. 10: "For David, after he had served the will of God, fell asleep in his own generation, and was gathered to his fathers, and saw corruption; but he whom God raised from the dead saw no corruption."[2] Such positive assertions seemed to leave no room for doubt; surely the Messianic interpretation is recommended to us here as the only one possible. But it now became necessary to apply this interpretation completely, and to establish its relation to the historical sense of the psalms. Then difficulties were encountered which were not touched on, much less removed, by

[1] Acts ii. 29—31, according to the oldest MSS. [2] Acts xiii. 36, 37.

the writers of the New Testament; a quotation of some verses was all that they gave. There arose thus a great difference of opinions which have little more than the final result in common. Some assumed simply that, along with utterances concerning the poet himself, there are to be found in the Psalms others which must be applied to the Messiah. Others supposed that, in the Messianic Psalms, the Messiah is throughout introduced as the speaker. Others again distinguished between two kinds of signification in these Psalms, the historical, which the poet himself had put into them, and the deeper or hidden sense, the real mind of the Holy Spirit, in virtue of which the Psalms described not only the frame of mind of the poet, but also the Christ. To this last mode of interpretation the typical is closely allied. It sees in the Messianic Psalms the expression of emotions and thoughts of the poets themselves, but sees, moreover, in these poets the types of the Messiah; and that in such a way that, by virtue of a particular divine appointment, they, while pouring out their own feelings, at the same time represent the Messiah. This idea again admits of being developed in more than one way, and has indeed been recommended in various forms.

But it is not my plan to make a complete enumeration of all the theories which have been proposed with regard to the Messianic Psalms. We already know enough to enable us to come to a decision upon them. They are altogether attempts to reconcile the irreconcilable. A choice must in fact be made here: either the historical or the Messianic interpretation. The attempt is in vain made to unite the one with the other. It will afterwards become evident that we can value the New Testament use of the Psalms also. But when, in order to do justice to that, we read in the Psalms something else and something more than the historical interpretation allows, we do wrong to the poets. If this be once established, we really do not need to enter into the investigation of all these theories. The one is, in truth, refuted and condemned by the other; for they cannot possibly be all, at the same time, true. Moreover, the great majority of the objections which put it altogether out of our power to adopt them, lie on the surface. The supposition, for example, that

in a Psalm which throughout expresses the thoughts of the poet all at once, and without any previous intimation, the Messiah begins to speak, stands and fails with the entire doctrine of mechanical inspiration, of which it is a corollary. It seems indeed exceedingly simple to make the Messiah himself the speaker; but before this hypothesis is approved of, let the so-called Messianic Psalms be read as a whole. Let it be considered, for instance, that the poet of Ps. xl. testifies regarding himself:—

> For evils without number have surrounded me:
> Mine iniquities have laid hold on me,
> And I cannot survey them;
> They are more than the hairs of my head,
> And my heart hath failed me.[1]

Let the reader remember the confession in Psalm xli.—"Heal my soul, for I have sinned against thee."[2] Let the attempt be made to reconcile the imprecations in Psalm lxix.[3] with the spirit of the Christ. But enough. It is truly neither by chance nor caprice that this view, in spite of its simplicity, numbers gradually fewer supporters, and is limited to a smaller number of Psalms by those who still adhere to it. There thus remains really nothing but the hypothesis of the twofold sense in its various shades, under which head we can bring the typical interpretation also. The question, of course, is not whether Christians have been right in observing *agreement* between the complaints of the pious poets of Israel, and the suffering of their master. That question will certainly be answered by us all without hesitation in the affirmative. But the supporters of the double sense, and of the typical interpretation, are not satisfied with this. In their opinion the expressions of the Psalmists are, in some way or other, something more than the description of what they themselves experienced and felt. And it is precisely this something more which they fail to *prove*. They were bound to show us that the historical explanation is insufficient, does not do justice to the words, does not exhaust the meaning of the poet, or of the Holy Ghost who inspires him. But usually they never attempt this; and in so far as they make an effort to show it, it is immediately evident that they misunderstand the texts, and specifically fail to appre-

[1] Ps. xl. 12. [2] Psalm xli. 4b. [3] Psalm lxix. 22—28.

ciate the *poetic* diction.[1] Moreover, are not both the hypothesis of the twofold sense, and especially the typical interpretation, irreconcilable with the facts which were lately recalled to mind? or does any one see a chance, without arbitrariness, of applying them to Psalms xl., xli., lxix., even to those portions which exclude the Messiah as the speaker?

What may be wanting to this demonstration is supplied by the history of the exegesis of the Psalms, to which I wish, at the close, to direct attention in a few words. The well known Berlin Professor, Hengstenberg, in the first edition of his *Christology of the Old Testament*, defended the strict Messianic interpretation of Psalms xvi., xxii., and some other passion-psalms. But in the second edition of that work (1854-57), and in the Commentary on the Psalms (second edition, 1849-52), *the ideal person of the righteous man* takes the place of the Messiah.[2] This change of view is by no means an isolated fact. The Messianic interpretation in the proper sense of the term is always becoming more limited as time advances, and in the case of some theologians of the orthodox school, seems to be on the point of vanishing altogether. "Among all the Davidic Psalms there is only one, namely Psalm cx., in which David, just as in his last words (2 Sam. xxiii. 1—7), casts a glance into the future of his race, and sees the Messiah objectively before him." So writes —not this or that adherent of rationalistic criticism—but Professor F. Delitzsch.[3] According to one of those who think with him, Professor J. H. Kurtz, it is at the present day universally acknowledged that the Messianic passion-

[1] This is true, *e.g.*, of the argument in favour of the Messianic interpretation of Psalm xxii., which people are in the habit of deriving from vv. 22—31; both the thanksgiving and the expectation that the heathen will share in the deliverance of the poet are regarded as irreconcilable with the assertion that the latter is speaking about himself. But it is here overlooked that the poet suffers as a pious servant of Jahveh, that he is one of many, and utters a common complaint and prayer in their name (v. 4), that his rescue appears here as the commencement of a new period, in which Jahveh interests himself in the lot of his own, and vindicates their right.

[2] "Die Psalmen" iv. 649, where the subject in Psalms vi., xvi., xxii., xxxv., xxxviii., xl., xli., lxix., lxx., lxxi., cii., and cix., is thus defined. Compare Vol. I. 341—44 (on Psalm xvi.); II. 7 (on Psalm xxii.), &c.; further, "Christol. des A. T." III. 2, p. 90, 148 f., and I. 169, where we read, "David nowhere treats immediately and exclusively of the suffering Messiah, as at a later period Isaiah does."

[3] "Bibl. Commentar," &c. of Keil and Delitzsch. iv. 1, p. 47.

psalms must be understood *typically*—only with regard to the Psalms descriptive of the glory of the Messiah is the question, whether they should be understood typically or rather prophetically, answered still in different ways.[1] He himself sees, just as Delitzsch, a direct Messianic prophecy only in Psalm cx., all the other "glory-psalms," as he calls them (Psalms ii., xvi., xlv., lxxii.), have reference, first of all, to a definite king of Israel, David or Solomon, and to the Messiah only in so far as he was typically represented by these kings, and as the ideal conception of their sovereignty became a reality first in him.[2] It has already clearly appeared that I cannot agree with these ideas. In my view they represent only half of the truth, or rather still, they combine arbitrary suppositions with the truth. But compared with the view formerly prevailing, they mark an important advance, and testify loudly of the power of the *historical* interpretation; of the universal triumph of which, as is evident also from this approximation to it, no doubt need be entertained.

The result of our investigation therefore is, that the poets who composed the Psalms, following the prophets, their predecessors, have also adopted, applied, and elaborated their expectations regarding the felicitous future of Israel, *without adding thereto any features altogether new.* The New Testament led expositors to judge otherwise, and brought about that, as regards the relation of the poets to the Messiah and his kingdom, all kinds of diverse theories were devised, for which the New Testament itself cannot be made responsible, and which, if the signs of the times do not deceive us, will very soon be matters of history. For us these theories have even now no longer any value; as soon as authority in matters of exegesis ceases to be attributed to the writers of the New Testament, we have nothing more to do with the edifice reared on that foundation. The judgment which we should form on the citations from the Psalms, from another, the religious, point of view, is reserved for a subsequent chapter.

There is yet another point which now admits of being at once disposed of. At the beginning of our investigation I

[1] "Zur Theologie der Psalmen" (Dorpat, 1865), p. 8. [2] *L.c.*, p. 9 ff.

reminded the reader of the manner in which the succession and concatenation of the Old Testament predictions were usually conceived.[1] This traditional interpretation remained subsequently unnoticed. But those of my readers who kept it in mind cannot certainly have failed to observe that, in the course of our inquiry, the most of the links in that chain have not remained undisturbed. Very many passages which, according to the common view, contain predictions regarding the Christ, required, as it seemed to us, a different interpretation, through which their Messianic character was either not at all or only half preserved. Let the remarks be recalled to mind which were formerly offered on the so-called paradise-promise,[2] on the promises to Abraham and the other patriarchs,[3] on Shiloh in "the blessing of Jacob,"[4] on the birth of the Messiah at Bethlehem,[5] on Immanuel,[6] on the suffering servant of Jahveh,[7] on the "Son of man" and the seventy year-weeks.[8] To that let there be added what has just been brought forward concerning the Messianic Psalms.[9] The conclusion hardly any longer requires to be stated; the common conception of the course of prophetical prediction, far indeed from being established by exegesis, is again and again contradicted by it, and, as a whole, refuted.

An attempt is made to support it by an appeal to the authority of the New Testament. That appeal cannot be fully accepted. A number of passages, which, according to tradition, contain prophecies regarding the Messiah, prophecies which are indispensable links in the chain of the predictions, are not explained, nor even mentioned, in the New Testament. This remark is true of the paradise-promise,[10] of Shiloh,[11] of the seventy year-weeks in Daniel;[12] in a certain sense also of the

[1] See pp. 2—5. [2] P. 376, f. [3] P. 378, f. [4] P. 380, f.

[5] P. 212. It follows directly from what was said there that the prophet was not thinking at all of *the birthplace of the Messiah*.

[6] Pp. 166, 169. [7] See pp. 230—223.

[8] P. 223 f.; 262 ff. [9] Pp. 479—494.

[10] Although Rev. xii. (see especially verse 9) plainly teaches that the serpent of Gen. iii. was identified with the Devil, or at least was regarded as an instrument of the Devil.

[11] It may, however, be inferred from Rev. v. 5 ("the lion of the tribe of Juda") that the Messianic interpretation of Jacob's blessing upon Judah (Gen. xlix. 8—12) was not unknown to the writer.

[12] In 1 Peter i. 10, 11, we find an allusion to the efforts made by the prophets to obtain certainty with regard to the period when the Christ should appear.

prophecy of Micah about the birth of the Messiah in Bethlehem, which, properly speaking, is quoted only by the Jewish chief priests and scribes,[1] and by the multitude in the Gospel according to John.[2] But the rest of the predictions are actually applied to Christ in the New Testament: this has already become evident to us with regard to the most; the few, which I have not yet been able to treat of, shall be discussed in the next chapter. If, therefore, the investigation now instituted had established the authority of the New Testament writers as expositors of the prophecies, the traditional conception of the course of prediction would not indeed have been fully rehabilitated, but still would have been in part restored. But now also, on the other hand, when it has become evident to us that the New Testament citations cannot be maintained before the tribunal of scientific exegesis, our final verdict upon the common view need no longer be delayed. That view is altogether untenable. The *real* expectation regarding Israel's future glory lies before us in the Old Testament; no one, therefore, thinks of denying it; we are able to follow its origin and history in all its details; the one prophecy supports and explains the other. The *traditional* Messianic prophecy is undoubtedly a beautiful whole. As an expression of the belief of Christendom in the unity and regular development of God's plan of redemption, it preserves its value for us also and for all subsequent ages. But it forms no part of the historical reality. One stone after another must be removed from it, and placed elsewhere. When, finally, the support which the earliest Christian literature seemed to offer has fallen away, the whole edifice collapses.

[1] Matt. ii. 4—6. The same conception of Micah v. 2, forms, however, the basis of the narratives of Matthew and Luke regarding the birth of Jesus at Bethlehem.

[2] John vii. 42[b].

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW TESTAMENT AND THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

B.—*The Spiritual Fulfilment.*

THE prophecies of the Old Testament are fulfilled in the New, specifically in the person and work of Jesus: such was, as may be remembered, the second objection, on account of which my view of the work of the Israelitish prophets was thought undeserving of adoption.[1] It was already acknowledged that we cannot avoid the consideration of the difficulty here raised.

Let it, however, be said at once that the force of this objection has been already broken for us. When we were preparing to study the prophecies regarding Israel's future glory, the question was raised whether, in the prosecution of this study, attention should not be given throughout to the New Testament? This was answered in the negative, and that because even they who defend the supernatural view of prophecy usually acknowledge that its realisation in the appearance of Jesus, and in the Christian religion established by him, bears a peculiar character: in him the promises of the prophets are fulfilled *in a spiritual manner*, and, as it is sometimes put, *are more than fulfilled.*[2] In this way, along with the agreement, a not unimportant difference between prediction and result is also recognised. Am I deceived in supposing that the study of the prophetical predictions in chapter vii. has already convinced the reader that the difference referred to is in fact very great and essential, nay, sometimes resembles opposition and contradiction? In any case, when he looks at the facts which have there been brought into view, he will show himself disinclined to admit

[1] Above, p. 449. [2] Above, p. 188.

at once, as valid, the objection derived from the New Testament fulfilment; it has, at the outset, appearances against it.

But the study also of the exegesis of the New Testament in the preceding chapter does not leave the asserted realisation of the prophecies of the Old Testament uncontroverted. We perceived immediately that the two objections against our view, borrowed from the New Testament, were very intimately connected with each other.[1] That fact has now become still much more distinctly visible. What is wont to be called, in a single phrase "the realisation of a prophecy," is in truth a very composite phenomenon. The two terms into which it must first of all be separated—the prediction itself and the fact in which it is said to be fulfilled—appear indeed to be simple, but frequently are not so. In the first, the prediction,—a clear distinction must be made between the (objectively given) text and the (subjective) interpretation of it adopted by the expositor; and so also with regard to the last term, the fulfilment,—from the naked historical fact must be distinguished the estimation of the fact and the representation of it built upon that estimate by the historian. It is quite true that, according as the science of exegesis is more advanced, the difference between the text itself and the interpretation of it becomes smaller; and that according as historiography comes nearer perfection, (not the influence, but) the prejudicial influence of the historian's personality is lessened. But in the first century of the Christian era the subjective factor made itself still powerfully felt, as well in the domain of the interpretation of Scripture as in that of historical writing. So far as exegesis specifically is concerned, no one will accuse us of exaggeration when we, after chapter xiii., assume it as proved that the New Testament writers have very frequently read in the prophecies something different from what they actually contain. These same authors come forward as witnesses regarding the life of Jesus and the blessings which have proceeded from him. How could this, by possibility, have remained without influence upon their view of the relation in which the reality stands to the prophecy? Every representation of this relation which follows theirs must be expressly and carefully tested before it can be

[1] Above, p. 449, f.

adopted. *A priori*, we are inclined to distrust it, and are justified, and indeed obliged, to reject the demands which are made upon us on the ground of it.

But it is unnecessary to expatiate longer on this point, because my sole object is to dispose the reader to weigh my demonstration in a friendly spirit, and by no means to put a stop to further investigation. We now, therefore, proceed at once to study *the actual relation* of the New Testament to the prophecies of the Old. We shall do so, at least as a rule, without involving ourselves in the refutation of views differing from our own. We allow, moreover, *the New Testament itself* to speak and testify. It is true, we should also be able of ourselves to establish the relation referred to by comparing the two terms. But the manner in which it presents itself *now and to us* is, after all, of subordinate importance; and besides, the subjectivity of every man has here only too much room to show itself. The investigation acquires much greater importance and value if we consult the founder of Christianity himself, and the first preachers of his religion, and allow ourselves to be guided by them. How this can be done without, on that account, abandoning our independence, and giving up our own judgment, let our investigation itself show.

It can only promote perspicuity, if the course which we shall follow be at the outset indicated in a few words.

The relation of the New Testament to prophecy will be first *described*, and then *explained*.

It will become evident from this *description* that the New Testament writers, very far from binding themselves by the expectations of the prophets of Israel, choose freely from among them, and interpret and develop them in a spiritual sense. It is only in this way that their conviction with regard to the fulfilment of prophecy could be maintained.

The *explanation* brings the facts thus noted into connection with the relation in which Jesus and the apostles stand to the entire Old Dispensation, and places these facts in the light of a universal law which admits of being deduced from the history of religions.

When we compare Christianity, as it presents itself to us

in the Founder aud in the first preachers of his gospel, with the predictions of the Old Testament, it becomes at once evident that they do not agree fully and literally. There is no similarity and conformity between prophecy and issue. The difference may be thus expressed: the national, particularistic, and material elements in the predictions regarding the future are in the New Testament thrust into the background, or even distinctly contradicted; the universalistic and spiritual side comes into the foreground, and is worked out with cordial sympathy.

The former of these two propositions will hardly encounter any opposition. The political restoration of Israel was not aimed at by Jesus, and as little did his disciples use the preaching of his religion as a means to that end. If his appearance among the Jewish people may at first, especially in Galilee, have roused the expectation that subjection to the Romans would now come to an end, and that Israel's exaltation to universal dominion was at hand,[1] such an idea was from the very beginning contradicted and combated by Jesus,[2] and was very speedily altogether disappointed by his suffering and death. The Christians continue to employ the Old Testament terms, which had originally a political and national signification, but they expect that what is expressed by these terms will not be realised till a later period, and very soon they cease any longer to expect that realisation at all.[3] When we consider their ideas about the person of Jesus more particularly, as we shall do immediately, this will become in the clearest way evident to us.

In immediate connection with this point stands their negative relation to the particularism of the prophets. The latter—as we have already become convinced[4]—have no thought of abandoning Israel's pre-eminence among the nations; they maintain it firmly, even while they assign to the heathen a participation in the Messianic felicity. We again

[1] Compare John vi. 15, Matt. xxi. 9, and the parallel passages.

[2] Really by the whole of his teaching, so that particular passages do not require to be quoted. See, among others, Matt. xxii. 16—22, with the parallel passages; and John xviii. 36.

[3] See below, and compare, among other passages, Luke i. 32, 33, and Acts i. 6.

[4] Above, p. 242 ff.

find the same representation here and there in the New Testament, especially in the Revelation: the Gentiles are not excluded—far from that,—but still they are continually distinguished from Israel, and placed beneath Israel.[1] But these cases are exceptions to the rule. Generally, the—truly unmistakable—*historical* pre-eminence of the Israelitish nation is acknowledged, but at the same time it is taught that the heathen share fully in the privileges of Israel, or even, if that nation continues to oppose the preaching of salvation, shall take its place. The Gospel according to Matthew is, not unjustly, regarded as a product of the Jewish-christian school. Here then, if anywhere, particularism must have been maintained. Traces of it, indeed, are not wholly and altogether wanting,[2] but the representation of the Jews and heathens as equal decidedly predominates. Besides this fact itself, the ground also on which it rests deserves our attention. For it is inseparable from this other fact, that in the teaching of Jesus, as it is presented to us in this gospel, participation in the Messianic salvation is made dependent upon moral conditions, which from their nature could be fulfilled as well by Gentiles as by Israelites. It was from the faith manifested by the Gentile centurion that Jesus took occasion to prophecy, "Many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast into outer darkness: there shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth."[3] The parable of the wicked husbandmen is closed with these words: "He (the lord of the vineyard) will miserably destroy those wicked men, and will let out the vineyard to other husbandmen, who shall render him the fruits in their seasons." Or, as it is expressed in plain terms: "Therefore say I unto you, that the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof."[4] As in this parable it is taught that the Jews shall be rejected, and the Gentiles occupy their place, so in that of the labourers in the vineyard, the lesson is given that they who have been called earlier, and they who have been called later, shall all be placed upon a level.[5]

[1] Rev. vii. 4—8. [2] Matt. xv. 21—28, xix. 28; compare x. 5, 6.
[3] Matt. viii. 11, 12. [4] Matt. xxi. 41—43. [5] Matt. xx. 1—16.

The relation of the Apostle Paul to the particularistic anticipations of his people is especially remarkable. How highly he values, on the one hand, the privilege of his descent from the people of God, and how heartily he loves his brethren according to the flesh, are matters of which scarcely any one needs to be reminded.[1] It does not enter into his imagination to deny the historical preeminence of Israel above the Gentiles.[2] As little does he give up the hope that the Israelites, who at present are excluded on account of their rebelliousness, shall afterwards, when they have been roused to emulation by the conversion of the Gentiles, earnestly desire a share in the kingdom of God, and thus the divine promises shall be fully realised.[3] But, on the other side, he opposes emphatically, and from principle, the treatment of the Gentiles as inferiors. He does not wish that any burdensome condition or ordinance should be laid upon them on their reception into the Christian community.[4] "Is God," he asks, "a God of the Jews only? is he not of the Gentiles also? Yes, of the Gentiles also."[5] He maintains, in the strongest terms, God's absolute sovereignty, in virtue of which He can call and exclude whom He will,[6] and in proving this does not scruple to employ passages, the application of which, by implication, places the Israelitish nation for the time on the same footing with Esau and Pharaoh.[7] It is only presenting the same ideas in another form, when he understands the expression, "children of Abraham," in a spiritual sense, and thus applies it to all who possess the faith of Abraham, whatever their descent may be.[8] In accordance with this he calls Christians in general "the Israel of God,"[9] so that all the privileges and promises which were originally given to Israel, have been transferred to them. In the same spirit he elsewhere makes a very free use of a prophecy from Hosea. That prophet had announced a temporary rejection of Israel, a period in which the position of the people should correspond to the symbolical names which he gives his children, Lo-Ruchamah ("the uncompas-

[1] Rom. ix. 1—5, Phil. iii. 4—6. [2] Rom. iii. 1 ff., and elsewhere.
[3] Rom. xi. 11 ff. [4] Gal. ii. 3, 6. [5] Rom. iii. 29.
[6] Rom. ix. 6 ff. [7] Rom. ix. 10-13, 17. [8] Rom. iv.
[9] Gal. vi. 16. Compare the two-fold circumcision, Rom. ii. 25 ff.; Col. 11; Phil. iii. 3.

sionated"), and Lo-Ammi ("not my people"). But thereafter Jahveh shall again have mercy upon Israel: "in the place where it was said unto them, 'ye are Lo-Ammi (not my people),' it shall be said unto them, 'sons of the living God.'"[1] And in a subsequent prophecy, yet with reference still to the figure here employed, the words occur: "I will have compassion upon Lo-Ruchamah, and I will say to Lo-Ammi, 'thou art my people.'"[2] Both these passages are quoted by Paul, but in reverse order and with variations in the form.[3] But with him they are made to serve as a proof of the calling of the Gentiles: "as he hath called us (Christians) also, not out of the Jews only, but out of the Gentiles also, as he saith also in Hosea . . ." This citation cannot be defended as regards the exegesis; but so much the more clearly does it testify to the spirit which animates the apostle. According to him, the characteristic of the time in which he lives consists precisely in this, that the line of demarcation between Israel and the Gentiles is obliterated, and the gospel of the righteousness of God "is clearly seen to be a divine power unto salvation for every one who believeth, for the Jew first, but equally also for the Greek."[4]

It is already implied in what is said above, that the prophetical promise of material welfare, which takes for granted the continued existence of the nation of Israel, does not come into the foreground in the New Testament. I purposely do not express myself more strongly. For the felicity which is there announced as revealed in Christ is not purely spiritual and heavenly, although the modern reader of the New Testament involuntarily understands it thus. "The kingdom of God," or "of the heavens"—two expressions which mean precisely the same thing, for the phrase "the heavens" is, according to the mode of speaking of those days, "God"—is usually represented in the New Testament as a state of felicity which shall begin, after a short time, *upon earth*.[5] The Apostle Paul,[6] and the writer of the Apocalypse,[7] are at one on this point, although the latter

[1] Hos. i. 10 (Heb. ii. 1).
[2] Hos. ii. 23 (Heb. ii. 25).
[3] Rom. ix. 25, 26.
[4] Rom. i. 16, 17.
[5] This is also the doctrine of Jesus in the Synoptical Gospels, although we cannot here show at length that such is the case.
[6] 1 Cor. xv. 50 ff.; 1 Thes. iv. 17, etc.
[7] Rev. xxi. 10 ff.

depicts the heavenly Jerusalem in a way which might readily appear to the former to be too materialistic.[1] The celebrated utterance of Paul concerning the longing creation,[2] evidently inspired by Isaiah's prophecy about the transformation of nature,[3] furnishes the proof, that, in his view, the earth is the scene on which the felicity brought by Christ shall be fully realised. But notwithstanding this it cannot be asserted that the materialistic elements in the prophetical expectation of felicity occupy a large share in the spirit of the New Testament writers. It is often perfectly clear that, in their estimation, they are nothing more than figures of abundant spiritual blessings.[4] And their realisation is always postponed entirely to the future, "the age which is coming," in which all things shall become new, and thus the harmony also between the outward condition and the inward state shall be perfect.

For the present it is the spiritual blessings, announced by the prophets of the Old Testament, to which the eye of the New Testament writers is by preference directed. Among these the forgiveness of sins stands supreme, as the condition and foundation of all that is enjoyed by Christians in fellowship with Jesus. The full exposition of the doctrine of the New Testament upon this subject lies beyond the limits of our plan. It will presently become evident to us how the forgiveness of sins is brought into connection with the suffering and death of Jesus. At present we have only to note that the anticipations of a remission of trespasses, disclosed by the Israelitish prophets, are regarded as having been fulfilled in the new Covenant. It does not escape the notice of Paul that David had long before pronounced the man blessed, "whose transgressions are forgiven, whose sins are covered, to whom the Lord imputeth not his sin."[5] How highly he values this privilege appears plainly in a very characteristic manner, from a citation we have already regarded from another point of view.[6]

[1] See the previous note. [2] Rom. viii. 19—23.

[3] Isa. xi. 6—8; compare above, p. 236.

[4] This is true, *e.g.*, of all the passages in which "the kingdom of God" is represented as a feast or marriage, Matt. viii. 11; xxii. 1 ff.; xxv. 1 ff., and the parallel passages; Rev. xix. 6 ff. In the description of the heavenly Jerusalem also, Rev. xxi. 10—xxii. 5, everything is not to be understood literally, but as little is everything to be spiritualised. The line of demarcation is sometimes difficult to be drawn. [5] Ps. xxxii. 1, 2; Rom. iv. 7, 8.

[6] Isa. lix. 26, 21; xxvii. 9; Rom. xi. 26, 27; compare above, p. 461, f.

By combining two different prophetical utterances, the following sentence is obtained by the apostle: "And this is the covenant on My part unto them, when I take away their sins." That the remission of former transgressions is associated with the establishment of the new covenant between Jahveh and the children of Israel was in truth an idea not unknown to the prophets, and appears, among other passages, in Jeremiah's celebrated oracle concerning the new covenant,[1] which has exercised an influence on Paul's phraseology,[2] and is adopted and commented upon, as a whole, by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews.[3] He appends two remarks to this prophecy. In the first place, he sees in the announcement of a *new* covenant the condemnation and abrogation of the old.[4] In the second place, he refers emphatically to the promise of the forgiveness of sins, with which the oracle of Jeremiah is closed, and deduces from that promise the conclusion that under the New Testament there is no room for sin-offerings.[5] He had just before deduced the same conclusion from the fortieth Psalm. The reader knows my objections against the exegesis of that psalm given by this writer.[6] But the greater the freedom which he here allows himself, the more distinctly it is shown what it is that he seeks in the Old Testament Scriptures, and what therein possesses the greatest attraction for him. Christians "sanctified once for all by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ," have no more need of the continued existence of sacrifices; for which reason these also are, in the psalm, placed *in contrast with* the will of God.[7]

In the prophecy of Jeremiah there appears yet another trait which the writers of the New Testament regard as one of the chief points in the Messianic prediction, and which they lay hold of and elaborate with evident predilection. "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their heart"—so says Jahveh by the prophet. Although he does not say so expressly, yet with him also this alteration is undoubtedly the result of the fact, that Jahveh pours out his spirit upon the Israelites—an idea which is worked out

[1] Jer. xxxi. 31—34.
[2] 1 Cor. xi. 25 (compare Luke xxii. 20); 2 Cor. iii. 6.
[3] Heb. viii. 7—13; x. 15—18.
[4] Heb. viii. 7, 8a, 13.
[5] Heb. x. 15—18.
[6] Above, pp. 456 f., 484.
[7] Heb. x. 5—10.

in detail in Joel,[1] but which is not wanting in other prophets also.[2] The use made of Joel's prediction by Peter in the Acts is well known.[3] As will be remembered, he adduces the phenomena which occurred on the day of Pentecost as a proof that the realization of God's promises had now commenced. Paul contrasts the old dispensation with the new, and characterises the latter—certainly also under the influence of the prophetical utterances just referred to—as "the ministration of the spirit."[4]

The words now quoted are immediately followed in Jeremiah by the promise: "I will be their God, and they shall be my people;" the relation between Jahveh and Israel continues to exist in the future also, more intimate and purer than before. It is already evident, from what has been just stated, that the New Testament writers have paid attention to this promise also, and have seen in the Christian community the regenerated people of God.[5] Paul adopts it, moreover, in its entirety, although not from Jeremiah, but from the admonitory address at the close of the legislation in Leviticus, where it runs thus: "And I will set my tabernacle among you, and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people."[6] We no longer need to say that he transfers this to the Christians. But what the apostle immediately adds must not escape our notice. There is first of all an exhortation to the Christians to separate themselves from those who are not Christians, and to be on their guard against defilement; he borrows it from the second Isaiah, who had called upon his contemporaries, especially the priests of Jahveh, to leave Babylon, and to keep themselves clean, in expectation that Jahveh would place himself at their head, and bring them back to the land of their fathers.[7] In the

[1] Joel ii. 28—32.

[2] Isa. xxxii. 15, 16; xliv. 3; Ezek. xxxix. 29; Zech. xii. 10. The connection between this idea and the thought in Jeremiah appears clearly, among other passages, from Ezek. xi. 19, 20; xxxvi. 26, 27.

[3] Acts ii. 17—21.

[4] 2 Cor. iii. 8. Comp. with Jer. xxxi. 32, 33, the contrast drawn in ver. 3.

[5] See above, p. 502. Compare the use of the phrase, "the people of God," in Heb. iv. 9.

[6] Lev. xxvi. 11, 12; compare Ezek. xxxvii. 27; 2 Cor. vi. 16.

[7] Is. lii. 11; 2 Cor. vi. 17. The words "and I will receive you," are either a free summary of Is. lii. 12, or taken from Zeph. iii. 19.

second place, he connects with this a very free citation, with which we are already acquainted: "And I will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord, the Almighty."[1] It is, as will be noticed, merely a modification of the thought which just before had been taken from Leviticus, but still it is in the highest degree characteristic of the spirit in which the apostle interprets the Old Testament, and understands how it has been fulfilled by the New. The relation between God and Christians is the same as that of Jahveh to Israel, but it has become more individual, and thus at the same time more intimate. They are, one by one, sons and daughters of the Father in heaven. Thus in the freedom with which Paul here treats the Old Testament promise, is revealed the power of the new spirit which had proceeded from the Christ, and was being propagated by his church.

One trait must still be added to this sketch of the New Testament conception of the prophetical promises of felicity. Personal immortality formed no element of the religious conviction of the prophets, and thus also occupies no place in their expectations regarding the future.[2] But even before the founding of Christianity, it was acknowledged by the great majority of the Jews, and that in the form of the resurrection of the dead, which was expected to occur at the commencement of the coming age. In this respect there was no difference between the Jewish belief and that of the earliest Christians. It could not fail to happen that under the influence of this belief many utterances of the Old Testament would necessarily be understood and interpreted in another sense than that which was intended by the original writers. Clear instances of this are afforded, for example, in the catalogue of the heroes of faith in the epistle to the Hebrews.[3] The apostle Paul also—and it was to this point that I wished to call attention now—finds the triumph over death indicated in the writings of the prophets. After having expounded his ideas upon the change of the carnal

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 18. On the relation of these words to 2 Sam. vii. 14, see above, p. 463.

[2] Compare "De godsdienst van Israël," I., 70 f. (I., 64 f. English Translation), and above, p. 234 f.

[3] Heb. xi. 13—16, 17—19, 26.

and mortal body into one which is spiritual and imperishable, he thus proceeds: "Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, 'death is swallowed up in victory.' O death, where is thy sting? O death, where is thy victory?"[1] Two prophetical utterances[2] are here combined, and, their historical sense being set aside, are made applicable to "the annihilation of death, the last enemy."[3] This is true specifically of the second saying, borrowed from Hosea, which properly has reference only to the deliverance of the Ephraimites from the danger of death. The other prophecy—assigned to Isaiah, but of a later date[4]—discloses in truth the anticipation of a time in which "Jahveh shall destroy death for ever," and so "shall wipe away the tears from all faces,[5] and shall take away the reproach of his people from off all the earth." But this expectation—parallel to the idea which we find elsewhere, that in the age of felicity the lives of the inhabitants of Jerusalem shall be lengthened[6]—is spiritualised by Paul, and only after this process is made fit to take its place in his view of the future.

We have now, if I am not mistaken, a sufficiently clear conception of the manner in which the earliest Christians understood the prophetic promises, and of the sense in which they are regarded in the New Testament as having been fulfilled. Our examination of these points is still, however, far from complete; it is not even half accomplished. We have as yet directed our attention only to the Messianic felicity, and have left *the Messiah himself* unnoticed. And yet he is the centre, if not of the prophetical expectation, yet certainly of the faith of the Christians. It thus follows, as a matter of course, that we shall devote all our attention to the conception formed of his person in connection with Old Testament prophecy. But before we proceed to do so, we must pause for a moment. For already a not unimportant conclusion admits of being deduced from the preceding investigation, which finds here its most appropriate place.

We have already formed a judgment upon that view,

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 54, 55. The reading of Tischendorf is here followed. Compare Kautzsch, l.c. p. 106 ff.
[2] Is. xxv. 8; Hos. xiii. 14.
[3] 1 Cor. xv. 26.
[4] See above, p. 113, n. 6.
[5] Compare Rev. vii. 17; xxi. 4.
[6] See above, p. 235.

which is commonly called *Chiliasm*.[1] It plainly appeared to us to be at variance not only with the state of the world at the present day, but also to correspond only in part, or rather not at all, with the prophecies to which its supporters appeal. We can now go a step further. *The New Testament is antichiliastic.* We do not overlook the difference which exists with regard to this subject, between the different writings. If they were all like the Revelation of John, we should not express ourselves so positively. For in that book—written before the fall of Jerusalem, in the year 69 of our era—there is announced, not indeed, of course, the restoration, but the *continued existence* of the nation of Israel and its capital.[2] But this expectation was not realised. It *might*, after the year 70 of our era, have been transformed into the anticipation of the restoration of the Israelitish state, but this did not take place in the Christian circles from which the books of the New Testament proceeded; we nowhere find any trace of such a resurrection of the Jewish expectation in a new form. But we do find there phenomena which testify to a movement in the opposite direction: the national and political side of prophecy remains unnoticed, and the promise made to Israel is transferred to the Christian community, consisting of Jews and Gentiles. If the question is asked, whether we hold this New Testament use of the prophecies to be exegetically correct, we answer without any hesitation in the negative: our seventh chapter furnishes the proof that we must understand these prophecies differently. But this does not alter the fact that the Christian community understood the Old Testament prediction in that sense, and knew and expected no other than a *spiritual* fulfilment of it. That fact remains, whatever objections we, as exegetes, may have to allege against their interpretation. The belief in the still future, literal fulfilment of the prophecy of Israel's glory *is at variance with the spirit of the New Testament literature* —a return to the stand-point which the prophets themselves once occupied, but which was abandoned by the Christian community, and exchanged for another and a higher stand-point,—*higher*, for the spiritual is superior to the material, universalism to particularism.

[1] Above, pp. 186—188, 193 f., 258—262. [2] Rev. xi. 1—13.

Of the entire new dispensation Jesus is the centre. Belief in him was at first the only thing which distinguished the Christians from the Jews. It continued to be the chief matter, even when, at a later period, under the influence of Paul, the difference between Judaism and Christianity had become greater. It was, therefore, in the representation which men formed to themselves of the person of Jesus, in the manner in which they brought his person into connection with Old Testament prophecy, that the distinctive features of the earliest Christianity, and its relation to the religion of Israel, must be revealed in the most complete and most precise manner. This surely is of itself sufficient to justify us in collecting all that belongs to this subject, and in endeavouring to unite the various materials into one whole.

Into one whole; not, however, in that sense in which many of my readers may imagine that I shall attempt to do this. If their expectation were to be satisfied, the proof would here have to be given, that the various predictions regarding the Christ which the Old Testament furnishes are all introduced into the New Testament, and are quite clearly seen to be fulfilled in Jesus; or, conversely, that the prophecies which are applied to the Christ in the New Testament mutually agree, and, taken together, reproduce the essential purport of Israel's expectations regarding the Messiah. Neither the one nor the other is the case. The New Testament Christ is another than the Messiah of the Old Testament. Many features in the image of the latter are not to be found reproduced in the former; and he, on the other hand, exhibits to us characteristics which we seek for in vain in the Old Testament Messiah. The case stands thus: the writers of the New Testament have seen the Christ in the Messianic prophecies, but they have seen him elsewhere also. They recognised him in more than one type which the Old Testament presented to their view, and they then, very naturally, regarded these types as mutually agreeing and essentially one, because they converged, as it were, in the Christ. The facts themselves, to the consideration of which we now pass, will show this distinctly.

Our attention is drawn first of all to what is implied in the

title "the Christ," a title which is throughout assigned to Jesus, and which, with the omission of the article, has already in the New Testament become a part of his proper name. "The Christ" is the translation of the Hebrew "ha-mashîach," *the anointed*, an abbreviation of "the anointed of Jahveh," the common honorary appellation of the Israelitish king.[1] As such, therefore, Jesus also undoubtedly bears the said title. It is true indeed that the High priest also was anointed,[2] and that the consecration of the prophet to his office is on a single occasion called his anointing by Jahveh.[3] But this was not thought of in assigning the title of Christ. This appellation was simply the expression of the conviction common to the earliest Christians, that the predictions regarding *the king of Israel, descendant of David, and restorer of David's throne and dominion* were fulfilled in their Master. We read in the Gospels that Jesus was on several occasions saluted with the title of honour, "son of David."[4] From the genealogical lists in Matthew and Luke[5] it clearly appears how great was the importance attached to his Davidic descent. More than one prophecy relating to the king from David's house is expressly applied to him. In the narratives of his birth and earliest years he is called the king of Israel, the successor of his father David.[6] His entrance into Jerusalem is the fulfilment of Zechariah's prophecy regarding the coming of Jerusalem's king.[7] His appearance realises the promise made to David that his posterity should occupy the throne for evermore;[8] it is the raising up again of David's tabernacle, announced by Amos;[9] in his resurrection from the dead the promise is fulfilled: "I will give you the sure

[1] *E.g.*, 1 Sam. ii. 10, 35; xii. 3, 5; xxiv. 6, 10; xxvi. 9, 11, 16, 23; 2 Sam. i. 14, 16, 21; Ps. ii. 2; xx. 6; Lam. iv. 20. Cyrus is once called the anointed of Jahveh, Is. xlv. 1; in the book of Daniel, ix. 25, we find "an anointed, a prince" (compare above, p. 269).

[2] See, among other passages, Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16; vi. 22; Num. xxxv. 25. "An anointed," Dan. ix. 26, is the High priest Onias III. (compare above, p. 266).

[3] Compare 1 Kings xix. 16 (anointing also of Elisha); Is. lxi. 1 (quoted Luke iv. 18; see below, p. 519 f.).

[4] Among other passages, Matt. ix. 27; xii. 23; xv. 22; xx. 30, 31: xxi. 9, 15.

[5] Matt. i, 1—17; Luke iii. 23—38. Compare Rom. i. 3; 2 Tim. ii. 8.

[6] Luke i. 32, 69; Matt. ii. 2, 5, 6.

[7] Zech. ix. 9; compare Matt. xxi. 5; John xii. 15.

[8] Acts ii. 30; xiii. 23; compare 2 Sam. vii. 12; Ps. cxxxii. 11.

[9] Acts xv. 16, compare Amos ix. 11.

mercies of David."[1] To him refers what Isaiah had spoken concerning "the root of Jesse."[2] According to Revelation, he is "the root and the race of David."[3]

The Christians, of course, freely acknowledged that the earthly life of their master had not corresponded to the prophecy regarding David's descendant. But this did not prevent them from applying that prophecy to him. For they were convinced that he now, after his resurrection, was already, according to the promise in Psalm cx., seated at the right hand of God, and had assumed dominion in order to exercise it, at a later period, upon earth in the sight of all.[4] During his earthly life he was already the anointed of Jahveh; the conspiracy of the heads of the Jewish people, Herod and Pilate, to remove him out of the way, is the realisation of the contest against Jahveh and his anointed of which the poet had spoken in the second Psalm;[5] but his resurrection and glorification are likewise regarded as his elevation to be Christ, and as the bestowal of the title "Son of God," which belongs to him in his capacity of king over Israel.[6] Thereafter he himself exercises and communicates to his people that dominion over the Gentiles which was promised to this king.[7]

There is thus no doubt that the Christians saw the prophecy regarding the Messiah realised in their Master. It cannot, however, be asserted that they were very fond of applying it to Jesus—which implies that the likeness between him and the prophetical figure of the Messiah had not made a particularly deep impression upon them. The greater part, and these the most striking, of the predictions with which we formerly became acquainted, are left by them unnoticed. In truth, what is more natural than this? They saw in Jesus

[1] Acts xiii. 34; compare Is lv. 3, and what is said on this passage, above, p. 220, f.

[2] Rom. xv. 12; compare Is. xi. 10 and above, p. 216, n. 3.

[3] Rev. v. 5; xxii. 16. According to most expositors, Christ is called "the root of David" because he is a fresh and vigorous shoot sprung from that root. Undoubtedly Is. xi. 10 has exercised influence here. See the previous note.

[4] Acts ii. 34, 35; 1 Cor. xv. 25; Heb. i. 13; compare Ps. cx. 1.

[5] Acts iv. 25, 26; Ps. ii. 1, 2.

[6] Acts xiii. 33; Ps. ii. 7. Compare above, p. 480, where reference was already made to Acts ii. 36 and to the different use of this verse of the Psalm in Hebrews (i. 5; v. 5).

[7] Rev. ii. 26, 27; compare Ps. ii. 8, 9.

the *future* king, his Messianic dignity was for them a matter of faith, not of sight. It was in the fourth Gospel—the spiritual Gospel, as Origen already called it—that the kingship of Jesus first became present, instead of future, but it then also lost really all characteristics of the earthly kingship, and was changed into a dominion of truth and of the spirit.[1] If this was the ultimate issue of the development of ideas upon this point, it does not then surprise us to find the predecessors of the fourth evangelist already on the road which leads to this result. Besides their silence upon many important Messianic prophecies, to which I have just adverted, positive utterances which we meet in their writings must also be taken into account. We can see that there is a certain effort to make the prophecy regarding Israel's king pass over its own boundaries, if I may be allowed the expression. Some traces of such an effort have already presented themselves in the preceding survey.[2] To these some others can now be added. We know already that in Psalm cx. the king of Israel is thus addressed by the poet (verse 4):

> "Jahveh hath sworn and he will not repent:
> Thou art a priest for evermore,
> After the order of Melchizedek."

We have also seen how this must be understood historically.[3] Now it cannot escape our notice that the writer to the Hebrews borrows just this *priestly* feature from the Psalm concerning *the king*, and works it out with evident predilection.[4] This is not the place to give a full exposition of his view. Let me mention only this one thing. In the Psalm nothing more was indicated by the words "in the manner of Melchizedek" than the union of the kingly and the priestly dignity in one person. Melchizedek afforded, in the narrative of Genesis, an historical example of this to the poet. With the writer to the Hebrews Melchizedek is much more; he is the type or

[1] John xviii. 36, 37.

[2] Among these I reckon the use of Zech. ix. 9 in Matthew and John (p. 511, n. 7): the representation of the Messiah as the Prince of Peace must indeed have had the greatest attraction for the Christians. Here also have to be noted Heb. i. 5; v. 5, and, more generally, the numerous passages in which the appellation "Son of God," originally the honorary title of the theocratic king, is regarded as indicating the higher origin of Jesus.

[3] Above p. 481.

[4] Heb. v. 6; vii. 17, 21, and the whole proof which is attached to this quotation.

the predecessor of the Christ in various respects.[1] The parallel which he draws seems to us here and there liable to the charge of being far-fetched and arbitrary. But by its aid he rises, in his conception of the person and work of Jesus, far above the figure which Psalm cx., as a whole, presents to us.

An utterance of Jesus himself, given in the synoptical gospels, has probably a similar tendency. His question to the Pharisees upon Psalm cx. 1, presupposes, as we previously observed,[2] on the one hand the Davidic authorship and the Messianic interpretation of the Psalm; but, at the same time, it shows on the other hand that he had noticed a contradiction in these popular opinions. Wherein it consisted is not said, and cannot therefore be determined by us with certainty. But so much seems undeniable, that, according to Jesus, either the person or the work of the Christ is of a different and more exalted nature than is indicated by the common appellation "the son of David." Here also, then, we have a spiritualising of the Old Testament representation, a Messiah of a higher order than the one depicted by the prophets.

But these indications are scarcely noticeable compared with the means which the writers of the New Testament still further employ in order to purify the prophetical figure of the Messiah from what was less pleasing therein to them, and thus to make it essentially alter its character. They associate with it other Old Testament representations and types, and by this association they place the idea of the king in an entirely different light. That is to say, their mode of proceeding presents itself in that aspect *to us*. They themselves were not conscious that they were giving a portraiture of their Master, made up of features which in the Old Testament had no mutual connection. They found these features united in Jesus, and accordingly they did not doubt that they were associated in the writings of the prophets also. Here, above all, it is distinctly evident that belief in Jesus precedes the interpretation of prophecy, and furnishes the standard by which that interpretation is regulated.

[1] Heb. vii. 1 ff.

[2] Above p. 481, n. 4, where the passages of the Gospel are also pointed out.

But the passages may speak for themselves. We again set ourselves to the comparison of the New Testament utterances with those of the Old. The spiritualising of the prophetical expectations is a process so remarkable that it deserves to be pursued even into its details.

In the estimation of his contemporaries and earliest disciples Jesus was a prophet, *pre-eminently the prophet.* The significance of this will become the more obvious if we direct our glance to a collateral subject, and inquire how the relation of John the Baptist to the prophets of the Old Testament was conceived of by the Christians.

"He shall go before him (the Lord, the God of Israel) in the spirit and power of Elijah, to turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the disposition of the just, in order to make ready for the Lord a prepared people." In these words the angel Gabriel describes, in the Gospel according to Luke,[1] the office of John and the character of his work. They are not indeed borrowed literally from Malachi, but still they reproduce the chief substance of a prophecy which we find in him.[2] If "the day of Jahveh" which he announces is to be a blessing to Israel, the beginning of a period of prosperity, the people must be cleansed from their sins and unite in the service of Jahveh. In order to this, there was needed either the return of Elijah, or the coming of a man such as he had been—for the one as well as the other may be read in the prophecy of Malachi; altogether it is probable that he, in connection with the account of Elijah's ascension to heaven, expected his personal return to the earth.[3] So much is certain that his words were thus understood by the contemporaries of Jesus. His apostles mention it as the universally known conviction of the Scribes that Elijah must come first (that is, before the appearance of the Christ).[4] But it is not clear that the Christians entertained this same view.[5] In the address, already quoted, of

[1] Chap. i. 17. [2] Compare Mal. iii. 1; iv. 5, 6, and above p. 184 f.

[3] Compare on this point p. 383, f. In the narrative itself of the Chronicle-writer which is there discussed, some have found the actual proof that Elijah continued to prosecute his task as a preacher of repentance after his ascension into heaven. [4] Matt. xvii. 10; Mark ix. 11.

[5] This may probably afford an explanation of the negative answer given by John to the question whether he was Elijah; an answer, however, which is mentioned only in the fourth Gospel (chap. i. 21).

Gabriel to Zechariah, the father of John, in the hymn of Zechariah himself, and generally in the gospel accounts of the Baptist and his work, no trace of such a conception is to be found. And yet such a trace must have been discoverable if Malachi's announcement was literally interpreted; for, in that case, John must have been identified with Elijah. For it is a settled point with the Christians that the prophecy is fulfilled in him. Jesus himself seems to have expressed this more than once. When the Apostles had reminded him of the expectations of the Scribes with regard to Elijah, he let it be understood that generally he agreed with them, but he immediately added: "But I say unto you, that Elijah is come already; but they knew him not, and have done unto him whatsoever they listed." [1] This can refer to none other than John who had then already been put to death in prison. On a previous occasion, Jesus had expressed himself just as unambiguously. When the disciples, whom the Baptist had sent to him from his prison, had departed, he began to instruct the assembled multitude concerning the messenger of repentance. The people had not deceived themselves when they thought that they saw in him a prophet: he was a prophet, nay, more than a prophet. For it was regarding him that the words were written: "Behold I send my messenger before thy face, who shall prepare thy way before thee." [2] It is the prophecy of Malachi, already known to us, which is here applied to John. The quotation is not literally exact; [3] in the prophet the messenger goes before Jahveh himself, or before the judgment which is to be executed by him; in the citation, by altering the pronoun, the Messiah takes the place of Jahveh. This change indeed will have to be assigned to the Evangelist who reports to us the words of Jesus; *a posteriori*, John must certainly have been regarded as the preparer of the way of the Christ, although he had in fact come forward in order to announce the near fulfilment of the promise of felicity, and, with a view to that, to exhort the people to repentance. But this slight alteration does not affect the main point; John is, according to Jesus, the messenger of Jahveh, announced by Malachi. But then, also, he is Elijah the prophet,

[1] Matt. xvii. 11, 12; Mark ix. 12, 13.
[2] Matt. xi. 7—10; Luke vii. 24—27.
[3] Compare above p. 464, n. 2.

who is not different from the messenger, either in the prophecy,[1] or according to Jesus. At least in the first gospel he adds, in the same address to the people, these words: "For all the prophets and the law prophesied until John; and if ye will receive it, this is Elijah who (according to God's decree, revealed in the prophecies) should come."[2] "If ye will receive it:" Jesus certainly does not mean, by the addition of these words, to make the identification of John and Elijah dependent upon the pleasure of his hearers. But still it is evident from this that John was not Elijah himself; in that case there would have been no question of receiving or not receiving. It is as if he had said, If ye have the capacity to understand the prophecy and to form a proper estimate of the character of John; if ye know how to discern the signs of the times, and thus perceive the approach of the kingdom of God, then ye will grant also that the prediction of Malachi is fulfilled in the appearance of the Baptist.

In this manner, therefore, in the spirit of Jesus himself, the person and the work of John were brought into connection with the Old Testament. It may be assumed as probable that the Baptist himself led the way in doing so, and therefore imitated Elijah in his outward appearance. The consciousness that the task, which Elijah performs in Malachi, was committed to him, might easily lead him to such a course. If we could accept the account in the fourth gospel, John will have applied to himself another prophecy also, which however, though quoted in the earlier narratives, is not there put into his own mouth.[3] It is taken from the second Isaiah,[4] and is connected historically with the expectation that the Israelitish captives shall speedily return to their native land. After the prophet has declared that he was sent to comfort his people and to announce to Jerusalem the end of her period of punishment,[5] he proceeds thus:—

> "A voice crieth:
> Prepare in the wilderness the way of Jahveh,
> Make level in the plain a path for our god!
> Every valley must be exalted,
> And every mountain and hill be made low;

[1] Compare Mal. iii. 1, with iv. 5, 6.
[2] Matt. xi. 13, 14.
[3] Compare John i. 23 with Matt. iii. 3; Mark i. 3; Luke iii. 4—6.
[4] Isa. xl. 3—5.
[5] Isa. xl. 1, 2.

Let the crooked path be made a straight way,
And the mountain ranges a dale!
Then shall the glory of Jahveh be revealed,
And all flesh shall see it together;
For the mouth of Jahveh hath spoken it."

From the words themselves, and from a number of parallel passages, it is clearly evident that the prophet is here describing the preparation for the triumphal march which Jahveh shall make at the head of his people, the march from Babylon to the holy land.[1] In the New Testament the whole promise is understood spiritually, as the announcement of the revelation of God's kingdom. In accordance with this, in "the preparing of Jahveh's way," an indication of the work of the Baptist was found. A slight misunderstanding also seems to have contributed to this interpretation. In the translation given above, the words, "in the wilderness," are connected with the clause "prepare the way of Jahveh," and not with the preceding clause, "a voice crieth." That this combination of the words is the true one is obvious at once: "the wilderness" belongs to the "preparing of the way," just as much as "the plain" belongs to the "making level a path." But the Greek translator already wrote not only "a voice of one crying," but, as it seems, connected therewith the following words, "in the wilderness." In any case, the evangelists have so understood his rendering; and therefore they were the more readily led to apply the prophecy to John the Baptist, who had certainly lifted up his voice in the wilderness.[2]

Thus, then, the Christians saw a part, and that a most important part, of Israelitish prophecy reproduced in John: the preacher of repentance, the herald of the kingdom of God, was as it were revived in him. But they brought their Master also into immediate connection with the prophets who bore that character. According to the gospels, there were during the public career of Jesus different opinions current concerning him. Many thought him—just as they did John the Baptist[3]—to be a prophet.[4] Some judged specifically that Elijah, Jeremiah, or another of the ancient prophets was resus-

[1] Above, p. 193 f.
[2] Matt. iii. 1; xi. 7; Mark i. 4; Luke i. 80; iii. 2; vii. 24.
[3] Matt. xiv. 5; xxi. 27, and parallel passages.
[4] Matt. xxi. 11, 46; Mark vi. 15; Luke vii. 16; John iv. 19; ix. 17.

citated in him.[1] The opinion, that he should be the Christ, stood *in opposition to* these conceptions.[2] "The prophet" and "the Christ" are even clearly distinguished from each other in the fourth gospel,[3] although, according to another passage, the Jews, convinced that Jesus was "the prophet who should come into the world," made ready to proclaim him as king;[4] from which it would follow that "the prophet" and "the Christ" did not differ from each other. The wavering with regard to the mutual relation of these two terms is not unnatural, especially in a writing of later date. If Jesus himself had called himself a prophet;[5] if he, as regards the form of his action, had in truth been a prophet, and had been designated by this title by his followers,[6] we cannot be in the least degree surprised that the Christians endeavoured to find him again in the Old Testament *in this capacity also.* In doing so their eye would necessarily fall upon a passage of Deuteronomy,[7] which is already well known to us, perhaps indeed the same from which the contemporaries of Jesus had derived the expectation, that a specific prophet should come forward, a successor of Moses, whom they could thus call "the prophet," by preeminence.[8] It has already become evident to us that this passage, interpreted historically, speaks, not of one single prophet, but of the prophets in general, or the prophetical order.[9] But it is not understood in this sense, specifically in the Acts of the Apostles: in the speeches both of Peter and of Stephen it is quoted as a direct prophecy regarding Jesus.[10] We cannot undertake to defend this exegesis. But we unhesitatingly confess our sympathy for the conception of the work of Jesus which is therein expressed. If we, with the figure of Jesus before us, are called upon to indicate the Old Testament type, to which it shows the greatest resemblance, we shall without hesitation name the Israelitish prophet.

We are no less struck by another parallel, which, however,

[1] Matt. xvi. 14; Mark viii. 28; Luke ix. 19.
[2] See the following verses, Matt. xvi. 15; Mark viii. 29; Luke ix. 20.
[3] John i. 21—25; vii. 40, 41. [4] John vi. 14, 15.
[5] Matt. xiii. 57; Mark vi. 4; Luke iv. 24; John iv. 44.
[6] Luke xxiv. 19. [7] Deut. xviii. 15—19.
[8] See the passages quoted, notes 3 and 4 of this page, and further 1 Macc. xiv. 41.
[9] Above, p. 55 f. [10] Acts iii. 22, 23; vii. 37.

is very closely allied to the one just discussed. It occurs in Luke, in the narrative of the first preaching at Nazareth, and is there drawn by Jesus himself.[1] When he was to read a portion of the prophetical writings in the synagogue, he chose a portion of the second Isaiah, in which the latter thus describes his own work: "The spirit of the Lord Jahveh is upon me, because Jahveh has anointed me to bring a glad message to the meek, he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and opening (of the prison) to them that are bound, to proclaim the year of Jahveh's good pleasure, and the day of vengeance of our God, to comfort all who mourn."[2] That the prophet is really speaking of himself, is obvious at the very first glance, and is still further confirmed by the sequel, in which, among other matters, the rebuilding of the desolate cities is mentioned.[3] Did Jesus interpret the prophecy differently? On this point the Evangelist leaves us in uncertainty, for he gives us only the theme of the address which Jesus delivered in connection with the passage which he had read: "To-day is this scripture fulfilled in your hearing." This alone is certain, that Jesus found himself described in the testimony of the second Isaiah, or, in other words, that he was conscious that he was resuming and completing the task of the prophets of Israel.

The commencement of Isaiah lxi., which has now been discussed, shows very great agreement with other utterances of the same author which have reference *to the servant of Jahveh*, and describe his labours for the benefit of Israel.[4] It has been very justly inferred from these passages, that the second Isaiah is thinking of himself also—and of his contemporaries among the prophets—when he mentions this "servant of Jahveh." In other words, this collective appellation embraces those also who laboured *by preaching* for Israel's consolation and restoration.[5] It thus results from the nature of the case that the Christians must have found their Master depicted in that "servant;" and in thus finding him they were proceeding

[1] Luke iv. 16—21.

[2] Isa. lxi. 1, 2. The variations in Luke iv. 18, 19, are, of course, to be attributed to the Evangelist, who followed the Septuagint freely.

[3] Isa. lxi. 3, 4.

[4] See especially Is. xlii. 1 ff.; xlix. 1 ff.

[5] Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," II., 39 f. (ii. 133 f., English Translation), and above, pp. 220-223, 254-258.

in the same direction as when they brought the prophetical office into connection with him. In fact, there are comparatively many passages which bear witness to this identification. In the Acts of the Apostles, Jesus is called "the servant of God,"[1] "the holy servant of God,"[2] for so we must translate, and not "the Son," "the holy child of God," a signification which the Greek word does not possess, at least in this connection, and in this book.[3] With allusion to the description of "the servant" in Isaiah, he is called "the holy and the just," or merely "the just."[4] Matthew adopts a part of this description, and sees its fulfilment in the work of Jesus, specifically in this one feature, that he strictly forbade those who had been benefited by him to make known their obligations to him.[5] Finally, the right of the apostles to address their preaching to the Gentiles is deduced from the word of Jahveh to his servant: "I have set thee to be a light of the Gentiles, that my salvation should reach unto the end of the earth."[6]

We have now approached the passages which set the suffering servant of Jahveh before our eyes. Before discussing them, however, let me add one more remark, which may serve more fully to illustrate what precedes. It has been already observed that the Christians did not consciously bring other Old Testament representations into connection with the Messiah-type: for them these representations converged, because they were all seen to be equally realised in their Lord. We find a remarkable instance of this in the Gospel according to Matthew. At the transfiguration of Jesus on the mount, a voice from heaven was, according to him, heard saying, "This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him."[7] Three passages of the Old Testament are here joined together; along with the Messiah two other types, the same that we have already become acquainted with, are combined into one whole. "My Son" is the title of the Messiah

[1] Acts iii. 26. [2] Acts iv. 27, 30.
[3] Acts iv. 25, compare Luke i. 54, 69.
[4] Acts iii. 14; iv. 30; compare Is. liii. 9, 11.
[5] Matt. xii. 16—21; compare Is. xlii. 1—4.
[6] Is. xlix. 6, quoted Acts xiii. 47, with this variation, in which the Greek translator had led the way: "that thou shouldst be for blessing (or redemption) to the end of the earth."
[7] Matt. xvii. 5, and, with slight deviations, Mark ix. 7; Luke ix. 35.

taken from the second Psalm; "the beloved (according to Luke, the elect) in whom I am well pleased," is borrowed from the description of the servant of Jahveh; finally, "hear ye him" is the exhortation which is appended to the announcement of the prophet in Deuteronomy, chapter xviii.[1] In truth, a striking proof that, on the religious stand-point which was occupied by the Christians, the lines of demarcation between the different representations were for them obliterated, and everything became merged into one grand figure, of which they had witnessed the original in Jesus.

But let us return to the "servant of Jahveh." The portraiture of his suffering and death can least of all be suffered to escape our notice.

It is especially to the celebrated oracle contained in Is. lii. 13—liii. 12, that Isaiah, its supposed author, owes the title of "the Evangelist of the Old Testament." If the later Christians with one accord saw the image of their Lord depicted therein, they could appeal to the New Testament in favour of this interpretation. We have already seen how the passage must be understood historically.[2] "The servant of Jahveh" is there also, just as elsewhere in the second Isaiah, a collective term; this interpretation even finds support in more than one trait which we meet with here.[3] But, on the other hand, it is undeniable that here more than elsewhere, the prophet individualises, and thus at the same time idealises; he would himself have been the first to acknowledge that what he asserts regarding "the servant of Jahveh," in the passage from the thirteenth verse of the fifty-second chapter, to the twelfth verse of the fifty-third, was fully applicable to none of those who, taken together, constituted the flower of Israel. His description and the reality did not perfectly coincide; the portion of his description which remained unrealised would almost *of necessity* be understood as prophecy, but then also would be applied by the Christians to Jesus.

But let us examine the passages themselves. The words:

[1] Compare Dr A. H. Blom, "de leer van het Messiasrijk bij de eerste Christenen, volgens de Handd. der App.," p. 55. See also Acts iv. 25—30; iii. 22, 26.

[2] See above, pp. 220-223; 254-258.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 222, notes 3, 4, and p. 223, n. 1.

"Who hath believed our preaching, and to whom is the arm (the might) of Jahveh revealed?" which serve as an introduction to the description of Jahveh's servant in his low estate,[1] are applied by the fourth evangelist to the preaching of Jesus, and by Paul to that of his missionaries:[2] in fact, they contain a complaint, so general, of Israel's unsusceptibility, and of the unsuccessful issue of the labours of the prophets, that they admit of more than one application, and the quotation can scarcely suffice as a proof that the oracle itself was interpreted as Messianic.[3] The same remark is true of a saying of Jesus in the gospel according to Luke.[4] On the last evening of his life he said to the apostles: "I say unto you, that this that is written must yet be accomplished in me, 'and he was reckoned among the transgressors.' For with me also it is coming to an end."[5] From this it follows undoubtedly that Jesus observed an agreement between himself and the sufferer in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah, and found in the lot of the latter an indication of what awaited himself. But more than this does not follow; Jesus does not quote the words in question as a prediction regarding himself. On the other hand, we find Isaiah liii. cited in the Acts of the Apostles as a direct prophecy concerning Jesus. With regard to verses 7, 8, the Ethiopian chamberlain asks Philip: "Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other man?" whereupon Philip "opened his mouth, and began at the same scripture, and preached unto him Jesus."[6] The same judgment about the meaning of the prophecy probably forms the basis of the use which is made of it in the first epistle of Peter. "*Who*," it is said there, "*did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth*; who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not, but committed the matter to Him who judgeth right-

[1] Is. liii. 1. [2] John xii. 38; Rom. x. 16.

[3] Still much less can this be inferred from Rom. xv. 21; compare Is. lii. 15. Paul here uses the words of the prophet in a purely homiletic manner.

[4] Luke xxii. 37; compare Is. liii. 12. The parallel passage in Mark xv. 28, must be removed from the text, according to the earliest and best manuscripts.

[5] Others render: "For that also which has reference to me (is written concerning me) is coming to an end." But see Meyer's Commentary on this passage.

[6] Acts viii. 32-35.

eously; *who himself bare our sins* in his own body on the tree, that we, being freed from sin, should live for righteousness; *by whose stripes ye are healed.*"[1] The writer would surely not have recurred again and again to Isaiah liii., if he had not thought that the image of the Christ in his humiliation was there depicted. The Evangelist Matthew does not entirely concur with his view of one feature in that chapter. For he relates that Jesus cured the demoniacs and other sick persons, and then adds: "that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Isaiah the prophet: 'He himself took our infirmities upon him, and bare our sicknesses.'"[2] The Evangelist modifies the text which he quotes, with a view to the application which he wishes to make of it. This application does not correspond with the meaning of the prophet. The latter intends to say that the servant of Jahveh suffers not on account of his own sins, but on account of those of the erring people among whom he is living. He *bears* the sicknesses, he *carries* the pains of Israel. The Deutero-Isaiah is thinking as little of bodily diseases as of their *removal*.[3] Nevertheless, this citation also proves that the suffering servant of Jahveh was identified with the Christ.

After all that has now been said, our judgment upon this New Testament use of Isaiah lii. 13—liii. 12, scarcely requires to be expressed. Let the reader only recall to mind the remarks which we formerly made upon "the servant of Jahveh" as the successor and substitute of the king from the house of David.[4] The place which is filled by this king in the writings of the earlier prophets is no longer occupied by him in the second Isaiah. But that place does not on this account remain empty. The king is succeeded by "the servant of Jahveh." This is not a loss, but a gain. With whatever ideal features he may be drawn, the Son of David, whom the prophets describe to us, is not so pure and exalted as the figure which now comes on the foreground; the latter is of a higher ethical and religious standard than the former. "Not by might, nor by force, but by my spirit:"[5] to this saying of

[1] 1 Pet ii. 22-24; compare Is. liii. 4 (11, 12), 5, 9.
[2] Matt. viii. 17; compare Is. liii. 4[a].
[3] Hence the antithesis in verse 4[b]: "but we thought that he was stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted."
[4] Above, pp. 220-223.
[5] Zech. iv. 6[b].

Jahveh in Zechariah the ideal of the prophet of the captivity corresponds better than that of his predecessors. But when the Christians made the two types coalesce in one, they were moving along this same line of development. "Their sin against exegesis has been a blessing, for the secular image of the king has thereby become more religious."[1] In these words, the truth of which can scarcely be doubted, is to be found the justification of their use of Scripture from that point of view, from which it should always have been judged. But we shall soon have more to say on this subject.

In consonance with these remarks, we must now do homage to that same Messianic interpretation of the passion-psalms, which we formerly could not justify from the exegetical point of view.[2] The pious men, who have poured out their hearts in these poems, belonged to the flower of Israel, which the second Isaiah indicated by the appellation, "the servant of Jahveh." Although, therefore, the Messianic interpretation of their complaints cannot be vindicated exegetically, it nevertheless deserves approbation for the reason which has just been indicated: does it not co-operate in purifying and ennobling the image of the Messiah? Above all it has a claim to this praise, when the *essential* agreement between those pious sufferers and Jesus is taken into view, or, in other words, when it is clearly seen that it is not this or that accidental and subordinate circumstance, but *the spirit* which inspired the psalmists, that attracted the attention of the Christians and led them to apply the poets' words to Jesus. Their right to do so is supported, not by a single feature, as for example, by the complaint about the parting of the garments in the twenty-second Psalm,[3] but by the character of the poets, as it comes out in their complaints and prayers.

It is almost impossible for us to form too high an estimate of the importance of the application of these passages—not only of Isaiah liii., but also of the passion-psalms—to the Messiah. They reconciled the Christians to the suffering and the dying of their Lord; they established them in the conviction that this termination of his earthly life had been willed and ordained by God; they led them to see therein the indispensable

[1] Dr A. H. Blom, *l.c.*, p. 48. [2] Above, pp. 489 ff.
[3] Ps. xxii. 18; compare John xix. 24, and above, p. 484, n. 2.

condition of His glorification, and finally matured their ideas regarding the fruits of that suffering and dying. In how far all this is applicable to Jesus himself, does not admit of being determined with certainty; but that the suffering righteous one, depicted in the prophecies and psalms, made a deep impression upon him also, is clearly indisputable. Here too the passages themselves may be allowed to bear witness.

It is essentially the same thought which we find in the words of Paul: "I delivered unto you that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins *according to the scriptures*; and that he was buried, and that he was raised up the third day *according to the scriptures*,"[1] and which is thus expressed in the synoptical gospels: the Christ *must* suffer, and die, and after that be glorified,—or, after the event had occurred,—the Christ *must have* suffered, and died, and after that have been glorified.[2] For this "must" refers to a divine decree which was recorded in the Old Testament. But where in the Old Testament? We cannot answer this question with absolute certainty. So much is sure, that it is not one single passage of the Old Testament that is alluded to, because Paul speaks of "the scriptures" in the plural, that is, of passages of scripture,[3] and in Luke we read that the risen Jesus showed the necessity of the suffering from "the law of Moses, the prophets, and the psalms."[4] With so much the greater confidence we assume that Isaiah liii. and the passion-psalms are intended, for in these undoubtedly the suffering, and the dying, and the glorification of Jahveh's faithful servant are all described. The same conclusions are perhaps deduced from other passages also, especially from the historical narratives of the Old Testament, which taught clearly that persecution of the

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 3, 4.

[2] See Matt. xvi., 21 (Mark viii., 31; Luke ix., 22); Luke xvii., 25; xxiv. 7, 26, 46, and compare Matt. xvii., 12 (Mark ix., 12); xvii., 22, 23 (Mark ix., 31; Luke ix., 44), where the same thought is expressed in other words. In the Fourth Gospel chapters iii., 14; xii., 34; xx., 9, (in which last passage there is an express reference to the Scripture) are parallel to the passages given above.

[3] Γραφή is a single text or passage (Rom. iv., 3; ix., 17; x., 11; xi. 2; James ii., 8, 23; John xix., 36, 37, &c.): by the plural, therefore, are denoted various passages, agreeing in the announcement of the death and the glorification of the Christ.

[4] Luke xxiv., 44—47, compare 26, 27.

pious was, not the exception, but the rule.[1] Still, even in that case, the right to apply this rule to the Messiah also is borrowed from the prophecies which have just been mentioned.

When Paul says specifically that "the resurrection on the third day was according to 'the scriptures,'" he may have had in view—besides Ps. xvi.[2]—an utterance of Hosea.[3] For this prophet puts into the mouths of the penitent Israelites, who were returning to Jahveh, the words:

> "He (Jahveh) will revive us, after two days,
> On the third day he will raise us up [cause us to rise from the dead],
> And (thereafter) we shall live before his face."

There is nothing that would directly lead us to understand this of the Messiah. But after the conviction had been established that Jesus had risen from the dead on the third day, it was an easy step to bring the words of Hosea into connection therewith. Instances of as free, or rather arbitrary, exegesis have already presented themselves to us in Paul also. On the other hand, the agreement between the three days' sojourn of Jonah in the fish, and that of Jesus in the heart of the earth, was not remarked before the time, and by Jesus himself, but by the latest redactor of the Gospel according to Matthew.[4]

We can, with less uncertainty, fix upon the passage which Paul has in view, when he teaches that "Christ *died for our sins according to the scriptures.*"[5] He had there undoubtedly Isaiah liii. present to his mind, a chapter in which the suffering of the servant of Jahveh is brought into very close con-

[1] In Mark ix. 13, Jesus declares: "I say unto you that Elijah has really come, and they have done unto him whatsoever they listed, *as it is written of him.*" That the second Elijah, whose coming Malachi had announced, should suffer, is nowhere taught or even indicated. Must there not then be a reference here to the persecution of the first Elijah, and must not this persecution have been regarded as a prediction of the lot of the Baptist? Compare farther Matt. xxiii., 37 (Luke xiii., 34), which contains an allusion to the lot of the true prophets, prepared already in verses 29—31; as on the other hand Luke vi. 26 does to that of the false prophets.

[2] Verses 8—10. Compare above, p. 483 f.

[3] Hosea vi. 2. Instead of "revive" the Greek Translator writes "heal," a word which agrees very well with the meaning of the prophet. The application of this verse to the Messiah is therefore not favoured by this translator.

[4] Matt. xii. 40—a verse which is wanting in Mark and Luke—is beyond all doubt an incorrect explanation of "the sign of Jonah" (verse 39 (Luke xi. 29—31); Matt. xvi. 4 (Mark viii. 12)). I may, for the sake of brevity, refer to Scholten, "het oudste evangelie," p. 42; "Hist. krit. inl. tot de schriften des N. Testaments," pp. 16, 17.

[5] See 1 Cor. xv. 3, quoted above.

nection with the sins of his people.[1] It is
which involved him, the righteous one, in
but, on the other hand, his suffering is
for he gave his soul as a sin-offering,[2] a

"The chastisement, which should g
was upon
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intimations regarding the fruits of the
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It appears, as is well known, in most c
New Testament, even in the utterance
Synoptical Gospels,[5] nay, in the fourth
however with historical probability—it
pressed by John the Baptist, who with
Is. liii.,[6] points out Jesus to his disci
God who taketh away the sins of the
the place to expound the varying New
tions of this subject,[8] much less to follo
ment in the doctrine of the church, a d
not completed till the middle ages.[9]
enough to have indicated the influence

[1] The Pauline expression: "He was delivered
sions" (Rom. iv. 25) may very likely have been
version of Is. liii. 12, where we read "He was d
iniquities." The Heb. text gives: "and for the t
[2] Is. liii., 4, 5[a], 6, 8.
[4] *Ibid.* verse 5[b], compare 10, 11.
[5] Matt. xx. 28 (Mark x. 45); xxvi. 28 (in the
24; Luke xxii. 19, 20; 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25, the fo
occur).
[6] Is. liii. 7. [7] John
[8] Alongside of the representation of Jesus' de
those of his life as a *ransom*, which he pays in o
the power of sin or the devil, (compare n. 5); of hi
a new—*covenant* (compare *ibid.*); the assimilatio
the High Priest on the great day of atonement
the comparison of Jesus to the paschal lamb (1
connection with other passages of the Fourth Go
[9] I need not say that the distinction made in
taken into account by the authors of the eccl
their aim to unite the different views and compa
was indeed a necessary consequence that what w
procedure should differ essentially from the doctr

ment has here also exercised. Let us at the same time notice also, that when the first preachers of the Gospel ascribe, along with an atoning, also a sanctifying, power to the suffering and death of the Lord, they are in like manner following the lead of prophecy, and indeed once more of Isaiah liii.[1] All the elements of the Christian doctrine of redemption are borrowed from the scriptures of the Old Testament, and least of all is the *ethical* factor found to be wanting there.[2]

One point of contact between Jesus and the old Testament prophecy still remains to be examined: the designation, "the Son of man," which, as we know, is so frequently assigned to him. It inspires us with more than common interest. If we are not utterly mistaken, it has been introduced into Christian phraseology by *Jesus himself*. At least proofs are wanting that it was already current among the Jews before he appeared, and that thus he simply adopted it as he found it.[3] According to the scriptures of the New Testament, it is repeatedly used by him, and not by other speakers and writers, save by a rare exception.[4]

It is thus the more to be regretted, that the determination of the meaning which Jesus attached to this appellation, is attended with so great difficulties. Attempts to attain certainty have not been wanting even in recent times. But, with regard to this point, modern science has not yet attained a conclusion which compels universal assent. Still we may not omit to take up the question anew, and to seek for a solution which may not be altogether unsatisfactory.

The expression "the Son of Man" can scarcely be regarded in any other light than as a citation, as a reference or allusion. From the very fact that all without distinction are sons or children of men, this same formula with the definite article

[1] Is. liii. 11.

[2] See further Is. xlii. 1, 4, 6; xlix., 1, 6, 7, and above pp. 254—258.

[3] The chapters of the Book of Enoch, in which the appellation "Son of Man" occurs, are of Christian origin. Compare my "Godsdienst van Israël," II. 492. (III. 265, English Translation.)

[4] "The phrase 'the Son of Man' occurs, not counting the spurious passages, 85 times, viz. 69 times in the Synoptical Gospels, 12 times in the Fourth Gospel, and 4 in the other books." (Acts vii. 56; Heb. ii. 6; Rev. i. 13; xiv. 14; in the three last mentioned passages it is without the article). Quoted from Dr S. Hoekstra, "de benaming 'de zoon des menschen'," pp. 9, 10.

can denote a single individual (or a specific category of in viduals, only when the article refers to a son of man who l been elsewhere named or announced. The obvious course to seek *in the Old Testament* for the explanation of t reference: anything not taken from that book would have b altogether unintelligible to at least the great majority of t hearers of Jesus. But where are we to search in the O Testament? It is here that the uncertainty begins. We referred by some to the employment of the title "son man" in Ezekiel,[1] to Psalm viii., and to the Messianic int pretation of this poem in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[2] Psalm lxxx., where the Israelitish nation is called "a so and, in the sequel "a child of man, made strong by Jahveh But still all this is not sufficiently definite to account for t use of the formula in the New Testament. More light given by a prophecy, already well known to us, in the bo of Daniel. After four beasts have arisen in succession out the abyss, which represent as many great kingdoms, th appears with the clouds of heaven a form *like a son of m* who receives from the Eternal a dominion which shall end for ever.[4] The New Testament expression "the Son Man" can very well be understood as referring to this passa And indeed the connection, in which this formula for t most part occurs, renders it very probable that allusion made therein to the book of Daniel. For in the N Testament also "the Son of Man" appears repeatedly "w the clouds of heaven," or at least in heavenly glory.[5] Wh on the other hand, mention is made of the suffering and de of "the Son of Man,"[6] these may be viewed as the way

[1] Ezek. ii. 1, 3, 6, 8, and on above 90 other occasions Jahveh addresses prophet by this appellation.

[2] Ps. viii. 4, 5; Heb. ii. 6, and above, p. 469 f.

[3] See verses 17, 19. Here as in Ezekiel and Ps. viii., the idea of weakn and insignificance is associated with "son of man:" in the strengthening the child of man Jahveh's greatness is revealed, as in Ps. viii. his goodne displayed in his care for the poor mortal. [4] Dan. vii. 13.

[5] "The appellation, Son of Man, occurs 38 times in the Synoptical Gos not counting the parallel passages. No fewer than 16 of these pass treat specifically of the second coming of Jesus, or of something dir connected therewith." Hoekstra, *l.c.*, p. 19.

[6] "Of the 38 passages 15 treat of the Lord's sufferings, death, resurrection, which were, according to the counsel of God uttered in writings of the Prophets, the way to his Messianic glorification." Hoek *l.c.* p. 19.

his glorification; or a contrast between the destination of "the Son of Man" and the lot which befalls him, may have been present to the mind of the speaker. It does not therefore surprise us that the immense majority of those who have inquired into the signification of the title, have brought it into connection with the seventh chapter of Daniel.

Now we know already what this "one like a son of man" in the prophecy of Daniel denotes.[1] He is the symbol of the Israelitish nation, of "the people of the saints of the Most High." Proceeding from this fact, one of the most recent writers upon the formula before us has defended the position, that in the mouth of Jesus it indicates *the congregation of God*, or rather, more individually, the member of that congregation; now and then also Jesus himself, in so far as he is its head, and himself belongs to it.[2] It seems indeed the simplest way to assume that Jesus has used the expression in its historical sense; but on closer investigation, such a supposition is clearly seen to be contradicted by the facts. Not only is it certain that "the Son of Man," outside of the Gospels, denotes Jesus in his Messianic dignity and him alone;[3] not only is it distinctly evident that the Evangelists have thus understood the formula;[4] but moreover among the utterances of Jesus there is not a single one which furnishes the proof that he distinguishes himself from "the Son of Man," or comprises others besides himself in that formula.[5] The assertion that it had another signification in the mouth of Jesus than the Evangelists found in it, rests therefore on no

[1] See above, pp. 223 f.

[2] See the above quoted monograph of Hoekstra, pp. 39 ff. He had previously acknowledged (pp. 11 ff) that the *Evangelists* understand the appellation as one of the titles of the Messiah.

[3] This is beyond doubt as regards Acts vii. 56. But also in Rev. i. 13; xiv. 14, both the derivation from Dan. vii. and the application to Jesus are perfectly evident.

[4] For example, in cases where the personal pronoun "I" or "me" is replaced by the expression "the Son of Man," or conversely. Compare among other passages Matt. xii. 32; Luke xii. 10, with Mark iii. 28, 29; Matt. xvi. 13, with Mark viii. 27; Luke ix. 18, &c., &c.

[5] It is true that "Jesus sometimes speaks *first* about himself, and *then*, immediately afterwards, about "the Son of Man" (Hoekstra, pp. 36, 37). See Matt. x. 23; xix. 28; Luke xii. 8; ix. 26 (Mark viii. 38); Mark xiv. 62, &c. But still this proves merely that the Son of Man is a title, the designation of a dignity. So, *e.g.*, a reigning prince might say: "I assure you that *the king* shall grant you no grace."

firm ground. While such a difference of conception may be quite conceivable in itself, its actual existence is not sufficiently established.

"The Son of Man" is therefore a title which Jesus gives to *himself*. Is it, then, the fact that this appellation possesses quite the same signification as "the Christ" or "the Son of David?" But in that case we should have to suppose that it was a current appellation of the Messiah, applied by Jesus to himself; for which supposition, however, no evidence at all exists. Or rather: the earliest Gospels bear witness in an unambiguous manner against such a use of the phrase, and therefore also against this being the meaning of Jesus when he employed the formula.[1] No: the only conclusion which remains is, that Jesus, alluding to Dan. vii., called himself by this title, in order to give a hint regarding his exalted destination, without making a claim directly to the dignity of Messiah, which, indeed, he could not appropriate to himself in the sense in which some of the people wished to bestow it upon him. What was his motive in selecting just *this* title, does not admit of being determined with absolute certainty. Perhaps he was attracted by the contrast, which comes out so strongly in Dan. vii., between the earthly monarchies, which are symbolised by the wild and ravenous beasts, and the sovereignty of Israel, of which the form "like a son of man" is the representative. In that case, as often as he used this title, the human, as distinguished from the animal or purely sensuous, occupied the foreground in his mind. It may also be that, apart from the further contents of the prophecy, the appellation borrowed from it awakened *in itself* his sympathy. "The Son of Man" stands, it may be thought, in contrast to the Israelite—at least, in contrast to him who wishes to be nothing but an

[1] Specifically Matt. xvi. 13 ff., and parallel passages, which important paragraph furnishes satisfactory proof that Jesus had never yet openly declared that he was the Messiah, although he had repeatedly called himself "the Son of Man"—*e.g.*, Matt. viii. 20; ix. 6; x. 23; xi. 19; xii. 8, 32; &c. On the other hand, it would follow from John xii. 34 (properly, a reference not to chap. xii. 23, but to chap. iii. 14: compare xii. 32) that the Jewish people in the time of Jesus used the title and applied it to the Messiah. But the author of this gospel has a dogmatic aim, and goes to work in its composition with great freedom. As often as there is variance between him and his predecessors, there can be no doubt as to the choice which we should make.

Israelite; "the Son of Man" is a general term for all children of men, and puts him who is denoted by it in one category with the rest of mankind;[1] according to the use of the phrase in the Old Testament, an allusion may even be found in it specifically to man's littleness,[2] which certainly could not be said to be alien to the spirit of him who called himself "lowly of heart."[3] It seems scarcely possible to make a decided choice among these different interpretations. But still, in spite of that, we ought to have no hesitation in including the use of the phrase "the Son of Man" also among the proofs of the free, spiritual application of the Old Testament in the New. This one feature in the prophecy in Daniel might easily have escaped observation. Adopted by Jesus, it not merely answered his immediate purpose, but it tended also of itself to fix attention on what was the highest, and had the most permanent value in him and his work.

Thus, then, by means of the clue which the passages themselves put into our hand, the relation of the New Testament to the ideals of the Israelitish prophets has been exhibited. The task now before us is to *explain* this relation. At the first glance it seems in every respect strange. On the one hand, manifold references to the prophets, and a constant use of conceptions and expressions borrowed from them; but, on the other, as numerous deviations from their proper meaning, and continual transformation of their mode of looking at things. How does the one thing cohere with the other? Whence, alongside of this manifest dependence, is there so great a freedom, which, although it is nowhere proclaimed as a principle, is yet not the less real on that account?

In order to arrive at a satisfactory solution of this problem, we must first of all make clear *the general relation which*

[1] From this point of view let specifically Mark ii. 27, 28 be considered. From the general statement, "The Sabbath was made for *man*, and not *man* for the Sabbath," a conclusion regarding "the Son of Man" could not well be deduced, if "the Son of Man" were not designated by the title which he bore as being *one of the men*, to whom that which can be asserted with regard to *man* truly applies.

[2] See above, p. 530.

[3] Matt. xi. 29.

exists between Christianity and Israelitism. It is, indeed, self-evident that we cannot exhaustively discuss, as it were in passing, that comprehensive and difficult subject. I must confine myself to a few observations and hints. But, in fact, we are only concerned with the main points.

The Christian religion, as it is known from the books of the New Testament, is a more highly developed form, or rather, it is *the completion, of Israel's religion.*

Let the following remarks serve for the further illustration of this proposition.

Within the limits of the Old Testament itself a great difference of spirit and tendency presents itself to notice. As in Israel the priest, the prophet, and the wise man laboured side by side, yet not always for the same object, so in the collection of Israel's sacred books, the products of their labours are combined, without, on that account, harmonising with each other. When we thus take a closer view of the formula which has just been used—"the completion of Israel's religion"—it is clearly seen to require a more exact specification. It is obvious at once that it is not the sacerdotal, nor even the legal tendency, which is followed and further prosecuted by Jesus. We do not go too far when we term the character of his religion *anti-hierarchical.* But it may be described also as *anti-sacerdotal*, just because of the relation in which he places himself to the Law, and specifically to its ritual prescriptions. Jesus himself has declared that he came not to annul the Law or the Prophets, but to fulfil them.[1] It has been assumed, partly on the ground of this utterance, that there is an opposition between him and the Apostle, who places the law and faith over against each other, and calls Christ the end of the law.[2] It is true, there is no single trace of this antithesis to be discovered in the teaching of Jesus. And yet there is essential agreement between him and Paul. The law, since it is composed of very different elements, admits of being regarded from more than one point of view. Paul is looking at its imperative form, and at its oppressive ritual prescriptions; he sees in it an outward command, with which man cannot identify himself, and which, therefore, also cannot lead

[1] Matt. v. 17. [2] Gal. iii. 24, 25, &c.; Rom. x. 4.

him to his destination. His Master, on the other hand, lays all stress on the ethical contents of the law. Therefore he mentions it in the same breath with the prophets, who agreed with the law, not certainly in care for religious services and ceremonial purity, but in urging to a holy life, and who, besides, loved to direct attention to the indissoluble connection between the outward act and the disposition of the heart. Jesus thus attaches himself to "the law and the prophets." But he declares, moreover, that he has come—not to let them remain as they are, but—to fulfil them. And what this means is taught us by the sequel of the discourse from which this utterance is taken. That discourse extends the domain of the law to the disposition, recognises this as the source of the action, and places it therefore higher than the action.[1] It reduces the law to one single commandment—that of sympathetic and practical love to man.[2] It points to the Father in heaven, and His love, which embraces all, as the ideal according to which we must form ourselves.[3] Certainly, this is a "fulfilling of the law and the prophets;" but it is a fulfilment by which the law loses all those characteristics which made Paul become the antagonist of its perpetual validity.

We therefore in no way exaggerate, when we assert that Jesus did not attach himself to the legal elements of the Old Testament. There were not wanting, on the other hand, points of contact between his teaching and that of the "wise."[4] For like them, did not Jesus also put what is common to universal humanity in the foreground? In so far as the "wise" of his time, the Scribes, did the same, to that extent he was thus of kindred sentiments with them also.[5] Still it cannot be asserted that he appeared among his people as a preacher of a completed "wisdom," much less that he was essentially homogeneous with the Scribes. We have already named the men whose work was taken up, prosecuted, and finished by him. He is the successor of the prophets, or rather the completer of prophecy. His contemporaries were not mis-

[1] Matt. v. 21, ff. [2] Matt. vii. 12. [3] Matt. v. 48.
[4] Compare, *e.g.*, Pro. xxv. 21, 22 with Matt. v. 43—48.
[5] "Wise" and "disciples of the wise" are the usual names given to the Scribes in the Talmud. Compare further my "Godsd. van Israël," II. 224 ff., 507 (III. 27 ff. 278, English Translation).

taken when they saw in him a prophet.[1] It is true that in him the greater or less vehemence, the visionary character, the over-excitement which had characterised the prophets and their preaching, were not to be found. Compared with the rushing torrent of their discourse, that of Jesus presents itself for the most part as a still, clear brook. But over against this difference, which chiefly regards the form, there is the greatest internal agreement. Along with the prophets, Jesus has the consciousness of communion with God, which in him alone is still more intimate, and altogether undisturbed. With them he opposes everything which looks like mere outward worship. From one of them he borrowed the saying of God: "I will have mercy and not sacrifice;"[2] from another, the complaint: "This people honoureth Me with their lips, but their heart is far from Me; but in vain they do worship Me, teaching doctrines which are commandments of men."[3] In the same spirit which they all showed, he sets himself against the Pharisaic estimate of Levitical purity;[4] against the transgression of the commandment of love to parents for the sake of the temple and in the interest of its ministers;[5] against all who neglected the weightiest matters of the Law, "judgment, mercy, and faith," and vied with each other in living according to its ritual prescriptions.[6] In one word: the spiritualism and the idealism of Israel's prophets are fulfilled in him who preached that God should be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and who by word and deed taught his disciples to seek before everything else the kingdom of God and His righteousness.

All this might be much more fully developed; but, for the object which we have in view, we need not go beyond these main points. For it has now become sufficiently clear to us, how the religion of Jesus, or, more generally, the earliest Christianity, at the same time attaches itself to the Old Covenant, and rises above it. Jesus himself and the first preachers of the gospel no longer occupy the standpoint of the

[1] See above, pp. 518, f. [2] Hos. vi. 6; Matt. ix. 13; xii. 7.
[3] Is. xxix. 13; Matt. xv. 8, 9; Mark vii. 6, 7.
[4] Matt. xv. 10-20; Mark vii. 14-23.
[5] Matt. xv. 3-6; Mark vii. 9-13.
[6] Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xi. 42 ("judgment and the love of God"); compare also Matt. v. 23, 24.

writers of the Old Testament. And yet they have not abandoned the ground of Israel's religion. Prophecy is the basis on which they build a new structure, or, to express the matter otherwise, it showed them the direction in which they further developed religious truth. Without neglecting what the Old Testament furnished besides, they yet preferred to attach their preaching closely to prophecy. And they were fully justified in doing so, for the religion, which they proclaimed, was the ripe fruit of the tree which had sprung from this root.

But now in this mutual connection of the two religions, Israelitism and Christianity, lies at the same time the explanation of the use made of Scripture in the New Testament, or of the altogether peculiar relation in which Jesus and the Apostles stand to the ideas, especially to the anticipations or predictions of the prophets.

Let us first call once more before our minds the manner in which this relation is understood in the ecclesiastical doctrine, or according to supernaturalism. In a mechanical manner, and by portions, the future is made manifest to the prophets or unveiled before the eye of their spirit. The supernatural origin of their foreknowledge is established, ages afterwards, by the facts themselves. The coincidence of the result with the prediction is the decisive proof that the spirit of Him who governs the world and realises his counsel in history, formerly inspired the prophets. The strict fulfilment of their predictions is the divine seal set on the utterance of their consciousness, that they did not proclaim their own fancies, but the thoughts of God.

It became evident to us that this theory was in contradiction to the facts. We sought in vain for the proofs which should support it. Not a single one of the so-called "strict fulfilments" can stand the test of a careful investigation, while, on the other hand, the issue repeatedly contradicts the predictions. We need not then expatiate more at length upon that point. But it does certainly lie in our way, to search after the causes, why such an attempt to explain the relation between prophecy and reality *must* necessarily have proved a failure. In truth, that is a matter of no great difficulty. The defenders of the supernatural theory regard and discuss prophecy and fulfil-

ment alike as objective and invariable quantities. They do not take into account spontaneous human activity, the development of ideas, the influence of subjectivity. In other words, in judging and estimating historical phenomena, they neglect all that makes history be what it is. This error cannot indeed do otherwise than lead to a false result. But on the other hand also, whoever is on his guard against this error, is on the way to the true solution. The idea of *development*—to which all that I have just mentioned may be reduced—must be taken up into the circle of our examination, and must exercise a decisive influence upon it. I now proceed at once to explain what is meant by this statement.

According to the supernaturalistic theory, prophetical inspiration ceased at a certain definite period—let us say about the year 400 B.C., when Malachi disappeared from the stage of history. From that moment prophetical prediction remained what it was. It was read and reflected upon, was more or less correctly understood, but, at the same time, it underwent itself no change. It was, and continued to be for the pious Jew, the revelation of what the future should furnish, the rule for his expectations, and a rule indeed which was the more rigid according as the Jew believed more firmly in the divine origin of the prophetical anticipations, and thus also in the certainty of their realisation.

With the necessary limitation, we can allow all this to hold good. If we except the book of Daniel (165 B.C.), there were in truth no new prophecies introduced into the collection of the sacred writings. But people are deceived, if they imagine, that in accordance with this fact the expectations also regarding the future now remained the same and continued—let it be at one time more, at another less, exactly, but still continued—to be regulated by the prophecies acknowledged as sacred. Never or nowhere has a sacred book—or a collection of sacred books—stopped or altogether governed the spiritual development of any people. However highly such a collection was ranked, how rigidly soever its right to rule was acknowledged and maintained in theory, yet in practice deviations were made from it, and thoughts were entertained, and hopes were cherished, which either extended beyond, or were in conflict with it. This

remark is fully applicable to the Jews also, and to the four centuries which elapsed between Malachi and the appearance of Jesus. It has been shown elsewhere that it is very unjust to regard these centuries as a period of stagnation.[1] Not only did the oral law gradually become extended, and the Scribes prosecute their work, and the parties (Sadducees, Pharisees, and Essenes) arise and develop themselves; not only did the whole spiritual atmosphere thus undergo most important changes, which must have had an influence upon the expectations regarding the future also; not only was the hope of Israel's restoration—while yet the written prophecy remained always the same—now more, then less, lively, coloured now in one way, then in another; but besides this there were not wanting speculations directly concerning the future, attempts to fix the ideas entertained regarding it—attempts which do not afford the least evidence of slavish subjection to the word of the prophets, or even of a decided effort to be guided by that word. I allude to the book of Daniel—something truly altogether different from a copy of the earlier oracles!—and to the rest of the apocalypses, as they are commonly called, which were composed in imitation of that book, to Enoch, the Jewish Sibyl, the book of Jubilees or the lesser Genesis, and to the predictions also in the so-called Psalms of Solomon.[2] We do not require to occupy ourselves here with the contents of these writings, the exposition of which lies beyond our plan. It is enough that these books came into existence; and—a fact which is universally admitted—contain something different from, and something more than, what was to be read in the prophetical literature. In one word: after prophecy had become extinct, and after the collection of prophetical books had been completed, the expectation regarding the future remained, as it were, fluid, and continually underwent modifications, which kept it in agreement with the altered ideas of the people, and with the changing circumstances of the time. If any one

[1] See my "Godsdienst van Israël," chapters ix.-xii.

[2] The development of theMessianic expectations, of which these writings afford evidence, has been frequently described. The most recent work on the subject is that by Maurice Vernes ("Histoire des idées messianiques depuis Alexandre jusqu' à l' empereur Hadrien," Paris 1874). Compare my review in the "Theologisch Tijdschrift," 1875, pp. 93—108.

wishes to form to himself some conception of the extent and significance of this transformation, let him reflect that during the time of which we are speaking, Judea became a Roman province, and the belief in personal immortality an element of Jewish popular conviction.

Let it not, however, be imagined that these modified expectations and ideals were distinguished from those of the prophets and psalmists, or were even contrasted with them. On the contrary, their utterances were interpreted according to the standard of the new ideas and requirements, and that in a manner quite involuntary, without any consciousness of the freedom which was being used. *At the present day*, when the laws of the grammatico-historical interpretation of Scripture are universally known, and are accepted by all as valid, such a procedure would be very difficult for many, for some even altogether impossible. *But at that time*, long before the science of exegesis was born, it would be practised very easily. Or rather it could not fail to take place, just because men regarded the prophecies and the Psalms as a divine revelation, and therefore also, when reading them and meditating upon them, applied them to themselves and to the wants of the moment. It has been justly observed by one of the most recent writers on the Theology of the Old Testament, Professor H. Schultz: in the centuries which preceded the establishment of Christianity, a new conception of the words of the Prophets and Psalmists must have been formed, which in distinction from the actual meaning of these men could be called *the second sense of Scripture*.[1] It cannot be said with certainty how far this new interpretation had already proceeded before the appearance of Jesus. Schultz does not hesitate to ascribe the Messianic interpretation as well of Psalms ii., cx., lxxii., as of Psalms viii., xvi.; Isaiah vii. 14; Hos. vi. 2, and other similar passages to the Jews, among whom the prophet of Nazareth laboured. Although he may have gone too far in this statement—which is possible, but far from being certain—yet his view as a whole must still be regarded as perfectly natural and correct, and as an important contribu-

[1] "Alttestamentliche Theologie," II., 335—339, and more fully in an article "Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn," (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1866, I).

tion to the explanation of the use which is made of Scripture in the New Testament.

The application of all this to the problem with which we are engaged is surely obvious. It was in the Jewish community, of whose relation to prophecy we were treating, that Christianity was originally established; it was from its midst that the first believers and the first preachers of the Gospel came forth. It was a matter of course that they brought with them the "second sense of Scripture," just mentioned, and retained it. We can go farther and say that if they had continued still to occupy altogether the standpoint of the old prophets and poets, they would not have accepted Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah; their interpretation—more individual than national, more spiritual than material, more universalistic than particularistic—of the sacred writings was one of the conditions of their attaching themselves to Jesus, or, in later times, to the community of those who confessed him. The idea of departing from that interpretation could not thus occur to them. Moreover, there was no one who required them to do so. We have there then the relation of the earliest Christians to the Old Testament ideas and expectations already *in part* explained. A *further* explanation of it must be derived from the influence of Jesus himself and of the religion preached by him. The important question regarding the origin of that religion, we can here leave altogether undetermined. Whether the Founder of Christianity be regarded as a son of Israel, or be called in a metaphysical sense the Son of God, still it will always have to be acknowledged that his teaching has as much of affinity to that of Moses and the prophets as it has of difference from it. The same can be testified of his first followers, even though they did not become conscious at once, nor all in the same degree, of the originality of the Master and of the new elements in his religion which formed its characteristic. The *possibility* therefore existed, that Jesus and the earliest preachers of his Gospel, should have felt the need of distinguishing their conception from that of their predecessors, or even of placing it in contrast thereto. But this is merely an abstraction. They did not think at all of such an opposition. They would indeed have been justified, if they had

referred, at least occasionally, to the contradiction between the new and the old. But it was rather a necessity for them to feel themselves one with the leaders of their people in former ages, and to make this agreement evident to all. In accordance with this, then, they gather together all that the spirit of prophecy in Israel had produced which was beautiful and noble, divest it of the elements, useless for them, with which it was connected, make of it one whole, and present the reality as the fulfilment of that which the former generations had expected. They thus proceed in the same direction in which—as we lately saw—the religious consciousness of their people had already before their time developed itself. In spite of the new elements which their view contained, they did not break with tradition, at least not with that of the pious, although they, and indeed Jesus himself in particular, had frequently to oppose that of the schools. And, let it be carefully observed, this method is with them not the fruit of deliberation and calculation. They had indeed, as preachers of the Gospel to Jews and Jewish proselytes, an immediate interest in showing clearly the agreement of their preaching with the scriptures, specifically with the prophecies of the Old Testament. But still it was for them first of all a *need of the heart* not to dissociate themselves from the past, but to continue to join hands with the prophets and psalmists, whom they reverenced as the interpreters of the God of their fathers. They therefore also took no account of how far they now and then diverged from them. The new spirit which lived in them—and which, be it once more remembered, still wrestled in the most of them against the superior power of the old—the new spirit arrayed itself gladly in the old forms, and knew not, or scarcely knew, that it was occupied in destroying them.

Thus the phenomenon, which presents itself to us on comparing the New Testament with the Old, is clearly seen to be in every way explicable and natural. It would not surprise us, though it stood altogether by itself. But this is not the case. It is repeated everywhere, when a higher—or to speak more generally, another—form of religion is developed from one already existing. The new form, at first at least, usually attaches itself to tradition, to the

writings acknowledged as sacred, and endeavours to prove its identity with them. But, in truth, this identity no longer exists, at least not fully, and there must therefore be found in the sacred literature, and developed from it, something which it either does not contain, or contains but partially, or only in the germ. *Allegorical exegesis*—taking this term in its widest sense, as denoting every free method of interpreting scripture—*allegorical exegesis is the inseparable companion of the process of the clarification of religious views.* Of course it is not always and everywhere the same: here it is altogether arbitrary and rash, there natural and almost legitimate, according as the new view is alien to the old truth, or is sprung and derived from it. There is, in other words, in general and excepting a few evidences of approximation, a *very great* difference between the allegories of Philo Alexandrinus and the spiritual interpretation of the prophecies of the Old Testament by the writers of the New, for the former was moulded in the school of the Greek philosophers, and the latter continue to be Israelites. But this difference does not destroy the analogy. When we have become acquainted with it, we could, on the ground of the relation in which the two religions stand to each other, expect, *a priori*, that the Israelitish prophecy would be *both* employed *and* spiritualised in the New Testament in such a way as is now actually seen to be the case.

The promise given in the beginning of this chapter has now been fulfilled. But still it cannot be unprofitable to give a brief summary of our whole conception, and to bring out clearly what distinguishes it from the earlier view.

Jesus and the Apostles are *preachers of religion.* The use which they make of scripture is a part of this their task, and must be judged exclusively from that point of view. As they borrow from nature and daily life the images which they employ in presenting, developing, and illustrating their ideas, so also the writings of the Old Testament are for them a mine of gold out of which they bring to light treasures known and unknown, "things new and old."[1] Things new as well as old: that which had acquired clearness and become reality after the period of the prophets and psalmists, or only in

[1] Matt. xiii. 52.

themselves,—that they found already expressed or indicated in the sacred writings, which from youth they had loved and reverenced as the records of God's revelation. In virtue of their affinity in spirit with the pious of former ages, they discovered in their words what actually lay involved therein, but which had remained hidden from other minds less sympathetically attuned. But they found moreover in scripture what it did not contain, or what at most existed there in germ (*implicite*). It is the task of *scientific exegesis* accurately to determine where the one case is presented, and where the other. It cannot withdraw itself from this task, it must execute it with complete freedom. Its method, like that of all other sciences, has been perfected and developed in the course of ages, and now stands firm as a rock. This method is imperative upon all who practise it, as well when they themselves interpret, as when they criticise the exposition of scripture given by others. They have no right to deviate from it, and there is, in truth, nothing which should urge them to do so. But though it be granted that the judgment pronounced according to this method, may be unfavourable, yet the manner in which the writers of the New Testament use scripture can still preserve its significance. This does not depend upon the exegetical correctness or incorrectness of the interpretation. In what these authors borrow from the Old Testament, their own conviction is mirrored. It is not their agreement with the words of the prophets and psalmists, it is *that conviction itself*, which is always the chief object. Even in cases where they follow a corrupt text and interpret arbitrarily or according to the sound, their words can have the highest value as the expression of their belief, or even as the revelation of a new religious idea.

It was not unnatural, but still it is to be lamented, that Christian theology did not from the beginning make this distinction. At first, nay for centuries, it thought itself obliged not to estimate from a religious point of view, but to justify exegetically, the New Testament citations and interpretations; and adopted, moreover, the rules which seemed to flow therefrom, in order to enrich its own hermeneutic with them. In this manner there was produced a singular medley of exactness and arbitrariness, of rigour and disorder, I had almost

said, of prose and poetry. Applications and allusions, which from their nature were subject to no rule, were systematised. Homage was rendered to grammar and history, but immediately after violence was done to all their laws. One hypothesis after another was arrayed in a scientific garb, and brought forward, in order to justify what was not produced on the field of science, and ought never to have been measured with a standard borrowed from it. In one word, scholasticism took possession of the utterances of the New Testament authors, and forced from them theories of which these writers had never thought, and which therefore could not be placed to their account. For us, who have perceived that these theories ultimately rest on the confounding of things dissimilar in nature, they have of course fallen entirely to the ground. We can henceforth regard them only as temporary aberrations, which—a thing also that we must not lose sight of—did good service in their day. For in this way the Scriptures of the Old Testament were brought closer to the Christian community, and became for it the source of abundant edification, which, probably, might not have been enjoyed, or enjoyed in a less degree, if the historical interpretation had from the beginning exercised unlimited sway. Now only, after we have learned to keep separate the scientific judgment and the religious appreciation—now only can the heart receive a beneficial impression, without the understanding being surrendered as a captive. For us the value, for example, of the description of Jahveh's suffering servant, in Is. lii. 13—liii. 12, is independent of its application to Jesus; we can explain it historically, and still admire it. But for former generations that was different; the impression which they received became immediately transmuted into a less correct exegesis, and could not be dissociated from that without being wholly lost. In so far, we can rest satisfied also with the slow progress of science, while at the same time we rejoice that its full light now shines upon us.

The appreciation from the religious point of view, which I recommend, must of course be carefully distinguished from unlimited approval and admiration. It is very far from being the case, that all citations of the Old Testament in the New should stand on the same footing. The reader has already become convinced of this, when, in this and the preceding

chapter, we went through a great number of these quotations. The writers differ from each other in this respect, and some of them are not always consistent with themselves. Many applications of Old Testament utterances are in reality nothing more than arbitrary fancies. On the other hand, there are others which we have no hesitation in calling strokes of genius. When—as occurs, for instance, here and there in the Gospel according to Matthew, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews—the Old Testament text is torn from its connection and applied to a subject with which it has nothing in common but the sound alone, though such a use of Scripture may admit of being explained and excused, yet there is not the slightest reason for admiring it. Our admiration is excited only when the utterances of the Israelitish writers are made the vehicles of profound or sublime thoughts, which they themselves perhaps did not put there, but which are nevertheless allied to their convictions, and form a legitimate continuation or completion of these. It results, from the nature of the case, that these two categories of citations cannot be separated from each other by a sharply drawn line of demarcation. All the quotations, rather, when regarded from this point of view, form together an ascending series, and the transition from the one group to the other is frequently almost imperceptible. And it cannot be overlooked that in arranging and estimating the citations, the subjectivity of the modern reader of the New Testament finds considerable scope. It may easily happen that one reader will be struck much more than another, either by the actual agreement between the Old Testament text and the New Testament interpretation, or by the points of difference which remain, notwithstanding this agreement. It is on this account also that we abstain from making any attempt to classify the citations, and to assign to each New Testament author the place which should belong to him on account of his use of Scripture. In regard to this matter let every reader of the New Testament form his own judgment, and let him at the same time consider that—as I have but lately observed—the same judgment cannot be always pronounced upon each author; in the writings of Paul, for example, he probably finds both extremes represented.

An exception seems possible here only with regard to one

Not in that sense, however, that we should, on *a priori* grounds, be obliged to assign to Jesus infallibility in the use of the writings of the Old Testament. If we have thus far drawn no line of demarcation between him and his followers, but, on the contrary, have discussed his quotations and interpretations along with the others which occur in the New Testament, and have judged them by the same standard, we do not now recede from the position which we have taken. With regard to the revered Master also must the right of criticism be maintained. If, as was repeatedly expressed, exegesis is a science, and its method has only gradually been settled and perfected, then the possibility of exegetical mistake must be acknowledged in the case of Jesus also, unless men should wish—at variance not only with psychological probability, but also with facts—to ascribe to him complete knowledge of truth in every department. That Jesus "must have known the mind of his heavenly father, which controlled and shaped the history of the Israelites, to an extent it would be the height of arrogance for an ordinary interpreter to claim," and that consequently "we cannot but allow the correctness of the meanings he assigns to the Old Testament," [1] is a position which would involve in it that nature also and history, in their whole extent, should be considered to have unveiled their secrets to him. Let us be on our guard against premises from which such conclusions would flow. What I meant is gathered, *a posteriori*, from the accounts of Jesus' teaching. It is self-evident that in answering the question, how he used the writings of the Old Testament, we must observe the greatest caution. His words have been transmitted to us in another language than that in which he had uttered them; the citations in another version than that in which he had presented them. It is, moreover, not certain that the narrators have always done him justice, and have not sometimes attributed to him their own thoughts. Still, after all, it is in the highest degree remarkable that the references to the Old Testament, which the synoptical gospels especially—that is, the oldest and most faithful—put into the mouth of Jesus, so extremely seldom draw forth objections, and furnish such ample material for admiration. The subject is too rich

[1] Dr S. Davidson, in *The Theological Review*, Vol. VIII. (1871), p. 17.

to be more than indicated here; it would demand and deserve a separate treatise.[1] But since the general opinion just expressed is almost universally assented to, it will be allowed me to request the reader to observe how strongly the view defended in this chapter is thereby confirmed in every part. "How knoweth this man the Scriptures, without having learned them?"[2] So should we be inclined to ask, with the unbelieving Jews, if it plainly appeared that Jesus excelled in scientific exegesis, and in that department surpassed, for example, the disciple of Gamaliel and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who was formed in the schools of Alexandria. But that the mastery belongs to him in the practical-religious use of Scripture is just what we had a right to expect. As little as he was equalled in the domain of religion, even by his most eminent disciples, so little can we deem it probable that one of them shall have stood on a level with him in depth of understanding the Scripture, in the many-sided development of its contents, and in the application of its thoughts. The manner in which Jesus uses Scripture stands in the same relation to that of his followers as his religious genius stands to theirs. Is it not involved in this, that we have now chosen the true point of view for judging and estimating that use of Scripture?

[1] Compare Tholuck "Das A. T. im N. Testament," pp. 20—29; remarks, however, which cannot be assented to without limitations; Dr S. Davidson, l.c. pp. 12—18.

[2] John vii. 15.

CHAPTER XV.

THE PLACE OF ISRAELITISH PROPHECY IN THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF MANKIND.

AT the conclusion of a comprehensive and laborious investigation, it is always necessary for us to collect, survey, and estimate the results which have been obtained. Least of all can *we* at present refrain from following such a course. The way which we have traversed seems, at the first glance, to be strewed with ruins. Commencing with the most common view of the labours and merits of the Israelitish prophets, we could not bring *the reality* to light without incurring the appearance of tearing the statues of these men from the pedestals on which the belief of ages had placed them. It was, indeed, at the same time sufficiently evident that, according to my conviction, this appearance was deceptive. But a point so important is not disposed of by a few hints, offered as if in passing. It must be expressly shown what, on our view, is left of Israelitish prophecy, and what place it takes in the history both of the people of Israel and, more generally, in that of religion. Thus to collect and combine into one whole the results of the investigation which has been instituted is, in this case, not only a duty, but also a pleasure. For, in truth, criticism has seldom performed work which better rewards the toil than the task which it had to accomplish with regard to the Old Testament. It has specifically not only made us better acquainted with the prophets, but also taught us to estimate them more highly. Looking at them especially, we may say with Renan—"Jerusalem has come forth more dazzling and beautiful from the apparently destructive labour of modern science. . . . It is we who behold Israel in her true beauty—we, the critics, who

are entitled to say in truth, 'Our feet stand in thy courts, O Jerusalem.'"[1]

But let the facts themselves speak. Our closing examination has no other object than to set forth clearly their true significance.

I choose for our point of departure a remarkable testimony regarding prophecy which is recorded for us in the Old Testament itself. The author of Deuteronomy, a contemporary of Josiah (639-608 B.C.), makes the lawgiver, whom he throughout introduces as the speaker, address to Israel the very earnest warning to take no part in the religious practices of the Canaanites. In doing so he has his eye directed specifically to the various kinds of soothsaying, which he therefore mentions by name. "Everyone who doeth these things is an abomination unto Jahveh, and because of these abominations, Jahveh thy god doth drive out these nations from before thy face. Thou shalt be perfect with (dedicate thyself wholly to) Jahveh thy god. For these nations, whose land thou art inheriting, hearken unto diviners and soothsayers; but as for thee, Jahveh, thy god, doth not suffer thee so to do. *A prophet from the midst of thee, from thy brethren, like unto me, shall Jahveh thy god raise up unto thee: unto him ye shall hearken.*" Then the people are reminded of what occurred at the giving of the law on Sinai. On that occasion they had made known their desire to hear no more the voice of Jahveh, and to see no more the brightness of his glory. Jahveh had then approved of that wish and said to Moses: "*A prophet will I raise up to them from among their brethren, like unto thee, and I will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I command him.*"[2]

The sequel of this remarkable passage has no interest for us at present, and has, moreover, been discussed in another connection.[3] For our business now is with the *contrast between prophecy and divination*, which is here so clearly and sharply formulated. The author of Deuteronomy, who knew prophecy from tradition and from his own observation, and indeed may himself have been one of the prophets, utters

[1] "Etudes d'Histoire Religieuse," p. 74.
[2] Deut. xviii. 9-18.
[3] Above, pp. 55-57.

his conviction that the *nabi* of Jahveh, on the one hand, provided for the wants, for which the Canaanites sought satisfaction from their soothsayers, but still, on the other hand, differed very essentially from the latter, and that because he was raised up by Jahveh, spake the word of Jahveh, and delivered the commands of Jahveh to his people. He stands not alone in this conviction. We find it again in various forms in the prophets themselves. In their writings, too, we find an unceasing warfare against soothsaying, in which the heathen, among whom it had its home, found as little advantage as the Israelites, who adopted it from them.[1] Accordingly they place those prophets, whom they deny to have been sent by Jahveh, on the same footing as the diviners and soothsayers.[2] Their own preaching forms a sharp contrast to the artifices of these men; a contrast which is either expressed in so many words, or tacitly assumed.[3]

As testimonies regarding the time to which they belong, these utterances are irrefragable. The prophets placed themselves in opposition to the soothsayers, because they, in fact, stood opposed to them. They expressed nothing more than the simple reality, which would undoubtedly have made the same impression upon us, if we could have been witnesses of it. But yet while we freely acknowledge this, we must at the same time ask, whether the opposition had been as manifest always and from the beginning? We already observed that, according to the Deuteronomist, the wants, for which the prophets provided, and the soothsayers were thought to provide, were the same. We heard Micah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel stigmatise the prophets of their time with the name of soothsayers. The first mentioned says of Jerusalem, that "*her prophets divine for money.*"[4] When Isaiah enumerates the persons in whom

[1] Hos. iv. 12; Zech. x. 2; Is. ii. 6; iii. 2 (the soothsayer, (which is the proper rendering of the phrase translated "the prudent" in the *Auth. Ver.*), —just as the prophet by profession—one of the pretended supports which Jahveh shall remove); viii. 19; xix. 3 (the Egyptian soothsayers); Micah v. 11 (12); Nah. iii. 4 (Assyrian divination); Jer. xxvii. 9 (the soothsayers of the surrounding nations); Ezek. xxi. 26 ff., 21 ff. *Auth. Ver.* (soothsaying of Nebuchadrezzar); Is. xlvii. 9, 12, compare xliv. 25 (of the Chaldeans); Mal. iii. 5.

[2] Micah iii. 6-11; Jer. xiv. 14; xxix. 8; Ezek. xiii. 6 ff.; xxii. 28—passages to which we shall immediately return.

[3] See especially Isa. viii. 19; Micah iii. 6-11; and also the other passages quoted in the two preceding notes.

[4] Micah iii. 11.

Jerusalem and Judah place their trust, l
soothsayer" immediately alongside of es
above all when we go back in the histc
proofs of original affinity become multi
and lower standpoint of development,
approximate very closely to phenomena
period, it is separated by a wide chasm.
by which we can ascend, and by both v
the same result. The name *nabi*, in th
always in use among the Israelites, and
was adopted by them from the Canaan
of these facts will be sufficient to mak
ance at once obvious.

1st. With regard to the first point
Testament itself an historical annotation
attention. In one of the narratives cc
the prophet of that name is called '
This gives the writer occasion to infor
Israel, when a man went to inquire of
let us go to the seer.' For he who is
phet' was formerly called 'the seer.'"
that the rest of the Old Testament w
know this fact, or did not allow themse
it in their mode of expression; in t
"prophets" at least appear long befor
this inaccuracy, which can be easily ex
lessens the value of the annotation in 1
induce us to doubt its correctness, or
validity. We therefore assume that th
during the period of the Judges called
went to consult about the will or p
"seers," and that this name was as
at that time, as the title of "proph
ages.

This phraseology cannot be regarded
rather a very distinct testimony regardi
action of those to whom it refers. It i
ment in proof of their close affinity
For they were called "seers" for no oth

[1] Isaiah iii. 2. [2] 1 Sam. ix. 9. [3] S

they were thought to *see* what for the rest of men was hidden, the secrets either of the present or of the future. Saul and his servant go to consult "the seer" about the lost asses, and do not venture to approach him without a present.[1] The wife of Jeroboam betakes herself to Ahijah in order to obtain certainty regarding the life of her sick child; and before doing so provides herself with loaves, cakes, and a jar of honey, in order to present them to the man of God.[2] We have no more instances than these, but they are not communicated to us as at all exceptional cases, so that we may confidently gather from them what must then have been the rule. That, therefore, for which Micah reproaches the great mass of the prophets in his day, namely, that they "divined for money," was done universally by the earlier seers. Those contemporaries of Micah, and in like manner also, a century later, the prophets whom Jeremiah and Ezekiel combat, continued to occupy the stand-point of their predecessors. Micah and the rest of the canonical prophets have risen about it. The seer has become the prophet; the prophecy of which the written documents lie before us in the Old Testament, presents itself as a higher development or an ennobled form of the office of the seer which was closely akin to soothsaying.

Let us not lose sight here of the fact that, in ancient times, in Israel as well as elsewhere, different kinds or forms of soothsaying existed. The various names used in Deuteronomy and by the prophets, are of uncertain signification, but they prove, notwithstanding, that the need of certainty and enlightenment was sought to be satisfied in diverse manners. Following the footsteps of the ancients themselves, a distinction is still commonly made between *artificial* and *natural divination*, and the latter is generally regarded as being higher than the former.[3] According as this difference of form was greater, the supposition that the *roéh* also belonged to the soothsayers becomes the more worthy of acceptance. He does not need on that account to have used all the artificial means which particular classes employed. He may even have been hostile, for example, to the *obôth* and the *jiddeonîm* (probably the necromancers and the wizards endowed with extraordinary

[1] 1 Sam. ix. 6—10. [2] 1 Kings xiv. 1 ff.
[3] See, among others, Küper, "das Prophetenthum des A. Bundes," pp. 1 ff.

knowledge) who, as we read,[1] were removed out of the land by Saul. Apart from this difference in method—if I may so express myself—the seer was distinguished from the most of the soothsayers in that the latter did not serve the god of Israel, but other gods, and derived from them the powers which were at their command. We do not mean by this to assert that such was *always* the case, or in other words, that soothsaying was *at all times* connected with idolatry. In the Jahvism of the Deuteronomist there is no place for any form of soothsaying whatever; the prophet is for him the sole organ of the divinity; all that lies outside of the announcement of Jahveh's word is reprobated and rejected as heathenish. But even then, in the seventh century B.C., and still more at an earlier period, this view must have been far from universal. We have, for instance, not the slightest right to regard as idolaters the prophets to whom Micah's denunciation is addressed, and whom he calls soothsayers. On the contrary Micah himself testifies of them that they "leaned upon Jahveh and said 'is not Jahveh among us? None evil shall come upon us.'"[2] The same thing is true, if not of all, yet of very many who are combated by Jeremiah and Ezekiel and branded with the same name. Of this, however, we shall speak more fully hereafter. For the present, it is sufficient for me to have directed attention to the very composite character of the phenomenon which we call "soothsaying," and to the diversity of the religious convictions with which it was connected. The position that prophecy must be regarded as a higher development of the office of the seer—an office having great affinity with soothsaying—is thereby at once elucidated and rendered more deserving of acceptance.

2d. I point, in the second place, to the origin of the title "*nabi*," and to what is thence derived by legitimate inference. I can connect the remarks which I make here with what was formerly brought forward regarding this name.[3] As the use of the term is not confined to the circle of Jahvism, so it is not, by its etymology, connected specifically with this form of religion. In other words it is, in the abstract, as possible that the word *nabi* has been transferred from the prophets of Israel to those of Canaan, as that it was borrowed

[1] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3. [2] Mich. iii. 11. [3] See above, pp. 41, 4

by the Israelites from the Canaanites. But when we attend to the nature of the phenomena which are denoted by the word, and which, according to the accounts given in 1 Samuel, first appeared prominently in the foreground among the "prophets," in the days of Samuel, then the latter, the Canaanitish origin of the name, becomes, by far, the most probable. The ecstatic excitement which was aroused by artificial means, and which sometimes passed into a kind of frenzy, is quite in its appropriate place in the worship of the nature-gods, Baal and Ashera, much more so there than in the adoration of the severe and holy Jahveh. Were it otherwise, then the *nabi* of Jahveh would in successive ages have continued to be a *nabi*, that is to say, all that is denoted by this name would then have always constituted his chief characteristic. But the contrary is true. The ecstatic excitement in his case gradually retires more into the background, and finally disappears almost altogether; a most natural result, if the *nabi* has originally grown up on the soil of other religious ideas and practices; for then, transplanted from this soil to the ground of Jahvism, he would of necessity gradually change in character, and ultimately become—what many find, but incorrectly, indicated even in the name which he bears —the *speaker* in Jahveh's name and of Jahveh's words.

It would of course be very desirable that we should be able to speak with certainty upon such an important question as this. But from the want of historical accounts we must rest content with probable conjectures, which have this recommendation besides, that they give us a satisfactory explanation of the first appearance of prophecy in Israel. For in the representation which we have to form of it, the *roéh*, the predecessor of the prophet, finds a place, as well as the Canaanitish origin of the phenomena to which the name *nabi* refers.

During the whole period of the Judges, the Israelites and Canaanites contended with each other for supremacy. With this political struggle was coupled the conflict between the religions of the two parties. In *the latter* point we find the same difference of issue as in *the former:* as Israel sometimes and in some districts of the land preserved its superiority over the ancient inhabitants, in other quarters had to give way

before them, and in others still became blended with them, so in one place also the Israelitish religion preserved its peculiar character and maintained its supremacy, while in another it was almost expelled by the Canaanitish forms of worship, and in a third coalesced with them, now in one way, now in another. It was as a duel between the national and the territorial religion, the issue of which ran parallel with that of the conflict between the foreign invaders and the original inhabitants. Towards the end of the period of the Judges, the national party seems to collect all its powers. Led by such men as Samuel and Saul, it manifests its importance much more than formerly, as it now feels itself able, and therefore also makes ready, to take into its own hands the direction of affairs. The onward movement is, as was to be expected, at once political and religious. *Prophecy is one of the forms in which this religious revival shows itself.* The phenomena of ecstatic excitement which had hitherto appeared only among the adherents of the gods of the land, and certainly had not remained unobserved by the Israelites, pass over to the servants of the national god Jahveh. Associations of Jahveh-prophets are formed. They agree with similar societies among the Canaanites in this respect, that they rouse the enthusiasm of their members by music and song. In other respects also there may have been an external resemblance. But what takes place among those prophets of Jahveh is ascribed to the operation of Jahveh's spirit; it exists, so to say, for the service of Jahveh, and thus furthers interest in Jahvism, and the awakening of the national feeling.

What this prophecy would have become, if it had been left to itself, it is impossible to determine. Perhaps even in that case the peculiar nature of Jahvism would have eventually determined the character of the associations of the prophets, and thus the distance between them and the similar fraternities on Canaanitish soil would have gradually become greater. But to enter upon speculations on this point leads to no result. For the fact is, that prophecy—in so far as we can discover, from the very beginning—was grasped and guided by a powerful hand. *Samuel places himself at the head of the movement.* It is from a narrative in which he

plays the chief part, and as it were from his own mouth, that we become acquainted with the existence of the association of prophets in the neighbourhood of Ramah, Samuel's dwelling-place.[1] When the messengers of Saul, in the course of their search of the fugitive David, proceed to the spot where the prophets are assembled, they find that Samuel "stands upright over them," as it is expressed,[2] that is, leads their assemblage. Saul, having arrived some time after, "strips off his clothes like the rest, and prophesies in like manner, before Samuel's face."[3] *The seer, the man zealous for Jahveh's service, shows the enthusiasts the path which they must follow.* Wherein his leading consisted, is not communicated to us: we possess with regard to his action as a whole only fragmentary, and moreover mutually conflicting, accounts. But we certainly do not deceive ourselves when we form a high estimate of his influence upon the young associations, and think we can clearly observe it in the later development of prophecy. When the phenomena of the state of trance are no longer regarded by the prophets as the chief matter, and strenuously furthered; but then also, in consequence of this, become gradually weaker,—when their action takes a more practical direction, and its *ethical and religious element* ultimately maintains the supremacy—does it not then most readily suggest itself to us, to refer all this to Samuel, and to give to him, in a great measure, the honour of such a result? We shall feel the more justified in doing so, if we at the same time only keep in view that he could make his influence so powerfully felt, and could accomplish so great things, because he was the representative of the Jahveh-worship, specifically of every feature which, at the stage of development which it had then reached, characteristically distinguished it from the worship of the nature-gods. If he had attempted to introduce his personal convictions, it might easily have happened that his exertions would have been in vain, or that their fruits would, at least after his death, have been totally lost. But now when he wrought in one and the same direction with the spirit which inspired the prophets themselves, and only held them back with a powerful hand from what was at variance even with that spirit, he could in truth

[1] 1 Sam. x. 5, 6. [2] 1 Sam. xix. 20. [3] *Ibid.*, verse 24.

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ment of prophecy, we must, first of all,
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[1] See above, p. 41 ff.

ing power of the whole process. But what is meant by this statement? At what level did religious ideas and practices stand in Israel, when the prophets appeared?

How this question is answered by the traditional school is well known. It places the prophets on *the ground of the Law.* The Pentateuch, which existed in its present form at, or shortly after, the settlement of Israel in Canaan, was not only known to them, but was also the rule of their whole action. Not that they confined themselves to the reproduction of the Mosaic prescriptions. Their task extended further. They brought the commandments of Jahveh to the remembrance of the frequently backsliding people. They showed how those commandments should be fulfilled and applied in the changing circumstances of the time. It was their vocation to reduce the different laws to their principles, and to cause these principles to be received into the hearts of the Israelites. In this manner they maintained the spirit rather than the letter of the Law. Nay, they sometimes rose above the letter, when the principles involved required such a course. The formula, *the Law and the Prophets,* which we know from the New Testament, is, according to this view, exceedingly appropriate. For, in truth, they are both closely connected, without altogether coinciding. The Law precedes, the Prophets follow. The former is the basis on which the latter stand, but on which they also proceed to build further. They may be called disciples of Moses, but more correctly, his successors and the continuators of his work.

It would be unjust to deny all importance to the task of the prophets, when it is thus understood and described. According as the distance between the requirements of the Law and the practice of the people was greater, their work also became more difficult and momentous. It would have been in itself no small credit, in the face of such a nation, and only too frequently also in the face of its kings and princes, to represent Mosaism worthily in word and deed. But notwithstanding this, it is still a subordinate part which the traditional view assigns to the prophets. We can easily perceive why it, at the same time, prefers to bring them into connection with the future, and to place their testimony concerning it, their predictions, in the foreground; for in and

for the present they had—I mean according to the view which we are discussing—a comparatively simple work to accomplish. For surely the Law which now lies before us, and with the contents of which they had, according to this view, become completely imbued, contains much more than either unconnected prescriptions without any reference to the principles from which they have proceeded, or merely principles which, so to say, still await their development and application. The bond which unites the individual enactments into one system, is, on the contrary, here and there distinctly visible; the principles are laid down, but, at the same time, they are applied in many different ways. If anyone wishes to be convinced as to the former point, let him consult Deuteronomy, especially the introduction to the legislation properly so-called (chap. v.—xi.); and if anyone wishes to see the latter point established, let him read, for instance, the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi. — xxiii.), or Lev. xix. To these the prophets could not add much that was new. "Thou shalt love Jahveh thy god with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might;"[1] it would be very difficult to base the chief thing in religion more clearly upon principle, or to express it in purer and more elevated language than is done in these words of the Deuteronomist. So also many separate prescriptions of the Law, not only in the chapters just mentioned of Exodus and Leviticus, but also in Deuteronomy, are not surpassed by those of the prophets. Even in spiritualising the prescriptions of the Law, they had been preceded by the Law itself. Does it not speak of *a circumcision of the heart* by Jahveh, which shall have as its result that Israel shall love Him with heart and soul, and thus gain for themselves life?[2] And does it not make mention elsewhere of *the uncircumcised heart* of the Israelites, which shall be humbled and converted by judgment?[3] We could adduce many other examples. Even the scheme of the prophetical announcement of the chastising righteousness of Jahveh, and of the compassion, fraught with blessing, for which it shall prepare the way, is delineated in the Law.[4] Granting even that to be true, which I expressed lately, that the

[1] Deut. vi. 5. [2] Deut. xxx. 6. [3] Lev. xxvi. 41.
[4] *E.g.* in Deut xi. 8 ff.; xxviii.; xxix f.; Lev. xxvi.

prophets have *built further* upon the foundation which was laid before their time, still they have done so according to the plan which was put into their hands. A most meritorious work; we have no wish to deny that; but a work for which no extraordinary gifts of intellect or heart were required.[1]

We should, however, have to acquiesce in this view of the work of the prophets and in the limited estimation of their merits which thence results, if history recommended or even demanded it. But it is already well known to the reader that, on this point especially, history does not coincide with tradition.[2] To express it briefly: for the traditional phrase "the Law and the Prophets" it substitutes "*the Prophets and the Law.*" For the final redaction of the present Pentateuch was preceded chronologically by the entire series of the canonical prophets. A very considerable portion of the legislation, the whole system of sacerdotal or ritual prescriptions contained in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, was not reduced to writing till the Babylonish captivity, or afterwards. Another important part, the Deuteronomic law, dates from the second half of the seventh century B.C., and is thus about contemporaneous with Jeremiah. The narratives regarding the patriarchal and Mosaic times, written in the spirit of the prophets, are older, but still do not probably reach a higher antiquity than the eighth century before our era. Is the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xxi.—xxiii.) a work of the same period, or is it still older? We possess no certain knowledge on this point, but yet we have no right to separate that collection and the prophetical literature from each other by a long interval. For the period which precedes the appearance of the Jahveh-prophets there ultimately remain only "the ten words," and these not in their present, but in a more original, form.[3] The prophets thus stood on the soil of Mosaism indeed, but of another Mosaism than that which we know from the present Pentateuch. When they

[1] On that account de Wette could place the task of Israelitish prophets on the same footing as that of the preachers in Protestant congregations. See his treatise: "De ratione atque similitudine prophetarum in V. T. ecclesia et doctorum theologiæ in ecclesia evangelica." (Opuscc. pp. 169-196.)

[2] See above, pp. 389 f., 406 ff.

[3] "De Godsdienst van Israël" vol. i. pp. 278 ff. (Vol. i. pp. 282 ff. English Translation.)

began their labours only the most rudimentary elements of that book were in existence, namely, the orally transmitted reminiscences of the great deliverer of the people from the Egyptian bondage, and a few commandments in which his conception of Jahveh's character, and of Israel's relation to him had found their expression.

It is with some reluctance that I write all this without developing, or even touching upon, the numerous proofs by which it is supported. But I must, however, limit myself to referring to what has been stated on the same subject in various parts of this work [1] and especially in another place:[2] a deeper investigation of the critical questions—above all of this problem of exceptional difficulty—would divert our attention from what must always be the main point here, and yet would not fully answer the purpose aimed at, since a discussion which should be at all complete is of course not to be thought of. Meanwhile the reader can himself at once judge, whether the representation of the work of the prophets, which results from the critical premises now stated, satisfies the requirements of probability.

For it is self-evident that the task of the prophets now becomes entirely different from what it was according to the traditional conception first described. We must now attribute to them a much greater degree of originality. It is true that, according even to the view defended by me, the place of honour belongs to Moses. He gave the impulse to the whole subsequent development, when he bound Israel to the adoration of Jahveh, and expressed once for all the moral character of the Jahveh-worship in "the ten words." But it makes certainly, in reference to the prophets, a very great difference whether we give them the historical Moses, or the writer of the Pentateuch, as their predecessor. If no such author preceded them, then, while their work still remains as it is, they had no model to follow; then, they themselves have produced what they seemed at first to have borrowed from another quarter. On a close examination their work is plainly seen to have been twofold. Jahveh, a holy god who prescribes

[1] See above, pp. 406 ff.

[2] Compare "De Godsdienst van Israël," i. 423 ff.; ii. 89 ff. &c. (Vol. ii. pp. 15 ff.; 182 ff. &c., English Translation), and my lecture, on "De vijf boeken van Mozes" (Leiden, 1872.)

moral requirements: this is the fundamental idea which was handed down to them from Sinai. They have now, *in the first place*, maintained and applied, expanded and purified, Jahveh's moral law. They have, *in the second place*, gradually formed a purer and more spiritual conception of Jahveh himself, and have finally reached the height of ethical monotheism.

It is of the ultimate result of this twofold work that we can best judge, or rather it is on that alone that we can form a sure judgment. In literary documents, whose genuineness is undisputed, the final outcome lies clearly visible before us, expressed in words, in so far as it admitted of being so expressed. With regard to all that serves as a preparation for it, we must rest contented with the accounts of others. The want is great and, to a certain extent, irreparable. Our narrators—the same whose character and method we studied in chapter xii.—are only imperfectly informed with regard to the earlier ages, and do not at all seek to bring out as distinctly as possible the difference between the past and the present. At the same time, while describing events of the past, they never lose sight of the wants and interests of their own contemporaries. They never hesitate to make the representation of the character and action of the historical personages serviceable for the announcement of religious truth, and for exhorting and comforting their readers. It results from the nature of the case that in this way the portraiture of the early prophets specifically has suffered—so much so even that a doubt arises in our own minds whether the narratives regarding them are indeed fitted to make us acquainted with the reality. But we need not despair on that point. We might, indeed, do so if the historical writers had purposely wished to lead us on a wrong track. But since their habit of blending their own views and wishes with the representation of the facts is, for the most part, involuntary, and, for that reason, characterised by great simplicity (*naïveté*), our chances of getting at the truth are comparatively favourable. On many occasions the reality glimmers through the narratives. For the most part they contain, alongside of the author's view, some features which are unconnected with his manner of thinking and his object, or are even at variance with them. As a matter of course, we first seize upon these

features. We then allow ourselves to be
pression made on us by the narratives in
nection, and by the particulars which agr
We thus obtain a whole which is consisten
its own recommendation. For the result
vestigation is, on the one hand, that the
eleventh to the ninth century B.C. inclusiv
forward in the twofold direction just indi
hand, however, it becomes evident that the
still merely on the way, and had not yet

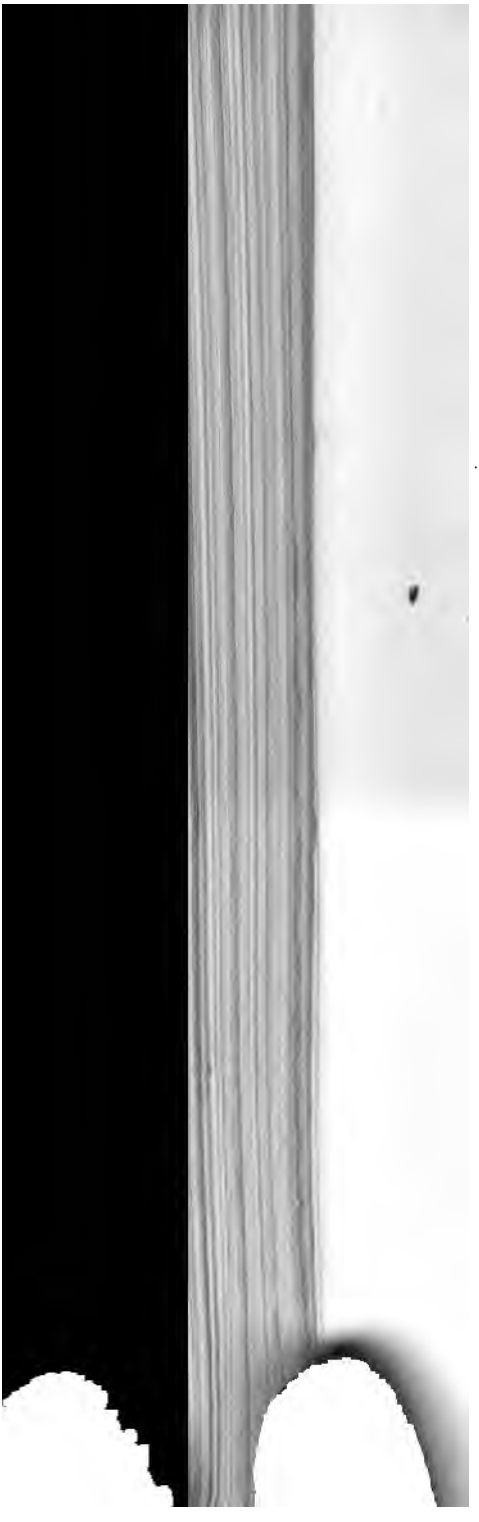
Let us first place before us the image c
the leader of the association of prophets
latest historical narratives, more than on
his mouth,[1] which would bear testimo
conception of Jahveh and the Jahveh-wo
regarded as authentic. But these utter
greatest probability, ascribed to the narrat
great freedom, the *data* of tradition. It i
to the impression which Samuel's best at
upon us. Now when we do so, he appe
zealous for the worship of Jahveh, and a
the other gods which the people placed
of Israel ;[2] as a man stern and inexorable
slightest deviation from what he had pr
name, and admitted no sort of excuse as
tainer of that view of Jahveh's character w
complete expression in *the dooming* or
everything which was thought to withs
persecutor with fire and sword of the h
In connection with this point, it strikes u
one of the later accounts, his appearance
even those also who reverence him.[6] Al

[1] See especially 1 Sam. xv. 22, 23, 29 ; xvi. 7 ;
in 1 Sam. xii., which attaches itself to the Pentate
[2] 1 Sam. vii. 3. [3] 1 Sam. xiii. 8—
[4] 1 Sam. xv. 1—3 ; compare 14 ff.; further, vers
Samuel hewed Agag in pieces *before the face of Jah*
[5] 1 Sam. xxviii. 3—that is, if, as is most prob
matter in the spirit, and, perhaps, even by the advi
[6] 1 Sam. xvi. 4, 5. This little trait sheds ligh
where it is said that Samuel judged Israel ; the se
have been wanting in his discharge of this function

consistent, and lead us to one conclusion—the Jahvism of Samuel contained in it the germs of a subsequent higher development; but it yet stood far below the pure, spiritual conviction to which prophecy should eventually rise.

How we are to judge in general regarding David himself and his contemporaries has been shown elsewhere.[1] The question with us at present is whether the prophets who laboured in his reign occupied a higher standpoint. Their names, Nathan and Gad, are spoken by us with reverence. The close relation in which they stood to David—of which also the title "king's seer," which is assigned to Gad,[2] bears witness—brought with it its own peculiar dangers and temptations; but still they were not overcome by them. When David had sinned, neither of them was afraid to rebuke him severely, and announce to him the punitive judgments of Jahveh.[3] This could not but make a deep impression on the people also, and quicken the conviction that the god of Israel, as the interpreters of whom these men came forward, was the Holy and Righteous One, who was no respecter of persons. It is to the imperishable honour of Nathan and Gad that they vigorously maintained this truth, which, in an eastern monarchy, was so liable to be forgotten. Are we now, in addition to this, at liberty to assume that they had already drawn the inferences which resulted from this ethical conception of Jahveh's character? There is no evidence of such a thing. The idea of Jahveh which lies at the foundation of the disapproval of David's numbering the people, and of the belief that the pestilence which afflicted Israel was to be regarded as a punishment for the king's transgression,[4]—this idea is neither higher nor purer than the representation which we considered must be attributed to Samuel. The execution of the seven sons and grandsons of Saul took place in consequence of an oracle, which, as will be remembered, ran thus: "On Saul and on his house rests a blood-guilt,

[1] Compare "De Godsdienst van Israël," i. 321—26 (vol. i., pp. 323—28, English Translation).
[2] 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Chron. xxi. 9; 2 Chron. xxix. 25.
[3] 2 Sam. xii. 1 ff.; xxiv. 11 ff.
[4] 2 Sam. xxiv.; 1 Chron. xxi. Compare my article in "Nieuw en Oud," 1870, pp. 505, ff.



because he slew the Gibeonites."[1] Was i
one of the two prophets known to us, v
oracle, and so indicated the means of re
which now for three successive years had
We do not know it for certain: it is also
received such an answer from the priestl
in that case this fact remains, that the
did not oppose this conception of his
looked on quietly, while the guiltless c
were sacrificed to the superstitious ideas c
is irreconcilable, not merely with the su
knew the Deuteronomic laws,[2] but also w
their ideas about Jahveh, about sin, punis
ness, had already reached a high degree c
this had been the case, it must have b
religious and moral life of their time, in tl
their patron and follower. But now whe
such result appeared,[3] we can be indebtec
this one thing, that they faithfully ma
character of Jahveh and his requirements.
thing not the indispensable condition
development?

In the history of prophecy, or at least
that history, the reign of Solomon is an
fact that he—the pupil of Nathan
favoured,[5] the worship of the gods of his
not certainly be regarded as a proof th
general saw no evil in that worship.
infer from such a fact that Solomon h
any idea of monotheism—the acknowlec
of *one only* God—and also that this
pressed upon him by Nathan; the apc
called monolatry—the worship of *one*
worship of many gods can psychologic

[1] 2 Sam. xxi. 1—14. The words quoted occur
beth-hadamîm read *betho damîm*.
[2] Deut. xxiv. 16; vii. 9, 10 (a remarkable modi
Deut. v. 9).
[3] Compare my *Hk. O.*, 265 ff.
[4] 2 Sam. xii. 25, and the note of Thenius on this
[5] 1 Kings xi. 1—8, 33.

explained, but how a monotheist, in the strict sense of the word, can, along with the *only God*, pay homage to other gods, must always remain an inexplicable enigma. The idolatry of Solomon—of which the visible proofs continued to exist undisturbed for centuries in succession[1] in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem—is thus a strong evidence of the correctness of our position, that the higher standpoint was not yet reached at that time, a reason therefore why we cannot hesitate also to regard the purer ideas, which are put into his mouth in the narrative of the dedication of the temple,[2] as the convictions of the prophetical historian.

I have up to this point made no mention of Ahijah the Shilonite. It is indeed exceedingly difficult to define with certainty the point of view which he represents as against Solomon: the narrative in which he appears has a historical basis, but does not reproduce his ideas with exactness.[3] There is however nothing strange in his stern disapprobation of the favour shown to the foreign worship: Samuel and, more generally speaking, all who held fast by the Mosaic traditions, would have done the same, had they been in his place. The great question is, *on what ground* did this disapprobation rest? Was it on a monotheistic basis, or rather on the conviction that Israel must worship no other gods than the god of Israel alone? The latter supposition is by far the more probable, in connection not only with what precedes, but also with the history of religion in the kingdom of Ephraim, a kingdom which was brought into existence under the influence of Ahijah, and in which his successors made their power be so strongly felt. I allude to the worship of the golden image of the steer at Dan and Bethel, which was immediately introduced by Jeroboam I., and continued to exist as the proper religion of the state for more than two and a half centuries, on till the commencement of the Assyrian captivity. It is, as is well known, repeatedly and most sternly reprobated by the author of the book of Kings. We have formerly seen what standard he employs in

[1] 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

[2] 1 Kings viii. 12—21, 23—53, 56—61; 2 Chron. vi. 1—11, 14—42. See especially 1 Kings viii. 27, 39[b], 41—43, 60.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 26—40. Compare above, pp. 398, f.

doing so.[1] It is self-evident that not onl
successors, but their subjects also, judged
of Jahveh-worship, at variance with the
regarding Jahveh's character and require
have been introduced, or at least would nev
be practised, and would not have been tol
nation. On this subject therefore no d
can exist. On the other hand, the relat
prophets to the golden image of the steer
and in fact a very disputable point. The
of Kings informs us that they reprobat
Jeroboam regarding public worship, and
the cause of the fall of his dynasty, and
truction of the kingdom.[2] On his standpo
believe that: how should the prophet of
able to approve of what Jahveh himse
demned at Sinai? But for the very rea
point of the historian admitted of no othe
presents itself to us, whether he is to be
this point, or must not rather be thought
reproduced the tradition regarding the
where it was silent, to have completed it
his own convictions? So much is certa
accordance with the later view, but at va
does not allow the worship of the golden
to be Jahveh-worship at all, or, in other v
image worship on the same footing with t
gods, and puts this judgment into the mou
this he deviates from the reality, what wa
elsewhere he reproduces it with accuracy?
in the kingdom of Ephraim frequently op
effected the ruin of more than one dy
accepted as historical facts. But how many
there have been for such a course than th
which they prescribed in the temples at D

The accounts regarding those successors
used with great caution, but still they s

[1] See above, pp. 398, ff., 414, 419, ff.
[2] 1 Kings xiv. 8, 9, 15, 16; xv. 30; xvi. 2, 13;
[3] 1 Kings xiv. 9, 15.

statement, that their opposition originated from various causes, and that it would be very wrong to connect them mainly, much more exclusively, with the form of Jahveh-worship. Of Jehu ben Hanani nothing more is told us than that he predicted the fall of the house of Baasha.[1] In the war against Benhadad, king of Damascus, Ahab is encouraged and supported by an unnamed prophet,[2] just as his project to wrest Jabesh in Gilead from the Syrians is applauded by four hundred prophets.[3] Another one, also unnamed, severely condemns Ahab's clemency towards Benhadad: he ought, in accordance with Jahveh's will, to have doomed him to utter destruction.[4] The narratives regarding Elijah and Elisha in no way give the impression that these great men came forward as the assailants of the temples at Dan and Bethel. Elijah, as is well known, contends for Jahveh and against Baal.[5] He reproves Ahaziah, when the latter in his sickness consults Baal-zebub, the god of Ekron.[6] After the murder of Naboth, he appears to Ahab and announces to him that Jahveh has rejected his house.[7] It is added that in consequence of the king's humiliation the execution of this judgment was delayed.[8] Here, as will be observed, "the sins of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat," in which, however, Ahab continued during the whole of his life, are thrown quite into the background, and Elijah, like Nathan and Gad before him, comes forward to maintain the moral requirements of Jahveh. Is it improbable that Ahijah, Jehu ben Hanani, and the rest of Jahveh's prophets also in the kingdom of the ten tribes, took cognizance of transgressions similar to those of Ahab, and preferred to make their judgment upon the kings of that realm dependent on such acts? Such a view of their action finds much stronger support in the narratives, than that which supposes them to have maintained continual opposition to the worship of the golden steer. When we take into account what is communicated to us regarding Jehu and his descendants, we must speak still more strongly. *They all without distinction maintained the image-worship in Dan*

[1] 1 Kings xvi. 1—7.
[2] 1 Kings xx. 13 ff., 22 ff., 28ff.
[3] 1 Kings xxii. 1 ff.
[4] 1 Kings xx. 35-43.
[5] 1 Kings xvii., xviii.
[6] 2 Kings i.
[7] 1 Kings xxi. 20-22.
[8] *Ibid.*, vv. 27-29.

and Bethel.[1] Yet it was by the influ
Jehu was placed upon the throne, and t
stood by his successors in their hard str
and Benhadad.[2] If he, or rather if the
that time, had condemned the image-w
the author of the book of Kings, they
it, or at least have left no effort untried
discontinuance. But as little in the ni
century before our era, does any one of
against the religion of the state. The d
of Israel would be supplanted by the go
was averted by Elijah and his school,
ever on the exaltation of Jehu to the thr
their great merit and at the same time
were not untrue to the tradition of the
have preserved it inviolate in circumstan
culty, was a task as arduous as it was r
does not require us to assign them anythi
too, in so far as we can see, does not all

The death of Elisha takes place in the
bably in one of the earliest years of h
that period and the appearance of Amos
of perhaps fifty years—another blank
prophecy, for of Jonah ben Amittai we k
the name,[4] and from the kingdom of Ju
cerning that interval no narratives in wh
a part. How gladly would we receive fu
respect to this period! For during these
fact have been accomplished a change wh
called a revolution. It had in truth be
a long time previously; it was the ripe
preceding development. The *ethical* co
nature, maintained, applied, and develop
recognised by them, in the contest agai
in all its significance and value in a high
before, must of itself have led to Jahve
very far above the gods of the other r

[1] 2 Kings x. 29; xiii. 2, 11; xiv. 24; xv. 9.
[2] 2 Kings ix. 1 ff., and above, pp. 393-396.
[3] 2 Kings xiii. 14-19, and above, p. 395.

his being regarded as the only one to whom the name "God" and the honour of being worshipped belonged. Probably the disasters which afflicted both kingdoms in the ninth century B.C., helped to fix attention on the difference between the god of Israel and the gods of the other nations, and to open men's eyes to the consequences which thence resulted:[1] but we cannot here speak with certainty. It is not a discovery in the region of philosophy that we are discussing. The development which we are seeking to trace revealed itself in purer and more exalted conceptions, but it took place in the innermost sanctuary of the heart. Now, the meditations of the pious mind and the silent progress in the development of religious ideas, from their very nature escape observation, and are not recorded in the annals of history. This alone is incontestable: the higher and purer conception of Jahveh's nature *is in existence* in the eighth century before our era and it is *prophets of Jahveh* who present it, and on the ground of it combat the sensuous and less developed popular belief. This fact, taken in connection with the results of our investigation into the standpoint of the earlier prophets, scarcely admits of any other interpretation than this: in the second half of the ninth century, the consciousness of the peculiar character of their religious belief became awakened in the most eminent, that is, in the most serious and pious servants of Jahveh; the glory of "the Holy One of Israel" unveiled itself before the eye of their soul; He stood before them as "the god of the gods and the lord of the lords;"[2] nay, ere long, indeed, as the only living and true God. The names of these Jahveh-worshippers have not been handed down to us. We cannot prove that they belonged to the prophets and came forward publicly in that capacity. But still that which was first proclaimed by men like Amos would surely attain to maturity also in them. We do not hesitate to regard the prophets as the creators of the higher truth which found in them its eminent interpreters.

The commencement of the prophetical literature coincides chronologically with the purification and spiritualisation of

[1] Compare "De godsdienst van Israël" I. pp. 367-370 (vol. I. pp. 367-370, English Translation).
[2] Deut. x. 17.

the idea of Jahveh. I have already drawn attention to the fact that the committal to writing of the preaching which was previously only delivered orally, must be regarded as an important turning-point in the history of prophecy; it was not by accident, or in consequence of changes which had occurred beyond their circle, but because they proposed to themselves a different object, that the prophets sought after different means.[1] It cannot now be difficult for us to bring this modification in the form of their action into connection with the development which their ideas had undergone. It is at once self-evident that all did not go together in this development: the great majority of the people, and indeed, as we shall see afterwards, of the prophets themselves also, continued to occupy their former stand-point. Between Amos and other men of kindred spirit on the one side, and the Israelitish nation on the other, there yawned a gulf much deeper and wider than that which had separated the earlier prophets from their contemporaries. For that reason the former *had not the power*, as for instance Ahijah and Elijah had, to effect a revolution by force, and to dethrone the reigning dynasty and substitute another in its place; to effect that, the support of the people would have been indispensable to them, and it is more than doubtful if that support would have been given. But for that reason also, even if the power had not been wanting to them, they were necessitated *by principle* to refrain from any such attempt: it would not have brought them a single step nearer to the object which they had in view, and would have left the moral and religious condition of the people unchanged. The only means which they had at their disposal and which promised to them good results, was to disseminate and recommend their better conception of Jahveh's character and worship by force of rational conviction. What course then more readily presented itself to them than to employ this means on the largest scale, not to confine themselves to the circle which they could reach with their *word*, but also to endeavour to exert an influence beyond that circle, and upon a subsequent generation, by *writing*? Their comparative isolation caused them to look around for *new* weapons in the contest for Jahveh; their

[1] See above, pp. 62 f., 66.

choice fell upon a *spiritual* weapon, because their contest itself had assumed a more spiritual character.

This must not of course be understood as if the prophets, after careful consideration, made choice of this means, and left others unemployed. The fact was that *they themselves* had gradually *become different* and now also naturally wrought in a different way. The origin of a prophetical literature would of itself be sufficient to make us perceive the enormous distance which prophecy has traversed from its rise till the commencement of the eighth century B.C. The popular orator and writer stands infinitely higher than either the old Israelitish *roeh* or the Canaanitish *nabi;* the latter are sunk, as it were, in the former. The horizon of the prophet of the eighth century has become widened; he surveys and judges the national life in all its compass, and brings all political affairs into connection with it. It is only in exceptional cases that he still falls into a state of trance, and that he has the higher truth revealed to him in a vision. Calm reflection gradually obtains the mastery. Already in the eighth century visions are employed as the drapery of the thoughts which had come to maturity in the mind of the prophet himself.[1] When now we see this development as a whole before us, we cannot well go wrong in the explanation of it. We could formerly leave the question undetermined, whether the ecstasies and visions of the Israelitish prophets were of a different nature from that of similar phenomena which occurred elsewhere, and which are still seen.[2] We now without hesitation affirm that the former did not differ from the latter; they too belong to the natural or materialistic basis of prophecy, and therefore also in course of its development they have gradually retired more into the background; the distinguishing characteristic of prophecy is *not* to be found in these phenomena, but in *the spirit* which partly excited, partly expelled them, or subjected them to itself. The power and significance of Israel's prophets are not to be found in their origin, or in anything which is connected therewith, or recalls it to recollection, but in their spiritual life, and the influence which that life exercised upon the conception of ethical and religious truth.

It does not enter into my plan to write the history of pro-

[1] See above, p. 80. [2] See above, p. 86.

phetical theology, to follow step by step the further development of their religious and ethical ideas. The continued study of the opinions entertained by our canonical prophets, however important in other respects, would certainly open up no new points of view. After the decisive step was once taken, it followed of necessity that the course entered upon should sooner or later be traversed to the end. The monotheism of the prophets of the eighth century has as yet scarcely stepped across the line which separates the worship of one single god, and the adoration of the only God. But it was implied in the nature of the case, that it gradually left this line of demarcation further behind, became widened, as it were, and finally raised to absolute monotheism.[1] The knowledge of the particulars is not required to enable us to estimate the work of the prophets as a whole, nor do we need to wait till we gain that knowledge, in order to express our admiration for what they have effected in the way now pointed out.

Or would materials for admiration be wanting here? I can hardly conceive of any one answering this question in the affirmative. What the organic, in distinction from the supernaturalistic, view of prophecy places before our eyes, may in truth be called a spectacle altogether unique. The mechanical communications of God have disappeared, and with them also the progressive unveiling of the secrets of the future. But in place of these, what a memorable development! what a contest for the possession of truth! It is the earnestness with which the prophets enter upon their task, the sincerity with which they believe in Jahveh and in his moral requirements, which place them in a position not only to maintain what has been handed down to them, but also to purify and elevate it. Thus they rise to the knowledge of what in ancient times remained concealed even from the wise and prudent. . . .

But before we proceed further in estimating the work of the prophets from the point of view of the spiritual development of our race, the preceding historical survey has yet to be completed. The canonical prophets and their predecessors stand there too much by themselves. Their relation to the people and to their colleagues does not come, at least sufficiently,

[1] See my article on "Jahveh and the 'other gods'" in the "Theological Review" for July 1876, pp. 329 ff., where this view is more fully developed.

into view. We know this relation already from our previous inquiry;[1] but it is only now that we can fully comprehend it. It is true that it is usually regarded, on the very contrary, as an objection against the natural interpretation of Israelitish prophecy, but it will very soon become evident to us that it strongly recommends it, and thus further consolidates the foundation on which our estimation is to rest.

The canonical prophets stand *opposed* to the Israelitish people, and the people, on their part, stand *opposed* to them. The truth of this twofold statement is, speaking generally, beyond all doubt. When I was discussing, in Chapter VI., the predictions regarding the judgment on Israel, I had to make *all* the canonical prophets, unless in some few exceptional cases, follow each other in succession. It was as *preachers of repentance* that they laboured in Israel. They did not direct their attacks against this or that transgression, committed in some circles; they had their serious and indeed, for the most part, the same, complaints against the moral and religious condition of the whole of the nation. It was a matter of course that the people should reply to these accusations with enmity, if not with mockery and persecution. Sometimes the opposition to the prophets proceeds from the constituted authorities, from the king, the courtiers, or the priesthood. Elijah, for example, is persecuted by Ahab and Jezebel, but in the contest against Baal carries along with him a great part of the people. Amos preaches at Bethel undisturbed, until Amaziah, the priest, prohibits him from continuing, and incites the king, Jeroboam II., against him.[2] But yet it is just as often that the opposition proceeds from the people, or that the people fully concur in it. One of the latest writers on our subject, whose explanation of this phenomenon we wish to consider immediately, describes it to us in the following manner[3]:—"At the period to which the prophetical addresses incorporated in the canon of the Old Testament, belong, the power of the prophets was broken in the kingdom of Judah also. Their preaching is despised[4] and answered with

[1] See above, pp. 47 f.; 361 ff., &c.
[2] Amos vii. 10—17.
[3] Dr K. Köhler, "der Prophetismus der Hebräer und die Mantik der Griechen," p. 93.
[4] Amos vi. 8; ix. 10.

mockery[1]; a pretence is sought to evade their exhortations.[2] The prophets are forbidden to speak,[3] nay, they have already begun to be persecuted.[4] Even against the royal prophet Isaiah, Israel shows itself a people hardened in heart and obtuse in understanding.[5] The development of prophecy was, as it seems, temporarily obstructed by the sanguinary persecution of king Manasseh,[6] but towards the Babylonish captivity it springs up anew and experiences in Jeremiah a second period of bloom. But in that prophet, whose life is an uninterrupted series of sufferings and distresses, the persecution of true prophecy also reaches its climax in the kingdom of Judah. Since the time that Jahveh summoned him to preach, he has become a derision and a mockery,[7] he has been cast into prison, and exposed to the risk of death.[8] In the captivity Ezekiel complains that the words of the prophets find no credence, because their fulfilment is so long delayed."[9]

Let us not, however, for a moment forget that it is the *canonical* prophets[10] exclusively towards whom the people assume such an attitude. Besides these there are others who bear the same official title. Compared with them the canonical prophets constitute a small minority. These others are honoured and beloved by the people. Their preaching corresponds to the popular wishes, and finds thus ready acceptance. But then on the other hand an unceasing warfare is maintained against them by the canonical prophets. It is obvious at the first glance that these facts, with the whole of which we are already acquainted,[11] are closely connected. The great mass of the people honour and reward those other prophets because they find themselves as it were reflected in their addresses and predictions; the canonical prophets think themselves obliged to utter the most earnest warnings against them, just because they confirm the multitude in their prejudices and sins. We need only read with a little attention what the canonical prophets have written concerning these

[1] Amos v. 18; Is. v. 19; xxviii. 10, 22. [2] Is. vii. 12. [3] Micah ii. 6.
[4] 2 Chron. xvi. 10; xxiv. 20, 21; xxv. 16. [5] Is. vi. 9, 10.
[6] 2 Kings xxi. 16. [7] Jer. xx. 7.
[8] Jer. xx. 1—3; xxvi. 8 ff.; xxxvii; xxxviii. [9] Ezek. xii. 22 ff.
[10] This appellation embraces also such men as Micaiah, the son of Imlah (1 Kings xxii.), and Urijah, the son of Shemaiah (Jer. xxvi.), of whom we possess no prophecies, but who otherwise stand quite on the same footing as the canonical prophets.
[11] See above, pp. 40, 48 ff., 60 f., 360—362.

men in order to be at once convinced that such is the actual relation between the two classes. The following words of Micah, for example,[1] are characteristic of the popular prophets:—

> "Is there a man who comes forward boastfully,
> And utters falsehood (thinking)
> 'I shall pour out to you (Israel) wine and strong drink,'
> Such a one shall be the orator of this people."

Not less distinct is the accusation which Isaiah makes against the people, and indirectly against the prophets:—[2]

> "They will not hear the instruction of Jahveh,
> They say to the seers 'see not,'
> And to the beholders of visions 'behold not right things,
> Speak to us smooth things,
> Behold for us deceits.'"

But this is already sufficient to recall the mutual relations of the two classes to our remembrance. How they are commonly explained is well known. The canonical are the true, their opponents the false prophets. Thus, for instance, the writer whose words we have just quoted, and whom we now also wish to hear, says: "One of the most dangerous enemies of genuine prophecy is its own counterfeit, false prophecy, which exercised great influence among the people especially in the degenerate period before the captivity. They are prophets who, it is true, prophesy in the name of Jahveh,[3] but who probably stand in relation to the false worship of Jahveh as a power of nature, under the image of a seer. For that reason also they are said to prophesy in the name of Baal,[4] whose prophets are also mentioned elsewhere.[5] In the years before the captivity they are the organs of public opinion in the most proper sense of the term. They assure the people that they are on the right road, and that thus they need fear no evil.[6] They impose no heavy moral requirements, but approve of the people's condition and actions[7] and do not disturb them in their sensual enjoyments and excesses,[8] to which indeed they themselves are not averse, for example, to immode-

[1] Micah ii. 11.
[2] Is. xxx. 10.
[3] Jer. xxiii. 31; Ezek. xiii. 6, 7; xxii. 28.
[4] Jer. ii. 8; xxiii. 13.
[5] 1 Kings xviii. 19.
[6] Jer. vi. 14; viii. 11.; xiv. 13, &c.; Ezek. xiii. 10; xxii. 28.
[7] Ezek. xiii. 22.
[8] Mich. ii. 11.

rate drinking[1] and to adultery.[2] In spite of the credit which they enjoy among the people, they are always exhibited by the true prophets as men who are not sent by Jahveh,[3] but who prophesy out of their own hearts,[4] and thus lead the people astray.[5] Nay, they are expressly charged with deception from covetousness and pursuit of gain.[6] This false prophecy shows the most striking agreement with heathen divination, not only in its origin but also in its degeneracy . . . In the decision with which genuine prophecy rejects all fellowship with this heathen counterfeit of it, the consciousness of the sharp contrast between its own characteristics and everything which is connected with heathenism is forcibly revealed."[7] This same contrast indeed comes also clearly out in the relation between the canonical prophets and the great majority of the people. "With the Greeks, for example, the prophet is nothing more than the organ of the popular mind for which reason also he must find credence and agreement on the part of every one who belongs to the people, so that even they who have outgrown the popular faith still pay heed to prophecy on account of their fellow-citizens. In Israel, on the contrary, the general experience is: "Who hath believed our preaching, and to whom hath Jahveh's arm become manifest?" In Israel the prophets are under the necessity of hardening their faces as a flint, as adamant[9] or granite,[10] in order not to be disheartened by the unjust and hostile reception which awaits them at the hands of the people.[11] . . . In Israel, two religious tendencies, which differ, not only formally, but also essentially, are opposed to each other; the one, the heathenish into which the people sink again after every spiritual revival, because it is their natural tendency, the other, which has been implanted in the people by a few creative minds exclusively, and is now maintained and propagated also by a similar agency, and just on that account must be called the revealed."[12] In accordance with these views, the author, from

[1] Jer. xxviii. 7.
[2] Jer. xxiii. 14; xxix. 23
[3] Jer. xiv. 14; xxiii. 21; xxviii. 15; Ezek. xiii. 6, &c.
[4] Jer. xiv. 14; xxiii. 16; Ezek. xiii. 2, 3, 17.
[5] Jer. vi. 14; viii. 11; Ezek. xxii. 28, &c.
[6] Ezek. xiii. 19; xxii. 25; Micah. iii. 5, 11.
[7] Köhler *l.c.* pp. 94, 95.
[8] Is. liii. 1.
[9] Is. l. 6, 7.
[10] Ezek. iii. 8, 9.
[11] Compare Matt. xxiii. 31; Acts vii. 51, 52.
[12] Köhler *l.c.* pp. 93, 94.

whom these citations are taken, now also declares himself against the opinion that the Old Testament prophecy must be regarded as the highest development or the completion of the prophecy of ancient times.[1] For "It could originate only *through divine revelation*, that is, it could be developed only out of a life which was not the natural life of the people, but which was implanted in the people by some persons endowed with a creative faculty."[2]

In the contrast drawn between true and false prophecy, between divine revelation and Israel's natural development, this theory agrees with the traditional view. But at the same time it approximates to the one which has been presented by me, when it limits the immediate action of God to the separation of Abraham and the forming of Moses, and represents prophecy as produced therefrom in a natural manner. It is precisely for that reason that I have presented Dr Köhler's ideas at so great length. The consideration of them can teach us, whether we are able to rest satisfied with this limitation of the theory which formerly prevailed, or whether we must not rather, for the sake of truth, break with it altogether.

Let us remark, *in the first place*, that the deviation from the view formerly prevalent, which Dr Köhler allows himself to make, is fully justified. He who now still represents our canonical prophets as the organs of God's spirit, and derives their word from immediate and continuous divine revelation, takes upon himself at the same time the obligation of neutralizing the force of the facts which are brought to light in Chapters v.—vii. Whoever sees that there is no chance of doing so, has nothing left but to substitute the mediate for the immediate, supernatural revelation. If, however, he resolves to take that step, then he will, as it seems to me, feel

[1] Thus Ewald, "die Propheten des A. Bundes," I. p. 19.

[2] Köhler *l.c.* p. 96. Compare pp. 70 f., where he gives a more detailed account of his view, as follows: "The original belief in God was kept alive in one race by an immediate providential act, and was afterwards made the property of the Israelitish people by a person whose character and work do not admit of being explained by the antecedent development, and therefore point back to a creative action on the part of God. From this period forward the prophets spake out of the "Gemeingeist" of (*i.e.* the spirit common to) the Israelitish people, but not out of the natural, rather out of the "Gemeingeist" (common spirit) which was implanted in the people by that creative personality (Moses)."

himself compelled, as a matter of course, to go still one step further, and to seek for prophecy an explanation which lies beyond the traditional conception of "revelation."

For it is obvious, in *the second place*, that the contrast which is still made by Dr Köhler also, corresponds only in part to the reality with which the Old Testament makes us acquainted. Of the opposition of the people to the canonical prophets he does not say one word too much; but yet he neglects to direct our attention to the other side of that picture. Reverence and submission alternate with enmity and persecution, or even accompany them. The people have not cast themselves loose from the prophets to whom they refuse to listen. They cannot withdraw themselves altogether from their influence. They still see in them something different from an alien power which they would be authorised to set aside. This is proved by the very passages which are annexed to the description given above. The refusal of Ahaz to follow the prophetic word of Isaiah is couched in as courteous terms as possible.[1] Though Hezekiah may, in opposition to the prophet's counsel, have sought support from Egypt, yet when Jerusalem is besieged by the Assyrians, he seeks from him help and comfort.[2] Jeremiah is assailed, but he is also defended, and that successfully;[3] the princes determine to remove him out of the way, but Zedekiah consults and protects him.[4] Certainly the preaching of the prophets excites antipathy, but it has also a hold upon the people. If it had been otherwise, they could not possibly have prosecuted their work and have ultimately even overcome the opposition. In one word: however violent the contest may be now and then, it still is not of that nature which, according to the common representation,—which is still that of Köhler,—we should expect it to be. It is not clear that the prophets represent principles and ideas which are wholly foreign to Israel's "natural life," that is, which are imported from without and have no connection with its national development. There are between them and their opponents far too numerous points of contact to allow us to rest content with such an antithesis.

[1] Is. vii. 12.
[2] 2 Kings xix. 2 ff. (Is. xxxvii. 2 ff.).
[3] Jer. xxvi. 8—19.
[4] Jer. xxi. 1—10; xxxvii., xxxviii.

Still less can we, *in the third place*, be satisfied with the part which, on this view, is assigned to the so-called "false prophets." In that especially lies the weak point of the whole theory. We ought to guard against exaggeration, as well on the one side as on the other. We wish to refrain also from idealising the "false prophets." We cannot, indeed, keep out of view that the accusers, whom alone we can hear, very likely, in their zeal, went too far, and above all were exposed to the danger of applying to all the complaints which were true only of some. But still we shall have to agree that the wish to please, and the pursuit of gain, were not unknown to many of the "prophets," and that some of them were not unjustly charged with intemperance and unchastity. To acknowledge this, however, is something entirely different from denying to them all good faith, and from turning them all, without exception, into unprincipled deceivers. We have no right whatever to do this. The canonical prophets assure us that Jahveh had not spoken to these others, and that they prophesied "out of their own heart"—but who does not recognise that the case is not therewith settled? The so-called "false prophets" asserted just the opposite, and brought, in their turn, the same charge against their accusers. The "word of Jahveh," announced by the one, was diametrically opposed to that of the other: they could not, therefore, on their standpoint, leave the higher commission of each other unassailed, but there is nothing to hinder *us* from acknowledging the good faith of both. The supposition that the "false prophets," generally speaking, were not convinced of their calling, seems, in truth, the more unreasonable, the more thoroughly we consider it. What representation can we form of their training, or of their intercourse with each other, if we thus stamp them as intentional deceivers? Is it conceivable from a psychological point of view, that this prophetical profession should have existed for ages in succession, if in its inmost being it was nothing but lies and hypocrisy? How can we rest satisfied, in the case of this phenomenon, with an explanation, which was applied, it is true, in the last century to heathen soothsaying, but which, as regards that, is now no longer maintained by any one?

But it is unnecessary to dwell any l
considerations. For it is self-evident t
so much against it, falls to the ground
clear that it can be replaced by anothe
with such difficulties, and gives a still
facts. But now such a better view doe
The so-called false prophets do not differ
in that they arrogate to themselves in
latter possess in reality. As regards si
and good intention, they rather stand—
on a level with them. They make this
in the only two, more circumstantial,
they appear as actors. Zedekiah ben C
man of the four hundred prophets who
Jehoshaphat to engage in the contest a
Hananiah the Gibeonite who incites Zed
to bow no longer under the yoke of N
men who speak evidently from inward
conscious in themselves that they do i
word of Jahveh. But what is more, M
antagonist of the first mentioned pro
homage to their sincerity, when he de
from "the spirit" (of prophecy)—of co
account acknowledging that it was a t
ance with the will of Jahveh, this spiri
spirit in them.[3] The same implied ack
good faith of the "false prophets" is fo
he represents Jahveh as saying: "If the
self to be deceived and he speaketh a w
Jahveh have deceived that prophet, and
hand upon him, and will destroy him fr
people Israel."[4] It is thus, in fact, not
them as impostors. The explanation of t
them and the canonical prophets must
where. The standpoint of religious de
same in both. The canonical prophets h
in advance of their nation and of their
In consequence of this, their view of th

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 11, 12, 24.
[3] 1 Kings xxii. 20-23.

and their expectation regarding Jahveh's dispensations have become different, and their preaching frequently stands directly opposed to the popular spirit and its organs—for as such we have to regard the "false prophets." Thus the canonical prophets form the flower, or the spiritual aristocracy of Israel. There is nothing surprising in the antagonism between them and their contemporaries. It is essentially the same contest that we can perceive everywhere: we can perceive it in ourselves, between our better self and the lower, more sensual inclinations; in the world around us, between the more highly developed and the great mass which lags behind.

As the religion of the people became modified in the course of centuries, so also the class of "false prophets" connected with it could not remain stationary. Some indications of change actually appear: the prophets against whom Jeremiah contends, seem to occupy a higher position than the contemporaries of Micah and Isaiah; their Jahvism is purer, and thus also their resemblance to the heathen soothsayers is not so great.[1] But it results from the nature of the case, that we cannot follow this development in its details. And because genuine prophets also were not stationary, so in spite of these changes, the relation between the canonical prophets and their colleagues in function remained essentially the same. In Jahvism there were from the beginning, and there always continued to be, two elements intimately connected: the religious-ethical and the national element. They are the two constituent parts which we find united in the appellation which Jahveh bears in Isaiah: "*the Holy One of Israel.*" From this combination there results the possibility of a development in two directions. The Israelite could either make his religion subordinate to his national feeling, his patriotism, or let that religion rule over the latter. Now the first way was followed by the "false prophets;" on the second we find the canonical prophets. With the former the idea stood in the foreground that Jahveh was the deliverer and protector of Israel, that he would not abandon his people in the time of trouble, and would make every conflict turn to their advantage. Therefore the four hundred prophets of

[1] Compare Matthes, "de pseudoprophetismo Hebraeorum" (L.B. 1859) pp. 32 ff., 59 ff.

Ahab do not hesitate to incite their king to the tru national enterprise which he had planned, the wresting Ramoth in Gilead from the Syrians;[1] therefore the contei poraries of Isaiah promote the alliance with Egypt, the on means, in their estimation, of becoming free from the Assyri bondage;[2] therefore Hananiah and those of kindred sent ments with him preach, both in Judea and in Babyloni rebellion against Nebuchadrezzar, in whom they see an enen of Israel and of Israel's God.[3] These are ideas and wish of which those who cherished them had no need to ashamed, to which, moreover,—it is almost superfluous remind the reader—the canonical prophets were by no mea strangers. But still with the most of them the reverse si of the one truth which they firmly held along with the opponents, stood on the foreground: the God of Israel *is t Holy One.* That was the source of the divergent and mu more unfavourable judgment of the moral and religious sta of the people; the source also of the dark anticipations of t people's immediate future, of the cry "danger, danger, and peace," which forms the key-note of their preaching.[4]

But if I developed this idea more fully, I should have repeat what has been already expounded in another conne tion.[5] We are at present concerned only with the resu which cannot be doubtful. *It is the moral earnestne combined with deep piety* which forms the characteris mark of the canonical, as distinguished from the oth prophets. That is to say: if we follow attentively t contest which they maintain against the people, and especial against "the prophets," and trace it back to its principl we see in them the representatives of the same effort whi we believed that we observed in prophecy from the ve first, and which seemed to us to determine the direction which prophecy itself worked and gradually raised Jahvis

[1] 1 Kings xxii. 6.

[2] Is. xxx. 1 ff., where it is not indeed said in so many words, but still it indicated, that the alliance with Egypt is approved of by prophets of Jahv

[3] Jer. xxvii.-xxix.

[4] The real complaint of Jeremiah against the prophets is that th announce peace, or felicity and prosperity, instead of the judgment whi would urge the people to conversion, chaps. vi. 14; viii. 11; xxiii. 1 xxviii. 9. Compare Ezek. xiii. 10, 16.

[5] Above, pp. 360-364.

to a greater elevation. In other words, the view formerly presented, of the manner in which prophecy was historically developed, is fully confirmed by the study of the relation in which it placed itself towards the people and the majority of the prophets.

But for that very reason it follows also that we can abandon nothing of that view. We cannot be satisfied with the limitation of the traditional opinion which we found in Dr Köhler. We do not allow ourselves to be deprived of the belief in God's presence in history. In the fortunes and development of nations, and not least clearly in those of Israel, we see Him, the holy and all-wise Instructor of his human children. But the old *contrasts* must be altogether set aside. So long as we derive a separate part of Israel's religious life directly from God, and allow the supernatural or immediate revelation to intervene in even one single point, so long also our view of the whole continues to be incorrect, and we see ourselves here and there necessitated to do violence to the well authenticated contents of the historical documents. It is the supposition of a natural development alone which accounts for all the phenomena.

Strengthened in our conviction that we have not erred in the explanation, we now survey our whole inquiry and sum up the results.

What did the Israelitish prophets accomplish? What was the result of their work, and what value are we to assign to it?

Ethical monotheism is their creation. They have themselves ascended to the belief in one only, holy, and righteous God, who realises his will, or moral good, in the world, and they have, by preaching and writing, made that belief the inalienable property of our race.

This declaration is based upon the conviction—which may here be once more expressed, but now also for the last time—that our estimation of the prophets and their work must not rest on what they expected and uttered regarding the future. Not that we should lightly esteem their ideals—that be far from us! We rank them, on the contrary, very high, but we do so because of the spirit which is reflected in them, and because of the religious convictions which they ex-

press. They are, in other words, *deriv*
themselves compel us to go farther, to
they point back. To this must be added
have indeed many features in common, t
points of difference also, so that they
service in judging each prophet in parti
ing the one with the other, than in esti
whole. It would, in the last place, if
to be guided by the predictions, be at le
to take the fulfilment into consideratio
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the sake of justice, but in the interests
themselves, we must refrain from doing
terests of the prophets, because it became
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been fulfilled. The immediate future, from
Israel's restoration, did not bring it. C
in some respects, more than, but, in otl
opposite of, what they had expected: it
anything like the proper sense as the reali
pations. Our conclusion would therefore
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Kindly feeling would impel us to speak
sions:" in truth merely another way
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this settles the present point—*for the s*
cannot choose this point of view in formi
noticed before that the supporters of the
of prophecy lay the chief stress upon the
fulfilment. Very naturally. On their st
must do so: in the superhuman, in the
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must come to light in the clearest mann
their eye is fixed of itself, and they pre
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ject has nothing to justify it. In order to
regard to the truth of the traditional view
supernaturalist on his way, and subjecte

by one, to the test of the requirements to which, according to him, they should necessarily have corresponded. That inquiry led us to a negative result, namely, the absence of the supernatural divine inspiration which the knowledge of the hidden things of the future would presuppose. But at the same time it opened our eyes for that in which the power and significance of the prophets lie, for their religion and for their religiousness. On these points therefore, our final conclusion with regard to the prophets will also necessarily be based. The comparison of what they have been, and have done, on this domain, with what others have effected thereon, must determine the place which belongs to them in the ranks of the leaders of our race.

There is yet another point of view which was designedly shunned. There is nothing more natural than the question, what have the prophets been and what have they done *for their people?* But it would be wrong to stop there: that limitation would lead to injustice being done to prophecy. It cannot be asserted that the action of the prophets in general advanced the welfare of the Israelitish nation. "For public order and for policy, prophecy was the most intolerable and destructive phenomenon that can be imagined. It has been several times compared to the tribuneship among the Romans, and the prophets have been highly extolled as the representatives of popular right and popular freedom. But it is precisely the comparison with the tribunes of the people, which shows in the clearest light how ignorant of state policy and how dangerous to the state prophecy was. The tribunes of the people were at any rate elected magistrates of the *plebs*, but every one who felt himself to have the divine call came forward as a prophet. The tribune had a legal title to his office, and an authority defined and limited by the law of the state. The prophet rested exclusively on his own self-appreciation and enthusiasm; from these alone he derived the impulse and warrant for his interference; by these alone he allowed himself to be guided and circumscribed in his action. There was thus no fixed external sign by which men could distinguish the genuine from the false prophet. The power of each one was in proportion to the credence which he found. The tribune was governed by the consciousness that he repre-

sented the Roman state, by reverence for the law, and by its desire to further the general welfare; the prophet allowed himself to be led exclusively by his consciousness of God, he knew no other law than the will of God, and even the destruction and misery of his native land seemed to him, in certain circumstances, a righteous punishment inflicted by God, to which men must penitently submit. The tribune could indeed hinder some acts of the rulers of the state by his *veto*, but he could not assume and exercise the executive power. The prophet, on the other hand, in the firm confidence that he revealed the will of God, demanded this or that specific political measure, according as his heart suggested to him, and when embittered by opposition, sometimes called to his aid the passions of the mob in order to carry into effect by violence the will of God which he had announced." Such is the judgment of one of the greatest contemporary professors of political law,[1] and although we may mitigate, and still more limit, his sentence, we dare not pronounce a verdict of acquittal. But it is perhaps thought that the loss in the domain of political life is more than counterbalanced by the spiritual blessings which the prophets conferred upon their people. In truth it was the prophets who conquered for Israel its place of honour among the nations. All that it became and produced in the field of religion, it owes *mediately* to them. But still they themselves did not succeed in imbuing their people with their principles. They missed their immediate object. On to the end of the kingdom of Judah the prophets and those of kindred spirit, continued to be no more than a party in the state. It was not by them, but by the priests and the scribes, that the Jahveh-worship became the property of the Jewish nation. We no more reproach them for this inability, than we regard their successors with unlimited admiration for the prosperous issue which crowned their efforts. But this relation which the work of the prophets had to the temporal prosperity and the practical wants of their people, does indeed compel us to take a higher standpoint than the national one in estimating their action, and to place their contribution to the spiritual development of our race in the foreground.

[1] J. C. Bluntschli, "Alt-asiatische Gottes-und Welt-ideen" (1866), pp. 132 f.

That contribution is *ethical monotheism.* It will indeed be quite superfluous to remind the reader that by these words, in the present connection, is not meant the intellectual conviction of God's unity and moral attributes. Our whole preceding examination teaches that the prophets were not conspicuous as philosophers, but as religious men. By the formula "ethical monotheism," therefore, as succinct a description as possible is given of the peculiar excellence of *their religion.* Just on account of that, they have, apart from the result, even for the very nature alone of their struggles, a claim upon our respectful admiration. Heartfelt trust in God and moral earnestness: these two things, connected with each other in the closest manner, inspired them from the beginning, and sustained them to the end. The relation of Jahveh to Israel was to them the highest reality; had it been otherwise, they could never have come to regard themselves as the messengers of Jahveh to his people, and to come forward as the proclaimers of "the word of Jahveh." But at the same time they were thoroughly penetrated with reverential fear of the god with whom they felt that they themselves, along with their people, were connected in the closest manner: his holy will had become the law of their inner life. In the course of events the temptation was again and again presented to them to stand still on the road which they had taken, or to wander into by-paths. If their belief in Israel's god had been less deep and firm, if their conception of his requirements had been less strict, they would have yielded to those temptations, and either have remained silent or have accommodated themselves to the will of the multitude and its powerful leaders. They do not in truth all stand equally high: herein also the genuinely human character of the whole of prophecy is revealed, that the dangers to which it was exposed in its development can be distinctly pointed out in the life and in the writings themselves of the prophets. But yet in the persons of its most eminent representatives, it overcame first one, then another of the temptations. They gained the victory, and first secured the worship of Jahveh against extinction and defilement, afterwards developed and purified it, and finally so ennobled it that it became ethical monotheism.

This result itself of their religious and moral life—with doubt the fruit of a contest often anxious, fruit ripened a tears and prayers—makes us all their debtors. *Eth monotheism* has been introduced by Christianity into popular thought, and impressed on every one of us, even his earliest youth. The privilege therein conferred upon is very readily overlooked, because we have never experien the want of it. But it becomes obvious on the slightest flection. Honour to those to whom we owe it! W respect to what some others have bestowed upon us, it perhaps be asserted, not without cause, that it would h become our property even without them; it may in a cert sense be called accidental that they have become our benef tors; even although we conceive them never to have existed, should still possess now that which through them has beco our portion. This is not true of the ethical monotheism, for wh we are indebted to Christianity, and ultimately to the proph of Israel. It is true that even without their aid polythei would perhaps have made way for the recognition and worship of one only God. About the beginning of Christian era the population of the Roman Empire was p pared to embrace monotheism; it was already proclaimed a current in the schools of the philosophers; from these it gan already to spread, not only among the educated class but also among the common people.[1] But the one God heathenism was another than that of Israel; he was not li the latter—if I may so express myself—ethical to the ve core. Certainly he had moral attributes also; in the syste of some philosophers, in that of Plato, for instance, they con even prominently into the foreground. But it is very doub ful whether this would have been the case also in the popul belief, even though it were granted that it could have bee developed on the ground of philosophical reflection. But, o the other hand, holiness, righteousness, mercy, formed th very nature of the God of the prophets. And—a thing whic above all we must never lose sight of—that which they then selves possessed, and therefore could awaken in others als was *religion*, no speculation, but a reality of life. The infl

[1] E. Zeller, "die Entwicklung des Monotheismus bei den Griechen (Vorträge und Abhandlungen, 1865, pp. 1—29).

ence of philosophy would have been always more negative; it undermined polytheism, but it did not show at least that it could build anything better on its ruins. That better thing was produced by Israelitish prophecy, and completed by Jesus, the greatest of the prophets. Because it was *religion*, it could, nay, necessarily did, also find acceptance and become popular property. Because it is the expression of real moral and religious experience, it continues to maintain its value, however the knowledge of the world and its laws may extend. The prophetical conception of Jahveh's counsel may be chargeable with limitation and particularism, in principle it is pure. Every description of God's moral government of the world, even the largest and loftiest, is a carrying out, on a broad scale, of the plan which they had designed.

We return to the point from which we set out in this closing survey, the testimony of the Deuteronomist regarding the prophets and their action.[1] We could not allow to the contrast which he draws anything more than a relative correctness. But when we now contemplate prophecy in its whole compass, we range ourselves without hesitation on his side. Yes, truly, the Israelitish prophet *is a unique phenomenon in history.* It does not disown its human origin; that is borne witness to, both by its gradual ripening and by many imperfections which cleave to it. Every attempt to derive it directly and immediately from God must therefore fail. But yet if we view it as one of the many revelations of man's spiritual life—and surely that life as a whole points back to God and testifies of Him—then we cannot estimate it highly enough, and we are right in calling it unique. Here is a series of men, for whom religion is the highest thing, and the realization of religion the aim of their life. Where do you find more earnestness in the conception of a task so beautiful? where greater perseverance amid temptation and contest? where heartier love of good and of Him who works good? where firmer confidence in the triumph of truth and right?

But when we regard the influence which Israelitish prophecy has exercised and is still exercising in the world,

[1] Above, p. 550.

then too, we assign to it a very high place, and bow before the spiritual might which is therein revealed. It failed in what might be called its first task, in the conversion of ancient Israel to the purer conception of Jahveh's nature and service. It furthermore, like every other historical phenomenon, after having lived through its period of bloom, gradually decayed and finally perished. "But"—I may be permitted to repeat here the words in which I formerly summed up the results of an examination of the same subject —[1] "every thing does not perish in one and the same way. There are phenomena which, after gleaming for a shorter or longer period, disappear and leave scarcely a trace behind. But that which is essentially good and great lives not in vain, and revives again in a new and more glorious form. This is true, with special emphasis, of Israelitish prophecy. See what it has effected! Through the fiery zeal, and unwavering perseverance of the prophets, the worship of Jahveh, which bore in itself the germs of so grand a development, was preserved from destruction. By the prophets it was purified and ennobled so as to become the spiritual worship of one only spiritual being. The prophets awakened and fostered in Israel the belief in its high destination, and the hope for the future which was never extinguished. Through that belief and that hope Israel continued to exist as a people in spite of the blows which fell upon them and the persecutions which raged against them. That there existed eighteen centuries ago a Jewish nation, from which a new religious life could spring, was the fruit of the work done by the prophets. Then, when their task had been completed, they had already long before disappeared from the stage of history. But did they not live again in Jesus of Nazareth? Does not he see his predecessors in the prophets of Israel? Does he not borrow from them some of his leading ideas? Was not the religious and moral truth, which was announced by him, gained by that communion with himself, by that listening to the revelation of God in the pious and pure spirit, of which the prophets had given the example? Nay, is not every reformation in the domain of religion effected by following that path which they trod, and which, as the pioneers of all, they opened up?

[1] "Nieuw en Oud," vol. vii. (1865) pp. 190-192.

"Thus then the crown which a later generation had placed upon the brows of the Israelitish prophets, is, in our time, removed; but stripped of that supernatural halo with which they glittered, they reveal all the more clearly their own personal greatness. But—we have then no longer in their prophecies the word of God himself which we, in common with the Christian Church of all ages, thought that we possessed in them? Do not lament that! Each of their words that finds an echo in your heart and your conscience—and their number is great—is to you a word of God. And what you have, or think you have, less as regards particular revelations, that surely is more than compensated by the just insight into the entire action of the prophets. Or do you know a more glorious spectacle and a stronger proof of God's wise and loving government of the world, than the history of Israel's religion, when humanly viewed and interpreted? No, even for our religious life we have not lost but gained by the new view of the prophets and their work. They have become men, of like passions with us, men in whose company we can live and struggle, from whom we can learn to believe with immovable firmness, to hope even when all is dark around us, to trust the voice of God in our inmost soul, to speak with boldness and with power. If these are their permanent claims to our admiration and reverence, then we do not hesitate also to join in the wish:[1] 'O that all the people were prophets, that Jahveh would put his spirit upon them!'"

[1] Num. xi. 29.

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H. C. 31. 10. 50