



I. PALESTINE AND HER OVERLORDS

EGYPT	1400-1200 B.C.	Periodical Egyptian Suzerainty. Hebrew Entry
PHILISTINES	1190 B.C.	Five Cities: Gaza, Askalon, Ashdod, Gath, Ekron
HEBREW KINGDOM	1000 B.C.	Capital: Jerusalem
ISRAEL	937-722 B.C.	Capital: Samaria (887 B.C.)
JUDAH	937-586 B.C.	Capital: Jerusalem
ASSYRIA	745-612 B.C.	Capitals: Asshur, Dur Sarrukin, Nineveh. Fall of Samaria 722 B.C.
CHALDAEA	605-538 B.C.	Capital: Babylon. Fall of Jerusalem 586 B.C.
PERSIA	538-333 B.C.	Capitals: Persepolis, Susa
GREEKS	333 B.C.	The Coming of Alexander
PTOLEMIES	312-198 B.C.	Palestine under the Ptolemies. Capital: Alexandria
SELEUCIDS	198-165 B.C.	Palestine under the Seleucids. Capital: Antioch
JEWISH INDEPENDENCE	165-63 B.C.	Maccabees and Hasmonean Rulers
ROME	63 B.C.	The Coming of Pompey
HEROD	37 B.C.	Herod the Idumean king of Judea
CHRIST	5 B.C.-29 A.D.	Our Lord's Life and Ministry
EGYPT	608-605 B.C.	Short Suzerainty of Egypt



A SHORT RELIGIOUS HISTORY
OF ISRAEL



A SCENE IN THE SINAI PENINSULA.

This history begins with Moses and the assembling of the Hebrew tribes at Mount Horeb (Sinai).



THE LAKE OF GALILEE, THE SCENE OF MUCH OF OUR LORD'S MINISTRY.
This history ends with Christ and the coming of his Kingdom on earth.



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THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
FROM MOSES TO CHRIST

A Short Religious History of Israel

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To
MY GODCHILDREN
MURIEL, NANCY, TONY, MICHAEL



GENERAL INTRODUCTION TO SERIES

1. It is good to study the Old Testament for its own intrinsic worth. It is an extraordinarily fine and varied literature. It introduces the reader to a number of really great men of unusually high integrity and insight. Its books are an immense help in the building up of a thousand years of history in Palestine and neighbouring countries. Translated into English in 1611, it vies with Shakespeare for the first place in enriching and stabilizing our language. The Old Testament has been incorporated into our services, it is read in our churches, and one of its books is rightly used as an expression of Christian worship. Finally, if read aright, it forms by far the greatest contribution to religion—beliefs about God and the moral life of man—which is to be found in the times before Christ.

2. It is necessary to study the Old Testament, because no book has been more read and less understood. Forming as it does the larger part of our Bible, it has been given a reserved position, and by some, an authority has been claimed for it which cannot be substantiated. This has resulted in the obscuring of its true message. 'In spite of the light long since thrown upon the conditions under which its several books were written and upon the progressive revelation of sacred knowledge they record, the Bible is even now too often treated as if every statement about God, contained in every part of it, must find a place in our apprehension of him. The result is a



confused vision in which early and preparatory thoughts of him are allowed to intrude upon the revelation of the Divine Being in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ' (*Lambeth Conference Report, 1930*). 'As Jesus Christ is the crown, so also is he the criterion of all revelation. We would impress upon Christian people the necessity of banishing from their minds ideas concerning the character of God which are inconsistent with the character of Jesus Christ' (*Lambeth Conference Report, 1930, Resolution 3*). In early days people knew something of the character of God, but this knowledge could be held alongside of inadequate ideas about his nature. Thus there was a time when Jephthah in fulfilment of a vow thought that the sacrifice of his daughter would be pleasing to God. To feel that a vow once made must be kept, was good; but to think that God was the kind of God to require such a gift, was wrong. Later on it was thought that God struck down Uzzah for putting out his hand to save the ark from falling. Assuming that it was God who had deliberately killed Uzzah, it was good that men should look for some delinquency in Uzzah to vindicate God's act. But it is absolutely inconsistent with our Christian conception of God that he should strike a man down in that way.

3. It is helpful to study the Old Testament in order to test its ethical teaching by the Sermon on the Mount. During the war the Old Testament was quoted to justify feelings which are diametrically opposed to the teaching of Christ. It does not follow, because a deed is found in the Bible, or even praised by the religious people of a certain period (*e.g.* Jael), that it is necessarily compatible with the ethical principles of the New Covenant. A patriotic Jew, at one time in their history, says of his enemies, 'Blessed be

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he that taketh thy children, and dasheth them against the stones'; but the Christian patriotic Englishman cannot say this, for our Lord told us to love our enemies. While our Lord himself accepted much of the teaching of the Old Testament, he claimed higher authority when he affirmed 'It was said by them of old time . . . but *I* say unto you.' Constantly, as we read the Old Testament, we have to recognize that such and such a thing was the best that people knew at the time, but that we know, or ought to know, much better. As we study this ancient literature we should try to discover what was believed, and thought to be right, at any given period, and compare it quite honestly with the truth as we know it. We have to discriminate between various teachings (of which by no means all agree with one another), and apply to them the supreme test of the principles laid down by our Lord.

4. It is important to study the Old Testament because of its so-called scientific and historical difficulties. Though here in truth there are no real difficulties. 'It is no part of the purpose of the Scriptures to give information on those themes which are the proper subject matter of scientific enquiry' (*Lambeth Conference Report*, 1930, Resolution 3). The science of the writers is the science of the age in which they lived. It would be a real *difficulty* if the account of Creation in the first chapter of Genesis did agree with the findings of modern science; for then it would seem as if inspiration were mechanical and unrelated to life as we know it. The fact that the one true God created the world was known in early times, but the discovery of the manner of its creation is one of the contributions of the present day to truth, to the glory of God and to our reverent wonder. Similarly



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the historical books of the Old Testament, like other very ancient records, are not quite history in our sense of the word. Traditions and stories, interpretations and comments, are worked up into narratives. Stories gathered about the names of great men such as David and Elijah, in the same way as legends grew up round the Person of our Lord and early Christian saints. In one of the apocryphal gospels it is told how Jesus as a boy made birds of clay, that he bade them fly, and they flew. How different from Jesus as we know him in the sane records of our canonical Gospels. If we do not recognize these things we shall be apt to keep our ordinary knowledge and our religion in separate compartments, so divorcing religion from life, which is fatal to both.

5. It is essential to study the Old Testament because, enlarging on some of the above 'difficulties,' knaves and charlatans use it to make a trap for the credulous. These 'difficulties' are made the text for anti-Christian teaching. This is the kind of thing such people say: 'The first chapter of Genesis has been proved unscientific, therefore the whole Bible is false, both Old and New Testaments.' Such attacks are often very superficial; but this has not prevented them from influencing some who have been brought up to think of the Bible as one book verbally inspired, and have not sufficient knowledge and faith to combat them. The verbal inspirationist is rightly concerned, and his unshakable belief leads him to force into harmony that which to us cannot be harmonized. Our answer to such attacks is, 'I am not worried, because I have an entirely different view of inspiration. God inspires men, not books; and the man thus inspired is not proof against all mistakes, he is not wound up like a gramophone in order to reproduce the exact words of



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the Almighty.' We recognize a human as well as a divine element in the books of the Old Testament; we see that men of like passions with ourselves held communion with the Spirit of God, and spoke religious truths as the Spirit gave them utterance. God has been revealing himself gradually, as men have been able to receive the revelation. There is a purpose throughout, God's purpose. The Old Testament is not a fetish. No longer bound by the letter which killeth, we come to discern in these writings of old time clear evidence of the working of the Spirit which giveth life.

6. It is wise to study the Old Testament because there are some good people who misunderstand it. There are those who think to prove the truth of Christianity by searching the Old Testament for proof-texts, who look upon the Bible as 'a collection of separate oracles, each containing a final declaration of truth' (*Lambeth Conference Report, 1930*). In reality our Lord fulfilled something much more than infallible predictions about him: in his Person and Kingdom were fulfilled all the highest aspirations and ideals of times B.C. There are others who think that, by studying the prophecies of the Old Testament, they can prove that the British people are the lost ten tribes of Israel; and others again who believe they can calculate exactly when the end of the world will come. A sane view of the Old Testament will help us to guard against these errors. It must always be borne in mind that, though much of the teaching of the prophets is applicable to our own day, it was in the first instance relevant to the people to whom they spoke.

7. But more, it is illuminating to study the Old Testament because it was the Bible of our Lord; as



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a boy he must have learnt it in the synagogue at Nazareth, and pondered it as he walked on the surrounding hills. Much of it entered into his consciousness. Words from its pages helped him to resist the temptation in the wilderness, and express the extremity of his suffering on the Cross. He accepted its teaching when he quoted 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God.' He developed it when he stressed the importance of principle as compared with the fulfilling of the letter of the law. He corrected it when he declared 'It was said by them of old time . . . but I say unto you.' In his Person, and the Kingdom which he preached, all expectations of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom find fulfilment; but these had to be modified and expanded. The glorious and victorious king of an earthly kingdom became the Suffering Servant of mankind, a King no less glorious of a spiritual Kingdom; the national was expanded to include the universal. And when men came to write his life, again and again they turned to the Old Testament, looking for the fulfilment of the Scriptures in him.

8. Nor must the Apocrypha be altogether neglected. It is of value to study the Apocryphal books because many of the thoughts expressed in these writings were current at the time of Christ. As we read such books as Ecclesiasticus and the Book of Wisdom, we are conscious of the existence of Hellenizing influences which were begun by the Greeks and carried on by the Romans. In the Book of Enoch it is significant to find the title 'Son of Man' applied to the one who was to sit on his throne and judge; and interesting to consider how far Jesus accepted or corrected this teaching when he appropriated the title 'Son of Man' to himself.



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9. The Old Testament and Apocrypha should be studied with the New Testament in the background, the strong light shining on the distant hills. The New Testament should be studied with the Old Testament and Apocrypha as a background, the dim far-reaching plain with bright gleams of light falling on it here and there.

10. The present series of short books is part of a movement for bringing the work of the Old Testament specialist within the reach of the layman. Every subject has its specialists, and the results of their scholarship have to be presented in such a way that the educated layman can obtain a good working knowledge of the subject. The ideal is to be a 'Jack of all trades and a master of *one*.' It is not everyone who has time to learn Hebrew and make his own detailed study of the Old Testament. These books are for the 'Jacks' rather than for the 'masters,' though they might help a would-be master, in the early stages of his apprenticeship, to hold the tools in the right way.

11. The present book is one of a series which aims at showing the development of religious ideas from Moses to Christ, by means of a number of carefully selected passages from the Old Testament and Apocrypha, arranged as far as possible in chronological order. There is an enormous amount of material from which to draw, but the selection of passages is helped by one or two underlying principles. So much of our study of the Old Testament has failed because we do not get a picture of the whole. We read various parts but we do not relate them to each other. Our aim should be to grasp as much of the main teaching as space and time allow. Therefore we must not spend valuable time in trying to understand abstruse



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passages, and these will not be chosen for our study. Later additions by scribes and editors of the prophetic books will generally be omitted, though some of the fine later prophecies now appended to earlier works will appear in what is considered to be their right historical setting. For history, the earliest records in the historical books will be drawn upon. Much that is of real interest has to be left out, lest we fail to see the wood for the trees.

12. When complete the series will contain the following:

(a) Two short volumes of history which will cover the ground from Moses to Christ; these will consist chiefly of a selection of passages from the earlier sources in the historical books, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, Ezra and Nehemiah, 1 Maccabees, and Josephus. While largely concerned with the history of Israel, they will also be introducing the subject of the development of religion. They are intended to act as a historical foundation for the more definitely religious books.

(b) Four short volumes consisting chiefly of a selection of passages from the Prophets, the Wisdom Literature, Apocalyptic Literature, and the Psalms.

(c) As a companion volume to all and each of these six volumes, there is a short religious history of Israel from Moses to Christ.

13. The reason for the simple rhythmical translation used, for instance, in the *Eighth-Century Prophets* is that fewer notes are required than if the Revised Version text were given. The aim is to give a page of text with a few explanatory notes, rather than a few lines of text with a page of notes. The short



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statements in the left-hand margin are inferences drawn from the text, as to the stage in religious development reached at the time. The object of the New Testament references in the right-hand margin is to confirm, to emphasize, or to develop the truths revealed, and to correct inadequate conceptions. The Introductions are intended to give a general idea of the prophet and the times in which he lived, and his message for those times. They are not intended for very careful study. The historical chart will help to show the relation of the prophet's work to the events of his day.

14. The following suggestions may be made as to how to study the *Eighth-Century Prophets* together with its companion volume the *Short Religious History*. It is intended that the special study of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah, should be considered as part of a larger whole. The student is advised to look through the Contents of the *Short Religious History*, to notice any names and subjects which are familiar to him, and to see where the prophets of the eighth century come in; then to read through sections 1-16 of the History; next, to take the introduction to Amos so as to get a general idea of the prophet and his times; then, to study the prophet Amos section by section in this order: text, notes, left-hand margins, right-hand margins, and text again. When all four prophets have been treated in this way, sections 17-60 of the History should be read. The Studies at the end of the *Eighth-Century Prophets* may be found useful for essay work.

15. The analyses are intended for the more advanced student who desires to study the books as books. Except in the case of the specialist, it is suggested that the best way of studying the books of the prophets



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is, first to get a good idea of the prophet himself from the passages generally considered to be original, to see him as a personality and to try to understand his message to the times in which he lived; and afterwards to consider what remains in the book that bears his name.

16. The name 'Yahweh' (accent on second syllable) has been used in the text, rather than 'LORD' or 'JEHOVAH.' It is now very generally accepted as the original pronunciation of the Israelite name for God. In later Judaism this name was held in such reverence that when the Scriptures were read the Hebrew word for LORD was substituted for it; and when, later still, vowels (not written originally) were added to the Hebrew consonantal text, the divine name, instead of being given its own vowels, received the vowels of the word for LORD. As a rule the English version follows the Jewish custom and has 'LORD' where the divine name occurs; but in a few passages, notably Ex. vi. 3, we find 'Jehovah.' This word is really anomalous, for it contains the consonants of the divine name and the vowels of the Hebrew word for LORD. The name LORD (and even Jehovah) has acquired a Christian significance which did not originally belong to Yahweh the national God of the Hebrews, and lest we should unconsciously put back our Christian beliefs about God into early Hebrew religion, it has been thought wisest to use the name 'Yahweh' in the text, and to allow beliefs about him to develop gradually, until to men he becomes indeed 'LORD' with its New Testament significance.

17. In preparing these books use has been made of such works as the following: *The International Critical Commentaries*; *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*; *The Encyclopedia Biblica*; *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*;



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The Cambridge Ancient History; Peake's *Commentary on the Bible*; *A New Commentary on Holy Scripture*, ed. Gore; *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ed. Charles; *Translations of Early Documents Series*; Kent's *Book on the Prophets*; *Old Testament Essays*, by Kennett; *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, by Cheyne; *The Book of Isaiah*, by Box.

18. I am extremely grateful to my wife for her constant help; to Dr. R. H. Kennett, for reading through the *Short Religious History* and for most valuable criticism; to Professor Clement Webb, for writing a large part of section 58, on the Logos; to Dr. Norwood, for the preface to the *Eighth-Century Prophets*; to Miss Padwick, Editorial Secretary of the Central Literature Committee for Moslems, for many helpful suggestions in respect of both the above volumes; to Miss Coate, Principal of the Jerusalem Girls' College, to the Ven. W. H. Stewart, Archdeacon in Palestine, and to Dr. Orr-Ewing of the English Hospital, Jerusalem, for criticizing the English of the translations; and to all these and many others for their sympathy and encouragement.

JERUSALEM,

Second Sunday in Advent, 1931.

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A Short Religious History of Israel

Revelation Progressive

1. The aim of this short religious history is to show how God was gradually revealing himself in Israel, and through Israel to the world. If we read through the Old Testament from beginning to end, from Genesis to Malachi, without any knowledge of how the various books came into being, we shall get a very confused idea of their religious teaching; for the books are not arranged in chronological order. Indeed it is a curious fact that the first chapter of Genesis and the Book of Malachi were written at about the same time; and Amos, the earliest book, is placed not far from the end of our English Old Testament. Thanks however to the diligent work of many scholars, both European and American, it is now possible to arrange most of the books according to their historic sequence, with some approach to certainty. This done, we are able to trace a development in religious thought, and to see God's purpose underlying it.

2. We start our study with the belief in a God whose will it is that man should come to know him. Nor is man left alone in his search for truth; for God is continually revealing himself. But the revelation has to be made gradually, step by step, as men are able to receive it; and it is to a great extent conditioned by time and place and circumstance. Thus



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we shall find that outward events in the history of the Israelites were used by God to disclose eternal truths. While the revelation is in the main progressive, we must not expect to find a steady continuous growth with no set-backs: man by his lack of responsiveness retards God's purpose. It does not follow, because some great prophet such as Isaiah proclaimed a truth, that the rest of the nation accepted it, or that future generations would always remember it. Yet truths once revealed, even though laid aside and forgotten for a time, in the providence of God tend to reappear. Our chief concern lies not so much with the generally accepted beliefs of the Israelites at any given period as with their contribution to religion as a whole. Taking, as our standard, Christianity as taught and lived by Christ and as applied to the many-sided life of the world by the Holy Spirit, we can to some extent test what went before, distinguishing truths from half-truths and from misconceptions.

'By Thee the mystery of life is read;
The picture-writing of the world's grey seers,
The myths and parables of the primal years,
Whose letter kills, by Thee interpreted
Take healthful meanings fitted to our needs,
And in the soul's vernacular express
The common law of simple righteousness.'

WHITTIER.

3. Thus, in prose and poetry, parable and story, prophecy and vision, folk-lore and history, we are able to discern the slowly unfolding purpose of God.

1. *God Manifested to Moses*

4. So great was Moses considered by the Jews of later times, that the Pentateuch, with all its laws and early history, was attributed to him. As a matter of



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fact the collections of the laws in the Pentateuch represent Israel's law as codified at different periods, when the need arose, for the settled community in Palestine, long after the age of Moses (Note 1). But if Moses was not the giver of these laws as we read them, he was something far greater; for we need not hesitate to look upon him as in a very real sense the founder of Hebrew religion.

5. There are two ancient documents which tell us the story of Moses, one of which arose in southern, the other in northern Palestine. But these were written many centuries after the events described, and, while we must try to get some idea of Moses and his work, we have to admit that it is impossible to reconstruct the actual history with any certainty. The stories, as handed down orally and afterwards put together in writing, are bound up with many physical marvels, round which the memories of a primitive people and their imagination would naturally be busied. Behind these stand great spiritual miracles and God's undoubted activity in the life of Moses and of the people whom he welded together.

6. In both narratives Moses is an outstanding and heroic figure; and we are left with the impression of a really great man 'of remarkable power and personal influence, and a high moral character,' concerned for the welfare of his people and inspired by God himself.

7. At an early period we find Moses leaving Egypt and going eastward to the land of Midian, where he sojourned for a time with Jethro, the priest of Midian, whose daughter he married (Note 2). On one occasion his work as shepherd to Jethro's flocks brought him to Horeb the sacred mount. Here God



appeared to him; and, in the words of the story of the Burning Bush, the command is given, 'Put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.' We need not doubt that Moses had had some experience of God before ever he came to Horeb, but we may think of this manifestation as a landmark in his life.

8. Now according to one of the ancient documents the Israelite name for God, 'Yahweh' (see p. 16), had been known to the ancestors of the Hebrews from time immemorial; according to the other, which at the moment we are following, this name was now revealed to Moses for the first time. The name by which God is called matters little, his character much. The English word 'God' varies in its meaning according to the knowledge and experience of the man who is using it. It is not improbable that Yahweh was the God of Jethro before this name came to be used by Moses and the united Hebrew tribes, though some of them may have recognized Yahweh as God before this time. While we need not grudge to Jethro some share in the religious training of Moses, there can be little doubt that the name Yahweh came to have a greater content for (*i.e.* meant more to) Moses than for Jethro. We may unhesitatingly claim for Moses a fresh revelation and apprehension of God.

9. If up to this time Yahweh was thought of merely as God of Horeb the sacred mount, and of the storms which 'brake in pieces its rocks,' and of the people who lived in the neighbourhood, he was, as time went on, to prove himself God of the universe, of all forces in heaven and earth, and of all peoples. For the moment however we are dealing with the very early days of Hebrew religion.

2. *God Manifested to the Hebrew Tribes*

10. Now the purpose of God's manifestation to Moses was not merely personal: God was calling not only a man but a people. Moses became convinced of his mission to gather together a number of tribes, his own tribe of Levi and others akin, and to lead them in the name of Yahweh to Canaan, a country they were destined to conquer, and where, giving up their nomad life, they would live as a settled community.

11. Both ancient accounts speak of a bondage of Israelites in Egypt, and this very persistent tradition is confirmed by Amos and Hosea, the two earliest books in the Old Testament. From Horeb Moses returns to Egypt, and requests Pharaoh to allow the people to take a three days' journey into the wilderness to sacrifice to their God. Pharaoh refuses. But, as a later Psalmist sings, 'With a mighty hand and stretched out arm' Yahweh delivers his people (Note 3).

12. At the foot of Horeb where Moses had had his vision, somewhere between the Red Sea and the Dead Sea, the tribes assemble with their camels and tents, their flocks and their herds. Yahweh had appeared to Moses, he had proved his power by delivering the people from the bondage of Egypt, and now he was to manifest himself to, and make a covenant with, the assembled Hebrew tribes.

13. Two well-known hymns in our hymn-books speak of the solemn happenings at Horeb (Sinai) the sacred mount:

'O come, O come, thou Lord of Might,
Who to thy tribes, on Sinai's height,

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In ancient times didst give the law
In cloud and majesty and awe.'

VENI EMMANUEL.

And,

'When God of old came down from heaven,
In power and wrath he came;
Before his feet the clouds were riven,
Half darkness and half flame . . .

And, as on Israel's awe-struck ear
The voice exceeding loud,
The trump, that angels quake to hear,
Thrill'd from the deep, dark cloud . . .'

KEBLE.

14. Very graphic too are the stories on which these hymns are founded. A storm is raging. Thunder and lightning and a thick cloud upon the mount. The voice of a trumpet exceeding loud. The trembling people below. Mount Sinai 'altogether on smoke.' Yahweh descending upon it in fire. The smoke thereof ascending as the smoke of a furnace. The Law is given, and the covenant sacrifice offered.

15. Evidently Mount Horeb was looked upon as awe-fully sacred, and Yahweh was thought of as especially manifested in violence of storm-cloud, thunder and lightning. The Law, in the form written down by the later compiler of this story did not, as we have already seen, arise till long after. Nevertheless, at this great inauguration gathering of the tribes, it is evident that the people were made to understand in some way what the covenant between them and Yahweh meant, what he would do for them, and what their own assent to the covenant involved.

16. The story continues. Moses builds an altar and sets up twelve stones. Sacrifice is offered (but cf.



para. 109). He takes half the blood and puts it in basins; the other half he throws upon the altar. With one accord the people give their assent to the covenant. Moses then takes the blood from the basins, and cries, as he throws it upon the people, 'Behold, the blood of the covenant which Yahweh hath made with you.' Yahweh would be their God, he would protect them and fight for them, and lead them to the land they sought to conquer, the Promised Land. They on their part were pledged to worship him and him alone, and to 'hearken to his voice.' The sacrifice may have been followed by a feast of sacred fellowship. If up to this time there had been little unity amongst the assembled tribes, some having sojourned in Egypt, others having dwelt in the neighbourhood of Horeb, they were now united by one purpose, one leader, one God.

3. *Customs in the Wilderness*

17. We must not think that these nomad tribes were ready suddenly to change all their old customs and beliefs; and to Moses must have fallen the difficult task of deciding how far these were consistent with the religion of Yahweh, what could be kept, what must be abandoned, and what new regulations should be made. In matters of ritual, as well as those connected with the ordinary life of the community, Moses may have learnt much from Jethro. Some customs too may have been common to all the tribes before they assembled at mount Horeb. In any case there must have been, as among other desert tribes, a nucleus of customary practice during the early days in the wilderness, which would be added to gradually as new conditions demanded; for laws do not spring into existence ready made. We may be certain that during the wilderness period there existed such



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obligations as blood-vengeance whereby a whole tribe or family was held responsible for the death of one of its members at the hands of another tribe or family; such prohibitions as that forbidding the murder of a fellow-tribesman; such taboos as the devotion to destruction of people and things captured in war; and regulations concerning such matters as the treatment of slaves, rites of initiation (Note 4), marriages and burials.

18. It is probable that in these early days social and religious practices were very simple. Sacred objects would be few in number. The existence of the Ark or sacred chest during the early period in Palestine is well attested; and it may go back to the time of Moses. What it contained we do not know; it has been conjectured that a stone or stones from the sacred mount may have been placed within it. Later on, it was the receptacle for the two tables of stone inscribed with the earliest Decalogue (Note 5). Either the ark or its contents in some way or other represented the Deity. It is said to have had its own special tent or tabernacle.

19. Then there would be the sacred lot used for ascertaining the will of Yahweh. This may have taken the form of two flat stones, white on one side, black on the other. If when these were cast both came up white, the answer would be 'Yes'; if both black, the answer would be 'No'; if one of each, then Yahweh had not answered. Later on Urim and Tummim are mentioned in connexion with the sacred lot (Note 6).

20. Sacrifice was probably rare, and perhaps confined to the feast of the Passover, which is recognized as being of early origin. Whether, besides this annual



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feast, the monthly festival of the New Moon and the weekly festival of the Sabbath go back to desert times, we cannot say for certain. Prophets looked back upon these primitive days in the wilderness as a time of purity in religion; and there were some in Israel who saw no need for civilization to advance beyond this stage (para. 56).

21. But to return to Moses for a moment. It was he who made freemen out of slaves. If before this time there had been little cohesion amongst the tribes, it was Moses who unified them. Moses was the great arbiter of the people in the wilderness, and so the father of Hebrew law. It was through the inspired work of Moses that a wonderful advance was made, and the foundations of the religion of Yahweh securely laid.

22. In the New Testament the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, wishing to take the greatest of Israelite heroes for comparison with our Lord, chooses Moses, 'for he hath been counted worthy of more glory than Moses.' Again, in the wonderful story of the Transfiguration, Moses is one of the two great men of old who appear speaking with our Lord, when 'there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved Son: hear ye him.'

4. *Early Days in Canaan*

23. When the Hebrew tribes crossed the Jordan into Canaan near to Jericho, or penetrated the country from the south, there was a long struggle to come before they could be masters of the land. They were still nomads with their tents and camels and sheep, and the Canaanites whom they sought to dispossess were much more civilized than they were; neverthe-



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less this civilization was on the decline, whereas the Israelites were a virile race with the discipline of the dangers and hardships of the wilderness behind them.

24. As each tribe began to settle and to have its own local interests, there was a danger lest the ties which had bound them together in the desert should become weakened. In the great battle against the northern Canaanites, not all the tribes were ready to rally round the banner of Deborah; so that, in the ancient song, one place is cursed because its inhabitants 'came not to the help of Yahweh' in the enterprise. But Yahweh was thought of as 'God of Hosts,' that is, God of the armies of Israel; and in his name the people went forth to battle. 'For Yahweh and Gideon' was the battle-cry of the Israelites, as they fought under one of their heroes against marauding bands from the east of Jordan. We read too how the spirit of Yahweh 'comes mightily' upon the leaders, and how victory is ascribed to him.

25. In the thought of the time, not until the country had been conquered by Yahweh's people could it rightly be called Yahweh's land. When the Israelites arrived, they found in possession, not only the Canaanites but the Baals, the gods of the Canaanites. But, that Yahweh was coming to be thought of as God of territory already conquered by Israelites is clear from the reply of Jephthah, one of the 'Judges,' to the Moabites, who are bidden to possess that which Chemosh their god has given them but not to trespass on land which has been given to Israel by *their* God, Yahweh.

26. From this we see that while the Israelites were monolatrists (*i.e.* themselves worshipping one God), they believed in the existence of other gods for other



peoples, and so were not monotheists (*i.e.* believers in only one God). Moreover, in other respects religion was not at a very high level. For, although the Israelites were gradually gaining the mastery of the country, they were themselves to some extent being mastered by the religion of the conquered. There was little exclusiveness either of race or religion: they intermarried with the Canaanites and they adopted practices, from the religion of the Baals, which were inconsistent with the true religion of Yahweh. Jephthah, in fulfilment of a vow, sacrifices his only daughter to Yahweh. Micah, another of the 'Judges,' dedicates silver to Yahweh to make an image. Human sacrifice may possibly have been practised by some of the tribes before they assembled at Horeb, and idols may have been revered, but it is most improbable that Moses sanctioned any such thing. No wonder that a later writer, living in more enlightened days and speaking of this time, makes the comment, 'In those days every man did that which was right in his own eyes.'

27. The ancient stories in the Book of Judges have little spiritual value for us in the present day, but they are of great importance in our study of God's progressive revelation. Much of what we read must appear as a set-back from the pure if primitive religion taught by Moses; but, considering the temptations which confronted the Israelites, the marvel is that the religion of Yahweh survived at all; and at any rate Yahweh was looked upon as a God who inspired men with courage and sent them forth to do noble deeds in his name.

5. *Samuel and Saul*

28. Soon after the entry of the Hebrew tribes their very existence was threatened by a new enemy, the



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Philistines, who settled in the south-west, and after whom the whole country was eventually named Palestine. This opposition proved no bad thing for the Israelites, as it spurred them on to united action in the name of Yahweh.

29. There lived in the eleventh century B.C. a man, Samuel by name, who combined the offices of judge, seer and priest. Samuel saw the need of some centralizing government if the Israelites were to hold their own against their enemies and to develop into a nation. It was therefore due to Samuel, under God, that Saul was anointed king. At the moment Israelite territory on the east of Jordan was being threatened by the Ammonites; and Saul, determined that the tribes should act together, cut a yoke of oxen in pieces and sent them throughout all the borders of Israel, saying, 'Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul, so shall it be done to his oxen.' This was language which the people could understand. They came forth as one man. Victory ensued, and the already anointed king was proclaimed as such by the people amidst much rejoicing in Gilgal.

30. Besides Samuel, who stands out as the greatest religious leader of the time, there were bands of prophets of a dervish type who worked themselves up into a kind of religious frenzy; these were very different from the great prophets of later times, such as Amos and Isaiah; nevertheless, by their patriotic and religious fervour they acted as a unifying force, especially in time of war, and helped to keep alive a belief in Yahweh the national God.

31. In addition to these prophets there were priests; not the highly organized priesthood of which we read in later times, but priests connected with a town or

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district, who doubtless carried on the worship of Yahweh at the 'high places' (Note 7), which were at this time considered quite lawful. It must be remembered that the idea of having only one sanctuary at Jerusalem, was a much later development. Some distinction, however, must have attached to the sanctuary at Shiloh, for there the sacred ark had been deposited. This ark was looked upon as a sort of talisman, and on one occasion was brought into the camp of the Israelites. Their enemies, the Philistines, saw it and exclaimed in terror, 'God is come into the camp!' Here the Israelites would probably have agreed with them. It did not, however, bring victory, but was itself taken captive.

32. Another duty of the priests would be to consult the sacred oracle. This was done by means of the Urim and Tummim (Note 6). On one occasion, when Saul thought to go forth against the Philistines, the priest said, 'Let us draw near to God' (*i.e.* consult the oracle). So Saul asks counsel, 'Shall I go down after the Philistines? Wilt thou deliver them into the hand of Israel?' But no answer was given; it was therefore concluded that some sin was the cause. The oracle was again consulted; on one side were Saul and Jonathan his son, on the other, the chiefs of the people. And Saul said to Yahweh, 'If this iniquity be in me or in my son Jonathan, give Urim; but if it be in thy people Israel, give Tummim.' And Jonathan and Saul were taken. Then a further lot showed Jonathan to be the offender. It is interesting to observe from this story how the whole people are involved in the sin of one of their number. Religion was to a large extent tribal rather than individual at this time and remained so for several centuries.



33. Besides prophets and priests there were certain other holy men called Nazirites of whom we know little except that they grew their hair long and refrained from drinking wine. Samson, whose great strength was supposed to lie in his long hair, and even Samuel, seem to have been looked upon, at any rate in later times, as Nazirites.

6. *The Reign of David*

34. As time went on Saul became subject to fits of melancholy, and David the son of Jesse from Bethlehem in Judah, a cunning player on the harp, is brought in to charm away the king's depression. Saul, at first greatly pleased with David, makes him his armour-bearer. But when David returns successful from a battle against the Philistines, and the song is raised, 'Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands,' the king becomes jealous of him and seeks his life.

35. On one occasion Saul sends messengers to take David. But he escapes; and Michal his wife, showing scant reverence for the household image, 'the teraphim,' puts it in the bed, and pretends that it is David who is sick. It is thought that these images were connected with the veneration of ancestors and used in the practice of divination. Later on they were considered unlawful. On another occasion David flees to Nob, where the priest to stay his hunger gives him the 'holy bread' to eat; and also equips him with a sword which, according to the account, is taken 'from behind the ephod.'

36. Originally the ephod may have been a garment clothing an image; then it came to be used of the image itself; later on it is a linen vestment worn by

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the priest. The ephod is said to have contained a pouch in which the stones for consulting the oracle were kept.

37. It is not improbable that the priests had moved from Shiloh when it was taken, and perhaps destroyed, by the Philistines, and had settled at Nob which was near Saul's capital of Gibeah.

38. There is an interesting incident in the life of David which throws light on the idea of God prevalent at this time. David is reasoning with Saul, and he says, 'If it be Yahweh that hath stirred thee up against me, let him accept an offering: but if it be the children of men, cursed be they before Yahweh; for they have driven me out this day that I should not cleave unto the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go, serve other gods.' This shows us that Yahweh was now popularly looked upon as God of Israelite territory as well as of Horeb the sacred mount and of the people on the march; but it is clear that as yet he was not thought of as God of the world, since David felt that to leave the small district occupied by Yahweh's people was to leave Yahweh himself.

39. When Saul and Jonathan were slain on Mount Gilboa in battle against the Philistines, David became king over Judah, with his capital at Hebron. The strong Canaanite fortress of Jerusalem lay between Judah in the south and the other tribes to the north. When David had been accepted as king over all Israel, he, with considerable statesmanship, determined to conquer Jerusalem and make it his capital. Hither then the ark was brought amidst much rejoicing; sacrifices were offered; and David in his religious enthusiasm danced before Yahweh, thereby provoking the withering scorn of his wife Michal.



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40. To later generations the reign of David became the golden age of the past, and a type of that golden age in the future when Messiah, the son of David, should come. Actually, things were still primitive. Very imperfect is the view of the character of Yahweh brought out in the ancient stories which tell of these days. Saul's depression is attributed to an evil spirit from Yahweh. When Uzzah, with the best of intentions, puts forth his hand to save the ark from falling, his death is thought to have been caused by Yahweh as a punishment for treating the sacred symbol irreverently. On the slender authority of the oracle, long after Saul's death, a famine in the land is attributed to that king's breaking covenant with the Gibeonites, and seven of his sons are killed in expiation; while on another occasion it is said that Yahweh was angry with his people and moved David to sin, in order that he might have an excuse for punishing them. But even if these stories represent the level of popular belief, some think that the higher teaching which we meet with in the Prophets of the Eighth Century was not without its adherents even in these early days.

41. It must be remembered that even the early stories about David are not history in our sense of the word, and it is impossible for us to date with certainty the religious beliefs contained in them. But whether it was in David's time, or somewhat later when these narratives came to be told, that Yahweh could be thought of as arbitrary or capricious, it is a great satisfaction to us to know that God is not really like that, and that we are here reading about a very imperfect stage in a progressive revelation.

42. There is something very attractive about the character of David. Against the background of the



'Judges' he stands out as a soldier-statesman. His true poetic feeling, as well as the depth of his friendship, is shown in his 'Lament over Saul and Jonathan.' His fatherly affection, though unwisely directed, is seen in his treatment of Absalom: 'Would God that I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!' His reliance on God is shown in his refusal to take the ark with him into his exile, when he fled from Jerusalem to his territory in Transjordan: his faith could dispense with this outward symbol of Yahweh's presence and protection.

7. *Solomon and the Temple*

43. Solomon's name has been handed down to us in such a blaze of magnificence that it is difficult to discern the man from the trappings. The 'Wisdom of Solomon' became proverbial; and, centuries later, some of the so-called 'Wisdom Literature' was put forth under his name. The undoubted prosperity of Solomon's reign is shown by the extent of his kingdom, the expansion of trade even to a fleet of merchantships, and his extensive building operations. His reign marks an advance in civilization, but little in religious thought. Solomon, however, stands out as the builder of the Temple. It is true that the Temple at Jerusalem was only one sanctuary out of many; the high places remained. Still, at the time it was unique, in that it acted as the sanctuary of the capital and, like Shiloh in earlier times, housed the sacred ark. Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple runs as follows: 'The sun hath Yahweh set in the heavens, But hath promised to dwell in thick darkness. Build my house, a house of habitation for me, That I may dwell therein for ever' (Note 8). In the Sanctuary stood the Ark, representing the presence of Yahweh, and



the Table of Shewbread. In its origin this holy bread may have been food set out for the deity, but in the Temple at Jerusalem the hot loaves were perhaps, like incense, offered to Yahweh as a sweet savour, and afterwards consumed by the priests.

44. To the east of the building, and open to the sky, on the rock now covered by the beautiful Muhammadan Dome (the Dome of the Rock), stood the great Altar of Burnt-Offering. On this, we are told, the king himself offered sacrifice three times a year. That would be at the three great feasts, which were celebrated, not only in Jerusalem, but at the high places scattered about the country. These feasts were all agricultural: the Feast of Unleavened Bread at the beginning of the harvest, to which the older festival of the Passover was attached; seven weeks later the Feast of Weeks at the end of the corn harvest; and lastly the Feast of Tabernacles in the autumn, when the grapes and other fruits had been gathered in (Note 5).

45. Solomon in building the Temple was doing far more than he knew for the religion of Yahweh; for the Temple was afterwards to become the only lawful sanctuary, and to act as a focus for the religious and national life of the Jews.

8. *Danger to the Religion of Israel*

46. After Solomon's death the kingdom was divided into two parts. The Israelite tribes in the north, who had never, since the entry into Canaan, been strongly bound to Judah, resented forced service for the glorification of Solomon, a Judean king, and his capital. With the cry, 'To your tents, O Israel; now see to thine own house, David!' they revolted and became

independent. From the standpoint of many in Judah this was rank apostasy, but it implied a democratic spirit on the part of the people which was really a sign of strength: an easily led people would hardly have produced such great men as sprang from this nation.

47. Two or three centuries had now elapsed since the entry into Canaan, and by this time the *name* of Yahweh had largely displaced that of the Baals. He was now recognized as God of the settled community and their agricultural occupations. But Israel had not made this advance without loss. A new religion, if strong enough, may assimilate truth from a religion less high than itself; but in this process there lies always the risk that, instead of being legitimately enriched, it may itself become degraded.

48. There was no intrinsic harm in the taking over of the Canaanite high places as shrines for Yahweh; no harm perhaps in their adopting some of the ritual practised at these Baal shrines; no harm in converting Canaanite feasts into Israelite feasts; no harm even in calling Yahweh 'baal,' which in Hebrew means only a 'lord,' though to the Canaanites it was a proper name. The danger was that Yahweh should lose his true character, and be lowered to the level of the Baals, or that he should become confused with them. For in reality, as some doubtless knew, there was a vast difference between him and them. To begin with, there were many Baals, but only one Yahweh. Each district had its own Baal or Lord who was looked upon as responsible for the fertility of its soil. But it was the same Yahweh whether manifested at Horeb, or on the march through the desert, or leading the people to victory against their enemies, or now as God of the land, in whichever of the many shrines he

was being worshipped. He was moreover in essence a moral God, not ruling his people by caprice, nor to be appeased, like the Baals, by sacrifice (Note 7).

49. Furthermore, morally the religion of the Baals was on a low level compared with the religion of Yahweh. We call a man a hypocrite who professes to be religious but is leading an evil life. But in the crude nature-worship of the Canaanites, things they no doubt considered wrong in ordinary life, were authorized by religion. 'Thou shalt do no murder'—but the first-born child could be killed as an offering to the deity; 'Thou shalt not commit adultery'—but adultery was actually encouraged in the debased religion of the Baals.

50. And we have to admit that, together with the shrines, the ritual and the feasts, the Israelites took over much that was absolutely inconsistent with the true religion of Yahweh. At Bethel there was the golden calf, at Jerusalem the brazen serpent (later to be destroyed by Hezekiah), and at most of the shrines there were pillars of wood and stone, perhaps representing Baal and Astarte; and it is difficult to see how such furniture could have any legitimate place in the religion of Yahweh. Multitudes of sacrifices came to be offered, as if Yahweh had to be appeased in that way. A later Psalmist writing of these times says, 'They were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works. Insomuch that they worshipped their idols, which turned to their own decay; yea, they offered their sons and their daughters unto devils; . . . and the land was defiled with blood.' Could anything seem more unpromising?

9. *Elijah and his Times*

51. After a time of revolt in the Northern Kingdom Omri ascended the throne and made Samaria his capital. So great was the family of this king that, long after his dynasty had come to an end, Assyrian monuments speak of Israel as 'the House of Omri.' An alliance with the Phœnicians was sealed by the marriage of his son Ahab with Jezebel, a princess from Sidon. Jezebel brought with her not only autocratic ideas of kingship but the worship of the Tyrian Baal. It is now that Elijah the prophet suddenly appears upon the scene. He comes from the less civilized district of Gilead beyond Jordan, and enters at once into national affairs. He shows how that Phœnician ideas of autocratic kingship can have no place in democratic Israel, as we see from the story of Naboth's Vineyard.

52. The famous scene on Carmel represents the conflict which was going on between the Tyrian Baal introduced by Jezebel, on the one hand, and Yahweh, God of Israel, on the other. Appealing to the people's religious patriotism, Elijah puts the clear-cut issue, 'How long halt ye between two opinions? If Yahweh be God, follow him: but if Baal, then follow him.' The moment to decide had come. And in the end the people exclaim, 'Yahweh, he is God; Yahweh, he is God.' Gruesome as is Elijah's massacre of the prophets of Baal that follows, it would serve to prove how ineffectual this foreign deity was in the country of Yahweh. Neither could Jezebel's god substantiate her threat to take Elijah's life.

53. Horeb was still looked upon as the sacred mount, and thither Elijah fled. There Yahweh appeared to him; not in earthquake, wind, or fire, but in the



still small voice, which gave him hope, showing him that there were others besides himself who had not 'bowed the knee to Baal,' and commissioning him to further work for his God.

54. As in the case of the early Christian saints, many wonderful works were attributed to Elijah. The most marvellous of all is the story told of his going up 'by a whirlwind into heaven.' It must be remembered that, neither at the time when Elijah lived, nor when the stories about him were written, nor until long after both, was there any idea that men could pass to a joyful resurrection 'through the grave and gate of death.' Sheol, the place of departed spirits, was thought of as a gloomy abode from which there was no hope of deliverance. Thus if a man was too great to 'pass away' into Sheol, he would have to be taken up into heaven without dying. From this belief in Elijah's immortality arose the expectation of his coming again. In Malachi iv. 5 we read 'Behold, I will send you Elijah the prophet before the great and terrible day of the Lord come.' Thus the scribes of our Lord's day, as they speculated on the coming of Messiah, affirmed that 'Elijah must first come'; and Jesus himself, as he claimed to be the Messiah, claimed also that his herald John the Baptist was, if the disciples could receive it, Elijah 'which was for to come.' At the Transfiguration Elijah is the other great man of old who appeared speaking with our Lord, when 'there came a voice out of the cloud, This is my beloved Son: hear ye him.' Moses represented the Law and Elijah represented the Prophets; our Lord fulfilled both Law and Prophets. Thus in the later imagination of his people Elijah holds a great position; and undoubtedly he, together with the movement which he represents, is a most

important landmark in the religious history of Israel.

55. 'The mantle of Elijah' fell upon Elisha, who carried on the work for Yahweh against the foreign Baal. Calling to him one of the 'sons of the prophets' (not literally 'sons' but members of a guild) he sent him across the Jordan to Ramoth-Gilead, to anoint Jehu, an Israelite captain, king over Israel. Then follows the awful slaughter of the royal family, of king Jehoram the son of Ahab, of Jezebel the queen-mother, and of seventy other sons of Ahab in Samaria. Thus in the Northern Kingdom did these fierce protagonists of Yahweh succeed in exterminating the family which had dared to introduce the heathen cult of the Tyrian Baal into Yahweh's land.

56. It is at this time that we first hear of the Rechabites. We read that Jehu lighted upon Jehonadab the son of Rechab, and said to him, 'Is thine heart right, as my heart is with thy heart?' And the answer was, Yes, he was at one with Jehu in his zeal to do away with the worship of Baal. Together they go forth to a treacherous deed. Jehu, pretending to favour the Baal worshippers, summons them to a great sacrifice in the house of their god, carefully seeing to it that no worshippers of Yahweh are present, and then massacres them all! We must turn away from this barbarous deed to consider the Rechabites. They seem to have stood for the old desert religion and simple ways of life as against the baalized religion of Israel and the civilized life of a settled community. They would have none of houses and agriculture, but they continued to live in tents, and refrained from drinking wine because it was the product of the regular cultivation of the soil. For the same reason it may be inferred that they would take no part in

the great agricultural feasts. In spite of all their ferocity and their refusal to progress, we may class them with that group of Israelites which maintained a simple pure belief in Yahweh, his character and requirements.

57. Judah was not untouched by these happenings in the Northern Kingdom. An alliance between Israel and Judah had been sealed by the marriage of the king of Judah with Athaliah the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel, thus bringing the influence of the Tyrian Baal into Jerusalem also. At the time of Jehu's rebellion Athaliah's son, Ahaziah king of Judah, was on a visit to Jehoram king of Israel, and he shared the fate of that king. His brethren were also put to death. When she saw that her son was dead, Athaliah attempted to destroy all the seed royal of Judah (*i.e.* all the descendants of David). But one small boy, Joash, escaped the slaughter, being hidden somewhere in the Temple. At the strategic moment he was brought forward by Jehoiada the priest, and crowned king; Athaliah was slain. Then followed the destruction of the house of Baal with the suppression of this alien worship in Jerusalem.

10. *Israel's Laws and Traditions*

58. The fact that the foreign Tyrian Baal had been banished did not mean that all influence of the local Canaanite Baal worship was at an end. From the prophets of the eighth century, next to be considered, we can infer something of the religious and social conditions in the two kingdoms during the time which preceded them. Religion was popular, and the agricultural feasts were times of great rejoicing, although they were often made the occasion for vicious behaviour.

A SHORT RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISRAEL

Many of the priests were themselves corrupt, and doubtless made a good thing out of their profession. As the Syrians of Damascus ceased to be a menace, both kingdoms enjoyed a time of great prosperity. This was looked upon by many as a sure sign of Yahweh's favour: it was the result, they thought, of the innumerable gifts and sacrifices offered to him. With confidence they looked for an even better time in the future, the Day of Yahweh, when they, his chosen people, would be exalted and their enemies laid low.

59. Stories of Yahweh's deliverance in the past, their release from the bondage of Egypt, how Yahweh had led them in the wilderness, how he had fought their battles for them and had given them a land, would be told and told again, around the wells as the shepherds watered their flocks, beside the threshing-floors, or at the sacred shrines during the feasts. There would be traditions too of the early monarchy, of Saul and David and Solomon; and the mighty deeds of Elijah and Elisha would be treasured up by the 'sons of the prophets.' We need not doubt that state records were kept in both kingdoms, to be quoted later by the author of the Books of Kings, with the oft-repeated formula 'are they not written in the book of the chronicles?'

60. It may be doubted whether any of the documents of which the Pentateuch is composed were extant at this time. The early narratives of the Creation and the Flood were probably handed down orally long before they were put into writing. The traditional stories about Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of Joseph and his brethren, originally current in various parts of Palestine, would, as they were told in Israel and Judah respectively, take a somewhat



different shape; but eventually the separate accounts were combined and became the property of all. While these contain much old material and reveal to us a considerable amount of early customs and folklore, they probably represent in the main the beliefs of the age in which they were written rather than those of the remote past of which they tell (Note 1).

61. The earliest writings of the Israelites evidently include the Book of Jasher and the Book of the Wars of Yahweh; the former containing songs, such as 'David's Lament over Saul and Jonathan,' the latter probably such battle-ballads as 'The Song of Deborah.' These poems also existed orally before they were written down.

62. We may think of ten commandments as extant at this time, graven on two tables of stone, one pair at Jerusalem and perhaps another at Bethel. These were not *the ten commandments* as we know them, but for the most part ritual laws prescribing what sacred feasts were to be kept, and regulating offerings and sacrifices (Note 5). Whether or not, in addition to these, there were actually in writing laws about social righteousness, there can be no doubt that certain moral requirements were held to be binding: *e.g.* widows and orphans are not to be afflicted; the stranger is not to be oppressed; no interest is to be exacted on a loan to a poor man; a garment taken in pledge is to be restored before nightfall; kindness is to be shown even to an enemy; justice is to be practised in the courts; and the taking of bribes is forbidden.

63. If we are to understand the work of the eighth-century prophets, we must picture to ourselves two strands running through the religion of Israel: (a) the

elaborate baalized cult; (b) a purer simpler faith which had never been allowed to die out. It would indeed be interesting to know something of the parents of the prophets of the eighth century, and the traditions of the families from which they sprang; but we may hazard the conjecture that these belonged to the faithful nucleus of the nation which was true to the highest teaching in religion and morals to which the Israelites had attained. While recognizing their dependence on the direct inspiration of God, we must not undervalue the background of faith which lay behind.

11. *Eighth-century Prophets: Amos*

64. With the prophets of the eighth century—Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah—we enter upon a new era in the religious history of Israel. It would be wrong to draw too hard and fast a line between this period and the one which preceded it. New and striking as was the message of Amos, it was but one step, or perhaps we may say one stride, forward. Still, looking at the work of these prophets as a whole, we cannot doubt that the eighth century witnessed a remarkable development.

65. To Amos Yahweh was, first and foremost, a righteous God and one who required righteousness from his people. He fully recognizes Israel as Yahweh's chosen people: he had brought them out of Egypt, led them in the wilderness, given them a land, and provided them with prophets and Nazirites, religious men, to teach them. But Amos shows clearly that this choice of Israel was no mere favouritism, but that it brought with it a greater responsibility. No charm attached to them: if they persistently broke Yahweh's

laws, the covenant between him and them must come to an end.

66. Neither would the religion practised at such shrines as Bethel and Gilgal save them: their altars, no more than themselves, would escape destruction. Those who thought that Yahweh could be appeased by multitudes of gifts and sacrifices wholly misconceived his nature. It is a question whether Amos did not repudiate sacrifices altogether: certainly, if they were required at all, they were to him of quite secondary importance.

67. What Yahweh did require was righteousness. The nobles apparently saw nothing inconsistent in making use of 'garments taken in pledge' from the poor, for carrying out the ritual of their religion. But to Amos religion and morality must go hand in hand. What use the observance of sabbaths by those who only long for them to be over so that they may continue to cheat their fellow-countrymen? Yahweh demands justice and mercy; but, as things are, the rich secure decisions in their favour by bribing the judge, while the poor of the land are oppressed.

68. Men deceive themselves into thinking that Yahweh is necessarily with them, his chosen people; Amos shows that the only way to ensure his presence is to 'seek good and not evil.' The prophet, like the rulers, looks for a Day of Yahweh, but it will be a day of darkness, not light, when Israel will be condemned with the rest, and be found the more guilty just because they are Yahweh's chosen people.

69. To Amos Yahweh is more than the national God of Israel. While it is true that most of the surrounding nations are condemned for sins committed against Israel only, Moab is condemned for a sin

against Edom. Moreover, Yahweh's sphere of action extends to heaven above and to Sheol (para. 54) beneath, to the top of Carmel and to the bottom of the sea, and even to lands outside Palestine, where he will perform his purpose unmolested. If Amos was not a monotheist in the sense of knowing that there was only one God for the world, he was well on the way towards this belief.

12. *Eighth-century Prophets: Hosea*

70. If Amos stood for Law, Hosea stood for Love. It is not that Hosea thinks little of the ethical side of religion: he thinks much; but to him righteousness was to spring from close relationship between the people and their God. Hosea uses the Hebrew word *hesed*, which has to be translated variously according to the context. As *tender sympathy* it was shown by Yahweh to his people; as *loyalty* it was due from the people to their God; as *humanity* it should have been manifest in the dealings of Israelites with their fellow-Israelites. Doubtless this quality is to be seen in Hosea's attitude towards his unfaithful wife, and its absence in her feelings towards him. Yahweh had proved over and over again his love for his people. Everything that was of value in the nation's history and life had been granted to them as a free gift by their God. He had betrothed them to himself: he was Husband. He had taught Ephraim to walk and had taken him in his arms: he was Father. He had made them to draw with easy harness: he was a considerate Master.

71. But the nation had proved itself destitute of this feeling towards him. The name Yahweh, which should have summed up for them his love and all its manifestations, had been degraded until it meant little

more than Baal. Outwardly Yahweh was worshipped, but in reality the religion of Hosea's time was hardly distinguishable from that of the Baals. In the country's politics Yahweh was left out. Israel had become contaminated by mixing with other nations, while their foreign alliances were apostasy from the God in whom they ought to have trusted. Moreover, had Israel responded to Yahweh, his laws of righteousness would have been kept willingly; but socially, as well as religiously and politically, Yahweh had been deserted by his people; 'there is no faithfulness, nor love, nor knowledge of God in the land.'

72. Next to this lack of loyalty was a lack of perception. Yahweh knew Israel, but Israel did not know Yahweh. They, more than any other people, had had the opportunity of knowing him; ideally they knew no other God. Hosea, looking forward to a time of deep distress, pictures the people alleging this knowledge as a claim on his forbearance, 'We are the people who know thee.' But had Israel really known Yahweh they would not have confused him with the Baals, and they would have seen that he was different from the gods who demanded many altars and sacrifices; and that mere empty words could not move him.

73. Besides Ephraim's failure to know Yahweh there was a lack of self-knowledge; he was not conscious of his own condition; he would probably have repudiated the idea that he was worshipping Baal and not Yahweh; nor had he the sense to discern the ruin that had set in. 'Old age has come upon him, yet he knows not that it is so.' And even when at last Ephraim became conscious of his wounds, he did not penetrate to their cause nor apprehend the remedy.

74. For all this apostasy the nation is doomed. And yet, how can Yahweh destroy the people whom he loves? Punishment there must certainly be; for Yahweh was no merely benevolent God who would lightly pass over the sins of his people. He loved them too much for that. Yahweh was ready and willing to forgive, but without repentance they could not embrace his forgiveness. In the Book of Hosea, as it has come down to us, we are carried into the future, where we see a repentant and forgiven people. While there is some uncertainty as to whether this vision of hope is from Hosea himself or from a later writer, we are left in no doubt whatever as to the depth of the love for his people which filled the heart of their God.

13. *Eighth-century Prophets: Isaiah*

75. 'Holy, Holy, Holy, is Yahweh of Hosts.' We are familiar with words almost identical, in the Te Deum and the Holy Communion Service. Originally they were the song of the seraphim at Isaiah's vision in the Temple at Jerusalem. 'A holy God and a holy people' is Isaiah's theme. A favourite name with him for Yahweh is the *Holy One* of Israel. To Isaiah Yahweh is holy in the sense of 'apartness': even the seraphim (Note 9) veil their faces before him, and Isaiah when he 'sees Yahweh' at once becomes conscious of his own sinfulness and that of his people. Yet Yahweh was not unapproachable; for his servant Isaiah is brought into close communion with him. Moreover, this apartness of Yahweh was but one side of his holiness: he was holy also in the sense that he was absolutely righteous, not like other gods who could be appeased by gifts.

76. The Holy One of *Israel*. This holy God demands holiness from his chosen people. When we come to examine into what Isaiah means by holiness we find that what is required is social righteousness. The people are unclean because they oppress the poor; the rich add house to house and field to field till no room is left in the land; and when Yahweh looks for righteousness he hears the cry of the oppressed. If the broken relation between God and people is to be restored, they must wash and make themselves clean; in other words, they must cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek out justice, relieve the oppressed, give the orphans their right and the widows just judgment. Only thus can they become 'white as snow.'

77. Yahweh of Hosts. This term for God, as used by Isaiah, is charged with a fuller meaning than 'God of the armies of Israel,' which was probably its original significance. All forces of nature and man are at his disposal. Even the great Empire of Assyria is but a rod in his hand. Yahweh has all the power. This is cause for both confidence and fear. The prophet himself can trust Yahweh implicitly; he is the resting-place of his people, and faith in him their only sure foundation. At the time when Syria and the Northern Kingdom were allied against Judah, Isaiah declares to the latter that God is on their side (Immanuel, *i.e.* God is with *us*). But there are those in the nation who do not trust him, who rely on false supports. There are those who practise necromancy, thinking to escape death by making a covenant with death; there are those who practise idolatry, worshipping the work of their own hands; there are others who are sceptical about Yahweh's activity, and do not perceive that he is at work. Then there are those who seek help from Egypt and put their

reliance on horses. But when Yahweh shall stretch forth his hand, 'the helped with the helper will stumble'; for 'the Egyptians are men and not God; their horses are flesh and not spirit.' But Yahweh is spirit.

78. Isaiah uses anthropomorphic language (Note 10): in his vision he *sees* Yahweh and *hears* him speak; he will *come down* to fight against his people. But this does not mean that he holds anthropomorphic beliefs: such language conveys forcibly Yahweh's activity in human affairs; but his transcendent glory shines through the vision and is seen in the prophet's picture of the Day, when all the great ones of the earth will be humbled before him, and he alone be exalted.

79. Here for a moment we must leave one of Israel's greatest prophets, to turn to a so-called *minor* prophet, his contemporary, Micah the countryman.

14. *Eighth-century Prophets: Micah*

80. The prophet Micah claims for himself the inspiration of Yahweh; and as we read his book we feel that he substantiates his claim. His work is characterized by forcefulness and sincerity, and he boldly acts as Yahweh's champion. We see at once that he must be numbered among the 'goodly fellowship of the prophets.'

81. With regard to the life of the nation Micah has much the same story to tell as Isaiah. The priests of Jerusalem teach for hire and her prophets divine for silver. The rulers, who ought to know Yahweh's laws of justice, are takers of bribes; justice they abominate, and they build up Jerusalem with ill-gotten gain.

82. Micah is evidently a farmer, and he acts as spokesman for those whose land has been seized by the grasping rich. To him Palestine is Yahweh's land, and these avaricious men shall find no resting-place therein, but they themselves will be banished and the fields they have appropriated will be allotted to strangers.

83. The rulers are confident that Yahweh's intentions towards his chosen people are favourable, that he will not allow Micah's gloomy predictions to be fulfilled. In this they are supported by the corrupt prophets, who declare that Yahweh is among them and that no evil can befall them. But Micah boldly foretells the destruction of Jerusalem. This is the more significant in view of the popular notion that Yahweh was dwelling in the Temple and that therefore it could not be harmed (Note 8). But Micah thought of no earthly dwelling as the home of Yahweh. It is from his place in heaven that Yahweh comes forth. In poetic language he describes mountains melting and valleys cleaving asunder as Yahweh steps down on the earth. And although Micah does not mention it by name there can be little doubt that Yahweh's instrument, as he comes thus in judgment, is the Empire of Assyria.

15. *Reforms and Reaction*

84. The preaching of Isaiah and Micah had its results in Judah, and the former lived to see these results. The Book of Kings tells us of reforms brought about by king Hezekiah, and the Book of Jeremiah attributes these to the preaching of Micah. Exactly what these reforms were is not easy to determine, because the account in the Book of Kings is probably coloured by the memory of Josiah's more drastic

reforms a century later, and because the writer is chiefly interested in definitely religious reforms. He mentions that the brazen serpent was destroyed and that the wooden pillar was cut down. Isaiah's teaching largely, and Micah's perhaps entirely, had been taken up with the social side of the nation's life, and we cannot think that Isaiah would have been satisfied with any reform that did not extend to social morality. In any case enough seems to have been done to make Isaiah sure that the worst would not happen to Jerusalem. Preaching and punishment seem to have done their work, and Isaiah finds himself able to utter a message of confident hope. On the one hand the pride of Assyria had overreached itself, while on the other hand the king had set about his projects of reform.

85. It must not be thought, however, that a sudden conversion of all rulers and people had taken place in Jerusalem. It is not improbable that the release from the Assyrian yoke was, in the popular view, attributed not to reforms but to some special charm which attached to Jerusalem: that Yahweh had saved the city for his own sake or for his servant David's sake. If this idea was a factor in Isaiah's own view of the case, it was certainly not the only factor. According to his teaching throughout, neither Temple, nor city, nor nation would have escaped, without signs of repentance and amendment (Note 8).

86. There were doubtless those amongst the ruling class in Jerusalem who had never followed prophet and king in their desire for reform. It was in the midst of this group that the boy king Manasseh, Hezekiah's son and successor, was brought up. A reaction against reform and the teaching of the prophets, followed. A dark picture of Manasseh's

reign is given us in the Book of Kings. Conditions became even worse than before. Manasseh made his son to pass through the fire, practised magic, shed innocent blood, and introduced heathen cults into Jerusalem.

87. One of the interesting facts about Isaiah is that he had disciples. It was these perhaps who treasured up his prophecies, and, still more important, followed out his teaching. They and all adherents of the purer religion doubtless came in for much persecution during the unsympathetic reign of Manasseh, and the voice of prophecy may have been silenced for a time. But the drastic nature of the reaction may well have made the faithful keener, and have helped them to see more clearly what was consistent, and what inconsistent, with the true religion of Yahweh. A legend says that Isaiah himself was martyred during this reign, being 'hewn asunder.' It is certainly not improbable that men were called upon to suffer for their faith; but it seems to be a law of the Most High that 'the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.' You can kill men, but you cannot kill the faith for which they stand.

16. *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets*

88. The four eighth-century prophets, with others who are to follow, form a 'goodly fellowship.' While each prophet stands out with a distinct personality and a distinctive message, they all belong to one 'family.' They were all loyal Israelites with a knowledge of the true God and faith in him.

89. Even from a short summary of their teaching it is clear that they are on a different plane from the

bands of enthusiasts of the time of Saul, and from the 'sons of the prophets' who play some part in the stories of Elijah and Elisha. Moreover, these prophets are very different from those 'prophets of Yahweh' so-called, who were contemporary with them. Amos repudiates the implication that he was a 'prophet' or 'son of a prophet': he belonged to no professional school, but had received his call direct from Yahweh; nor had he taken up the work in order to earn his living. Micah throws scorn on the prophets of his day who suit their message to their fee, crying 'Peace' to such as supply them with food. Confidently but not boastfully he contrasts himself with them, when he says, 'But I truly am full of power by the spirit of Yahweh, and of judgment and of might, to declare unto Jacob his transgression, and to Israel his sin.'

90. Their call comes to them in different ways: one is following his sheep, another is worshipping in the Temple, while yet another has been set apart for the office from birth; but all alike are called, called by Yahweh to be his prophets. So urgent and compelling was God's message to his servants, that Amos says, 'Lord Yahweh hath spoken, who can but prophesy?' Jeremiah affirms, 'If I say, I will not make mention of him, nor speak any more in his name, then there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary of forbearing, and I cannot contain.'

91. Prophets are not machines wound up like a gramophone to give a stereotyped message. They are very much men, with human limitations. God inspired them, rather than the exact words which they were to speak. We mistake the nature of inspiration if we claim infallibility for the books which bear their names. On the one hand they were the

children of their own generation, limited by the times and the country in which they lived; on the other, they were inspired by God, so rising superior to their own age and contributing to God's progressive revelation of himself to mankind.

92. In trying to get a fair estimate of the teaching of the prophets, it should be borne in mind that their message was to some extent handicapped by a cut-and-dried belief on the subject of rewards and punishments. To the majority of the prophets, all sorrow and calamity implied the withdrawal of the divine favour, and prosperity implied the reverse. The same idea is also very prominent in the Psalms. 'Yet saw I never the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging their bread.' Despite the fact that this belief was refuted in the Book of Job, and shown to be false in the case of the 'Suffering Servant,' it held its ground in Judaism till the days of our Lord, who definitely repudiated it.

93. These prophets were preachers to the people of their own time; they were *forthtellers* more than *foretellers*; they told forth God's message to the people of their own generation, and this was their chief function. For everyone who throws light upon the will of God is rightly called a prophet. However, a prophet was often so sure that his estimate of affairs was from God, and therefore true, that he could look with assurance for a confirmation of his words in the future; and in the popular estimate the all-important test was whether his predictions came literally true or not. When Samaria fell to Assyria in 722 B.C. the Northern Kingdom came to an end, and the prophets who had predicted this were vindicated as foretellers. But their real claim to be prophets, as we estimate

prophets, did not depend on such confirmation of their words. For instance, Micah and Zephaniah probably expected the fall of Jerusalem at a certain definite time, when in fact it did not fall; but they were none the less true prophets in the highest sense of the word. We must bear in mind also that prophecies were often conditional: 'If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall consume the fat of the land; but if ye refuse and rebel, by the sword shall ye be consumed.' While their foretelling and forthtelling were thus primarily concerned with their own times, this did not prevent some of them from looking further ahead and having visions of a better and happier age to come.

17. *Zephaniah and the Day of Yahweh*

94. The corruptions of Manasseh's time continued into the early part of the reign of his grandson Josiah, who was only a child of eight when he ascended the throne. When he was about twenty-one there came the menace to the Near East of the Scythian hordes, and the voice of prophecy was again raised in warning to the people of Judah. To Zephaniah their advent was Yahweh's judgment on Judah for its sins. For the priests have profaned the holy things, and the prophets are not to be trusted, and the princes oppress the poor; foreign fashions and cults have been introduced; and there is evidently apathy in religion, for there are those who say, 'Yahweh will do neither good nor evil.' Zephaniah has been depicted as the 'man with the lamp,' but it is really not Zephaniah but Yahweh who will 'search Jerusalem with candles' and hunt out those who are 'settled on their lees,' that is, the slothful and self-indulgent.

95. In awful colours Zephaniah describes the coming 'Day of Yahweh.' It is a day of darkness and devastation. In it birds and beasts, as well as men, will be swept away. Whether Zephaniah was merely expressing in forceful language what he looked for as the result of the Scythian invasion, or whether he actually expected Yahweh to bring about also some great upheaval of nature, we cannot say for certain: the language, if not the thought, is apocalyptic (para. 200). Nor was the coming disaster for Judah alone, but the Philistine cities would be deserted, and Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, would become a desolation. If Zephaniah does not add much to the development of religious ideas, he stands out as the first to revive the voice of prophecy after the lapse of more than half a century.

18. *The Man Jeremiah*

96. Contemporary with Zephaniah was Jeremiah, one of Judah's greatest prophets. His contribution consists not only in the truth of his teaching, but in the life of the man himself. During his ministry of forty years the veil is lifted and we are able to see something of the communings of a deeply religious man with his God. At his call he confesses himself a child and unable to speak; but Yahweh promises to be with him and to strengthen him. Jeremiah is to become an iron pillar and walls of brass. No easy or pleasant task lay before him. He has to show his people how they have deserted their God: religiously, in that they were worshipping idols; politically, in that they were seeking help from foreign nations; socially, in that Yahweh's laws of justice were not being kept.

97. Like Zephaniah, but with a deeper patriotic feeling, he pictures the coming desolation. Again, nature is to suffer with man: 'I beheld the earth, and, lo, it was waste and void; and the heavens, and they had no light.' He pleads with the people to repent while there is yet time, to wash their heart from iniquity, to break up their 'fallow ground.' He shows how useless are the incense and sacrifices which the people offer. Other prophets may cry, 'Peace'; but he knows there is no peace. He is grieved at his very heart; and this not only for the sins of the nation, but also because he fears that the country which he loves is doomed.

19. *The Law of the One Sanctuary*

98. The Scythians invaded the land, but departed leaving Jerusalem and the Temple still unscathed. A few years later king Josiah ordered certain repairs to be carried out in the Temple. While this was being done the priest Hilkiyah discovered a book (Note 11). It must have been written sometime previously, and had perhaps been purposely hidden. This book was read before the king, who was greatly distressed, for evidently teaching contained therein was not being observed. Josiah at once set about reforming religion in accordance with the book. Idols were destroyed, and heathen altars broken down; the place where children were sacrificed was defiled, and the sun-worship which was being practised in the Temple was suppressed.

99. But most revolutionary of all was the abolition of the country shrines or high places, with the requirement that in Jerusalem alone should sacrifices be offered. This can have been no sudden decree coming

as 'a bolt from the blue.' Causes, which may have been political as well as religious, must have led up to so drastic a change. Hosea had shown the danger of many altars. Isaiah's vision and teaching had perhaps influenced people in thinking of the Temple at Jerusalem, the court sanctuary, as on a different footing from other shrines. Moreover, Hezekiah's reforms may have included the discontinuance of the high places in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem. And, politically, it might well be thought that the concentration on Jerusalem as the one religious centre would have a unifying influence on the nation. Furthermore, those who were conscious of the debasement of the religion of Yahweh as practised at the high places, and were desirous of seeing reform 'within the Church,' would feel that this could best be brought about by making the country shrines unlawful, and insisting on pilgrimages to a reformed Temple at Jerusalem, for the sacred feasts.

100. Doubtless to some, especially the priests of the high places whose sanctuaries were taken from them, such reforms appeared too drastic, while for others they did not go far enough. Had Jeremiah had his way, perhaps sacrifices would have been abolished altogether. But it is very doubtful whether the times were ripe for so revolutionary a change as that.

101. Under the Christian dispensation animal-sacrifice has passed away never to return; even before the coming of Christ there were prophets and psalmists who could see that God required something better than, and different from, the sacrifice of animals. But transitory as these were, we need not doubt that good men in Israel offered them, and that the true worship which was connected with them was accepted

by God. Perhaps we may look upon it in this way: God, while he had some better thing in store for mankind, in his tender condescension did not reject the worship which was sincere, even though in its origin the sacrificial system was human rather than divine. A father takes the gift of his child, however inferior it may be, and accepts the love behind it. Moreover, sacrifice is symbolical of important truths: it is right that we should give our best to God; that a nation should make a corporate religious act; that there should be a holy communion between man and man and between man and God. In the Christian religion sacrifice finds its re-interpretation and fulfilment and culmination. Christ offered himself upon the Cross, not indeed to appease an angry God, but, as in life so in death, giving himself to the uttermost for the sake of mankind; and his followers, together with their sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, present themselves a living sacrifice to God.

20. *Nahum and the Fall of Assyria*

102. A few years after the finding of the book an event took place in the Near East, which was of immense significance to the people of Judah. Nineveh, the capital of Assyria, fell. Reft by internal dissension, and harassed by the Scythians on the north, by Babylonia on the south, and by other peoples to the east, this once vast empire had, for some time past, been on the verge of collapse. As we read the Book of Nahum, we are at first impressed by this magnificent dirge on the destruction of Nineveh.

103. The sound of the whip
 The noise of rattling wheels!
 Horses dashing,
 Chariots jolting,

Horsemen mounting,
Swords flashing,
Spears glittering!
And—a multitude of slain.

104. Next, as we bring our Christian outlook to bear upon it, we may be inclined to style it a mere 'hymn of hate.' And yet, as we go a little deeper, we shall find that the poet's attitude is not purely vindictive. We must remember that neither the prophet himself nor his people are taking any part in Nineveh's fall. Nahum stands as it were apart, commenting on what he considers an absolutely just fate for this city of blood. To him with his clear-cut—to us too clear-cut—belief in retribution, it is Yahweh, the God of Judah, who is bringing it all about. Nor does he exult on behalf of Judah alone, but on behalf of others also who had suffered from the depredations of Assyria. While we cannot adopt the prophet's attitude towards national enemies, we can follow him in his faith in God as Ruler: God does bring nations and empires to an end if they fail to justify their existence.

21. *The Problem of Rewards and Punishments*

105. The fall of Assyria did not prove to be the 'cure for all ills' which some had expected. Palestine now became a bone of contention between Egypt and Babylonia. When Necho, king of Egypt, and his army entered Palestine on their way to attack the Babylonians, Josiah, probably in accordance with an oath of allegiance to the power between the Tigris and Euphrates, attempted to arrest their march. Josiah was slain, his son taken captive to Egypt, and his brother Jehoiakim set up as vassal king over Judah.

106. Now Josiah was admittedly a good king; why should God have allowed him to suffer in this way? Here was one of several facts which did not seem to square with the traditional belief that God invariably rewarded the righteous but punished the evil-doer. Had Yahweh been thought of as capricious, the problem would not have arisen; but he was known to be just. 'Wherefore holdest thou thy peace when the wicked man swalloweth up the man that is more righteous than he?' Whether this question in the Book of Habakkuk was asked at this time or later, the problem itself demands some mention here. Jeremiah also challenges Yahweh: 'Wherefore doth the way of the wicked prosper?' He knows that God is righteous, but for that very reason he is bold enough to ask the question. We shall return to this subject later on. Here it is enough to state that it is undoubtedly an advance towards truth when religious men begin to bring their reasoning faculty and moral judgment to bear upon traditional beliefs.

22. *The Courage of Jeremiah*

107. The word 'jeremiad' is used in English to describe a lament over supposed modern decadence. If we call a man 'a Jeremiah' we mean a pessimist who only sees the darker side of life. But to think of Jeremiah himself in that way is hardly fair. He saw things as they were, and, in spite of a naturally retiring disposition, he had the courage and the patriotism to show things up in their true light.

108. Few men have had to suffer as Jeremiah did. His message was treated as a 'jeremiad' and was rejected. The people of his native town plotted against his life, he was 'as a gentle lamb led to the slaughter.' At times he even feels as if God had

deserted him. To find a parallel we have to listen to the cry of 'Crucify him, crucify him,' and that other cry from the Cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' In despair he wishes that he might leave off prophesying, and go right away to the wilderness by himself. But he never goes, so great is the courage of this timid man.

109. Sometimes he pleads with the people, at other times he speaks in scorn. 'Amend your ways,' he cries, 'and I (Yahweh) will cause you to dwell in this place.' But he tells them it is useless to trust in the Temple: that will not ensure their safety (Note 8); and for all the good that sacrifices can do, they are welcome to eat the meat of their burnt-offerings, as well as of those other sacrifices which it had always been the custom to eat. Nothing but repentance and amendment can satisfy Yahweh, who had never commanded them to offer sacrifices but to hearken to his voice. He wants the people to repent, and they will not. He wants Yahweh to vindicate his words by fulfilment; and yet, what would this fulfilment involve? The destruction of his city and the captivity of his people. In vision he sees Jerusalem destroyed, and he hears, before the event, the cry of the captive daughter of his people from a land afar off.

23. *The First Captivity*

110. Jerusalem was besieged and taken by Nebuchadnezzar, and the more influential people were carried captive to Babylon; but the worst had not yet befallen, city and Temple were left standing for another ten years. It is significant that during this time between the captivities there were living two great religious teachers, Jeremiah who remained in Jerusalem, and

Ezekiel, his younger contemporary, who went with the first captives into exile.

111. These two were confronted with a great problem. Some of the people had been taken captive and others remained behind: were those wicked, and these good? Jeremiah had not given up the belief in rewards for the righteous and punishment for the wicked in this life, but he does recognize that the captives were on the whole more righteous than those who were left in Jerusalem. To them he holds out hope: in captivity they will turn to Yahweh with their whole heart, and they will be his people and he will be their God; and after two or three generations they will return to their land. But to those in Jerusalem who congratulate themselves on their escape, attributing it to God's special favour towards them, he has a very different message. Destruction awaits them.

112. So unpopular was Jeremiah at this time that he nearly lost his life; but to the end he continued to show what he believed to be the ultimate fate of those who rejected Yahweh.

24. *Ezekiel in Exile*

113. While Jeremiah was thus prophesying in Jerusalem, Ezekiel, a very different type of man, who was both priest and prophet, was seeing his visions and uttering his parables in Babylon. He begins by revealing the glory and majesty of Yahweh. While the simpler vision of Isaiah in the Temple may appeal to us more than the elaborate conception of Ezekiel, we can hardly fail to be impressed by the latter's magnificent picture.

114. Yahweh sits enthroned, not in the Temple at Jerusalem, but on a celestial throne. The great square platform on which this stands is supported on the heads of four living creatures or cherubim, representing north, south, east, and west. Each cherub has four faces: in the front the face of a man, on the right the face of a lion, on the left the face of a bull, and behind the face of an eagle; for God is wise and majestic, strong and swift indeed. Two wings cover their bodies, which, like Isaiah's seraphs, are veiled in the presence of God; each cherub has also two wings which are stretched out and touch the wings of the other cherubs on either side; for the whole is joined together to form as it were one great chariot. Beside each cherub is a shining wheel full of eyes; for God sees everything. In the midst among the cherubs is a flaming fire; and as they move to and fro there is an appearance as of lightning. When the living creatures move, the wheels move beside them; when the living creatures rise up from the earth, the wheels rise up also; for the spirit of the living creatures is extended to the wheels. 'From whichever side the cherubim were viewed the appearance was the same; for to God there is no north, south, east or west, no right or left'; and he could be with the exiles in Babylon just as easily as with the people in Jerusalem. And above the great platform, which rested on the heads of the cherubim, in a dazzling brightness, was something which resembled a throne, and on the throne was a form which resembled a man. From what seemed his loins, above and below, Ezekiel saw what looked like fire surrounded by brightness, as the bow which appears in a cloud on a rainy day: such was the brightness round about. It was the appearance of the likeness of the glory of Yahweh. And when Ezekiel saw it, he fell upon his face.

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115. Later on, Ezekiel in vision is taken back to Jerusalem, where he beholds heathen abominations which, despite Josiah's reforms, were again being practised. In vision he sees an awful destruction. A mark has been put upon the foreheads of the faithful—for Yahweh will not make a full end—but all the rest are utterly destroyed.

116. Ezekiel and Jeremiah both lay stress on the responsibility of the individual. Both believed in material rewards for the righteous and punishment for the wicked during this life. To those who complained, saying, 'The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge,' in other words that God was not just in allowing the children to suffer for the sins of their fathers, these two prophets maintained that God was just, his ways were equal. The individual who sinned would suffer, but 'When the wicked man turneth away from his wickedness . . . and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive.' It is the people's present attitude that really counts. 'The thought of the age was not sufficiently advanced to render a full discussion of the problem possible, and Ezekiel was hampered by the supposed necessity of coupling together sin and suffering as cause and effect; but in his efforts to vindicate Yahweh's justice he insisted on Yahweh's relation with the individual soul' (E.R.E. Vol. 7, p. 452). Thus gradually were men coming to know that religion is a matter not only for family, tribe, and nation, but for individual men; since each can make his choice between the good and the evil way.

25. *The New Covenant*

117. But to return to events in Palestine. Judah, relying on the help of Egypt, revolted against Nebu-



chadnezzar. Jerusalem was besieged and captured, and this time both city and Temple were destroyed. Many more of the people were taken captive to Babylon, while some escaped to Egypt. Thus Jeremiah and Ezekiel were both vindicated as prophets in the popular sense of foretelling, though from our point of view they had been vindicated as prophets long before, for both were revealers of God to the people of their own day.

118. Was it now at long last that Jeremiah, who over a period of forty years had been chiefly concerned with 'breaking down and plucking up,' felt himself able to 'build and to plant'? In his earlier prophecies he had held out hope to the Israelites, whose capital, Samaria, had fallen a century previously; also, as we have seen, he had spoken a message of comfort to the first Judean captives. And now that Jerusalem has also fallen, we find words in his book, either his own or those of his disciples, which carry us into the future. The old covenant or agreement has been nullified, first by the people in their apostasy, and now by Yahweh in casting them off and in allowing their city and Temple to be destroyed. But the days will come when both Israel and Judah will return to their land, and Yahweh will make a new covenant with them; he will put his law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will he write it, and he will be their God and they shall be his people, and all will know him from the least to the greatest.

119. 'Behold, the days come, saith Yahweh, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch (better translated Shoot), and he shall reign as king and deal wisely.' This is probably the first mention of Messiah, he who should one day rule in righteousness as the Anointed King of a restored and righteous people.

26. *Ezekiel's Vision of the Future*

120. Meanwhile Ezekiel, far away in Babylon, has a radiant vision of the future. He looks for a return of the people from captivity, but shows that not all will be worthy, for he distinguishes between 'cattle fat and lean,' between the good and the bad; but the captivity will have acted as a discipline, and many will be ashamed and turn to God. Yahweh will seek out his people; the 'dry bones' will live, those who are as it were dead in exile will rise again. Yahweh will be the God, and David the prince, of both Israel and Judah, and they shall walk in the judgments of Yahweh and observe his statutes. The land that was desolate will become like the Garden of Eden. But as for the country of the Edomites who had helped the Babylonians against Judah, that will be desolate. Distant enemies will be brought to Yahweh's land, but this time only to be destroyed. There seems to be hardly anything that the prophet has not thought of to give us a picture of peace and prosperity.

121. He draws up plans for the Temple which is to be rebuilt; he gives instructions for the priests, the former Jerusalem priests, the Zadokites now in captivity; regulations are provided for the Levites, the former country priests of the high places: these are not to be allowed to come up to the altar to sacrifice, but may assist in the service of the Temple. As for the prince who shall be in those days, provision is made for him, but, having in mind former tyrannical rulers of Judah, Ezekiel guards against any kind of oppression. The land of Palestine, Israel as well as Judah, of generous extent, is apportioned among the tribes. And the name of the city, so rebuilt and



reconstituted, shall be from that day, 'Yahweh is There.'

27. *The Law of Holiness*

122. From Ezekiel's plans for reconstruction we pass on naturally to a set of laws based on his teaching, and drawn up by a group of people during the early years of the Exile. Doubtless they were intended for the Jews when they should be restored to their land. It is called 'The Law of Holiness,' for its main teaching is briefly summed up in the injunction, 'Be ye holy, for I, Yahweh your God, am holy.'

123. We need not go into the details of this revision of the law, but we may notice a few of its requirements, and chiefly what seems to be meant by *holiness*. The people are holy in the sense that God has separated them from other nations; and they are to be holy in that they are not to be contaminated by heathen religions and customs. Also, a holy priest is one who is ceremonially clean, who has not defiled himself by, for instance, touching a dead body. Again, it is forbidden to 'eat with the blood,' and some animals are considered clean and others unclean. Such prohibitions must be strictly observed if a state of holiness is to be maintained. The Sabbaths and feasts are holy, and must be kept regularly and in the prescribed way.

124. But besides all this ritual and taboo there is the real holiness, which shows itself in righteousness; for not only are ceremonial laws to be observed, but also Yahweh's laws of justice and honesty. We may well be thankful that under the freedom of Christianity we are not asked to observe the minute details of any Jewish law; nevertheless we can sympathize with these patriotic Jews in exile who looked to the future

and desired to see things done 'decently and in order' in a 'Church' composed of righteous people (Note 1).

28. *The Book Deuteronomy*

125. All Jews did not think alike. Doubtless there were differences of outlook amongst the exiles. But we must remember that besides these Jews in Babylon there were others in Palestine and in Egypt; for by no means all the nation was carried away by Nebuchadnezzar. Of the Jews in Egypt we know little, but we do know that they went so far as to build themselves a temple at Elephantine, an island in the Nile; which obviously would not be at all in conformity with Josiah's law of the one sanctuary.

126. In addition to the Law of Holiness we find another book, a kind of law-history called Deuteronomy, written from a different standpoint. It is thought by many that a considerable section of Deuteronomy was the actual book, discovered in the Temple in the reign of Josiah, which prompted his reforms; but this remains doubtful (Note 11). On the other hand it is not improbable that the whole book was compiled by the Palestinian priests who remained in the country during the Exile. While laying great stress on the law of the One Sanctuary, it does not share the prejudice of Josiah and Ezekiel against the country priests, the Levites, but provides that, if really in earnest, they should be allowed to celebrate at the altar in Jerusalem, like the rest of the priests.

127. Deuteronomy is an account of the giving of the law which incorporates much of the teaching of the eighth- and even of the seventh-century prophets.

In this book we find the ten commandments almost as we know them; they are very different from the ritual ten commandments of earlier times. Indeed it seems that Deuteronomy was intended to supersede earlier laws. It is merciful in its requirements: fathers are not to be put to death for children, nor children for fathers; mercy is to be shown even to domestic beasts: 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when it treadeth out the corn'; and even to hated Edom, though not to all Israel's enemies, some kindness is to be extended. But perhaps the finest passage in the whole book is the exhortation: 'Hear, O Israel, Yahweh our God, Yahweh is one: and thou shalt love Yahweh thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might' (Note 1).

128. It is generally thought that the so-called historical books of the Old Testament, for instance, the Books of Joshua and Kings, were written or revised by members of the Deuteronomic School.

29. *The Prophet of the Exile*

129. Now we must go back for a moment to the exiles in Babylon. Doubtless, among those taken captive, there were many who were quite content to settle down, and follow the customs, and perhaps the religion, of their captors. But there were others who longed for their native land, who, in the words of a later psalmist, could not 'sing Yahweh's song in a strange land,' but who nevertheless tried to remain faithful to him. They had no temple in captivity, but we may picture these Jews meeting Sabbath by Sabbath for religious study and fellowship. In such meetings it is probable that we have the germ of the

synagogue, which was later on to prove so important an institution in Judaism.

130. To these faithful exiles there came a message of consolation and good tidings: 'Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people, saith your God.' For the nameless prophet, whose writings are included in the book which bears the name of Isaiah, there is only one God who counts, and that is Yahweh. His work is a great charter of monotheism. Yahweh is the First and the Last, Creator and Sustainer of all things; he has all the power, and his word is absolutely reliable. Babylon's boast might be, 'I am, and there is none else'; but Yahweh's rejoinder is, 'I am Yahweh, and there is none else.' The idols of Babylon were carried about from place to place, but Yahweh has carried his people, and will carry them.

131. The nation for its sins had gone into exile, but now, by means of Cyrus, whom Yahweh will use as his instrument, he will redeem them and deliver them from their oppressors. In glowing colours the prophet pictures the return: valleys exalted, hills levelled out, and waters springing up in the desert, all to make the journey smooth and easy for the returning exiles! Are some weak? Yahweh will carry them in his arms; he will lead back his people as a shepherd leads his sheep. All this he will do for the sake of his name which must be magnified among the Gentiles, and not because the people deserve it. But they themselves are to be a people purified from sin, for Yahweh has blotted out as a thick cloud their transgressions and as a cloud their sin. Moreover, God is concerned not with Israel alone, for 'the isles shall wait for him, and on his arm shall they trust.' The great missionary idea has begun. There is only one God for all the world.

30. *A New View of Suffering*

132. Interspersed with these prophecies are a number of poems, perhaps by a different writer, which speak of the Servant of Yahweh. The question at once arises as to who this Servant was. In the first poem he has appeared, but his work lies ahead. In the second the Servant himself speaks, telling of his mission to Israel and also to the Gentiles. In the third he gives the story of his rejection and persecution, but he is confident that Yahweh will uphold him. In the fourth it would seem that the Servant has suffered martyrdom, but another, telling of him, sees in this the truest victory.

133. Years afterwards the Ethiopian, as he reads of the Suffering Servant, asks Philip the evangelist, 'Of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself or of some other? And Philip opened his mouth, and beginning from this scripture, preached unto him Jesus.' And Philip was right; for in the person of our Lord we find the supreme representation of the character here depicted.

134. But who was the original Servant? For we must think that these poems meant something real to the people to whom they were addressed, long before the time of Christ. If the Servant was an individual, do we know his name? If the Servant was a nucleus of faithful Jews, when did they live? The prophet Jeremiah can hardly have been far from the mind of the writer; and Jeremiah's life of suffering may well have been an inspiration to the Servant himself. If an individual is meant it is probable that we shall never know who he was: and after all nothing could be more consistent with his absolute self-abnegation.

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If on the other hand the Servant is a group of loyal Jews, we must look for a time in their history when the faithful underwent rejection from their fellow-countrymen as well as persecution from foreigners. Have we to look to the Exile in Babylon when men were suffering not for their own sins but for those of the nation; or to the little-known period after the return under Zerubbabel when hopes remained unrealized and the faithful may have had much opposition to contend with; or even later, to the age when many in the nation, attracted by the advancing Hellenism, were drifting away from their Law and their God?

135. We cannot answer these questions with any certainty, but one thing is sure. Here at last we find in Judaism a true sense of values. Suffering, so far from being a sign of God's rejection and displeasure, is, if borne for others, the finest thing of all. The Servant 'was despised, and rejected of men'; but it was the griefs of the people that he bore: for their transgressions he was wounded. His was the truest victory, though it brought death in its train. For the moment he was scorned and repudiated, but in the end he would know, and others would know, that it had been worth while; for after death he would receive the recognition which was withheld during his life and ministry.

136. It is interesting to compare with these poems the suffering righteous one of Psalm xxii. who feels that even God has forsaken him; and the words of Zechariah xii. 10, where men look upon him whom they have pierced, and are ashamed. For the rest our thoughts turn instinctively for comparison to the figure of our Lord upon the Cross, and to his followers throughout the ages who have suffered in his name.



31. *Hopes of a Messiah-King*

137. We have seen how during the Exile men's thoughts were turning in various ways to the future. Some at any rate looked for a king of the family of David to be at the head of the restored community. This Messiah was to be a righteous human ruler and Yahweh was to be his and the people's God. It is conceivable that men, suffering under the rule of some bad king, may have longed for one who would reign in righteousness; but on the whole it is more probable that these expectations date from the time when there was no king upon the throne of Judah, that is, during the Exile.

138. There are two well-known passages on the subject of the Messiah-King which must now be mentioned. They look forward to a prince of David's line ruling in righteousness over a people freed from their enemies and at peace. (i) 'There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, and a branch (sprout) out of his roots shall bear fruit: and the spirit of Yahweh shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of Yahweh . . . he shall not judge after the sight of the eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears; but with righteousness shall he judge the poor . . . and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked . . . and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid . . . and a little child shall lead them.'

139. (ii) 'The yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, and the rod of his oppressor, hast thou

broken. . . . For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the dominion has fallen upon his shoulder; and he has received the name: Wonderful Counsellor, God-Hero, Eternal Father, Prince of Peace. Great is the dominion and endless the peace, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to establish it, and to uphold it with justice and with righteousness from henceforth even for ever.'

140. Was it the birth in captivity of a child of the royal family of David, perhaps Zerubbabel the grandson of Jehoiachin, which inspired the prophet to sing this jubilant song? We do not know (Note 12). We do know that many of these patriotic hopes were not realized when the people did return to Jerusalem; and sad as this may at first sight appear, perhaps in the long run it was better so; for God had created a *world* and not only a *people*, and there were good things in store for the human race, in earth and in heaven, which could not at that time be known, but which are being made known to the world in Christ.

32. *Haggai and the Rebuilding of the Temple*

141. Babylon fell to Cyrus, and Persia took her place as mistress of the Near East. If at this time some of the Jews returned to Palestine, it is evident that little was done; for, sixteen years later, the Temple still lay in ruins, albeit there were people living in their 'ceiled houses' in Jerusalem. These people were probably members of the Palestine community who had never gone into exile, rather than exiles who had returned earlier. The prophet Haggai may have belonged to this remnant, and, if we are right in thinking of him as an old man, he must have seen the Temple before its destruction by Nebuchadnezzar.

142. Now, with the arrival of a contingent of Jews under the newly appointed governor Zerubbabel, the old prophet is fired with enthusiasm. He longs to see the Temple rebuilt. He blames those who are content to live in their ceiled houses while the house of Yahweh lies waste. To this neglect on their part he attributes the shortage of crops, but he holds out tempting blessings if they will bestir themselves and build. Governor, priest, and people he bids be strong and work, for Yahweh is with them. Too old to work himself, we can see him standing by and urging on the builders: Yahweh will make this house more magnificent than that of Solomon; the silver and the gold belong to him; he will fill the house with glory and grant prosperity to the people. But he goes further: Yahweh will shake heaven and earth and will overthrow the rule of kingdoms, and then what follows seems to mean that he will take Zerubbabel and make him king. So great was the enthusiasm inspired by Haggai that in a few years the Temple building was complete.

33. *The Prophet Zechariah*

143. Contemporary with Haggai, but perhaps a much younger man, was the prophet Zechariah. Like Haggai, he saw that the Temple must be built, to act as a rallying point for the people and their religion. But for all his attention to 'bricks and mortar' he is a builder of society rather than of any material temple however essential. He was faced with various problems. It seems that the newly returned Zadokite priests looked upon the country priests as on an inferior footing to themselves. But Zechariah, though he was one of those who had returned with Zerubbabel, sees that the rights of the Palestine community

must be respected. In his treatment of the priest Joshua, who not improbably belonged to the Palestinian priesthood, we see Zechariah's breadth of view and sense of justice: Joshua, if he proves faithful, is not to be supplanted by the newcomers.

144. Nor was this his only problem. Zechariah has great hopes for the future, even for the overthrow of Persia, and for Jewish independence. He, no less than Haggai, looks upon Zerubbabel as the expected Messiah-King, but he has no sympathy with that prince's short-sighted policy of fortifying the walls of Jerusalem, which could only arouse the suspicions of the Persian authorities; moreover Yahweh would be a 'wall of fire round about.'

145. In the Book of Zechariah, due to the prophet himself or to a later writer, there is a picture of the future, telling of a further return of exiles and a time of prosperity, men living to a good old age, and boys and girls playing in the streets of Jerusalem. In that day many nations will join themselves to Yahweh and will be his people. Nor is the picture one of material prosperity alone: men will live on friendly terms with each other and Jerusalem will be called 'The City of Truth.'

146. To Zechariah Yahweh is transcendent, and angels are introduced as intermediaries between him and his servant the prophet. Amongst these is the Satan, whose function it is to test by misfortune the sincerity of human beings.

147. On the whole, Zechariah's expectations are more practical and less fanciful than those of some Jewish patriots. If he was not so great as an Isaiah or a Jeremiah, he was the kind of man needed at the time, and, had his advice been followed, much of the

further distress that awaited Jerusalem might have been averted.

34. *From Zechariah to Nehemiah*

148. For a period of about seventy years we know little of what was happening in Palestine. With the return of some exiles and the rebuilding of the Temple under Zerubbabel things looked much more hopeful; but when we first meet with Nehemiah seventy years later, there is great distress in Jerusalem: its walls are broken down and its gates burnt with fire. It may be that the ill-directed enthusiasm of the Jews in fortifying Jerusalem and in attempting to regain independence, had caused resentment among their neighbours (*e.g.* the Samaritans to the north) resulting in the destruction of their newly built walls, with the sanction of the Persian authorities.

149. Would that Herodotus had thought it worth while to write about Jerusalem at this time; but although he visited Egypt he has not a word to say about the Jews. It was during this period that Persia came into conflict with Greece and that the well-known battles of Marathon and Salamis were fought. The Egyptians, with the help of the Greeks, revolted against Persia, and a large Persian army passed through Palestine to suppress them. But whether the Jews took any part in these events we do not know for certain.

35. *Exalted Hopes for the Future*

150. Was it some such world-event as the victory of the Greeks over the Persians, or was it faith that Yahweh would act on behalf of his people independently of any foreign power, that called forth the exuberant song contained in the last section of the Book Isaiah?

151. Jerusalem is a blaze of light. Nations and kings are attracted to the flame. Jews in far distant lands have seen the light and are flocking to their capital. The wealth of the nations is on its way to Jerusalem: you can see the strings of camels on the trade routes bringing their gold and spices; flocks of sheep being led up to be sacrificed in the rebuilt Temple; the Mediterranean and the Red Sea dotted with ships laden with treasure and Jews returning home. And now, strangers are building the walls of the city, and kings are ministering to Zion. No more distress, desolation or captivity. Those who had afflicted the Jews come, bowing and bending, to Jerusalem.

152. Nor is the glowing picture entirely material. God is the light of his people, and all are righteous. The prophet himself has been anointed to preach good tidings to the faithful, to bind up the broken-hearted, to comfort those that mourn in Zion, and—to proclaim the Day of Vengeance of our God. It is significant that when Jesus stood up and read this passage in the synagogue at Nazareth, applying it to himself, he omitted entirely this last phrase about the Day of Vengeance.

153. We must not be carried away, by the intense patriotism of this poet and the music of his words, into thinking that here we have the highest teaching of the Old Testament. Others had seen deeper into the mind and purpose of Yahweh, who was God not only of the Jews but of other nations as well.

36. *A Gospel for the Faithful*

154. More consistent with the higher teaching of the prophets are passages from the same section of



the Book Isaiah, by one or more writers, which, predicting a glorious future for the righteous, distinguish these very clearly from the ungodly among the people. They have suffered from enemies without; but the real cause of the distress is the faithlessness within. Heathen practices have been revived, the rulers are corrupt and living in luxury while the righteous are oppressed. Yet Yahweh is daily consulted as if the nation were practising righteousness; fasts are being scrupulously observed; but the distress remains and the city walls are still in ruins. The prophet however asserts that Yahweh cares nothing for sackcloth and ashes or for bowing down the head as a rush. The kind of fast that would move him would be 'to untie the bands of violence, to let the crushed go free, to give bread to the hungry and to clothe the naked.' Then, they would cry and Yahweh would hear them; the ruined places would be built; and their light would break forth as dawn. It was not that Yahweh's hand was shortened so that it could not heal; but that the people's sins had veiled his face.

155. Yahweh is the High and Lofty One whose name is holy; but despite his loftiness he listens to the humble worshippers. For them the prophet has a message of good tidings. The whole nation will not be destroyed, but the faithful will inherit the land. Yahweh's goodwill shall be manifested to his servants; then shall they call and he will answer them. So the prophet encourages the faithful to remain faithful. Let them keep the law: 'blessed is he that keepeth the Sabbath and keepeth his hand from doing evil.'

156. The stranger who joins himself to Yahweh need not be despondent; Yahweh will accept his

offerings, for the Temple is a house of prayer for 'all nations'; and they shall see Yahweh's name from the west and his glory from the rising of the sun.

157. But very awful is the picture of Yahweh as a warrior going forth alone to wreak vengeance on his enemies, and returning victorious from the fray, stained with their blood.

37. *Obadiah and the Fall of Petra*

158. The Edomites, Judah's neighbours to the south, had taken the part of the Babylonians against Judah at the time of Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Jerusalem. But in spite of this the humiliated Jewish community who remained in Palestine while their fellow-countrymen were in exile in Babylon, seem afterwards to have been on more or less friendly terms with the Edomites. Yet it is probable that these Edomites, like the Samaritans (see paras. 169, 240) to the north, resented Zerubbabel's bid for Jewish independence, and that they joined in the consequent persecution of the Jews, which resulted in the breaking down of the recently built walls and the burning of the gates of Jerusalem.

159. Now the Edomites themselves had for some time been oppressed by the Nabatean Arabs; and it was probably the eventual capture of the Edomite fortress-capital at Petra which gave rise to Obadiah's exultant song over the distress of these enemies of his nation.

160. Holding the narrow view that he did about Yahweh's choice of Judah, it is not surprising that Obadiah looked upon this distress of Edom, Judah's bitter enemy, as a proof of Yahweh's care for his own

people, and as cause for exultation. To do Obadiah justice we must not, however, regard his prophecy as a mere 'hymn of hate' any more than we so regard Nahum's rejoicing over Nineveh. To him it was not man, but Yahweh, to whom vengeance belongeth, who was making retribution, doing to Edom as Edom had done to Judah.

161. We find this same hatred voiced in other prophecies, only there it is often relieved by higher teaching, whereas Obadiah keeps to his one theme, thus exhibiting to us the narrow nationalism of many Jews at this time. If Obadiah thought that Judah had heard the last of this hated southern neighbour he was mistaken. They appear later under the name of Idumeans.

38. *Yahweh's Messenger: Malachi*

162. While the book Malachi (*i.e.* 'My messenger') presents Yahweh's hatred of Edom as a background to his love for Judah, this subject forms only a short introduction to a book whose main teaching is comparable to that of the greatest prophets. Whether or not this prophet saw Nehemiah on the horizon, his prophecy acts as a preparation for the work of that great organizer of the Jewish state and the Jewish religion. It is possible that this 'messenger' had only recently arrived in Palestine and that he was horror-stricken at the condition of things that he found in Jerusalem.

163. The priests have corrupted the sacred covenant of Levi. Any offering, it would seem, is considered good enough to be brought to Yahweh; polluted bread and blemished animals are offered in the Temple. By the temporal governor even, such things would

not be accepted, how much less by Yahweh the great King! Yahweh's name is great among the Gentiles, but the Jewish priests profane it. Not only in matters of ritual are the priests corrupt, but they have had respect of persons, and have caused many to stumble; whereas the priest should be Yahweh's messenger, his lips should keep knowledge.

164. To this prophet Yahweh is the father of his people; yet so far are they from realizing the resultant brotherhood, that they have dealt treacherously one with another; more especially he accuses some of putting away their Jewish wives, to marry foreigners. There are those who complain that God favours the evil: 'Where,' they ask, 'is the God of justice?' The answer is that Yahweh, whom they seek, will suddenly come to his Temple, and his coming will be in judgment. He is himself both judge and witness: he will sit in judgment on the priests, and will purify them; he will be a swift witness against the sorcerers, adulterers, false swearers, and oppressors. The prophet bids the people return to Yahweh, and he will return to them, and grant them such prosperity that all nations will call them happy. Some hearkened to his message, and their names were recorded in a book of remembrance.

39. *Nehemiah's Visits to Jerusalem*

165. To Nehemiah, who held the important office of cup-bearer at the court of the Persian king Artaxerxes, came the report of the sad plight of his fellow-countrymen. He obtained leave of absence from the king, to visit Jerusalem. On this first visit he was able to carry out the important work of rebuilding the broken-down walls. He had much opposition to contend with. The Samaritans probably resented



this renewed clemency on the part of the Persian government towards the Jews, and, when their offers of assistance were rejected by Nehemiah, they did their utmost to put a stop to his efforts; but their taunts and accusations, and even weapons, were of no avail: the work went steadily forward.

166. When Nehemiah returned to the East, he must have taken back with him much food for meditation. He now knew the conditions in Jerusalem and could see something of what would be needed if the Jewish community was to be reorganized on a sound basis. His chance of putting his ideas into effect came when, later on, he was appointed governor. It was probably at Nehemiah's instigation that a certain document was prepared by Ezra the scribe. This book represented the opinions of Zadokite priests, and was a development of the teaching of Ezekiel and the Law of Holiness. It covered the long period from the Creation of the World to Moses, and was evidently intended to supersede the Law-book Deuteronomy and its predecessors. Being of a priestly character its chief interest lay in the origins of such things as the tabernacle, the offering of sacrifice, and the priesthood. It prescribes three orders in the priesthood: the high priest, the priests (here called 'the sons of Aaron'), and the Levites (a lower order). It is a charter prepared for a religious community rather than for a kingdom, for no mention is made of any king, the high priest being head of the state. On the other hand Deuteronomy, which had probably been the law book current in Palestine from the time of Zerubbabel until Nehemiah's appointment as governor, draws no distinction between priests and Levites, makes no mention of a high priest, and does provide for a king (Note 1).



40. *The Pentateuch*

167. Which of these two books, Deuteronomy or the new Priestly Document, was to be accepted as 'the Law' of the newly organized state? It was probably due to the wisdom of Nehemiah that a compromise was arrived at. The two books, together with older documents, were formed into one book. The compilation, which may also have been the work of Ezra, was based on Nehemiah's Priestly Document which acted as a frame-work for the whole; and it is not unlikely that where in matters of administration the others differed from it the new Document won the day.

168. Thus before the end of the fifth century the Pentateuch (or, the 'Five Books of Moses' as it came to be called) was virtually complete. So, in reality, the books Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, were not written by Moses, but are a sort of harmony of various documents which had been formed gradually as the need arose. That these books were called the 'Books of Moses' is not a literary forgery but rather a testimony to the supreme place that Moses justly held in the estimation of his people (Note 1).

41. *Nehemiah's Policy*

169. Nehemiah held very rigid views about marriage with non-Jewish people, and he required those who had married foreign wives to put them away. Sanballat the governor of Samaria, thinking to form an alliance with the Jews, married his daughter to one Manasseh, a relation of the high priest in Jerusalem. This policy however failed, for Manasseh was threatened

with excommunication if he did not divorce his wife. The upshot of this was the building by the Samaritans of a rival temple on Mt. Gerizim, with Manasseh as high priest, and the final severance between the two peoples (Note 13). It is interesting to note that the Samaritans looked upon themselves as Israelites to the extent of accepting the Pentateuch, with slight changes, as their 'Bible.'

170. There were then, towards the end of the fifth century, three temples: that of the Jews at Jerusalem; that of the Samaritans on Mt. Gerizim; and that of the Jewish dispersion at Elephantine in Egypt.

171. Nehemiah was undoubtedly a true statesman, and his action throughout is marked by disinterestedness. When he requires the rich to treat their poorer brethren with leniency, he sets the example himself by forgoing the fees due to him as governor. His worldly wisdom is shown by the fact that, unlike Zerubbabel, never once does he hint at the idea of forming the Jewish community into an independent kingdom, which would undoubtedly have alienated the Persian authorities. Before Nehemiah's arrival in Jerusalem there existed but a feeble Jewish community; but so great was the work he accomplished that he left behind him a well-organized Jewish state.

172. That Nehemiah's views as to the necessity for Jewish exclusiveness were somewhat narrow we must admit, but it is difficult to see how any other policy could have created that Judaism which proved strong enough to stand against the flood of Hellenizing influences that might otherwise have overwhelmed Judaism a couple of centuries later.

42. *Joel and the Plague of Locusts*

173. Some time after the Jewish state had been reorganized by Nehemiah the country was devastated by a plague of locusts. The prophet Joel gives us a magnificent description of this constantly recurring scourge of the Near East. The land is as the Garden of Eden before them; and behind them, a desolate wilderness. Farmers are bidden to mourn; the beasts groan for lack of pasture; but the worst distress of all is that the meal-offering and the drink-offering are cut off from the Temple. Let the priests clothe themselves in sackcloth, and proclaim a solemn fast, let them weep between the porch and the altar; let the people turn unto Yahweh, rending their hearts and not their garments; and Yahweh, who is gracious and full of compassion, slow to anger and plenteous in mercy, will forgive.

174. The Book of Joel, as it has been handed down to us, contains much apocalyptic teaching. This is due, at least in part, to later commentators. Joel's army of locusts has here become an army composed of many nations who are bidden to beat their ploughshares into swords in preparation for the coming conflict. They are summoned to Jerusalem where Yahweh will sit in judgment upon them. The sun, darkened by swarms of locusts, is perhaps the foundation for the prediction of a great upheaval in heaven and earth, sun darkened, moon turned into blood, stars withdrawing their light, and a great shaking of heaven and earth; though it is not improbable that actual eclipses of sun and moon, together with earthquakes, have contributed to the idea of a great upheaval.

175. To his people in that Day Yahweh will be a refuge, and all who call on his name will be delivered. Judah will abide for ever, and Jerusalem from generation to generation, for 'Yahweh dwelleth in Zion.' And the mountains shall drop down sweet wine, and the hills shall flow with milk.

176. The best-known passage in the whole book, possibly by Joel himself, but more probably by the later commentator, is the prophecy that Yahweh will pour out his spirit on all flesh (*i.e.* on all Jews). So high will be the tide of exalted feeling that dreaming dreams and seeing visions will not be restricted to the prophets, but will be shared by all Jews, old and young alike: 'Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.'

177. This passage is quoted in the Book of the Acts to illustrate the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, and it is familiar to us from its use in Christian churches on Whitsun Day. It is significant that when our Lord tells the apostles that they will receive power when the Holy Spirit has come upon them, there immediately follows the great commission: they are to be his witnesses unto the uttermost parts of the earth. In the Book of Joel there is no such universalistic teaching. Tyre, Sidon, Philistia, Edom, and Egypt, are all to be punished for the evil they have done to Judah.

178. It would however be wrong to think that such narrow nationalistic ideas were the only ones held, in respect of other nations, in later Judaism. To give one instance from the additions to Isaiah (ch. xix.); here it is said of Egypt that they shall know Yahweh in that Day. There shall be 'a highway

out of Egypt to Assyria . . . and the Egyptians shall worship with the Assyrians. . . . In that day shall Israel be the third, with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for the LORD of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance.'

43. *Job and the Problem of Suffering*

179. 'A Job's comforter' stands for someone who, professing to be able to bring relief, only adds to the distress of the sufferer. The theme of the Book of Job is 'Why do the righteous suffer?' Job, a wealthy sheikh, noted for his generosity and the integrity of his character, suddenly loses all his possessions, and is smitten with a sore disease. His 'comforters' come along with their orthodox platitudes: his suffering is the result of sin; let him repent, and all will be well. All through the drama they keep consistently to this position. Hitherto this had been also Job's attitude; but now he knows that it cannot be correct, for he has committed no crime to justify such suffering. He wants, as it were, to 'have it out' with God, on an equal footing. In spite of all appearances to the contrary, he feels that God must be on his side. He knows that he is alive who will justify him.

180. After alternating despair and hope at last Job has a vision of God; he hears God speak, not indeed as Father to son, but as Creator in his majesty to creature in his littleness. The problem is not solved, but Job is satisfied. He repents, not of sins which he has not committed, but of his presumption in thinking to understand the ways of God, which are beyond man's comprehension. So much for the hero of the

drama. Nevertheless the author intended that his book should be published to refute the cut-and-dried belief in 'rewards and punishments.' The 'friends' did not win: it was God who won.

44. *The Missionary Ideal: Jonah*

181. Jonah and the Whale! Everybody has heard the story, but comparatively few understand it. Some say, 'What a wonderful miracle, how great God must be!' Others say, 'What an impossible story, we cannot believe it!' Both fail to understand the meaning of the book which is, of course, a parable. It is interesting to compare this story with another parable (Jer. li. 34) where Judah is said to have been swallowed by a Dragon and cast up again. The Jews, in their exclusiveness, had cut themselves off from other nations, and were in danger of forgetting their great mission, to shine as a light to the Gentiles. The book is a protest against that forgetting.

182. Jonah, a Jew, is told by God to go and preach against Nineveh. He would have been quite willing to tell the inhabitants of this heathen city that judgment was coming upon them for their sins, but, knowing something of Yahweh's mercy, he *feared* that they might be forgiven. He did not want that; so he took passage in a ship going in the opposite direction. It was no good; he was cast overboard and swallowed by a big fish, which after three days cast him forth upon the land. When Jonah arrived at Nineveh, king and people promptly repented, and God forgave them. At this Jonah was angry. Vexed, hot, and tired, he sat down outside the city, and Yahweh caused a great gourd-plant to grow up over him as a shelter from the sun; but in the morning



it was smitten by a worm and withered. Jonah was angry again, this time on behalf of the gourd. But Yahweh reasons with him; if Jonah had pity on the gourd, should not he, Yahweh, have pity upon Nineveh?

183. For the religion of Yahweh could not be confined within the scroll of the Pentateuch, or the precincts of the Temple, or the walls of Jerusalem. It was a living organism, whose aim was the uplifting of the world. The God of the Jews was God of the Universe.

45. *A Gloomy View of Life and Death: Ecclesiastes*

184. 'Vanity of vanities; all is vanity' sang the preacher. His view of life lacks enthusiasm, to say the least. He seems to have tried most of the world's material pleasures and to have found them unsatisfying. He is no orthodox Jew, for as he reviews the facts of life he sees that the righteous suffer and the wicked prosper. There is nothing new under the sun; things happen by chance; that which is crooked cannot be made straight; pleasure, possessions, all are vanity. Get the best you can out of life!

185. 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might'; this, at first sight, seems better advice, but the reason given is that 'there is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in the grave, whither thou goest.' For the preacher's view of death is as gloomy as his view of life. Men and beasts all go to the same place when they die. A wise man is better than a fool, yet one event happeneth to all. Man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.

186. When the time came for deciding what books should form the Jewish Scriptures, it was questioned whether Ecclesiastes was worthy of a place. Finally it just scraped in, but only after a pious Jew had made certain additions to the book. And it is this writer who has the last word: 'Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil.'

187. The Book of Ecclesiastes deserves a place in our Bible, if for no other reason than that it acts as an incomparable foil to the teaching of Christianity with its enthusiastic outlook on life here and hereafter.

46. *Hebrew Wisdom: Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus*

188. The poet Euripides, the sculptor Phidias, the thinker Socrates, Herodotus the father of history, the philosopher Plato; the Parthenon at Athens, the Corinthian Games: Greek wisdom and culture! It was the aim of Alexander and his successors to spread Hellenistic civilization throughout the world. Here was a new environment for the Jews of Palestine and Egypt. In face of such an attractive and overwhelming force, it might well be asked, 'How could the Jews be kept true to the faith of their fathers?' Many were carried away by the flood of new ideas. But a school of writers arose who felt that they had a wisdom far superior to that of the Greeks. Had they not a belief in the one true God, who had given them his law? If that law had meanwhile lost something of its freshness, they would aim at producing a literature in harmony with its teaching, and acceptable to the times in which they lived.

A SHORT RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ISRAEL

189. Easterners are fond of proverbs, and a good deal of the work of these Hebrew Wisdom writers was to collect or compose short pithy sayings, ranging in their scope from sound common-sense worldly advice: 'If a mighty man invite thee, be retiring, and so much the more he will invite thee,' to high ethical teaching: 'If thine enemy be hungry, give him bread to eat; if he be thirsty, give him water to drink.'

190. Other wise sayings, a few out of hundreds, just as suitable for westerners as for easterners, are as follows: 'A soft answer turneth away wrath'; 'He that is of a cool spirit is a man of understanding'; 'A righteous man regardeth the life of his beast'; 'Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth'; 'Never repeat what is told thee, and thou shalt fare never the worse'; 'A slip on the pavement is better than a slip with the tongue'; 'A lie is a foul blot in a man.'

191. But this literature contains more than a string of maxims. In the Book of Proverbs Wisdom is personified. Of all created things or beings She was the first to be brought forth. When God made skies and sea and earth, She was beside him, as a master workman. But not only is She the possession of the transcendent God, but She may be acquired by man also. 'By me kings reign, and princes declare justice'; and 'Whoso findeth me, findeth life.' It is interesting to compare the name of the well-known church at Constantinople (now a mosque) called St. Sophia, that is, Holy Wisdom.

192. In the Wisdom of Ben Sira (Ecclesiasticus) we come into contact with a man as well as a book. He is a loyal 'son of Israel' who devoted his life to the pursuit of Wisdom. His home is Jerusalem 'the



beloved city.' He glories in the Temple and its services; but he is no mere formalist. God, he is sure, will not be appeased by a multitude of sacrifices; these are acceptable only if offered by good men. He had shown his appreciation of the Law and the Prophets by diligently studying them. It was in the Temple, as a young man, that he had sought for Wisdom, in his prayer. He bewailed his ignorance of Her and wrestled with Her—for She does not come to men easily—and at last he found Her.

193. But greater than wisdom is God who gives it. He is Creator and has made nothing imperfect. As his majesty is, so is his mercy; but he is not weakly benevolent, for as his mercy is, so is his correction. Man has been made in the image of God, and is free to choose between good and evil, and God judges him according to his works. But to those who love him God is a mighty protection. For himself, God is Father and Master of his life, and he had doubtless experienced that 'the prayer of the humble pierceth the clouds.'

194. With regard to social righteousness, Ben Sira says, 'All bribery and injustice shall be blotted out, but good faith shall stand for ever.' Man is bidden to mourn with them that mourn, to be as a father to the fatherless, to give alms, to forgive his enemy and not avenge himself. Though he asks God to pour out his wrath against the enemies of the Jews, yet he would have them also see God's mighty works and recognize him as the only God.

195. His faith and ethics are the more remarkable because of his gloomy view of death. It is true that a father, who has trained his son well, dies but is as though he had not died; for he hath left one behind

him like himself, and a good name continueth ever; but 'man is not immortal,' and 'thanksgiving perishes from the dead, as from one that is not.' Ben Sira does not neglect the æsthetic side of life. He shows his love for music when he says, 'Pour not out talk where there is a performance of music,' and his appreciation of natural beauty appears again and again, for example, 'Look upon the rainbow, and praise him that made it. . . . It compasseth the heaven round about with a circle of glory.'

47. *Hopes for the Future*

196. The time was not far distant when the long-postponed belief in immortality was to become an article in the Jewish creed. But first we must return for a moment to their hopes for the future in this world. The Prophet of the Exile and others had prophesied a glorious time to come for Judah and Jerusalem. Later on, as such works were studied, it would be felt that these hopes had not materialized. Faithful scribes, as they read and copied out the Prophets, may have felt that they too had a message for their people suited to the stirring times through which they were passing. Comments would be made and perhaps written down in the margin, or wherever there was any clear space left, on the parchment roll; and when, later on, the books of the Prophets came to be edited, these anonymous fragments would be worked into the text and other writings of a similar nature included.

197. As we in our turn study these additions, we find that, in spite of the distressful condition of the Jews, hopes were constantly being raised of a glorious

time expected in the near future. Judgment is looked for: Yahweh will intervene on behalf of the faithful, against foes without and within. All nations will gather against Jerusalem to battle; the city will be taken; there will be much distress; but Yahweh will come and all his holy angels with him; the sorrows of the people will pass away and they shall weep no more. Yahweh himself will be seen in his beauty, and either he or his Messiah will reign as king. Messiah is thought of as a human king over an earthly kingdom, one writer describing him as 'lowly and riding upon an ass.' Yahweh will bring back his scattered people. It will be a time of great prosperity; crops will be so plenteous that the ploughman will overtake the reaper, and Jerusalem will never again be under a curse. Moreover there will be peace: swords will be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. Then many nations will say, 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths.'

198. There is one important passage which speaks of the rising of the dead: 'Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead.' The question may be asked, Does this refer to the rising of the nation to life, as in the case of the 'dry bones' in Ezekiel, or to the resurrection of those who have died? Whatever be the answer to this, there is no doubt at all, as we shall now see, that at least as early as the second century before Christ the Jews had advanced to a belief in immortality.



48. *Daniel and Other Apocalypses*

199. Daniel in the Lions' den. This and the other stories in the Book of Daniel must have meant much to the Jews of the second century for whom they were written. Early in this century Palestine was transferred from the Ptolemies of Egypt to the Seleucids of Syria. The persecutions of the Hellenizing tyrant Antiochus Epiphanes reached their climax when in 168 B.C. he set up an altar to Zeus upon the Jewish altar of burnt sacrifice, and offered up swine's flesh. Thus the altar was defiled and the Temple desecrated. These events are reflected in the words of Psalm lxxix., thought to have been written at about this time: 'O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance: thy holy temple have they defiled, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones.' Though some Jews had been quite willing to adopt Greek customs, others were prepared to die rather than deny their religion. The moment to decide had come. The faithful put into practice the words of the story: 'Our God whom we serve is able to deliver us from the burning fiery furnace. . . . *But if not*, be it known unto thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up.' Under the leadership of the Maccabees they fought for the faith of their fathers, with such success that in 165 B.C. a new altar was built and dedicated; and religious independence was achieved. The most fervently religious Jews, called Hasideans, were satisfied; but not so the Maccabees, who continued the warfare until they had attained political independence as well.

200. 'Daniel' belongs to a strange class of literature, called 'Apocalyptic'; the Book of Revelation in the



New Testament also belongs to it. The word *apocalyptic* means 'the uncovering of the obscure.' Many books of this type were written during the two centuries before, and the first century of, the Christian Era. Their authors for the most part write under the name of some great personage of the past, such as Enoch or Daniel, who are made to see, as it were in vision, events that were to happen to the world in general and to Israel in particular. To understand this literature we must try to visualize a background of alternating distress and well-being: the terrible persecutions of the Jews by the Seleucids, the successes of the Maccabees, the restoration of the Jewish kingdom after some four hundred years, disappointment of high hopes in the Hasmonean (Maccabæan) kings, and then, the coming of Rome. Such was the environment in which this visionary literature arose.

201. While these books contain much high ethical teaching, their main interest lies in what they tell us about the Messiah who was expected, the Messianic Kingdom and its scope, and life after death. The apocalyptists did not all think alike, but on the whole there is a general agreement amongst those of the second century. God himself is transcendent, and acts through the medium of angels or through his representative the Messiah. The establishment of the Kingdom, which is expected immediately, will be preceded by a judgment. The Kingdom is to last for ever on the earth. It is characterized by material as well as spiritual blessings, and the Temple at Jerusalem will be more resplendent than before. The righteous will escape the judgment; dispersed Israelites will return; some Gentiles will be converted; the faithful dead will arise; and all of them will share in the Kingdom.



202. The King is to be either God himself or Messiah, his human representative. Formerly Messiah was expected to be descended from David and Judah; this idea is not absent, but another has to some extent taken its place, namely, that Messiah would be of the priestly tribe of Levi. The Maccabees belonged to this tribe, and it is more than probable that Messianic hopes centred in various members of that family. Psalm cx., which is thought to be an acrostic on the name Simon (*i.e.* Simon Maccabæus), includes the words, 'Be enthroned at my right hand, till I make thine enemies a footstool for thee.'

203. In the Book of Daniel we have a vivid forecast of the Judgment. 'I beheld till thrones were placed, and one that was Ancient of Days did sit . . . thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened. As for . . . the beasts (*i.e.* other nations) their dominion was taken away. . . . I saw in the night visions, and behold, there came with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man (*i.e.* the Jews or their representative), and he came even to the Ancient of Days. . . . And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all the peoples, nations, and languages should serve him: his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which shall not pass away.'

204. In another passage the Resurrection is thus described: 'At that time thy people shall be delivered, every one that shall be found written in the book. And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and

they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'

205. The last word has not been said on the subject of immortality, but here we seem to find a belief in the resurrection of the dead, even if it means only to live again in bliss or reproach on this earth.

206. In the 'Song of the Three Children' (Benedicite), together with the great chorus of Creation, the spirits and souls of the righteous are also bidden to bless the Lord, praise him and magnify him for ever; while in the Second Book of Maccabees even prayers for the dead are encouraged.

49. *Messianic Kingdom and the Son of Man*

207. If there were those in the second century who identified the Maccabæan with the Messianic Kingdom, experience was soon to shatter any such hopes. The later Maccabæans were called kings, and their territory was extended from Lake Huleh in the north into Idumea (Edom) in the south; but they were blood-thirsty and corrupt, and the Kingdom was rent by internal strife. Rome was appealed to by two opposing parties, and from that moment Jewish independence was doomed. In 63 B.C. Pompey entered Jerusalem by the aid of one party, and successfully stormed the Temple where the other party was entrenched. Judea became tributary to Rome and a few years later the Maccabæan dynasty came to an end.

208. In the Apocalyptic books of the first century the idea of a Messiah sprung from Levi (the tribe of the Maccabees) has been abandoned, as we might expect, and those who looked for a human Messiah, to rule over an earthly Kingdom, again expected him to be descended from Judah (David's tribe).

Jerusalem will be cleansed from foreigners, and all its inhabitants will be righteous. The Gentiles shall come from the ends of the earth to see the glory of the Lord. The righteous must not be dismayed during the time of trouble, for their life is for ever; but sinners shall be taken away to destruction.

209. But by far the most interesting of these Apocalypses takes a very different view. This is a section of the Book of Enoch. Here we are transported from earth to heaven, where 'the Lord of Spirits' (notice this significant name for God) is surrounded by hosts of angels. Here too is the Elect One or Son of Man, who has been chosen before the creation of the world; in him dwells the spirit of insight, understanding, and might. Here again are the four archangels: Michael blessing the Lord of Spirits, Gabriel interceding for those who dwell on the earth, Phanuel fending off the satans from accusing the righteous before the Lord of Spirits, and Raphael blessing the Elect One.

210. On earth there is to be a last struggle of the heathen powers, and a return of dispersed Israelites to their country. And then comes the judgment. The Elect One—not the Lord of Spirits himself—sits upon his throne to judge. He hath the pre-eminence before the Lord of Spirits; he reveals that which is hidden; his face is full of graciousness, but the words of his mouth slay all sinners. The kings and the mighty are driven from the earth, and the righteous who have been justified rejoice at the vengeance. As for sinners, into heaven they shall not ascend, and on earth they shall not come, but they shall perish everlastingly. The earth, as it is, has proved no fit place for the Kingdom, so it is transformed. The Son of Man is a light to lighten the Gentiles, and all



who dwell on the earth will bow before him. 'In those days shall the earth give back that which has been entrusted to it, and Sheol also shall give back that which it has received.' The Elect One will choose the righteous and holy from among them. They will be clothed with garments of glory, and their glory shall not pass away before the Lord of Spirits, who will abide over them for ever; and with that Son of Man shall they eat and rise up for ever. All goodness and joy and glory are prepared for the righteous, and they shall become companions of the host of heaven. Presumably they will have bodies suited to the transformed earth on which there will be nothing corruptible.

211. Our Lord, as he proclaimed the Kingdom of God, was *bound* by none of the various expectations of Messiah and the Messianic Kingdom, whether in prophecy or apocalyptic. He could not fulfil them all literally, for they were, as we have seen, many and various. But he took the prophecies and visions of Israel and fulfilled, in his Person and in his Kingdom, the spiritual reality which lay behind them. To know something of what men were thinking, at the time of the birth of Christ, about Messiah and his Kingdom, about the Jews and other nations, and about life after death, leads us one step further towards appreciating the work and life of our Lord.

50. *The Pharisees*

212. Many of these Apocalyptic books are thought to have been written by Pharisees, that important party of the Jews about which we read so much in the Gospels. Unlike their opponents, the Sadducees, the Pharisees believed in the Resurrection, and in the

existence of angels and spirits. The first mention of the Pharisees is in the time of Jonathan, the brother and successor of Judas Maccabæus. They are the spiritual descendants of the Hasideans, those pious Jews who had supported the Maccabees for the sake of independence in religious matters, but, with all their nationalistic hopes, they were content to leave political affairs to God. Similarly many Pharisees expected God to act on behalf of the nation, to deliver them from foreign yokes, and to send Messiah to rule over them. The favourable attitude of many of their fellow-countrymen towards Hellenism reacted in an even stricter adherence on their part to the Jewish law. Thus the Pharisees came to recognize a vast amount of oral tradition which grew up around the Pentateuch and was thought to be inherent in it. Their aim was to keep the Jewish race and religion pure from contaminating heathen influences. Their popularity was great, and it is hardly too much to say that the Pharisees and their followers *were* the Jews, in the time of our Lord.

213. Just before the Christian era there lived two celebrated Pharisees, Hillel the tolerant and his colleague Shammai the strict. It was at the feet of Hillel's grandson Gamaliel that St. Paul, himself a Pharisee of the Pharisees, was brought up.

214. Our Lord required of his disciples a righteousness different from, and exceeding, that of these pious legalists. The Sermon on the Mount does not lay down a Christian 'ten commandments'; what we do find here, and throughout our Lord's teaching, is a guiding principle for all human actions. The faults of the Pharisees were largely the faults of a system. To look upon the Law as the supreme guide of life, irrespective of principle, must have been cramping in

the extreme; and it is not unnatural that the Pharisees, whose aim was to translate into life the letter of the Law, regarded themselves as superior to those who were less strict in this respect. Nevertheless, while we recognize that the religion of Jesus was on a far higher plane than Judaism, even at its best, we must be careful not to exaggerate his condemnation of the Pharisees, with whom he was willing to eat and drink as he did with publicans and sinners. Doubtless many of the Pharisees were better than their creed; and in their ranks were to be found really religious men.

215. In the present day the word 'pharisaical' has a 'limited, definite, disagreeable' meaning; it is used of a person with a self-satisfied and superior manner. The man who makes a god of convention, who judges people by their correct social behaviour, without knowing or caring about their character, is a Pharisee in this respect, in some cases without the redeeming qualities of the rigid but sincere and pious Jews of our Lord's time.

51. *The Zealots*

216. Akin to the Pharisees in religion was a sect called the Zealots. Their 'zeal' carried them into politics, and they may be thought of as the bigoted nationalists of the time. They did not come into existence till after the time of Pompey, but they exhibited the same kind of spirit as we have seen among the Maccabees. Another name given them is 'sicarii,' because they went about with 'daggers' hidden on their persons. They had a deadly hatred of Herod, the semi-heathen Idumean king of Judea, and a fixed animosity towards Rome, the detested foreign power. They were not the kind of people

who expected 'to stand still and see the salvation of God,' but were themselves ready to take an active part in bringing about the Messianic Kingdom.

217. Their chief centre was Galilee, but it is probable that they were largely responsible for the Jewish revolt which resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. Josephus speaks of the immovable resolution of the Zealots, and their indifference to suffering and death. One of our Lord's disciples was Simon the *Zealot*. Doubtless he with the other disciples learnt in the end that the *zeal* which spurred men on to fight with the sword must be transmuted under the banner of the Prince of Peace.

52. *The Sadducees*

218. The Sadducees were the priestly aristocracy of the Jews. To them the Pharisees were bitterly opposed. As regards the law they were conservatives, and ridiculed the oral tradition held in such respect by their opponents. They did not believe in a resurrection, nor in the existence of angel or spirit; nor probably were they interested in the enthusiastic Messianic hopes of the Pharisees and the populace. The high priest, for the most part, belonged to this party (*e.g.* Caiaphas was a Sadducee); they held a prominent place in the Sanhedrin, or Council of the Jews; but even here their power was curtailed owing to the influence of the Pharisees with the people. They seem to have been more concerned with the welfare of the State than with the spiritual life of the Jews as a religious community. Their position at the head of affairs brought them into close contact with foreign rulers, nor were they averse to Hellenizing

influences. We find allusions to them as early as the time of the Maccabees.

219. Our sources of information about the Sadducees are largely Pharisaic; so we must allow for prejudice when we meet with adverse criticism of them. They may have produced deeply religious men of the type of Ben Sira; but he himself, while belonging to the same class of society, lived before the first actual mention of the Sadducees occurs. Certainly the Sadducees do not represent Judaism on its most attractive side. The Temple was their stronghold and the law their charter, but they seem to have been well-to-do and worldly-minded, contented with their high position and lacking in enthusiasm. With the destruction of the Temple by Titus this party came to an end, while the Pharisees survived. In the Gospel the Sadducees draw forth from our Lord important teaching about the spiritual, non-material state of the risen dead.

53. *The Synagogues*

220. The stronghold of the Sadducees, as we have seen, was the Temple, that of the Pharisees was the synagogue. The reformers of Josiah's time, who brought about the law of the one sanctuary, little realized that their innovations would result in a practically new religion. Numbers of Jews would doubtless live and die without ever visiting the Temple or seeing a sacrifice offered. Even those who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem for the sacred feasts were for the remainder of the year without an altar. During the Exile in Babylon the people were obliged to manage without the Temple; and in the meeting of the devout beside the rivers of Babylon we may see

the germ of the synagogue. Thus arose a Judaism which was to outlive the destruction of the Temple.

221. It is difficult to overestimate the importance of synagogues in the history of Judaism. Attached to the synagogues would be scribes, whose duty it was to copy and expound the Law which was read at the services; but as time went on a passage from the Prophets came to be read and expounded, as well. It is even probable that the prophetic books, in the composite form in which they have come down to us, constitute a sort of *lectionary* arranged for synagogue readings; and to the synagogue we may owe their preservation. Besides reading, prayer and worship formed an important part of the service, and it is thought that many of the Psalms were composed, and collections of them made, for synagogue use.

222. It was in Galilee, with its synagogues but no temple, that much of the Apocalyptic Literature arose. Finally it was at the synagogue at Nazareth that Jesus went to school; for his listening to the doctors of the law in the Temple at Jerusalem was but a small incident in his education. In this same synagogue at Nazareth, at the beginning of his ministry, he 'stood up for to read' from the Prophets. And we are told how he went through the cities of Galilee 'teaching in their synagogues' and doing his works of mercy. St. Paul also made use of synagogues in Asia Minor, Greece, and Rome, as a starting-point for his missionary activities; and they doubtless witnessed the conversion of many Jews to Christianity.

223. In Egypt, during the time of the Ptolemies, the Hebrew Scriptures were translated into Greek for the benefit of the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria. This translation is called the Septuagint (LXX) from

a legend which told how Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), feeling that his great library of 200,000 books was not complete without a Greek translation of the Jewish Law, sent Aristeas, an Alexandrian Jew, to the High Priest at Jerusalem, asking for a number of Jewish scholars to come to Alexandria in order to make the desired translation. Seventy-two men, six from each of the twelve tribes, were chosen (in round numbers, seventy). Arrived at Alexandria they are entertained by the king, after which they retire to the island of Pharos. At the end of seventy-two days their work was completed. Read before the Jewish population at Alexandria it was acclaimed as accurate. Ptolemy accepted the scrolls; and the Jewish scholars returned to Palestine richly rewarded. Later on, it was added to the legend that the seventy-two translators worked in separate cells and each produced the same translation of all the Hebrew Scriptures! As a matter of fact the work of translation was done gradually, first the Law, then the Prophets, and afterwards the other Holy Writings. There are in the New Testament a large number of quotations from the Jewish Scriptures, which are taken from this Greek Version. The Septuagint is extremely useful to scholars in the interpretation of passages which are obscure in the Hebrew text, because the Greek translators had before them an older Hebrew manuscript than any now extant.

224. In Palestine Aramaic had replaced Hebrew as the spoken language of the people. Consequently, when the Scriptures had been read in Hebrew, they were translated into Aramaic by an interpreter (in Aramaic 'meturgeman,' the same word as 'dragoman'), so that the people might understand. Thus arose the 'Targums,' or Aramaic paraphrases of the



Scriptures. These supplied the need of Aramaic-speaking Jews, as the Septuagint supplied the need of Greek-speaking Jews in Egypt. Certain verbatim quotations in the Gospel show us that Aramaic was the language spoken by our Lord.

54. *The Temple Services*

225. The Temple, which had been destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, was rebuilt by the Jews when Zerubbabel was governor. Under Nehemiah its services and officers were reorganized.

226. In addition to the three agricultural feasts several other holy days were now observed. The Day of Atonement was a solemn fast. On this day alone the High Priest entered the Holy of Holies, where he offered incense and sprinkled the blood of the sacrificial victim, and made atonement for the Temple, the altar, the priests, and the people. Important too was the Feast of Dedication, commemorating the rededication of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus after its defilement by Antiochus Epiphanes. But besides the great periodical feasts there were the daily morning and evening burnt-sacrifices. It may help us to get an idea of Temple-worship in the time of Christ, if we picture to ourselves the celebration of one of these daily services:

227. From the large outer Court of the Gentiles we ascend the great platform on which the Temple stands. Passing first through the Court of the Women we climb more steps into the Court of the Israelites. As we enter the Court of the Priests there stands before us the Altar of Burnt-sacrifice open to the sky, and behind this again the Sanctuary Building, the Holy Place and the Holy of Holies, divided from each

other by a gorgeously embroidered double curtain or 'vail.'

228. Day has not yet dawned, but the priests are already astir. With lighted torches in their hands they are compassing the sanctuary building, some going eastwards, some westwards. And now the two groups meet, with the greeting 'It is well; all is well.' At this point, as at later intervals, they retire for the casting of the sacred lot to decide who among them are to perform that day the various parts of the ceremony. Hands and feet are bathed in the Brazen Laver on the left of the Sanctuary entrance; and one priest, having ascended the great Altar, removes the ashes in a silver pan; others following him place fresh wood upon the Altar. All this by the light of the altar-fire, for it is still dark. But now dawn is breaking; and the lamb, having been given water to drink out of a golden bowl, is being taken to the Place of Slaughter on the right side of the Altar. At the same time the ninety-three sacred vessels are brought out by priests from the utensil-chamber for various uses. And suddenly we hear three clear blasts from the silver trumpets, and the clanging open of the Temple gates: Jerusalem is being acquainted that the morning sacrifice is about to be offered. The gates leading into the Holy Place are also thrown open, and the lamb is slain. While the blood is being sprinkled on the great Altar, priests in the Holy Place are preparing the Altar of Incense and trimming and lighting the seven-branched Golden Candlestick. And now the parts of the sacrificial victim, together with the meal and drink offerings, are being brought by the priests to the foot of the great Altar. Fire is taken from the great Altar, and with much ceremony the incense is kindled and burnt



on the altar within the Holy Place. This finished, the parts of the lamb are thrown into the flames on the great Altar, the meal-offering is laid on the fire, and the drink-offering poured out. Hereupon the service of praise begins: the Levites, accompanied by instrumental music, sing the Psalm for the day, and the morning oblation is at an end.

55. *The Praises of Israel*

229. The Book of Psalms is a collection of hymns, ancient and modern, by many different authors, which were sung at the services in Temple and synagogue. In some the nation speaks, in others the individual. Not only do the Psalms show us the worship of the Jews, but they act as a fit expression of our own.

230. Some of the psalmists think that God will be pleased with sacrifices: 'I will go into thine house with burnt-offerings.' Others see that God asks for something better than that from his worshippers: 'Thinkest thou that I will eat bulls' flesh, or drink the blood of goats?' 'All the beasts of the forest are mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills.' 'The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.'

231. The man that would be Yahweh's guest must have 'clean hands and a pure heart'; he must be one who 'hath not given his money upon usury,' who 'hath used no deceit in his tongue, nor done evil to his neighbour, and hath not slandered his neighbour; he that setteth not by himself, but is lowly in his own eyes.'

232. God is thought of as dwelling in the Temple at Jerusalem: 'O praise the Lord which dwelleth in



Zion.' But he is also in heaven his holy temple, where he is praised by celestial beings: 'As for our God, he is in heaven,' and again, 'Praise him all ye angels of his; praise him, all his host' (Note 8).

233. While Jewish exclusiveness and hatred of enemies are not absent from the Psalms, these ideas stand side by side with an undoubted universalism: 'O praise the Lord, all ye heathen; praise him all ye nations.' All nations are to come and give thanks to God in his Temple; all are to acknowledge the God of Israel: 'Thou, O God, art praised in Zion; and unto thee shall the vow be performed in Jerusalem. Thou that hearest the prayer; unto thee shall all flesh come.'

234. The God of the psalm-writers is rich in attributes. He is *righteous*: 'The righteous Lord loveth righteousness; his countenance will behold the thing that is just.' 'His righteousness is like the strong mountains.' He is *merciful*: 'Like as a father pitieth his own children, even so is the Lord merciful to them that fear him.' 'The Lord is loving unto every man, and his mercy is over all his works.' He has all *power* and *majesty*; none can be compared with him: 'O Lord our Governor, how excellent is thy Name in all the world; thou hast set thy glory above the heavens.' 'What is man that thou art mindful of him?' He is a sure *refuge* to those in trouble: 'Who hath any strength except our God?' 'Whom then shall I fear?' 'O set me up upon the rock that is higher than I.' He is supremely *wise*: 'Great is the Lord and great is his power, yea, and his wisdom is infinite.' Righteous, merciful, strong, dependable, wise: 'This God is our God for ever and ever; he shall be our guide unto death.'

235. Many Psalms are pæans of delight in the Creator and Preserver of nature: 'He sendeth the springs into the rivers which run among the hills.' 'Praise him, all ye stars and light . . . fruitful trees and all cedars, beasts and all cattle, worms and feathered fowls.' 'O Lord, how manifold are thy works . . . the earth is full of thy riches.'

236. In some Psalms the old gloomy view of death still finds expression: 'In death no man remembereth thee.' 'Shall the dead rise up again and praise thee?' One psalmist, however, knows that God's presence extends even to Sheol, the abode of the dead: 'If I climb up into heaven, thou art there; if I go down to Sheol, thou art there also.' Moreover, we may think that the undoubted communion of the faithful with their God, expressed in the Psalms, was preparing the way for the belief that that communion would not be cut off at death.

237. Finally the Psalms are full of the duty and the delight of worship: 'O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness.' 'O come, let us worship and fall down; and kneel before the Lord our Maker.' 'I will rejoice in giving praise for the operations of thy hands.' 'Let everything that hath breath praise the Lord.'

56. *Peoples of Palestine*

238. At the end of Ben Sira's well-known eulogy of great Israelites, 'Let us now praise famous men,' he says, 'With two nations is my soul vexed, and the third is no nation: they that sit upon the mountain of Seir (the Edomites or Idumeans), and the Philistines (the Hellenized folk of the Maritime Plain), and that foolish people that dwelleth in Sichem (the Samaritans).' Here he was probably expressing the attitude



of many orthodox Jews towards these neighbours to south and west and north. When the Hasmonean king, John Hyrcanus, extended the Jewish kingdom northwards and southwards, the Samaritans suffered severely at his hands, their temple on Mt. Gerizim being destroyed; and he also conquered the Idumeans, whose northern boundary had by this time reached the neighbourhood of Hebron, and compelled them to accept Jewish customs.

239. With the decline of the Hasmonean dynasty, a powerful Idumean, one Antipater, for his own ends, interfered in the affairs of the Jews and took the side of one Hasmonean prince against another. Both parties appealed to Rome. This resulted in the coming of Pompey, who did away with Jewish independence, but allowed Antipater's candidate Hyrcanus to rule, as High Priest only, not as king. Under Julius Cæsar, Hyrcanus was given more civil authority, but Antipater was the actual ruler. Antipater's son Herod, called 'the Great,' by the support of Rome and with much bloodshed, ascended the throne, and the last Hasmonean ruler was put to death. Despite all the magnificence of Herod's reign and his work in beautifying the Temple, he was hated by the Jews for his Edomite birth, for his Hellenizing policy, and for his many murders. After his death the kingdom was divided, Herod's descendants retaining some power until the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70. The Herodians of whom we read in the Gospels were a political party who wanted to see a Hellenized Jewish Kingdom under a king of the family of Herod.

240. The Samaritans were a mixed people, partly Israelite, partly foreign, living in the district of Samaria. It will be remembered that the severance between them and the Jews had been rendered permanent

through the building by the Samaritans of a 'schismatic' temple on Mt. Gerizim. In the time of Christ the Samaritans were still looked down upon by the Jews. It is significant of the all-embracing nature of the Kingdom proclaimed by Christ, that a 'good Samaritan' is chosen as the hero of one of his parables. There still exists to-day, in this twentieth century, a small community of under two hundred Samaritans, who accept the Pentateuch as their Scriptures, and sacrifice the Passover every year just below the site of their ruined temple on Mt. Gerizim.

57. *Galilee*

241. Palestine was much more 'in the world' than we are sometimes inclined to imagine; very much more so for instance than Great Britain. Far from being an isolated little country, it may be looked upon as a bridge between the great valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates. Jerusalem, high up on its hills, lay off the beaten track; but important roads passed through the populated district of Galilee. Not far from Nazareth, where the boyhood of our Lord was spent, was the highway between Egypt and Mesopotamia. From the hills round Nazareth the Mediterranean Sea is clearly visible. Merchants and soldiers from Rome would arrive at the Port Ptolemais (the modern Akka), and travel along these roads as they went eastwards. Galilee, like the Philistine Plain, had become more Hellenized than Judea, and its population must have included Greeks and Romans as well as the mixed natives and some pure Jews.

242. At the death of Herod the Great, Galilee had passed to his son Herod Antipas, who built himself a capital beside the Sea of Galilee, and named it



Tiberias in honour of Tiberius Cæsar. It was this Herod who put John the Baptist to death, and to whom Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor of Judea, sent our Lord for trial, when he knew that he was a Galilean and so came under Herod's jurisdiction.

243. While many Galileans, whether Jews or proselytes, were patriotic followers of Judaism, and looked expectantly for the Messianic Kingdom, they were brought into close contact with Greek and Roman ideas. Within easy access from Galilee were some of the cities of the Decapolis; these were products of the policy of Alexander and his successors, which was to spread Hellenistic culture by the establishment of definitely Greek centres. Gentile sojourners in Galilee, and Galileans who had visited Rome, would disseminate the news of the western world and tend to produce a broad outlook in 'Galilee of the Gentiles.' This then was the place in which our Lord conceived and worked out his teaching about the universal Kingdom of God.

58. *Jewish Wisdom and Greek Philosophy*

244. It is probable that the Wisdom Literature of the Jews, of which we have already spoken, was influenced by Greek thought. This is again evident in the 'Book of Wisdom,' thought to have been written by an Alexandrian Jew during the first century B.C. The chief interest of this book lies in its teaching on the immortality of the soul. It acts as an answer to the pessimistic view of life expressed in Ecclesiastes, and to Ben Sira's melancholy view of death; for it contains the comforting assertion that 'the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. In the eyes of the foolish they

seemed to have died . . . but they are in peace.' The soul, according to this writer, has not to wait for any resurrection, but passes to its reward at death. Here, as in Proverbs, Wisdom is personified. She is 'a breath of the power of God and a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty . . . an unspotted mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness.'

245. But the bringing together of Jewish and Greek thought is most clearly seen in the work of Philo. He was an Alexandrian Jew born about 10 B.C., and so a contemporary of Jesus. He had studied the Hebrew Scriptures in the Greek Translation, and also the works of Greek philosophers. "Plato, the greatest of these, had (though he did not use the word *Logos* to express it) spoken of a spiritual world, the eternal archetype or pattern of the world which we perceive, and forming as it were the content of a supreme mind, mediating between the world of our experience and the ineffable Unity which he divined to lie behind the many things which we find around us. Philo, who was familiar with the phrase 'Word of God' as used in Jewish scripture and tradition for the medium of God's communications to men, fastened on this thought of Plato, and chose to describe the supreme mind of Plato's philosophy by the corresponding Greek term 'Logos,' which the Stoics had already used for the divine Reason held by them to be immanent in nature. The author of the Fourth Gospel, who perhaps knew Philo's writings, applies to our Lord both this term *Logos* and also the term 'only-begotten' which Plato had employed of the spiritual world mentioned above as the content of the supreme mind. Thus his Prologue links the Messianic hopes of the Hebrews as fulfilled in Christ with the philosophical speculations of the Greeks concerning the



nature of reality" (Note 14). He says, 'In the beginning was the Word (Logos), and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. . . . All things were made by him (margin, through him). . . . And the Word became flesh, and dwelt among us (and we beheld his glory, glory as of the only begotten from the Father), full of grace and truth.'

'Word of the Father, now in flesh appearing:
O come, let us adore Him, Christ the Lord.'

59. *John the Baptist*

246. John came who baptized in the wilderness, and preached saying, 'Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand.' Surely a striking figure in prophetic garb, and with a stirring and uncompromising message. No wonder the people hailed him as Elijah which 'was for to come,' and flocked to hear him. Men even wondered if 'haply this were the Christ'; but John himself left them in no doubt about that: he was but a herald preparing the way; Messiah and Kingdom were at hand.

247. Which of the many kinds of kingdom, of the various types of king, did John expect? Was Messiah to him the 'Son of Man' who would slay all sinners with the words of his mouth? Certainly he speaks of a 'wrath to come,' and of a sifting of the chaff from the grain. Was the Kingdom to be national or universal; must Messiah spring from either David or Levi? John attaches no importance to the claim of his countrymen to be of 'Abraham's seed,' and would probably feel that the person of the Messiah was of far greater importance than any Davidic descent. Was the Kingdom spiritual or material? If material,

certainly also spiritual, for men are to repent and bring forth fruits of righteousness in preparation for its advent. Would it come with observation? Very pathetic is the message sent to Jesus by John in prison, 'Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?' Perhaps, having recognized Jesus as Messiah, he expected some more convincing demonstration of Messiahship than had been given. And our Lord did *not* reply that the hated Roman yoke and the unloved Herod dynasty would immediately come to an end, and that if John would wait patiently a little longer he would be released from prison; but, 'Go, and tell John the things that ye do see and hear.' And it may be that John was a great enough man to be satisfied.

248. It has been suggested that John the Baptist belonged to a Jewish sect called the Essenes, known to us through the writings of Philo and Josephus. Some have even gone so far as to say that Jesus himself was an Essene. These Essenes were a small pious community, very strict about the observance of the Sabbath and ceremonial purity. They were noted for their ascetic life, for their attachment to each other, for their works of mercy, and for having all things common. They held that the body is corruptible and the soul immortal: the body is the prison-house of the soul which is released at death and borne aloft. While it is most improbable that John the Baptist or our Lord belonged to this sect, there are enough points in common to make it seem very likely that members of this society may have been attracted by John's teaching, and then perhaps have found a fulfilment of their ideals in the Society or Church founded by our Lord.

60. *Jesus of Nazareth*

249. It is for our study of the New Testament, the experience of the Church through the ages, and our own experience, to show how all the various expectations concerning King and Kingdom were fulfilled or modified or expanded in the Person and work of our Lord. It is enough for us to state that the Kingdom is spiritual, though with an outward and visible expression: it is a Kingdom on earth and a Kingdom in Heaven. Our Lord himself is Prophet, Priest, and King. He is Son of Man and Son of God. He is Master and Teacher. He is Messiah, Christ, Anointed. He is the Word and the power and wisdom of God. He is Suffering Servant. He is Saviour and Lord.

250. 'God, who at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son.'

LITERARY AND HISTORICAL CHART

ABBREVIATIONS

a. = after.
b. = before.
c. = about.
cf. = compare.
d. = descended.
ed. = edited.
e.g. = for example.
e.m. = early material.

i.e. = that is.
m. = marries.
o.p. = original prophecies.
ph. = perhaps.
ss. = synagogues.
tr. = translated.
v.i. = see below.
v.s. = see above.

B. = battle.
D. = Deuteronomy.
H. = Law of Holiness.
J.E. = Combined Jehovist and Elohist Document.
P. = Priestly Document.
LXX = Septuagint.

NOTE.—Where dates in second and sixth columns are not consecutive (*e.g.* sections 50-57) they are printed in *italics*.

<i>Title of Section</i>	<i>Dates General</i>	<i>Literature</i>	<i>Dates of Books</i>	<i>Important Events, etc.</i>	<i>Dates Special</i>
1. God Manifested to Moses	1400-1200	J.E. in Exodus	650-550 <i>ed.</i> (containing early material)	Amenhotep III, or Rameses II: the Pharaoh of the Oppression	1411-1375 1292-1225
2. God Manifested to the Hebrew Tribes	1400-1200	J.E. in Exodus and Numbers Allusions in Amos and Hosea	<i>v.s.</i> 765-735	Amenhotep IV, or Merenptah: the Pharaoh of the Exodus The Tribes assemble at Horeb	1375-1360 1225-1200

Title of Section	Dates General	Literature	Dates of Books	Important Events, etc.	Dates Special
3. Customs in the Wilderness	1375-1200	J.E. in Exodus and Numbers	v.s.	Moses as arbiter	1375-1200
4. Early Days in Canaan	1375-1050	Joshua and Judges, <i>e.m.</i> (Song of Deborah, c. 1100)	650-550 <i>ed.</i> (containing early material)	Habiri (? Hebrews) invade Palestine (Amarna Letters) Merenptah quells revolts in Palestine (Israel Stele) Opposition from Canaanites Philistines settle in S.W.	1375-1360 1225-1200
5. Samuel and Saul	1050-1010	1 Samuel, <i>e.m.</i>	650-550 <i>ed.</i> (containing early material)	Opposition from Ammonites Saul made king; capital at Gibeah; war with Philistines	1190 1025
6. The Reign of David	1010-974	1 and 2 Samuel, <i>e.m.</i> (David's Lament, c. 1010)	v.s.	David king in Hebron David king over all Israel; makes Jerusalem his capital; subdues Philistines	1010 1000
7. Solomon and the Temple	974-937	1 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	650-550 <i>ed.</i> (containing early material)	Friendly relations with Tyre; builds Temple Upper hand of Edom; access to Red Sea	970

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8. Danger to the Religion of Israel	937-887	1 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	<i>v.s.</i>	935	Division of the Kingdom : Israel and Judah. Civil strife Influence of Baal worship
9. Elijah and his Times	887-841	1 and 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	<i>v.s.</i>	887 876 853 843	Omri of Israel ; builds Samaria Ahab ; <i>m.</i> Jezebel B. of Karkar, Ahab ally of Syria B. of Ramoth-Gilead, Israel against Syria Moab revolts (Moabite Stone) Jehu revolts ; pays tribute to Assyria (Black Obelisk)
10. Israel's Laws and Traditions	841-785	Early Records and Laws Songs and Traditions	935-785 1100-785	841-785	Jehu to Jeroboam II
11. Eighth Century Prophets : Amos	785-745	Amos, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	765-750 <i>v.s.</i>	785-745 782-745	Jeroboam II, prosperous reign ; Uzziah of Judah contemporary Weakness of Assyria, but attacks on Syrian states ; strength of Urartu (Armenia)
12. Eighth Century Prophets : Hosea	750-735	Hosea, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	750-735 <i>v.s.</i>	c. 750 745 745 738	Egypt rises to power Assyria revives under Tiglath-pileser III Anarchy in Israel after death of Jeroboam II Menahem King of Israel pays tribute to Assyria

Title of Section	Dates General	Literature	Dates of Books	Important Events, etc.	Dates Special
13. Eighth Century Prophets: Isaiah	740-700	Isaiah, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	740-700 <i>v.s.</i>	Call of Isaiah; death of Uzziah Syro-Ephraimite invasion; Ahaz appeals to Assyria Damascus falls; N. Israel annexed Shalmaneser V; Hoshea, vassal Hoshea revolts Siege and Fall of Samaria Sennacherib; Merodach-baladan fomented revolt Invasion of Judah (Clay Cylinder of Sennacherib)	740 735 732 727 727-724 724-722 705 700
14. Eighth Century Prophets: Micah	724-712	Micah, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	<i>c.</i> 715-712 <i>v.s.</i>	Sargon succeeds Shalmaneser V on eve of Fall of Samaria Bs. of Karkar and Raphia Siege and Fall of Ashdod; <i>ph.</i> Samaria destroyed (Eight-sided Cylinder of Sargon)	722 719 715-712
15. Reforms and Reaction	712-637	2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i> Isaiah and Micah	<i>v.s.</i>	Hezekiah; reforms Assyrian invasion of Judah; Jerusalem unharmed Manasseh's evil reign; tribute to Assyria (Six-sided Cylinder of Esarhaddon) Assyrian campaigns in Egypt	712-692 700 692-638 675-663

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16. The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets	765-700	Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah	765-700 745-681	Advance in religious thought Tiglath-pileser III to Esarhaddon
17. Zephaniah and the Day of Yahweh	637-625	Zephaniah, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	637-608 630-625	Josiah King of Judah Scythian invasion
18. The Man Jeremiah	630-625	Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i>	630-625	Scythian invasion
19. The Law of the One Sanctuary	621	2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i> (? Deuteronomy xii.-xxvi., xxviii.)	621	Discovery of a book in the Temple; Josiah's reforms
20. Nahum and the Fall of Assyria	c. 612	Nahum, <i>o.p.</i>	612	Destruction of Nineveh by Scythians, Babylonians, etc.
21. The Problem of Rewards and Punishments	612-550	Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i> Habakkuk, <i>o.p.</i>	? 621-605 ? 600-550	Josiah attempts to arrest march of Necho at Megiddo; he is slain; Jehoiakim king B. of Carchemish: Necho defeated by Babylonians
22. The Courage of Jeremiah	608-597	Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	626-597 <i>v.s.</i>	Jehoiakim King of Judah revolts against Nebuchadnezzar; First Siege of Jerusalem; Jehoiachin king

Title of Section	Dates General	Literature	Dates of Books	Important Events, etc.	Dates Special
23. The First Captivity	597-586	Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i> Ezekiel, <i>o.p.</i> 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	597-586 592-586 <i>v.s.</i>	First captivity, including Ezekiel and Jehoiachin Zedekiah vassal king	597 597-586
24. Ezekiel in Exile	592-586	Ezekiel Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i>	592-586 597-586	Ezekiel's call; he prophesies to the captives in Babylon	592-586
25. The New Covenant	586	Jeremiah, <i>o.p.</i> Ezekiel 2 Kings, <i>e.m.</i>	<i>c.</i> 586 <i>c.</i> 586 <i>v.s.</i>	Zedekiah revolts, relying on help from Egypt Second Siege, and Fall of Jerusalem; destruction of Temple; second captivity Gedaliah made governor; murdered at Mizpah; flight of Jews to Egypt	586
26. Ezekiel's Vision of the Future	586-572	Ezekiel	586-572	After second captivity: Jews in Babylon, Egypt, and Palestine	586-572
27. The Law of Holiness	572-538	H. in Leviticus (xvii.-xxvi.)	<i>a.</i> 572	Activity of Zadokite priests in Exile	<i>a.</i> 572
28. The Book Deuteronomy	550-520	Deuteronomy Joshua, Judges, I and 2 Samuel, I and 2 Kings	? 550-520 ? 650-520	Activity of country priests in Palestine during Exile (?)	550-520

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29. The Prophet of the Exile	c. 550	Book Isaiah xl.— iv., <i>o.p.</i>	c. 550	Victorious campaigns of Cyrus	550-539
30. A New View of Suffering	? 550-539	Servant Poems, Is. xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1-6; l. 4-9; lii. 13 to liii. 12	? 550	Babylonian Exile, or Distress after Zerubbabel, or Seleucid persecution	586-539 516-445 c. 168
31. Hopes of a Messiah-King	? 550-520	Book Isaiah xi. 1- 9; ix. 2-7	? 550-520	Birth of Zerubbabel (<i>d.</i> from David) in Exile	c. 550-539
32. Haggai and the Rebuilding of the Temple	520-516	Haggai, <i>o.p.</i>	520	Cyrus enters Babylon (Proclama- tion Cylinder)	539
33. The Prophet Zechariah	520-516	Zechariah i.-viii., <i>o.p.</i>	520-518	Jewish Temple at Elephantine in existence	525
34. From Zechariah to Nehemiah	516-445	Historical allusions in Additions to Prophets Inferences from Nehemiah	516-445	Darius I King of Persia	521
35. Exalted Hopes for the Future	? 490-450	Book Isaiah lx.— lxii.	? 490-450	Jews return under Zerubbabel in second year of reign of Darius	520
				Temple rebuilt	520-516
				Zerubbabel's bid for independ- ence	a. 516
				A time of distress for the Jews	516-445
				B. of Marathon	490
				Xerxes invades Egypt	485
				B. of Salamis	480
				Persians defeated by the Greeks	
				Travels of Herodotus	c. 464-447
				Persian invasion of Egypt under Megabyxus	456
				Megabyxus revolts in Syria	450

Title of Section	Dates General	Literature	Dates of Books	Important Events, etc.	Dates Special
36. A Gospel for the Faithful	? 490-450	Book Isaiah lvi.-lix.; lxiii.-lxiv.	? 490-450	Jerusalem in distress, but there is hope	? 490-450
37. Obadiah and the Fall of Petra	? 450	Obadiah (parts of)	? 450	Nabatean Arabs oppress the Edomites; destruction of their capital	? 450
38. Yahweh's Messenger: Malachi	c. 450	Malachi, <i>o.p.</i>	c. 450	Jerusalem under a governor Slackness of priests in religious duties	c. 450
39. Nehemiah's Visits to Jerusalem	450-433	Ezra and Nehemiah (Memoirs) Priestly Document	c. 433-425 c. 433	Artaxerxes Longimanus Nehemiah visits Jerusalem Nehemiah appointed governor	464-425 445 ? 433
40. The Pentateuch	433-400	J.E. Jehovah-Elohists H. Law of Holiness D. Deuteronomy P. Priestly Document	c. 650-550 572-538 c. 550 c. 433	Pentateuch virtually complete; beginnings of Theocratic State. Judaism	433-400
41. Nehemiah's Policy	433-400	Ezra and Nehemiah (Memoirs)	<i>v.s.</i>	Severance between Jews and Samaritans; rival temple on Mt. Gerizim built (placed by Josephus a century later) Letters from Elephantine asking for help in restoration of temple	425 411

42. Joel and the Plague of Locusts	c. 400	Joel, <i>o.p.</i> , <i>ed.</i> later	c. 400	Jewish State as reorganized by Nehemiah	400-300
43. Job and the Problem of Suffering	? 400-200	Job	? 400-200	The Book of Job belongs to the Wisdom Literature	? 400-50
44. The Missionary Ideal: Jonah	? 400-300	Jonah, <i>o.p.</i>	? 400-300	The Book of Jonah presupposes narrow nationalism in Nehemiah's Jewish State (against which it is a polemic)	? 400-300
45. A Gloomy View of Life and Death: Ecclesiastes	? 400-200	Ecclesiastes	? 200	Ecclesiastes belongs to the Wisdom Literature	? 400-50
46. Hebrew Wisdom: Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus	? 400-180	Proverbs (various collections) Ecclesiasticus	c. 400-250 c. 180	Palestine still under the Persians B. of Issus, Alexander; Greek domination Palestine under Ptolemies	400-333 333 312-198
47. Hopes for the Future	350-164	Additions to Prophets: Am.; Jo.; Mic.; Zeph. Is. xxiv.-xxvii.; xxxiii.-xxxv.; lxv.-lxvi. Zech. ix.-xiv	350-164	Artaxerxes Okhus' capture of Sidon and re-conquest of Egypt Seleucid domination of Palestine High Priest Onias deposed and afterwards murdered Antiochus Epiphanes	345-342 198-165 176 175-164

Title of Section	Dates General	Literature	Dates of Books	Important Events, etc.	Dates Special
48. Daniel and other Apocalypses	168-106	I Maccabees (reference to) Daniel Enoch lxxxiii.-xc. Song of Three Children Psalm cx. XII Patriarchs	168-142 168-165 165-161 c. 165 142 130-106	Antiochus defiles altar Maccabæan revolt Rededication of Temple Judas slain, Jonathan succeeds Simon Macc.; independence John Hyrcanus, Hasmonean dynasty	168 168-165 165 160-142 142-135 135-105
49. Messianic Kingdom and the Son of Man	105-40	Enoch xxxviii.-lxxi.; xci.-civ. Psalms of Solomon Add. to XII Patriarchs	105-60 70-40 c. 50	Hasmonean (Maccabæan) kings Rival Hasmoneans appeal to Rome; influence of Antipater the Idumean Coming of Pompey; loss of Jewish independence	105-69 69 63
50. The Pharisees	100-A.D.	Josephus Synoptic Gospels The Acts	A.D. 69-93 A.D. 65-90 A.D. 85	Pharisees first mentioned in time of Jonathan Macc. Active before and during time of Christ	160-142 B.C.-A.D.
51. The Zealots	100-A.D.	Josephus	v.s.	Zealots active after coming of Rome Foment Jewish revolt which caused destruction of Jerusalem and Temple	63 A.D. 70

52. The Sad- duces	100—A.D.	Josephus The Gospels	v.s. v.s.	Mentioned as a separate party in time of John Hyrcanus Active before and during time of Christ Ceased as a party after destruc- tion of Jerusalem	135—105 B.C.—A.D. A.D. 70
53. The Syna- gogues	100—A.D.	The Gospels The Acts	v.s. v.s.	Germ of synagogue in Exile As an institution after Nehemiah Ss. in Dispersion mentioned Ss. in Palestine mentioned	586—520 433 247—221 200—100
54. The Temple Services	100—A.D.	Mishnah Yoma — Tamid Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles Ecclus.	c. 70 A.D. c. 70 A.D. ? 300—104 c. 180	Solomon's Temple Zerubbabel's Temple Nehemiah's reorganization <i>Rededication</i> Herod's Temple Destroyed by Titus	970 516 c. 433 165 37—4 A.D. 70
55. The Praises of Israel	100—A.D.	The Psalms	?—130	'The Psalms' is a collection of 'hymns ancient and modern', Some Psalms are Maccabæan Compilation of Psalter perhaps as late as	168—130 130
56. The Peoples of Palestine	100—A.D.	Ecclus. Josephus The Gospels The Acts	v.s. v.s. v.s. v.s.	Mixed population of Samaria Fall of Petra Samaritan temple built Hellenizing influences (<i>cf.</i> Deca- polis) Tr. of Law into Greek (LXX) Idumeans : Antipater and Herod	a. 722 ? 450 c. 425 a. 333 c. 290 69—4

<i>Title of Section</i>	<i>Dates General</i>	<i>Literature</i>	<i>Dates of Books</i>	<i>Important Events, etc.</i>	<i>Dates Special</i>
57. Galilee	100—A.D.	The Gospels Josephus	v.s. v.s.	Mixed population in time of Greek domination And in time of Romans Herod governor of Galilee Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee Our Lord's life at Nazareth	333—165 63—A.D. b. 47 4 4—A.D. 29
58. Jewish Wisdom and Greek Philosophy	50—A.D.	Book of Wisdom Works of Philo Gospel of St John	c. 50 B.C.—A.D. ? A.D. 90—110	Birth of Philo Jews of Alexandria influenced by Greek Philosophy	? 20—10
59. John the Baptist	B.C.—A.D.	The Gospels Philo	v.s. v.s.	Birth of Jesus Ministry of John Baptist Baptism of Jesus Essenes mentioned (105 B.C.)	? 7—5 A.D. 27 A.D. 28
60. Jesus of Nazareth	Anno Domini	The Gospels The Acts The History of Christian Church to present day	v.s. v.s.	The Crucifixion; The Resurrection; The Ascension; The Coming of the Holy Spirit The Christian Church	A.D. 29 A.D. 29— 1932

BIBLICAL AND APOCRYPHAL REFERENCES

Introduction

(1) John v. 39; Luke xxiv. 26-27, 44-47; Acts viii. 30-31; 2 Pet. i. 21. (2) 1 Tim. ii. 4; John xvii. 3; Ps. xix. 1; Rom. i. 20; John xvi. 12; Hos. iv. 6; John i. 9-12; Matt. v. 21-22; xix. 8; John xvi. 13. (3) Heb. i. 1.

1. God Manifested to Moses

(4) Deut. xxxi. 9; xxxiv. 10. (7) Exod. ii. 21; iii. 1-6. (8) Gen. ii. 4; Exod. iii. 13-14; xviii. 10-11, 17-20.

2. God Manifested to the Hebrew Tribes

(10) Exod. ii. 1; xii. 38. (11) Amos iii. 1-2; Exod. v. 3; Ps. cxxxvi. 10-12. (13) Hymns: 'O come, O come, Emmanuel' and 'When God of old.' (14 and 15) Exod. xix. 24; Hos. xi. 1. (16) Num. ix. 1-5; Deut. v. 2; Mal. iv. 4; Exod. xx. 2-3; Deut. v. 6-7.

3. Customs in the Wilderness

(17) Exod. xviii. 13; iv. 26; xx. 13; Deut. v. 17; Exod. xx. 14; Deut. v. 18. (18) Exod. xxxiii. 7-11; xxv. 16; Deut. x. 3; 1 Kings viii. 9; Num. x. 33, 35-36; Deut. xxxi. 26. (19) Exod. xxviii. 6, 28-30. (20) Amos v. 25; Jer. vii. 22-23; 1 Sam. xx. 5; 2 Kings iv. 23; Amos viii. 5; Exod. xxxiv. 21; xxiii. 12; Jer. xxxv. 1-11. (22) Heb. iii. 2-3, 5; Mark ix. 2, 4, 7.

4. Early Days in Canaan

(23) Judges i. 3, 16, 20; Joshua v. 10; Judges i. 27. (24) Judges v. 23; vii. 20; xv. 14; iv. 9, 14. (25) Judges ii. 13; xi. 22-24. (26) Judges i. 30; xi. 30-31, 34-39; xvii. 5.

5. Samuel and Saul

(28) 1 Sam. xxxi. 1. (29) 1 Sam. ix. 6-14; x. 1; xi. 7, 14-15. (30) 1 Sam. x. 10-13. (31) Judges xvii. 1-13; 1 Sam. ii. 14; Judges xxi. 19; 1 Sam. iv. 3; 1 Sam. ix. 12; x. 5; 1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Kings xii. 3; 1 Sam. iv. 7. (32) 1 Sam. xiv. 3, 36-41 (in v. 41 follow LXX). (33) Judges xiii. 5; xvi. 17; 1 Sam. i. 11; Amos ii. 11-12.

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6. *The Reign of David*

(34) 1 Sam. xvi. 14, 18, 23, 21; xviii. 7-9. (35) 1 Sam. xix. 13-14; xxi. 3-6. (36) 1 Sam. xxi. 9. (37) 1 Sam. xiv. 3; xxi. 1. (38) 1 Sam. xxvi. 19. (39) 2 Sam. ii. 11; v. 6-10; vi. 12-21. (40) Ps. lxxviii. 70-72; Ezek. xxxiv. 23-24; 2 Sam. vi. 6-8; 1 Sam. xvi. 14; 2 Sam. xxi. 1-9; xxiv. 1-2. (42) 2 Sam. i. 19-27; xviii. 33; xv. 24-26.

7. *Solomon and the Temple*

(43) 1 Kings x. 4-7; Matt. vi. 29; Prov. i. 1; Eccles. i. 1; 1 Kings iv. 21; ix. 26, 15; vii. 51; xv. 14; viii. 4, 12-13 (follow LXX); viii. 6; vi. 16-20; vii. 48. (44) 1 Kings ix. 25; Exod. xxxiv. 18; xxiii. 15; xxxiv. 22a; xxiii. 16a; xxxiv. 22b; xxiii. 16b. (45) 2 Kings xxiii. 5; Ps. cxxii.

8. *Danger to the Religion of Israel*

(46) 1 Kings xii. 16; ix. 15; 2 Sam. iii. 1; 1 Kings xv. 34; xii. 24; 2 Kings xvii. 20-22. (48) 1 Sam. vii. 4; 1 Kings xviii. 18; 2 Kings i. 2; Num. xxv. 3; 1 Kings xvi. 31; xviii. 21, 26-28. (49) Hos. iv. 13; 2 Kings xvi. 3. (50) 1 Kings xii. 25-33, 28-29; 2 Kings xviii. 4; Judges vi. 25; Isa. i. 11; Mic. vi. 6-7; Ps. cvi. 35-38.

9. *Elijah and his Times*

(51) 1 Kings xvi. 21-24, 31; xxi. 5-6; xvi. 31-33; xvii. 1. (52) 1 Kings xviii. 21, 39, 40; xix. 2. (53) 1 Kings xix. 8, 11-13, 15-17, 18. (54) 2 Kings ii. 1, 11; 1 Cor. xv. 55; Ps. cxv. 17; Mark ix. 7, 11-13. (55) 2 Kings ii. 3, 5, 7; ix. 1-6, 24, 30-33; x. 1a, 7, 13-14. (56) 2 Kings x. 15-28; Jer. xxxv. 1-11; 1 Chron. ii. 55; Judges i. 16; iv. 11, 17-22; 2 Kings ix. 1. (57) 2 Kings viii. 25-27, 29; ix. 27-28; x. 13-14; xi. 1, 2-14, 18.

10. *Israel's Laws and Traditions*

(58) Amos iv. 5; v. 23; Hos. iv. 13; Mic. iii. 11; 2 Kings xiv. 7, 22, 25, 28; Amos v. 18. (59) 2 Sam. viii. 16; xx. 24; 1 Kings iv. 3; xvi. 27; 2 Kings viii. 23; 1 Kings xi. 41 (follow LXX). (60) Gen. ii. 4-25; vi. 9-ix. 17; xv. 9-12; xii. 1-9. (61) Joshua x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18; Judges v. (62) Exod. xxxiv. and xxiii.; Exod. xxxiv. 14 (xx. 3); xxxiv. 18 (xxiii. 15); xxxiv. 19-20 (xiii. 2); xxxiv. 21 (xxiii. 12); xxxiv. 22a (xxiii. 16a); xxxiv. 22b (xxiii. 16b); xxxiv. 25a (xxiii. 18a); xxxiv. 25b (xxiii. 18b); xxxiv. 26a (xxiii. 19a); xxxiv. 26b (xxiii. 19b); Exod. xxii. 22; Isa. x. 2; Exod. xxii. 21; xxiii. 9; xxii. 25; Amos ii. 6; Exod. xxii. 26; Amos ii. 8; Exod. xxiii. 4-5; xxiii. 6; Amos v. 7; Exod. xxiii. 8; Amos v. 12.

11. *Eighth-Century Prophets: Amos*

(65) Amos ii. 6; v. 12-15, 24; iii. 2; ii. 10-11; iii. 2b; ii. 6; v. 1-2, 27; iii. 3. (66) Amos v. 4-5, 21-23; ix. 1; iv. 4-5; v. 25. (67) Amos ii. 8; viii. 4-7; v. 12, 24. (68) Amos v. 14, 18-20. (69) Amos i. 3, 6, 13; ii. 1; ix. 2-4, 7.

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12. *Eighth-Century Prophets: Hosea*

(70) Hos. ii. 19; vi. 4, 6; iv. 1; iii. 1-2; ii. 5, 8, 12-13; xi. 1, 3, 4.
(71) Hos. ii. 5; iii. 1; vii. 13; ii. 13; ix. 1-2; xi. 1-2; viii. 5-6, 4;
vii. 8-9; v. 13; vii. 11; iv. 2; xii. 7; iv. 1. (72) Hos. v. 3; vii. 2;
iv. 1, 6; vi. 6; xiii. 4-5; viii. 2; v. 6; x. 1; vi. 1-4. (73) Hos. vii.
8-9, 11; v. 13. (74) Hos. ii. 9, 11-13; v. 7-9, 14; vii. 16; x. 8; xi.
8-9; xiv. 1-8; ii. 14-17; iii. 4; vii. 1, 13.

13. *Eighth-Century Prophets: Isaiah*

(75) Isa. vi. 3; i. 4; v. 19; xxxi. 1; vi. 2, 5, 1; viii. 11; i. 11-15.
(76) Isa. v. 1-2; i. 2; x. 2; v. 8; i. 16-18. (77) Isa. v. 26; x. 5, 7-8,
15; viii. 17; vii. 4, 14; viii. 6-7; xxviii. 12, 15-18; xxx. 15;
ii. 7-8; v. 19; xxxi. 1-3; v. 12-13. (78) Isa. vi. 1, 5, 8; xxxi. 4;
xxix. 1-3; vi. 1-5; ii. 10-11; v. 15-16.

14. *Eighth-Century Prophets: Micah*

(80) Mic. iii. 8, 1, 5, 9; Te Deum. (81) Mic. iii. 11, 5, 1, 9. (82) Mic.
ii. 2, 4, 10. (83) Mic. ii. 7; iii. 11, 12; i. 3, 4, 6, 9, 12.

15. *Reforms and Reaction*

(84) 2 Kings xviii. 3-4; Jer. xxvi. 17-19; 2 Kings xviii. 5-6; Isa. x.
15; xiv. 25. (85) Isa. xxxvii. 34; i. 19-20. (86) Isa. xxviii. 9-10;
iii. 16; 2 Kings xxi. 1, 3-6. (87) Isa. viii. 16; 2 Kings xxi. 16.

16. *The Goodly Fellowship of the Prophets*

(88) Te Deum. (89) 1 Sam. x. 10-12; 2 Kings ii. 3; 1 Kings xxii.
7-28; Amos vii. 12-15; Mic. iii. 5, 11; Jer. v. 31; xxiii. 16; Mic.
iii. 8. (90) Amos vii. 14; Isa. vi. 1, 8-10; Jer. i. 4-5; Amos iii. 8;
Jer. xx. 9, 11. (91) Jer. xxv. 11-12; Ezek. xxix. 11-13. (92) Amos i.
5-6; Hos. ii. 2-3; Isa. i. 19; Mic. iii. 12; Ps. xxxvii. 25; Job xxi.
7-9; Isa. liii. 4-5. (93) Jer. xxviii. 8-9; Isa. xiv. 24; Mic. iii. 12;
Zeph. i. 1-4; Isa. i. 18-20; Amos ix. 11-15; Isa. xi. 1-9; Jer. xxxi.
31; Ezek. xxxiv. 23-24.

17. *Zephaniah and the Day of Yahweh*

(94) Zeph. i. 4-6, 8-9, 12; Jer. ii. 27; 2 Kings xxii. 1; Zeph. i. 18;
iii. 3-4; i. 4-5, 8, 6, 12. (95) Zeph. i. 2-3, 14-16; ii. 4-6, 13-15.

18. *The Man Jeremiah*

(96) Jer. i. 1-3, 4-9, 13-19, 6-7, 8-10; ii. 27; vii. 9, 18; ii. 18, 36;
v. 28. (97) Jer. iv. 19-21, 23-25; iii. 22, 25; iv. 3, 14; vi. 20, 14.

19. *The Law of the One Sanctuary*

(98) 2 Kings xxii. 3-6, 8, 11; xxiii. 4-7. (99) 2 Kings xxiii. 8;
Deut. xii. 5-7; Hos. x. 1; Isa. vi. 1; i. 12 (cf. viii. 18); 1 Kings vi.
14; 2 Kings xviii. 4. (100) 2 Kings xxiii. 9; Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21-22;
xiv. 12. (101) Heb. x. 11; Amos v. 22, 25; Hos. v. 6; Isa. i. 11, 13;
Mic. vi. 6-7; Ps. li. 16.

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20. *Nahum and the Fall of Assyria*

(102) Nahum iii. 7. (103) Nahum iii. 2-3. (104) Nahum ii. 9-10; i. 11, 14; ii. 13; Matt. v. 44; Luke i. 52.

21. *The Problem of Rewards and Punishments*

(105) 2 Kings xxiii. 29, 31, 33, 34-35. (106) 2 Kings xxii. 2; Hab. i. 13; Jer. xii. 1-2.

22. *The Courage of Jeremiah*

(107) Jer. v. 22; i. 6; xvii. 16-17; iv. 19-21; vi. 27; vii. 9-15. (108) Jer. xvii. 15; xx. 7-10; xxxviii. 4; xi. 19; xv. 11; xxiii. 21; Mark xv. 34; Jer. ix. 2; xx. 9. (109) Jer. iii. 25; iv. 14; vi. 26; vii. 21, 1-10, 22-23; xviii. 18; xv. 11; xx. 7-12; viii. 19-22.

23. *The First Captivity*

(110) 2 Kings xxiv. 10-11, 14-16; xxv. 9-10; Ezek. i. 1. (111) Jer. xxiv. 8-10, 1-7; xxxii. 37-44; xxv. 11-12. (112) Jer. xxvi. 11, 16.

24. *Ezekiel in Exile*

(113 and 114) Ezek. i. 1-28. (115) Ezek. viii. 3, 5-17; ix. 4, 5-6. (116) Ezek. xviii. 1-2, 3-32; Jer. xxxi. 29-30.

25. *The New Covenant*

(117) Jer. xxxvii. 5-9; 2 Kings xxiv. 20; xxv. 2, 4, 11, 9-10, 26. (118) Jer. i. 10; xlv. 4; xviii. 7-10; xxxi. 15, 16-20; xxiv. 5-7; xxxi. 28, 31-34. (119) Jer. xxiii. 5-8; xxxiii. 14-16.

26. *Ezekiel's Vision of the Future*

(120) Ezek. xxxiv. 11-16, 17, 20-22; xxxvi. 31-32; xxxvii. 1-14; xxxiv. 23-24; xxxvii. 21-22, 24; xxxvi. 25-27, 28, 34-35; xxxv. 15; xxxix. 1-4. (121) Ezek. xl. 1-43; xliii. 18-27; xlv. 10-14, 15-31, 3; xlv. 7; xlvi. 2, 16-18; xxxiv. 1-10; xlviii. 1-34, 35.

27. *The Law of Holiness*

(122) Lev. xvii. to xxvi.; xx. 7. (123) Lev. xx. 24, 23; xxii. 4; xix. 26; xviii. 3, 24, 30; xx. 25-26; xxiii. 3, 5-8, 15-21, 26-32, 33-36. (124) Lev. xix. 3, 9-10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 35-36; Rom. vi. 14; viii. 15.

28. *The Book Deuteronomy*

(125) 2 Kings xxv. 26; Jer. xliii. 7 to xlv. 30. (126) Deut. xii. to xxvi. and xxviii.; xii. 5-7; xviii. 6-8 (cf. with 2 Kings xxiii. 9). (127) Deut. v. 1-21; Exod. xxxiv. 14, 17-26; Deut. xxiv. 16; xxv. 4; xxiii. 7, 3-6; vi. 4-5; Mark xii. 29. (128) Joshua i. 6-7; Deut. xxxi. 7; Joshua viii. 24; Deut. xxxi. 11; Judges ii. 12; Deut. xxxi. 16; 2 Sam. vii. 23; Deut. iv. 7; 1 Kings viii. 16; Deut. xii. 11; 1 Kings viii. 21; Deut. xxxi. 26; 1 Kings viii. 23; Deut. vii. 9; 1 Kings viii. 32; Deut. xxv. 1.

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29. *The Prophet of the Exile*

(129) Isa. xliv. 21; Ps. cxxxvii. 1-4. (130) Isa. xl. 1, 18-26; xlviii. 12; xl. 28, 29-31, 8; xlvii. 8; xlv. 6, 18; xlvi. 9, 1-2, 7, 4. (131) Isa. liv. 8; xliv. 28; xlv. 1-4; xlix. 26; xl. 4; xlix. 10-11; xl. 11; xliii. 25; xlviii. 9, 11; xlix. 7; lii. 3-5, 10; xliv. 22; li. 4-5.

30. *A New View of Suffering*

(132) Isa. xlii. 1-7; xlix. 1-6; l. 4-9; lii. 13 to liii. 12; xlix. 3, 6. (133) Acts viii. 26-39. (134) Ps. cxxxvii. 1; Neh. i. 3; 1 Macc. i. 11-15. (135) Isa. liii. 4-8, 10, 11-12. (136) Acts v. 41; Heb. xii. 2.

31. *Hopes of a Messiah-King*

(137) Ezek. xxxiv. 23-24; Isa. xliv. 28. (138) Isa. xi. 1-9. (139) Isa. ix. 2-7. (140) 1 Chron. iii. 19; Hag. i. 1; Neh. i. 2-3.

32. *Haggai and the Rebuilding of the Temple*

(141) 2 Chron. xxxvi. 22-23; Ezra i. 1-3; Hag. i. 4; ii. 3. (142) Hag. i. 1; ii. 4; i. 6, 10-11; ii. 7-9, 4, 6, 20-22, 23; Zech. iv. 9.

33. *The Prophet Zechariah*

(143) Zech. i. 16; iv. 9; i. 4-6; v. 3-4; vii. 8-9; viii. 16-17; iii. 1-4, 7. (144) Zech. ii. 8-9; iii. 10; viii. 7-8; i. 15, 18-21; iii. 7; iv. 7; ii. 1-4, 5. (145) Zech. viii. 4, 5; iii. 10; viii. 12; ii. 11; viii. 20-23, 16-17, 3. (146) Zech. i. 9; iii. 1-2.

34. *From Zechariah to Nehemiah*

(148) Zech. i. 16; Neh. i. 2-3; Zech. ii. 4-5; Isa. lxiv. 10.

35. *Exalted Hopes for the Future*

(150) Isa. lx. to lxii. (151) Isa. lx. 1-2, 3, 4, 6-7, 8-9, 10, 14. (152) Isa. lx. 19, 21; lxi. 1-3; Luke iv. 16-21.

36. *A Gospel for the Faithful*

(154) Isa. lvii. 18; lviii. 12; lvii. 20-21; lix. 3-8, 9-11; lxiv. 10-11; lix. 7-9; lvii. 5-8; lvi. 10-12; lvii. 1-2; lviii. 2, 3, 12; lxiv. 10-11; lviii. 4-7, 8-11; lix. 1. (155) Isa. lvii. 15, 19; lviii. 9; lvi. 1-2; lviii. 13. (156) Isa. lvi. 6-8; lix. 19. (157) Isa. lxiii. 1-6.

37. *Obadiah and the Fall of Petra*

(158) Ezek. xxv. 12; Deut. xxiii. 7; Neh. i. 3; Isa. lxiv. 10; Obad. 10, 11. (159) Obad. 5-7. (160) Obad. 15. (161) Jer. xlix. 7; Ezek. xxv. 12-14; Mal. i. 4; Ps. cxxxvii. 7; Eccclus. 1. 26 (read Seir, *i.e.* Edom for Samaria).

38. *Yahweh's Messenger: Malachi*

(162) Mal. i. 2; iii. 1-3; i. 6-8, 12-14; ii. 8-9. (163) Mal. i. 7-8, 12-14; i. 8, 14, 11-12; ii. 8-9, 7. (164) Mal. ii. 10-11, 15-17; iii. 1, 3, 5, 7, 12, 16-17.



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39. *Nehemiah's Visits to Jerusalem*

(165) Neh. i. 11, 2-3; ii. 3, 4-8, 17; iv. 6; vi. 1, 15; ii. 10, 19; iv. 1-3. (166) Neh. v. 14; Exod. xxv. 9, etc.; Lev. vi. 9, etc.; Lev. xxi. 10; i. 9, etc.; Num. viii. 5-26; Neh. xiii. 29-31; Deut. xvii. 14-15; xvii. 9.

40. *The Pentateuch*

(167) J, E, D, H, P documents found in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

41. *Nehemiah's Policy*

(169) Neh. xiii. 23-28; Ezra x. 18, 30, 33, 44; Neh. xiii. 4, 28; Deut. xxvii. 4. (171) Neh. v. 10, 14-17.

42. *Joel and the Plague of Locusts*

(173) Joel i. 1-4, 6; ii. 5; i. 10-12, 17-20, 9, 13; ii. 14; i. 13-14, 16; ii. 17, 12-14. (174) Joel ii. 10-11; iii. 2, 9-14; ii. 10-11, 30-31; iii. 15. (175) Joel ii. 32; iii. 17. (176) Joel ii. 28-29. (177) Acts ii. 17-18; i. 8; Joel iii. 4, 19. (178) Isa. xix. 19-25.

43. *Job and the Problem of Suffering*

(179) Job ii. 11-13; xvi. 2; xxi. 7; xxvii. 6; xxx. 20; i. 1-5; xxix. 15-16; i. 8; ii. 3; i. 13-19; ii. 7; iv. 7-8; xi. 6; xxii. 4-7; v. 8; xxii. 23; xvi. 4; x. 7; xiii. 3; xxiii. 4, 3, 10-11; xix. 25. (180) Job xxxviii. 4, 31; xxxix. 1; xlii. 6, 5.

44. *The Missionary Ideal: Jonah*

(181) Isa. xlix. 6. (182) Jonah iv. 1; i. 2; iii. 10; iv. 2; i. 3, 15, 17; ii. 10; iii. 5-9, 10; iv. 1, 7-11.

45. *A Gloomy View of Life and Death*

(184) Eccles. ii. 1, 3-10; viii. 14; i. 9-10; ix. 11-12; i. 15; ii. 1, 11; ix. 7-9. (185) Eccles. ix. 10; ii. 12-16; ix. 1-6; xii. 5. (186) Eccles. xii. 13-14. (187) Rom. viii. 18, 31, 35, 38-39.

46. *Hebrew Wisdom*

(189) Eccles. xiii. 9; Prov. xxv. 21. (190) Prov. xv. 1; xvii. 27; xii. 10; xxvii. 2; Eccles. xix. 7; xx. 18, 24. (191) Prov. viii. 1-36; ix. 1-12. (192) Eccles. l. 27; xxiv. 11; l. 1-21; xxxv. 7; Prologue li. 13-14, 19; iv. 12; li. 20; vi. 24-28. (193) Eccles. i. 1, 4, 8-9; xlii. 15-25; xliii. 1-33; xlii. 24; ii. 11, 18; v. 6; xvi. 12; xvii. 1-3; xv. 11-12, 15-17, 20; xvi. 12; xxxiv. 16; xxiii. 1; xxxv. 17. (194) Eccles. xl. 12; vii. 34; iv. 10; vii. 10; xii. 3; xxxv. 2; xxviii. 1-2; xxxvi. 7, 1-6. (195) Eccles. xxx. 4; xvii. 27-28, 30; xxxii. 4; xliii. 11-12.



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47. *Hopes for the Future*

(197) Isa. xxiv. 16-17; xxxiii. 7-9; Mic. vii. 8-9; Isa. xxxiii. 14; Zech. x. 3; xi. 17; Zeph. iii. 11; Isa. xxiv. 3, 21; xxvi. 11-14; xxxiv. 2; Zech. ix. 13-15; xii. 1-6; xiv. 12-13; Mic. iv. 13; vii. 16-17; Zeph. iii. 8; Zech. xiv. 1-5; Isa. xxv. 8; xxx. 19; xxxiii. 17; xxiv. 23; xxxiii. 22; Zech. xiv. 9; Mic. ii. 13; v. 4; Amos ix. 11; Hos. iii. 5; Zech. ix. 9; Isa. xi. 11-12, 16; xxvii. 13; xxxv. 10; Mic. ii. 12; vii. 12; Zeph. iii. 20; Amos ix. 14; Isa. xxx. 23-26; xxxiii. 16; xxxv. 1-2; Mic. iv. 4; Amos ix. 13, 15; Zech. xiv. 1; Isa. ii. 4; xxxii. 18; Mic. iv. 3; Isa. ii. 3; xii. 5; xxix. 23; Zech. ix. 10; xiv. 16; Mic. iv. 1-2; Isa. xi. 13; Zech. x. 6; Isa. iv. 2-4; xxvi. 1-4; xxxii. 16-17; xxxiii. 5-6, 24; Zech. xiii. 1-2; xiv. 20-21; Mic. vii. 18-20; Zeph. iii. 12-13. (198) Isa. xxvi. 19; Ezek. xxxvii. 4, 11.

48. *Daniel and Other Apocalypses*

(199) Dan. xi. 31; xii. 11; Ps. lxxix. 1; 1 Macc. i. 11-15; ii. 40; Dan. iii. 17-18; 1 Macc. iv. 56; Enoch xci. 12; xc. 34. (201) Twelve Pats. Levi. iii. 4; v. 1; iii. 3, 5; Dan. vii. 10; Enoch xc. 20, 24-26; xci. 14-15; Dan. ii. 44; vii. 14, 27; Twelve Pats. Dan vi. 6; Enoch xc. 29; Twelve Pats. Benjamin ix. 2; Enoch x. 17; xc. 33; Twelve Pats. Dan v. 11; Enoch xc. 30; Twelve Pats. Naphtali viii. 4; Benjamin x. 5; Dan. vii. 14, 27; Twelve Pats. Zebulun x. 1-2; Asher vi. 5-6; Benjamin x. 7; Enoch xc. 33. (202) Twelve Pats. Simeon vi. 5; Levi v. 2; Asher vii. 3; Dan. vii. 27; Twelve Pats. Simeon vii. 2; Levi viii. 14; Issachar v. 7; Ps. cx. (perhaps acrostic on the name of Simon Maccabee); Enoch xc. 38; Twelve Pats. Simeon vii. 2; Levi xviii. 2-3, 9-11 (Messianic Hymn); viii. 14; Judah xxiv. 1-2 (perhaps John Hyrcanus); Issachar v. 7; Reuben vi. 8; Judah xxi. 1-5; Benjamin ix. 2 (an only-begotten prophet); 1 Macc. xiv. 35, 47 (Simon High Priest and Governor). (203) Dan. vii. 9-14. (204) Dan. xii. 1-3. (206) Song of the Three Children 64.; 2 Macc. xii. 33-45.

49. *Messianic Kingdom and the Son of Man*

(207) Twelve Pats. Levi xiv. 4-5, 7-8; xvi. 1-2; Pss. of Sol. i. 7-8; ii. 3; viii. 12-14; Twelve Pats. Zebulun ix. 5; Pss. of Sol. viii. 18. (208) Twelve Pats. Judah xvii. 6; xxii. 3; Pss. of Sol. xvii. 5; Twelve Pats. Naphtali iv. 5; Pss. of Sol. xvii. 35-49, 24-27, 28-30, 33, 36, 34; iii. 16; xiii. 9-10; xiv. 6-7. (209) Enoch xl. 1; xxxix. 12-13, 6-7; xlvi. 1-6; xlviii. 2-3, 6; lxii. 7; xlix. 3; xl. 3-10. (210) Enoch lvi. 5-8; lvii. 1-2; xlv. 3; li. 3; lxi. 8; lxii. 5; lxix. 27; xlix. 2, 4; xlvi. 1; lxii. 2; xlviii. 8; lxiii. 11; xlvii. 2-4; xlv. 1-2, 6, 4-5; xlviii. 4, 5; li. 1; xci. 10; cii. 4-5; li. 2; lxii. 16, 14; ciii. 2-4; civ. 4, 6; lxix. 29.

50. *The Pharisees*

(212) Acts xxiii. 7-8; Luke xvii. 20; Acts xxvi. 5; Mark vii. 13. (213) Acts xxii. 3; xxiii. 6. (214) Matt. v. 20; Luke xviii. 11; xi. 37; xiv. 1; vii. 36.



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51. *The Zealots*

(216) Luke xxii. 49; Exod. xiv. 13. (217) Luke vi. 15; Matt. xxvi. 52.

52. *The Sadducees*

(218) Matt. xxii. 23; Acts xxiii. 7-8; Matt. xxvi. 57; Luke xxii. 66.
(219) Matt. xxii. 30.

53. *The Synagogues*

(220) Ps. lxxiv. 8; Luke ii. 41; Ps. cxxxvii. 1. (221) Luke iv. 17-19; Mark xii. 39; Matt. vi. 5. (222) Luke ii. 46-47; iv. 16, 20, 21-27; Matt. iv. 23; Mark i. 23-26; Acts ix. 2, 20; xiii. 4-5; xiv. 1; xvii. 1, 17; xviii. 4. (223) Cf. Acts vii. 43 with Amos v. 26-27 (LXX version). (224) Mark iv. 41; xv. 34; vii. 34; 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

54. *The Temple Services*

(225) 2 Kings xxv. 9; Hag. i. 14; Zech. iv. 9; Neh. viii. 1-3.
(226) Lev. xxiii. 27; xvi. 17; Heb. ix. 7; Lev. xvi. 12, 15, 18; 1 Macc. iv. 59; Ezra ix. 4; Heb. vii. 27. (227) Exod. xl. 10; xxx. 27; Heb. ix. 2, 3; Exod. xxvi. 31-33.

55. *The Praises of Israel*

(229) Ps. c.; Ps. xlii. (230) Ps. lxvi. 13; li. 16. (231) Ps. xv.
(232) Ps. ix. 11; cxv. 3; cxlviii. 2. (233) Ps. cxxxvii. 9; cxlvii. 20; cxvii. 1; lxv. 1. (234) Ps. cxlv. 17; ciii. 13; viii. 1; xviii. 2; cxlvii. 5.
(235) Ps. civ.; Ps. xxiv.; Ps. cxlviii. (236) Ps. cxv. 17; cxxxix. 8; xxiii. 1, 4. (237) Ps. xcv. 6; xcii. 4; cl. 6.

56. *The Peoples of Palestine*

(238) Ecclus. i. 25-26 (read Seir, *i.e.* Edom, for Samaria); John iv. 9 (cf. viii. 48); iv. 21-23. (239) Matt. ii. 1; Luke iii. 1; Mark iii. 6.
(240) 2 Kings xvii. 24; Luke x. 33-37.

57. *Galilee*

(241) Matt. xv. 21; Acts ix. 3; Mark vii. 31 (roads); Acts ii. 8-11 (roads implied). (242) Luke iii. 1; John vi. 1, 23; Mark vi. 27; Luke xxiii. 7. (243) John i. 45, 49; xii. 20-21; Acts i. 6-8.

58. *Jewish Wisdom and Greek Philosophy*

(244) Wisdom iii. 1-5; vii. 25-26. (245) Ps. xxxiii. 6; John i. 1-3, 14; Hymn, 'O come all ye faithful.'

59. *John the Baptist*

(246) Matt. iii. 2, 4, 7; John i. 21; Matt. iii. 5; Luke iii. 15, 4, 16; Matt. iii. 2. (247) Matt. iii. 7, 9, 12 (cf. Mark xii. 35-37); Matt. iii. 8; Luke vii. 19, 22-23.

60. *Jesus of Nazareth*

(249) Luke vii. 16; Heb. v. 5; Mark xv. 2; Luke xix. 10; John x. 30; iii. 2; Mark x. 17; John i. 41, 14; 1 Cor. i. 24; Luke xxii. 27; xxiv. 46; 2 Pet. i. 11. (250) Heb. i. 1-3.

NOTES

(1) *The Pentateuch* (ref. to paras. 4, 60, 122-124, 125-127, 166-168). The Pentateuch, as it stands in our Bible, consists of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. These are known as the 'Five Books of Moses' (see R.V. title to Genesis, etc. 'The first book of Moses commonly called Genesis'). Traceable in these books are five different documents which arose at different times in the history of Israel:

The Jehovist. This document runs through Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. Much of its subject-matter must have existed orally before it came to be written down. It tells the story from Creation to Moses. One of its distinctive features is that it uses the name Yahweh (Jehovah) from the first; thus it goes by the title 'J.' It probably arose in Judah. The date formerly assigned to it was c. 850 B.C.; but some would now place it towards the end of the seventh century (c. 620-600).

The Elohist. This document runs through Genesis, Exodus, and Numbers. Much of its subject-matter must have existed orally before it came to be written down. It tells the story from Abraham to Moses. One of its distinctive features is that it uses the name Elohim for God until the name Yahweh is revealed to Moses (Exod. iii.); thus it goes by the title 'E.' It probably arose in Ephraim (Northern Palestine). The date formerly assigned to it was c. 750 B.C. Some would now place it towards the end of the seventh century, contemporary with 'J.' If the latter date is correct, it was compiled for the inhabitants of Northern Palestine after the Fall of Samaria in 722 B.C. At a later period these two documents were combined; according to the older theory c. 650 B.C., according to the later not until the beginning of the sixth century.

The Deuteronomist. This is the Deuteronomy of our Bible. It is a law-history dealing with the time of Moses and giving an account of his death. It goes by the title 'D.' Some think that chs. xii.-xxvi. and xxviii. of Deuteronomy were the book found in the Temple, which prompted Josiah's reforms; others that the whole book was drawn up about the middle of the sixth century by Jews who did not go into exile, and that it was used in Palestine during the period between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah. The Deuteronomist school of thought may be traced in Joshua, Judges, 1 and 2 Samuel, 1 and 2 Kings, as these books have come down to us.

The Holiness Code. This document is found in Leviticus, chs. xvii.-xxvi. It largely consists of laws dealing with ritual holiness. It goes by the name 'H.' It is generally agreed that it was drawn up in captivity, by priests of the school of Ezekiel, ready for use when the people should return to Palestine. It may be dated c. 572-550 B.C.



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The Priestly Document. This document is found in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus (where it incorporates 'H'), and Numbers. It tells the story from Creation to Moses and lays emphasis on things of a priestly nature; hence its designation 'P.' Like the Elohist document it uses the name Elohim for God until Exod. vi. where God says to Moses, 'I am Yahweh.' It was probably compiled in captivity about the middle of the fifth century, perhaps at the instigation of Nehemiah for the Jewish state as he hoped to see it reorganized. This document is the frame-work of the Pentateuch which was virtually complete by c. 400 B.C.

(2) *Jethro Priest of Midian* (ref. to para. 7). It is impossible here to discuss fully the critical problems connected with names and sites mentioned in this section. Both narratives (J and E) were written down long after the events described took place, and each tells the story somewhat differently. In this Short History the name Jethro is used of the father-in-law of Moses, and Horeb of the sacred mount (both according to E). It is probable that in J Hobab was the name of Moses' father-in-law (Num. x. 29). This name is supported by Judges iv. 11 (where read 'father-in-law' for 'brother-in-law,' as in R.V. margin), but in this passage he is called a Kenite not a Midianite. In Exod. ii. 18 (J) we find still a third name, Reuel; but this may be an addition to the original text, made by some editor who misunderstood Num. x. 29, thinking that the words 'Moses' father-in-law' referred to Reuel.

Similarly it is not improbable that there is only one sacred mount, called Horeb in E (Exod. iii. 1, 12) and Sinai in J (Exod. xix. 18), though the J and E traditions may have had different places in view: J's Midian and Sinai, on the east of the Gulf of Akaba, and E's Horeb in the neighbourhood of Kadesh-barnea in the desert south of Palestine. The traditional Sinai is in the south of the present Sinai Peninsula.

(3) *Date of the Exodus from Egypt and the Entry into Canaan* (ref. to para. 11). According to the older view, the oppression of the Hebrew tribes in Egypt took place in the reign of Rameses II (1292-1225 B.C.), and the Exodus in that of Merenptah (1225-1200 B.C.). Hebrew tradition (1 Kings vi. 1) reckons 480 years from the Exodus to the building of the Temple by Solomon (970 B.C.). This would bring us back to 1450 B.C. for the date of the Exodus, over two hundred years before the time of Merenptah. It is true that we cannot rely absolutely on Hebrew traditional figures, but it is unlikely that a mistake of over two hundred years would have been made. Besides this, two hundred and fifty-five years (from Merenptah 1225 to Solomon's Temple 970) is a very short period to cover the Wanderings in the Wilderness, the Entry into Canaan, the time of the Judges, and the Early Monarchy. Moreover, an inscription of Merenptah, telling of Egyptian conquests in Palestine, says, 'Israel is desolated, her seed is not.' Israel could hardly be undergoing oppression in Egypt and be desolated in Palestine at the same time. Now the Tel el Amarna letters, written in the time of Amenhotep IV (1375-1360 B.C.), speak of a people called the Habiri invading Palestine at that time. It is not unlikely that the Habiri and the Hebrews are to be identified. So there is some reason for thinking



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that the Entry of the Hebrew tribes into Palestine took place between 1375 and 1360 B.C. and the Exodus some time previously, according to Hebrew tradition forty years, which would bring us back to *c.* 1410 B.C. While this date does not square exactly with Hebrew tradition (*viz.* 1450 B.C. for the Exodus), it certainly brings us much nearer to it than 1225–1200 B.C. Those who still hold to the later date for the Exodus have to maintain that a people called Israel (*i.e.* some of the Hebrew tribes) were dwelling in Palestine at the time when Israel (*i.e.* other Hebrew tribes) were issuing forth from Egypt. The problem is a difficult one and is not yet entirely solved, but meanwhile we may tentatively accept the earlier date as the more probable. (See Article, 'Palestine Exploration Fund,' *Quarterly Statement*, July 1931; also *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. II.)

(4) *Circumcision* (ref. to para. 17). The rite of circumcision was common to the Hebrews and other (esp. Semitic) peoples (Jer. ix. 25–26). To-day it is practised by the Muhammadans and many tribes in different parts of the world, as well as by the Jews. Probably the earliest reference to circumcision in the Bible is in Exod. iv. 24–26 (J), where the son of Moses receives the rite; but according to Joshua v. 2–5 those Hebrews who had been born in the wilderness had not been circumcised. The Philistines who did not practise circumcision were looked upon as utter barbarians (2 Sam. i. 20). 'The idea which appears generally to underlie circumcision is that it is a rite of initiation into manhood; a youth, till he has been circumcised, is not reckoned a full member of the tribe.' In Gen. xvii. 23–27 (P) Ishmael receives circumcision at the age of thirteen: this may indicate the age at which Arabs and Hebrews alike were circumcised in early days. In later times the rite was performed on boys at the age of eight days (Gen. xvii. 12; xxi. 4; Luke i. 59; Phil. iii. 5). Thus through circumcision boys became members of the Jewish community in early infancy, just as through baptism boys and girls become members of the Christian Church.

(5) *The Earliest Decalogue* (ref. to paras. 18, 44, 62). The earliest Ten Commandments are probably to be found in Exod. xxxiv. They presuppose an agricultural community.

1. Thou shalt worship no other god (14).
2. The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep (18); or, Thou shalt make thee no molten gods (17).
3. All that openeth the womb is mine (19); or, The feast of unleavened bread shalt thou keep (18).
4. On the seventh day thou shalt rest (21); or, All that openeth the womb is mine (19).
5. Thou shalt observe the feast of weeks (22*a*).
6. And the feast of ingathering at the year's end (22*c*).
7. Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with *leaven* (25*a*).
8. Neither shall the sacrifice of the feast be left unto the morning (25*b*).



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9. The first of the first-fruits of thy ground thou shalt bring unto the house of the Lord thy God (26a).
10. Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk (26b).

(6) *Urim and Tummim* (ref. to paras. 19, 32). Urim and Tummim are not the names of stones used in consulting the oracle, but probably indicate the answer inferred from the lie of the stones after they had been cast. It is possible that Urim comes from the Hebrew word 'to curse,' and means that the person or thing about which information is desired lies under a curse; and that Tummim is from the Hebrew word 'to be perfect,' and means 'acquitted.'

(7) *High Places* (ref. to paras. 31, 48, 99). The High Places were the Canaanite shrines where the Baals were worshipped. Many of these were taken over by the Israelites and used for the worship of Yahweh. They were at first considered lawful, for we find such great men as Samuel and Elijah both offering sacrifice at high places. The danger of the adaptation of these Baal shrines to the worship of Yahweh was that Yahweh should become confused in people's minds with Baal. Owing to the evil practices which took place at the high places they were abolished at Josiah's reformation in 621 B.C., and Jerusalem became the only lawful sanctuary.

(8) *A House of Habitation for Yahweh* (ref. to paras. 43, 83, 85, 109, 232). The hope expressed in this ancient prayer (1 Kings viii. 12-13) that Yahweh would dwell in the Temple, is corrected in the much later prayer in another part of the same chapter (1 Kings viii. 27-30): 'Will God in very truth dwell on the earth? Behold, heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house that I have builded! Yet have thou respect unto the prayer of thy servant . . . that thine eyes may be open towards this house night and day, even towards the place whereof thou hast said, My name shall be there (cf. Deut. xii. 11). . . . And hearken thou to the supplications . . . of thy people Israel, when they shall pray toward this place: yea, hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place; and when thou hearest, forgive.' With this we may compare the words of our Lord to the woman of Samaria in John iv. 21, 23-24: 'Woman, believe me, the hour cometh, when neither in this mountain (Gerizim), nor in Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father . . . the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth: for such doth the Father seek to be his worshippers. God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth.'

(9) *Seraphim* (ref. to para. 75). Professor Kennett makes the interesting suggestion that the seraphs of Isaiah's vision are founded on the Brasen Serpent to which sacrifices were offered (2 Kings xviii. 4). He says, 'The bronze seraph, presumably a winged figure, partly reptile partly human, was the commonly accepted representation of God (in Jerusalem). This figure Isaiah modifies and multiplies, and pictures as in humble adoration of Yahweh, as much as to say "your God is only fit to be the abject slave of the true God."' If this be so it is an



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interesting fact that Isaiah lived to see the destruction of this image of the Deity, which was one of the reforms of Hezekiah. It is not until the Book of Enoch in the first century B.C. that the seraphim become angels (Enoch lxi. 10; lxxi. 7).

(10) *Anthropomorphic Beliefs and Language* (ref. to para. 78). The word 'anthropomorphism' means attributing human form to God. It is important to distinguish between anthropomorphic language and anthropomorphic beliefs. To think of God as 'walking in the garden' (Gen. iii. 8), or as 'smelling a sacrifice' (Gen. viii. 21), is to have an anthropomorphic belief; but to speak of him as 'gathering the lambs in his arm, and carrying them in his bosom' (Isa. xl. 11) is but a way of trying to express his protective care. A prophet might use anthropomorphic language, or have a vision which contained anthropomorphic phenomena, while his beliefs were spiritual.

(11) *Hilkiah's Book and Deuteronomy* (ref. to paras. 98, 126). It has been customary to identify the book found by Hilkiah in the Temple with the middle part of Deuteronomy (xii.—xxvi., xxviii.). Certainly the emphasis laid on the law of the one sanctuary is a central point in the reforms carried out by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 5, 8) and in the Book of Deuteronomy (e.g. Deut. xii. 2-7). But in one matter at least there is some divergence. This is the position of the Levites or country priests. In the account of Josiah's reforms we read: 'And he brought all the priests out of the cities of Judah, and defiled the high places where the priests had burned incense. . . . Nevertheless the priests of the high places came not up to the altar of the Lord at Jerusalem, but they did eat unleavened bread among their brethren.' From this it would seem that these country priests (or Levites) are to be put on an inferior footing to the Jerusalem priests in that they are not privileged to offer sacrifice upon the altar in the Temple (2 Kings xxiii. 8-9). Now in Deut. xviii. 6-8 it is clearly stated that 'if a Levite come from any of thy gates out of all Israel, where he sojourneth, and come with all the desire of his soul unto the place which the Lord shall choose; then he shall minister in the name of the Lord his God, as all his brethren the Levites do, which stand before the Lord. They shall have like portions to eat, beside that which cometh of the sale of his patrimony.' Ezekiel, following in this the reforms of Josiah, is very emphatic on the difference to be drawn between the Zadokite priests (i.e. the former Jerusalem priests) and the Levites (i.e. the country priests): 'they shall not come near unto me, to execute the office of priest unto me. . . . Yet will I make them keepers of the charge of the house, for all the service thereof.' It has been suggested that the book found in the Temple was a scroll of Hosea's prophecies. Hosea is very emphatic in his denunciation of the corrupt priesthood and in his condemnation of the evils practised at the high places. The question must for the present remain open. But whether or not Deut. xii.—xxvi., xxviii. was the book found in the Temple, this does not detract from the view that the whole book as we have it was Zerubabel's charter and that it was authoritative in Palestine from the rebuilding of the Temple (516 B.C.) to the appointment of Nehemiah as governor (433 B.C.).



(12) *The Date of Isa. xi. 1-9 and ix. 2-7* (ref. to paras. 137-140). This Short History places these two poems in the time of the Exile. It must not, however, be thought that their date is a matter of certainty. Some scholars still claim them for Isaiah; others put them as late as the second century B.C. Once it has been admitted that the first half of the Book Isaiah contains much that does not come from the prophet himself, each passage has to be carefully considered before it can be claimed for him. In trying to arrive at a date for any given section, we may take it for granted that it had a meaning relevant to the man who was writing it, and to his contemporaries for whom it was written. We must therefore look for a time in the history of Israel when the conditions implied in the prophecies before us existed.

The argument from language and style is an important factor, but this is the work of the expert, and is seldom, if ever, by itself conclusive as evidence. There is however one point connected with language which must be mentioned as we consider Isa. ix. 2-7. This is the curious use of the Hebrew perfect tense. To us *perfect* means *past*; but in Hebrew the perfect can be used of future time, because it is not the *time* of the happening which is primarily thought of, but whether the happening itself is complete or incomplete. Thus a prophet looking to the future could use the perfect of things which he saw in vision as complete. In Isa. ix. 2-7 the tenses are mostly perfects; and we have to ask 'Has the child already been born? Is the yoke already removed from the nation?' or, 'Will the child be born at some future time, and the yoke be removed later on?' On the whole, if the prophet is consistent in his use of the tenses, it is probable that here he is using the perfect in the more ordinary sense of an act already complete, and not one that he sees in vision as complete. If this be so, we have to look for a time in the history of Israel when the birth of an auspicious child (perhaps of the royal family) coincided with indications that a power which had been oppressing the people would no longer oppress them.

The forty years of Isaiah's ministry (740-700 B.C.) witnessed the deliverance of Jerusalem from Assyria (700 B.C.), but it is difficult at that time to find any appropriate child. It is more probable that we have to look for a time when there was no king in Judah, *i.e.* beyond the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 586 B.C. Jeremiah and Ezekiel both looked forward to the restoration of the kingdom of Judah under a king of the royal family of David; and it is at least possible that the birth of Zerubbabel (of the royal family) in Exile and the overthrow of the Babylonians by the Persians may be the historical foundation for the passage before us. But some look still further ahead, and see in one of the Maccabees 'the child' who has been born, and in the success of the Jews against the Seleucids, the removal of the yoke.

In Isa. xi. 1-9 the tenses refer to the future: 'There shall come forth a shoot out of the stock of Jesse, etc.' This passage is more general than Isa. ix. 2-7, but the period of the Exile suits it equally well.

It should be said that the date and authorship of these poems have little or nothing to do with their religious value. Our Lord in his Person and Kingdom fulfilled all the highest hopes of Israel with regard to Messiah and his rule; but he was bound by no previous expectations,

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and in his fulfilment of them the material and national became the spiritual and universal.

(13) *Samaritan Schism* (ref. to para. 169). According to Josephus this final severance and the building of the rival temple did not occur until a century later (*Antiquities xi. 8*).

(14) '*Plato . . . reality*' (ref. to para. 245). This passage was very kindly contributed by Professor Clement Webb of Oxford.



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II. PALESTINE

From the Hebrew Entry to Nehemiah

Philistine Settlement	1190 B.C.
Saul, first king. Capital: Gibeah	1025 B.C.
David. Capital: Jerusalem	1000 B.C.
Solomon builds temple	970 B.C.
Division: Israel and Judah	937 B.C.
Omri. Capital: Samaria	887 B.C.
Fall of Samaria to Assyria	722 B.C.
Sennacherib's invasion of Judah	700 B.C.
Scythian invasion	626 B.C.
Fall of Jerusalem to Chaldaea	586 B.C.
Palestine under Persia	538 B.C.
Return under Zerubbabel	520 B.C.
Coming of Nehemiah	445 B.C.

NOTE. The dotted lines indicate the boundaries of the two kingdoms, Israel (937-722 B.C.) and Judah (937-586 B.C.)





III. PALESTINE

From Nehemiah to the Christian Era

Nehemiah arrives in Jerusalem	445 B.C.
Samaritan temple built on Mt Gerizim	425 B.C.
Letters from Elephantine to Palestine	408 B.C.
Coming of Alexander	333 B.C.
Palestine under the Ptolemies	312-198 B.
Palestine under the Seleucids	198-165 B.
Temple desecrated by Antiochus	168 B.C.
Rededication under Maccabees	165 B.C.
Hasmonean (Maccabee) kings	135-69 B.
The Coming of Pompey	63 B.C.
Herod the Great king of Judea	37-4 B.C.
Birth of Jesus at Bethlehem	7-5 B.C.
Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee	4 B.C.
The Crucifixion	29 A.D.

NOTE. The dotted lines indicate the divisions of Palestine at the time of Christ: Idumea, Judea, Samaria and Roman procurators; Galilee, Perea under Herod Antipas; Iturea, Trachonitis, Batanea, Auranitis under Herod Phil