

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTION TRADITIONS  
OF ANCIENT ISRAEL FOR THE PROPHETS AND THEIR  
DEVELOPMENT IN JEREMIAH AND THE EXILIC PROPHETS

by

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# ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis..... The Significance of the Election Traditions of Ancient Israel  
for the Prophets and their Development in Jeremiah and the Exilic  
Prophets.

The idea of election in ancient Israel was a means whereby the nation could interpret its historical experiences—a model for relating its national consciousness to its religious beliefs. The basic explanation of Israel's existence as a nation in the world of the ancient Near East was that Yahweh had chosen it to be his special people. This great act of election took place at the exodus from Egypt. Part of this election was the covenant between Yahweh and Israel made at Sinai. Subordinate to this election-covenant tradition was the election of David to be king in Jerusalem. The election of Zion as the city of Yahweh and the promise of a permanent dynasty to David were elements of the Davidic election tradition.

The traditions built up around these events were used in an essentially functional way by the prophets. They represented common ground between the prophets and the people. They were used to link the present with the past and even to provide a superstructure for a theology of Israel's history. They became a method for criticising the present and were included in the prophetic declaration of the lawsuit between Yahweh and Israel. As the idea of election revealed the nature of Yahweh's relationship to Israel so the election traditions predicated the ways of Yahweh for the future. In this way the traditions became the basis of the future hope of Israel.

The more the nation felt threatened in the various political crises it experienced the more the election motif was emphasised. The Exile, which ended Judah's existence as a state, was viewed by the prophets as a period comparable to the days before the exodus. The return from the Exile became, in their preaching, a new exodus, even greater than the first one. There would be a new election of Israel, a new exodus, a new covenant, a new journey through the desert, a new Landnahme, and a rebuilding of Jerusalem with its temple. There would be, in nuce, a new Heilsgeschichte.

Elements implicit in the idea of election became of greater importance during the period of the exilic prophets. Thus Israel's role in the world at large was emphasised. The concept of Israel before the nations as a light to them reached its apex with the figure of the Servant of Yahweh. This figure was Yahweh's chosen, anointed servant with a mission to Israel and the nations. The old figure of the covenant mediator reached its climax and became the representative of Yahweh's covenant of humanity to the nations of the world. Thus a balance was finally attained between the privileges and the responsibilities of Israel's divine election.

## PREFACE

The concept of election is fundamental to any understanding of the phenomenon of ancient Israel's religion. For Israel was deeply conscious that the only adequate explanation for its existence as a nation was its belief that Yahweh, their God, had chosen them to be his special, holy people. This act of election, they believed, took place at the time of the exodus, when some clans fled from the slave-camps of Egypt. It resulted in a covenant relationship whereby Israel pledged itself to be the people of Yahweh and Yahweh became their God.

This thesis is a study of Israel's traditions about their election faith. These traditions concerned not only the exodus but also the later development of the monarchy. Further consequences of the idea of election was the growth of an election tradition about the ancestors of the nation.

These election traditions provide the basis for this work, which is an attempt to understand the prophetic usage of the traditional material. The prophets were both indebted to the nation's traditional beliefs and also remarkably free in their handling of the same. They stressed the responsibilities

of Israel's position as the chosen people of Yahweh, rather than the privileges ensuing from such a relationship.

A deep interest in the development of ancient Israel's traditional beliefs as they came into contact with the exigencies of political life in the ancient Near East of their day provided the first stimulus to undertaking this particular study.

I am extremely grateful to Professor N.W. Porteous and to Professor G.W. Anderson for their supervision of this work. Scholarship touched with humanity has been the hallmark of their interest in my pursuit of this study.

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CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE . . . . .	ii
ABBREVIATIONS . . . . .	x

PART ONE

ELECTION: INTRODUCTION AND TERMINOLOGY

Chapter

I	INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEA OF ELECTION	
	1. Introduction	1
	2. Israel's Attitude to History	4
	3. The Election Traditions and Modern Scholarship	6
II	THE TERMINOLOGY OF ELECTION	
	1. $\gamma\eta\eta$	8
	a) Introduction	8
	b) $\gamma\eta\eta$ and Divine Election	9
	c) Aspects of the Divine Election	13
	i) Yahweh's Motive for Choosing Israel	13
	ii) The Purpose of Israel's Election	14
	d) Origins of the Use of $\gamma\eta\eta$ for Election	15

2. $\gamma\eta\delta$ and Related Terms	17
a) Election and Covenant	18
b) Yahweh's Knowledge and Calling of Israel	26
c) Israel as the People of Yahweh	27
3. Summary	31

## PART TWO

### ELECTION IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY PROPHETS

#### III ELECTION IN HOSEA

1. Introduction	33
2. The Exodus Election Tradition	36
a) The Exodus from Egypt	36
b) Election in the Desert	37
3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	46
4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	52
5. Summary	53

#### IV ELECTION IN AMOS

1. Introduction	55
2. The Exodus Election Tradition	59
3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	66
4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	69
5. Summary	69

<b>V</b>	<b>ELECTION IN MICAH</b>	
	1. Introduction	71
	2. The Exodus Election Tradition	74
	3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	80
	a) Origin of the David-Zion Election Tradition	80
	b) David and Zion in Micah	88
	4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	95
	5. Summary	96
<b>VI</b>	<b>ELECTION IN ISAIAH</b>	
	1. Introduction	98
	2. The Exodus Election Tradition	106
	a) The Exodus	107
	b) The Remnant	111
	3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	118
	a) Zion	119
	b) The Question of Zion's Inviolability	130
	c) Yahweh's Anointed One	141
	4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	153
	5. Summary	153

PART THREE

ELECTION IN JEREMIAH, EZEKIEL  
AND DEUTERO-ISAIAH

<b>VII</b>	<b>BACKGROUND TO JEREMIAH: ELECTION</b>	
	<b>IN THE PSALMS AND DEUTERONOMY</b>	
	<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>157</b>
	<b>2. Election in the Psalms</b>	<b>160</b>
	a) Introduction	160
	b) The Exodus Election Tradition	166
	c) The David-Zion Election Tradition	171
	d) Summary	181
	<b>3. Election in Deuteronomy</b>	<b>183</b>
	a) Introduction	183
	b) The Exodus Election Tradition	187
	c) The David-Zion Election Tradition	199
	i) The King	200
	ii) The Sanctuary	204
	iii) The Levites	209
	d) The Patriarchal Election Tradition	211
	e) Summary	221
	<b>4. Summary</b>	<b>223</b>



VIII ELECTION IN JEREMIAH

1. Introduction	224
2. The Exodus Election Tradition	236
a) The Exodus	239
b) The Covenant	251
c) The Remnant	264
3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	271
a) The King	272
b) The City	276
4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	285
5. Summary	285

IX ELECTION IN EZEKIEL

1. Introduction	290
2. The Exodus Election Tradition	298
a) The Exodus	299
b) Restoration	309
c) The Remnant	318
3. The David-Zion Election Tradition	321
a) King and Covenant	322
b) City and Sanctuary	335
4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition	345
5. Summary	347

<b>X</b>	<b>ELECTION IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH</b>	
	<b>1. Introduction</b>	<b>352</b>
	a) The Exile	352
	b) The Prophet	357
	<b>2. The Exodus Election Tradition</b>	<b>364</b>
	a) The New Exodus	364
	b) Election and Creation	374
	<b>3. The David-Zion Election Tradition</b>	<b>386</b>
	a) Zion	386
	b) David	392
	1) Cyrus	392
	ii) David	394
	c) The Servant of Yahweh	398
	<b>4. The Patriarchal Election Tradition</b>	<b>403</b>
	<b>5. Summary</b>	<b>405</b>
	<b>EPILOGUE</b>	<b>409</b>
	<b>APPENDIX: <math>\text{דָּוִד}</math> IN THE OLD TESTAMENT</b>	<b>411</b>
	<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>414</b>

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Analecta Biblica, Rome.
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature, Chicago.
ALUOS	Annual of the Leeds University Oriental Society.
ANET	<u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the OT,</u> ed., J.B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1950.
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem, Leiden.
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Zürich.
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen.
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist, New Haven.
BAL	Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Berlin.
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
BAT	Botschaft des Alten Testaments, Stuttgart.
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge, Bonn.
BDB	<u>Brown, Driver, Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the OT,</u> Oxford, 1906.
BET	Beiträge zur evangelischen Theologie, München.
BH	Biblia Hebraica ed. Kittel, 7th. edition.
BHT	Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie, Tübingen.
Bibl	Biblica, Rome.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar. Altes Testament, Neukirchen.
BO	Biblica et Orientalia, Rome,
BRA	Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, Halle.
BS	Biblische Studien, Neukirchen.
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.

BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
CAB	Cahiers d'Archeologie Biblique, Neuchatel.
CAT	Commentaire de l'Ancient Testament, Neuchatel.
CB	Cambridge Bible.
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington(D.C.).
CQR	Church Quarterly Review, London.
CT	Cahiers theologiques.
DOTT	<u>Documents from Old Testament Times</u> , ed. D.W. Thomas, London, 1958.
DSS	The Dead Sea Scrolls.
EHRP	Etudes d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, Paris.
ET	English Translation.
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie, München.
Expt	The Expository Times, Edinburgh.
FCAH	Fascicles of the <u>Cambridge Ancient History</u> , rev. ed
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, Göttingen.
FS FS	Festschrift.
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament, Tübingen.
Herm	Hermathena, Trinity College, Dublin.
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual, Cincinnati.
IB	Interpreter's Bible, New York-Nashville.
ICC	International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh.
IDB	Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
Int	Interpretation.
ITQ	Irish Theological Quarterly, Maynooth.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Have
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia.
JBLM	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series.
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion, Boston.

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
JPOS	Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Jerusalem.
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester.
JThC	Journal for Theology and Church, New York.
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament, Leipzig, Gütersloh.
KBL	<u>Köhler-Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros, Leiden, 1953.</u>
KSGVI	<u>A. Alt, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel, München, I-II, 1953, III, 1959.</u>
LD	Lectio Divina, Paris.
LXX	Septuaginta ed. A. Rahlfs, 2 vols., 7th. edition.
MT	Massoretic Text.
NF	Neue Folge.
OBL	Orientalia et Biblica Lovaniensia, Louvain.
OTMS	<u>The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley, Oxford, (1951) 1961.</u>
OTS	Old Testamentische Studien, Leiden.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London.
RB	Revue Biblique, Paris.
RGG <sup>3</sup>	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen, 1957.
RHPR	Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses, Strasbourg-Paris.
RSPT	Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques, Paris.
RSR	Recherches de Science Religieuse, Paris.
RSV	Revised Standard Version.
RTP	Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie, Lausanne.
SAHT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, München.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology, London.
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology.
SOTP	<u>Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, ed. H. H. Rowley, Edinburgh, 1950.</u>

ST	Studia Theologica, Lund-Aarhus.
STL	Studia Theologica Lundensia.
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
TGUOS	Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig-Berlin.
TTS	Trierer Theologische Studien, Trier.
TWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament.
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift, Basel.
UUA	Uppsala Universitets arsskrift.
VT	Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament, Neukirchen.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
ZTK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.

#### NOTE

Biblical quotations throughout the thesis are from the Revised Standard Version (RSV) except where otherwise indicated. The Versions are abbreviated in the usual manner thus, Vulg.-Vulgate; Syr.-Syriac; Targ.-Targum. The sigla used for reference to the Scrolls from Qumran (DSS) are, DS<sup>1a</sup>-the Isaiah scroll, and 4QDt.-a Deuteronomy fragment.

**PART ONE**

**ELECTION: INTRODUCTION AND TERMINOLOGY**

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION TO THE IDEA OF ELECTION

#### 1. Introduction

When the Deuteronomists, in the seventh century, brought out their codification of the sacral traditions of ancient Israel, they stressed the dogma that Yahweh, the God of Israel, had chosen Israel to be his people. Their formulation of it was, perhaps, rather late in the existence of Israel in the land of Canaan, but they were giving voice to one of the fundamental beliefs of the people of Israel.

Israel, as a nation, had come into existence when they had fled, from the tyranny of bondage in Egypt, into the desert. There in the desert they had entered into a covenant with the God Yahweh. The essential significance of that covenant was simply-Israel became the people of Yahweh and Yahweh became the God of Israel. Yet the question remained, why? Why had this particular God made a covenant with this particular people? The answer given to the question was, because Yahweh chose Israel to be his people. The covenant at Sinai was, therefore, the outcome of the divine election of Israel.

In this way the belief in election was basically Israel's attempt to understand its existence in the world, and its position before Yahweh. The only feasible explanation was



this dogma of election. The Deuteronomic formulation of the idea may be a good deal later than the events to which it was applicable, but the idea itself was an early one. For it provided a reason why a crowd of slaves should survive the desert experience and emerge as a national unit with a very distinctive religion, owing allegiance to a God who brooked no rivals.

However, the idea of election was not an idea unique to ancient Israel. In the general pattern of ancient Near Eastern belief the king was believed to be the chosen of the gods.<sup>1</sup> What was rather unique in Israelite thought was the manner in which they handled the idea of election. The distinctiveness of Israel can, no doubt, be overemphasised, and it is possible to overlook the fact that they were very much part of the general pattern of ancient life. Yet after due allowance has been made for similarities it must be stressed that no other nation had such lowly origins (slaves in a foreign work camp) and yet so transcended them as to have made a major contribution to civilisation.

Election in Israel developed in a number of ways. Its major reference point was the exodus with its trek through the desert to Sinai,<sup>2</sup> its wanderings in the wilderness, and finally

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1. See H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 1948, 238ff.

2. Without going into argued details here, it may be stated that we view exodus-Sinai-desert trek-Landnahme as being integral parts of the exodus election tradition. In the course of this thesis our reasons for this view will be made clear, as well as references to the views of modern scholars.

the entry into the land of Canaan. These are the elements of the exodus election tradition which we shall be examining as they occur in the works of the prophets.<sup>1</sup> After a couple of centuries in Canaan the Israelites followed the example of their neighbours and changed the amphictyonic structure of their way of life to that of a monarchy. The second king who took over the role of king was David. With David a new election tradition started. To a certain extent it was not new but was modelled on the covenant made with Israel at Sinai. David was chosen to be king over Yahweh's people and promises were made to him by Yahweh of a permanent dynasty.<sup>2</sup>

These were the two main election traditions of ancient Israel. The exodus one was the original election-covenant event and the Davidic one was a specific application of it to a part of Israel. Included in the election of David was the election of Jerusalem-Zion the city he had captured and made into his capital. When the kingdom was divided into north and south, the northern kingdom only retained the exodus tradition, whereas in the south both traditions flourished, though there was a tendency for the Davidic tradition to be given precedence over the exodus tradition because of the attitudes taken by the Jerusalem cultus.

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1. Although this thesis is concerned with election in the prophets, it has been considered necessary to devote some attention to election in Deuteronomy because of its general importance for the idea; also to election in the Psalms; see below, ch. VII.

2. See below, ch. V, 3a.

A third election tradition grew up in Israel. The patriarchal election tradition; although the period it dealt with was anterior to the exodus the tradition itself was later than the exodus one. There were genuine traditions associated with the patriarchs<sup>1</sup> but these belonged to the spheres of personal religion and promise. The patriarchs were included in the election idea because Israel was best able to explain its relationship to the fathers under the notion of election-covenant. In this sense election may also be regarded as a method used by Israel to assimilate elements into its traditions which had a basic similarity to its own outlook. Election became a way of self-understanding and also a standpoint from which to view and interpret the events of its history.

## 2. Israel's attitude to history<sup>2</sup>

It is not possible to isolate any one factor in the Old Testament and claim that it provides the key to an understanding of the life of ancient Israel.<sup>3</sup> Much has been written about the Israelite attitude to history to show how distinctive a

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1. This point is discussed below, ch. VII; see also R. de Vaux, "Les Patriarches Hébreux et les Découvertes Modernes (1)", RE, 1946, 321-48; (2) RE, 1948, 321-47.

2. See e.g. M. Burrows, "Ancient Israel", The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. R. C. Dentan, 1955, 99-131; H. Gese, "The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East and the Old Testament", JThC, 1965, 49-64; C. R. North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History, 1946.

3. See the pertinent remarks in J. Barr's essay, "The Multiplex Nature of the Old Testament", Old and New in Interpretation. A Study of the Two Testaments, 1966, 15-33.

concept it was.<sup>1</sup> To a certain extent this is a valid claim, but too much can be made of it.<sup>2</sup> Israel regarded history as the sphere of Yahweh's activity but history for the ancient Israelites was a rather different concept than it is for us. For example, in the story of the exodus, the appearance of Yahweh to Moses, the ten plagues, and the flight from Egypt were all viewed as history. In the same way the prophets explained the historical event of the Exile as being the result of Israel's sins, whereas we would be inclined to view it as either an inevitable event in the light of the political situation prevailing at the time, or as the result of political incompetence on the part of the kings of Judah. The prophetic evaluation of things was quite valid within the context of ancient Israel's outlook, but we must allow for different attitudes to history, and for a totally different concept of history altogether. Furthermore, in the Old Testament, the interpretation of the event was as much history as the event itself. Finally on this point we would argue that election was not only concerned with events and words about events, but was also a way of interpreting the occasional acts of Yahweh in the sphere of Israel's life.

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1. cf. H.W. Wolff, "The Understanding of History in the Old Testament Prophets", Essays on OT Interpretation, ed. C. Westermann, 1963, 336-55; cf. G.E. Wright, "Cult and History", Int. 1962, 3-20.
  2. cf. Köhler's remarks, "The matters to which he (the Hebrew) directs his attention are indeed very much the processes and movements of history. But the conception of history itself hardly plays any noticeable part. History presupposes the past, and what is past is what has lost its reality. In this sense the Hebrew mind hardly knows the past or history.", Hebrew Man, ET, 1956, 139; cf. Barr, "The Concepts of History and Revelation", op. cit. 65-102.

### 3. The election traditions and modern scholarship

The first important study of election was by Kurt Galling.<sup>1</sup> His main contribution to the subject was the recognition that the election tradition of the patriarchs was secondary to the main exodus tradition. About the same time Gerhard von Rad published a work on Deuteronomy<sup>2</sup> which pointed out that the use of  $\text{קָדַשׁ}$  with Yahweh as subject and Israel as object was an original Deuteronomic coinage. Apart from an article by W. Staerk<sup>3</sup> nothing appeared on the subject until Rowley's book.<sup>4</sup> This was too general a study to contribute anything new to the discussion. In 1953 Vriezen brought out his important monograph<sup>5</sup> which included a consideration of the theological importance of the idea of election. Just prior to this work R. Bach produced a thesis<sup>6</sup> which took the view that there was an independent election tradition dealing with Yahweh's finding of Israel in the desert. Then Klaus Koch wrote an important article<sup>7</sup> which maintained that the references to election in the Psalms predated those in Deuteronomy. In 1956 Rohland's thesis appeared<sup>8</sup> and in many ways this is the most important

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1. Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels, BZAW 48, 1928.

2. Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, BWANT III, 11, 1929.

3. "Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben", ZAW, 1937, 1-36.

4. The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 1950.

5. Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, ATANT 24, 1953.

6. Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste, Diss. 1952.

7. "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", ZAW, 1955, 205-26.

8. Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten, Diss. 1956.

(I am indebted to Prof. N.W. Porteous for the loan of this thesis).

work on the subject to appear yet. His main thesis is that the election traditions constituted the material from which the prophets developed their eschatological views. Furthermore, he sets out each tradition and examines what the individual prophets had to contribute to each. Our technique is somewhat similar, except that we view what each prophet had to say on all the traditions. Since then there have been studies by Jocz,<sup>1</sup> Wildberger,<sup>2</sup> and Altmann.<sup>3</sup>

The field of survey is in a better shape than it was nearly two decades ago when Rowley complained that the doctrine of election had received very little attention.<sup>4</sup>

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1. A Theology of Election: Israel and the Church, 1958, this deals with the Jewish-Christian question and has no relevance for our work.
  2. Jahwes Eigentumsvolk. Eine Studie zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Erwählungsgedankens, ATANT 37, 1960; the most notable feature about this work is the importance attached to Gilgal as the location of the election tradition of Israel.
  3. Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im Alten Testament, BZAW 92, 1964.
  4. 666cit.15.

## CHAPTER II

### THE TERMINOLOGY OF ELECTION

#### 1. בחר

##### a) Introduction

The basic word for election in the Old Testament is בחר "choose". The meaning is quite straightforward but the etymology is rather obscure.<sup>1</sup> The term is used both in a secular and in a religious way throughout the Old Testament. Its occurrences may be put into three categories; i) actions of a non-religious nature; ii) actions between God and man; iii) references to the ideology of election.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Possibly from Assyr. 'beru', בחר 'make distinct, plain', so BDB, 103; bahhar 'cast glances toward', KBL, 117; "primary sense is that of casting a rapid glance, as an animal run to earth glances at the huntsman", F. Michaeli, "Election", Vocabulary of the Bible, ed. J.-J. von Allmen, ET, 1958, 96; Gesenius gives the primary meaning as 'prove, try' - "בחר the primary idea is either that of rubbing on a touchstone so that it is the same as בחר, or in dividing in pieces and examining", Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon, 1846, 111f. An old Amorite name Yabhurum is the equivalent of Yibhar, one of David's sons (II Sam. 5:15). The term b h r is read in Keret, III, v. 5 by G. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, 1956, 38; C. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, 1955, 12; others read h r, J. Aistleitner, Wörterbuch der Ugaritischen Sprache, 1963, 116; both reading and meaning are uncertain.

2. See G. Quell, "Die Erwählung im AT", TWNT, IV, 149; for a list of בחר and its LXX renderings see the section in his article, 148f.; also the Appendix at the end of this thesis.

The non-theological use of  $\text{רָחַץ}$  may refer to the choice of good things (Is. 7:15); a place to dwell in (Dt. 23:7); gardens (Is. 1:29); persons (Ex. 17:9); things (Gn. 13:11); life (Dt. 30:19); death (Jer. 8:3); or even wives (Gn. 6:2).<sup>1</sup>

A nominative form  $\text{רִיבְרִיבִי}$  means 'young man' or may refer to warriors (II Sam. 17:1), that is, "elite troops".<sup>2</sup>

One of the sons of David was Yibhar (II Sam. 5:13) and no doubt it reflects something of the idea of election within David's own history.

$\text{רָחַץ}$  is also used for the choice of gods with reference to elements of idolatry in the people of Israel (Jud. 10:14) and the gods of the heathen (Is. 41:24).

#### b) $\text{רָחַץ}$ and divine election<sup>3</sup>

The secular use of  $\text{רָחַץ}$  is of minor importance for this thesis; the major group of  $\text{רָחַץ}$ -references is to the divine activity, especially towards Israel and its land. The first reference to Yahweh having chosen Israel as a people may not appear till late in their history but this fact only concerns the usage of  $\text{רָחַץ}$ , not the idea itself.<sup>4</sup>

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1. This particular usage only occurs at this point so that no significance can be drawn from its marital reference in terms of  $\text{רָחַץ}$ .

2. so Mendenhall, "Election", IBE, II, 77.

3. for a complete list of the occurrences of  $\text{רָחַץ}$  see Appendix.

4. "The verb 'bahar', with subject God and object the people, is an original deuteronomistic coinage", so G. von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, BWANT, 47, 1929, 28; that the idea is earlier see Mendenhall, op. cit.; G. E. Wright, "The Faith of Israel", IB, I, 353; G. W. Anderson, "The Religion of Israel", Peake's Commentary on the Bible ed. 1962, 162.



The range of  $\gamma\eta\zeta$  in terms of the divine election covers three main areas. Yahweh's choice of places within Israel, his election of individuals and the choosing of Israel.

(i) The main object of Yahweh's choice of places in Israel is, without doubt, Jerusalem:

".....he shall have one tribe, for the sake of my servant David, and for the sake of Jerusalem, the city which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel."<sup>1</sup>

Other references are to the temple (II Chr. 7:16) and "the place which Yahweh shall chose".<sup>2</sup>

(ii) The election of individuals mainly concerns the various patriarchs and the kings of Israel. Both Abraham (Neh. 9:7) and Jacob (Ps. 135:4) are mentioned but the reference to Jacob refers to the people not the patriarch. The main focus of  $\gamma\eta\zeta$  in this context is on David (I Sam. 10:24, 16:8-10; II Sam. 6:21; I K. 8:16 = II Chr. 6:6).<sup>3</sup> Aaron is among the few individuals termed 'elect',<sup>4</sup> and the priestly ancestor of Eli (I Sam. 2:28). Zerubbabel the governor of post-exilic Judah is also included in the elect.<sup>5</sup>

1. so I K. 11:32; other references include II Chr. 6:6; I K. 8:16, 44 = II Chr. 6:5, 34; Zec. 1:17; the only reference to Zion as being elected is Ps. 132:13.
2. This particular phrase is a deuteronomic one (Dt. 12:11, 14, 26; 14:23, 25; 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15; 17:8; 31:11) and is normally taken to mean Jerusalem. The silence about the actual name is then regarded as being a desire to maintain the Mosaic context of the book. However it seems more likely that the author(s) had reservations about Jerusalem and so left the question open. The phrase refers elsewhere to Shiloh (Jer. 7:12); also Joshua built an altar at Shechem (Jos. 8:30ff.). See G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, ATD, 8, ET, 1966, 94.
3. other references include I Chr. 28:4, 5; 29:1; II Chr. 6:5; Ps. 78:70; I K. 11:32, 34.
4. Ps. 105:26.
5. Hg. 2:23.

(iii) The main statement of Yahweh's election of Israel to be his people appears in the credo of Dt.7:6-8;

" For you are a people holy to Yahweh your God;Yahweh your God has chosen (יָבָח) you to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth. It was not because you were more in number than any other people that Yahweh set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples. But it is because Yahweh loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt. "

For the people the idea of being elected by Yahweh always pointed back to their historical beginnings when Yahweh broke the power of the Egyptians and brought his people out of slavery. Thus when the Israelite brought his firstfruits to Yahweh's sanctuary he would confess before Yahweh the story of his people's deliverance from Egypt:

" A wandering Aramean was my father<sup>2</sup>, and he went down to Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; and there became a nation. . . . And the Egyptians treated us harshly, and afflicted us. . . . Then cried we to Yahweh the God of our fathers, and Yahweh heard our voice, and saw our affliction, and our oppression; and Yahweh brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm. . . . and he brought us into this place, and gave us this<sub>3</sub> land, a land flowing with milk and honey. "

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1. this is the locus classicus of Israel's election, so Vriezen, Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, 51.
  2. the wandering Aramean is Jacob, G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I, ET, 1962, 166; Galling maintains that such an identification is untenable, op. cit. 8.
  3. Dt. 26:5ff. for the idea of "a land flowing with milk and honey" see F. C. Fensham, "The Ancient Tradition of the Fertility of Palestine", PEQ, 1966, 166f.

Other references to Israel as the elect people of Yahweh occur in the literature of the exile<sup>1</sup> and also under the term "the descendants" of the fathers (Dt. 4:37; 10:15).<sup>2</sup>

Within Israel we may note the election of the Levites,<sup>3</sup> and the choice of Judah as the leading tribe.<sup>4</sup>

Included in the sweep of  $\gamma\eta\eta$  are Saul (I Sam. 10:24), Solomon (I Chr. 29:1), Moses (Ps. 106:23), the Servant of Yahweh (Is. 49:7), and the individual priest (Ps. 65:4).<sup>5</sup>

The nominative form  $\gamma\eta\eta$  is always used of the elect of Yahweh.<sup>6</sup>

1. Is. 41:8; 43:16; 44:2; -Jeshurun; also 44:1. See also Ez. 20:5.

2. in Dt. 4:37 the MT has "his seed after him" whereas the LXX reads "their seed after them" as in 10:15, see BH<sup>3</sup>; cf. "the offspring of Abraham, my friend", Is. 41:8; in Ez. 20:5 Israel is referred to as "the seed of the house of Jacob".

3. see Dt. 18:5; 21:5; I Chr. 15:2; II Chr. 29:11; also Jer. 33:24 where one of the two families referred to is the Levitical priests, see v. 21; in I Sam. 2:28 Eli's ancestor is probably Aaron, i.e. the house of Levi. See von Rad, *Theology*, I, 353, for comment on the Chronicler's use of  $\gamma\eta\eta$  for Levi.

4. "for Yahweh chose Judah as leader", I Chr. 28:4; also Jer. 33:24; Ps. 78:68, this particular reference follows the statement "he rejected the tent of Joseph, he did not choose ( $\gamma\eta\eta$  X<sup>3</sup>) the tribe of Ephraim; v. 67. It has been suggested that the idea of election originated in the Ephraim-Manasseh area, see J. Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", *VT*, 1959, 350 n3. Perhaps this reference in the Psalms reflects such a position and represents a southern polemic against a northern claim; as the earlier part of the psalm refers to Ephraim's breaking of the covenant (vv. 9ff.) v. 68 is probably to be seen as a contrast wherein Yahweh destroyed Israel (vv. 59ff.) but had mercy on Judah and David.

5. "blessed is he whom thou dost choose and bring near, to dwell in thy courts", normally interpreted as applying to priests so H. Wildberger, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk*, *ATANT*, 37, 1960, 6 n4; and K. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", *ZAW*, 1955, 211; however Vriezen is doubtful as to its priestly application, *op. cit.* 46n. It may refer to the pious individual in Israel and represent an aspect of the democratisation process which can be seen elsewhere in the OT, e.g. Is. 55:3f.

6. II Sam. 21:6 BH<sup>3</sup> reads  $\gamma\eta\eta$ ; I Chr. 16:13; Ps. 89:4; 105:6, 43; 106:5, 23; Is. 42:1; 43:20; 65:9, 15, 22.

c) Aspects of the divine election

There are two points to be considered in dealing with the Old Testament idea of election; the motive for Yahweh's choice of Israel and the purpose of that choice.

i) Yahweh's motive for choosing Israel.

Yahweh's love for Israel is the basic reason for his choosing them and bringing them out of Egypt:

"It was not because you were more in number than any other people that Yahweh set his love (רָחַם) upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples." (Dt. 7:7)

"...because he loved (רָחַם) your fathers and chose their descendants after them." (Dt. 4:37)

In 7:7 the writer uses the secular verb רָחַם 'be attached to, hang on someone'<sup>1</sup>, though he reverts to the normal election-love term רָחַם in v.8 as in 4:37.<sup>2</sup> Thus it is not only Yahweh's love for Israel that constitutes the basis of their election but his love for the fathers. Yahweh's love for the patriarchs materialised in his electing their descendants by the event of the exodus. However love for his people is only part of the motivation for election. The other part is his oath to the fathers (Dt. 7:8).<sup>3</sup>

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1. also in 10:15; see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 68; also the remarks of W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, I, ET, 1961, 250ff.

W. L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy", CBQ, 1963, 77-87.

2. for רָחַם see N. H. Snaith, The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, 1944, 131-42.

3. the principle of promise embodied in the keeping of Yahweh's oath to the fathers is an important idea in the OT, see W. Zimmerli, "Promise and Fulfillment", Essays on Old Testament Interpretation, ed. C. Westermann, ET, 1963, 89-122.

It may be noted that the love-basis of election in Deuteronomy is absent from the references to election in the Psalms, Koch, op. cit. 216.

The various references to Yahweh's reasons for choosing Israel make it very clear that it was not because of any moral superiority in Israel<sup>1</sup>, nor for that matter national greatness.<sup>2</sup>

ii) The purpose of Israel's election

"For you are a people holy to Yahweh your God, and Yahweh has chosen you to be a people for his own possession (יִשְׂרָאֵל), out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth." (Dt. 14:2)<sup>3</sup>

The basic idea here is that Israel has been set apart for Yahweh, "holy to Yahweh" as a "specially prized" people.<sup>4</sup>

In Deuteronomy the main emphasis is on the gift of the land.<sup>5</sup>

This gift of the land was the objective of the exodus and the wandering in the wilderness. However elsewhere in the Old Testament the emphasis in terms of election is on service.<sup>6</sup>

Thus Israel was chosen to belong exclusively to Yahweh and to serve him in the land which was his election gift to his people.

1. Contra Powis Smith, "The Chosen People", AJSL, 1928; according to Ez. 20:9 the exodus was undertaken "for the sake of my name".
2. Dt. 7:7 - "you were the fewest of all peoples", see O. Bächli, "Die Erwählung des Geringeren im AT", TZ, 1966, 385-95 for a discussion of this idea in the OT.
3. יִשְׂרָאֵל also occurs in 7:6; 26:18; Ex. 19:5; see Vriezen, op.cit. 57ff. P. Altmann, Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im AT, BZAW, 92, 1964, 14; Wildberger, op.cit., 74ff.
4. G. E. Wright, "Deuteronomy", IB, II, 380; on שֵׁרָפ see the remarks of O. Procksch, "שֵׁרָפ", TWNT, I, 89-97; the significance of שֵׁרָפ for election is discussed below in part 2 of this chapter.
5. See 1:8; 2:29; 3:18; 4:38; 6:10; etc. see Wildberger, op.cit., 32ff.; also his "Israel und sein Land", EvTh, 1956, 404-22; also M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, 1948, 49; G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch", The Problem of the Hexateuch, ET, 1965, 79-93.
6. See Ps. 105:26; Is. 41:8; 42:1; 43:10; 44:1, 2; where יִשְׂרָאֵל and עַבְדֵי יְהוָה are parallel; "bachir, 'elect', or... 'ebed' servant"; the two words supplement each other: the chosen one is essentially the servant", Th. C. Vriezen, An Outline of OT Theology, ET, 1962, 363; on the responsibility of election see H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 1950, 45ff.

d) Origins of the use of  $\text{קָנָה}$  for election

The secular use of  $\text{קָנָה}$  has been noted already so the question now arises why did this ordinary word become associated with a very distinctive theological concept? It was first applied to Israel as a people by the Deuteronomists.<sup>1</sup> Yet this application only concerns the use of the word not the idea of election itself.<sup>2</sup> The period that saw the appearance of Deuteronomy was one of political unrest for Israel<sup>3</sup>, so it was natural for the concerned followers of the Yahwistic faith to reshape the religious traditions of their nation.

Mendenhall has suggested that the idea was "already current in some unknown circle".<sup>4</sup> The Deuteronomists took over this usage and applied it to the people in their writings. There is no evidence in the Old Testament for this suggestion so it must remain a questionable hypothesis.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See G. von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, 28; Vriezen, op. cit. 47.
  2. On the basis of this late usage of  $\text{קָנָה}$  Köhler argues that the whole idea of election in the OT is a secondary one, Old Testament Theology, ET, 1957, 82; also R. H. Pfeiffer, "Facts and Faith in Biblical History", JBL, 1951, 4. Against this see G. E. Wright, "Erwählung im AT", RGG, II, 612; "Deuteronomy", IB, II, 380.
  3. See E. Nicholson, "The Centralisation of the Cult in Deuteronomy", VT, 1963, 383ff. also the remarks of R. Martin Achard, "La signification théologique de l'élection d'Israël", FZ, 1960, 333ff. The contribution of Deuteronomy to the election idea in the OT is discussed more fully in part III of this thesis.
  4. "Election", IDB, II, 79a—as against the view that the writer of D was the inventor of the theological concept of election.
  5. Muilenburg in discussing the date of E and Urdeuteronomium suggests that the origins of the election-covenant faith are to be traced to the northern tribes, especially Ephraim and Manasseh, VT, 1959, 350 n 3; cf. Noth, op. cit. 248f.

In the Ancient Near East the king was considered the chosen of the gods.<sup>1</sup> In the Old Testament it is freely admitted that the institution of the monarchy was an idea borrowed by Israel from their neighbours.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore the term מלך is applied to the king in the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup> Thus before the appearance of Deuteronomy there already existed a concept of divine election in Jerusalem. In an attempt to bring the Jerusalem monarchy into line with its theological outlook the Deuteronomists took the prevailing view of the king's election and applied it to the people instead.<sup>4</sup> However this is not to say the idea of election as held by the Deuteronomists was simply an adaptation of the kingship ideology. They had their own distinctive opinions which they put forward using the terminology of the Jerusalem monarchy.<sup>5</sup> Their "law" for the king was not only a criticism of that institution but a deliberate attempt to reduce it to a much less significant role in the future.<sup>6</sup>

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1. H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 1948, 238ff; Powis Smith, op.cit. 73ff.
  2. See Dt. 17:14; I Sam. 8:4, 20. However the monarchy in Israel was governed by ideas originating in the amphictyonic confederation, see M. Noth, "God, King, and Nation in the OT", The Laws in the Pentateuch, ET, 1966, 145-78; also Frankfort, op.cit. 337-44.
  3. Saul-I Sam. 10:24; David-Ps. 89:4; Solomon-I Chr. 29:1. Koch has argued that the references to מלך in the Psalms predate those in D, op.cit., 216; also Mendenhall, op.cit. 78a, 80a.
  4. Dt. 17:14-20. To devote so little consideration to an institution such as the monarchy within the environs of Jerusalem is ample evidence of D's attempt to bring the kingship in line with a doctrine which put the people as Yahweh's nation before considerations of Yahweh's son (see Ps. 2:7); see Quell, op.cit. 163.
  5. See R. E. Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult-tradition", VT, 1965, 306f.
  6. Dt. 17:14ff. The terms of the law reflect some of the abuses prevalent in Solomon's reign, cf. I K. 10:28; see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 118ff. See the remarks of Eichrodt, op.cit. 436-56.

The Deuteronomists put forward their idea of Yahweh's election of Israel as a counterclaim to the kingship ideology in Jerusalem. Originally the election of the king had involved all Israel,<sup>1</sup> but with the passage of time and the partition of the two kingdoms the significance of his election for the people had been forgotten.<sup>2</sup> The Deuteronomists rejection of the paramount importance of the king is probably part and parcel of that line of thinking which explains why the prophets are never referred to as נביא.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. נביא and related terms

There are no synonyms for נביא.<sup>4</sup> However it has already been posited that the idea of election predates the use of נביא. There are in the Old Testament many terms which implicitly refer to Yahweh's choice of Israel. Terms which make clear the special relationship existing between Yahweh and his people; a relationship which can only be explained in the light of the

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1. II Sam. 5:12. "L'élection de David est un événement de l'histoire des relations de Yahweh avec Israël, et la dynastie davidique est désormais pour tout Israël le gage de l'alliance que Yahweh a conclue avec lui.", S. Amsler, David, Roi et Messie, CT, 49, '63, 40
  2. The view that the monarchy stands behind the theology of Deut. seems to be an exaggeration of the interest shown in the monarchy by Deuteronomy; contra O. Bächli, Israel und die Völker. Eine Studie zum Deuteronomium, ATANT, 41, 1962, 186ff.
  3. It was natural that a foreign institution such as the monarchy should have antagonised the amphictyonic federation, see I Sam. 8. In spite of being Yahweh's chosen one the king was held responsible to the people and Rehoboam's failure to appreciate this arrangement led to the break-up of the kingdoms, I K. 12. So it is most probable that the prophetic criticism of the monarchy included a wariness about theories of divine election and a reticence about claiming the term נביא as a description of the relationship between Yahweh and his prophets.
  4. So Mendenhall, op.cit. 76.



idea of election.<sup>1</sup>

a) Election and Covenant

The Old Testament presents a picture of the pre-Israelite clans living together in terms of covenant relationships.<sup>2</sup> Recent research into the world of the Ancient Near East during the second millennium B.C. has shown the extent to which life and inter-city-state relations were carried on by means of covenant forms.<sup>3</sup>

The exact meaning of the word ברית is unclear.<sup>4</sup> There is also much debate as to whether in the Old Testament the idea of covenant conveys the notion of an agreement between two equal parties or parties that are not equals.<sup>5</sup>

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1. The study of the various ideas and terms which occur in the OT is not meant to imply that such word studies can in themselves convey the thought of the OT; only within the context of their usage, a context which may well change their meaning, can we discover what exactly the biblical writers are trying to say. See the criticisms of J. Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, 1961, 100ff., Biblical Words for Time, SBT 33, 1962, 153ff.
  2. Gn. 14:13; 21:27, 32; 26:28; 31:44.
  3. See especially G. Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition", BA, XVII, 1954, 50ff. also his "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law", BA, XVII, 1954, 26ff. and "Covenant", IDB, I, 714-23. One of the best studies on covenant in the OT in the light of ancient oriental documents is D. J. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, AB 21, 1963. K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, WMANT 4, 1960, discusses the various covenants in the OT. See also M. Noth, "Old Testament Covenant-making in the light of a Text from Mari", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 108-17.
  4. 'covenant' is better as a paraphrase than a translation, so G. Quell, "δίαθηκη", TWNT, II, 109. Possibly from אכל 'eat', one basic element is a shared meal, see L. Köhler, "Problems in the Study of the Language of the OT", JSS, 1956, 7.
  5. "ברית bezeichnet ursprünglich ein Verhältnis zwischen zwei ungleichen Partnern", so J. Begrich, "Berit. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform", ZAW, 1944, 1; also A. Jepsen, "Berith. Ein Beitrag zur Theologie der Exilszeit", FS Rudolph, Verbannung und Heimkehr, 1961, 161ff. von Rad, Theology, I 129ff. Against this view see W. Eichrodt, "Covenant and Law", Int., 1966, 304f. G. Widengren, "King and Covenant", JSS, 1957, 24.

There are covenants in the Old Testament which show the general nature of an agreement between two parties in order to solve a problem. Thus Abraham and Abimelech settled their differences over a water supply by making a covenant together.<sup>1</sup> The Gibeonites escaped destruction by means of a covenant with the Israelites.<sup>2</sup> One of the best examples of a covenant between equals is that of David and Jonathan.<sup>3</sup> These examples indicate that though a covenant may be executed for mutual benefits it is not necessarily an agreement conferring equal profit on both parties. However the covenant concept in the Old Testament was always regarded as a bilateral relationship.<sup>4</sup>

Covenant is important as a factor in considering the election idea in ancient Israel. The relationship between Yahweh and Israel is described as a covenant one. At Sinai Israel became the people of Yahweh and party to a covenant which pledged each to each other.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Gn. 21:25ff. see G. von Rad, Genesis, ATD, ET, 1963, rev. ed., 230ff. for a discussion on the rather disjointed narrative.
  2. Jos. 10:6ff. though the covenant was achieved by deceit its conditions were still binding—protection in exchange for servitude; so at a later period when Saul broke the terms of that covenant David had to make expiation for his deed, IISam. 21:1ff.
  3. I Sam. 18:3; 20:8; 23:18.
  4. See the remarks of W. Eichrodt, Theology, I, 36ff. This bilateral aspect is important in any consideration of Israel's relation to Yahweh; it was Krätzschar who argued that the berit was Yahweh's pledging of himself to Israel without any response on Israel's part, Die Bundesvorstellung im AT, 1896. The relation of covenant to hesed is discussed later in this chapter.
  5. The view of this thesis is that the covenant at Sinai is to be associated with the exodus people, so W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, ET, 1965; and G. Fohrer, Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus. Eine Analyse von Exodus 1-xv, BZAW 91, 1964, 121; against G. von Rad, "The Problem of the Hexateuch", op. cit. 1-78; M. Noth, The History of Israel, ET, 1960, 127-38.

Election provides the covenant with a Sitz im Leben.<sup>1</sup> Israel met Yahweh in the desert fleeing from the Egyptians and there entered into a covenant with him.<sup>2</sup> The central feature of this covenant was the reciprocal status of God and people-' I will be your God and you shall be my people!'

At a later period all the tribes were bound together under the covenant executed by Joshua at Shechem.<sup>3</sup> One essential feature of these covenants was the forswearing of other gods. The covenant was a religious agreement and any form of idolatry was considered to be a breach of the covenant conditions.<sup>4</sup>

Other covenants which formed part of Israel's life are those dealing with the monarchy. The relationship between the king and the people was that of a covenant.<sup>5</sup> The failure to create a modus vivendi between people and monarch was the basic

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1. So G.E.Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deut. 32", Essays Muilenburg, Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 1962, 52n.
  2. It is generally believed that the Joseph tribes took part in the exodus, see H.H.Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua, 1950 for a discussion of the major viewpoints of scholars; Eissfeldt holds to the Joseph tribes view, "The Exodus and Wanderings", FCAH, 31, 1965.
  3. Jos. 24; this particular covenant probably applied to those clans not involved in the exodus-Sinai group. See M.Noth, Das Buch Josua, HAT 7, 1938, 109; J.Bright, "Joshua", IB, II, 666ff.; K.Baltzer, op.cit. 29ff.
  4. Mendenhall maintains that in the early settlement period many local populations became Israelite by conversion, i.e. accepted the religion of the Israelites while retaining their own customs as the religion of Israel was not a tribal one but a worship of Yahweh. Thus only religious disloyalty to Yahweh could be invoked as a breaking of the covenant contract, see "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine" BA, XXV, 1962, 66ff.
  5. So Quell, TWNT, IV, 160n. ISam. 10:25, "the rights and duties of kingship"- "the king's mishpat is what the king, according to his position within the covenant, must demand and grant.", so J.Pedersen, Israel, Its Life and Culture, I-II, 1926, 350. His book gives a good description of covenant life in Israel, 263-310.

cause of the split between Israel and Judah.<sup>1</sup> Within the covenant setting it was the king's role to mediate the covenant with the people.<sup>2</sup>

For the election idea in the Old Testament the most important aspect of the covenant in monarchical times is the covenant between Yahweh and the house of David.<sup>3</sup> This covenant, based on the election of David to be king, guaranteed the continuance of the Davidic dynasty on the throne of Judah. It became an important factor in the development of Judean thought especially with regard to the future.<sup>4</sup>

One other aspect of Old Testament covenants concerns this study—the new covenant spoken of by Jeremiah.<sup>5</sup> This particular development emerged at a time when the old covenantal structure had ceased to have any real meaning for the people of the southern kingdom. However it belongs more to the realm of Israel's eschatology than to its historical existence.

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1. I K. 12. This failure to observe the normal conditions of a covenant was considered grounds enough by the other tribes for breaking with the south—"we have no inheritance in David."
  2. II K. 23:1ff. See M. Noth, The Laws in the Pentateuch, 44; also Widengren, op. cit. 11. On the subject of mediators in the ancient Orient see J. Scharbat, Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient, 1964. Newman maintains that the covenant mediatorship of Moses is a dynastic one, The People of the Covenant, 1965, 50. Thus a line of covenant mediators can be traced from Moses through Joshua down to the kings and Deutero-Isaiah's servant of Yahweh.
  3. II Sam. 7; 23:5. The analysis of this particular aspect of election is reserved for consideration at a later stage in the thesis.
  4. Any understanding of messianism in Israel must start with the picture given in the OT of David as the elect of Yahweh, see Amsler, op. cit. 77.
  5. See R. Schreiber, Der Neue Bund im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum, 1954/5, Diss. (microfilm in Edinburgh University Library). The question of its significance for Israel's election faith is discussed below in part III. It became one of the main tenets of exilic thought and ultimately part of Christianity.

What precisely was the relation of covenant to election? Opinions vary greatly from a view that the covenant is nothing but an expression of election<sup>1</sup> to the opinion that election is a secondary element in the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> Mendenhall suggests that the possible seat of the election idea is the covenant idea.<sup>3</sup> Weiser's remark that the covenant was the form given to the abstract election<sup>4</sup> seems to be rather wide of the mark. For election in the Old Testament was essentially a concrete act of Yahweh; an act whereby he chose his people within a situation in history. The act of redemption from bondage in Egypt is anything but an abstract concept. The covenant idea is dependent upon the idea of election; it is an expression, perhaps one of the most comprehensive, of the divine election.<sup>5</sup> The various credos in the Old Testament emphasise the historical nature of Yahweh's election of Israel.<sup>6</sup> However it is unwise to attempt to define election and covenant in terms of each other.<sup>7</sup>

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1. See H. Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the OT, 1946, 148ff. also Widengren, op. cit. 24.
  2. L. Köhler, op. cit. 82; Köhler's mistake is surely in confining himself to the word baḥar.
  3. "Election", IDB, II, 79.
  4. Glaube und Geschichte im AT, 1961, 146; Wright's view that election provides the covenant with a Sitz im Leben by giving it a credo echoing concrete events appears to be a more probable line of reasoning, Essays Muilenburg, 52n.
  5. covenant is "a device for explaining the meaning and nature of Israel's election", G. E. Wright, The OT Against its Environment, SBT 2, 1950, 55. Eichrodt in his Theology probably overemphasises the place of covenant in the OT.
  6. Bt. 26:5ff. Ps. 78; 105; 106. Note Hos. 12:9; 13:4 - "I am Yahweh your God from the land of Egypt".
  7. "der Erwählungsglaube.... ist seine Geschichte geradazu identisch mit der Geschichte des Volkes...", Galling, op. cit. 68; on the other hand Weiser sees the peculiarity of the covenant as a "Formel für die Ideologie der Geschichte", op. cit. 148. Both views have something to contribute to the subject. x

Certain implications follow from Israel's covenant relationship with Yahweh. The strict observance of the conditions of the covenant was enjoined on the people, the keeping of which would guarantee the harmony of the nation<sup>1</sup>.

" Know therefore that Yahweh your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and *hesed* with those who love him and keep his commandments, and requites to their face those who hate him, by destroying them."<sup>2</sup>

This idea of a God who keeps "covenant and *hesed*" with those who keep his commandments is an important element in the study of the Old Testament idea of election. Although *hesed* is normally associated with 'covenant love'<sup>3</sup> it may just convey the idea of devotion.<sup>4</sup> For the Israelite who worshipped a God, one of whose characteristics was *hesed* this meant a reciprocated response of *hesed* was required. Yahweh's law for the Israelites demanded strict obedience to *hesed* towards himself and towards one's fellow man. This was the point at which Israel constantly

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1. See Num. 25:12 where *shalom* and *hesed* are connected. *Shalom* is a designation of complete harmony, a harmony which results from completeness, see Pedersen, Israel I-II, 311ff.
  2. Dt. 7:9f. cf. Ex. 34:6f. I have not translated *hesed* as the usual rendering "lovingkindness, steadfast love" does not convey the idea of devotion, loyalty—see A.R. Johnson, "Hesed and Hasid", FS Mowinckel. Interpretationes ad vetus testamentum pertinentes, 1955, 100-12.
  3. See N. Snaith, op. cit. 94ff. esp. "without the prior existence of a covenant, there could never be any *hesed* at all", 95. Also "hesed is used when there is some recognised tie", so W.F. Lofthouse, "Men and *hesed* in the OT", ZAW, 1933, 33.
  4. R.C. Dentan maintains this point in his discussion of Ex. 34:6f. "The Literary Affinities of Exodus XXXIV 6f.", VT, 1963, 34ff. esp. 43; his view is that this particular pericope is the product of the Wisdom school, 48. This is possible as the verses are out of place between vv. 5, 8, see M. Noth, Exodus, ATD 5, ET, 1962, 261; C.A. Simpson, The Early Traditions of Israel, 1948, 215. Buss claims there is a relation between covenant and wisdom, VT, 1966, 503.

incurred the wrath of Yahweh and the prophetic reproach:

" Hear the word of Yahweh, O people of Israel;  
for Yahweh has a controversy with the inhabitants  
of the land.  
There is no faithfulness or hesed,  
and no knowledge of God in the land."<sup>1</sup>

If keeping the covenant entailed harmony and blessing then failure to do so brought a curse on the land.<sup>2</sup> A dominant strand of the covenant idea in Israel was the element of judgment.<sup>3</sup> Yahweh blessed those who kept his commandments (Ex. 20:6) but rejected those who violated the covenant.<sup>4</sup> This aspect of judgment became for the prophets one of the tension points in their message to the people. By the end of the seventh century the people in Jerusalem had lost sight of the element of judgment in the covenant relationship and assumed a security for their city and land that provoked Jeremiah's outburst against the temple.<sup>5</sup> Each prophet had to interpret afresh Yahweh's word of judgment to those who were guilty of breaking the covenant.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Hos. 4:1; cf. Jer. 22:15; Ez. 20:5ff.

2. "I have set before you this day life and death, blessing and curse", Dt. 30:19. Dt. 27 gives a list of curses; see Noth, "For all who rely on works of law are under a curse", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 118ff.

3. Ex. 17:7; Num. 20:13. See A. Weiser, The Psalms, ATD 14/15, ET, 1962, 32f.

4. On the subject of rejection in the OT see F. Hesse, Das Verstockungsproblem im AT, BZAW, 1955.

5. Jer. 7:1ff. esp. v. 4. This particular aspect of tradition and prophecy is discussed in part III.

6. G. Fohrer maintains that the prophetic message of salvation in Isaiah is non genuine and that both Amos and Isaiah preached a word of absolute judgment for Israel, "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JBL, 1961, 315. This seems somewhat extreme. Dt. 7:10 warns against hating Yahweh, presumably in this context hating means failing to do the commandments. See G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, 68, and his Theology, I, 262ff., 383ff.

Israel was bound to Yahweh by the covenant yet disobedience could revoke the promises of that covenant. Was Yahweh bound to Israel or could he have withdrawn from the agreement without any known cause? In other words, was the covenant between Israel and Yahweh a unilateral agreement or a bilateral one?<sup>1</sup> Both were committed to each other yet Israel could break its part of the contract; could Yahweh? The Israelites obviously thought so for there are complaints in the Old Testament which can only be explained against a background of covenant commitment.<sup>2</sup> The covenant relationship between Yahweh and the people has to be understood as a metaphor describing Israel's comprehension of its existence before Yahweh. As such it is not possible to extend to a logical conclusion the various terms used by the writers of the Old Testament to explain their ideas about God and Israel's consciousness of belonging peculiarly to him. The Hebrew mind thought very much in concrete terms drawing images from its experience of everyday life without developing an abstract philosophy of phenomena as did the Greeks.<sup>3</sup> It would be a mistake to argue the problems created by the notion of a covenant bond between people and God as if they were an academic exercise. Israel believed they had a claim on Yahweh irrespective of their behaviour and this belief led to views

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1. Yahweh could dissolve the covenant at any time, so Eichrodt, Theology, I, 44; also Vriezen, Outline of OT Theology, 141f.

2. See Ps. 80; 89:38ff. esp. v. 39 - "thou hast renounced the covenant with thy servant". cf. Jer. 20:7.

3. For a comparison of Hebrew and Greek thought see T. Boman, Hebrew Thought compared with Greek, ET, 1960; however see Barr's criticisms of his book in The Semantics of Biblical Language.



of security which were shattered by the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C.

b) Yahweh's knowledge and calling of Israel

In the Old Testament Yahweh's knowing of Israel is a statement of his choosing Israel from among the nations:

" You only have I<sub>1</sub> known of all the families of the earth." <sup>1</sup>

Here the intimate relationship between Yahweh and Israel is signified by the use of יָדָע, a word which can describe sexual intimacy, emotional awareness or intellectual perception. <sup>2</sup>

However Israel's election is only one aspect of knowledge, the other is responsibility towards Yahweh. <sup>3</sup> The point made by Amos was; Israel enjoyed the privilege of being chosen by Yahweh <sup>4</sup> yet must also accept the obligations involved in that choice.

Elsewhere the Old Testament speaks of Yahweh calling Israel, that is, the singling out of Israel.

" When Israel was a child I loved him and out of Egypt I called my son." <sup>5</sup>

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1. Am. 3:2. cf. Hos. 13:5; Jer. 10:25. Sellin translates "Have I known you of all peoples of the earth", thus removing the element of election, Geschichte Israels, 173f.
  2. See O. A. Piper, "Knowledge", IDB, III, 43; R. Bultmann, "γινώσκω", TWNT, II, 689-719; N. W. Porteous, "Semantics and OT Theology", OTS, 1950, 12f.; Vriezen, Theology, 128ff.; also his Die Erwählung Israels nach dem AT, 36ff.
  3. "Der Ausdruck jada<sup>c</sup>=erkennen umschliesst nicht nur die intellektuelle (mit) Seite, sondern die allseitige besondere persönliche Lebensbeziehung, an der ebenso Gefühl (Liebe) und Wille (Beschlagnahme) beteiligt sind.", A. Weiser, Der Prophet Jeremia, 1-25:13 ATD 20, 1952, 11. The word of judgment in Amos has to be understood against the background of Israel's responsibility to Yahweh implied by his caring for the nation. Yada<sup>c</sup> in Am. 3:2 is perhaps better translated 'cared for', so KBL; also J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 1962, 326.
  4. "he has chosen Israel... a new way of expressing the fact that it is a privilege for Israel to have him for their God.", Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 1940, 612.
  5. Hos. 11:1.

Israel distinguished itself from other nations by its special relationship with Yahweh:

" Yet thou, O Yahweh, art in the midst<sub>1</sub> of us,  
and we are called by thy name."

c) Israel as the people of Yahweh

One of the most common expressions of the idea of election in the Old Testament is that of Israel as the people of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> Not only does the particular phrase appear but many other terms which describe Israel as Yahweh's special property are used. Thus Israel is Yahweh's heritage,<sup>3</sup> vineyard,<sup>4</sup> flock,<sup>5</sup> a loin-cloth clinging to the hips of Yahweh,<sup>6</sup> and especially

" Israel was holy to Yahweh,  
the first fruits of his harvest."<sup>7</sup>

A group of metaphors which occur constantly in the Old Testament is that of the family.

" Sons have I reared and brought up "

" I have become a father to Israel<sup>8</sup>  
and Ephraim is my first-born."

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1. Jer. 14:9; for the phrase "called by thy name" see K. Galling, "Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt", TLZ, 81, 1956, cols. 65ff.
  2. See G. A. Danell, "The Idea of God's People in the Bible", The Root of the Vine, ed. A. Fridrichsen, 1953, 23ff.
  3. Jer. 12:7; Dt. 32:9; Is. 47:6; see G. von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch", op. cit. 79ff. Theology, I, 224.
  4. Is. 5:1ff. this particular parable is one of the main references to election in Isaiah. Israel is also described as a choice vine, an olive tree, and Yahweh's fertile field—Jer. 2:21; 11:16; 12:10.
  5. Jer. 13:17; 23:1f. Yahweh is thought of as Israel's shepherd.
  6. Jer. 13:1ff.
  7. Jer. 2:3. On the subject of qodesh see N. H. Snaith, op. cit. 21-50; for a criticism of Snaith see F. Steiner, Taboo, 1956, 78ff. in the Pentateuch Yahweh is qodesh because this establishes a relationship; his main point is qodesh is primarily a relationship rather than Snaith's view that manifestation is primary; though in the Pent. manifestation is bound up with the establishing of a relationship, 85. On the general religious idea see R. Otto, The Idea of the Holy, 1917.
  8. Is. 1:2; Jer. 31:9. As first-born son Israel was holy to Yahweh; as the chosen people they were the first-born among the nations, Ex. 4:22.

This image of the family relationship is not a natural physical one as was the common idea in the ancient Orient but a figure of Yahweh's adoption of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The symbolism of Yahweh as the father of Israel became a more common motif in the exilic period of prophecy.<sup>2</sup> The king also was looked upon as Yahweh's son.<sup>3</sup>

The marriage relationship was also used to describe the bond between Yahweh and Israel.

" I remember the devotion of your youth,  
your love as a bride,  
how you followed me in the wilderness,  
in a land not sown."<sup>4</sup>

The main contribution to this idea is the prophecies of Hosea. Undoubtedly his own experience of marriage gave him a deep insight into the bitterness of broken trust and allowed him to draw such parallels <sup>with</sup> between Israel's breaking of Yahweh's covenant.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia, 1903, 52ff.
  2. Is. 43:6; 46:3f. see J. Lindblom, op. cit. 379.
  3. Ps. 2:7; on this subject see A. R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 1955, 118ff. S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, ET, 1962, 50ff. For a comparison between ideas of kingship in ancient Israel and in the ancient Near East see S. Mowinckel, "General Oriental and Specific Israelite Elements in the Israelite Conception of the Sacral Kingdom", Sacral Kingship, NUMEN Suppl. IV, 1959, 283ff. M. Noth, "God, King, and Nation in the OT", op. cit. 145ff. In Israel the monarchy was predominantly a religious institution, Eichrodt, Theology, I, 436ff.
  4. Jer. 2:2; this particular text suggests that the exodus period of Israel's history could be described as the 'honeymoon' period, see J. P. Hyatt, Prophetic Religion, 1947, 88.
  5. Hos. 1-3; "marriage is actually a covenant between two families", O. J. Baab, "Marriage", IDB, III, 239; thus the marriage symbolism can be understood as an extension of the covenant idea. However it is more probable that the prophet developed his image of Yahweh and Israel from the experience of family life without reference to the covenant idea, see J. Lindblom, op. cit. 328+n74.

The breakdown of the marital ties between Yahweh and Israel led to the divorce of the exile.<sup>1</sup> However expectations for the future blessing of both land and people echoed the language of matrimony:

" You shall no more be termed Forsaken,  
and your land shall no more be termed Desolate;  
but you shall be called My delight is in her,  
for Yahweh delights in you,  
and your land shall be married.  
For as a young man marries a virgin,  
so shall your sons marry you,  
and as the bridegroom rejoices over the<sub>2</sub>bride,  
so shall your God rejoice over you."<sup>2</sup>

Yahweh was also Israel's Go'el, that is, the people's redeemer-kinsman.<sup>3</sup> This epithet is characteristic of Deutero-Isaiah's conception of Yahweh. The kinsman is the person whose duty it was to see that the deceased got his full rights. In connexion with Israel and Yahweh it probably refers less to this idea and more to that of causing a slave to revert to the original owner. Its main field of reference is to the return from the exile.<sup>4</sup> Yahweh is also the ransom of Israel; a term which applies both to the exodus and the return from exile.<sup>5</sup>

1. Is. 50:1; cf. Hos. 1:6ff.

2. Is. 62:4f. Hos. 2:16.

3. Ex. 6:6, of the exodus; Is. 43:1, of the exile. See Snaith, *op. cit.* 85f. also his "The Hebrew Root G'L(i)", *ALUOS*, III, 1961/2, 60ff. Vriezen maintains that there is no element of kinship between Yahweh and Israel, *Outline of OT Theology*, 147 nl, as against Wheeler Robinson, *op. cit.* 190.

4. Is. 41:14; 44:24; 47:4; 48:17; 49:26; 54:5, 8.

5.  $\text{קָדַם}$  see Dt. 7:8; Is. 51:11. "The term  $\text{קָדַם}$  designates objectively the act of redemption and (unlike  $\text{כָּפַר}$ ) implies nothing with respect to the status of the person who performs it, or his obligation to do so.", R.C. Dentan, "Redeem", *IDB*, IV, 21f. so also Snaith, *ALUOS*. See also G. von Rad, *Theology*, I, 177; II, 241.  $\text{קָדַם}$  refers to the act of redemption whilst  $\text{כָּפַר}$  suggests Yahweh's position as protector of Israel, see A.R. Johnson, "The Primary Meaning of  $\text{כָּפַר}$ ", *SVT*, 1953, 67ff.

Finally we may note a number of other terms which imply Yahweh's election of Israel. Israel is separated from among all the peoples as an inheritance to Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Israel is Yahweh's property because he has acquired them:

"Remember thy congregation which thou has gotten of old, which thou hast redeemed to be the tribe of thy heritage!"<sup>2</sup>

This usage of the term remember also reflects an understanding of election for it reminds Yahweh of his actions in the past.<sup>3</sup> Yahweh also appropriated Israel and brought them out of Egypt.<sup>4</sup> The entry into the land was seen as the result of Yahweh's delight in his people.<sup>5</sup> From the time of Deutero-Isaiah the concepts of 'call' and 'create' were almost synonymous with that of election.<sup>6</sup> The land was Israel's inheritance as a gift from Yahweh but they were also Yahweh's inheritance as a people.<sup>7</sup> As a people they belonged to Yahweh and as a nation they had their place in the world in the land given them by Yahweh.<sup>8</sup>

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1. זָרַב IK.8:53; cf. Lv.20:24; Num.16:9.
  2. קָנָה Ps.74:2; parallel to זָרַב .cf. Ex.15:16; Is.11:11; note the grouping of קָנָה, זָרַב, and נָחַל.
  3. For נָחַל in the OT see B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, SBT 37, 1962; for זָרַב and election see J.A. Huntjens, The Covenant Concept in the Qumran Community in the Light of Earlier Covenantal Ideas in Israel, Diss. 1964, Edinburgh, III, 115.
  4. קָנָה = select, choose, BDB, 543; Dt. 4:20, I K. 11:37; cf. Jos. 24:3, of Abraham; Am. 7:15, of Amos.
  5. Num. 14:8 - אָהַב; cf. אָהַב of Zion, Ps. 132:13; in the post-exilic period words for love often mean no more than choose, Eichrodt, op. cit. 257 on 'hb, rhm, and bhr.
  6. See Mendenhall, "Call", IDB, I, 490; R. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterocesaja", ZTK, 1954, 11; G. von Rad, Theology, II, 241; &
  7. See Galling, op. cit. 3; Koch, "Dass Israel eine נַחֲלָה von Jahwe erhält und dass es zu Jahwes נַחֲלָה wird gehört auch sonst in AT zusammen." op. cit. 212n.
  8. On the significance and differentiation of 'am and goy see E.A. Speiser, "People and Nation of Israel", JBL, 1960, 157ff.

### 3. Summary

We have seen that baḥar 'choose' may refer to the people of Israel, the king, the city and temple, and various other individuals within Israel. As a technical term for the election of Israel as a nation it first appears in Deuteronomy. This particular usage goes back to the Davidic monarchy in Judah and Jerusalem and was reinterpreted by the Deuteronomists so as to curb the exaggerated ideas about kingship in the southern kingdom. Although appearing late in the literature election is a very old concept. In this sense the idea must be separated from baḥar and sought for in other ideas and terms.

The major other idea which has undercurrents of election about it is that of covenant. The concept of covenant was one which Israel shared with the other peoples of the ancient Orient. For Israel it represented an agreement between themselves and Yahweh; an agreement entered into at Sinai after their exodus from Egypt. Thus the milieu of the original covenant was also that of the major election event in Israel's history. The covenant was an expression of Yahweh's election of Israel; the relationship between the two concepts has been termed that "of word and sacrament".<sup>1</sup>

The essential significance of the divine election for Israel was the special relationship it gave Israel with Yahweh. Israel became Yahweh's special property and Yahweh became their God. Many metaphors<sup>2</sup> drawn from ordinary life describe Israel's

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1. E. Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, ET, 1958, 217.

2. See G. A. F. Knight, A Christian Theology of the OT, 1959, 167ff. for a discussion of the various figures describing Israel.

status as the people of God by virtue of their election. Thus Israel's history became the history of Yahweh's acts on behalf of his people. The basis of Israel's election was Yahweh's love for his people and his promise to their fathers.

One implication of the election faith for Israel was the constant remembering of Yahweh's acts in choosing his people and redeeming them from the bondage of Egypt. This faith permeated the cultic rites so that when the individual Israelite offered his worship at the sanctuary he would confess the mighty acts of Yahweh. Thus Israel's election is at the core of the Old Testament Heilsgeschichte.

The election-covenant situation involved Israel in total obedience to the demands of Yahweh. The responsibility of the *baḥir* was service; a service which involved *hesed* towards Yahweh and towards men. The failure to observe the commandments of the covenant would lead to Israel's rejection by Yahweh. Thus the covenant relationship was a contingent one. The prophetic accusations of faithlessness reflect this covenant contingency.

The two highpoints of election in the Old Testament books are Deuteronomy and Deutero-Isaiah. In the exile the prophetic task was the interpretation of events in order to restore faith in Yahweh's election of Israel. Ultimately election in the Old Testament can be seen as a method for interpreting both history and daily experience in terms of Yahweh's special care for Israel.

PART TWO

ELECTION IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY PROPHETS



## CHAPTER III

### ELECTION IN HOSEA

#### 1. Introduction

Hosea is the only prophet from the northern kingdom of Israel whose prophecies appear in book form in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> We know very little of his personal circumstances though some scholars claim he was a priest,<sup>2</sup> others a member of the Nebim,<sup>3</sup> and Lindblom maintains he was a farmer.<sup>4</sup> The only information that we do have refers to his rather unfortunate marriage.<sup>5</sup> His understanding of Israel's relationship to Yahweh owes much to his marital experiences, especially with reference to Israel's apostasy from Yahweh.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The main works of reference used in this chapter include, H.W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten I. Hosea, BKAT XIV/1, 1961; A. Weiser, Das Buch der zwölf kleinen Propheten, I, ATD 24, 1949; Introduction to the OT, ET, 1961, 232ff.; E. Jacob, Osée, CAT XIa, 1965; W.R. Harper, Amos and Hosea, ICC, ed. 1936; J. Mauchline, "Hosea", IB, VI, 551-725. O. Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, ET, 1965, 384ff.
  2. (E. Muhs) see Harper, op. cit. cxlii; K. Marti, Das Dodekapropheten, 1904, 2.
  3. So Eissfeldt, op. cit. 385.
  4. Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 208.
  5. This particular problem is not relevant for the election idea in Hosea, see H.H. Rowley, "The Marriage of Hosea", BJRL, 1956, 200ff.; A. Tushingham, "A Reconsideration of Hosea, Chapters 1-3", JNES, 1953, 150ff. The view taken here is that Hosea's experiences were quite historical.
  6. For the OT use of the marital relationship to describe Yahweh and Israel see, A. Neher, "Le symbolisme conjugal: expression de l'histoire dans l'Ancien Testament", RHPR, 1954, 30ff. For its place in the theology of Hosea see W. Eichrodt, "The Holy One in Your Midst", Int, 1961, 259ff.

Apart from the emphasis on Yahweh's love for his people,<sup>1</sup> Hosea accuses the people of lacking the knowledge of God.

" There is no faithfulness or hesed,  
and no knowledge of God in the land;  
My people are destroyed for lack of knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

This "da'ath 'elohim" has been given a wide range of meanings.<sup>3</sup> As it stands in Hosea it must convey much more than an intellectual perception of Yahweh.<sup>4</sup> The people's lack of knowledge is evinced by the breakdown of traditional morality;<sup>5</sup> there is a complete lack of observation of the basic laws of the Decalogue.<sup>6</sup> Apart from this practical aspect of the knowledge of God there is the element of "intimacy" with Yahweh.<sup>7</sup> This intimacy probably means a "familiarity with the historical acts of Jahweh";<sup>8</sup> and a (~~lack of~~ ~~read~~) solidarity with Yahweh.<sup>9</sup> There does not appear to be any good reason for considering the term to be of a levitical origin.<sup>10</sup>

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1. See W.A.L. Elmslie, How Came Our Faith, 1948, 264ff. for an exposition of Hosea's message in terms of love.
  2. Hos. 4:1, 6; cf. 8:2-4.
  3. For a general consideration of yada' in the OT see G.J. Botterweck, "Gott Erkennen" in Sprachegebrauch des ATs, BBB 2, 1951.
  4. W. Reiss, " 'Gott nicht kennen' im AT", ZAW, 1940/41, 70ff. distinguishes between knowledge of God and knowledge of Yahweh, 78.
  5. J.L. McKenzie's definition, "Knowledge of God in Hosea", JBL, 1955, 22ff.
  6. Hos. 4:2 reflects some of the Decalogue laws; so Weiser, Introd. 237; Wolff, op. cit. 84f. Harper, op. cit. 250.
  7. J. Heschel suggests that the phrase means "sympathy for God", The Prophets, ET, 1962, 59.
  8. G. von Rad, Theology, II, 143.
  9. H.W. Wolff, "Das Thema "Umkehr" in der alttestamentlichen Prophetie", ZTK, 1951, 139; G. Fohrer suggests yada' conveys the idea of inner intimacy between people, "Umkehr und Erlösung beim Propheten Hosea", TZ, 1955, 169n.
  10. Wolff considers it to be from levitical circles, "Hoseas geistige Heimat", TLZ, 1956, 93; also G. von Rad, Theology, II, 139. See also Wolff, " "Wissen um Gott" bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie", EvTh, 1952/3, 533ff.; "Erkenntnis Gottes im AT", EvTh, 1955, 426ff.

The background for much of Hosea's attack on the infidelity of the people is his rejection of the Canaanite cult practices of fertility rites common to the ancient Orient.<sup>1</sup> One of the principle features of this particular religion was the association of the land's fertility with the worship of the local ba'alim. Israel had turned from the non-fertility rites of Yahwism to the practice of the religion of their neighbours. This apostasy involved the violation of the most essential aspect of the traditional worship of Yahweh—"I Yahweh am a jealous God".<sup>2</sup> Against this state of affairs Hosea set Israel's experience of Yahweh in history especially in his election of the people from Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Israel's failure to remain faithful to Yahweh constituted a rejection of their election status. From the bitterness of his own marriage Hosea was able to grasp the attitude of Yahweh towards his people and thereby to confront an apostate people with the declared judgment of their God. Israel has gone whoring after other gods<sup>4</sup> and turned from the knowledge of their own God. Yet the people still maintained that they knew Yahweh<sup>5</sup> and so were incapable of understanding that their idolatry had made it impossible for them to return to Yahweh.<sup>6</sup> It is against this background of idolatry and apostasy that Hosea's use of the election traditions should be understood.

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1. See G. Østborn, Yahweh and Baal. Studies in the book of Hosea and Related Documents, 1956.

2. Ex. 20:2ff. Dt. 5:9; 6:15.

3. J. Rieger, Die Bedeutung der Geschichte für die Verkündigung des Amos und Hosea, 1929.

4. Hos. 4:12ff. 5:3; 7:4.

5. Hos. 8:2.

6. Hos. 5:4.

## 2. The Exodus-election tradition

### a) The Exodus from Egypt<sup>1</sup>

Hosea's use of Egypt is two-fold; it refers to the land from which Yahweh brought his people in the days of the exodus; and it refers to the apostasy of the people in seeking political security with Egyptian aid.<sup>2</sup> Thus a situation prevailed in Hosea's time where Israel's trust was directed towards the very land which Yahweh had rescued them from in the days of the exodus! Hence the very life of the nation was a denial, even a betrayal, of their existence as the people of Yahweh.

The declaration of Hosea,

" I am Yahweh your God  
from the land of Egypt;  
you know no God but me,  
and besides me there is no saviour."<sup>3</sup>

is a reminder both of Yahweh as the God who chose Israel in the past by virtue of the exodus from Egypt, and of Yahweh who is Israel's God and saviour over against any assistance Egypt might provide. Furthermore just as Yahweh brought the people out of Egypt under the aegis of a prophet, Moses, so once again his word to the nation was delivered by a prophet.<sup>4</sup>

The period of the exodus was Israel's childhood and the motive of that event was Yahweh's love for his child.

1. For this section see the remarks of E. Rohland, Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten, Diss. 1956, 34ff.

2. 7:16; see Harper, op. cit. 307f.

3. 12:9; 13:4.

4. 12:10ff. esp. v. 13, MT, 14. For the idea of Moses as a prophet see Num. 12:6ff; Dt. 18:15; 34:10; H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 31; The Faith of Israel, 1956, 57.

" When Israel was a child, I loved him,  
and out of Egypt I called my son.  
Yet it was I who taught Ephraim<sub>1</sub> to walk,  
I took them up in my arms."

b) Election in the desert

There are a number of references to Yahweh's association with Israel in the desert.

" I am Yahweh your God  
from the land of Egypt;  
you know no God but me,  
and besides me there is no saviour.  
It was I who knew you in the<sub>2</sub>wilderness,  
in the land of drought; "

Bach isolates these desert references and sees a Fund tradition which originally did not belong to the exodus from Egypt idea.<sup>3</sup> This viewpoint is untenable as Israel in the desert is linked to the exodus tradition by Hosea.<sup>4</sup>

Yahweh's finding of Israel in the desert is part and parcel of the exodus story.

" Like grapes in the wilderness,  
I found Israel."<sup>5</sup>

The main significance of the desert references is that once more Yahweh will bring Israel into the desert and there deal with the nation as he did in the days of the exodus.

1. 11:1,3; v.3 reading 'I' with LXX for MT 'his', i.e. "my arms"; MT reads "he took them up in his arms"

2. 13:4,5; 9:10; cf. 12:9-MTv.10.

3. See ch.2 of Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste, Diss. Bonn, 1952, (microfilm in Edinburgh University Library). See also its review by Kraus, TLZ, 1953, col. 687; G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, 197, admits that there is much to be said for this hypothesis.

4. See 2:14f. MT vv. 16f. On the desert aspect of Israel's history see W. Beyerlin, op. cit. 145ff. and J. Gray, "The Desert Sojourn of the Hebrews and the Sinai-Horeb Tradition", VT, 1954, 148f.

5. 9:10; cf. 10:1.

" Therefore, behold, I will allure her,  
 and bring her into the wilderness  
 and speak tenderly to her.  
 And there I will give her her vineyards,  
 and make the valley of Achor a door of hope.  
 And there she shall answer as in the days of her youth,  
 as at the time when she came out of the land of Egypt.  
 And in that day, says Yahweh, you will call me,  
 'My husband' and no longer will you call me,  
 'My Ba'al'!<sup>1</sup>

The whole chapter deals with the theme of Israel as the untrue wife.<sup>2</sup> The historical tradition of Israel's exodus from Egypt and the subsequent period in the wilderness are utilised to demonstrate that in the future Yahweh will deal with Israel "as in the days of her youth". Having destroyed the (~~land~~) land Yahweh will restore it and Israel will cease to go after the ba'alim of their neighbours. Along with the removal of the ba'alim will come a covenant with the beasts of the fields.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore whereas the people had sought for the fertility of their land in the worship of the ba'alim now Yahweh himself would guarantee the land's prosperity by sending rain from the heavens upon the land.<sup>4</sup> The valley of Achor which had once been a place of trouble would become a place of hope.<sup>5</sup>

1. 2:14ff. MT, vv. 16ff. Tushingham, *op. cit.* 56n. considers vv. 16ff. to be additions of a secondary nature. In v. 16(18) the distinction between Yahweh and Ba'al is registered by designating Yahweh as Israel's husband, i.e.  $\text{y}^{\text{h}} \text{w}^{\text{h}}$ .

2. See Rohland, *op. cit.* 35ff. and Bach, *op. cit.* ch. 2.

3. 2:18(20); There are traces of a mythical background here, see B.S. Childs, *Myth and Reality in the OT*, SBT 27, 1960, 66.

4. v. 21(23) for "I will answer" read "I will bring rain", so A. Guillaume, "A Note on Hosea, II, 23, 24(21, 22)", *JTS*, 1964, 57f.

5.  $\text{y}^{\text{h}} \text{w}^{\text{h}}$  "stir up, disturb, trouble"; for the valley of Achor see Jos. 7:24, 26. See the remarks of Rohland, *op. cit.* 38f. and Wolff, *Hosea*, 51f.

The tradition of the Landnahme is linked to the other two aspects of the exodus election tradition.<sup>1</sup> Yahweh's gift was one of the central features of Israel's early history and yet in Hosea's time the people had forgotten this fact by their worship of the ba'alim.

" She did not know  
that it was I who gave her  
the grain, the wine, and the oil,  
and who lavished upon her silver  
and gold which they used for Ba'al."<sup>2</sup>

The giver of the land had been set aside and the local ba'alim accredited with the blessings of the land's produce. This is the kernel of Hosea's attack on the people. Ba'al has been put in the place of Yahweh. For this apostasy the land must be laid waste.<sup>3</sup>

On one side there is the picture of Israel whoring after other gods having turned from Yahweh and on the other the prophetic reminder of the great acts of Yahweh when he chose the nation, brought them out of Egypt, through the desert and gave them the Land as a gift. These three aspects form the heart of the exodus election tradition. They cannot be broken up into isolated fragments for they belong together and constitute the mighty acts of Yahweh.

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2. 2:8(10); the words "which they used for Ba'al" may be a gloss, see Wolff, Hosea, 36; Harper, op. cit. 230. The use of the article with 11:1; Wolff, Hosea, xix.  
1. See 11:1; Wolff, Hosea, xix.  
3. 2:9ff. (10ff); 5:8ff. The coming destruction of the Assyrians is seen as the judgment of Yahweh against the idolatry of the people. In other words the agreements made with other nations (12:1) will become useless and the people themselves will find derision, not help, in Egypt (7:16).

The covenant idea occurs a number of times in Hosea.<sup>1</sup>

In two places it refers to the breaking of Yahweh's covenant.

" Set the trumpet to your lips,  
for a vulture is over the house of Yahweh,  
because they have broken my covenant,  
and transgressed my law."<sup>2</sup>

This breaking of the covenant is symptomatic of the evil in Israel where the demands of the Decalogue are ignored.<sup>3</sup>

The people were practising the religion of the Canaanites but ignoring the covenant which bound them to their exodus God.

Even the priests were failing to interpret the Torah to the people.<sup>4</sup> The demand of Yahweh was for a faithfulness towards the terms of the covenant relationship between God and people.

" For I desire *hesed* and not sacrifice,  
the knowledge of God, rather than burnt offerings."<sup>5</sup>

In order to meet these demands Israel must return to Yahweh.<sup>6</sup>

In the place of the fertility rites the categories of the covenant must be put.<sup>7</sup>

1. 2:18(20); 6:7; 8:1; 10:4; 12:1(2).

2. 8:1; the other place is 6:7 which refers to the covenant broken at Adam reading *b<sup>e</sup>* for *MT k<sup>e</sup>*; see Wolff, *Hosea*, 134; E. Nielsen, *Shechem*, 1955, 290.

3. 4:2; see H. Wildberger, *op. cit.* 63n.

4. 4:4ff. The priest in Israel was an interpreter of the Torah, see G. Østborn, *Tūrā, in the Old Testament*, 1945, 89ff. he maintains that in Hos. 8:12 there may be a reference to a written Decalogue, 140

5. 6:6. See G. W. Anderson, "A Study of Micah 6:1-8", *SJT*, 1951, 191ff. for an exposition of some of the ideas contained in both passages. The implications of this verse are that Yahweh has no wish for the normal cultic practices of Israel if they are to be divorced from the covenantal demands of *hesed* and *da'ath*.

6. 6:1ff. The basic idea of *שׁוּב* is 'return to God', see W. L. Holladay, *The Root Subh in the Old Testament*, 1958, 120; the usage of *שׁוּב* in Hosea is uncertain though it does occur at least once with this meaning, 124.

7. See H. W. Wolff, "Guilt and Salvation", *Int*, 1961, 278f. The covenant with the beasts in 2:18(20) is intended to show that it is Yahweh, not the *ba'alim*, who is the lord of nature.



The God of the exodus is also the God of the covenant:

" I am Yahweh your God  
from the land of Egypt;  
you know no God but me,  
and besides me there is no saviour."<sup>1</sup>

The saviour from Egypt and the giver of the land is the God of the Sinai covenant with all its demands for religious fidelity to Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to separate the covenant from Yahweh's acts in history; to do so is to produce the history of the people without the religious content which alone explains Israel's life before Yahweh.

The motif of the broken covenant forms part of Hosea's understanding of history. Israel is criticised because its very history is a record of breaking Yahweh's covenant. The fathers of the nation sinned at Ba'al-peor<sup>3</sup>; the covenant was broken at Adam;<sup>4</sup> and they corrupted themselves as in the days of Gibeah.<sup>5</sup> Even their ancestor Jacob was a deceiver.<sup>6</sup> This bitter indictment of Israel's history is set in contrast to the gracious acts of Yahweh in the childhood of the nation.<sup>7</sup>

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1. Hos. 13:4; cf. Ex. 20:3.

2. "Grundverkündigung des altisraelitischen Bundesrechtes im Anschluss an die Formulierung von Ex. 20:2 ausdrücklich als Hauptsatz des 'Wissens' Israels in 13:4", H.W. Wolff, "Wissen um Gott" bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie", *EvTh*, 1952/3, 545. See also Baltzer, *op.cit.* 94.

3. 6:7; cf. 11:8; the covenant refers to the one with Yahweh not just a general term, Wolff, *Hosea*, 154; note that vv. 7ff belongs with vv. 4-6 where the various covenant keywords, *mishpat*, *ḥeḥed*, *da'ath 'elohim* occur.

4. 9:10; cf. Num. 25:1ff.

5. 9:9; this is read as "highplace" in LXX; it probably refers to the events in Jud. 19-21. Harper considers it a gloss, *op.cit.* 333.

6. 12:2ff. See below in section on the patriarchal traditions.

7. 11:1; Hosea can hardly have considered the early history of Israel in the desert as a glorious idyll, though he undoubtedly thought the lack of luxurious living which characterised that period had some advantages over city life.

Hosea's attack on Israel's history was a criticism of the beginnings of sin in the nation. Among the incidents criticised were Jehu the founder of the present dynasty;<sup>1</sup> the fathers at Ba'al-peor where Israel first went whoring after the ba'alim;<sup>2</sup> Gilgal, where the first king Saul was chosen king over Israel;<sup>3</sup> Gibeah, where the tribes first fought among themselves;<sup>4</sup> and Jacob with whom Israel's deceit first started.<sup>5</sup> Such was the history of Yahweh's people. A succession of sins against Yahweh. This was the controversy Yahweh had with his people;<sup>6</sup> in the past the people, including the fathers of the nation, had constantly rebelled against Yahweh and broken his covenant. The same state of affairs prevailed in the days of Hosea.

Such were the beginnings of Israel's various sins against their God, and now judgment had approached the house of Israel.

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- 1.1:4f. this particular aspect of Hosea's message against the monarchy is dealt with more fully in section 3 of this chapter.
- 2.9:10; "fathers" refers to those who came out of Egypt; for the particular events in question see Num.25:1-3.
- 3.9:15;12:11(12);4:15;cf. I Sam.10:8;11:14;15:12,21. H-J.Kraus sees Gilgal as the main point of the Landnahme tradition, "Gilgal, ein Beitrag zur Kultusgeschichte Israels", VT, 1951, 181ff. see also H.Wildberger, op.cit. 60; see also J.A.Soggin, "Gilgal, Passah und Landnahme. Eine neue Untersuchung des kultischen Zusammenhangs der Kap.iii-vi des Josuabuches", SVT XV, 1966, 263ff. However here Gilgal is linked with the beginning of the kingdom and Saul's rejection, so Wolff, Hosea, 217.
- 4.9:9;cf. Jud.19-21. Some connect it with "high-place", 4:13;10:8; but here and in 10:9 it refers to a definite location. The kingship of Saul was associated with Gilgal not Gibeah, so it cannot refer to the monarchy. Wolff connects the story of the Levite in Jud.17,19 with the levitical circles in which he claims Hosea moved, Hosea, 204; "Hoseas geistige Heimat", TLZ, 1956.
- 5.12:2ff. (3ff.).
- 6.4:1;12:2(3). Hosea was the first prophet to use the rib(רִיב) idea, B.Gemser, "The rib-or controversy pattern in Hebrew mentality", SVT III, 1955, 129.

" Hear this, O priests!  
 Give heed, O house of Israel!  
 Harken, O house of the king!  
 For the judgement pertains to you;  
 Blow the horn in Gibeah,  
 the trumpet in Ramah.  
 Sound the alarm at Beth-aven;  
 tremble, O Benjamin!  
 Ephraim shall become a desolation  
 in the day of punishment;  
 among the tribes of Israel,<sup>1</sup>  
 I declare what is sure."<sup>1</sup>

The controversy between Yahweh and his people is nearing a climax and judgment is about to fall on the people. Priests, people and king all are included under Yahweh's judgment. Thus the beginnings of evil in the nation have reached their limit and the broken covenant has resulted in the inevitable curses coming upon the land.

Yet this message of doom is not the whole of Hosea's word to Israel. The prophet's task included the declaration of judgment but it also included the word of salvation. So Hosea uses Israel's history, not only to illustrate the constant sinning of the nation, but to emphasise the beginnings of Yahweh's love for his people.<sup>2</sup> Thus in the beginning of their history Yahweh loved them and brought them up out of the land of Egypt. In the desert he found them and the land of Canaan he gave to them as a gift from the owner of that land. So there is a contrast between Yahweh's part in Israel's history and Israel's constant failure throughout their history.

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1. 5:1, 8f. cf. 8:1ff.

2. This résumé of the election traditions is a basic feature of the prophets, see G. Henton Davies, "The Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth-century Prophets", Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, ed. H. H. Rowley, 1950, 37-51.

Israel has lost sight of these acts of Yahweh,<sup>1</sup> and broken the covenant thereby losing Yahweh's fidelity to the covenant<sup>2</sup> and forfeiting their election.<sup>3</sup> This particular situation involved Israel in the judgment of God and so the nation ultimately were carried off into captivity by the Assyrians. The broken covenant ended in the broken nation.

In spite of the coming judgment Hosea had a word of hope for his people. Yahweh's love would intervene on behalf of the people:

" How can I give you up, O Ephraim!  
 How can I hand you over, O Israel!  
 My heart recoils within me,  
 my compassion grows warm and tender.  
 I will not execute my fierce anger,  
 I will not again destroy Ephraim;  
 for I am God and not man,  
 the Holy One in your midst."<sup>4</sup>

This particular prophecy is a daring utterance<sup>5</sup> for it suggests that Yahweh will overlook the sins of Israel. However it must be understood against the background of Yahweh's love for his child Ephraim demonstrated in the preceding verses.<sup>6</sup> Obviously Hosea was aware of the tension between love and wrath. His own

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1. The basic meaning of "knowledge of God" in 4:1; 6:6; see the remarks of W. McKane, Prophets and Wise Men, SBT 44, 1965, 86 on 4:6.
  2. 4:2; 7:1; show the violation of the laws of the covenant; thus Israel having broken the covenant find that Yahweh has dissolved it on his side, see M. A. Klopfenstein, Die Lüge nach dem AT, 1964, 130.
  3. The validity of the election status is lost by incurring guilt, see F. Mildenberger, Gottes Tat im Wort, 1964, 46.
  4. 11:8f. the last phrase of v. 9 "and I will not enter the city" is rather obscure, see Harper, op. cit. 370; Wolff reads "in fury", op. cit. 247; Weiser, "to destroy", ATD, 69.
  5. see the comments of G. von Rad, Theology, II, 145.
  6. 11:1, 3f. In this particular passage Hosea allows Yahweh's love for his people to supersede the demands of judgment, it is as Weiser calls it "the victory of the divine love", op. cit. 71.

marital experiences had taught him that love and anger constantly battled together in the attempt to become the dominating emotion.

One of Hosea's children had been called "Lo-ammi", that is "not my people".<sup>1</sup> This particular incident was taken by Hosea as a sign of Israel's coming period of judgment when Yahweh would reject them from being his people. This rejection however would prove to be temporary and then the name would be revoked and Israel would once again become Yahweh's people:

" Yet the number of the people shall be like the sand of the sea, which can be neither measured nor numbered; and in the place where it was said to them, "You are not my people," it shall<sub>2</sub> be said to them, "Sons of the living God." " <sup>2</sup>

Judgment, a period in the wilderness, then salvation again; such was Hosea's vision of the future for his people. The desert would prove to be the starting place again for the nation as in the days when Israel came out of Egypt.<sup>3</sup> Then would come the resurrection of the nation<sup>4</sup> and a new covenant with the world of nature made for them by Yahweh.<sup>5</sup> Finally Yahweh would betroth himself to them once again in a full covenant relationship.<sup>6</sup>

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1.1:9.

2.1:10(2:1). These verses are usually omitted as secondary, however they are retained here; see the comments of Eissfeldt, op.cit. 388f. Wolff, Hosea, 27ff. Rohland, op.cit. 117f.

3. 2:14ff(16ff). For the significance of the desert tradition in the OT see C. Barth, "Zur Bedeutung der Wüstentradition", SVT XV, 1966, 14ff. and Bach, Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste, 1951.

4. 6:1ff. this theme of a resurrection can be found in the other prophets as well, G. Fohrer, op.cit. 182.

5. 2:18(20). Kraus, Worship in Israel, ET, 1966, 132, maintains that Hosea refers to a cultic tradition which tells of a tent festival held in the desert; see 2:16(18); 9:5; 12:9(10).

6. 2:19f(21f); the various terms in these verses belong to berith.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

The main contribution of Hosea to the election idea in ancient Israel is his handling of the exodus tradition. Being a northern Israelite his interest in the royal institution in Jerusalem must have been very limited. His attitude towards the monarchy in his own kingdom was one of denunciation.<sup>1</sup>

- " They made kings, but not through me.  
They set up princes, but without my knowledge." <sup>2</sup>
- " Samaria's king shall perish,  
like a chip on the face of the waters.  
In the storm the king of Israel<sub>3</sub>  
shall be utterly cut off."

This denunciatory attitude was caused by the fundamental sins of the monarchy—infidelity and exclusive sovereignty.<sup>4</sup> The real issue was that Israel's kings had been set up without reference to Yahweh. Thus the monarchy in Israel reflected the basic condition of the nation; both king and people were divorced in their way of life from Yahweh. To king and people the warning of judgment was given:

- " Hear this, O priests!  
Give heed, O house of Israel!  
Hearken, O house of the king!  
For the judgment pertains to you;"<sup>5</sup>

The monarchy in the north was basically the dynasty set up by Jeroboam when the ten tribes of Israel broke away from the

1. See A. Caquot, "Osée et la Royauté", RHPR, 1961, 123-46, for a discussion of the whole question.

2. 8:4.

3. 10:7, 15; in v. 15 the MT has "dawn"; RSV reads "storm" see also BH<sup>3</sup>. Wolff retains the MT reading, Hosea, 232, and understands it to mean the beginning of the day of battle, 244.

4. See Caquot, op. cit. 123.

5. 5:1.

southern kingdom with its capital at Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The break away kingdom in the north set up two cultic centres, at Bethel<sup>2</sup> and at Dan. These centres were shrines for the worship of golden calves which acted as reminders of the exodus.<sup>3</sup> It was this particular brand of worship which Hosea attacked and the monarchy which instituted it along with it.<sup>4</sup> Thus Hosea's anti-monarchy tirades are not to be seen as tirades against the monarchy per se<sup>5</sup> but those aspects of it represented by the cultic deviations of bull worship<sup>6</sup> and the bloodthirsty viciousness of the house of Jehu.<sup>7</sup>

If Hosea's attitude to the luxurious life,<sup>8</sup> the cultic apostasy of the nation, and the behaviour of the kings was one of condemnation then what was his attitude towards the monarchy in the south? The question is generally answered that he had

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1. I. K. 12; the particular dynasty Hosea preached against was that of Jehu's, 1:4
  2. I. K. 12:29. Hos. 10:5ff. warns of the coming destruction of the temple at Bethel, see J. Lindblom, *op. cit.* 354; in 10:15 the MT reads "Bethel" though most commentators follow the LXX and read "house of Israel", see Wolff, *Hosea*, 234f.
  3. I. K. 12:28; v. 31 notes that the priests of these shrines were not Levites; if Hosea's background was levitical then no wonder he attacked the cult so vigorously!
  4. 4:12ff.; 8:4ff.; 10:5ff.
  5. See Pedersen, *Israel*, III-IV, 86. Caquot maintains that for Hosea the original sin of the monarchy was not Saul but Jeroboam, *op. cit.* 146.
  6. 8:5f.; 10:5; 13:1f. Bull worship was not a case of simply worshipping bulls but the bull was a divine symbol of Yahweh, see W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 1946, 229f. However due to the influence of ba'alism Israel's bull-worship tended to become too involved with fertility rites, see Eichrodt, *Theology*, 117f.
  7. 1:4f. Allowing that Hosea only attacked the northern kingship idea we must interpret his references to Gilgal as not referring to Saul but to aspects of the Landnahme tradition.
  8. See Pedersen, *Israel*, III-IV, 134ff. Lindblom, *op. cit.* 344ff. also P. Humbert, "Osée le prophète bedouin", *RHPR*, 1921, 97ff.

no recorded attitude to the southern kingship as he was a northern Israelite. There is, however, one reference to the subject though it is of a doubtful nature:

" For the children of Israel shall dwell many days without king or prince, without sacrifice or pillar, without ephod or teraphim. Afterward the children of Israel shall return and seek Yahweh their God, and David their king; and they shall come in fear to Yahweh, and to his goodness in the latter days."<sup>1</sup>

Some scholars remove all the references to Judah in the book of Hosea as being judean glosses.<sup>2</sup> This is too extreme a position for in some places the inclusion of Judah is necessary for an understanding of the text.<sup>3</sup> Thus others would remove all the prophecies of salvation in Hosea; again this is an extreme approach to Hosea's message. Most commentators regard the phrase "and David their king" as an addition coming from a judean hand.<sup>4</sup> Yet there are some who consider the phrase to be authentic<sup>5</sup> though not necessarily messianic.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 3:4f.

2. 1:7; 5:5; 4:15 etc. see Marti, op. cit. Harper, op. cit. 213.

3. See the remarks of Weiser, Introduction, 236; Eissfeldt, op. cit. 387; esp. with regard to 5:8-6:6.

4. Harper, op. cit. 216; Wolff, Hosea, 70f.; Weiser, ATD, 23n; Rohland, op. cit. 54n.; Lindblom, op. cit. 289. The reasons for this excision are varied ranging from the lateness of the language (Harper) to the clause not being appropriate as the second object of the word *biq<sup>e</sup>shu* (Wolff). On the significance of the phrase "seek Yahweh" see Beyerlin, op. cit. 123.

5. So Pedersen who considers the verse reflects Hosea's real attitude to the monarchy, Israel, III-IV, 87. Mowinckel thinks it probably belongs to those sayings modified in the light of later Judaism—if it comes from Hosea then it refers to the reigning king of Judah, He That Cometh, ET, 1659, 19.

6. " "David leur roi" n'est pas l'expression d'une esperance messianique. C'est une réponse au désarroi engendré dans le royaume du Nord par les événements de 746-45. ", Caquot, op. cit. 134. 57



On one side there is Alt's view that Hosea envisaged the disappearance of the monarchy altogether,<sup>1</sup> and on the other side the opinion that Hosea attacked the northern monarchy because of its separation from the Davidic dynasty in the south.<sup>2</sup> Alt's viewpoint is not tenable from a reading of Hosea's statement, "for the children of Israel shall dwell many days without king or prince".<sup>3</sup> The phrase "many days" means a long period but it does not mean for ever.<sup>4</sup> Thus whatever the details may be Hosea anticipated a future time when Israel would both return to Yahweh their God and dwell in the land under some form of leadership, be it king, prince or some other official.<sup>5</sup>

The period in the wilderness was to be a time when the people would again appear before Yahweh as did their fathers when Moses led the people from Egypt. Under such conditions they would experience Yahweh's love for them and once again become the people of Yahweh.<sup>6</sup> As the situation stood in Hosea's time the people and the land were due to be destroyed but in the wilderness they would find restoration and a door of hope.<sup>7</sup>

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1. "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah", Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, ET, 1966, 250f. (=KSGVI, II, 116ff.)
  2. G. Ostborn, Yahweh and Baal, 55.
  3. 3:4.
  4. Caquot rightly emphasises this point for it is completely ignored in Alt's treatment of the subject, op.cit. 132f.
  5. See below on 1:11(2:2) and the remarks of Weiser, ATD, 12.
  6. 2:14ff. (2:16ff.); this is the main point of Hosea's analogy between the children of his marriage and Israel's position before Yahweh.
  7. 2:15(17). Hosea's emphasis on the desert was an idealisation, not of the desert per se but, of Israel's relationship to Yahweh. Thus the desert was a "land of drought" 13:5 whilst Yahweh's promise was to return the people to their homes, not to the desert, 11:11.

It would appear that Hosea envisaged a re-uniting between the north and the south:

" And the people of Judah and the people of Israel shall be gathered together, and they shall appoint for themselves one head; and they shall go up from the land, for great shall be the day of Jezreel." <sup>1</sup>

Although this verse is usually denied to Hosea, <sup>2</sup> it must seriously be questioned as to whether there is any good reason why Hosea could not have written it. <sup>3</sup> He recognised the impending disaster of the Assyrian assault on Israel which would entail a period of exile from the land; exile in this sense should not be referred to Judah's condition after the fall of Jerusalem but to the condition of the northern tribes after the fall of Samaria. Perhaps Hosea thought the Assyrians would also destroy the southern kingdom or else that the people of the north might find some refuge in the southern kingdom. Whatever may be the case it is not sufficient to argue from Hosea's relative silence about the south that he could not have possibly anticipated a reunion. It may well be that the reference to David in 3:5 is genuine and that Hosea hoped for a restoration of the united monarchy under the aegis of the Davidic king. <sup>4</sup>

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1. 1:11(2:2).

2. See Bissfeldt, op.cit. 388; Lindblom, op.cit. 243.

3. See the remarks of Wolff, Hosea, 27ff. Weiser, ATD, 11f. Harper, op.cit. 246f. Bissfeldt, op.cit. 388.

4. "Il ne nous paraît cependant pas improbable que le prophète ait, après le régime politique décadent dont il est le témoin, envisagé et espéré une restauration d'Israël dans son ensemble autour de son centre, la dynastie de David.", E. Jacob, op.cit. 37. See the remarks of Amsler, David, Roi et Messie, 13n. yally

The "one head" referred to by Hosea may well be a leader of the pre-monarchic type rather than a member of the Davidic line.<sup>1</sup> If this interpretation is the correct one then Israel's period "without king or prince"<sup>2</sup> would be terminated by the uniting of the two kingdoms under the leadership of an amphictyonic chief.<sup>3</sup> This particular interpretation would fit in with the general emphasis on the wilderness period in Hosea. The one leader idea may represent the feelings of those in Israel who believed that the institutions of Yahweh's people should reflect the basic fact that Israel had only one God therefore they should only have one leader.<sup>4</sup>

We may conclude this section on the David-Zion election traditions in Israel by admitting that Hosea makes very little if any use of them. The one occurrence of the term "David" is a doubtful one and probably should be accepted as a later judean gloss. The future hope in Hosea was for a united kingdom under a leader who may or may not have represented Hosea's particular interpretation of the Davidic line. So for practical purposes we may accept the view that Hosea has nothing of any significance to contribute to the David-Zion tradition.

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1. "Der Führer ist auch nicht nach der Analogie Davids wie in der jüdischen Zukunftshoffnung, sondern eher wie in der Wüstenzeit als Führer des Bundesvolkes gedacht (vgl. 4. Mose 14:4)", Weiser, ATD, 12; see also Wolff, Hosea, 31.
  2. 3:4.
  3. Thus the term melek is avoided and rosh ehad used instead so as to link this official with the amphictyony rather than the monarchy, see Amsler, op.cit. 13n.
  4. Caquot observes, "Il a sans doute gardé le sentiment, perceptible à 3:5, que le peuple de Yahvé ne peut avoir qu'un seul souverain terrestre comme il n'a qu'un dieu", op.cit. 146.



#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

The patriarch Jacob is the only one of the fathers to be mentioned in Hosea.<sup>1</sup> In this particular reference to Jacob the emphasis is upon his deeds rather than his position in the election tradition. It belongs to Hosea's attack on the beginnings of Israel's history. From the time of Ba'al-peor the nation has sinned against Yahweh; even their eponymous ancestor was a deceiver.<sup>2</sup>

However the retelling of the tale<sup>3</sup> is not the full extent of Hosea's interest in Jacob. If Jacob was a deceiver as the story had it he was also the man Yahweh had taken and made into an ancestor of his chosen people. The story of Jacob illustrated once again Israel's failure before Yahweh yet it also left room for Yahweh to act again in deliverance of his people.<sup>4</sup> Where deceit had been there also had been divine mercy. Thus the patriarch fits into Hosea's scheme of tracing Israel's sinfulness in history and also the opportunities for Yahweh's grace.

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1. 12:2ff. v. 12 (3ff. 13). This is natural as Jacob was connected with the north, see H. Seebass, Der Erzväter Israel, BZAW 98, 1966, 107.
  2. "die Jakobgeschichte als Anfang des Betrugs Israels" X, Wolff, Hosea, xx. "Thus Ephraim-Israel-Jacob was already unscrupulous when it consisted of only one man", H. L. Ginsberg, "Hosea's Ephraim, More Fool than Knave", JBL, 1961, 342n. F. Zimmerman suggests that originally  $\text{qob}$  meant "be victorious" though it also acquired the significance of "be devious"; thus when it was changed for Israel "El will surpass" it found a name which was the synonymous equivalent of  $\text{Ya} \text{ } \text{qob} \text{ } \text{el}$  "El will conquer", "Folk Etymology of Biblical names", SVT XV, 1966, 320f.
  3. Hosea's story is not quite the same as that in Genesis, so Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 716f. It is "un spécimen dans une histoire de l'exégèse juive", Th. C. Vriezen, "La tradition de Jacob dans Osée XII", OTS, 1942, 76.
  4. See P. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob", VT, 1963, 247.

## 5. Summary

The dominant theme in Hosea is the election of Israel by Yahweh from the land of Egypt, his love for them in the desert, and his gift to them of the land. The people's worship of the ba'alim brought them into judgment with Yahweh and thus the land and people were condemned. The main feature of Israel's sinning against Yahweh was their rejection of the terms of the covenant as expressed in the Decalogue.<sup>1</sup> This failure to keep Yahweh's Torah and the forgetting of the acts of Yahweh for the people constituted the nation's lack of a knowledge of God. The focal point of the election tradition for Hosea was the period in the desert. Thus Yahweh would again bring the people into the desert and there they would find hope and eventual restoration.<sup>2</sup>

The other election traditions of the patriarchs and the David-Zion monarchy do not appear to any great extent in Hosea. For the future Hosea envisaged a united kingdom under the leadership of an amphictyonic chief.<sup>3</sup> Hosea interpreted Israel's history according to the Urzeit-Endzeit principle. The Heilsgeschichte came to an end with the disobedience of the people and their

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1. Hosea's attitude to the desert belongs to the Sinai covenant tradition, see L. Rost, "Sein Wüstenideal geht auf seine Auffassung von Wesen des Sinaibundes zurück", "Erwägungen zu Hosea 4:13f.", FS Bertholet, 1950, 460.
  2. Whether a cultic tradition of a tent festival in the desert lies behind Hosea's thinking is very much a matter of speculation, see H-J. Kraus, Worship in Israel, 132.
  3. It may well be asked whether this particular leader might not be a prophet; cf. Dt. 18:15ff. with the attitude Hosea took towards the prophet as the leader of the people out of Egypt, 12:13(14); this is, however, only a suggestion.

return to Egypt. With the ending of the Heilsgeschichte Yahweh's protection of the people also ended. The judgment against the nation's sins, especially those of bull-worship and agreements with foreign powers, would be that of exile from the land which had been Yahweh's gift to his people. This was to be an important feature of prophecy in the subsequent history of the southern kingdom. Tenure of the land was bound up with covenant loyalty to Yahweh the owner of the land. The breaking of the covenant entailed expulsion from that land. However after a period of exile from the land Israel would find hope in the desert and there Yahweh would again make a covenant with the nation and with nature. People and God would be betrothed together and Yahweh would dwell in the midst of his people as the Holy One.

## CHAPTER IV

### ELECTION IN AMOS

#### 1. Introduction

Amos was a Judean who preached in the northern kingdom.<sup>1</sup> He came from Tekoa, a village south of Jerusalem overlooking the wilderness of Judea.<sup>2</sup> His profession was that of caring for sheep which probably included both owning and raising them.<sup>3</sup> He also had a second occupation which involved the raising and tending of sycamores.<sup>4</sup> This particular function must have involved working away from Tekoa.<sup>5</sup> Thus his outlook on life was shaped both by his rural life and his travelling.

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1. The main works of reference for Amos include, S. Amsler, Amos, CAT XIa, 1965, 167-247; R. S. Cripps, A Critical & Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Amos, 1929; O. Eissfeldt, Introduction, 395-401; H. E. W. Fosbroke, "Amos", IB, VI, 763-853; N. K. Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, 1964, 94-119; J. Morgenstern, Amos Studies, I, 1941; W. R. Harper, Amos and Hosea, ICC, ed. 1936; H. G. Reventlow, Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos, FRLANT 80, 1962; J. D. W. Watts, Vision and Prophecy in Amos, 1958; A. Weiser, Die Profetie des Amos, BZAW 53, 1929; Das Buch der zwölf Kleinen Propheten, I, ATD 24, 110-80; Introduction, 241ff.; H. W. Wolff, Amos' gestige Heimat, WMANT 18, 1964.
  2. 1:1; see Elmslie, op. cit. 245; Wolff, op. cit. 53; R. H. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1941, 517.
  3. 1:1; 7:14; see Fosbroke, op. cit. 763; Watts, op. cit. 7.
  4. 7:14; it is not clear what exactly was the function of Amos with reference to these sycamores; he was a planter of them, so E. Würthwein, "Amos-Studien", ZAW, 1950, 22; see the remarks of Cripps, op. cit. 234f.
  5. As sycamore trees do not grow in Tekoa because of its height Amos may have owned land elsewhere, see Eissfeldt, op. cit. 396f. He would have had to travel to sell the wool of his sheep, so Cripps, op. cit. 12.

In the midst of his activity Amos was called to be a prophet:

" Yahweh took me from following the flock, and Yahweh said to me, 'Go, prophesy to my people Israel.' "

This was an extremely simple call; Yahweh took him and sent him to prophesy to his people. Nothing was said about the content of the message; but the command impressed itself very strongly on the mind of Amos.<sup>2</sup> What exactly was the position of Amos in relation to the prophetic movement? This problem was posited by the reply of Amos to Amaziah's attack on him:

" And Amaziah said to Amos, 'O seer, go, flee away to the land of Judah, and eat bread there, and prophesy there; but never again prophesy at Bethel, for it is the king's sanctuary, and it is a temple of the kingdom.' Then Amos answered Amaziah, 'I am no prophet, nor a prophet's;<sup>3</sup> but I am a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamore trees, and Yahweh took me from following the flock, and Yahweh said, to me, 'Go, prophesy to my people Israel.' "

Some scholars understand this to mean "I was no prophet or member of a prophetic association".<sup>4</sup> Others, that Amos was a prophet but not in the sense that Amaziah used the term.<sup>5</sup> Obviously Amos was differentiating between himself as specially called by Yahweh and the cult prophets.<sup>6</sup>

1. 7:15.

2. "Yahweh God has spoken; who can but prophesy?" - 3:8.

3. 7:12ff.

4. H. H. Rowley, "Was Amos a Nabi?", FS Bissfeldt, 1947, 191ff.; also Würthwein, op. cit. 10ff.

5. So Lindblom, op. cit. 184.

6. cf. Bissfeldt, op. cit. 397. E. Baumann maintains that he wished to repudiate all connexion with the prophetic profession, "Eine Einzelheit", ZAW, 1952, 62. It is more a question of differentiation than disparagement, cf. von Rad, Theology, II, 131.



The contrast between Amos and Amaziah is quite striking. When confronted by a member of the priesthood and told to clear off home Amos immediately countered with the fact that he was not a member of the Nebiim but that he had been called by Yahweh and therein lay the reason for his presence in the northern kingdom. In other words, given a choice of his own freewill Amos would no doubt have preferred to have remained with his herds in the south. But Yahweh had spoken and he must obey.

Although this distinction between Amos and the Nebiim appears to be quite clear-cut some scholars have maintained that Amos belonged to the cultic staff at Tekoa.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is unwarranted especially in view of the paucity of the evidence presented.<sup>2</sup> The connexion between Amos and the various sanctuaries in Israel<sup>3</sup> cannot be taken to mean he was a cult prophet. Obviously the prophet would declare his message where the people were sure to be gathered. However this particular subject is too complex to give any satisfactory answer at the present state of scholarship.<sup>4</sup>

The background to Amos' prophecies was the affluence of the people with its concomitant complacent attitude to the laws

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1. A. Haldar, Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites, 1945, 112; A. S. Kapelrud, Central Ideas in Amos, 1956, 6f., 69, 78.
  2. See the objections of Lindblom, op. cit. 182n. and N. W. Porteous, "The Basis of the Ethical Teaching of the Prophets", SOTP, 150.
  3. See 1:2; 3:9-12, 14; 4:1-3, 4; 5:5; 6:1; 7:10-17; 8:14; 9:3; and the remarks of Watts, op. cit. 18.
  4. The main propounders of the prophet as a cultic figure are A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, 1962; and Haldar, op. cit. see also S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship. see the remarks of G. W. Anderson, "Hebrew Religion", OTMS, 300f.

of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Justice was perverted and the poor exploited.<sup>2</sup> This failure to live in accordance with the demands of Yahweh's covenant was symptomatic of the breakdown of the nation's relationship to Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> The core of Amos' attack on the people was their failure to return to Yahweh.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore Amos preached against some of the popular misconceptions of God among the people.<sup>5</sup> Thus the day of Yahweh which for the people had signified a day of triumph for Israel over its enemies would be a day of darkness for Israel.<sup>6</sup>

Although Amos preached to the people of northern Israel, for him both Judah and Israel constituted the sphere of his activity.<sup>7</sup> Problems concerning the composition or origin of his book cannot be dealt with here as they are not germane to a study of election in Amos.<sup>8</sup>

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1. See Cripps, *op. cit.* 6f.

2. 2:6ff.; 5:10ff. see G. von Rad, *Theology*, II, 135. On what constituted justice see L. Köhler, "Justice in the Gate"? *Hebrew Man*, ET, 1956, 149ff.

3. "The unity of justice and righteousness is in Israelite thought one of the basic concepts of the divine-human relationships", M. Buber, *The Prophetic Faith*, ET, 1949, 102.

4. See 4:6, 8, 10, 11.

5. M. Leahy, "The Popular Idea of God in Amos", *ITQ*, 1955, 68ff.

6. For this concept see H. H. Rowley, "The Day of the Lord", *The Faith of Israel*, 177ff. G. von Rad, *Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, *ATANT* 20, 1951; "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh", *JSS*, 1959, 97ff. maintains that it comes from Israel's early history. S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I, 116n. and J. Pedersen, *Israel*, III-IV, 546 see it as having a cultic origin. The historical allusion seems the most likely, see G. W. Anderson, "Hebrew Religion", *OTMS*, 305.

7. Cripps, *op. cit.* 13, and W. S. McCullough, "Some Suggestions About Amos", *JBL*, 1953, 247ff. include both areas in his field of activity. Against this view see Snaith, *op. cit.* 116; Lindblom, *op. cit.* 364n.

8. A. Weiser distinguishes between two books, one of visions and one of words, *Die Profetie des Amos*, 249ff. J. Morgenstern claims that the prophecy is an address delivered at Bethel at the New Year Festival of 751, *Amos Studies*, 7, 47, 91f.

## 2. The Exodus-election tradition

The core of similarity in all Israel's great prophets was their basic acceptance of the traditions of Israel's faith.<sup>1</sup> Thus at the heart of Amos' work there was an insistence on the tradition of Yahweh's election of Israel.<sup>2</sup> The whole tenor of his message of judgment was directed by the fact that Yahweh's choice of Israel involved the nation in a special relationship of responsibility:<sup>3</sup>

" You only have I known of all the families of the earth; therefore I will punish you for all your iniquities."<sup>4</sup>

The keyword here is "therefore".<sup>5</sup> The privilege of election begets the responsibility which makes punishment a possibility. Yahweh's knowledge of his people meant his love for them;<sup>6</sup> this was the core of Amos' election thought.<sup>7</sup> Yet the emphasis was not on the well-known, and only too well accepted, fact of Yahweh's election of Israel, but on the full significance of what was entailed by failure to respond to that election.

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1. See H. D. F. Sparks, "The Witness of the Prophets to Hebrew Tradition", JTS, 1949, 129ff. G. H. Davies, op. cit. 37ff. G. Fohrer, "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JBL, 1961, 309ff.

2. So G. von Rad, Theology, II, 133; also Watts, op. cit. 9.

3. In this sense Amos attacked the doctrine of election where it was used to justify a privileged position for Israel, see A. Weiser, Introduction, 246f.

4. 3:2.

5. See D. J. McCarthy, op. cit. 150.

6. yada<sup>c</sup> is not intellectual but "fürsorgenden Liebe", Weiser, Die Profetie des Amos, 119; "Yahweh's love for Israel is definitely implied in Amos' use of the verb, yada<sup>c</sup>", Morgenstern, op. cit. 419, 422. Harper would translate it "choose", op. cit. 66; also H. H. Rowley, The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 18, 53; Cripps maintains that the idea of election is not present, op. cit. 151, 334f.

7. yada<sup>c</sup> not only covers Amos' understanding of Israel's election but also his covenant theology, see B. Vawter, The Conscience of Israel, 1961, 95.

The ideas of election and covenant were familiar to Amos although he did not use the technical terms for them.<sup>1</sup> His indictment of the people was based on the premiss that Israel had failed to respond properly to Yahweh's election by breaking the covenant.<sup>2</sup> There was a lack of harmony<sup>3</sup> between Yahweh and Israel; a lack of harmony which revealed the shallowness of the nation's understanding of divine election.

The tradition of the exodus and the period in the desert (~~xxx~~) was known to Amos:

" Yet I destroyed the Amorite before them,  
 whose height was like the height of the cedars,  
 and who was as strong as the oaks;  
 I destroyed his fruit above,  
 and his roots beneath.  
 Also I brought you up out of the land of Egypt,  
 and led you forty years in the wilderness,  
 to possess the land of the Amorite." 4

Here three aspects of the exodus election faith appear. The exodus from Egypt, the wandering in the desert, and the possession of the land as the goal of this exodus. Thus judgment was to come upon the people because, in spite of the gracious acts of Yahweh at the exodus, they had failed to live within the terms of their special relationship to Yahweh.

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1. See R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, SBT 43, 1965, 45f.

It is most probable that Amos avoided using the terms because they represented a *carte blanche* for his hearers.

2. "La berith fait d'Israël une nation responsable, engagée, constante", A. Neher, "Fonction du prophète dans la société hébraïque", RHPR, 1948/49, 30ff. It is against such a background that the judgment oracles of Amos must be understood.

3. 3:3; harmony is the basic meaning of *yada* here, see D.W. Thomas, "Note on יָדָע in Amos III 3", JTS, 1956, 69f.

4. 2:9f.

A further reference to the exodus suggests that Israel's special position before Yahweh had gone:

" Are you not like the Ethiopians to me,  
 O people of Israel? says Yahweh.  
 Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt,  
 and the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir?  
 Behold, the eyes of the Lord Yahweh are upon the  
 sinful kingdom,  
 And I will destroy it from the surface of the ground;  
 except that I will not utterly destroy the  
 house of Jācob,  
 says Yahweh."<sup>1</sup>

Within the bond of the covenant Israel enjoyed special privileges but now the judgment of Yahweh would render the nation just like all the other nations.<sup>2</sup>

Amos made use of a tradition concerning the lack of a sacrificial system in the desert.<sup>3</sup> This belongs to the prophetic criticism of the cult.<sup>4</sup> To Amos there was no point in a complex cultus if there was no corresponding righteousness before Yahweh:

" But let justice roll down like waters,  
 and righteousness like an everflowing stream."<sup>5</sup>

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1. 9:7f.

2. See Snaith, *op. cit.* 117.

3. 5:25; cf. Jer. 7:21ff. M. A. Beek suggests that 5:26 was set in contrast to Hosea's view of the desert period, "The religious Background of Amos II 6-8", *OTS*, 1948, 140.

4. This is a very complex subject; Snaith maintains that Amos' polemic is only directed against the northern shrines, *op. cit.* 116; on this particular verse see the remarks of Lindblom, *op. cit.* 352ff. Cripps, *op. cit.* 338ff. On the subject in the OT see, J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion*, ed. 1961, 179ff. H. W. Hertzberg, "Die prophetische Kritik am Kult", *Beiträge zur Traditionsgeschichte und Theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1962, 81ff.

5. 5:24; Weiser maintains that "justice and righteousness" refer to Yahweh's judgment, *ATD*, 151; Lindblom interprets it as an appeal for repentance, *op. cit.* 353. Amos' demand for *šēdaqah* contrasts with Hosea's appeal for *hesed* and reflects their varying emphases on the covenant, see G. Farr, "The concept of Grace in the book of Hosea", *ZAW*, 1958, 98ff. esp. 103; cf. Vriezen, *Outline*, 60n.

The judgment Amos declared to the house of Israel was to be the reversal of their hopes concerning the day of Yahweh. In Israel's past history Yahweh had fought for the people against their enemies now he would fight against his own people.<sup>1</sup> Amos drew a sombre picture of that day of Yahweh:

" Is not the day of Yahweh darkness, and not light,  
and gloom with no brightness in it?"<sup>2</sup>

" And on that day says Yahweh the Lord,  
I will make the sun go down at noon,  
and darken the earth in broad daylight.  
I will turn your feasts into mourning,  
and all your songs into lamentation;  
I will bring sackcloth upon all loins,  
and baldness on every head;  
I will make it like the mourning for an<sub>3</sub> only son,  
and the end of it like a bitter day."<sup>3</sup>

This was a very different day of Yahweh than that of the popular expectation. Little wonder that the land could not bear the message of doom.<sup>4</sup> This was the end for Israel,

" Fallen, no more to rise,  
is the virgin Israel;"<sup>5</sup>

" Then Yahweh said to me,  
The end has come upon my people Israel:  
I will never again pass by them."<sup>6</sup>

The responsibilities inherent in the covenant had not been met so the curse which was also part of that covenant came into effect.<sup>7</sup>

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1. See Rohland, 666 cit. 56ff. That the concept of the day of Yahweh has its origins in Israel's history seems a more satisfactory explanation than that it originated in an enthronement festival, see G. von Rad, Theology, II, 119ff. Watts presents the cultic side of the question, op. cit. 69ff.

2. 5:20; cf. Joel 2:1f.

3. 8:9.

4. 7:10.

5. 5:2.

6. 8:2.

7. D. R. Hillers maintains "if the covenant idea is an ancient element in Israelite religion, the blessing and curse, or to use other terms, an eschatology involving salvation and doom, is equally ancient", Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets, 1964, 88.

Failure to remember the significance of Yahweh's act in the exodus from Egypt,<sup>1</sup> refusal to keep the orders of the old sacral law,<sup>2</sup> and cultic apostasy had led Israel to the point where the threat of judgment had become imminent:

" Therefore thus I will do to you, O Israel;  
because I will do this to you,  
prepare to meet your God, O Israel!"<sup>3</sup>

From time to time Amos had given a word of hope, a plea for repentance:

" For thus says Yahweh, to the house of Israel:  
Seek me and live;"<sup>4</sup>

" Seek good, and not evil,  
that you may live;  
and so Yahweh, the God of hosts,  
will be with you,  
Hate evil, and love good,  
and establish justice in the gate;  
it may be that Yahweh, the God of hosts,  
will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph."<sup>5</sup>

" But let justice roll down like waters,  
and righteousness like an everlasting stream."<sup>6</sup>

On two occasions Amos had pleaded with Yahweh for mercy for Jacob and been successful.<sup>7</sup> However judgment eventually prevailed

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1. This appears to be the best explanation for 9:7, von Rad, Theology, II, 137.

2. The sins preached against by Amos were violations of the laws to be found mainly in the Book of the Covenant; see Würthwein, op.cit. 47; R. Bach, "Gottesrecht und weltliches Recht in der Verkündigung des Propheten Amos", FS Dehn, 1957, 23ff.

3. 4:12.

4. 5:4.

5. 5:14f.

6. 5:24.

7. 7:2f. 5f. One of the basic functions of the prophet was intercession, cf. Gn. 20:7; see A. R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet, 58ff. Lindblom, op.cit. 204ff. The third vision in this series, 7:7ff., is not followed by any mention of Amos interceding so it may be understood that an end of Israel is determined; Cripps notes that Amos was not given an opportunity to intercede for the people, op.cit. 226.

and Yahweh set his eyes upon the nation "for evil and not for good".<sup>1</sup>

Yet those few strands of hope demonstrate that Amos had moments when salvation seemed possible, even if only for a few.<sup>2</sup> The focal point of this glimpse of salvation is to be found in Amos' comment on the remnant of Joseph:

"Hate evil, and love good,  
and establish justice in the gate;  
it may be that Yahweh, the God of hosts,  
will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph."<sup>3</sup>

The idea of a remnant in the Old Testament is a good deal older than the eighth century prophets.<sup>4</sup> It is one of the essential aspects of Yahweh's relationship with man in the Old Testament; a principle of divine action.<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere in Amos the picture of a remnant is merely one of survival from destruction; a metaphor for emphasising the totality of the holocaust.<sup>6</sup> In this particular passage Amos only tentatively suggests, "perhaps", Yahweh will show grace; it depends, however, completely on Yahweh's graciousness.<sup>7</sup>

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1. 9:4; the pleas for repentance naturally should come before the end was announced, see Watts, *op. cit.* 49.

2. 5:6, 15; see the comments of G. von Rad, *Theology*, II, 134.

3. 5:15; ~~3.15~~ "perhaps". We disagree with Fohrer who maintains that there is no concept of salvation in Amos, *JBL*, 1961, 314; see also his "Tradition und Interpretation im AT", *ZAW*, 1961, 1ff. This particular aspect of Amos is discussed below.

4. See H. H. Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 70ff. This subject will be discussed more fully when dealing with Isaiah.

5. Thus only some of those who left Egypt entered Canaan, only Judah was left to David, and only a remnant figured in Yahweh's plans for the future. See below, ch. VI.

6. 3:12; see von Rad, *Theology*, II, 134.

7. See H. W. Hertzberg, "Die prophetische Botschaft vom Heil und die alttestamentliche Theologie", *Beiträge*, 61. Cripps considers the idea of a remnant to be foreign to Amos' way of thinking, *op. cit.* 190f.



The election of Israel placed the nation within a context of judgment by Yahweh, but it also gave the people a position before him whereby salvation became the goal of that election. Although Amos emphasised the message of judgment and only cautiously referred to a remnant he always spoke of Israel as the people of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> A distinction must be made between Israel as the empirical people, and Israel as the people of God.<sup>2</sup> The certainty with which the prophet announced the word of judgment belonged to his faith in Yahweh's election of his people. As the specially chosen family the nation must be punished for their sins yet a faint note of hope was present:

" Behold, the eyes of the Lord Yahweh  
are upon the sinful kingdom,  
and I will destroy it from the surface of the ground;  
except that I will not utterly destroy  
the house of Jacob,  
says Yahweh."<sup>3</sup>

This note of hope belonged as much to Amos' view of election as did his conviction of judgment. The emphasis on judgment in his message was due to the state of the nation at that particular time. Prosperity had induced complacency and idolatry had lulled the nation into forgetfulness of Yahweh. So Amos arrived on the scene with his proclamation of Yahweh's judgment.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 7:8, 15; 8:2; 9:10, 14. Contrast this with Hosea's preaching of a period when Israel would not be Yahweh's people, Hos. 1:8.

The cautious note of 5:15 is also found in Zep. 2:3.

2. See the remarks of Th. C. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT I, 1953, 205.

3. 9:8; the last clause is dismissed by Lindblom, *op. cit.* 281 and Cripps, *op. cit.* 265 as a late addition.

4. The lack of emphasis on hope in his work was surely his reaction to the people's ability to capitalise ideas of hope to the exclusion of any sobering elements of judgment.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

Although a Judean Amos preached in the northern kingdom. His brief was "Go, prophesy to my people Israel".<sup>1</sup> Not many years before the time of Amos Israel under Joash had defeated Judah.<sup>2</sup> Thus at that period the most forceful leadership of the nation was in the north.<sup>3</sup>

However there are a number of references to Judah and Zion in Amos. These have been excised as later additions by some scholars.<sup>4</sup> This particular stratagem of considering all references to Judah and Zion as glosses in the books of Amos and Hosea is not a scholarly approach but one based on the dogma that a prophet could not mention certain subjects.<sup>5</sup> Thus, for example, Amos is not allowed any reference to a future hope, but restricted to a strait-jacket of judgment. This attempt to reduce the prophetic message down to one of Aristotelian logic applied with all its rigour is surely a wrong approach to the understanding of the prophetic word. To attack certain traits of the prophets as being contradictory is to apply to them a criterion belonging to our way of thinking but foreign to their outlook.

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1. 7:15.

2. II K. 14:7ff. see M. Noth, The History of Israel, ET, 1960, 237. Weiser interprets 6:1 in the light of this event, see Die Profetie des Amos, 229f. ATD, 152f.

3. See J. D. Smart, "Amos", IDB, I, 117.

4. See L. Rost, Israel bei den Propheten, BWANT 4/19, 1937, 7-20; Lindblom, op. cit. 280f. Rohland, op. cit. 59.

5. For an examination of all the references in Amos and Hosea, see G. A. Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the Old Testament, 1946, 110-55; his criticisms of Lindblom (139n) and Harper (145n) are pertinent and in agreement with our remarks above.

As a Judean Amos considered Jerusalem to be the centre of Yahweh's activity:

" Yahweh roars from Zion  
and utters his voice from Jerusalem  
the pastures of the shepherds mourn  
and the top of Carmel withers." <sup>1</sup>

His message was to Israel but one oracle did refer to the sins of Judah.<sup>2</sup>

The warnings of judgment against the northern kingdom culminated in the prediction of the destruction of Israel. Out of this destruction a few might be saved.<sup>3</sup> Whatever attitude Amos took to the north it must have been based on his convictions concerning the south. The sacred object of the amphictyony, the ark, resided at Jerusalem, and like all pious Israelites he must have been considerably affected by this situation.<sup>4</sup> As a member of the southern kingdom he probably viewed the northern breakaway as tantamount to apostasy.<sup>5</sup>

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1. 1:2. Lindblom, *op. cit.* 242, and Cripps, *op. cit.* 115 consider this verse is not original. Danell allows it to Amos, *op. cit.* 118f., 135. A. Bentzen sees it as belonging to a common tradition, cf. Joel 4:16, "The ritual Background of Amos 1 2-ii 16", *OTS*, 1950, 85ff.
  2. 2:4f. Lindblom rejects all references to Judah and Jerusalem, *op. cit.* 364. Bentzen considers 1:2-2:16 to be original; the whole section is comparable to the ritual of the Egyptian Execration texts, so *Introduction to the Old Testament*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1952, 140f. For a discussion of the secondary passages in Amos, see S. Jozaki, *The Secondary Passages of the Book of Amos*, 1956; W. H. Schmidt, "Die deuteronomistische Redaktion des Amosbuches. Zu den theologischen Unterschieden zwischen dem Propheten und seinem Sammler", *ZAW*, 1965, 168ff. However we view the notion of such a redaction with a good deal of scepticism.
  3. 5:15; 9:8; cf. 6:9.
  4. This may be an argumentum e silentio but it most certainly belongs to Amos' background and religious heritage.
  5. It is possible that Amos' denunciations of the northern sanctuaries, 4:4f., was a case of him maintaining the claims of Jerusalem, see Danell, *op. cit.* 118.

The main focus of his attack on the sanctuaries was Bethel.<sup>1</sup> This had been one of the sanctuaries chosen by Jeroboam I as a rival to the ark at Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> Thus Jeroboam had laid claim to the name Israel and the divine election that went with it.<sup>3</sup> With the preaching of divine judgment against the north Amos must have foreseen the end of that particular claim.<sup>4</sup> However what of the claims of the southern kingdom? With the destruction of Israel all the promises of Yahweh concerning Jerusalem would come into focus:

" In that day I will raise up  
the booth of David that is fallen  
and repair its breaches,  
and raise up its ruins,  
and rebuild it as in the days of old."<sup>5</sup>

The phrase "booth of David" refers to the undivided kingdom of David, that is, Judah and Israel.<sup>6</sup> There is nothing in this particular prophecy which could not have come from Amos.<sup>7</sup>

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1. 3:14f.; 4:4; 5:5f.; 7:13. Danell maintains that Bethel refers to the god, not to the sanctuary, *op. cit.* 117.
  2. L K. 12:26ff. This particular move was not all that successful and the northern kingdom must have been at a disadvantage compared to the south; for some of the problems facing Jeroboam, see M. Noth, *History*, 232ff.
  3. So L. Rost, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund", *TLZ*, 1947, col. 131.
  4. "His interpretation of the "Day of Jahweh" summed up his view. It was to be the end of the Northern Kingdom's claim to the Covenant and its promises.", Watts, *op. cit.* 83.
  5. 9:11; rejected as inauthentic by Lindblom, *op. cit.* 281; Kapelrud, *op. cit.* 53ff.; Cripps, *op. cit.* 67ff.; Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* 400; Weiser, *Introduction*, 244f.; Harper, *op. cit.* 198f. Accepted as authentic by von Rad, *Theology*, II, 138; Danell, *op. cit.* 134f.; Watts, *op. cit.* 25n.; Vriezen, *Outline*, 358; Rohland, *op. cit.* 231f.; Reventlow, *op. cit.* 91ff.
  6. Amsler would refer the term to this meaning rather than just David's dynasty, *op. cit.* 245; Cripps gives the various possible meanings, *op. cit.* 270f.
  7. As von Rad remarks "the....oracle is distinctly restrained in the matter of its content", *Theology*, II, 138; just a shepherd speaking about a shepherd, so Buber, *op. cit.* 109; a realistic view of the decline of the house of David, so Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", *SVT*, 205.

#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

Amos did not make any reference to the patriarchs in connexion with election. He used the names of Isaac<sup>1</sup> and Jacob<sup>2</sup> as terms signifying Israel.<sup>3</sup> He also referred to the pious as "the remnant of Joseph".<sup>4</sup> This knowledge of the various individual patriarchs is quite neutral in terms of their election.

#### 5. Summary

Amos was familiar with Israel's election history of the exodus from Egypt, the wandering in the desert, and the settlement in the land. For him the keynote of the nation's election lay in the fact that Yahweh had picked them out from among all the families of the earth. This special relationship carried with it the responsibilities of loyalty to Yahweh and the keeping of his laws. These laws were the basic terms of the covenant and their violation constituted the reason for Yahweh's anger and judgment against the nation. The long expected day of Yahweh would come as a day of darkness for the nation and not as the day of victory for Israel against their enemies.

Amos saw Israel's history as one of rebellion against Yahweh right from the very beginning, from the days in the desert.<sup>5</sup>

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1. 7:9; according to Danell this is the earliest mention of Isaac's name, see op. cit. 34.

2. 3:13; 6:8; 7:2, 5; 8:7; 9:8.

3. see Danell, op. cit. 128ff., 131n.

4. 5:15; cf. v. 6.

5. 5:26; cf. Hos. 9:10; 13:5f.

He reinterpreted the old historical phenomenon of the day of Yahweh and made it into the moment of Yahweh's judgment on the nation. It became the day of Yahweh's visitation against the sins of his people. He opposed the sanctuaries of the north where all forms of cultic sins were perpetrated and denounced a cultus which maintained religious rituals without any concomitant ethical standards. All this would be destroyed on the day of Yahweh. Because of all this sin an end had come upon the house of Israel.

In spite of such sweeping statements of divine judgment Amos foresaw hope for a few, for a "remnant of Joseph". The centre of Yahweh's activity, for him, was Zion; from there Yahweh gave forth his voice of judgment. His hope for the future, after the destruction of the north, was that Yahweh would restore the united kingdom under the Davidic dynasty. This existential eschatology<sup>1</sup> was the natural outlook of a Judean who was convinced that the election purposes of Yahweh would come to fruition. The eschatology of Amos, indeed of all the prophets, must be understood as arising out of their handling of the election traditions of Israel.<sup>2</sup> Amos made no use of the patriarchs in terms of their place in the election idea.

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1. According to Reventlow, "Es ist in erster Linie eine existentielle, nicht eine historische Eschatologie" on 9:13-15, Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos, 109.
  2. This is the main contention of E. Rohland, Die Bedeutung der Erwählungstraditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten, esp. 266ff.

## CHAPTER V

### ELECTION IN MICAH

#### 1. Introduction

Micah was a Judean from the hill country<sup>1</sup> and a younger contemporary of Isaiah.<sup>2</sup> He was possibly a small town artisan<sup>3</sup> or a small freeholder.<sup>4</sup> We know nothing about his personality, but he was very much a prophet of the poor.<sup>5</sup> He was not a member of the Nebiim.<sup>6</sup> His period of prophecy must have begun before 721 as he preached against Samaria.<sup>7</sup> His main sphere of activity was Jerusalem and like Amos, who also came from the southern countryside, he preached against the sins of the capital cities.<sup>8</sup>

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1. The main references for Micah are, W. Beyerlin, Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha, FRLANT NF 54, 1959; G. Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 189ff.; O. Eissfeldt, Introduction, 406ff.; W. Harrelson, Interpreting the OT, 1964, 361ff.; J. M. P. Smith, Micah, ICC, 1912; A. Weiser, Introduction, 252ff. ATD, 200ff. R. E. Wolfe, "Micah", IB, VI, 897ff.
  2. He was probably influenced somewhat by him, see Eissfeldt, op. cit. 407.
  3. So Wolfe, op. cit. 898.
  4. So Lindblom, op. cit. 208.
  5. 2:1ff. For an explanation of this passage see A. Alt, "Micha 2, 1-5 ΓΗΣ ΑΝΑΔΑΣΜΟΣ in Juda", FS Mowinkel, 13ff. (=KSGVI, III, 373ff.)
  6. So Weiser, Introduction, 255. On the relation of Micah to the Nebiim (3:5ff.) see A. H. Edelkoort, "Prophet and Prophet", OTS, 1948, 179ff. Harrelson suggests he belonged to the "people of the land" and was influenced by the Levites, op. cit. 362.
  7. 1:1, 5; so Eissfeldt, op. cit. 409. Smith would interpret these verses of a period after 721, perhaps 713-711, or better, 704-01, op. cit. 20f.
  8. E. A. Leslie suggests that 2:6 has been influenced by Am. 2:12; 5:11; 7:10, 11; so "Micah the Prophet", IDB, III, 370.

As with his predecessor Amos, Micah attacked the sins of his contemporaries and their false hope in Yahweh:

" Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob  
and rulers of the house of Israel,  
who abhor justice  
and pervert all equity,  
who build Zion with blood  
and Jerusalem with wrong.  
Its heads give judgment for a bribe,  
its priests teach for hire,  
its prophets divine for money;  
yet they lean upon Yahweh and say,  
"Is not Yahweh in the midst of us?  
No evil shall come upon us." " 1

The violation of Yahweh's laws on one hand and the fearless confidence in Yahweh on the other, such was the classic state of Israel's life which each prophet found. His task was:

" But as for me, I am filled with power,  
with the Spirit of Yahweh,  
and with justice and might,  
to declare to Jacob his transgression  
and to Israel his sin." 2

The particular offences Micah militated against included the exploitation of the poor people's property by the rich.<sup>3</sup> He also found it necessary to preach against those prophets who were willing to have their oracles bought and whose preaching depended upon the dictates of their patrons.<sup>4</sup> Alongside of all these evils the people continued to follow the rituals of the

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1. 3:9ff. In ch. 3 Micah attacks the high officials and the false prophets for their violation of the people; thus rulers, priests, and prophets were all hand in hand in the corruption of the land.  
2. 3:8; this message of judgment is set over against the false oracles of peace of the Nebiim, v. 5, see Lindblom, op.cit. 210ff.  
3. 2:1f. cf. Is. 5:8; see Alt, op.cit. on this practice.  
4. 3:5ff. cf. 2:6. Against these prophets Micah warned that the time would come when their visionary powers would disappear, v. 6. For a discussion of the two relevant sections, 2:6-11; 3:5-8, see Edelkoort, op.cit.



cult. Against this false approach to Yahwism Micah delineated the requirements of Yahweh:

" He has showed you, O man, what is good;  
and what does Yahweh require of you  
but to do justice, and to love hesed,<sup>1</sup>  
and to walk humbly with your God."<sup>1</sup>

This summary of the demands of Yahweh links Micah's attitude to the covenant relationship between Israel and Yahweh with that of all Israel's other prophets.<sup>2</sup> His ministry was as dependent upon the historical traditions of Israel as were the ministries of the other prophets.<sup>3</sup>

Micah preached both judgment and salvation to the people.<sup>4</sup> Judgment against the sins, both ethical and cultic, of the nation, and salvation in terms of the future work of Yahweh on behalf of his people. Although he foresaw the complete destruction of Jerusalem in this he was mistaken.<sup>5</sup> Later generations understood this deliverance from catastrophe to have been due to Hezekiah's turning to Yahweh for grace.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 6:8; cf. Am. 5:24; Hos. 6:6.

2. There is absolutely no conclusive argument for denying 6:1-8 to Micah; see G.W. Anderson, The History and Religion of Israel, 1966, 119; also his article, "A Study of Micah 6:1-8", SJT, 1951, 191ff. Lindblom, op.cit. 251. Pfeiffer considers it a later addition, Introduction, 589; Bentzen, an independent collection, Introduction, II, 148f. Wolfe considers the authorship unimportant, op.cit. 938.

3. This is the main thesis of Beyerlin's book Die Kulttraditionen Israels in der Verkündigung des Propheten Micha. See the remarks of N.W. Porteous, "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 11ff.

4. So Edelkoort, op.cit. 185. Both Beyerlin, op.cit. and A. Kapelrud, "Eschatology in the Book of Micah", VT, 1965, 392ff. attempt to credit Micah with more passages than such scholars as Pfeiffer, Lindblom, and Bentzen; see the references in note 1 above.

5. 3:12; see A. Alt, op.cit. 381.

6. So Jer. 26:18f. This is an example of the prophetic message being subject to the people's reaction to it for fulfilment.

## 2. The Exodus election tradition

The main reference to the exodus in Micah has been contested by scholars as unauthentic.<sup>1</sup> However the arguments against its genuineness are inconclusive and we see no basic reason for excluding it from a consideration of the election traditions in Micah.<sup>2</sup>

" Hear what Yahweh says:

Arise, plead your case before the mountains,  
and let the hills hear your voice.

Hear, you mountains, the controversy of Yahweh,  
and you enduring foundations of the earth;<sup>3</sup>  
for Yahweh has a controversy with his people,  
and he will contend with Israel.

"O my people, what have I done to you?

In what have I wearied you?

Answer me!

For I brought you up from the land of Egypt,  
and redeemed you from the house of bondage;  
and I sent before you Moses,

Aaron, and Miriam.

O my people, remember what Balak king of Moab devised,  
and what Balaam, the son of Be'or answered him,  
and what happened<sup>4</sup> from Shittim to Gilgal,  
that you may know the saving acts of Yahweh."<sup>5</sup>

1. 6:1-5. The various analyses of Micah by Pfeiffer, Bentzen and Wolfe exclude most of the material after chs. 1-3.

2. Following Beyerlin, op. cit. 29ff.; Lindblom, op. cit. 251; also Rohland, op. cit. 59; see Weiser, ATD, 203.

3. 6:1f. This is the lawsuit which is a familiar feature of the prophetic message. In v. 1 BH suggests reading "the word" following the LXX in the first strophe. On the subject of the see H. B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBL, 1959, 285ff. E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede", ZTK, 1952, 1ff. B. Gemser, "The rib-or controversy pattern in Hebrew mentality", SVT, 1955, 120ff. For the idea of the heavens and the earth as witnesses see G. E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deut. 32", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 26ff.

4. v. 5 "From Shittim to Gilgal" lacks a verb in the MT; RSV reads "what happened"; Weiser reads "your merch", that is, b'e'obr'eka for ben b'e'or from the previous line, ATD, 249; see Rohland, op. cit. 60. "als zu zogst".

5. Here אִי־יָדָע refers to the election events.

The controversy between Yahweh and Israel was set against the traditions of Yahweh's "righteous acts" on behalf of his people.<sup>1</sup> The exodus from Egypt, the journey through the desert, and the covenant at Sinai,<sup>2</sup> are all seen in opposition to the people's sinfulness. The prophets constantly berated Israel because its mode of life and practice was in contradiction to its history of grace from the hands of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup>

The terminology of this particular passage belongs to that of the Decalogue<sup>4</sup> and the various stories from Israel's early history.<sup>5</sup> The plea was for Israel to remember.<sup>6</sup> The significance of this idea was for Israel to reflect on the deeds of Yahweh in history, that is, to recall their election by Yahweh and compare it with their present situation.<sup>7</sup>

For Micah the land was "the assembly of Yahweh".<sup>8</sup> Thus the exploitation of the poor was taking place within Yahweh's property. Only within a context of fidelity to Yahweh's

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1. See the remarks of Beyerlin, op.cit. 69ff.

2. 6:8 belongs to the Sinai covenant, "Så ist also in diesem Prophetenspruch 6,1-8 die Exodus-Landnahme-Tradition gleichsam eingeklammert von der Sinaitradition", Beyerlin, op.cit. 73.

3. cf. Am. 2:9ff. 3:2; Hos. 9:10; 13:4f.

4. See Beyerlin, ibid. 67.

5. See the similarity between Micah and Jos. 24 where the various characters and incidents are both mentioned, Beyerlin, ibid. 70.

6. v. 5. cf. "remember the wonderful works that he has done/his miracles, and the judgments he uttered", Ps. 105:5; also Ps. 77:11(12); 111:4.

7. "Allem nach also scheint 7:1 im Zusammenhang mit der Vergegenwärtigung im Rahmen des Bundesfestkultes zu meinen", Beyerlin, ibid. 71. See also Childs who disagrees with Beyerlin's viewpoint, Memory and Tradition in Israel, SBT 37, 1962, 57; "The prophet appeals to Israel's memory as a means of actualizing Yahweh's original purpose for his people".

8. 2:5; see Rohland, op.cit. 6ln.

covenant could the people consider themselves both as Yahweh's people and as having a right to the land. The breaking of that covenant forfeited Israel's status before Yahweh as his people.<sup>1</sup> The reiteration of the righteous acts of Yahweh in the lawsuit ~~wass~~ intended to confront Israel with the fact of Yahweh's judgment if the demands of that relationship were not observed. The acts of Yahweh demonstrated his righteousness, so the acts of the people must reciprocally show their righteousness before Yahweh. To this end the observances of the cult were quite futile unless accompanied by justice, ~~hesed~~, and a humble life before Yahweh.

Exodus, Sinai, land settlement, all three aspects of the election faith were utilised by Micah to oppose the falsity of Israel's religion wherein the covenant laws were broken yet the demands of the cultus met. The people were confident that Yahweh was in their midst therefore there was no need for any further religious practices outside of the cultic demands. Yet it was precisely this lack of ethical behaviour which had called forth the declaration of Yahweh's controversy with his people. The nation had forgotten Yahweh, that is, they had forgotten his acts in history. The evidence of this forgetfulness was to be seen in their failure to live according to the demands of the covenant which formed part of those righteous acts. Failure to meet the terms of the covenant inevitably

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1. The reading of 2:7 is very obscure as is also v.8. Beyerlin following BH and Weiser would read the first strophe of v.8 "but you are not my people", op.cit. 73; Weiser, ATD, 219.

entailed the loss of the privilege of being Yahweh's people.<sup>1</sup> With the loss of this status Israel became a nation under the judgment of God. Hence the prophecies of doom in the book of Micah.

In spite of the tenor of the judgment oracles in Micah a possibility of salvation can be seen in the exhortation to remember the deeds of Yahweh in the nation's Heilsgeschichte.<sup>2</sup> One of the motifs of the Balaam episode was that of a curse turned into a blessing.<sup>3</sup> This aspect of curse and blessing also belonged to the covenant relationship.<sup>4</sup> With his evocation of this particular incident in the nation's history Micah gave an intimation that the curse due upon the nation because of the broken covenant could be turned to blessing if the people would remember and know, that is experience, the righteous acts of Yahweh again. If Israel would respond to this indictment and "do justice, love *hesed*, walk humbly with God" then Yahweh would undoubtedly react with blessing.<sup>5</sup>

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1. cf. Am. 7:8; 8:2; Hos. 1:8.

2. We consider any exposition of Micah to be inadequate if only his message of judgment is retained as authentic and all other material rejected. For the people to remember Yahweh's action in history would be for them to re-enter a situation where they might again experience Yahweh's deliverance.

3. Num. 23:11; 24:10.

4. cf. Dt. 27:15ff. this is an extremely old series of curses, see G. von Rad, Theology, I, 190; Deuteronomy, 167ff. see also D. R. Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets.

5. 6:8. Allowance must be made for this factor in OT prophetic oracles of judgment. Jer. 26:18f. shows that Micah's judgment against Jerusalem did not take place because Hezekiah turned to Yahweh. This is a principle of the prophetic activity and can be seen in other passages in the OT, cf. the "may be" of Am. 5:15 and Zep. 2:3.

A further reference to the exodus occurs in the hymn at the conclusion of Micah:

" As in the days when you came out of the land of Egypt  
I will show them marvelous things"<sup>1</sup>

There is no good evidence for not attributing this particular hymn to Micah;<sup>2</sup> Eissfeldt dates it somewhere in the period 732 to 722.<sup>3</sup> In this hymn there is a picture of Yahweh pleading the cause of his people rather than maintaining a controversy against them:

" I will bear the indignation of Yahweh  
because I have sinned against him,  
until he pleads my cause  
and executes judgment for me.  
Who is a God like thee, pardoning iniquity  
and passing over transgression  
for the remnant of his inheritance?"<sup>4</sup>

The term "remnant of his inheritance"<sup>5</sup> reflects two basic ideas in the Old Testament. That of Israel as Yahweh's special people, his heritage,<sup>6</sup> and the principle that Yahweh's programme for Israel was based on a remnantal principle.<sup>7</sup> The idea of the remnant was used elsewhere by Micah in his prophecies.<sup>8</sup>

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1. 7:15; RSV reads "I will show them"; BH reads "show us"; Weiser reads "Egypt, let us live to see your wonders", ATD, 258.  
 2. 7:7-20. Lindblom considers it an exilic redaction, op.cit. 281, 285; Robinson sees 4:1-7:20 as additional material, Die zwölf kleinen Propheten, Hosea bis Micha, HAT 14, 1938.  
 3. "Ein psalm aus Nordisrael", ZDMG, 1962, 258ff. cf. his Introduction, 412.  
 4. 7:9, 19.  
 5. " וְיִשְׂרָאֵל יִרְחָמֵנוּ ", v. 18; BH regards it as an addition.  
 6. See above ch. II, 2c. Also "La notion d'héritage-Israël est l'héritage de Yahvé, Canaan est l'héritage d'Israël, et Canaan est l'héritage de Yahvé", F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'Ancient Testament", RSPT, 1958, 3ff. esp. 32.  
 7. See below ch. VI. Also F. Dreyfus, "La doctrine du reste d'Israël chez le prophète Isaïe", RSPT, 1955, 361ff. J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant", SJT, 1950, 78ff.  
 8. 5:7, 8(6,7); see Danell, op.cit. 197f.

The element of intercession in this hymn was not a usual practice in the prophets of the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> It was indeed a part of the prophets' ministry but did not develop to any great extent until about the time of Jeremiah.

Finally, in tracing the influence of the exodus election tradition on Micah, it may be noted that the motif of Yahweh's presence in judgment was drawn from the tradition of the Sinai theophany.<sup>2</sup> The prophetic attack against the evils of their day has to be seen in the light of their understanding of the implications of that covenant relationship entered into at Sinai.<sup>3</sup> The language of Micah reflected both the content of the laws associated with that tradition and also the images of Yahweh's awe-inspiring presence.<sup>4</sup>

So Israel's past history and especially the tradition of the exodus-Sinai-wandering-land settlement figured to a great extent in Micah's criticism of his people's life and conduct; and became the basis of his appeal for a return to Yahweh and the pursuit of *hesed*.

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1. Scharbert observes about the early prophets "Ihre Hauptaufgabe ist nicht die Fürsprache für das sündige Israel, sondern die Übermittlung des Gottesworte", Heilsmittler im AT und im Alten Orient, 165. Intercession was a mark, but not characteristic, of the pre-exilic prophets, so Reventlow, "Prophetenamt und Mittleramt", ZTK, 1961, 269ff. also his Das Amt des Propheten bei Amos, 112.
  2. 1:2ff. see Beyerlin, op. cit. 30ff. On the amphictyonic covenant festival see Weiser, "Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult", FS Bertholet, 513ff. For a discussion of the amphictyony and the covenant in the OT, see G. Fohrer, "Altes Testament-'Amphiktyonie' und 'Bund'?", TLZ, 1966, I, cols. 801-816; II, cols. 894-904.
  3. See W. Zimmerli, The Law and the Prophets, ET, 1965, esp. 61ff. also Beyerlin, op. cit. 42ff.
  4. 1:2ff. and note "he has showed you", 6:8.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

As a Judean Micah would have been very familiar with the various ideas connected with the city of Jerusalem and the role of the Davidic king in terms of the divine election.<sup>1</sup> Although his commission involved prophesying to Samaria as well as to Jerusalem,<sup>2</sup> most of his ministry was concerned with his home province of Judah.

Micah's attack on Jerusalem was motivated by the sins of its various officials<sup>3</sup> and the fact that the evils of Samaria had penetrated southwards to the city.<sup>4</sup> The background for his attack was his understanding of the tradition of the old Sinai theophany.<sup>5</sup> This particular tradition had been preserved in the cult of the temple at Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> No doubt its awe-inspiring aspects of Yahweh's presence was a most suitable method of introducing the word of judgment.

#### a) Origin of the David-Zion election tradition

The ideas about Zion as the chosen city of Yahweh went back in time to the period of David's reign when he brought

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1. These two ideas belong together and cannot be separated although Rohland treats them as two distinct traditions, op. cit. 179ff, 243ff. 267ff. see also G. von Rad, Theology, II, 155ff. 169ff.

2. 1:1, 5ff.

3. 3:1ff. "leaders" vv. 1, 9; "prophets" vv. 5ff. 11; "priests" v. 11.

4. 1:9. The mention of Jerusalem in 1:5 may be taken as a gloss, see Danell, op. cit. 190.

5. 1:2, 3.

6. See W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, 168f. A. Weiser, The Psalms, 35ff. Beyerlin maintains the historical background of the Sinai tradition as against Mowinckel's view that Sinai originated as a cultic festival, see Le Décalogue, 1927; also G. von Rad, "The Problem of the Hexateuch", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 20ff.



Jerusalem under the control of the Israelites.<sup>1</sup> This was a conquest with the most far-reaching consequences for the life and religious thought of Israel.<sup>2</sup> The city itself became the capital of David's kingdom and always remained the capital of the kingdom of Judah. In the short period of its role in the life of Israel during the reigns of David and Solomon, it achieved such a paramount position among the cities of Israel that Jeroboam had to take special measures in an attempt to curb its influence on the people of northern Israel.<sup>3</sup> These measures were by no means all that successful and centuries later we read of pilgrimages made there by northern pilgrims.<sup>4</sup> Whence this prominence? The answer is two-fold. Having taken the city by a military stratagem, David moved the ark of the amphictyonic federation from its sojourn at the house of Obededom to Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Thus the religious rallying point of the tribes was given a very definite centre; a centre which was to become a permanent one. Far from just being the capital city of David, king of Jerusalem, Judah, and all Israel,<sup>6</sup> it became the capital of all Israel and the focal point of Israel's religion.

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1. II Sam. 5:6-10 \* I Chr. 11:4-9.

2. This point has been very adequately made by M. Noth, see his The History of Israel, 191; "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 132ff. See also J. Schreiner, Sion-Jerusalem. Jahwes Königssitz, SANT VII, 1963. For topographical details of the city see J. Simon, Jerusalem in the Old Testament, 1952.

3. I K. 12:26ff.

4. Jer. 41:5; see Noth, op. cit. 138n.

5. II Sam. 6:11ff.

6. M. Noth maintains that there were three monarchies in Israel not one monarchy ruling over all the tribes, "God, King, and Nation in the Old Testament", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 167ff.

By this action Jerusalem became the city where Yahweh the God of Israel had his dwelling place. The second factor in the emergence of Jerusalem as the chief city of Israel was David's relationship to Yahweh as his chosen servant. David had been chosen by both Yahweh and the tribes to be the king over the people of Israel.<sup>1</sup> Thus the city was the place where Yahweh's presence was and it was also the city of the chosen king. Through this association with David Jerusalem became known as the chosen city of Yahweh:

" For Yahweh has chosen Zion;  
He has desired it for his habitation;  
This is my resting place for ever;  
here I will dwell, for I have desired it."<sup>2</sup>

In view of the closely related histories of Jerusalem and of David we cannot agree with those who would separate the various election ideas concerning David and Zion.<sup>3</sup> Zion was captured by David;<sup>4</sup> made into his capital; became the permanent location for the ark of Yahweh of hosts; and became the royal city of the Davidic dynasty. Such an interrelated sequence of events and ideas must surely link the election aspects of the two together as one subsequent election tradition.<sup>5</sup>

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1. II Sam. 5:1ff.; 6:21.

2. Ps. 132:13f.

3. This is the contention of Rohland, op. cit. 267ff. also of Th. C. Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 130.

4. David marched against Jerusalem but conquered Zion—II Sam. 5:6, 7. Simons argues that although the two were separate it was a case of part and whole; Sion was the stronghold on the S.E. Hill, whilst Jerusalem was the name of a settlement on the two hills; occasionally Jerusalem was used to designate both; op. cit. 242ff.

5. In this we concur with the views of Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 62.

The most important feature of the relationship between Yahweh and David was the promise to him of a permanent dynasty. This promise was an essential part of the covenant between Yahweh and David.<sup>1</sup>

" Moreover Yahweh declares to you that Yahweh will make you a house. And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure for ever before me; your throne shall be established for ever." <sup>2</sup>

Two themes were echoed in this oracle of Nathan's. That of Yahweh building a house for David and of David building a house for the ark of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> This particular feature of the king building a temple was one of the functions of the king in the ancient Near East.<sup>4</sup> However David's desire to build a temple was not fulfilled but Yahweh made for him a permanent dynasty.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Although the term "covenant" does not appear in II Sam. 7 the idea is present, cf. II Sam. 23:5. This was the essential difference between David's kingship and that of Saul's. Between king and people there did exist a covenant, see I Sam. 10:25; II Sam. 5:3; but the divine promise of a permanent dynasty was not made to Saul.
  2. II Sam. 7:11, 16. The original material here is to be found in vv. 1-7, 11b, 16, 18-21, 25-29. The literature on this oracle is vast, see especially L. Rost, Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids, BWANT III 6, 1926, 47ff. See also H.-J. Kraus, Worship in Israel, 179ff.; Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT, 1951, 35ff.; M. Simon, "La prophétie de Nathan et le Temple", RHPR, 1952, 41ff.; G. W. Ahlström, "Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau", VT, 1961, 113ff.; A. Weiser, "Die Tempelbaukrise unter David", ZAW, 1965, 153ff.; M. Noth, "David and Israel in II Samuel VII", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 250ff.; A. Caquot, "La prophétie de Nathan et ses échos lyriques", SVT IX, 1962, 213ff.; J. Schreiner, op. cit., 75ff. This last reference gives one of the best reviews of all the various theories on II Sam. 7.
  3. See vv. 5, 6, 7, 11b, 16.
  4. See A. Kapelrud, "Temple Building, a Task for Gods and Kings", Orientalia, 1963, 56ff.; for the symbolism of temples see M. Elade, Images and Symbols, 1952, 42ff.
  5. Rost regards the refusal of a temple by Yahweh as being combined later with the oracle of a dynasty for David, op. cit. 71; against see Clements, op. cit. 57.

The institution of monarchy was a relatively late office in Israel and compared to the sacral traditions of the amphictyonic federation had a rather short history.<sup>1</sup> Whatever aspects of the ideology of kingship that the Israelites took over from their neighbours must be seen against the background of these traditions.<sup>2</sup> During the early days of the monarchy there was a pressure group which protested against such an innovation.<sup>3</sup> However the monarchy took a hold on Israelite soil and after an initial period of conflict became one of the dominant features of Judean life and thought.

The capture of Zion introduced a number of new ideas into Israelite religion.<sup>4</sup> David also probably took over the already existing civil service in the city.<sup>5</sup> In this way a new wave of ideas entered the thought of the Hebrew religion and in time were assimilated into the tradition concerning David and Zion.

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1. This is an important point, see Noth, "God, King, and Nation in the OT", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 165ff.
  2. In the light of this factor we must reject much of the Scandinavian school with its insistence on the divinity of the Hebrew king; see the extremely sane article by C.R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship", ZAW, 1932, 8ff.; also H. Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 337ff.
  3. See I. Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit", BASOR, 1956, 17ff. Samuel's protest against the demand for a king in I Sam. 8:4-17 is considered to be a later view point by both Noth, History, 172, and Köhler, Hebrew Man, 164. In II Sam. 7:8 the use of nagid for melek reflects the hesitancy with which the Israelites accepted the heathen practice of kingship, see Amstler, David, Roi et Messie, 40.
  4. G.W. Ahlström maintains that a new religious syncretism started with this event, VT, 113; also E. Nielsen, Shechem, 318; and H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem", ZAW, 1955, 168ff. See R.E. Clements, God and Temple, 1965, 47f. for some of the Canaanite traditions utilised in the Zion tradition.
  5. See S. Yeivin, "Social, Religious and Cultural Trends in Jerusalem under the Davidic Dynasty", VT, 1953, 149ff.

The influence of Jerusalem on David can be seen in the names of two of his sons, Absalom and Solomon.<sup>1</sup> The city's influence on Hebrew thought was mainly in connexion with the Jebusite sanctuary where the El-'Elyon cult was.<sup>2</sup> Many of the features of this cult were adopted by the Israelites and even Yahweh was identified with El-'Elyon.<sup>3</sup> The main belief so adopted was that of Zion as the dwelling-place of the divine being worshipped in the cult and the identification of it with the sacred Mount Zaphon.<sup>4</sup> These aspects of Canaanite religion were given a Yahwistic form and became the central doctrine of the southern kingdom. The basic link between Zion and the old sacral traditions of Israel came about with the housing of the ark of the covenant in Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Thus two sets of very different and distinctive beliefs became united around one figure and one sanctuary.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The tutelary deity of Jerusalem was probably Salem, so A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 46; J. Lewy, "The Sulman Temple in Jerusalem", JBL, 1940, 519ff.; J. Gray, "The Desert God 'Atr in the Literature and Religion of Canaan", JNES, 1949, 72ff.; E. Burrows, The Gospel of the Infancy, 1940, 118ff. S. Krauss maintains that Salem was not a god but the human hero who founded the city, "Zion and Jerusalem", PEQ, Jan.-Apr., 1945, 15ff. esp. 26.

2. See A.R. Johnson, "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", The Labyrinth, ed. S.H. Hooke, 1935, 81ff. also J. Schreiner, op.cit. 19ff.

3. Gn. 14:19, 22.

4. See A. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts, 1952, 57ff. It has been claimed that Zadok was the priest of this Jebusite cult, see H.H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan", JBL, 1939, 123; "Melchizedek and Zadok", FS Bertholet, 461ff.

5. Thus II Sam. 6 can be viewed as the culmination of events concerning the ark, see A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel", JBL, 1948, 37ff. G.H. Davies suggests that Saul fell foul of Samuel because of his neglect of the ark, "Ark of the Covenant", IDB, I, 224.

6. In spite of their distinct origin we cannot separate them into different strands for they both belong together to the sacred ideology of the state, see Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 61.

The fact that David did not build the temple was probably due to a certain amount of opposition to his new regime which existed in Israel at that time.<sup>1</sup> However his son Solomon built the temple and it became the central sanctuary of the land. The permanent covenant<sup>2</sup> between Yahweh and David guaranteed the continuation of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> This covenant with David was a continuation of the old Sinai covenant.<sup>4</sup> We cannot accept the viewpoint which separates the David-Zion covenant from the Sinai covenant.<sup>5</sup> Undoubtedly the southern kingdom pushed the Sinai covenant into the background and gave great prominence to the Davidic covenant, but aspects of the Sinai event were always there in the cult.<sup>6</sup> Thus the Davidic monarchy became the goal of the exodus event for the south.<sup>7</sup>

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1. The gloss in II Sam.7:13a reflects the consciousness of the fact that David did not build the temple; Hertzberg views it as the first stage of a later development, I&II Samuel, ATD 10, ET, 1964, 287. Ahlström has suggested that Nathan was a Jebusite who opposed the building of a temple because it would have rivalled the El-'Elyon sanctuary, VT, 113ff. Kraus views him as an embodiment of the protest of the circles who wished to keep in mind their desert origins, Worship in Israel, 183.
  2. This appears to be the most satisfactory translation of the phrase וְזִיָּו נִרְוָה, see G. Quell, " δίαθηκη", TWNT, II, 114.
  3. M. Tsevat considers the oracle to have originally lacked the unconditionality of vv. 13b-16, "The House of David in Nathan's Prophecy", Biblica, 1965, 353ff.
  4. See Caquot, op.cit. 221; also H. Zirker who sees the Nathan prophecy as a renewal of the Sinai experience, Die Kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangeheit in den Psalmen, 1964, 61.
  5. L. Rost maintains that the Davidic covenant replaced the Sinai one, "Davidsbund und Sinaibund", TLZ, 1947, cols. 129ff. also A. H. J. Gunneweg, "Sinaibund und Davidsbund", VT, 1960, 335ff. who comments on the tension which existed between amphictyony and state.
  6. See S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 155ff. and H.-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT, 45ff. M. Newman, The People of the Covenant, 164n. objects to this viewpoint. H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung", ZTK, 1964, 10ff. opposes Kraus's view that the background of David's election was a "königliche Zionfest".
  7. See H. Schmid, op.cit. 196.

At first Zion applied only to the citadel of David which was on the hill south of Jerusalem but eventually both names were used interchangeably in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Thus the people were referred to as "the sons of Zion" a term which was parallel to Israel.<sup>2</sup> With the temple of Yahweh in its midst the city was looked upon as the centre of the earth.<sup>3</sup> As the navel<sup>4</sup> of the earth Jerusalem developed into the focal point of the nations in the thought of Israelite religion.<sup>5</sup>

The prominence given to the David-Zion election tradition in the south tended to obscure the importance of the exodus-Sinai election tradition. The north rejected the David-Zion tradition and centred their thinking around the exodus-Sinai covenant. The prophetic attack on the life and practices of the two kingdoms reflected a greater emphasis on the ethical demands of the earlier covenant. This aspect of the Sinai tradition became the dominant motive of the Deuteronomists who attempted to reform the southern kingdom during the seventh century.

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1. See Simons, op.cit. 235f. "the capital of Judah in the 8th century B.C. as Micah saw it was a Tripolis". See also J. Gray, I&II Kings, 1964, 192; M. Noth, History, 190ff.

2. Ps. 149:2.

3. In the ancient Near East temples were thought of as the centre of the earth, see M. Eliade, Images and Symbols, 41ff.

4. צִיּוֹן הַיָּדָיִם Ez. 38:12. see E.O. James, The Worship of the Sky God, 1963, 64. On this idea of Zion as the omphalos see B. Childs, Myth and Reality in the OT, SBT 27, 1960, 86ff. See also N.W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", FS Rudolph Verbanung und Heimkehr, ed. A. Kuschke, 1961, 235ff.

5. On this concept see below on Isaiah in ch. VI. With David's introduction of the ark into the city Zion became a concept in Israel's religious vocabulary, and it is in the light of this historical event that all subsequent ideas about Zion must be understood rather than in mythological terms.

b) David and Zion in Micah

Micah took a very strong stand against the evils he found in Zion:

" Hear this, you heads of the house of Jacob  
and rulers of the house of Israel  
who abhor justice  
and pervert all equity,  
who build Zion with blood  
and Jerusalem with wrong.  
Its heads give judgment for a bribe,  
its priests teach for hire,  
its prophets divine for money;  
yet they lean upon Yahweh and say,  
'Is not Yahweh in the midst of us?  
No evil shall come upon us'  
Therefore because of you  
Zion shall be plowed as a field;  
Jerusalem shall become a heap of ruins,  
and the mountain of the house to the beasts of the wood"

No cherished dogma in Israel could survive the denunciation of the prophets if it was not held in accordance with the ethics of Yahwism. Thus Micah thundered against Zion with his oracle of complete destruction in spite of the doctrine of Yahweh's presence there. In point of fact he questioned the whole idea of Yahweh's presence in the midst of the city. The leaders of the nation rested assured of security because of their belief in Yahweh's presence; a belief which was founded upon the fact that the temple with the ark of Yahweh in it was the centre of their cultus. Yet in spite of such a faith Micah warned the

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1.3:9-12. The MT reads 12d as "the mountain of the house a wooded height"(so RSV)see Smith,op.cit.81.However the reading given above follows the suggested emendation of  $\text{נִירָזָה}$  to  $\text{נִירָזָה}$ , W.Rudolph,Jeremia,HAT 12,1947,144;cf.Hos.5:8;also followed by Hillers,op.cit.53. The Tripolis nature of Zion can be clearly seen in v.12,"Zion","Jerusalem","the mountain of the house", that is three different hills or city-quarters,see Simons,op.cit.235f. We do not know enough about the organisation of life in Israel to connect these three districts with the three groups in v.11.



the leaders that the city and its environs including the very sanctuary itself would be destroyed. The responsibility for such a disaster was laid squarely at the doors of the leaders, "therefore because of you". Yahweh might cause the city to be devastated but the real cause would be the injustice and perversion to be found among the people's leaders. These words of judgment were very much akin to the indictment of northern morality made by Amos not very long before Micah's ministry. This declaration must have sounded somewhat blasphemous to the people of Micah's day but it reflected the basic thinking of the prophets who constantly warned that Yahweh demanded of his people "justice and hesed" and not just the observations of the cultic rituals.<sup>1</sup>

This prophecy of judgment is followed by an oracle which appears at first sight to contradict it:<sup>2</sup>

" It shall come to pass in the latter days  
 that the mountain of the house of Yahweh  
 shall be established as the highest of the mountains,  
 and shall be raised up above the hills;  
 and peoples shall flow to it,  
 and many nations shall come, and say:  
 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh,  
 to the house of the God of Jacob;  
 that he may teach us his ways  
 and we may walk in his paths.'  
 For out of Zion shall go forth the law,  
 and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem.

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1.6:8;cf.Am.5:21ff.Is.1:11;see the remarks of Smith,op.cit.23ff.  
 2.A comparison of 3:9-12 with 4:1-4 appears to be quite contradictory to modern scholars;it is probably quite reasonable to assume that such a conclusion could also have been made by the redactors of Micah.Therefore we must ask why did they blatantly ignore such an obvious conclusion and insert this additional oracle? We can but suggest that perhaps they had little choice because Micah had actually made use of it himself albeit on a different occasion than that of 3:9ff.

He shall judge between many peoples,  
 and shall decide for strong nations afar off;  
 and they shall beat their swords into plowshares,  
 and their spears into pruning hooks;  
 nation shall not lift up sword against nation,  
 neither shall they learn war anymore;  
 but they shall sit every man under his vine  
 and under his fig tree,  
 and none shall make them afraid;  
 for the mouth of Yahweh of hosts has spoken."<sup>1</sup>

This oracle which appears also in Isaiah is normally assigned to an exilic period or even later.<sup>2</sup> However other scholars have suggested that it was of Isaianic origin,<sup>3</sup> thus it may have been borrowed by Micah.<sup>4</sup> However we are of the opinion that this particular oracle was an anonymous one and was borrowed by both Isaiah and Micah.<sup>5</sup> The content of the oracle is very traditional and embodies many of the themes belonging to the cult in Jerusalem. Thus it contained nothing which Micah would not have been familiar with and could not have therefore used.

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1. 4:1-4; cf. Is. 2:2-4; Micah has added v. 4; for its language cf. I K. 5:5; II K. 18:31; Zec. 3:10.

2. Pfeiffer, *op. cit.* 439, 591; Robinson, *op. cit.* 140; Smith, *op. cit.* 86; Bissfeldt, *op. cit.* 41 of. ("with due caution"); Weiser, *ATD*, 234; Lindblom, *op. cit.* 283; Wolfe, *op. cit.* 92 ff.;

3. von Rad, "The City on the Hill", *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, 233 ff. H. Wildberger, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion, Jes. 11:1-5", *VT*, 1957, 62 ff. E. Cannawurf, "The authenticity of Micah IV:1-4", *VT*, 1963, 26 ff. attacks Wildberger's case and consigns the oracle to a late date.

4. Harrelson maintains that Micah shared the outlook of Isaiah and therefore borrowed his oracle or possibly the Levitical circle he moved in did, *op. cit.* 366. Clements would ascribe it more probably to Isaiah than Micah, *op. cit.* 49; Noth regards it as pre-exilic but considers it may come from either prophet, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", *The Laws in the Pentateuch*, 14

5. So E. Nielsen, *Oral Tradition*, SBT 11, 1954, 92 f.; Rowley, *The Biblical Doctrine of Election*, 64; others accept its pre-exilic dating and admit that it is doubtful which prophet originally used it, see H. Gross, *Weltherrschaft als religiöse Idee im AT*, BBB 6, 1953, 58; also W. Eichrodt, *Der Heilige in Israel, Jesaja 1-12*, BAT 17, 1, 1960, 48. In spite of the lack of evidence this appears to be the most reasonable viewpoint.

The use of this particular oracle may well have been motivated by a desire to provide a contrast to the message of judgment.<sup>1</sup> Thus the emphasis was placed on the fact that Yahweh himself had declared that Zion would be the centre of attraction for the nations and that from there his Torah would go forth. This reaffirmation of Yahweh's purpose for the city would most certainly have contrasted very strongly with the warning of judgment given because of the sins of the leaders. The prophet attacked the leaders because through them the city would be destroyed, yet in spite of that destruction Yahweh would still bring about his plan for Zion.<sup>2</sup>

Accepting the authenticity of Micah's use of this anonymous oracle which was also used by Isaiah,<sup>3</sup> it becomes clear that Micah's attitude to Zion belonged more or less to the normal prophetic standpoint on the role of Zion in Yahweh's plan for his people's future. His word of judgment and devastation must be understood in terms of the demand of a peculiar situation but cannot be given an absolutism it did not possess.<sup>4</sup>

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1. We agree with Kapelrud who considers that chs. 1-3 are a necessary background to ch. 4, "Eschatology in the Book of Micah", VT, 1961, 403. Also with G.W. Anderson's demand for caution in dealing with texts which cannot be summarily consigned to a late period, A Critical Introduction to the OT, 1959, 156.
  2. This is an important principle in the OT and its influence in the prophetic teaching must be made allowance for.
  3. Both prophets used the same oracle but in different situations, see Haldar, Associations of Cult Prophets among the Ancient Semites, 158; M.B. Crook argues that Micah was also familiar with the ideas expressed in Is. 9:2ff. 11:1ff., "Did Amos and Micah know Isaiah 9:2-7 and 11:1-9", JBL, 1954, 144ff.
  4. Jer. 26:18 is no evidence at all of what constituted the whole prophecy of Micah; it does however show how conditional a prophetic warning of judgment could be.

Micah's view of the future Davidic leader was couched in language reminiscent of Israel's early history:<sup>1</sup>

" But you, O Bethlehem<sup>2</sup> Ephrathah,  
 who are little to be among the clans of Judah,  
 from you shall come forth for me  
 one who is to be ruler in Israel,  
 whose origin is from<sup>old</sup>,<sup>3</sup>  
 from ancient days.  
 Therefore he shall give them up until the time  
 when she who is in travail has brought forth;  
 then the rest<sup>4</sup> of his brethren shall return  
 to the people of Israel.  
 And he shall stand and feed his flock in the strength  
 of Yahweh,  
 in the majesty of the name of Yahweh<sup>5</sup> his God.  
 And they shall dwell secure,  
 for now he shall be great to the ends of the earth.<sup>6</sup>  
 And this shall be peace,<sup>7</sup>  
 when the Assyrian comes into our land  
 and treads upon our soil.<sup>8</sup>"

The background for this oracle must be found in the covenant festival in Jerusalem and the promises made to David in Nathan's oracle.<sup>9</sup>

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1. 5:2-5(lff.). This oracle is denied to Micah by Lindblom, op.cit. 285; along with all the other commentators who view chs. 1-3 as containing all the genuine oracles of Micah that we have.
  2. BH reads "house of Ephratha" following LXX; see Beyerlin, Die Kulttraditionen Israels, 79; also B. Vawter, op.cit. 160. In 2b(lb) BH suggests "the smallest" for "who are little" cf. LXX.
  3. v. 2(1)-miqqedem "from old" there is no need to postulate a connexion here with the origin of the sun god as Kapelrud suggests, op.cit. 400.
  4. v. 3(2) yeter "the rest", belongs to the word group forming the remnant idea in the OT, see V. Hertrich, "Der "Rest" im AT", TWNT, IV, 200ff.
  5. BH suggests the deletion of "Yahweh" from v. 4(3); also Beyerlin, ibid. 79.
  6. this line follows Beyerlin's arrangement, ibid. 79.
  7. Beyerlin reads this line as "and he shall be Lord of peace", following Jud. 5:5, ibid. 35, 79; see also A. R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship, 71.
  8. So LXX; MT has "in our palaces".
  9. So Beyerlin, op.cit. 80; see H-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT, 55, 92ff. We cannot agree with the viewpoint that sees a dependence on the Keret legend in this prophecy, so M. B. Crook, "The Promise in Micah 5", JBL, 1951, 313ff.

The idea of a ruler over Israel went back to the period of Gideon when the men of Israel requested him to rule over them.<sup>1</sup> This was the first attempt to produce a leader over the tribes but it failed and not until the election of Saul to deliver the people from the power of the Philistines did Israel have a ruler. Thus in the early days of Israel's history the office of the ruler was bound up with the function of deliverance from an enemy. Micah envisaged a revival of this feature in the coming leader; a leader who would guarantee prosperity<sup>2</sup> when the Assyrian invaded the land.

However the outstanding motifs of this prophecy were taken from the terms of Nathan's oracle which declared Yahweh's building of a permanent dynasty for David.<sup>3</sup> The new ruler would come from Bethlehem just as David had centuries before.<sup>4</sup> The sense of permanence which Yahweh had promised David can be detected in the reference to the antiquity of the ruler.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Jud. 8:22ff. The verb *masal* "rule" is also used of the kings, see II Sam. 23:3; I K. 4:21(5:1). On the significance of the Gideon stories for this passage see W. Harrelson, "Nonroyal Motifs in the Royal Eschatology", *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, 147ff.

2. cf. Ps. 72 for the hopes bound up with the king; also "I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be disturbed no more", II Sam. 7:10.

3. II Sam. 7. see Beyerlin's close observations of the details of this oracle and Mic. 5:1ff., *op. cit.* 82ff.

4. I Sam. 16:4ff., 18.

5. The phrase *עוֹלָם וָעוֹלָם* is used elsewhere in the OT to refer to the time of the exodus and desert wanderings, Ps. 77:5, 11(6, 12). Harrelson refers it to Gideon, *op. cit.* 156. The phrase 'olam in 5:2(1) has the meaning of "remotest time" i.e. antiquity, see J. Barr, *Biblical Words for Time*, 69f. Thus we may note the similarity between the views taken of the exodus event and those of the Davidic leadership in Israel; both stretch back in time until their very antiquity becomes an argument for the works of Yahweh and the permanence of them.

The dominion of the king was to reach to the ends of the earth<sup>1</sup> and so this ruler from Bethlehem would "be great to the ends of the earth".<sup>2</sup> From a brief comparison between Micah's description of the coming ruler and aspects of the Davidic king, it is quite plain that Micah envisaged a member of the Davidic dynasty taking the leadership of his people and delivering them from the Assyrian oppression.

Furthermore, this ruler would reunite the two kingdoms. The phrase "the rest of his brethren shall return" was not a reference to the exilic return, but an expectation of the return from exile of the northern kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Thus Micah's attitude to the reunited kingdom under a Davidic leadership was very similar to that of Amos.<sup>4</sup> The northern kingdom had gone into exile after the Assyrians had swept through their land;<sup>5</sup> but the hope of the prophet lay in a united kingdom under the chosen king of Yahweh.

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1. Ps. 72:8.

2. v. 4(3). cf. II Sam. 7:11b where BH emends "Yahweh declares to you" to read "I will make you great", followed by Beyerlin, *op. cit.* 83. cf. II Sam. 7:9 where the phrase actually occurs; see von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 222ff. esp. 229.

3. v. 3(2); this is also the view of Danell, *op. cit.* 201; A. Bentzen, King and Messiah, ET, 1955, 97; Harrelson, "Nonroyal Motifs in the Royal Eschatology", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 158. For the exilic interpretation of this verse see Smith, *op. cit.* 104f.

4. cf. Am. 9:11, see above ch. IV, 3. The pastoral setting of both oracles is quite evident, cf. Am. 9:11 with Mic. 5:4(3).

5. The reference to Babylon in 4:10 need not necessarily be an exilic interpolation, cf. Is. 39:6. see Danell, *op. cit.* 199; and Kapelrud, "Eschatology in the Book of Micah", VT, 399.

The lack of a king is presupposed in 5:2ff. (lff.), but this is a necessary setting for the oracle rather than evidence of its exilic dating. Both kingdoms would find a renewed unity under the Davidic leader; obviously Micah did not anticipate a revival of the northern kingdom.

Thus Micah's outlook for the future conformed very much to the pattern of the eighth century prophetic movement. His handling of the Zion-David traditions reflected his grasp of the historical traditions behind them, especially the various elements of the amphictyonic confederation history.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

The main reference to the patriarchs is:

" Thou wilt show faithfulness to Jacob  
 pessed to Abraham,  
 as thou hast sworn to our<sup>2</sup> fathers  
 from the days of old."

Here the names Jacob and Abraham probably express pan-Israelite hopes.<sup>3</sup> The other occurrences of the patriarchal names in Micah are all synonyms for Israel or Judah.<sup>4</sup> This was the normal usage of their names at that period.<sup>5</sup> It was not till a later period that the stories concerning the patriarchs came into prominence or that the fathers were treated as persons in their own right.

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1. A further illustration of this point was the reference to the king as  $\text{לִשְׁפָט}$  "judge", in 5:1(4:14). In 5:2ff(1ff.) Micah has combined the two concepts, see Beyerlin, op.cit. 23.
2. 7:20; as has been pointed out above in section 2 this particular hymn in 7:7-20 can be regarded as authentically from Micah. The phrase  $\text{אָבְרָהָם אֲבֹתֵינוּ}$  in 20d is almost identical with that in 5:2(1).
3. So Danell, op.cit. 198.
4. 1:5; 2:7, 12; 3:1, 8, 9; 4:2; 5:7, 8(8, 9). See Danell, op.cit. 189ff.
5. The reading of 2:7 is rather obscure, see BH; Beyerlin reads it as,  
 " Ist denn verflucht das Haus Jakobs?  
 Ist denn zu kurz der Atmem Jahwes?  
 Sind denn dies seine Taten?  
 Sind nicht seine Worte gut  
 Zu seinem Volke Israel?"  
 and suggests that Micah may have had Gen. 12:3 in mind, op.cit. 72.

## 5. Summary

Micah utilised Israel's election traditions in two ways- as a background for his declaration of Yahweh's controversy with his people and as a picture for the future of the nation. Yahweh's judgment was preached to a people who should have known the righteous acts of Yahweh which he had performed in the past. These acts were the kernel of Israel's election faith. The exodus from Egypt, the law at Sinai, the wandering in the desert, the various events during that period, and the land settlement; all these constituted the righteous acts of Yahweh. His message of judgment was issued against a background of the Sinai theophany which was part of the cultic service. This recital of the righteous deeds of Israel's God was made in an attempt to turn the people of Judah from their sins to the proper worship of Yahweh which involved justice and the practice of *hesed*.

Micah's hope for the future of his people was placed in the coming of a leader who would reunite the two kingdoms and give the nation peace against the Assyrian.<sup>1</sup> His figure of this ruler was based on elements drawn from Israel's early leaders, the judges and also the Davidic king. Thus the new beginning under this leader would really be the fulfilment of the election of David.<sup>2</sup> The coming one would embody all the features of the

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1. For the messianic content of 5:2ff. see H. Ringgren, The Messiah in the OT, SBT 18, 1956, 34f.

2. See Röhländ, op. cit. 246f. The Urzeit of 5:2(3) is the beginning of the kingdom in David's time, just as Israel's Urzeit was the exodus, see A. Bentzen, "King Ideology-'Urmensch'-'Troonsbestijgingsfeest'", ST, 1949, 143ff. esp. 151.



representative of Yahweh except the title of king. In this Micah followed the same ideas as we found in both Amos and Hosea. The two kingdoms would be reunited under one Davidic ruler; a ruler who would fulfill the functions of the old amphictyonic leader yet be cast in the style of David the original chosen king of Yahweh.

Micah's attitude to Zion was one of judgment bringing destruction yet he also envisaged a future when Zion would be the pilgrimage centre for all the nations. Using a common anonymous oracle he depicted the sanctuary hill as the source of Yahweh's law which would go out from there and ultimately the nations would live in a state of peace and security. This was also in keeping with contemporaneous ideas on the role of Zion in Yahweh's purposes for the future.

As for the people of his day, Micah predicted judgment on them because of their failure to walk humbly before Yahweh in spite of all their cultic rituals. They would be punished for their perversion, yet Yahweh himself would eventually assert his own authority and make Zion the meeting place of the nations.

If anything in Micah can be said to be new or distinctive it surely was the picture drawn of the Davidic king reuniting the two kingdoms and bringing peace to a battle swept people. Yet even this picture was completely rooted in the sacral and the royal traditions of Israel and Judah.

## CHAPTER VI

### ELECTION IN ISAIAH

#### 1. Introduction

One of the most outstanding prophets of the eighth century in Israel was Isaiah of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> We know very little about him except that he was married and had a couple of children whom he regarded as signs in his prophetic work.<sup>2</sup> Scholars have regarded him as a priest;<sup>3</sup> a prophet connected with the temple;<sup>4</sup> belonging to the aristocracy;<sup>5</sup> a member of the royal council;<sup>6</sup> a prophet of the non-sacral type;<sup>7</sup> and even as a scribe.<sup>8</sup>

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1. The main works of reference include, E. Balla, Die Botschaft der Propheten, 1958, 118-56; A. Bentzen, Introduction, II, 103ff.; O. Eissfeldt, Introduction, 303-30; N. K. Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, 147-208; G. B. Gray, Isaiah i-xxvii, ICC, 1912; W. Harrelson, Interpreting the OT, 224-47; V. Hertrich, Der Prophet Jesaja 1-12, ATD 17, 1950; O. Kaiser, Der Prophet Jesaja 1-12, ATD 17, 1963; E. Kissane, The Book of Isaiah, I, 1941; R. H. Pfeiffer, Introduction, 415-48; O. Procksch, Jesaja I, KAT IX, 1930; R. B. Y. Scott, "Introduction and Exegesis of Is. 1-39", IB, V, 151-381; A. Weiser, Introduction, 183-97.
  2. 7:3; 8:3, 4; and esp. 8:18.
  3. Scott, op. cit. 162; C. R. North, "Isaiah", IDB, II, 732; both these scholars only suggest that he may have been a priest.
  4. Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 115; Halдар, Associations of Cult Prophets, 112.
  5. Weiser, op. cit. 185; North, op. cit. 732.
  6. Scott, op. cit. 163.
  7. Lindblom, op. cit. 208.
  8. R. T. Anderson, "Was Isaiah a Scribe?", JBL, 1960, 57f. The argument considers the elements in 8:16, 18 to be the duties of a scribe.

The background to Isaiah's ministry was that period when Judah was a satellite state of Assyria.<sup>1</sup> This had led to both political tension within the kingdom and also a good deal of syncretistic practice within Israel's religion. This syncretism had resulted in the state of affairs which Isaiah condemned:

" Ah, sinful nation,  
 a people laden with iniquity,  
 offspring of evildoers,  
 sons who deal corruptly!  
 They have forsaken Yahweh,  
 they have despised the Holy One of Israel,  
 they are utterly estranged.  
 How the faithful city  
 has become a harlot,  
 she that was full of justice!  
 Righteousness lodged in her,  
 but now murderers."<sup>2</sup>

The practice of paganism had caused Israel to forget the terms of their covenant relationship with Yahweh, hence the breaking of the laws of that covenant.

The political situation involved Judah's kings in various intrigues which the prophet Isaiah condemned forthrightly. This was one of the central characteristics of Israel's prophets. They were essentially political figures;<sup>3</sup> men who interpreted their office as servants of Yahweh to include the guiding of the nation's political life. For them there was no dichotomy

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1. For details of this period see J. Bright, A History of Israel, 1960, 251ff. also Noth, History, 253ff.

2. 1:4, 21.

3. This point has tended to be overlooked by scholars in their eagerness to demonstrate the cultic connexions of the prophets. Hence we agree with Wright when he insists that "The prophet was an official of the divine government of Israel; hence the 'politics' of the office is what is centrally important", "The Lawsuit of God", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 63n.

between religious life and political existence. Thus the prophet stood in Israel as a reminder of the lordship of Yahweh over the nation. He stood in a special relation to Yahweh<sup>1</sup> and spoke the word of Israel's God to both king and people. Throughout the history of Israel's monarchy there can be found the influence of the prophet. Saul was anointed by Samuel,<sup>2</sup> Nathan's oracle proclaimed the permanence of the Davidic dynasty,<sup>3</sup> Gad played a part in the selection of the holy place,<sup>4</sup> and even Jeroboam was the subject of an oracle by Ahijah.<sup>5</sup> So it was in Israel that the king had no absolute power but was subject to the laws of Yahweh as the vassal of Yahweh.<sup>6</sup> Kingship in an absolute sense only belonged to Yahweh. Yahweh was the real king of Israel.<sup>7</sup> Herein lay the basis of the prophet's political role.<sup>8</sup>

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1. "Surely the Lord Yahweh does nothing, without revealing his secret to his servants the prophets.", Am. 3:7; cf. Is. 6:8.
  2. I Sam. 10:1; also David, I Sam. 16:13.
  3. II Sam. 7:1ff. see A. Caquot, "La prophétie de Nathan et ses <sup>échos</sup> lyriques", SVT IX, 1963, 213ff.
  4. II Sam. 24:18ff. see S. Mowinckel, "Israelite Historiography", ASTI II, 1963, 4-26, esp. 19f.
  5. I K. 11:29ff. see Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 136ff.
  6. Although the chosen and anointed one of Yahweh the king always remained the vassal of his God, see especially R. de Vaux, "Le roi d'Israël, vassal de Yahvé", Mélanges Eugene Tisserant, I, 1964, 119-33. The king's position in Israel was at best a case of primus inter pares, see A. R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship, 27. also C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship", ZAW, 1932, 8-37.
  7. Ps. 24:8ff. see J. de Fraine, "La royauté de Yahvé dans les textes concernant l'arche", SVT XV, 1966, 134-50. also H-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im Alten Testament.
  8. Hence the emphasis on Yahweh as king and the concomitant criticism of the various monarchs in the ministry of Isaiah. Having seen the king in his inaugural vision (6:5) Isaiah could not but confront the earthly kings with their shortcomings.

Isaiah experienced his call to be a prophet in a vision of Yahweh in the temple.<sup>1</sup> The main import of this vision was the impression it had on Isaiah of Yahweh as the holy one:

" Holy,holy,holy is Yahweh of hosts;  
the whole earth is full of his glory."<sup>2</sup>

Yahweh of hosts was the title of Yahweh which probably originated in the time of Israel's history when the ark had its cultic centre at Shiloh.<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the title is a little uncertain but it probably referred at one time to Yahweh as leader of the armies of Israel, but in prophetic usage meant Yahweh the almighty who embraced all the powers of heaven and earth in his person.<sup>4</sup> This would explain its occurrence with the phrase "the whole earth is full of his glory". For glory meant the weightiness of his being.<sup>5</sup> The whole tenor of the vision was one of Yahweh's terrible majesty and his power over the earth.<sup>6</sup> Hence the reaction of fear and guilt in Isaiah.<sup>7</sup>

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1. It is not necessary to assume that Isaiah was actually in the temple when he had his vision, see Kissane, *op. cit.* 74.
  2. 6:3. For an examination of ch. 6 see I. Engnell, The Call of Isaiah: An Exegetical and Comparative Study, 1949.
  3. See O. Eissfeldt, "Jahwe Zebaoth", Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia, II/2, 1950, 128-50; also his "Silo und Jerusalem", BVT IV, 1957, 138ff. von Rad, Theology, I, 18ff.; G. Wanke, Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten, BZAW 97, 1966, 40ff.; J. Schreiner, Sion-Jerusalem. Jahwes Königssitz, 225, 244f.
  4. See Th. C. Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 131f. also his Outline, 149ff. We must agree with von Rad that a name this old cannot have had the same significance at all times and for all groups, Theology, I, 19.
  5. cf. Ez. 1:28; the basic idea was "what was intrinsically impressive about God", von Rad, "YHWH in the OT", TWNT, II, 239.
  6. "God's holiness implies His absolute power over the world, a power that can be a consuming fire and, therefore, can be terrible", Vriezen, Outline, 151.
  7. v. 5; cf. "Who is able to stand before Yahweh, this holy God?", I Sam. 6:20.

The temple may have been Isaiah's matrix but it certainly was not the object of his prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Having experienced a glimpse of the divine nature he was sent to Yahweh's people with a word of judgment. This vision was to be the mainstay of his ministry, both as a reminder of the majesty of Yahweh's being<sup>2</sup> and as a notification that between Israel's past and its future stood the divine wrath.<sup>3</sup> The terribleness of Yahweh of hosts was to be reflected in his oracles of doom:

" Then I said, 'How long, O Yahweh?'  
and he said:  
'Until cities lie waste  
without inhabitant,  
and houses without men,  
and the land is utterly desolate,  
and Yahweh removes men far away,  
and the forsaken places are many  
in the midst of the land.'"<sup>4</sup>

" Your country lies desolate,  
your cities are burned with fire;  
in your very presence  
aliens devour your land;  
it is desolate, as overthrown by aliens."<sup>5</sup>

The word of judgment had come against Judah because of its rebellion against Yahweh<sup>6</sup> and its godlessness as a nation.<sup>7</sup>

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1. " Der Tempel ist für Jesaja Ausgangspunkt, aber nicht Gegenstand der Prophetie", so M. Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel. Eine Studie zum Problem der Gottesnähe im AT, 1948, 37.
  2. For further comment on the significance of the various terms describing Yahweh's being and nature in ch. 6 see Procksch, op.cit. 54f.
  3. "Zwischen dem Urbilde des davidischen Königtums und seiner Vollendung im messianischen Reich aber steht das göttliche Gericht", Procksch, ibid. 12.
  4. 6:11, 12.
  5. 1:7.
  6. 1:23; 30:1.
  7. 9:16; 10:6; cf. "their speech and their deeds are against Yahweh/ defying his glorious presence", 3:8. Vriezen maintains that the conception of sin in Isaiah is purely religious, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op.cit. 134.

The period of judgment would be that time known to the Hebrews as the day of Yahweh:

" For Yahweh of hosts has a day  
 against all that is proud and lofty,  
 against all that is lifted up and high;"<sup>1</sup>

The idea of the day of Yahweh was drawn from Israel's early history, from aspects of the holy war.<sup>2</sup> From such an origin it had passed into Israel's cultic festivals and had become an eagerly anticipated time when Yahweh would come and vindicate his people against their enemies.<sup>3</sup> However from the time of Amos onwards the prophetic word had been one of warning that the coming day of Yahweh would be a day of darkness and judgment against Israel itself by Yahweh.<sup>4</sup> This preaching of the significance of the day of Yahweh belonged to Isaiah's understanding of the kingship of Yahweh and of his sovereignty over his people.<sup>5</sup> Because Yahweh was king and Israel had failed to act upon this fact judgment must fall upon the nation.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 2:12; the MT reads "low" in strophe c; this reading follows the LXX, see Gray, *op. cit.* 59; Procksch, *op. cit.* 67.
  2. This view of the origin of the day of Yahweh follows von Rad, "The Origin of the Concept of the Day of Yahweh", *JSS*, 1949, 97ff. also his *Theology*, II, 119ff. For a discussion of the various views on its origin see H.W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 135ff.
  3. Mowinckel argues that the idea is cultic in origin, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, I, 116n., 189ff. However we would maintain that the origins of Israel's beliefs and cultic practices are better viewed as arising out of their historical experiences than as having a cultic basis. On the subject see also the notes above in ch. IV, 1.
  4. Am. 5:20; 8:9.
  5. For this eschatological aspect of the kingship of God in Israel see V. Maag, "MALKUT JHWH", *SVT VII*, 1960, 131- "Nur in Israel hat die Königsherrschaft Gottes einen unverkennbar eschatologischen Aspekt"; on kingship in Isaiah see 145.
  6. See 1:3ff.

However in spite of the emphasis on judgment and destruction<sup>1</sup> and some scholars' insistence that there was no word of salvation in Isaiah's message,<sup>2</sup> there were some intimations of hope. Granted these were only tentative words directed to a few in Judah, they still represented an advance on Amos' "it may be that Yahweh will be gracious".<sup>3</sup> This particular approach to the study of the prophets which insists on seeing them as solely harbingers of doom<sup>4</sup> is surely an inaccurate one-sided consideration of the subject. The prophets were not idealists but realists who understood that Yahweh had chosen Israel to be his people and to further his plans in the world at large. Thus any word of total destruction would have <sup>had to be</sup> ~~(to have been)~~ in line with this basic belief. Hence the prophets could distinguish between the Israel of God and the Israel after the flesh<sup>5</sup> and applied their words accordingly.<sup>6</sup> It is in the light of this fundamental point that Isaiah's idea of a remnant must be seen.<sup>7</sup>

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1. 1:24; 2:12ff.; 3:13; 45:5f.; 6:11f.

2. G. Fohrer, "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JEL, 1961, 314.

3. Am. 5:15; see Th. C. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 1953, 207.

4. Actually only certain of the prophets are considered not to have preached a word of salvation, see Fohrer's article mentioned above in note 2.

5. This particular phrase is not necessarily out of place in this context, for the distinction between flesh and spirit occurs in Is. 31:3; see D. Lys, RUACH: le souffle dans l'Ancien Testament, EHPR 56, 1962, 77ff.

6. This differentiation between two Israel-types is rightly argued by Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 205; see also his "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op. cit. esp. 142ff.

7. We cannot accept the notion that the remnant was only a figure highlighting the enormity of the destruction and thus had no soteriological significance, as argued by E. W. Heaton, "The Root and the Doctrine of the Remnant", JTS, 1952, 27-39. For a review of the subject see below, section 2b. TXW



Finally in considering some of the aspects of Isaiah's work we must note that the prophecies which have come down to us have been edited to a great extent and have had a certain amount of secondary material added to them.<sup>1</sup> This is perhaps one of the remarkable features of those books of prophets who preached with reference to Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> One cannot possibly deal adequately with the structure of Isaiah and his oracles in this thesis<sup>3</sup> but suffice it to observe that, apart from the work of Deutero-Isaiah<sup>4</sup> and an apocalyptic booklet,<sup>5</sup> the main body of the prophecy belongs to Isaiah<sup>6</sup> and the additional material was added by disciples and Isaian traditionalists.<sup>7</sup>

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1. It is quite irrelevant to this thesis to give a detailed analysis of the secondary material in Isaiah, however we feel that Pfeiffer tends to delete too much of what may well be genuine material, see Introduction, 436ff.
  2. Gottwald points out that the books containing the greatest quantities of additional material are precisely those dealing with Jerusalem, A Light to the Nations, An Introduction to the Old Testament, 1959, 308.
  3. For an analysis of the oracles of Isaiah see R. B. Y. Scott, "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", SOTP, 175-86; also his introduction in IB, V, 154f.
  4. chs. 40-55 (56-66 may be an independent collection or simply an appendix to the book, see Eissfeldt, Introduction, 341ff.) are generally accepted to belong to an entirely different prophet than the author of 1-39, see below part III, ch. X, 1. The outstanding exception to this viewpoint is Kissane who regards 1-66 as being substantially the work of the same prophet, op. cit. I, v.
  5. chs. 24-27; this was the most recent part of 1-39, Bentzen, op. cit. 114; for a discussion of its contents and its possible dating see G. W. Anderson, "Isaiah xxiv-xxvii reconsidered", SVT IX, 1963, 118-26; O. Plöger, Theokratie und Eschatologie, WMANT 2, 1959, 69-97.
  6. S. H. Blank's contention that there were many legendary Isaiahs who all added promises of salvation to the oracles of doom has little to recommend itself, Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, 1958, 9-33.
  7. See E. Nielsen, Oral Tradition, 80ff.; Engnell, The Call of Isaiah, 58; D. Jones, "The Tradition of the Oracles of Isaiah of Jerusalem", ZAW, 1955, 226-46; B. D. Napier, "Isaiah and the Isaian", SVT XV, 1966, 240-51.

## 2. The Exodus election tradition

One of the most remarkable features of Isaiah's work was the little use made of the exodus from Egypt idea. The few occurrences of the idea are generally held to be unauthentic.<sup>1</sup> In view of the fact that all the other prophets made reference to and use of the exodus tradition it is all the more remarkable that Isaiah should have omitted the idea from his work. The two main references to Egypt are:

" O my people, who are dwelling in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrians when they smite with the rod and lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did. For in a very little while my indignation will come to an end, and my anger will be directed to their destruction. And Yahweh of hosts will wield against them a scourge, as when he smote Midian at the rock of Oreb; and his rod will be over the sea, and he will lift it as he did in Egypt."<sup>2</sup>

" And Yahweh will utterly destroy the tongue of the sea of Egypt; and will wave his hand over the River with his scorching wind, and smite it into seven channels that men may cross dryshod. And there will be a highway from Assyria for the remnant which is left of his people, as there was for Israel when they came up from the land of Egypt."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See especially Rohland, op.cit. 112ff. also Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op.cit. 128f. von Rad argues that the only traditions used by Isaiah were those of David and Zion, Theology, II, 174f.
  2. 10:24-26; considered to be additional by Pfeiffer, op.cit. 436; non-Isaian by Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, 183; Scott considers it to be authentic, IB, 245 but claims that Isaiah made no use of the exodus traditions, 164.
  3. 11:15, 16; Pfeiffer maintains that ch. 11 is exilic, op.cit. 437; but Bentzen admits that the ch. is not necessarily exilic, op.cit. 108; North considers 11:10-16 to be post-exilic, op.cit. 736; also Rohland, op.cit. 112; Lindblom considers 10:24-27 to be reminiscent of the prophet rather than original, and 11:12ff. to be exilic, op.cit. 224, 416.

a) The exodus

Isaiah's concentration on the election tradition of David and Zion was the basic reason for his paucity of references to the exodus tradition. Furthermore the element of judgment in his work would not have received any greater emphasis by being linked to the exodus which was the definitive act of salvation in Israel's history. As a prophet to Jerusalem he had to appeal to those traditions most cherished by the people of the city.

However we cannot assume that Isaiah was ignorant of the tradition of Yahweh's deliverance of Israel from Egypt. We can detect in some of his oracles the influence of the exodus idea. Thus there were many references to the special relationship which existed between Israel and Yahweh; a relationship which had come into being by virtue of the exodus event.<sup>1</sup>

"Hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O earth;  
for Yahweh has spoken:  
Sons have I reared and brought up,  
but they have rebelled against me.  
The ox knows its owner,  
and the ass its master's crib;  
but Israel does not know,  
my people does not understand."<sup>2</sup>

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1. ch. 1 contains a whole list of different metaphors all demonstrating the relationship that existed between Israel and Yahweh, thus father-sons, vv. 2, 3; God-people, vv. 3, 4; doctor-patient, vv. 5, 6; see Napier, "Isaiah and the Isaian", op. cit. 242ff. also G. Fohrer, "Jesaja 1 als Zusammenfassung der Verkündigung Jesajas", ZAW, 1962, 251-68.

2. 1:2, 3; this relationship surely presupposes the exodus-covenant event which made Israel the people of God; Hertrich maintains that it refers not only to people but to individuals—"Das gilt nicht nur vom Volk in seiner Gesamtheit, sondern es gilt auch von den Einzelnen. Das prophetische Wort redet von 'Söhnen'. Damit ist das Zeugnis von der Erwählung individualisiert.", op. cit. 4.

The most striking picture of Israel as the special property of Yahweh was Isaiah's parable of the vineyard:<sup>1</sup>

" Let me sing for my beloved  
a love song concerning his vineyard:<sup>2</sup>  
My beloved had a vineyard  
on a very fertile hill.  
He digged it and cleared it of stones,  
and planted it with choice vines;<sup>3</sup>  
he built a watchtower in the midst of it,  
and hewed out a wine vat in it;  
and he looked for it to yield grapes,  
but it yielded bad grapes.<sup>4</sup>

For the vineyard of Yahweh of hosts  
is the house of Israel,  
and the men of Judah  
are his pleasant planting;  
and he looked for justice,  
but behold, bloodshed;<sup>5</sup>  
for righteousness,  
but behold, a cry!<sup>6</sup> "

This was Isaiah's most striking formulation of the election of Israel<sup>7</sup> to be the people of Yahweh . Although the purpose of the parable was to show the grounds for Yahweh's judgment against the people, it also stated the fact of Israel's election. This figure of Israel as a vine, even a choice vine, was quite familiar

1. 5:1-7; the verses quoted are 1, 2, 7.

2. Kissane would translate this phrase "the song of his love for his vineyard", op. cit. 50, 52.

3. soreq-choice vine, cf. Jer. 2:21; "eine blau-rote Edeltraube", Kaiser, 47n

4. The RSV reading "wild grapes" is inaccurate;  $\text{רָעָה}$  is bad or diseased grapes, so G.R. Driver, "Difficult Words in the Hebrew Prophets", SOTP, 53n. also Kissane, op. cit. 52; the German "Herlinge" can mean either, see Kaiser, op. cit. 45; Procksch, op. cit. 88.

5. There is a pun here in the Hebrew,  $\text{מִשְׁפָּט} - \text{מִשְׁפָּח}$ , = mishpat-mispah;

6. A further pun,  $\text{שְׂדֵאִים} - \text{שְׂעִימִים}$ , = sedāqāh-se'āqāh.

7. The meaning of Israel in v. 7 is uncertain; the parable was addressed to the men of Jerusalem and Judah (v. 3) and so Israel may mean Judah, thus the parallelism in v. 7; yet on the other hand Israel may refer to the whole nation, north and south; see the discussion of Danell, op. cit. 163f. for both ideas. Also Procksch, "Freilich ist  $\text{יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  in erster Linie das Gottesvolk als Gesamtheit, .... Doch gerade deshalb ist  $\text{יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  letztlich kein politischer, sondern ein religiöser Begriff. Also steht  $\text{יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  hier als pars pro toto.", op. cit. 90

to the people of the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

The parable of the vineyard also evinces Isaiah's attitude to the covenant structure of Israel's religion. In spite of the view that the language of the covenant is missing in Isaiah,<sup>2</sup> the whole of Isaiah's indictment of Israel for its sins presupposed such a relationship between people and God.<sup>3</sup>

"Yahweh has taken his place to contend,  
he stands to judge his people."<sup>4</sup>

This was the language of the covenant lawsuit between Yahweh and his people.<sup>5</sup> The justice and righteousness which the people had singularly failed to practice belonged to the sphere of the covenant.<sup>6</sup> The preaching of Isaiah in this context was as consistent as the preaching of all the other eighth century prophets.<sup>7</sup>

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1. See Jer. 12:10; cf. Is. 3:14 for kerem 'vineyard'; see Ps. 80:8, 14, (9, 15); Hos. 10:1; 14:7(8); Jer. 2:21; 6:9; Ez. 17:6, 7, 8; cf. 15:2, 6; 19:10; for gephen 'vine'.
  2. So Napier, "Isaiah and the Isaian", *op. cit.* 249.
  3. See especially ch. 1; Wildberger maintains that Isaiah's view of the broken covenant was borrowed from Wisdom concepts, see Jesaja, *BHAT* 10, 1, 1965, 15; also its review by R. Martin-Achard, *TZ*, 1966, 444. The nature and demands of Yahweh in 6:9f. were also reflexions of the covenant idea, so McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, 150. The actual word berith only occurs in a secular sense, see 28:15, 18; McCarthy finds a covenant context in 19:19f., *ibid.* 126n. The lack of references to berith is also reflected by the fact that hesed is only used once, 16:5.
  4. 3:13; following LXX, see BH; MT reads "peoples".
  5. The language of the covenant lawsuit appears in 1:2 and is further evidence that for a proper understanding of Isaiah's preaching we must see his ministry as having been based very much on declaring Yahweh's rib with his people, see Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", *JBL*, 1959, 285-95, also the notes above in ch. V, 2 on Mic. 6:1-5.
  6. The covenant was the source of the perpetual concern for justice in Israel, Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law", *BA*, XVII, 1954, 39.
  7. cf. Am. 5:15, 24; Hos. 4:1-6; 10:12; Mic. 6:8; see the remarks of A. Kapelrud, "New ideas in Amos", *SVT* XV, 1966, 193-206.

A consideration of the references to Egypt in Isaiah shows that although Isaiah did not utilise the exodus election tradition, he did on occasion make passing reference to aspects of that particular historical period.<sup>1</sup> Thus references were made to Yahweh's smiting of Midian,<sup>2</sup> the cloud and fire connected with Israel's journey from Egypt,<sup>3</sup> the return from Assyria as a parallel to the exodus,<sup>4</sup> and possibly an oracle for the Egyptians based on the pattern of the Heilsgeschichte.<sup>5</sup>

Most of these phrases may have been used by Isaiah, though some of them may represent the work of his disciples striving to deal with difficult material.<sup>6</sup> However a cursory glance at each occurrence reveals just how little emphasis was placed on the tradition of Israel's election at the exodus by Isaiah.

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1. For a consideration of Isaiah's understanding of history see H. Wildberger, "Jesaja's Verständnis der Geschichte", SVT IX, 1963, 83-117.
  2. 10:26; in spite of the general rejection of this section by scholars-Kaiser dates it from the period of the Greek threat, op.cit. 119-it appears to be the most authentic of any of the references to Egypt considered in this paragraph. Procksch accepts its authenticity, op.cit. 172ff. also Kissane, op.cit. 131.
  3. 4:5; cf. Ex. 40:34ff. dismissed as late by Kaiser, op.cit. 41ff. Gray, op.cit. 77; however see Procksch's arguments against some of their objections, op.cit. 83ff. Kissane considers it genuine op.cit. 41ff. though his comment "Sion will be restored to the privileged position which it had at the Exodus" is quite meaningless! The fragmentary nature of the text makes it a difficult task to reach any conclusion, see Procksch.
  4. 11:16; see the notes above at the beginning of this section.
  5. 19:19ff. this particular understanding of the section is pointed out by A. Feuillet, "Un sommet religieux de l'Ancien Testament: l'oracle d'Isaïe 19,16-25", Mélanges Jules Lebreton, RSR XXXIX, 1951, 65-87. This is a curious section, see Danell, op.cit. 1180; also Kissane, op.cit. 209ff. Gray, op.cit. 331ff.
  6. The diversity of opinion among scholars on the dating of Isaian oracles should underline the need for caution in this area; Kaufmann rightly points out the fact that there is a discrepancy between fulfilment and prophecy in Isaiah and that this is evidence concerning the early publication of the oracles, see The Religion of Israel, ET, 1960, 378ff.

b) The Remnant

There was an extremely close connexion between the idea of election and that of the remnant in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the Old Testament the idea of a remnant, that is, a part left over from the whole, was a basic principle of Yahweh's actions towards man in general, and Israel in particular.<sup>2</sup> The origin of the concept is not at all clear but it probably arose out of Israel's experience of Yahweh in history.<sup>3</sup> The Yahwist's picture of Noah and his family as survivors of the flood was surely the first example of the remnant idea.<sup>4</sup> A further example of this remnant principle occurred in the days of Elijah the prophet:

" Yet I will leave seven thousand in Israel,  
all the knees that have not bowed to Ba'al,  
and every mouth that has not kissed him." <sup>5</sup>

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1. This point is rightly stressed by Rowley, Election, 70ff. also "from one point of view the idea of election contains the idea of a remnant", G. Henton Davies, "Remnant", A Theological Word Book of the Bible, ed. A. Richardson, 1950, 189.
  2. Four roots are used in Hebrew to describe the remnant;  $\text{רָצַח}$  = survival from war or catastrophe, Num. 21:35; Dt. 3:3; Jos. 10:28;  $\text{וָּצַד}$  = personal escape or fugitive, Ps. 40:18; Is. 10:20; Jud. 12:4, 5;  $\text{רֵשֶׁת}$  = part of the whole or surplus, Lv. 14:18; Jud. 7:6; Num. 31:32; Mic. 5:2(3);  $\text{שָׁרִיט}$  = survivors or rest, what is left over, Ez. 17:21; Am. 3:12; Is. 10:19; Ex. 8:31(27); I Sam. 16:11.
  3. "The origin of the remnant idea is closely connected with the origin of eschatology, which was not borrowed from Israel's neighbours, but springs from the coming of Yahweh into the historical experience of his People", so D. M. Warne, The Origin, Development and Significance of the Concept of the Remnant in the OT, Diss. Edinburgh, 1958, 44. For a comprehensive study of the idea see Warne's thesis.
  4. Gn. 7:23; so Davies, op. cit. 190; Warne, op. cit. 45ff. see also von Rad, Genesis, ATD II, ET, 1963 rev., 124.
  5. I K. 19:18; the term used here is  $\text{שָׂרִיטִים}$ ; on the historical background of this text see Noth, History, 242ff. On the idea of the remnant here see O. Procksch, Theologie des ATs, 1950, 580f.

A scrutiny of this statement shows that the operative element in the remnant idea was Yahweh's action. The basis of the remnant's existence was always the work of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> It is at this point that the connexion between election and remnant becomes clear. Both were the gracious initial actions of Yahweh towards, and on behalf of, his people. In this sense the remnant idea was basically the application of the principle of election to a situation which involved the destruction of part of a town or a people. The remnant, therefore, was a mark of Yahweh's mercy.<sup>2</sup>

The principle of the remnant appears in situations which did not use the terminology of the idea. Thus Abraham was called from among the dwellers of Haran;<sup>3</sup> of the two sons of Isaac only Jacob was chosen;<sup>4</sup> of those who left Egypt at the exodus only some entered Canaan;<sup>5</sup> when the monarchy divided into north and south only Judah was left to David;<sup>6</sup> and finally Yahweh's plans for the future of his people only involved a remnant of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

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1. "Der Rest aber hat seinen Grund allein in der Setzung Gottes", so rightly, V. Hertrich, "Der 'Rest' im AT", TWNT, IV, 205.

2. So R. de Vaux, "Le 'Reste d'Israel' d'après les Prophetes", RB, 1933, 526-39, esp. 538.

3. Gn. 11:31; 12:1; Haran was the home of Abram not Ur, see von Rad, Genesis, 153f. also Bright, History, 78ff.

4. Gn. 27:27ff. Mal. 1:2f. see Warne, op. cit. 57f. especially with reference to Gn. 32:3-13(4-14).

5. Dt. 1:35f.; Num. 14:22ff.

6. I K. 11:31f.

7. This is the main importance of the remnant idea for this thesis; for with the destruction of the southern kingdom the Israel of election became identified with the remnant who had remained faithful to Yahweh.



In Amos the remnant had appeared in both its aspects, that of sheer survival<sup>1</sup> and a tentatively expressed image of hope.<sup>2</sup> However in Isaiah the concept was developed to the extent that it had become a vision of hope for the future. Isaiah also used it in its sense of survival:

" If Yahweh of hosts  
had not left us a few survivors,  
we should have been like Sodom,  
and become like Gomorrah."<sup>3</sup>

The real kernel of hope in Isaiah was his preaching concerning the remnant. One of his sons was named Shear-yashub, that is, "A remnant shall return".<sup>4</sup> His most definitive statement was:

" In that day the remnant of Israel (יְהוּדָה) and the survivors (שְׁאֵרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) of the house of Jacob will no more lean upon him that smote them, but will lean upon Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A remnant will return (שְׂאֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל), the remnant (שְׂאֵר) of Jacob, to the mighty God. For though your people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them will return (שְׂאֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל). Destruction is decreed, overflowing with righteousness."<sup>5</sup>

Although the emphasis here was on the judgment of Yahweh against his people, there was an element of hope given to the people. To translate Shear-yashub as "a mere remnant" is surely

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1. 3:12; 5:3; the actual terms for remnant were not used but the metaphors convey the idea quite adequately.

2. 5:15; cf. 9:8; "may be Yahweh of hosts will be gracious".

3. 1:9; the term used was יְהוּדָה. The word was reinforced by being coupled with אֲנִי יְהוָה "few"; the whole phrase אֲנִי יְהוָה אֲנִי יְהוָה is one of the best examples in the OT for conveying the notion of bare survival.

4. 7:3; this son was surely a sign in a twofold sense, pointing to the few who would survive and also emphasising that some would indeed survive.

5. 10:20-22; there is no reason for assigning this passage to a later date just because it is in prose as Gray maintains, op.cit. 203.

to miss the positive side of Isaiah's message.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars maintain that the remnant idea in Isaiah has no more significance than being a metaphor for almost total destruction.<sup>2</sup> What constituted the remnant was so insignificant as to be more of a spotlight for the devastation than anything positive.<sup>3</sup> We cannot agree with this viewpoint, for the Hebrew prophets invariably saw judgment and salvation as two sides of the same plan.<sup>4</sup> The emphasis may have been on the near totality of the judgment but the few survivors would constitute the nucleus of Yahweh's people in the future. The prophets of Israel preached to Israel the political entity<sup>5</sup> and also to Israel the people of God.<sup>6</sup> This is the important factor in understanding the prophetic word; whatever the historical situation of Israel, there was always the deep concern for Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh.<sup>7</sup> Those who lived before Yahweh in humility,

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1. This is how Blank would translate it, "Current Misinterpretations of Isaiah's She'ar Yashub", JBL, 1948, 212.
  2. Especially Blank, ibid. 211ff. also E. Heaton, "The Root  $\gamma x \cup$  and the Doctrine of the Remnant", JTS, 1952, 27-39; also his, The Old Testament Prophets, rev. 1961, 143ff.
  3. Thus Shear Yashub was an ill omen, so Blank, Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, 30ff.
  4. See J. Fichtner, "Jahwes Plan in der Botschaft des Jesaja", ZAW, 1951, 16-33, esp. 32. also Hertrich, Jesaja, 116f.
  5. For the political side of the prophetic message see E. Jenni, Die politischen Voraussagen der Propheten, ATANT 29, 1956; esp. 15ff. on Isaiah. On Isaiah's handling of the political situations in his career see Gottwald, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, 147ff.
  6. Commenting on 7:7-9 Hertrich writes, "Weltvölker und Gottesvolk - das ist das Thema, das hier verhandelt wird.", Jesaja, 118; see also G. H. Davies, "The Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth-century Prophets", SOTP, 37ff. esp. 45ff.
  7. "The prophets are concerned with Israel as God's people, and as such it is not annihilated, even if it is destroyed empirically." Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 1953, 222.

justice, righteousness, and loved hesed were indeed the pious remnant upon whom Yahweh would have mercy.<sup>1</sup>

The elements of warning and promise which were inherent in Shear-yashub<sup>2</sup> were directed to a people of whom Yahweh demanded faith.

" For thus said the Lord Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel,  
'In returning and rest you shall be saved;  
in quietness and in trust shall be your strength' "<sup>3</sup>

" Afterward you shall be called the city of righteousness,  
the faithful city. "<sup>4</sup>

" If you will not believe,  
surely you shall not be established. "<sup>5</sup>

The instructions given to Isaiah at his inaugural vision of Yahweh contained a possible reference to the remnant idea.<sup>6</sup>

" And he said, 'Go, and say to this people:  
Hear and hear, but do not understand;  
see and see, but do not perceive. '<sup>7</sup>  
Make the heart of this people fat,  
and their ears heavy,  
and shut their eyes;  
lest they see with their eyes,  
and hear with their ears,  
and understand with their hearts,  
and turn and be healed.

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1. See Am. 5:24; Mic. 6:8; cf. Am. 5:15; Is. 1:17; 5:7.

2. So H-W. Hertzberg, "Die Nachgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte innerhalb des Alten Testaments", Beiträge, 74.

3. 30:15; see Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op. cit. 136f. for a discussion of the various terms appearing in these three examples.

4. 1:26; cf. v. 21.

5. 7:9; this particular reference was to Ahaz. For the idea of faith in Isaiah see Blank, Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, ch. III, 34-48; for a critique of modern views on the meaning of faith in the OT see Barr, The Semantics of Biblical Language, ch. 7, 161-205.

6. 6:9-13.

7. On the problem of hardening of heart in the OT see, F. Hesse, Das Verstockungsproblem im AT; for a discussion of the problem in this context see von Rad, Theology, II, 151ff. also Eichrodt, who takes a somewhat different view, Theology, I, 376f.

Then I said, 'How long, O Yahweh?'  
 and he said:  
 'Until cities lie waste  
 without inhabitant,  
 and houses without men,  
 and the land is utterly desolate.  
 and Yahweh removes men far away,  
 and the forsaken places are many  
 in the midst of the land.  
 And though a tenth remain in it,<sup>1</sup>  
 it will be burned again,  
 like a terebinth or an oak,  
 whose stump remains standing  
 when it is felled'  
 The holy seed is its stump."<sup>2</sup>

The remnant spoken of here was mainly the remains of the ruins which had been subjected yet again to destruction. The final clause of the passage "the holy seed is its stump" is held to be a late gloss by some scholars.<sup>3</sup> Others maintain that it is authentic and that at the very outset of his ministry he was assured that the word of doom was not the final word.<sup>4</sup>

A further aspect of the remnant idea has been seen in the fact that Isaiah himself was a type of the remnant, for he had been cleansed from his sin and rescued from the judgment of that sin.<sup>5</sup>

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1. v.13, "a tenth remain in it", Buber suggests that this term came to Isaiah from Amos(5:3), Prophetic Faith, 133. Engnell considers it refers to Judah, The Call of Isaiah, 51; as does Danell, op. cit. 167; cf. I Sam. 11:8; II Sam. 19:44; I K. 11:31f.
  2. This clause is missing in the LXX but usually accounted for by homoioteleuton, see BH.
  3. So Gray, op. cit. 111; Procksch, op. cit. 59f. Kaiser, op. cit. 57, 66f. Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 1953, 210n.
  4. Engnell, op. cit. 46ff. (the reference to Vriezen in n3 includes his argument against this view held by Engnell). Danell, op. cit. 167n. It is possible that v.13c was a reflexion on his message added by Isaiah at a later date. For a summary of the various arguments, see Warne, op. cit. 80ff.
  5. "Begründet ist das Wort vom 'Rest' bereits durch das Zeugnis der Berufungsvision. Indem der Prophet aus dem Tode des Gerichtes (6:5) gerufen wird, ist er selber Typos des 'Restes'." Hertrich, Jesaja, 199.

What exactly Isaiah envisaged by the remnant is not at all clear. Some think that his son was to be the nucleus of the remnant.<sup>1</sup> Others that Isaiah originally thought in terms of judgment but that later in the course of his life the idea developed a greater degree of hope.<sup>2</sup> It is quite probable that the prophet himself had no clearly defined notion of what form his remnant idea would take in the future when Yahweh made good his promise.<sup>3</sup> However his idea of a remnant became one of the most seminal ideas for the later development of the prophetic outlook on Israel's future.<sup>4</sup>

Isaiah's emphasis on the remnant may well explain his lack of reference to the exodus tradition. To his way of thinking an end had come upon Israel, therefore the old tradition must give way to a new approach setting forth Yahweh's plans, not for the nation, but, for a remnant of that nation. Thus rather than harp on past glories, Isaiah insisted on confronting the nation with a severe warning of impending judgment with an intimation of deliverance for a few.<sup>5</sup>

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1. So Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, 324.

2. See G. E. Wright, The Book of the Acts of God, ed. 1965, 167.

3. Vriezen rightly refers to Isaiah as "the prophet of the paradox", Outline, 61.

4. This was especially true of his own disciples who made such good use of the remnant idea, see Mowinckel, He That Cometh, 135; Warne, op. cit. 101. Ultimately the idea was given its most mature form by Deutero-Isaiah. K. Popper's definition of tradition fits this particular situation very well—"A tradition is, as it were, capable of extending something of the personal attitude of its founder far beyond his personal life", "Towards a Rational Theory of Tradition", Conjectures and Refutations, 1963, 134.

5. For further information on the remnant idea see von Rad, Theology, II, 21ff. and J. C. Campbell, "God's People and the Remnant", SJT, 1950, 78-85, though this particular article is quite uninformative.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

The main concern of Isaiah was with the people of Zion and its king. Hence the central election tradition for him was that of David and his city. The dominant belief in the Jerusalem of his time was that the city was the dwelling place of Yahweh, God of Israel.<sup>1</sup> This belief was reflected in the worship of the cult.<sup>2</sup> The king on the throne was a visible reminder of Yahweh's covenant with David. Thus Isaiah referred to the "house of David",<sup>3</sup> "the throne of David",<sup>4</sup> "the tent of David",<sup>5</sup> and also "the stump of Jesse".<sup>6</sup> In Judah it was a case of the king qua Davidic who was a son of Yahweh,<sup>7</sup> and therefore an inheritor of the promises made to David by Yahweh.<sup>8</sup> However Isaiah directed his remarks on Yahweh's anointed one not to the king/<sup>in</sup> whose reign he prophesied, but to a future period.<sup>9</sup> For him the coming ruler would be the work of Yahweh and would embody all those qualities lacking in the monarchs of his time.<sup>10</sup>

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1. 8:18; "Er thront als König der Welt im Himmel, ist aber zugleich als Zionsgott inmitten seines Volkes", so Balla, *op. cit.* 153.

2. See the Psalms (below, ch. VII, 2); Kraus remarks on the content of the Psalms, "Im Heiligtum von Jerusalem ist Jahweh Zebaoth gegenwärtig. Der Zion ist die Stätte der Gegenwart Gottes", see *Psalmen*, I, BKAT XV/1, 1960, lxiv.

3. 7:2, 13.

4. 9:7(6).

5. 16:5.

6. 11:1.

7. So C. R. North, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship", *ZAW*, 1932, 25.

8. See II Sam. 7; cf. II Sam. 23:5.

9. See von Rad, *Theology*, II, 170.

10. See 9:2-7(1-6); 11:1-10; especially the remark, "the zeal of Yahweh of hosts will do this", 9:7(6). See also the remarks below in subsection c of this section.

a) Zion

One of the outstanding oracles of Isaiah concerning Zion was:<sup>1</sup>

" Therefore hear the word of Yahweh, you scoffers,  
 who rule this people in Jerusalem!  
 Because you have said, 'We have made a covenant with death,<sup>2</sup>  
 and with Sheol we have an agreement;<sup>3</sup>  
 when the overwhelming scourge passes through  
 it will not come to us;  
 for we have made lies our refuge,  
 and in falsehood we have taken shelter';  
 therefore thus says the Lord Yahweh,<sup>4</sup>  
 'Behold, I am laying<sup>5</sup> in Zion for a foundation:  
 a stone, a tested stone,<sup>6</sup>  
 a precious cornerstone,<sup>7</sup> of a sure foundation:  
 'he who believes will not be in haste.'<sup>8</sup>  
 And I will make justice the line,  
 and righteousness the plummet;  
 and hail will sweep away the refuge of lies,  
 and waters will overwhelm the shelter.'  
 Then your covenant with death will be annulled,<sup>9</sup>  
 and your agreement with Sheol will not stand;  
 when the overwhelming scourge passes through  
 you will be beaten down by it."

The precise significance of the "cornerstone" is not clear. It has been explained as symbolising confidence in Yahweh. Thus

1. 28:14-18; see Rohland, op.cit. 147ff.

2. Gottwald connects "covenant with death" with the Canaanite god Mot, All the Kingdoms of the Earth, 161.

3. Rohland follows KBL and reads hesed for hozeh; LXX reads "συνθήκη".

4. Procksch considers that vv. 16, 17a originally formed the conclusion to vv. 7-13; he also reads סִיָּאֵל for יִשְׂרָאֵל, Jesaja, 357.

5. Reading אָנֹכִי "am laying" for אָנֹכִי? with LXX, BH, and Procksch, op.cit. 356.

6. LXX reads ἐκλεκτός for אֶבֶן which is the equivalent of אֶבֶן.

7. Omit one of the readings of אֶבֶן, see BH, also Rohland, op.cit. 148n; cf. I Petr. 2:6.

8. LXX reads "ὁὐ μὴ κενώσῃς" = אֶבֶן אֶבֶן for אֶבֶן אֶבֶן, followed by Procksch, ibid. 358; however אֶבֶן probably has the meaning of "anxiety" in Job 20:2 (BDB translates "haste"=excitement), so Kissane, op.cit. 318. The whole line is a form of inscription, so Procksch, op.cit. 358; perhaps a quotation from a well-known saying that was current during Isaiah's lifetime; perhaps even from aphorisms concerning Zion.

9. Read אֶבֶן for אֶבֶן; see Kissane, op.cit. 318; Procksch, op.cit. 361; cf. LXX and Targ.

" The true Yahweh religion is considered as a building which Yahweh is about to erect in Jerusalem. The bearers of this true Yahweh religion are the adherents of the prophet, the core of the future remnant."

Others prefer the explanation that the messiah was meant, and that the building referred to the remnant.<sup>2</sup> The important feature of the prophecy was the contrast set between those who took refuge in deceit and those who had faith in Yahweh. One group would be swept away in the flood, the other would find stability and rest in Yahweh. The rulers of the people in Jerusalem who scoffed at Isaiah's words and sought for security in an agreement with Sheol would only find destruction. But those who exercised faith in Yahweh would have no need to rush in search of shelter.<sup>3</sup> Thus Isaiah preached a new work of Yahweh which would be a new beginning for a few, most probably Isaiah's concept of the remnant, in Zion.<sup>4</sup> This was one of the main features of the prophetic word in ancient Israel—that Yahweh's plans for his people invariably involved only a small part of the nation and ignored the general trend of affairs

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1. Lindblom, op. cit. 368n. see also his "Der Eckstein in Jes. 28, 16", FS Mowinckel, 123ff.

2. So F. Dreyfus, "La doctrine du reste d'Israël chez le prophète Isaïe", RSPT, 1955, 361ff. cf. Weiser, Introduction, 196.

3. cf. Ps. 55:8(9)—"I would haste to find me a shelter/ from the raging wind and tempest", where the same verb (וַיִּלֶּט) is used.

4. "Wesentlich ist aber zweifellos, dass durch den von Jahwe gesetzten Neuanfang das Volk auf dem Zion seiner Erwählung durch Jahwe endlich entsprechen würde.", Rohland, op. cit. 154; "So wie die Bauinschrift den Grundstein als solchen kennzeichnet und ihm seine besondere Würde gibt, so wird Zion zum wirklichen Ausgangspunkt eines neuen Israel, zur wirklichen Gründung Jahves und damit zum wirklichen 'Bauplatz' Jahves durch den Glauben.", Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, 44; also A. C. Welch, Post-Exilic Judaism, 1935, 9.



of those in power. That is not to say that the prophets did not consider every person in Israel to be answerable to Yahweh, but that the principle of Yahweh being with the weak or the insignificant was part of Yahweh's hidden work among his people.<sup>1</sup> A later follower of Isaiah stated the situation very succinctly when he wrote:

" For thus says the high and lofty One  
 who inhabits eternity, whose name is Holy:  
 I dwell in the high and holy place,  
 and also with him who is of a contrite  
 and humble spirit." <sup>2</sup>

A further oracle can be placed beside the declaration of a cornerstone in Zion. It too shows that Isaiah's basic message to the people was that they should rely far less on the tenor of outward happenings and put their trust in Yahweh.<sup>3</sup>

" For Yahweh spoke thus to me with his strong hand upon me, and warned me not to walk in the way of this people saying: 'Do not call conspiracy all that this people call conspiracy, and do not fear what they fear, nor be in dread. But Yahweh of hosts, him you shall regard as holy; let him be your fear, and let him be your dread. And he will become a sanctuary,<sup>4</sup> and a stone of offence,<sup>5</sup> and a rock of stumbling to both houses of Israel,<sup>6</sup> a trap and a snare to the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And many shall stumble thereon; they shall fall and be broken; they shall be snared and taken.' "

1. cf. I K. 19:18; Is. 6:13; Hag. 2:3ff. Zec. 4:10; see O. Bächli, "Die Erwählung des Geringen", TZ, 1966, 385-95.

2. Is. 57:15.

3. 8:5-15; the verses quoted are 11-15 but the whole section belongs together; the ki of v. 11 refers back to the preceding verses.

4. Read "with him shall you make alliance" for "him you shall regard as holy" in order to keep v. 13 symmetrical with v. 12, so Kissane, op.cit. 103. Scott would read וְיָרָא "snare" in v. 14 for וְיָרָא, IB, 227; however וְיָרָא can mean "a refuge", see Ez. 11:16.

5. Read "not a stone of offence" with LXX; a case of haplography.

6. Procksch reads "house of Israel", op.cit. 136; LXX has "ὁ οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ"; Danell accepts the MT reading and interprets "this people" of vv. 11, 12 according to it, op.cit. 171.

Yahweh as a rock to the houses of Israel stood in contrast to the flood which would sweep through northern Israel and into Judah.<sup>1</sup> Again the distinction between the people and Yahweh, or his stone, was made. The warning was against seeing things in the light of popular opinion; a warning which Isaiah had tried unsuccessfully to impart to king Ahaz.<sup>2</sup> On one hand Yahweh's rock, on the other the incoming flood of the Assyrian armies. Against the political background of his day Isaiah put forward the claims of the amphictyonic God of Israel, Yahweh of hosts.<sup>3</sup>

" For thus said the Lord Yahweh, the Holy One of Israel,  
'In returning and rest you shall be saved;  
in quietness and in trust shall be your strength.'"<sup>4</sup>

The image of the enemy as a roaring flood was a constant metaphor in the vocabulary of Isaiah:

" Ah, the thunder of many peoples,  
they thunder like the thundering of the sea!  
Ah, the roar of nations,  
they roar like the roaring of mighty waters!  
The nations roar like the roaring of many waters,  
but he will rebuke them, and they will flee away,"<sup>5</sup>

In contrast to this flood was the image of the rock and Isaiah's use of the idea of security.<sup>6</sup> In a time of destruction and

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1. 8:5-8; cf. 28:17.

2. 7:10ff.

3. We would insist that the primary denotation of the term Yahweh of hosts was that of Yahweh as the leader of the armies of Israel and belonged especially to the amphictyonic period, see J. Gray, *I&II Kings*, 349.

4. 30:15.

5. 17:12f. cf. 5:30; 8:6-8; 23:10; 28:17f. contrast 11:9.

6. 7:9; 11:5; 28:16; the basic meaning of יִשָּׁר is "feel secure" which in an active sense may be translated as "trust" cf. יָשַׁר in 30:15. See the remarks of Barr, *Semantics*, 185ff. Also "when the verb is used in a general sense the translation 'to believe' conveys the idea of trusting in God faithfully, that is, regarding God as steadfast.", Vriezen, *Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah*, op.cit. 136.

general instability Isaiah called on individuals within the nation to turn to Yahweh and to trust him. He and his family stood as signs within the nation;<sup>1</sup> signs that testified to certain important aspects of both his preaching and of the political situation. Thus his own name emphasised the fact that deliverance was only to be found in Yahweh;<sup>2</sup> while the names of his sons warned of coming destruction<sup>3</sup> and promised a glimmer of hope.<sup>4</sup>

The demand for faith was addressed to individuals rather than to the nation for the nation had become unfaithful and rebellious against Yahweh;<sup>5</sup>

" How the faithful city  
has become a harlot,  
<sup>6</sup>she that was full of justice!  
Righteousness lodged<sup>7</sup> in her,  
but now murderers.  
Your silver has become dross, your wine mixed with water.  
your princes are rebels<sup>8</sup>  
and companions of thieves.  
Every one loves a bribe  
and runs after gifts.  
They do not defend the fatherless,  
and the widow's cause does not come to them.

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1.8:18.

2. יִשְׁעֵי יְהוָה -Isaiah-"Yahweh will save"; see Scott, "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", SOTP, 186.

3. מַהֵר שָׁלַל הָשָׁבַז -Maher-shālāl-hāsh-baz-"Speed-spoil-haste-booty"; 8:1-4; cf. 17:14; 28:16.

4. שְׂאֵר יָשׁוּב -Sheār-yāshub-"A remnant returns/shall return"; 7:3; cf. 10:21.

5. 1:21-27; cf. 1:4; 3:8; 5:7.

6. LXX has Zion here; followed by Procksch, *op. cit.* 45; Hertrich, *op. cit.* 18; Kaiser, *op. cit.* 14; Rohland, *op. cit.* 157; see BH.

7. Procksch would delete "but now murderers", *op. cit.* 45; the other commentators follow suit; see BH.

8. Procksch deletes "with water" from v. 22b and inserts "all" into 23a thus reading "all your princes are rebels", *ibid.* 45; Kaiser also, *op. cit.* 14 omits "water", see BH.

Therefore the Lord says,  
 Yahweh of hosts,  
 the Mighty One of Israel:  
 'Ah, I will vent my wrath on my enemies,  
 and avenge myself on my foes.  
 I will turn my hand against you  
 and will smelt away your dross as with lye  
 and remove all your alloy.  
 And I will restore your judges as at the first,  
 and your counselors as at the beginning.  
 Afterward you shall be called the city of righteousness,  
 the faithful city.'  
 Zion shall be redeemed by justice,<sup>1</sup>  
 and those in her who repent, by righteousness."<sup>2</sup>

The linking together of the terms "righteous-ness" and "faithful"<sup>3</sup> is further evidence of the connexion between these two ideas in Ancient Israel. A dominant aspect of Yahwistic religion was righteousness and faith:

"...the righteous one shall live by his faithfulness."<sup>4</sup>

There was also an intimate connexion between *sedeq* and the city of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup> Isaiah's usage of the terms is evidence that he was firmly rooted in the traditions of the city he preached in and in which he lived.

1. v. 27 is probably a later addition, see Procksch, *op. cit.* 49.

2. ch. 1 has much in common with the book of Deuteronomy, see L. G. Rignell, "Isaiah Chapter I. Some exegetical remarks with special reference to the relationship between the text and the book of Deuteronomy", *ST*, 1958, 140-58. Mowinckel has suggested that the Decalogue originated in the circle of Isaiah's disciples, *Le Décalogue*, 160. See below ch. VII, 3.

3. 1:21, 27(?), 26; cf. 11:5.

4. Hab. 2:4; see A. R. ~~Johnson~~ Johnson's work on this text, esp. his The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel, 1964 ed.

5. cf. Melchisedeq (Gn. 14:18); Adonisedeq (Jos. 10:1); see A. R. Johnson, "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", The Labyrinth, ed. S. H. Hooke, 1935, 83ff.; N. W. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", Verbanung und Heimkehr, 235-52; "Shalem-Shalom", TGUOS X, 1940/1, 1-7; J. Gray, "The Canaanite God Huron", JNES, 1949, 27-34; "The Desert God 'Atr in the Literature and Religion of Canaan", JNES, 1949, 72-83.

In the lawsuit between Yahweh and Israel, Yahweh played the role of plaintiff as well as judge.<sup>1</sup> This aspect of the divine controversy with his people was further emphasised by Isaiah in the way he understood the Assyrian menace:<sup>2</sup>

" Ho Ariel, Ariel,  
 the city where David encamped!  
 Add year to year;  
 let the feasts run their round.  
 Yet I will distress Ariel,  
 and there shall be moaning and lamentation,  
 and she shall be to me like an Ariel.  
 And I will encamp against you round about,<sup>3</sup>  
 and will besiege you with towers  
 and I will raise siegeworks against you.  
 Then deep from the earth you shall speak,  
 from low in the dust your words shall come;  
 your voice shall come from the ground like the  
 voice of a ghost,  
 and your speech shall whisper out of the dust."  
 " Ho, Assyria, rod of my anger,  
 the staff of my fury! "<sup>4</sup>

The external threat of the Assyrian armies was seen by Isaiah to be the work of Yahweh against his own people. The political situation provided the prophet with the setting for his day of Yahweh warnings.<sup>5</sup> Whether the prophet thought that the day of Yahweh would occur at that particular period and in terms of

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1. See 1:2; 3:13-15; 5:3; cf. Hos. 4:1-6; Mic. 6:1-5. "Jahwe wird hier als Kläger und Richter in einer Person gesehen", H. J. Boecker, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament, WMANT 14, 1964, 86.
  2. 29:1-4; vv. 5-8 will be considered below in subsection b.
  3. Read "as David" for "round about" with LXX, also Procksch, op.cit. 370. The meaning of Ariel is most obscure, some commentators take it to be the ancient name of Jerusalem, Kissane, op.cit. 324; this view is rejected by Procksch who refers the name to the hearth of sacrifices, op.cit. 371f. see also Rohland, op.cit. 165.
  4. 10:5; the MT reads "a staff it is in their hand my fury", of which "it is in their hand" is probably a gloss, so Gray, op.cit. 201; however Kissane reads "a staff is he in the day of my wrath", op.cit. 124; "a staff of my anger in my hand", Procksch, op.cit. 162ff.
  5. 2:12ff.; 3:18ff.; 22:12ff.

the Assyrian invasion, or that the figure of the day of Yahweh conveyed to the people something of the nature of the Assyrian attack and also helped to impress upon them the terribleness of that day is a moot point.<sup>1</sup> For Isaiah the main feature in the threat was Yahweh's part in it. It was not simply a question of Israel being exposed to the Assyrian menace but of the nation coming under the judgment of Yahweh who would use the Assyrians to execute that judgment. This factor of Yahweh opposing his own people was made clear by Isaiah on another occasion:

" For Yahweh will rise up as on Mount Perazim,  
 he will be wroth as in the valley of Gibeon;  
 to do his deed-strange is his deed!  
 and to work his work-alien is his work!  
 Now therefore do not scoff,  
 lest your bonds be made strong;  
 for I have heard a decree of destruction  
 from the Lord Yahweh of hosts upon the whole land."<sup>2</sup>

Mount Perazim and the valley of Gibeon were the scenes of David's great victories over the Philistines.<sup>3</sup> Thus Yahweh would reverse the significance of those places by rising up against his own people. It is not surprising to find the action described as "strange" and "alien". In the same way Yahweh's encampment against Ariel would be a reversal of David's attack on Zion,<sup>4</sup> for that occasion gave Israel domination over the city but Yahweh's strange work would deprive them of their freedom in the city.

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1. See S. B. Frost, "Eschatology and Myth", VT, 1952, 78. He sees the day of Yahweh as not being identifiable with the Assyrian attack, but the attack is the day of Yahweh in comprehensible terms.

2. 28:21f. 22d should perhaps just read "from Yahweh of hosts".

3. II Sam. 5:20, 25.

4. II Sam. 5:6-9.

Yet in spite of Isaiah's insistence on the judgment of Yahweh against Jerusalem, he also believed that ultimately Zion would be the centre of Yahweh's Torah.<sup>1</sup>

" The word which Isaiah the son of Amoz saw concerning Judah and Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup>  
 'It shall come to pass in the latter days<sup>3</sup>  
 that the mountain of the house of Yahweh shall be established as the highest of the mountains, and shall be raised above the hills;<sup>4</sup>  
 and all nations<sup>5</sup> shall flow to it, and many nations shall come, and say:  
 'Come, let us go up to the mountain of Yahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob;<sup>6</sup>  
 that he may teach us his ways and that we may walk in his paths.'  
 For out of Zion shall go forth Torah, and the word of Yahweh from Jerusalem. He shall judge between the nations, and shall decide for many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.'<sup>7</sup>

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1. The elements of his work which dealt with the deliverance of Zion are considered below in subsection b 'The question of Zion's inviolability'.
  2. 2:1-4 = Mic. 4:1-4; see above ch. V, 3b. Ackroyd views 2:1 as an appended note stressing the Isaianic authorship of what follows due to the oracle having also appeared in Micah, see "A Note on Isaiah 2:1", *ZAW*, 1963, 320f. We view the oracle as having been an anonymous oracle used by both the prophets (see above, V, 3b), see Scott, *IB*, V, 157, 180f. Wildberger stresses its Isaian authorship, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion, Jes. II 1-5", *VT*, 1957, 62-81; also Kaufmann, *The Religion of Israel*, 386; Cannawurf believes it to be post-exilic, "The authenticity of Micah IV 1-4", *VT*, 1963, 26-33; also Gray, *op. cit.* 42ff. Procksch, *op. cit.* 61, and Kissane, *op. cit.* 22, both regard it as Isaian.
  3. The phrase "the latter days" was not necessarily an eschatological term, it simply meant "in the future", see G. W. Buchanan, "Eschatology and the 'End of Days'", *JNES*, 1961, 188-93; H. Kosmala, "At the End of the Days", *ASTI II*, 1963, 27-37.
  4. transpose יִבְנֶה to 2c. cf. Mic. 4:1, see Kissane, *op. cit.* 25.
  5. יִבְנֶה here and וְיִשְׁבְּ v. 3a Micah reversed the order.
  6. "Der Gott Jakobs ist der Gott Gesamtisraels mit vereinigtem Südreich und Nordreich....", so Procksch, *op. cit.* 62.
  7. Micah added an extra verse to the oracle, see Mic. 4:4.

This oracle was the counterpart of Isaiah's vision of Yahweh of hosts the holy one whose glory filled the whole earth.<sup>1</sup> The role of Yahweh as king which dominated the inaugural vision was here applied in a practical sense to the nations of the world. The royal aspects of dispensing the Torah and judging the peoples were associated with Yahweh's rule in his capital, Zion.<sup>2</sup> Isaiah's new understanding and assessment of himself and man which accompanied his deep experience of the holy God<sup>3</sup> not only gave him the impetus for his preaching of judgment, but also allowed him to ~~the~~ grasp the ultimate fact that Yahweh's lordship must eventually be established in the earth.

The centrality of Zion in this particular oracle led, no doubt, to Isaiah's adoption of it into his work. It reflected the basic contents of the Zion psalms belonging to the cultus in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> The Zion of this oracle would be that city of which Isaiah had prophesied:

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1. "...volle Erkenntnis des Planes Jahves: 2, 2-4 ist in diesem Sinne das universale Gegenstück zu der individuellen Vision Kap. 6", Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, 37, see also 53.
  2. 2:3, 4. For the notion of the king as dispenser of Torah see, Östborn, Tōrā in the OT, 54ff. Schrenk probably exaggerates when he claims that the primary function of the priest was the delivery of oracles rather than sacrifice, "ιερευσ", TWNT, III, 260. For priest and prophet as imparters of Torah see Östborn, op. cit. 89ff.; 127ff.
  3. cf. Eichrodt's comment on ch. 6 "Hand in Hand mit dieser tieferen Erkenntnis des heiligen Gottes geht eine neue Selbstschätzung des Einzelmenschen.", Der Heilige in Israel, Jesaja 1-12, 20.
  4. This factor is pointed out by Wildberger, "Die Völkerwallfahrt zum Zion, Jes. ii 1-5", VT, 1957, 69. On the cultic background of the passage see von Rad, "The City on the Hill", Problem of the Hexateuch, 232-42; Rohland, op. cit. 172ff.



" And I will restore your judges as at the first  
and your counselors as at the beginning.  
Afterward you shall be<sup>1</sup> called the city of righteousness,  
the faithful city. "

Thus Isaiah looked beyond the political tensions of his own day to a time sometime in the future<sup>2</sup> when Yahweh would have renewed the city and its people and at last the nations of the earth would go up to Zion and there worship Yahweh. The sentiments concerning peace and the cessation of war were undoubtedly the natural reactions to a period of constant threat of war. The image of the peoples going up to Jerusalem was the antithesis of the image of the nations as the chaos floods of war.<sup>3</sup> No longer the noise of warmongering nations, nor the oppression of siege machines round about the city,<sup>4</sup> but a scene of pilgrimage centring around Yahweh's Torah; all of which would be brought into existence by the dynamic word of Yahweh.<sup>5</sup> In this sense it is possible to see in Isaiah's picture of Zion a further aspect of the remnant idea. For of all the cities of the earth it would be the one where the nations would find a focal point and peace within the blessing of Yahweh's Torah.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 1:26.

2. This is the basic significance of the phrase "in the latter days"; see Gottwald, Kingdoms, 202, " 'in the latter days' = an important turning point in history not end of history. "

3. For the chaos floods see 8:6-8; 17:12f.; also 28:15, 18; in these passages flood is used as an image for the invading armies; the chaos concept was probably a borrowed Canaanite idea, see Pedersen, Israel, I-II, 470ff.

4. 29:3.

5. On Yahweh's word (יָדַבַּר) see von Rad, Theology, II, 80ff. also Vriezen, Outline, 93ff.

6. cf. 28:16.

b) The question of Zion's inviolability

The city of Jerusalem faced two specific threats during Isaiah's ministry. The Syro-Ephraimite<sup>1</sup> war had been an attempt to depose Ahaz the southern king and had led to an attack on the city. Some decades later the Assyrians had invaded Judah and Jerusalem had again come under the duress of a siege.<sup>2</sup> On both occasions Isaiah had prophesied deliverance for the city. Concerning the coalition directed against Ahaz Isaiah had given a word of assurance to the king:<sup>3</sup>

" And Yahweh said to Isaiah, 'Go forth to meet Ahaz, you and Shear-jashub your son, at the end of the conduit of the upper pool on the highway to the Fuller's Field, and say to him, 'Take heed, be quiet, do not fear, and do not let your heart be faint because of these two smouldering stumps of firebrands, at the fierce anger of Rezin and Syria and the son of Remaliah. Because Syria, with Ephraim and the son of Remaliah, has devised evil against you, saying, 'Let us go up against Judah and terrify it, and let us conquer it for ourselves, and set up the son of Tabeel as king in the midst of it', thus says Yahweh:

It shall not stand,  
and it shall not come to pass.  
For the head of Syria is Damascus,<sup>4</sup>  
and the head of Damascus is Rezin.  
And the head of Ephraim is Samaria,  
and the head of Samaria is the son of Remaliah.  
If you will not believe,  
surely you shall not be established.'"

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1. More accurately known as the Aramean-Israelite coalition, see Bright, History, 274; Noth, History, 259ff.
  2. Whether one or two invasions by Assyria took place is not relevant here, see Bright, History, 282-7.
  3. 7:3-9.
  4. Exclude "Within sixty-five years Ephraim will be broken to pieces so that it will no longer be a people", v. 8cd as unoriginal; see Kissane, op. cit., 82; Rohland, op. cit. 145n.

The main emphasis in this oracle was that Yahweh would see to it that the two coalition kings would fail to make good their intentions against Jerusalem. The word of assurance was "take heed, be quiet, do not fear, and do not let your heart be faint",<sup>1</sup> all aspects drawn from the pattern of the holy war.<sup>2</sup> Yahweh would guarantee that "it shall not stand, nor shall it come to pass."<sup>3</sup> It is quite probable that by stating the names of the lands, capitals and leaders of the coalition Isaiah wished to provide a contrast to the fact that Jerusalem was the capital of Judah and that Yahweh was the head of Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Thus the plot could not hope to succeed for it was directed against Yahweh of hosts.

The Assyrian campaign had been viewed by Isaiah as an image of Yahweh's judgment against Zion and as a situation in which Yahweh himself encamped against the city.<sup>5</sup> However this divine action only applied to a certain aspect of the siege of Jerusalem<sup>6</sup> and eventually Yahweh would deliver his people from the vicissitudes of the invaders:

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1.v.4.

2. see von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im Alten Testament, 56ff. cf. Is. 30:15; Ex. 14:13.

3.v.7.

4. "Die Konsequenz, die der angeredete Ahas und die Jerusalemer aus den wiederholten Hinweisen auf die Häupter der Angreifer ziehen sollen, ist deutlich die, dass Jerusalem ein diesen überlegenes Haupt hat: Das Haupt Judas ist Jerusalem, das Haupt Jerusalems aber Jahwe!", so Rohland, op.cit. 146.

5. 29:1ff.

6. Whether 1:7-9 referred to this particular period as Bright would have it is a difficult matter to decide, see History, 276n. It may refer to the events of 735 or 701, although some scholars would apply it to the final ruin of the nation, see Kissane, op.cit. 10.

" But the multitude of your foes<sup>1</sup> shall be like small dust,  
 and the multitude of the ruthless like passing chaff.  
 And in an instant, suddenly,  
 you will be visited by Yahweh of hosts  
 with thunder and the earthquake and great noise,  
 with whirlwind and tempest, and the flame of a  
 devouring fire.  
 And the multitude of all the nations that fight  
 against Ariel,  
 all that fight against her and her stronghold  
 and distress her,  
 shall be like a dream, a vision of the night.  
 As when a hungry man dreams he is eating  
 and awakes with his hunger not satisfied,  
 or as when a thirsty man dreams he is drinking  
 and awakes faint, with his thirst not quenched,  
 so shall the multitude of all the nations be  
 that fight against Mount Zion."<sup>2</sup>

The idea of Yahweh fighting on behalf of his people was stated  
 on other occasions by Isaiah:

" For thus Yahweh said to me,  
 As a lion or a young lion growls over his prey,  
 and when a band of shepherds is called forth  
 against him  
 is not terrified by their shouting  
 or daunted at their noise,  
 so Yahweh of hosts will come down  
 to fight upon Mount Zion and upon its hill.  
 Like birds hovering, so Yahweh of hosts  
 will protect Jerusalem;  
 he will protect and deliver it,<sup>3</sup>  
 he will spare and rescue it."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>m</sup>The problem arising out of these comments on the protection of  
 Zion by Yahweh is that of the inviolability of the city. Did  
 Isaiah believe in such a dogma? Was there such a dogma in vogue  
 in ancient Israel? If there was, what was its origin? Any attempt  
 to solve this particular problem must begin with an examination

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1. 29:5-8; read "foes" in v. 5 for MT "strangers" following DSIa.  
 2. 29:5-8 belongs to vv. 1-8 but Yahweh's action against the city  
 in vv. 1-4 turns to protection in vv. 5-8.  
 3. 31:4f. cf. 17:13f.

of the ideas concerning Zion expressed in the Old Testament.

References to the indestructibility of Zion were part of the Zion psalms belonging to the liturgy of the cultus in Jerusalem:

- " There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God,  
the holy habitation of the Most High.  
God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;  
God will help her right early.  
The nations rage, the kingdoms totter;  
he utters his voice, the earth melts.  
Yahweh of hosts is with us;  
the God of Jacob is our stronghold."<sup>1</sup>
- " Great is Yahweh and greatly to be praised  
in the city of our God!  
His holy mountain, beautiful in elevation,  
is the joy of all the earth,  
Mount Zion, in the far north,  
the city of the great King.  
Within her citadels God  
has shown himself a sure defense.  
For lo, the kings assembled,  
they came together.  
As soon as they saw it, they were astounded,  
they were in panic, they took to flight;  
trembling took hold of them there,  
anguish as of a woman in travail.  
By the east wind thou didst shatter  
the ships of Tarshish.  
As we have heard, so have we seen  
in the city of Yahweh of Hosts,  
in the city of our God,  
which God establishes for ever."<sup>2</sup>
- " In Judah God is known,  
his name is great in Israel.  
His abode has been established in Salem,  
his dwelling place in Zion.  
There he broke the flashing arrows,  
the shield, the sword, and the weapons of war.  
Glorious art thou, more majestic  
than the everlasting mountains."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Ps. 46:4-7 (5-8).

2. Ps. 48:1-8 (2-9).

3. Ps. 76:1ff. (2ff.); reading "everlasting mountains" for MT "mountains of prey" in v. 4(5); see BH.

The stouthearted were stripped of their spoil;  
 they sank into sleep;  
 all the men of war  
 were unable to use their hands.  
 At thy rebuke, O God of Jacob,  
 both rider and horse lay stunned.  
 But thou, terrible art thou!  
 Who can stand before thee  
 when once thy anger is roused?  
 He cuts off the spirit of princes,  
 who is terrible to the kings of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

A later age made use of some of these motifs when they lamented the destruction of Jerusalem:

" Is this the city which was called  
 the perfection of beauty,  
 the joy of all the earth?"<sup>2</sup>

" The kings of the earth did not believe,  
 or any of the inhabitants of the world,  
 that foe or enemy could enter,  
 the gates of Jerusalem."<sup>3</sup>

A certain allowance must be made for poetic exaggeration yet it would most certainly appear to be the case that a belief in the impregnability of Jerusalem did exist in ancient Judah. That this belief had a mythical basis is also most probable, for on no account was it possible to believe in Jerusalem's inviolability in terms of its history. For had not David in the centuries long past defeated and captured the citadel.<sup>4</sup> It was possible that, although a myth, it could have had historical overtones in the subsequent life of the city under the control of the Israelites.

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1. Ps. 76:1-7, 12(2-8, 13).  
 2. Lam. 2:15; cf. Ps. 48:2(3).  
 3. Lam. 4:12.  
 4. II Sam. 5:6-9.

What was the origin of this specific myth? Some commentators have maintained that the deliverance of Jerusalem from attack referred to in the Psalms mentioned above was an historical event.<sup>1</sup> Which event this was is not at all clear, though it is usually thought of as having been Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> If this interpretation is clear then the origin of the idea in the Psalms is to be traced back to the prophet Isaiah.<sup>3</sup> However we think the origin of the idea was less historical than it was mythical. For the language of the Psalms in connexion with this idea used allusions and motifs that were decidedly mythical rather than historical.<sup>4</sup> Thus such phrases as "a river whose streams make glad the city of God"<sup>5</sup>; "Mount Zion, in the far north"<sup>6</sup> were used. These belonged to the realm of Near Eastern mythology, especially to the myths of pre-Israelite, that is, Canaanite religion.<sup>7</sup>

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1. See C.A. Briggs, The Book of Psalms, I, ICC, 1906, 402; cf. H. Birkeland, The Evildoers in the Book of Psalms, 1955, 77ff.
  2. See the references in note 1; see Bright, History, 271.
  3. cf. 29:5ff.; 31:4f. Bright, ibid. 271.
  4. See von Rad, Theology, I, 46f. II, 157ff. Rohland, op. cit. 119ff. Weiser, The Psalms, 370, 381f.
  5. Ps. 46:4(5); cf. Gn. 2:10-14; Is. 33:20f.; Joel 3:18(4:18); Zec. 14:8. See Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 85ff. also B. Albrektson, Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations, STL 21, 1963, 221ff. Weiser, op. cit. 370.
  6. Ps. 48:2(3); cf. Is. 14:13f.; Ez. 28:14, 16; 40:2; Pss. 68:15f.; 89:12. See Wanke, Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten, 64ff. Weiser, op. cit. 381; on Zaphon see A.R. Johnson, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 77ff. and esp. O. Eissfeldt, Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer, BRA 1, 1932, 15f. also H-J. Kraus, "Exkurs 5-Die Verherrlichung der Gottesstadt", Psalmen, I, 342ff.
  7. See Rohland, op. cit. 123ff. von Rad, Theology, I, 47. On Canaanite material in the Psalms see M. Tsevat, A Study of the Language of the Biblical Psalms, JBLM IX, 1955, 48ff. For Canaanite myths see G.R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends.

Israel's religion and theology had been greatly influenced by its contact with the religion of the land they had settled in after their exodus from Egypt.<sup>1</sup> Yahweh the God of Israel had become identified with El the major god of Canaan.<sup>2</sup> He had also been identified with El-'Elyon the creator-owner god of sky and land.<sup>3</sup> Therefore it is not surprising that when David captured Zion Israel should have adapted certain already existing traditions associated with that city into its own Yahwistic faith.<sup>4</sup>

However it is extremely difficult to comment on what was pre-Israelite tradition in the Jebusite city. The evidence for such traditions is rather meagre.<sup>5</sup> It is, however, quite conceivable that David did utilise some of the traditions he found in Zion as a means of emphasising the significance of his kingdom.<sup>6</sup>

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1. On the general significance of Canaanite religion see A. Kapelrud, Baal in the Ras Shamra Texts. On its influence on Israelite religion see Kapelrud, The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the OT, ET, 1965; and the much neglected work of F. F. Hvidberg, Weeping and Laughter in the Old Testament, ET, 1962.
  2. See O. Eissfeldt, "El and Yahweh", JSS, 1956, 25-37; R. Rendtorff, "El, Ba'al und Jahwe. Erwägungen zum Verhältnis von kanaänischer und israelitischer Religion", ZAW, 1966, 277-92.
  3. Gn. 14:22; see H. Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem", ZAW, 1955, 168-97; Wanke, op. cit. 46ff.
  4. See R. E. Clements, God and Temple, 47ff. for some of the traditions so adapted.
  5. So Johnson, "The Role of the King in the Jerusalem Cultus", op. cit. 81; see also Schreiner, op. cit. 19ff. The main evidence in the OT is Gn. 14, on this text see von Rad, Genesis, 173ff.; C. A. Simpson, "Introduction and Exegesis to Genesis", IB, I, 590ff. J. G. Gammie, Melchizedek, An Exegetical Study of Genesis 14 and the Psalter, Diss. Edinburgh, 1962.
  6. So J. Gray, Archaeology and the Old Testament World, 1962, 130ff. also Nielsen, Shechem, 323ff.; Johnson, op. cit. 84f. On the other hand Alt would emphasise that it was David who transformed Zion from obscurity to prominence by his work there rather than his adoption of existing traditions, (Jerusalem) "Der Aufstieg Jerusalems", KSGVI, III, 253ff.



Yet it must be emphasised that whatever traditions or ideas Israel borrowed from Canaanite sources they always reinterpreted them in terms of their faith in Yahweh and the sacral traditions of the amphictyony.<sup>1</sup> These modifications applied also to any notions borrowed from Jebusite Zion, its sanctuary and its god. Thus the essentially aspect of the election of Zion lay in the fact that Yahweh of hosts had his dwelling place there.<sup>2</sup> This was a fact of history even though it basically expressed a mythical idea. The election of Zion reflected the earlier idea of the election of Israel as a nation and Yahweh's claim over the land of Canaan.<sup>3</sup> In this sense Zion stood for the whole land.<sup>4</sup>

It has now been established that there was a dogma of Zion's inviolability current in the days of the southern kingdom. It probably originated in the period of the pre-Israelite sanctuary in Jerusalem and was adopted into the traditions of Israel sometime after David's conquest of that city. Its form

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1. See Clements, God and Temple, 48f. also the remarks of J. Gray which apply in this situation just as much as they do in the context he has given them, "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice", VT, 1952, 193-220, esp. 219.
  2. This particular situation came about when David brought up the ark to Jerusalem, II Sam. 6; this feature linked the city with Israel's past existence before Yahweh.
  3. cf. "Die Exodustradition springt in (Ps. 78) v. 54 sogleich hinüber zu der Zionüberlieferung. Dieser plötzliche Übergang, bei dem die Landnahme sich ausschliesslich auf den Zion konzentriert, ist auch in Ex 15:17 festzustellen. Der erwähnte Berg gilt als Inbegriff des heiligen Landes; das Land ist 'heilig', weil Jahwe in seiner Mitte, auf dem Zion, thront.", Kraus, Psalmen, I, 547.
  4. See M. Noth, Exodus, 125; Galling, Erwählungstraditionen, 4; Clements, op. cit. 52ff. and his article "Temple and Land: a Significant Aspect of Israel's Worship", TGUOS, XIX, 1961, 16ff.

in Israel laid more emphasis on the historical antecedents of the nation and its relationship with Yahweh than on the mythic aspects. Some scholars would consider the cultic traditions which dealt with the sacred mountain of God to have only had a subordinate place in the election of Zion tradition.<sup>1</sup> Others would separate the election of the cultic places of Zion from the secondary election of the city of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> From the period of the annexation of Zion onwards Yahweh's kingship in Israel developed in two directions. Yahweh continued to be king over his people Israel, but now he was also conceived of in relation to the nations. That is, he dwelt on his throne in Zion and judged the nations.<sup>3</sup> Thus the tradition of Zion's inviolability developed from the Canaanite myth but was reinforced by Yahweh's presence in the city and confirmed on certain historical occasions when foreign nations failed to destroy the citadel.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately the destruction of Jerusalem dissolved the myth and left a psychologically shattered people in the wake of its ruins.<sup>5</sup>

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1. So Kraus, Worship in Israel, 203n. He opposes Rohland's inclusion of them in the mainstream of election in the OT; see Rohland, op. cit. 145ff. and Kraus, Psalmen, I, 345.
  2. See esp. W. Staerk, "Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben", ZAW, 1937, 1-36.
  3. These two elements in the kingship of Yahweh have been demonstrated by Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, 80ff.
  4. For a general consideration of the concept see J. Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability", JBL, 1963, #19-426.
  5. The psychological effects of this event may be seen in the book of Lamentations. See the work of Albrektson already referred to above and also N. K. Gottwald, Studies in the Book of Lamentations, SBT 14, 1954.

The point of application for this thesis is, did Isaiah accept the dogma of Zion's invulnerability? His younger contemporary Micah preached total destruction against the city.<sup>1</sup> However he was not a citizen of Jerusalem whereas it is quite probable that Isaiah was. Some scholars maintain that Isaiah reasserted the doctrine that Yahweh would guarantee the security of the city.<sup>2</sup> Others claim that the prophet along with all the other Old Testament prophets preached of judgment and that included the possible destruction of Zion.<sup>3</sup> Between the extremism of these two views it is possible to produce what might be called a synthesis. Following in the prophetic tradition of challenging the complacent dogmas of the people of Israel<sup>4</sup> Isaiah rejected the dogma per se but believed that in given situations Zion's safety was guaranteed by Yahweh. Thus his prophecies concerning the events of 735 and 701 were oracles of deliverance, but we can go no further than that for the prophet regarded neither a dogma of safety nor one of destruction as being fixed entities.<sup>5</sup> There was in his preaching

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1. Mic. 3:9-12.

2. Thus "In two historical situations Isaiah showed that his belief in Zion was unshakeable.", Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 553. See also Bright, History, 271; North, "Isaiah", IBD, II, 733.

3. So Pfeiffer, op. cit. 435f.; Harrelson, op. cit. 244; de Vaux maintains that it was the deliverance of the temple in 701 that gave rise to the dogma, Ancient Israel. Its Life and Institutions, ET, 1961, 327.

4. On the subject of continuity in the prophets see N.W. Porteous, "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 11-25.

5. So Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op. cit. 138ff. he rejects Pedersen's view and also that of Procksch who maintains that Jerusalem would not be destroyed because of the temple, Theologie, 189.

a flexibility that was characteristic of the prophets. Thus Isaiah modified the popular belief and made the safety of Zion depend on the faith of the people within it.<sup>1</sup> Hence the word to Ahaz was "if you will not believe, surely you shall not be established".<sup>2</sup> The real work of Yahweh in Zion was the laying of a foundation stone with the inscription "he who believes will not be anxious".<sup>3</sup> In this oracle Isaiah again modified a myth and gave it a religious content which made it apposite to the situation in which it was given.<sup>4</sup> The prophets of Yahweh felt quite free to manipulate mythological themes in the formation of their teaching and to relate them to the Yahwistic traditions of Israel.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See the remarks of Hayes, "The Tradition of Zion's Inviolability", JBL, 1963, 419ff. he accepts the dogma but points out that Isaiah modified the concept greatly; also R. de Vaux, "Jerusalem et les Prophètes", RB, 1966, 481-509, esp. 495-501; and J. Fichtner, "Jahwes Plan in der Botschaft des Jesaja", ZAW, 1951, 16-33.
  2. 7:9; cf. 30:15.
  3. 28:16; "this is proof that from the ruins of the old Jerusalem Isaiah expects a new Jerusalem, a new kingdom, a kingdom of justice to arise.", Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 1953, 212. The cornerstone here meant the remnant; cf. 8:14 where Yahweh himself was the stone; on the idea of rock in the OT see H.W. Hertzberg, "Der heilige Fels und das Alte Testament", Beiträge, 45-53.
  4. On the myth of the rock at Jerusalem see E. Burrows, "Some Cosmological Patterns in Babylonian Religion", The Labyrinth, 45-70; esp. 58ff. also F.J. Hollis, "The Sun-God and the Temple at Jerusalem", Myth and Ritual, ed. S.H. Hooke, 1933, 87-110; the Babylonian Talmud states the myth "From Sion was the world created", Yoma, 54b, ed. I. Epstein, 1938, 257.
  5. See for example 6:13; 14:12-20; 22:12-14; 28:15, 16; (all in Isaiah); with the pertinent remarks of EF. Hvidberg, "The Masseba and the Holy Seed", FS Mowinckel, 97ff. and W.H. Brownlee, "The Text of Isaiah vi 13 in the Light of DSIs", VT, 1951, 296ff. on 6:13; H.G. May, "Some Aspects of Solar Worship at Jerusalem", ZAW, 1937, 269ff. on 14:12ff. Hvidberg, Weeping and Laughter in the OT, 110ff. on 17:10f. and the ideas concerning Mot (Mwt) in the Ras Shamra texts for 28:15. However caution must be taken in assessing the actual influence of such myths in the OT.

c) Yahweh's anointed one<sup>1</sup>

The oracles of judgment and deliverance concerning Zion were only part of Isaiah's concern with the city of David. He was also interested in the person whom Yahweh would eventually put on that throne which once had been occupied by David himself. The various kings Isaiah had known and advised were in his opinion miserable failures in terms of measuring up to the standard of the royal servant of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> Thus it was that his words about Yahweh's coming messiah were not addressed to a contemporary king but spoke of a coming one.<sup>3</sup>

Under the domination of Tiglath Pileser Judah had lost a good deal of its territory.<sup>4</sup> Thus the period was one of darkness and a sense of the loss of the ancient heritage of the land which Yahweh, as lord of that land, had given to their fathers when they came out of bondage in Egypt. Against this grim picture of national disaster and religious apostasy<sup>5</sup> the prophet gave his message of hope concerning the coming occupant of David's throne.

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1. This is the translation of the Hebrew word  $\text{מָשִׁיחַ}$ . In the OT the idea of anointing applied to the king mainly, see I Sam. 24:7, 11; II Sam. 1:14, 16; 19:22; Pss. 20:7; 89:39, 52; 132:10, 17; (all MT); also of prophet, I K. 19:16; Is. 61:1; cf. Ps. 105:15; only used of priests at a late period (P), Ex. 28:41; 29:7; Lv. 7:36; see E. Kutsch, Salbung als Rechtsakt im AT und im AOrient, BZAW 87, 1963.

2. A possible exception may have been Hezekiah.

3. See von Rad, Theology, II, 170f.

4. See II K. 15:29; also Bright, History, 252ff. and Noth, History, 257ff. for the details of this particular period.

5. For the aspect of religious apostasy see the condemnation of the various divination practices in 8:19ff.

" But there will be no gloom for her that was<sup>1</sup>  
 in anguish. In the former time he brought  
 into contempt the land of Zebulun and the  
 land of Naphtali, but in the latter time he  
 will make glorious the way of the sea, the  
 land beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations.  
 The people who walked in darkness  
 have seen a great light;  
 those who dwelt in a land of deep darkness,  
 on them has light shined.  
 Thou hast multiplied the nation,<sup>2</sup>  
 thou hast increased its joy;  
 they rejoice before thee  
 as with joy at the harvest,  
 as men rejoice when they divide the spoil.  
 For the yoke of his burden,  
 and the staff for his shoulder,<sup>3</sup>  
 the rod of his oppressor,  
 thou hast broken as on the day of Midian.  
 For every boot of the tramping warrior in battle tumult  
 and every garment rolled in blood<sup>4</sup>  
 will be burned as fuel for the fire.  
 For to us a child is born,  
 to us a son is given;  
 and the government will be upon his shoulder,  
 and his name will be called  
 'Wonderful Counselor, Mighty God,<sup>5</sup>  
 Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace.'  
 Of the increase of his government and of peace  
 there will be no end,  
 upon the throne of David, and over his kingdom,  
 to establish it, and to uphold it  
 with justice and with righteousness  
 from this time forth and for evermore.  
 The zeal of Yahweh of hosts will do this."

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1. 9:1-7(8:23-9:6); there is nothing in this oracle to prevent it having come from Isaiah himself, see Bissfeldt, Introduction, 318f. Alt refers it to the northern kingdom, so "Jesaja viii, 23-ix, 6. Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag", FS Bertholet, 29ff. = KSGVI, II, 206ff. Lindblom regards it as referring to the south, Prophecy, 249.
  2. The MT reads v. 3a(2a) as "thou hast not multiplied the nation", RSV omits "not"; some commentators read "thou hast made exultation great", so Kaiser, 98; Hertrich, 161; Procksch, 145; Kissane, 107; see BH.
  3. Read "the staff of his shoulder" in v. 4b(3b) with Kaiser, 98; see also BH and other commentators who emend  $\eta\omega\eta$  to  $\eta\omega\eta$ .
  4. Read perhaps  $\eta\omega\eta$  for  $\eta\omega\eta$  in 5b(4b), see BH and Kissane, 145.
  5. The phrase  $\eta\omega\eta$  in v. 6e(5e) is better translated as "divine hero"; the El gibbor was the leader of the gibbor hayil, see W. McKane, "The gibbor hayil in the Israelite Community", TGUOS, XVII, 1957/8, 28ff.

Isaiah again used motifs from the holy war which had played an important part in Israel's early history as an amphictyonic confederation.<sup>1</sup> Having destroyed his people's enemies Yahweh gives them a son who will sit upon the throne of David. Thus the child is a royal child. The child was not referred to as "king" but as "prince", that is, one who was subject to another, in this situation he was subject to Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> With the coming of his kingdom there would be peace and a domain made stable by justice and righteousness.<sup>3</sup> The new kingdom would mean the end of the chaos and darkness of war which had shattered the two kingdoms. This kingdom would be a permanent one with endless peace. Thus Yahweh's promise to David would be fulfilled in this person and the Heilsgeschichte would reach its culmination.<sup>4</sup> The setting up of this kingdom was guaranteed by the zeal of Yahweh of hosts.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg, 62; also his Theology, II, 171f. and Rohland, op. cit. 234ff.
  2. 9:6(5) מֶלֶךְ; "A מֶלֶךְ is never an independent ruler, but always an official commissioned by a higher authority;... The anointed one is therefore not 'king', but is subordinate to a king, namely Jahweh, to whose throne he is summoned as 'governor'", von Rad, Theology, II, 172. cf. Is. 10:8. Klausner favours the view that applies the epithets of 9:6(5) to God and not to the messiah, The Messianic Idea in Israel, ET, 1956, 64n.
  3. These elements belonged to the king's duties, see Ps. 72:1-4; also the remarks of Ringgren, The Messiah in the OT, 16f.
  4. "Und dass diese endliche Verwirklichung einen Abschluss, etwas Unüberbietbares darstellen sollte, zeigt nicht nur das in 8,23, sondern ergibt sich vor allem aus den Aussagen, 'dass des Heils kein Ende sein und das Reich 'von nun an bis in Ewigkeit' bestehen sollte: Mit der Erfüllung der alten Verheissung an David in dem neuen Herrscher kommt die Heilsgeschichte zu ihrem Eschaton.", Rohland, op. cit. 238.
  5. This phrase also applied to Yahweh's action on behalf of his people in battle, see Is. 42:13; 59:17; Zec. 1:14; 8:2.

Some scholars have seen in this oracle a coronation-enthronement celebration.<sup>1</sup> On this basis certain attempts have been made to identify the ruler of the passage with one of the historical kings of Judah reigning in Isaiah's time. Thus it has been seen as a coronation liturgy for Jehoash;<sup>2</sup> though the more popular interpretation applies it to Hezekiah.<sup>3</sup> It is necessary to consider another prophecy of Isaiah's in this context in order to ascertain some of the implications of his messianic oracles.<sup>4</sup>

" Again Yahweh spoke to Ahaz, 'Ask a sign of Yahweh your God; let it be deep as Sheol or high as heaven.' But Ahaz said, 'I will not ask, and I will not put Yahweh to the test.' And he said, 'Hear then, O house of David! Is it too little for you to weary men, that you weary my God also? Therefore Yahweh himself will give you a sign. Behold, a young woman<sup>5</sup> shall conceive and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel. He shall eat curds and honey when he knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good. For before the child knows how to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land before whose two kings you are in dread will be deserted. Yahweh will bring upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house such days as have not come since the day that Ephraim departed from Judah.'"

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1. See Scott, *IB*, V, 231ff; Lindblom, *op. cit.* 249n.
  2. So M. Crook, "A Suggested Occasion for Isaiah 9:2-7 and 11:1-9", *JBL*, 1949, 213-24.
  3. So Scott, *op. cit.* 231ff.
  4. 7:10-17. On this passage see especially, J. Lindblom, *A Study of the Immanuel Section in Isaiah*, 1958; J. J. Stamm, "La Prophetie d'Emmanuel", *RTP*, 1944, 97ff. also his "Neuere Arbeiten zum Immanuel-Problem", *ZAW*, 1956, 46ff.; E. Hammershaimb, "The Immanuel Sign", *ST*, 1949, 124ff.; L. Köhler, "Zum Verständnis von Jes. 7:14", *ZAW*, 1955, 48ff.; G. Fohrer, "Zu Jes. 7:14 im Zusammenhang von Jes. 7:10-22", *ZAW*, 1956, 54ff. as well as the commentaries.
  5. v. 14 may also be translated "a young woman is with child".



The main problem arising out of this passage is that of the identity of Immanuel. The sign<sup>1</sup> given to Ahaz was a reassurance of Yahweh's presence with his people.<sup>2</sup> If the prophecy is considered in general terms then the woman may be understood as a reference to women collectively<sup>3</sup> and the import of the oracle to be an affirmation of divine presence in the land. In this sense no miracle is implied and the significance of the sign would have become clear to Ahaz in the years following the birth.<sup>4</sup> A more specific interpretation views the woman as the prophet's wife and Immanuel as his son.<sup>5</sup> A third viewpoint, and possibly the likeliest, is that which sees the woman as Ahaz' wife and the child as a royal heir.<sup>6</sup> Thus originally Immanuel was Hezekiah.<sup>7</sup>

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1. 7:14; אִימָן "sign"—"something that points to another fact, warranting its occurring", so Lindblom, Immanuel, 16. It may refer to something good (Gn. 9:12, 13) or evil (Jer. 44:29). Blank's insistence that אִימָן points to judgment, Prophetic Faith in Isaiah, 22n. also by von Rad, Theology, II, 173; is not necessarily true for cf. Jer. 16:14, see Hammershaimb, op. cit. 134.
  2. cf. "But I will be with you; and this shall be the sign for you, that I have sent you.", Ex. 3:12, where אִימָן is used.
  3. So Köhler, op. cit. 48ff. and Fohrer, op. cit. 54ff.
  4. So Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", op. cit. 144.
  5. So Stamm, RTP, 1944, 97ff. and ZAW, 1956, 46ff.; N.K. Gottwald, "Immanuel as the Prophet's Son", VT, 1958, 36ff.; cf. von Rad, Theology, II, 173.
  6. So Mowinckel, He That Cometh, 110ff. esp. 117; Hammershaimb, op. cit. 124ff.; Lindblom, Prophecy, 169, 247n.; Danell, op. cit. 168n.
  7. So C.R. North, "Immanuel", IDB, II, 687. The whole passage presents many problems both of background and of interpretation. Eichrodt views it as an ironic treatment of popular notions concerning the return of paradise, Theology, I, 480n. Köhler regards the oracle as one of threat, Theology, 252n.; so also Danell, op. cit. 168f. For the mythological and cultic background see Mowinckel, op. cit. 110-19; Lindblom, Immanuel, 19ff.; Ringgren, op. cit. 26ff.; also Bentzen, King and Messiah, 86. The problems are far too many to be dealt with in this thesis and, furthermore, any possible solutions are hardly likely to add to an understanding of the election traditions in Isaiah.

However allowance must be made for a certain amount of ambiguity in the prophet's mind. Isaiah probably endowed the child with messianic qualities because at the period of the prophecy he was not at all clear about the concept of the coming ruler.<sup>1</sup> In spite of all the unresolved difficulties anent the subject we are probably justified in viewing Immanuel as having had some messianic aspects about him.<sup>2</sup> Thus,

" Even if Immanuel himself is not a Messiah in a proper sense, the high-strung expectations and the sublime ideas connected with this figure are closely akin to those connected with the personality of the Messiah. The extraordinary (virtues) attributes and qualifications assigned to Immanuel in vii, 14ff. and ix, 1-6 are to a great extent identical with those assigned to the Messiah and point forward to the ideal king of the age to come. Immanuel is a wonder-child and a wonder-king; thus we are justified in speaking of Messianic ideas in connection with the personality of Immanuel. These Messianic ideas essentially derive from the king ideology of the ancient world and yield, to a great extent, the material of which the figure of the eschatological Messiah in person is formed. Accordingly it may be said that Immanuel, though not a Messiah in a proper sense, is a Messianic figure in a relative sense."<sup>3</sup>

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1. See the remarks of E.J. Burrows, The Oracles of Jacob and Balaam, 1938, 80ff. also those of E.J. Kissane, "Butter and Honey shall he eat", L'Ancient Testament et L'Orient, OBL I, 1957, 169ff.
  2. On the general background North remarks, "...it is probable that the Immanuel sign is to be interpreted in the context of a widespread divine-royal annunciation formula, in which the words *btl* and *glmt*, which are frequently used together, had a cultic, rather than a biological, signification.", "Immanuel", IDB, II, 687; see also Mowinckel, op.cit. 110ff.; Ringgren, op.cit. 26ff.
  3. J. Lindblom, Immanuel, 56f. the italics are his. However Gray rejects any messianic interpretation of the text, op.cit. 122ff. in this he is followed by Wheeler Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the OT, 171.

Isaiah gave a further oracle concerning the coming Davidic ruler.<sup>1</sup>

" There shall come forth a shoot from the stump of Jesse,  
and a branch shall grow out of his roots,<sup>2</sup>  
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 the fear of Yahweh.  
And his delight shall be in the fear of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup>  
He shall not judge by what his eyes see,  
or decide by what his ears hear;  
but with righteousness he shall judge<sup>4</sup> the poor,  
and decide with equity for<sup>5</sup> the meek<sup>4</sup> of the earth;  
and he shall smite the earth<sup>5</sup> with the rod of his mouth,  
and with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked  
Righteousness shall be the girdle of his waist,  
and faithfulness the girdle of his loins.  
The wolf shall dwell with the lamb,  
and the leopard shall lie down with the kid,  
and the calf and the lion<sup>6</sup> and the fatling together,  
and a little child shall lead them.  
The cow and the bear shall feed;  
their young shall lie down together;  
and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.  
The sucking child shall play over the hole of the asp,  
and the weaned child shall put his hand on the  
adder's den.  
They shall not hurt or destroy  
in all my holy mountain;  
for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Yahweh  
as the waters cover the sea." <sup>7</sup>

1. 11:1-9; this particular oracle is rejected as non-Isaian by Gray, *op. cit.* 214; Lindblom, *Prophecy*, 368; Pfeiffer, *Introduction*, 437; Eissfeldt inclines towards this viewpoint, *Introduction*, 319; those who accept it as Isaian include Procksch, *op. cit.* 151; Scott, *IE*, V, 247ff.; Kissane, *op. cit.* I, 134; Pedersen believes it to be from Isaiah or his most intimate circles, *Israel*, III-IV, 557; Bentzen maintains that 9:1ff. and 11:1ff. are not necessarily exilic, *Introduction*, II, 108.

2. Read  $\text{צֶמֶח}$  for MT  $\text{צֶמֶח}$ ; see commentaries and BH.

3. Omit 3a as dittography of 2d, so Rohland, *op. cit.* 239n.

4. Read  $\text{עֲנָוִים}$  "poor" for  $\text{עֲנָוִים}$  "meek" in v. 4b, see BH.

5. Read  $\text{עֲרֵב}$  "tyrant" for  $\text{עֲרֵב}$  "earth" in v. 4c, see all the latest commentaries, Kaiser, *op. cit.* 125; Hertrich, *op. cit.* 205; also BH.

6. Read "young lion" in v. 6c and omit "and the fatling", see Gray, *op. cit.* 219; read "they shall eat together", cf. LXX; Rohland, *op. cit.* 239n.

7. Some commentators omit v. 9, see Kaiser, *op. cit.* 129; Rohland, *op. cit.* 240n.

Some scholars place this prophecy in the period of Isaiah's Immanuel prophecies,<sup>1</sup> thus linking it with the other portrait of the messianic leader.<sup>2</sup> A further reference may be added,

" When the oppressor is no more,  
and destruction has ceased,  
and he who tramples under foot  
has vanished from the land,  
then a throne will be established in hesea  
and on it will sit in faithfulness in the tent of David  
one who judges and seeks justice  
and is swift to do righteousness."<sup>3</sup>

and possibly,

" Behold, a king will reign in righteousness,  
and princes will rule in justice."<sup>4</sup>

A consideration of the earlier oracle<sup>5</sup> reveals certain aspects of Isaiah's conception of the new Davidic ruler. The reference to "the stump of Jesse" rather than to David may mean that Isaiah envisaged a new David rather than just a continuation of the old Davidic line.<sup>6</sup> The ruler emerges after there has been a break in the royal line due to destruction in the land.<sup>7</sup>

1. So Procksch, op. cit. 151; cf. Kissane, op. cit. 134.

2. 9:1-7 (8:23-9:6).

3. 16:4, 5. on the relation of chs. 15, 16 to Jer. 48 see Gray, op. cit. 271ff.; Lindblom regards v. 5 as exilic or post-exilic, Prophecy, 368; Procksch allows 15-16:5 to Isaiah, op. cit. 215ff. We maintain that there is no conclusive argument against the Isaian authorship of this oracle.

4. 32:1; the arguments against the Isaian authorship of this section centre around the different conception of the future king, yet again this is a rather inconclusive argument, see Kissane, op. cit. 357f.; Procksch rejects this verse as inauthentic, op. cit. 410.

5. That is, Isaiah 11:1-9.

6. So von Rad, Theology, II, 170; "The 'stump of Jesse' rather than the 'stump of David' is mentioned because the Messiah is to be a second David", so Kissane, op. cit. 142.

7. So Harrelson, Interpreting the OT, 240.

We understand the term "stump" to refer to the united kingdom in its divided state rather than to Judah in the time of the exile.<sup>1</sup> Thus the prophet anticipated a reuniting of the two kingdoms (~~xxex~~) under a Davidic head. In this outlook he was part of the mainstream of the prophetic thinking on the subject of the Jerusalem monarchy and the northern kingdom.<sup>2</sup> However the emphasis in Isaiah was not so much on the return of the two kingdoms under one head, but on the new act of Yahweh in terms of the fulfilment of his promise to the house of David.<sup>3</sup> So the tent of David would once again be occupied<sup>4</sup> and a secure rule would emanate from the throne of David.<sup>5</sup> The ruler's government would be characterised by peace,<sup>6</sup> justice,<sup>7</sup> righteousness,<sup>8</sup> faithfulness,<sup>9</sup> counsel,<sup>10</sup> wisdom,<sup>11</sup> knowledge of Yahweh,<sup>12</sup> and solidarity between men.<sup>13</sup>

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1. That is, as the kingdom stood after the division (7:17) it only resembled a stump rather than the full grown tree of David's kingdom; it is this stump which will sprout forth, i.e. the divided kingdom will again find a glorious existence in a new unity. Against Gray, *op.cit.* 214ff.

2. See Amos 9:11; Mic. 5:2ff. (5:1ff.); Hos. 1:11; 3:5(?).

3. cf. "Wichtig war dem Propheten also jedenfalls nicht so sehr dieser Gedanke der Wiederkehr, sondern vielmehr der des Neuanfangs des mit der Verheissung an David begonnenen Heilshandelns Jahwes nach dem Gericht am Königshause selbst, d.h. also der eschatologische Neubeginn, dessen Erwartung wir auf dem Hintergrund der Exodus- und Zions-Tradition ausführlich nachgewiesen haben.", so Rohland, *op.cit.* 240.

4. 16:5.

5. 9:7(6).

6. 9:6(5).

7. 9:7(6); cf. 11:3; 16:5; 32:1.

8. 9:7(6); 11:5; 16:5; 32:1.

9. 11:5; 16:5.

10. 9:6(5); 11:2.

11. 11:2.

12. 11:2, 9.

13. 16:5; this is the basic significance of *hesed*, see above ch. III, 1.

This new prince would be the ideal king upon whom would rest the spirit of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Spirit in the Old Testament had a cosmological origin rather than a psychological one;<sup>2</sup> it was the principle of life, that which at death returned to God its giver.<sup>3</sup> Under the aegis of Yahweh and empowered by his spirit the ruler will establish justice in the earth and through his peaceful reign the religion of Yahweh shall spread over the whole earth.<sup>4</sup>

Many of the elements which made up the various pictures of the messianic ruler in Isaiah's teaching came from the earlier part of Israel's history. Thus the triumph of Yahweh over Israel's foes was reminiscent of his victory in the holy war on behalf of his people "as on the day of Midian".<sup>5</sup> This particular day referred to the time of Gideon who had been possessed by the spirit of Yahweh when he defeated the Midianites and the Amalekites.<sup>6</sup> This aspect of Isaiah's teaching was taken up by his younger contemporary, Micah, and woven into his prophecy concerning the coming deliverer of Israel.<sup>7</sup>

1. 11:2; cf. I Sam. 10:10; 16:14; I K. 22:24.

2. See "Der Geist (Πνεῦμα) ist ursprünglich kein psychologischer, sondern ein kosmologischer (Gn. 1:2; Ps. 139:7) Begriff", Procksch, 152.

3. cf. Gn. 6:17; 7:15, 22; Eccl. 12:7.

4. Understanding da'ath 'elohim as "religion" in v. 2, cf. v. 9. see Procksch, *ibid.* 153.

5. 9:4(3).

6. See Jud. 6:34; on the holy war see von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im AT; also R. de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 258ff.

7. cf. Mic. 5:2-5(1-4); on a comparison of the two prophets' oracles concerning the coming ruler see, W. Harrelson, "Nonroyal Motifs in the Royal Eschatology", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 147ff. von Rad, Theology, II, 169ff. Vriezen views Mic. 5:1ff. as a "compendium of Isaianic teaching", so "Prophecy and Eschatology", op. cit. 215.

Some of the comparative features in Isaiah and Micah were the motif of a new beginning, the sense of antiquity in the ruler, the reuniting of the kingdoms and the quiet, peaceful security of the coming kingdom. For Isaiah the new beginning would be the sprouting of the stump of Jesse; for Micah it would be the coming of a ruler from Bethlehem, David's city. Isaiah called the leader "everlasting father";<sup>1</sup> Micah referred to him and his origin as "one who is to be ruler in Israel/ whose origin is from of old/ from ancient days".<sup>2</sup> For Isaiah the darkness which had fallen on the northern kingdom would vanish in shining light and great rejoicing with the advent of this prince; for Micah this ruler would feed both Judah and the rest of his brethren.<sup>3</sup> Isaiah's prince would be a divine hero whose kingdom would be great<sup>4</sup> and from the throne of David would stream forth justice and endless peace; Micah's ruler would stand for peace against the Assyrian invader and under him the nation would dwell securely in the name of Yahweh. Israel would experience once again the deliverance of Yahweh as in the days when Gideon stood against the Midianites.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Is. 9:6(5); Bentzen translates "Vater der Urzeit", "King Ideology- 'Urmensch' - 'Troonsbestijgingsfeest'", ST, 1949, 151; El is called "the father of years" in the Ras Shamra poems, cf. Ps. 102:24; Dn. 7:9; see M. Burrows, What Mean These Stones?, 1941, 265.
  2. Mic. 5:2(1); see Bentzen, op. cit. also his King and Messiah, 17f., 40.
  3. Mic. 5:3, 4(2,3); note "she who is in travail", v. 3(2); cf. the Immanuel prophecy, Is. 7:14; see Ringgren, op. cit. 34; furthermore Isaiah's idea of the remnant appears in Micah here.
  4. Is. 9:7(6); reading "Great is the dominion/ and of peace no end", see J. Bright, The Kingdom of God in Bible and Church, 1955, 92+note.
  5. See Harrelson, op. cit. esp. 152f.

One further aspect of Isaiah's messianic ruler may be noted. The whole ethos of the new kingdom would be a harmonious one in which the nation would live at peace with one another and under the righteous leadership of the Davidic prince on the throne. Now peace was the normal outcome of a covenant relationship<sup>1</sup> and we would suggest that, although Isaiah made no reference to a covenant, the background to the Davidic ruler's reign was to be found in the idea of the covenant existing between king and people and also the covenant between Yahweh and his people. Hence Isaiah's comment "then a throne will be established in *hesed*".<sup>2</sup> However this idea of a new covenant between Yahweh and the people was not emphasised until the period of Jeremiah's preaching. Yet it is possible that the idea was present in the mind of Isaiah though not fully understood or made use of. Be that as it may, the important feature of Isaiah's vision of the messianic ruler was the fact that with his appearance the election of the Davidic house would be renewed and Yahweh's plan for his people would reach its climax.<sup>3</sup>

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1. "The relationship guaranteed by a covenant is commonly designated by the word *בְּרִית*", so von Rad, *Theology*, I, 130; cf. Gn. 26:30ff.; I K. 5:12(26); Is. 54:10. See especially Pedersen, *Israel*, I-II, 311ff.; Begrich, "Berit. Ein Beitrag zur Erfassung einer alttestamentlichen Denkform", *ZAW*, 1944, 1-11; R.H. Smith, "Abram and Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18-20)", *ZAW*, 1965, 129-52; esp. 142ff.
  2. 16:5; cf. Ps. 89:33f. (34f.); Is. 55:3; see N. Glueck, Das Wort *hesed* im alttestamentlichen Sprachgebrauche als menschliche und göttliche gemeinschaftgemässe Verhaltensweise, *BZAW* 47, 1927, esp. 40ff.
  3. So Rohland, *op. cit.* 242. On Isaiah's messianic ideas see also H. Junker, "Ursprung und Grundzüge des Messiasbildes bei Isajas", *SVT* IV, 1954, 181-96; Amsler, David, Roi et Messie, 48ff.



#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

There is a reference to the patriarch Abraham in Isaiah but it probably should be considered to be a gloss.<sup>1</sup>

" Therefore thus says Yahweh, who redeemed Abraham, concerning the house of Jacob; "

Whether we retain the phrase or reject it is a matter of opinion, however even if the occurrence is genuine it hardly adds anything of a constructive nature to the patriarchs and the idea of election.

#### 5. Summary

Although Isaiah did not utilise the exodus election tradition to any great extent, he was familiar with it and made a few allusions to it. One particular reference to it compared the deliverance from the Assyrians with Yahweh's power exercised against the Egyptians in the days of the exodus.<sup>2</sup> Generally speaking Isaiah used some motifs from Israel's earlier history to describe the situation of the people at his time and to illustrate some aspects of the future.<sup>3</sup> Thus there was a great emphasis in his work on Yahweh as Yahweh of hosts and a reliance on ideas drawn from Yahweh's part in Israel's holy war in the past. These shaped his handling of the Immanuel theme<sup>4</sup> and also

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1. So Procksch, *op.cit.* 379; "who made Abraham increase", Kissane, *op.cit.* 33 2.10:24ff.

3. On this aspect of Isaiah's work see Hertzberg, "Die Nachgeschichte alttestamentlicher Texte innerhalb des Alten Testaments", *Beiträge*, 69-80.

4. See A.H.J. Gunneweg, "Heils-und Unheils verkündigung in Jes.VII", *VT*, 1965, 27-34.

provided the background out of which his messianic ruler would arise. The actual term covenant was not used by Isaiah to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel but his parable of the vineyard was one of the most forceful evocations of that relationship in the whole of the Old Testament.

Isaiah's milieu was Zion where there existed a great belief in the election of David and of Zion. Thus his teaching reflected this tradition and gave it both a new emphasis and a new approach. He directed the people's attention away from the past to the present and the very near future. Jerusalem would indeed be subjected to great distress both from the northern coalition and from the Assyrians but ultimately Yahweh would deliver his city. The vital feature of this deliverance would be faith. For Isaiah demanded of his listeners and of Ahaz that they exercise faith in Yahweh, not trust in Assyria or Egypt or any form of human agency. This was the core of Isaiah's ministry. Faith in Yahweh the God of hosts and a complete reliance on him. Because there was an utter lack of such faith in Yahweh Isaiah foresaw that the nation would suffer great destruction and that out of it all would emerge a few. This small band of faithful believers in Yahweh would constitute the nucleus of Yahweh's future people.

One kernel of Isaiah's teaching was his concept of the remnant. Great destruction would leave only a few; so too would the lack of faith in the people as a whole. This remnant was a

sign of hope for the future. Here we find one reason why such little use was made of the exodus tradition by Isaiah. His message was mainly one of judgment and the word of hope was directed at a few. The exodus had been an event which concerned the whole nation and not a few individuals from that nation. Thus to have emphasised the exodus would have been both inappropriate and quite misleading to the people. The total failure of the nation to respond to Yahweh's election by practising justice and righteousness had led to their rejection by their God. Henceforth Yahweh's purpose lay with the few. These few would become a solid foundation in Zion when the remainder of the nation was swept away in the judgment of Yahweh. In this way Isaiah combined his teaching about the remnant with his teaching about Zion. The city would in the future be occupied by the faithful remnant.

In the future Isaiah envisaged a reuniting of the two kingdoms under a branch from the house of David. This leader would combine in himself all the attributes of the ideal king. Thus we may safely interpret this figure as having had messianic implications for the prophet. He would sit upon the throne of David as a scion from the Davidic house and the tent of David would once more be established in hesed, righteousness and justice. From the throne would go forth counsel and peace would be the mark of his reign. This idea of a peaceful kingdom also applied to the period when the nations of the earth would go up to Zion to learn the ways of Yahweh.

We may summarise Isaiah's contribution to the idea of election in the Old Testament as being mainly concerned with Yahweh's renewal of the Davidic kingdom in all the splendour of its former glory. Zion would become the centre of Yahweh's Torah and the nations would go there to learn his ways. Although the two images are not combined we see no reason for maintaining that there were two distinct election traditions, one dealing with David and the other concerning Zion. The prophet may have uttered oracles about them on different occasions but it hardly follows that therefore the election of Zion was a distinct tradition from that of David.

The delineation of the prince of peace sitting upon the throne of David and administering justice and counsel represents the goal of the original election of David to be king over the people of Israel. Isaiah saw that this would come about due to the zeal of Yahweh and that ultimately Israel would only find stability when Yahweh's chosen leader was on the throne and the people firm in their belief and trust in Yahweh. This Isaian expectation was to play a significant part in the thought of the prophets who followed him a century later.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See below part III. On the development of thought concerning Jerusalem in the OT and later Judaism see, A. Causse, "Le Mythe de la nouvelle Jérusalem du Deutéro-Esaie à la III<sup>e</sup> Sibylle", *RHPR*, 1938, 377ff.; "De la Jérusalem terrestre à la Jérusalem céleste", *RHPR*, 1947, 12ff. K. L. Schmidt, "Jerusalem als Urbild und Abbild", *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, XVIII, 1950, 207ff. On Is. 2:2-4 see also R. Martin Achard, A Light to the Nations, ET, 1962 (OT 49), 61ff.

PART THREE

ELECTION IN JEREMIAH, EZEKIEL

AND DEUTERO-ISAIAH

## CHAPTER VII

### BACKGROUND TO JEREMIAH: ELECTION IN THE PSALMS AND DEUTERONOMY

#### 1. Introduction

In order to understand the development of the election traditions in the prophets from Jeremiah onwards it is necessary to be aware of the significance that both the Psalms and Deuteronomy have in terms of election. Although neither belongs to the prophetic work they both represent much of what was current thought during the last half of the seventh century in Judah.<sup>1</sup> It is very difficult to date the Psalms precisely, but most of them can be assigned to a pre-exilic period.<sup>2</sup> Whatever date may be accepted for the emergence of Deuteronomy as a completed work, it is quite reasonable to view its growth as belonging to the seventh century and possibly earlier.<sup>3</sup> Thus the main material in these two collections would have been in existence during the ministry of Jeremiah. Whether he was familiar with them remains a point to be discussed, though

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1. For the history of this period see Bright, History, 288ff. and Noth, History, 269ff. also Y. Aharoni, The Land of the Bible. A Historical Geography, ET, 1966, 336ff.

2. So Weiser, The Psalms, 25; there are exceptions, of course, thus Ps. 137 is most obviously exilic or post-exilic.

3. See von Rad, Deuteronomy, 26.

the main importance for this thesis is their contribution to the election idea in the Old Testament.<sup>1</sup>

The political existence of Israel as a nation among the nations had been systematically curtailed towards the end of the eighth century and this process continued throughout the seventh century until the final destruction of the nation as a political entity in 587.<sup>2</sup> Throughout this period the prophets had confronted the people with the word of Yahweh both warning of dire judgment and occasionally extending a promise of hope. Their main significance had been the role they played in the interpreting and maintaining of the Yahwistic tradition during this period of political crisis.<sup>3</sup> They had constantly reinterpreted the old election traditions of Israel<sup>4</sup> and spoken the word of Yahweh to each generation in whatever situation they found the nation.<sup>5</sup> Yet their prophecies were not just reiterations of

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1. Technically speaking any consideration of Deuteronomy and the Psalms in a work on the prophets is irrelevant but unfortunately the OT prophets cannot be considered in vacuo but in a context which takes into account whatever constituted the mainstream of religious thought in ancient Israel.
  2. In this sense we are in agreement with Noth who views 587 as the conclusion of a long historical process, History, 289.
  3. See Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 124; see also Henton Davies, "The Yahwistic Tradition in the Eighth-century Prophets", SOTP, 37-51; N.W. Porteous, "The Prophets and the Problem of Continuity", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 11-25; S. Mowinckel, "La connaissance de Dieu chez les prophètes de l'Ancien Testament", RHPR, 1942, 69ff.
  4. We disagree with C.F. Whitley who regards the prophets as having been little indebted to traditional beliefs for their ideas, see The Prophetic Achievement, 1963, 43; Fohrer has also criticised the emphasis laid on the prophetic handling of tradition, see "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JEL, 1961, 309ff. and "Tradition und Interpretation im AT", ZAW, 1961, 1ff.
  5. On the political aspects of the prophetic ministry see E. Jenni, Die politischen Voraussagen der Propheten.

the sacral traditions but a perceptive criticism of the life, worship and behaviour of the people.<sup>1</sup> They based their approach to life on the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people Israel.<sup>2</sup> They condemned the failure to maintain the terms of that covenant; terms which were essentially practical.<sup>3</sup> Thus they emphasised the responsibilities of the nation in the light of their election by Yahweh rather than the privileges accruing to them because of such a relationship.<sup>4</sup>

In dealing with the worship of the cultus and its liturgical forms as found in the Psalter we cannot simply separate the prophet from the worship of the community and consign him to a position outside the cultus. Whatever may be the exact relationship between the prophet and the cultus it is quite clear that behind much of the language and thought of the prophets lay the religion and idiom of the Psalms.<sup>5</sup>

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1. On the ethics of the prophets see Porteous, "The Basis of the Ethical Teaching of the Prophets", SOTP, 143-56; E. Hammershaimb, "On the ethics of the Old Testament prophets", SVT VII, 1960, 75-101; for the role of the prophet in Israelite life see J. Pedersen, "The Role played by Inspired Persons among the Israelites and the Arabs", SOTP, 127-42.
  2. See W. Brueggemann, "Amos IV 4-13 and Israel's covenant worship", VT, 1965, 1-15; some scholars deny the importance of the covenant in Israel's early history, thus R. Smend would emphasize the holy war instead, Jahwekrieg und Stammebund, FRLANT 84, 1963; and Whitley sees the covenant as a late element in Israel's life, "Covenant and Commandment in Israel", JNES, 1963, 37-48.
  3. cf. Am. 2:6ff.; Hos. 4:1-6; Is. 1:5; 7.
  4. On the pre-exilic prophets' understanding of election see the remarks of P. Altmann, Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im Alten Testament, 21-25.
  5. See Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 19ff.; Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, II, 53ff. also his article "Literature", IDB, III, 142. It is this factor that makes a consideration of election in the Psalms necessary for this thesis.



## 2. Election in the Psalms

### a) Introduction<sup>1</sup>

The Psalms were Israel's expression of their worship and praise of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> Thus it was said of Yahweh:

" Yet thou art holy,  
enthroned on the praises of Israel."<sup>3</sup>

In the cult Israel praised Yahweh in many ways and for many reasons. Out of the people's historical experience of Yahweh came these songs of praise,<sup>4</sup> hymns recapitulating the events of the Heilsgeschichte<sup>5</sup> and laments concerning the breakdown of the covenant.<sup>6</sup> The cult, being by its nature a conservative entity, preserved the Yahwistic tradition in the south with its worship centring around the sacred ark, the sacral object of the early amphictyonic confederation.<sup>7</sup> Thus the worship of ancient Israel

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1. It is not possible to deal comprehensively with the Psalms in this study however the main works used in this section include, P. Drijvers, Les Psaumes. Genres littéraires et thèmes doctrinaux, LD 21, 1958; O. Eissfeldt, Introduction, 444-54; A. R. Johnson, "The Psalms", OTMS, 162-207; H.-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT; Psalmen, I, II, BKAT XV/1, 2, 1960; Le Psautier. Ses origines. Ses problèmes littéraires. Son influence, ed. R. de Langhe, OBL IV, 1962; W. S. McCullough, "Introduction to the Book of Psalms", IB, IV, 3-17; S. Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, II, ET, 1962; A. Weiser, The Psalms; Introduction, 278-87.
  2. See C. Westermann, Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen, 1953.
  3. Ps. 22:4.
  4. cf. Ps. 105; 106; 145; R. C. Dentan would consider 145 a more representative credo of Israel's than Dt. 26:5-10; review of von Rad's Old Testament Theology', JBL, 1963, 107.
  5. Pss. 105; 106; see H. Zirker, Die kultische Vergegenwärtigung der Vergangenheit in den Psalmen, BBB 20, 1964.
  6. Ps. 89:38ff. (37ff.); see G. W. Ahlström, Psalm 89. Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs, 1959.
  7. See Weiser, The Psalms, 26f.; G. Henton Davies, "The Ark in the Psalms", Promise and Fulfilment, Essays Hooke, ed. F. F. Bruce, 1963, 51-61; and in general, A. Arens, Die Psalmen im Gottesdienst des Alten Bundes, TTS 11, 1961.

not only developed out of the cultus but it also reflected the history of the nation and its sacral traditions.<sup>1</sup> This factor makes the Psalter a very important source for any consideration of the election traditions of ancient Israel.

One of the main aspects of the worship in the cultus was concerned with Yahweh's theophany:

" Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered;  
let those who hate him flee before him!"<sup>2</sup>

" Give ear, O Shepherd of Israel,  
thou who leadest Joseph like a flock:  
Thou art enthroned upon the cherubim, shine forth  
before Ephraim and Benjamin and Manasseh!  
Stir up thy might,  
and come to save us!"<sup>3</sup>

" Arise, O God, judge the earth;  
for to thee belong all the nations!"<sup>4</sup>

The language of the theophany in the cultus reflected the old traditions of the holy war<sup>5</sup> and the significance of the ark in Israel's early history.<sup>6</sup> The theophany had its origins in Israel's experiences at Sinai<sup>7</sup> and thus this particular aspect

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1. Westermann tends to ignore the historical traditions behind the cultic traditions by limiting his considerations concerning the cultus to its religious nature, see Das Loben Gottes in den Psalmen, esp. 65ff. Against his viewpoint see Weiser, The Psalms, 24n, 38n.; see the remarks of Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 139f.

2. Ps. 68:1(2); cf. Pss. 50:2ff.; 77:16ff.; 97:3ff.; 104:3.

3. Ps. 80:1, 2(2,3); cf. Pss. 94:1; 50:2.

4. Ps. 82:8; cf. Pss. 3:7(8); 74:22; 94:2.

5. cf. Pss. 44:9(10); 60:10(12); 24:8; see Weiser, The Psalms, 37ff.; von Rad, Der Heilige Krieg im alten Israel; Smend, Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund.

6. cf. Num. 10:35f.; I Sam. 4:1ff. on the ark see von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 103-24; Theology, I, 234ff.; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 297ff.

7. cf. Ex. 19; see M. Noth, Exodus, 151-68; also W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, esp. 117ff.

of the Psalms probably reflected the covenant festival in the cult.<sup>1</sup>

A further dominant theme in some of the Psalms was that of kingship:

- " Yahweh reigns; he is robed in majesty;  
 Yahweh is robed, he is girded with strength.  
 Yea, the world is established; it shall never be moved;  
 thy throne is established from of old;  
 thou art from everlasting."<sup>2</sup>
- " Yahweh reigns; let the earth rejoice;  
 let the many coastlands be glad!"<sup>3</sup>
- " Yahweh reigns; let the peoples tremble!  
 He sits enthroned upon the cherubim; let the earth quake!  
 Yahweh is great in Zion;  
 he is exalted over all the peoples.  
 Let them praise thy great and terrible name!  
 Holy is he!"<sup>4</sup>

However this only represents one side of the kingship theme in the Psalms. Yahweh as king in Israel and also as king over the whole earth.<sup>5</sup> The other element concerned the Israelite king:

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1. On the general idea of theophany in the OT see J. Jeremias, Theophanie, die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung, WMANT 10, 1965; esp. 100ff. on the Sinai theophany; also A. Weiser, "Zur Frage nach den Beziehungen der Psalmen zum Kult: Die Darstellung der Theophanie in den Psalmen und im Festkult", FS Bertholet, 513ff. On the covenant festival, see Weiser, The Psalms, 35ff.
  2. 93:1, 2; on these Psalms see J. D. W. Watts, "Yahweh Malak Psalms", TZ, 1965, 341-8; R. A. Rosenberg, "Yahweh becomes King", JBL, 1966, 297-307.
  3. 97:1.
  4. 99:1-3. On the whole question of Yahweh's kingship in ancient Israel see, W. Schmidt, Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel, BZAW 80, 1961; R. Schnackenburg, God's Rule and Kingdom, ET, 1963, 11-75; V. Maag, "Malkut Jhwh", SVT VII, 1960, 129-53; E. Lipinski, "Les psaumes de la royauté de Yahvé dans l'exégèse moderne", Le Psautier, OBL IV, 133-273; on these particular Psalms see Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 106ff.; H.-J. Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT, 123ff. and the Commentaries.
  5. On this dual kingship of Yahweh see H. Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, 80ff.

- " My heart overflows with a goodly theme;<sup>1</sup>  
 I address my verses to the king;  
 my tongue is like the pen of a ready scribe.  
 You are the fairest of the sons of men;  
 grace is poured upon your lips;  
 therefore God has blessed you for ever.  
 Your throne, O divine king, endures for ever and ever.<sup>2</sup>  
 Your royal scepter is a scepter of equity;  
 you love righteousness and hate wickedness.  
 Therefore God, your God, has anointed you  
 with the oil of gladness above your fellows;"
- " Give the king thy justice, O God,<sup>3</sup>  
 and thy righteousness to the royal son!  
 May he judge thy people with righteousness,  
 and thy poor with justice!  
 Let the mountains bear prosperity for the people,  
 and the hills, in righteousness!  
 May he defend the cause of the poor of the people,  
 give deliverance to the needy,  
 and crush the oppressor!  
 May he live<sup>4</sup> while the sun endures,  
 and as long as the moon, throughout all generations!  
 May he be like rain that falls on the mown grass,  
 like showers that water the earth!  
 In his days may righteousness flourish,  
 and peace abound, till the moon be no more!  
 May he have dominion from sea to sea,  
 and from the River to the ends of the earth!  
 May his name endure for ever,  
 his fame continue as long as the sun!  
 May men bless themselves by him,  
 all nations call him blessed!"

1. 45:1, 2, 6, 7 (2, 3, 7, 8); this is a royal wedding song, see Weiser, The Psalms, 360ff.; Kraus, Psalmen, I, 330ff.; Bentzen, Introduction, I, 129, would relate it to the cultic-mystical hieros gamos of the divine king; however the wedding setting is a more obvious interpretation; so Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, I, 73ff.
2. v. 6(7), the reading here follows Weiser; RSV has "your divine throne endures for ever and ever"; MT וְיָשֵׁב עַל כִּסְאוֹ לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד is too ambiguous to translate accurately; some scholars deduce from this text (also Ps. 2:7) the divine character of the Israelite king, see esp. I. Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East, 1943; also Bentzen, King and Messiah, 39f. 85f.; against this view see Noth, "God, King, and Nation in the OT", op. cit. 145ff. esp. 166; Johnson, Sacral Kingship, 27n; and North's admirable essay, "The Religious Aspects of Hebrew Kingship", ZAW, 1932, 29ff.; also G. Cooke, "The Israelite King as Son of God", ZAW, 1961, 202-25.
3. 72:1-8, 17.
4. v. 5 RSV rendering; MT = "may they fear thee"; Weiser, "as long as..." The Psalms, 500f.

" Yahweh says to my lord:<sup>1</sup>  
 'Sit at my right hand,  
 till I make your enemies  
 your footstool.'  
 Yahweh sends forth from Zion your mighty scepter.  
 Rule in the midst of your foes!  
 Your people will offer themselves freely  
 on the day you lead your host  
 upon the holy mountains.  
 From the womb of the morning  
 like dew your youth<sup>2</sup> will come to you.  
 Yahweh has sworn  
 and will not change his mind,  
 'You are a priest for ever  
 after the order of Melchizedek' "

These various quotations reveal something of the position and significance of the king in ancient Israel. He was not a divine being,<sup>3</sup> nor a reincarnation of any particular god, but a member of the house of David,<sup>4</sup> who was bound to Yahweh by the Davidic covenant and who stood as a representative for his people before Yahweh.<sup>5</sup> Thus their well-being was bound up with him and so the cultic liturgies besought Yahweh that he might give the king a reign in which he would judge the people in justice and righteousness.<sup>6</sup>

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1. 110; 1-4; on Melchizedek see, J.G. Gammie, Melchizedek, An Exegetical Study of Genesis 14 and the Psalter, for an extensive review of all the relevant data on the subject; he concludes that Gn. 14 reflected actual historical contacts between the people of Abram and the people of Melchizedek, and that the name Melchizedek did not emerge as a proper name in Ps. 110 until after the fall of the monarchy, so 280.

2. v. 3 reading with RSV; MT = "the dew of your youth".

3. "We must conclude that however exalted above his brethren the king might be, his place was on the human rather than on the divine side of reality.", North, op. cit. 38; see also Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, 337ff.

4. This applies to the southern kingdom; Pss. 51-65; 68-70.

5. "The wellbeing of the nation depends upon the continual life and vigour of the king.", Snaith, "I&II Kings", IB, III, 110; see also J. Gray, I&II Kings, 41.

6. 72; 1ff. cf. Is. 9:7(6); 11:3-5.

Various types of psalms appear in the book of Psalms. Hymns,<sup>1</sup> laments,<sup>2</sup> thanksgivings,<sup>3</sup> psalms of blessing and curse,<sup>4</sup> and wisdom and didactic poems.<sup>5</sup> The psalms preserved in the Old Testament represent only part of the religious poetry of Israel.<sup>6</sup> The praises with which Israel worshipped Yahweh in the cult often took the form of confessions of Yahweh's righteous acts in history on behalf of the nation.<sup>7</sup> Although praise was the basic element in this worship, often the people bemoaned the fact that they had come under the judgment of Yahweh.<sup>8</sup> The recital of the events of the Heilsgeschichte included both praise for Yahweh's greatness and also acknowledgment of his judgment against failure in the nation. This aspect of the cult embraced both the people as a whole and its individuals as separate members.<sup>9</sup>

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1. 19; 35; 71; 95-99; see Weiser, The Psalms, 52-66; Kraus, Psalmen, I, xliff.

2. 3; 22; 44; 51; 74; 88; cf. Lam. 3; see Weiser, ibid., 66-83.

3. 107; 118; 145; frequently a lament and a thanksgiving are combined in a single psalm, see 6; 69; 102; 130; see Weiser, ibid., 83ff.

4. 24; 91; 112; 146; for blessing, and 17; 69; 79; 109; see Weiser, ibid., 86ff. on blessing in the OT see A. Murtonen, "The use and meaning of the words *l'ebarek* and *berakah* in the OT", VT, 1959, 158-77; on curse in the OT see H. C. Brichto, The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible, JBLM XIII, 1963.

5. 1; 37; 49; 73; 112; 127; 133; see Weiser, op. cit. 88f.

6. See Weiser, ibid. 89; many of the psalms in the OT are to be found outside the Psalter.

7. "The verb  $\text{הִלָּל}$ , which we generally translate as 'to praise', properly means 'to confess', 'to accept', and always refers to a preceding divine datum.", von Rad, Theology, I, 357.

8. On judgment in the Psalms see Weiser, op. cit. 46f., 78; von Rad, Theology, I, 357f. This element of divine judgment was a common feature of religion in the ancient Near East, see for example, A. Kapelrud, "God as Destroyer in the Preaching of Amos and in the Ancient Near East", JBL, 1952, 33ff.

9. Weiser, op. cit. 91. On general aspects of the Psalms see H. J. Franken, The Mystical Communion with JHWH in the Book of Psalms, 1954; H. Ringgren, The Faith of the Psalmists, ET, 1963; N. Snaith, Hymns of the Temple, 1951; J. Hempel, "Book of Psalms", IDB, III, 942-58.

b) The Exodus election tradition<sup>1</sup>

The theme of Israel's election by Yahweh was stated both directly and indirectly in various psalms:

- " Blessed is the nation whose God is Yahweh,  
the people whom he has chosen as his heritage!"<sup>2</sup>
- " We have heard with our ears, O God,  
our fathers have told us,  
what deeds thou didst perform in their days,  
in the days of old:  
thou with thy own hand didst drive out the nations,  
but them thou didst plant;  
thou didst afflict the peoples,  
but them thou didst set free;  
for not by their own sword did they win the land,  
nor did their own arm give them victory;  
but thy right hand, and thy arm,  
and the light of thy countenance;<sup>3</sup>  
for thou didst delight in them."

Israel as Yahweh's people and the proclamation of the Heilsgeschichte<sup>4</sup> belonged together in the worship of the cultus.<sup>5</sup> The acts of Yahweh in history were a constant reminder to Israel of their position before Yahweh as his special possession. The emphasis in this repetition of the events centred around Israel's entire dependence upon the might and the love of Yahweh.<sup>6</sup>

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1. In order to keep this section limited to a reasonable length it is necessary to restrict our consideration of election in the Psalms to those passages in which the term  $\text{נָחַל}$  appears.
  2. 33:12; on  $\text{נָחַל}$  see F. Dreyfus, "Le thème de l'héritage dans l'AT", RSPT, 1958, 3-49; F. Horst, "Zwei Begriffe für Eigentum (Besitz):  $\text{נָחַל}$  und  $\text{נַחֲלָה}$ ", Verbannung und Heimkehr, 135-56.
  3. 44:1-3(2-4); Weiser reads v. 2(3) "in the days of old thy hand has accomplished it", The Psalms, 352; see also BH.
  4. Kraus differs on this point—"Offensichtlich wird hier nicht auf die kultische Hauptüberlieferung, sondern auf die Familien- und Sippen-tradition angespielt.", Psalmen, I, 326.
  5. cf. 105; 106; see the remarks of Chilas, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 50ff.; also Zirker, op. cit. 68ff.
  6. cf. Dt. 7:6ff. see the remarks on election in Deuteronomy in section 3 of this chapter.

The contrast between Israel and the other nations was based on the fact that Yahweh had chosen Israel on one hand, and defeated the nations on the other:

" For Yahweh, the Most High, is terrible,  
a great king over all the earth.  
He subdued peoples under us,  
and nations under our feet.  
He chose our heritage for us,  
the pride of Jacob whom he loves."<sup>1</sup>

It is very difficult to separate references to the exodus and Landnahme in the Psalms from references to the various patriarchs.<sup>2</sup> Thus some of the hymns spoke of Yahweh's works which included his dealings with the fathers:

" Remember the wonderful works that he has done,  
his miracles, and the judgments he uttered,  
O offspring of Abraham his servant,  
sons of Jacob, his chosen ones!  
He is Yahweh our God;  
his judgments are in all the earth.  
He is mindful of his covenant for ever,  
of the word that he commanded,  
for a thousand generations,  
the covenant which he made with Abraham,  
his sworn promise to Isaac,  
which he confirmed to Jacob as a statute,  
to Israel as an everlasting covenant,  
saying, 'To you I will give the land of Canaan  
as your portion for an inheritance.'<sup>3</sup>

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1. 47:3, 4(4, 5); on the subject of the Völkerkampf which appears in this psalm and elsewhere in the OT see, Wanke, Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten, 70ff.; Pedersen, Israel, I-II, 470ff.
  2. The main aspects of the patriarchal election tradition are dealt with in section 3 of this chapter and therefore we have not devoted a subsection to them in considering the Psalms. The patriarchs feature in the Psalms very much in the same way that they feature in Deuteronomy.
  3. 105:5-11; cf. vv. 42f. Read v. 6 as "sons of Jacob, his chosen one", see BH. This particular hymn understood the Heilsgeschichte to have begun with the patriarchal covenant, and the land to have been a gift on account of Yahweh's word to them.



Various events in the history of the nation were remembered and reiterated in the cult as evidence of the mercy and goodness of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> Often the nation had to face the problem of disaster and the question would arise, why? This feature of Israel's existence before Yahweh was inevitably bound up with their covenant relationship to him:

" All this has come upon us,  
 though we have not forgotten thee,  
 or been false to thy covenant.  
 Our heart has not turned back,  
 nor have our steps departed from thy way,  
 that thou shouldst have broken us in the place of jackals,  
 and covered us with deep darkness."<sup>2</sup>

Whether these protestations represented a complacency on the part of the nation concerning their keeping of the covenant or were a genuine enigma for the pious in Israel is a difficult point of interpretation.<sup>3</sup> The advent of disaster in the land forced the people to question some of the basic ideas of their religious beliefs and ultimately to plead with Yahweh "have regard for thy covenant".<sup>4</sup> The hymns of praise reflected Israel's joyful remembrance of Yahweh's goodness in history and their laments reflected the problems often created by the divergency between faith and experience.

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1. cf. 66; 68; 89; 95; 103; 104; 105; 107; 136; 145.

2. 44:17-19; cf. 74; 89:38ff. (39ff.).

3. The claim not to have been false to the covenant may compare badly with the prophetic preaching against the nation's infidelity to Yahweh; though there is nothing conclusive in this point to assist with the interpretation of this complaint. Weiser understands it in terms of the problem of suffering rather than as defiant boasting, The Psalms, 358f.

4. 74:20.

The main usage of  $\text{בְּיָד}$  in the above references was as an emphasis on Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh; chosen as his special property, because of their fathers and in order that they might possess the land of Canaan as their heritage.<sup>1</sup> The ultimate end of this divine choice was that they might keep his covenant:

" Then he led forth Israel.....<sup>2</sup>  
 For he remembered his holy promise,  
 and Abraham his servant.  
 So he led forth his people with joy,  
 his chosen ones with singing.  
 And he gave them the lands of the nations;  
 and they took possession of the fruit  
 of the peoples' toil,  
 to the end that they should keep his statutes ( $\text{בְּיָד}$ ),<sup>3</sup>  
 and observe his laws."<sup>4</sup>

Hence much of the worship in the cult was a paean to Yahweh:

" Praise Yahweh, for Yahweh is good;  
 sing to his name, for he is gracious!  
 For Yahweh has chosen Jacob for himself,  
 Israel as his own possession ( $\text{בְּיָד}$ )."<sup>5</sup>

1. See 33:12; 47:4(5); 105:6-11; 106:5; 135:4.

2. 105:37, 42-45; vv. 37ff. list some of the events that happened to Israel during their wandering in the desert after the exodus from Egypt.

3. v. 45,  $\text{בְּיָד}$  probably referred here to the Decalogue, so Weiser, The Psalms, 676; the term occurs elsewhere in the OT as virtually a synonym for  $\text{בְּיָד}$ , see Ps 105:10; also the remarks of von Rad, "The Royal Ritual in Judah", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 222ff. esp. 228.

4. v. 45, LXX reads "his law", see BH.

5. 135:3, 4; the whole psalm is a hymn of praise to Yahweh which incorporated many of the traditions concerning Israel's exodus from Egypt (vv. 8-11). The term  $\text{בְּיָד}$  was characteristic of the Deuteronomist, see Vriezen, Erwählung, 63; also Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", ZAW, 1955, 213; it was synonymous with  $\text{בְּיָד}$  in the Psalter, see Bächli, Israel und die Völker, 144; on the term itself see M. Greenberg, "Hebrew  $\text{בְּיָד}$ : Akkadian sikiltu", JAOS, 1951, 172ff.  $\text{בְּיָד}$  occurs in 135:12, see von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch", op. cit. 79-93.

Both Moses<sup>1</sup> and Aaron<sup>2</sup> were referred to as chosen ones in the Psalter. A further reference to those chosen by Yahweh is rather obscure:

" Blessed is he whom thou dost choose and bring near, to dwell in thy courts! " <sup>3</sup>

This may have referred to the election of the priests<sup>4</sup> or it may possibly have been evidence of a democratisation process which applied the specific idea of priestly election to the pious individual in general.<sup>5</sup> Moses came within the reference range of election because he was an outstanding servant of Yahweh. In this particular category the title of servant was the equivalent of chosen one.<sup>6</sup> It is possible that Psalm 105 had a northern milieu as Aaron was probably a northern hero.<sup>7</sup> Some of the psalms originally came from the north<sup>8</sup> but after the fall of Samaria they, no doubt, found their way south and

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1. 106:23.

2. 105:26.

3. 65:4(5).

4.  $\gamma\eta$  is a technical term for approach to the sanctuary, BDB, 897; applied to the priests, Ex. 29:4, 8; 40:12, 14; Lev. 3:6; 7:35; Num. 8:9; so understood here by Koch, op. cit. 211; see also Kraus, Psalmen, I, 451; Vriezen is doubtful about the priestly application of  $\gamma\eta$  in this text, Erwählung, 46n.

5. This process of democratisation may be seen in Is. 55:3 (see below, ch. X); on the other hand it is quite possible that it referred to the individual member of the nation because the nation itself was considered to be "a kingdom of priests", Ex. 19:6.

6. cf. 105:26; "In Deuterofjesaja (und den Psalmen) zeigt sich dies deutlich hierin, dass bachir (Auserwählte) und 'ebed (Knecht) vielfach neben einander gebraucht werden.", Vriezen, Erwählung, 48f. also his Outline, 363; see also W. Zimmerli & J. Jeremias, The Servant of God, SBT 20, ET, 1965 rev.

7. So M. J. Buss, "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah", JBL, 1963, 385.

8. e.g. 80; 81; both are given a northern milieu with a date preceding the downfall of the northern kingdom by Weiser, The Psalms, 547, 553; see also Danell, op. cit. 103.

were eventually incorporated into the liturgy of the Jerusalem cultus. This northern milieu of some of the psalms would account for the fact that Jacob occurs in titles of God more frequently than Israel in the Psalter.<sup>1</sup> However the use of the name Jacob for describing the people as a whole was probably quite common in the southern kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

c) The David-Zion election tradition

The other mainstream of election thought in the Psalter concerned the king and his capital, Zion. This particular aspect of the worship of the Jerusalem cultus centred around the tradition of Yahweh's election of his servant David to be king over Israel and the establishing of the Davidic dynasty on the throne in Zion.<sup>3</sup> However this election tradition was only part of the worship in the temple at Jerusalem and caution must be exercised to avoid overemphasising the significance of it in the worship of the southern kingdom.<sup>4</sup> The specific royal tradition was linked to the already existing sacral traditions which told of how Yahweh had brought the nation up out of Egypt and entered into a covenant relationship with his people

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1. Danell, *ibid.* 105; he maintains that in 24:6; 44:5 Jacob meant a god; 132:2, 5 meant "the bull of Jacob"; see also Hvidberg, Weeping and Laughter in the OT, 79ff.
  2. Danell, *op. cit.* 108; this would most certainly have been so after the fall of the northern kingdom.
  3. II Sam. 7; see especially R. A. Carlson, David, the chosen King. A Tradition-Historical Approach to the Second Book of Samuel, ET, 1964; esp. 97-128.
  4. Hence we see no need to postulate a specific Zionfest as does Kraus, Die Königsherrschaft Gottes im AT, 40ff. (27-99 for a full discussion); opposed by Weiser, The Psalms, 35n.; also H. Gese, "Der Davidsbund und die Zionserwählung", ZTK, 1964, 10ff.

at Sinai. The linchpin connecting David and Zion with the old sacral traditions was the ark.<sup>1</sup> The institution of the monarchy, having been an innovation in Israel with Saul and David, required a basic legitimisation in order to make it acceptable to the Yahwistic religion of the tribes. This legitimisation it found in David's settling of the ark in his newly captured capital. By this particular action David made Zion the most important sanctuary in Israel.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore Yahweh's covenant with David was considered to be a repetition of the covenant of Sinai.<sup>3</sup> It is also most probable that the covenant with David was modelled on aspects of Yahweh's covenant with Abraham.<sup>4</sup> Therefore we would argue that, whatever elements the Israelites may have taken over from the Jebusite sanctuary in Jerusalem,<sup>5</sup> the main beliefs were rooted in the old Yahwistic traditions.

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1. II Sam. 6; see Carlson, *op. cit.* 58ff. On the ark see R. de Vaux, "Arche d'alliance et Tente de réunion", À la reconte de Dieu. Mémorial A. Gelin, 1961, 55-70.

2. Its importance continued for centuries, cf. Jer. 41:4ff. That Jeroboam set up two shrines at which Yahweh, the God of the exodus could be worshipped (I K. 12:25ff.), is surely evidence that the sanctuary at Zion concerned the worship of the God of the exodus rather than just having been a renovated Canaanite sanctuary. Otherwise Jeroboam would have had little reason to provide alternative sanctuaries.

3. cf. Ps. 68:7-10, 17(8-11, 18); see Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, 155ff.; Kraus, Königsherrschaft, 45ff. G. H. Bückers argues that the Sinai traditions did not influence the psalms, see "Zur Verwertung der Sinaitraditionen in den Psalmen", Bibl. 1951, 401ff. Rost argues that these two traditions had separate existences in the two kingdoms and were not linked together until Josiah's reform in 621, "Davidsbund und Sinaibund", TLZ, 1947, 129ff.

4. cf. Gn. 12:3 with Ps. 72:17.

5. On pre-davidic Jerusalem see B. Maisler, "Das vordavidische Jerusalem", JPOS, 1930, 181-91. Alt maintains that David deliberately took over a weak sanctuary for his own purposes, "Jerusalems Aufstieg", KSGVI, III, 243-57.

The importance of David in the southern kingdom may be inferred from the fact that so many of the psalms were attributed to his authorship.<sup>1</sup> However the title "a psalm of David" may be understood in a different sense, namely, "a psalm for David". In this way such psalms can be seen as having had a place in the cult for the reigning king.<sup>2</sup> However the king in Judah was only the representative of Yahweh's kingship, for the real king in Israel was Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> Yahweh ruled over Israel with Judah as his sanctuary:

" When Israel went forth from Egypt,  
the house of Jacob from a people of strange language,  
Judah became his sanctuary,  
Israel his dominion."<sup>4</sup>

One psalm, which recited the various deeds of Yahweh on behalf of his people and their constant rebellion against him, ended with a repetition of some of the elements of the election of David and Zion:

" He rejected the tent of Joseph,  
he did not choose the tribe of Ephraim;  
but he chose the tribe of Judah,  
Mount Zion, which he loves.

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1. Seventy-three psalms were attributed to him (e.g. 3-9; 11-32; 34-41; 51-66); David may well have been the author of some of these psalms, cf. Am. 6:5; see the remarks of E.R. Dalglisch, Psalm Fifty-One in the Light of Ancient Near Eastern Patternism, Diss. 1962, 214ff.
  2. So Mowinckel, op. cit. II, 98ff.
  3. On Yahweh as lord and king in the Psalms, see Gross, Weltherrschaft als religiöse Idee im AT, 36ff.; also J. Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms", VT, 1961, 1-29.
  4. Ps. 114:1, 2; note the linking of the kingship of Yahweh with the exodus tradition.

He built his sanctuary like the high heavens,  
 like the earth, which he has founded for ever.  
 He chose David his servant,  
 and took him from the sheepfolds;  
 from tending the ewes that had young he brought him  
 to be the shepherd of Jacob, his people,  
 of Israel his inheritance."<sup>1</sup>

The rejection of the Joseph tribes referred to the destruction of the shrine at Shiloh<sup>2</sup> and not to the fall of Samaria.<sup>3</sup> This is how the Jerusalem cultus viewed the early history of Israel when the monarchy had just come into being. The Joseph tribes which had provided <sup>leaders</sup> for the amphictyony had been rejected and in their place Judah had been chosen to provide the new leader over the people of Yahweh.<sup>4</sup> Whether this represented a polemic against Ephraim as the main exponents of the exodus election tradition<sup>5</sup> or was simply a poetic way of describing the events surrounding the rise of the monarchy is not at all clear. However the main point of this particular section of the psalm

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1. 78:67-71; BH deletes v. 71c; also Weiser, The Psalms, 537.
  2. See vv. 59-64; cf. Jer. 7:12; in agreement with Weiser, ibid. 539.
  3. Against Köhler, Theology, 81; to describe this reference as an "incidental remark", as Köhler does, is to fail completely to grasp the significance of the context. The psalm is undoubtedly pre-exilic, and may even be dated from a time before the kingdom was divided as Eissfeldt argues, "Das Lied Moses Dt. 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Ps 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes", BAL, 104/5, 1958, 26-43.
  4. Two of the outstanding leaders provided by the tribe of Ephraim were, Joshua (Num. 13:8, 16) and Samuel (I Sam. 1:1).
  5. On the view that the Joseph tribes constituted the main exodus group, see O. Eissfeldt, "Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty: a) The Exodus and Wanderings", FCAH, 31, 1965; also his "The Hebrew Kingdom", FCAH, 32, 1965. Muilenburg has suggested that the idea of election originated in the Ephraim-Manasseh area, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", VT, 1959, 35. On this view is an attractive one but it lacks any concrete evidence from the OT and is entirely based on inferences such as the one under discussion.

was the contrast between Ephraim and Judah. The establishing of the monarchy under David was seen as a new creation of Yahweh's, "then Yahweh awoke as from sleep".<sup>1</sup> It was also linked to Yahweh's creation of the earth.<sup>2</sup>

Psalm 89 represents one of the psalms which dealt most extensively with the election of David:<sup>3</sup>

- " I will sing of thy hesed, O Yahweh, for ever;<sup>4</sup>  
 with my mouth I will proclaim thy faithfulness  
 to all generations.  
 For thy hesed was established for ever<sup>5</sup>  
 thy faithfulness is firm as the heavens.  
 Thou hast said, 'I have made a covenant with my chosen one,  
 I have sworn to David my servant:  
 'I will establish your descendants for ever,  
 and build your throne for all generations.'"<sup>6</sup>
- " Of old thou didst speak in a vision<sup>7</sup> to thy faithful  
 ones,<sup>8</sup> and say:  
 'I have placed a youth above the mighty man,  
 I have raised a young man above the people.<sup>9</sup>  
 I have found David, my servant;  
 with my holy oil I have anointed him;  
 so that my hand shall ever abide with him,  
 my arm also shall strengthen him.  
 The enemy shall not outwit him,  
 the wicked shall not humble him.

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1. 78:65.

2. 78:69; cf. Pss. 33:6ff.; 89:2(3).

3. J. Neusner calls it "a poetic expansion of II Sam. 7", "The Eighty-Ninth Psalm: Paradigm of Israel's Faith", History and Torah, 1965, ch. 3, 36-48, esp. 43.

4. 89:1-4(2-5); v. 1(2) follows LXX; MT has "hesed of Yahweh"; see BH.

5. v. 2(3) MT reads "for I have said hesed is established for ever" BH suggests reading "thou hast said my hesed is established for ever", followed by Weiser, op. cit. 588; Kraus, Psalmen, II, 614.

6. RSV has transposed "I have said" from v. 2(3) to v. 3(4) and read it as "thou hast said" with LXX.

7. 89:19ff. (20ff.); the intervening verses between these two quoted passages dealt with the kingship of Yahweh and his triumph over chaos-sea; this particular concept was perhaps one of the major contributions of Canaanite thought to Israelite beliefs, so Gray, "The Kingship of God in the Prophets and Psalms", VT, 1961, 28. The phrase "in a vision" (יִרְאָה) refers to vision in an auditory sense rather than visual, see Johnson, Cultic Prophet, 12.

8. v. 19(20) so MT, RSV reads "thy faithful one".

9. This reading follows that of W.F. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, 1960 rev. ed., 234; also followed by Weiser, op. cit. 590.



I will crush his foes before him  
 and strike down those who hate him.  
 My faithfulness and hesed shall be with him,  
 and in my name shall his horn be exalted.  
 I will set his hand on the sea  
 and his right hand on the rivers.  
 He shall cry to me, 'Thou art my Father,  
 My God, and the Rock of my salvation.'  
 And I will make him the first-born,  
 the highest of the kings of the earth.  
 My hesed I will keep for him foe ever,  
 and my covenant will stand firm for him.  
 I will establish his line for ever  
 and his throne as the days of the heavens.  
 If his children forsake my law  
 and do not walk according to my ordinances,  
 if they violate my statutes  
 and do not keep my commandments,  
 then I will punish their transgressions with the rod  
 and their iniquity with scourges;  
 but I will not remove from him my hesed,  
 or be false to my faithfulness.  
 I will not violate my covenant,  
 or alter the word that went forth from my lips.  
 Once for all I have sworn by my holiness;  
 I will not lie to David.  
 His line shall endure for ever,  
 his throne as long as the sun before me.  
 Like the moon it shall be established for ever;  
 it shall stand firm while the skies endure.'" 1

It must be noted that this recital of the fundamental elements  
 of the Davidic covenant was given at a time of national disaster  
 and constituted a cultic act in which the worshippers reminded  
 Yahweh of his promises to David.<sup>2</sup> It was a crisis in the life  
 of the people; a breakdown of the covenant relationship between

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1. vv. 23-37 (24-38); v. 37b (38b) reads in MT "the witness in the skies is sure". For a comprehensive discussion of the psalm see G.W. Ahlström, Psalm 89. Eine Liturgie aus dem Ritual des leidenden Königs.
  2. vv. 38ff. (39ff.); Johnson maintains that the disaster was not any historical event but a ritual drama in which the king underwent a ritual humiliation, Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel, 103f. We would argue that the psalm pointed to some historical disaster or threat of such an event and would retain a cautious approach to the question of whether it was purely a ritual or not.

Yahweh and the people. Therefore the whole validity of the election of David and the permanency of his dynasty was called in question. This crisis situation would explain why the subject of the Davidic covenant has a fugue-like appearance in the psalm. The contents of the psalm could have had relevancy for various periods in the history of Israel, for the nation was often confronted with threats to its political existence, especially from the end of the eighth century down to the fall of Jerusalem.

The creation of the earth by Yahweh was linked to his covenant with David in this psalm and both motifs were woven together in its structure.<sup>1</sup> We would agree with Weiser's comment:

" According to the Old Testament idea of the divine saving rule, Nature and History, Creation and Election, are not to be separated from each other."<sup>2</sup>

David was elected by Yahweh and made his first-born. In this sense David was the microcosm of which Israel was the macrocosm. For Israel had been elected by Yahweh and was his first-born.<sup>3</sup> Thus David's election must be understood in the light of the election of Israel. The oath to David and the permanent covenant with him probably reflected aspects of the oath to Abraham and the permanent covenant with him.<sup>4</sup>

1. See vv. 2-4(3-5); 11, 12(12, 13); 19(20); 29(30); 37(38).

2. *The Psalms*, 592.

3. Ex. 4:22; cf. Jer. 31:9.

4. Gn. 17:1-8; also ch. 15; see the remarks of O. Kaiser, "Traditions-geschichtliche Untersuchung von Genesis 15", *ZAW*, 1958. 124. Certain similarities between the two traditions have already been noticed above, cf. Ps. 72:17 with Gn. 12:3.

The election of David and Zion also featured in a pilgrim song:<sup>1</sup>

" Yahweh swore to David a sure oath  
 from which he will not turn back;  
 'One<sup>2</sup> of the sons of your body  
 I will set on your throne.  
 If your sons keep my covenant  
 and my testimonies<sup>3</sup> which I shall teach them,  
 their sons also for ever  
 shall sit upon your throne.'  
 For Yahweh has chosen Zion;  
 he has desired it for his habitation:  
 'This is my resting place for ever;  
 here I will dwell, for I have desired it.  
 I will abundantly bless her provisions;  
 I will satisfy her poor with bread.  
 Her priests I will clothe with salvation,  
 and her saints will shout for joy.  
 There I will make a horn to sprout for David;  
 I have prepared a lamp for my anointed.  
 His enemies I will clothe with shame,  
 but upon himself his crown will shed its luster.<sup>4</sup>'"

The reference to Yahweh as "the mighty one of Jacob"<sup>5</sup> shows that the election tradition of the patriarch had been merged with the cult of the ark in Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> The background of the psalm was that of David's bringing of the ark up to Zion and the events surrounding that action.<sup>7</sup>

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1. 132:11-18; Weiser considers that there is nothing to prevent us from assuming that the basic elements of this psalm date from the era of Solomon, The Psalms, 779..
  2. v. 11; BH supplies the word *melek* here; followed by Weiser, *ibid.* 778.
  3. v. 12; von Rad understands  $\Omega\ 7\ y$  to refer to the protocol which the king received at his coronation, "The Royal Ritual in Judah", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 225ff.; Weiser disagrees with this view, *op. cit.* 781n.
  4. v. 18b LXX reads "my crown", see BH.
  5. cf. Gn. 49:24; see below section 3 of this chapter.
  6. So Weiser, *op. cit.* 780.
  7. II Sam. 6; see J. R. Porter, "The Interpretation of 2 Samuel 6 and Psalm 132", JTS, 1954, 161-73; A. Bentzen, "The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark in Samuel", JEL, 1948, 37-53; also R. A. Carlson, David, the chosen King, 58ff.

This psalm has the election of David and the election of Zion together as parts of the one election idea. This we believe to be the basic nature of the Davidic election idea in the Old Testament. The dual election of king and city belong together<sup>1</sup> and should not be separated. Those scholars who maintain such a separation<sup>2</sup> fail to take into account the nature of the narratives concerning David's capture of the city and his settling of the ark there.

Some of the references to the election of David and of Zion in the Psalms emphasise the conditionality of the Davidic covenant.<sup>3</sup> This aspect of the covenant reflected the influence of the Sinaitic covenant with its demands for the observation of its laws and its statutes. This feature shows that the Davidic covenant was based ultimately upon the covenant made with Israel at Sinai. Thus the election of David and the covenant made with him was the application of the original election of Israel and its ensuing covenant to a specific individual<sup>4</sup> and not a southern alternative to the northern emphasis on the Sinai covenant.<sup>5</sup>

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1. cf. Pss. 78:68-70; 132:11-14.

2. see Rohland, op. cit. 119ff. also Vriezen, "Essentials of the Theology of Isaiah", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 130.

3. cf. 89:30-32(31-33); 132:12; cf. II Sam. 7:14.

4. "It is not expressly stated in the Old Testament that the covenant with David is identical (~~is identical~~) with the covenant on Sinai, including and continuing it; but the idea itself is present, and is clearly brought out in the statement that the promises of the Davidic covenant are the essential content of the covenant which Yahweh will now make 'with you', i.e. with the Jews.", so Mowinckel commenting on Is. 55:3f., He That Cometh, 166.

5. Against L. Rost, "Davidsbund und Sinaibund", TLZ, 1947, 129ff.

Various other psalms dealt with aspects of the election of Zion.<sup>1</sup> The beliefs about the special position of the city were linked to traditions belonging to the rest of Israel:

" There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God,  
the holy habitation of the Most High (יְהוָה).  
God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved;  
God will help her right early.  
The nations rage, the kingdoms totter;  
he utters his voice, the earth melts.  
Yahweh of hosts is with us;  
the God of Jacob is our stronghold."<sup>2</sup>

" God reigns over the nations;  
God sits on his holy throne.  
The princes of the peoples gather  
as the people of the God of Abraham."<sup>3</sup>

" Ascribe power to God,  
whose majesty is over Israel,  
and his power is in the skies.  
Terrible is God from his sanctuary,  
the God of Israel,  
he gives power and strength to his people."<sup>4</sup>

All of these references link Yahweh in Zion with the traditions of all Israel. Other elements from the traditions of the sacral community were associated with the Davidic kingship in Zion, including motifs taken from the holy war.<sup>5</sup>

1. cf. 46-48; see Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem", ZAW, 1955, 168-97; Rohland, op. cit. 119ff.; Staerk, "Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben", ZAW, 1937, 1-36; Wanke, Die Zionstheologie der Korachiten.

2. 46:4-7(5-8); see Snaith, Hymns of the Temple, 47ff.

3. 47:8, 9(9, 10); v. 5(6) shows that this psalm referred to the Zion cultus with its ark-centred ritual.

4. 68:34, 35(35, 36).

5. cf. 110:3; see Weiser, The Psalms, 695; cf. Jud. 5:23. This is a most difficult psalm to interpret or to fix a date for, see J.W. Bowker, "Psalm CX", VT, 1967, 31-41; E. Burrows, "Psalm 110 (Vulgate 109) Interpreted", The Gospel of the Infancy, 81-92; E. Kissane, "The Interpretation of Psalm 110", ITQ, 1954, 103-14; Rowley, "Melchizedek and Zadok (Gen. 14 and Ps. 110)", FS Bertholet, 461-72; Schreiner, Sion-Jerusalem: Jahwes Königssitz, 112-22; H. J. Stoebe, "Erwägungen zu Psalm 110 auf dem Hintergrund von I Sam. 21", FS Baumgartel, 1959, 175-91; R. Tournay, "Le Psaume CX", RB, 1960, 5-41; M. Treves, "Two acrostic Psalms", VT, 1965, 81-90.

d) Summary

The election content of the Psalms concerned the election of Israel to be the people of Yahweh and their inheritance of the land of Canaan. This particular election was bound up with Yahweh's oath to the fathers and his covenant with them. Within this election pattern were included Yahweh's servants, Aaron and Moses.<sup>1</sup>

However the main significance of the Psalms for the election idea in Israel was its contribution to the tradition concerning the election of David and Zion. Some of the psalms were a recital of the divine promise to David of a permanent dynasty and a plea for that covenant to be utilised in circumstances of national disaster. The election of David and that of Zion belonged together as one election tradition. The establishing of the Davidic monarchy in Judah was seen as a new creation<sup>2</sup> of Yahweh's when the Heilsgeschichte had broken down with the sins of the Joseph tribes.

Whatever may have been the extent of Judah's adaptation of mythical elements from the cultus of the Jebusite sanctuary in Jerusalem we do not know,<sup>3</sup> but it is clear that the basic

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1. The relationship between service and election will be dealt with below in ch. X.

2. cf. Pss. 33:6-12; 78:65ff.; 89:2-4(3-50); the idea of creation may have been borrowed from Israel's neighbours, see Eissfeldt, "El and Yahweh", JSS, 1956, 25-37; Gray, "The Hebrew Conception of the Kingship of God: its Origin and Development", VT, 1956, 268-85.

3. The correlation of Yahweh and El-'Elyon was one feature of this borrowing, see Schmid, "Jahwe und die Kulttraditionen von Jerusalem", ZAW, 1955, 168-97; on Ps. 110 as the "ἑρὸς λόγος eines altkanaanitischen Heiligtums" (at least in as far as it reflected Gn. 14:18-24) see Hertzberg, "Die Melkisedek-Traditionen", Beiträge 36-44.

foundation of the David-Zion election tradition was historical and rooted in the sacral traditions of ancient Israel. In the light of this factor it must be emphasised that the election of the Davidic king was seen in Judah as the continuation of the Heilsgeschichte which began with the exodus from Egypt and the covenant at Sinai. The covenant with David was the Sinai covenant in miniature. Thus both king and people were linked together in the kingship of David<sup>1</sup> for the king existed on behalf of his people and his life was bound up with theirs. Not only did the Davidic election reflect the election of Israel at the exodus but it was also seen as the fulfilment of Yahweh's promise to the patriarchs. Hence the kingship of David represented the culmination of Israel's pre-history and the climax of its amphictyonic existence. In so far as this is a correct assessment of the significance of the David-Zion election tradition in Judah we have an explanation for the lack of references to the exodus event or the covenant at Sinai in the southern kingdom.<sup>2</sup> These traditions were implicit in the David-Zion election tradition and on no account was it believed that the Davidic election had cancelled the earlier traditions of the nation.

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1. "The promise that the house of David will be 'for ever' corresponds to the choice of Israel to be the people of God 'for ever': both together will magnify the holy name of God 'for ever'. The house of David and the people of God are thus bound together eternally by the promise of Nathan.", Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, 288.
  2. This lack is only applicable to Isaiah and even in his work there are traces of references to the earlier traditions. On the whole we would maintain that some scholars have tended to exaggerate the differences between the traditions of the two kingdoms.

### 3. Election in Deuteronomy

#### a) Introduction<sup>1</sup>

A wave of nostalgia for the cultures of antiquity swept through the ancient Near East during the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> This phenomenon included attempts at the restoration of ideas and rituals belonging to the past. In Judah this particular movement took the shape of the promulgation of the code of Deuteronomy. Or at least Deuteronomy assisted in the general revival of interest in the ideas of the past. For Josiah's reform had been already undertaken when the book of Deuteronomy was found in the temple in 621.<sup>3</sup>

The actual date of the writing of Deuteronomy cannot now be determined. It probably represented the outcome of a long period of development which reached back for perhaps a century before it was discovered in the temple.<sup>4</sup> The authors

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1. The following have been utilised in this section, Alt, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums", KSGVI, II, 250-75; Bächli, Israel und die Völker. Eine Studie zum Deuteronomium; Eissfeldt, Introduction, 219-33; Lohfink, Das Hauptgebot. Eine Untersuchung literarischer Einleitungsfragen zu Dtn 5-11; von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium; Studies in Deuteronomy, SBT 9, ET, 1953; "Deuteronomy", IDB, I, 831-8; Deuteronomy; Weiser, Introduction, 125-35; A. C. Welch, The Code of Deuteronomy. A New Theory of its Origin, 1924; Deuteronomy. The Framework of the Code, 1932; Wright, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Deuteronomy", IB, II, 311-537.
  2. See Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, 314-19; also Bright, History, 298ff.; von Rad, Theology, I, 77.
  3. This thesis accepts the viewpoint which identifies the original Deuteronomy with the law book discovered in 621.
  4. So von Rad, Deuteronomy, 26; Eissfeldt, Introduction, 232. R. Brinker would place Deuteronomy in the early days of the monarchy, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, 1946, 204ff.; also Welch, The Code of Deuteronomy, 206ff.; Deuteronomy, 29ff. Some argue that it belonged to the 6th. century, so G. Berry, "The Date of Deuteronomy", JBL, 1940, 133-9; J. N. Schofield, "The Significance of the Prophets for Dating Deuteronomy", Studies in History and Religion, ed. E. A. Payne, 1942, 44-60.



of Deuteronomy were to be found among the Levitical circles.<sup>1</sup> They were probably members of those circles which had originally functioned in the northern kingdom at Bethel and Shechem and had come south after the Assyrian conquest of the north.<sup>2</sup> Much of the material in Deuteronomy was older than the period of its composition and reflected many of the sacral traditions of the old amphictyony.<sup>3</sup> However, although the authors of the book were not members of the Jerusalem priesthood it does not follow that the code was originally composed in the north and brought subsequently south.<sup>4</sup> It was composed in the south with a view to the reforming of the Jerusalem cultus.<sup>5</sup>

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1. So von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, 66; Eissfeldt, op. cit. 223.
  2. This northern background for Deuteronomy has been emphasised by Welch, Alt and von Rad in particular, see introductory note to this section. The main sanctuaries in the north were Bethel and Shechem.
  3. cf. "...the first firm conclusion which we can make in regard to the provenance of the Deuteronomic traditions. Deuteronomy stands in the tradition of the old Jahweh amphictyony of Shechem.", von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, 41; see also his Theology, I, 220; "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 26ff. Newman regards Deuteronomy "as a collection of sermons" preached on the occasion of the covenant ceremony at Shechem, The People of the Covenant, 119n. The ultimate roots of Deuteronomy go back to the period of the tribal covenant during the days of the judges, so Wright, God Who Acts, 7 SBT 8, 1964, 75.
  4. Some scholars maintain that it was originally composed in the north and brought south later, so Alt, op. cit. 250ff. H. Ringgren, Israelitische Religion, 1963, 150; Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 56f.; N. Walker maintains that Deuteronomy was the Shechemite torah salvaged from the debris of Samaria and then deposited in Jerusalem, "The Date of Deuteronomy", VT, 1953, 413f.
  5. This is the viewpoint argued for by Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult-tradition", VT, 1965, 300-12; Danell maintains that the book underwent a revision in Jerusalem which applied the demands of the law to Jerusalem, op. cit. 56f.

Deuteronomy purported to be the farewell address of Moses to the children of Israel on the eve of their entry into the land of Canaan. Hence Israel was seen in a position between its election to be the people of Yahweh and its inheritance of the land as a gift.<sup>1</sup> Yet in spite of this retrojection of the scene into the past the significance of the book was for the generation living at the time of its reading:

"Yahweh our God made a covenant with us in Horeb. Not with our fathers did Yahweh make this covenant, but with us, who are all of us alive this day."<sup>2</sup>

The authors of the book gathered together material of a cultic, historical, and legal nature. Thus Deuteronomy contained the Decalogue,<sup>3</sup> various laws,<sup>4</sup> proclamation of blessing and cursing,<sup>5</sup> and sermons.<sup>6</sup> All these were welded into one volume and presented as Yahweh's Torah for his people.<sup>7</sup>

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1. So von Rad, Theology, I, 231; also IDB, I, 838.

2. 5:2, 3; on the subject of actualisation in the OT see, Noth, "The 'Re-presentation' of the OT in Proclamation", Essays on OT Interpretation, 76-88; Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 81ff.

3. 5:6-21; cf. Ex. 20:2-17.

4. 12-26; on law in ancient Israel see, Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law", Essays on OT History and Religion, 81-132; = KSGVI, I, 278-332; Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 1-107; Mendenhall, "Ancient Oriental and Biblical Law", BA, XVII, 1954, 26-46.

5. 11:26-32; 27:11-26; 28; see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 167ff.; on the subject of curse in the OT, see Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the OT Prophets, esp. 30-42; Brichto, The Problem of "Curse" in the Hebrew Bible; W. Zimmerli, "Das Gesetz im Alten Testament", Gottes Offenbarung. Gesammelte Aufsätze zum AT, 1963, 249-76.

6. Basically Deuteronomy is one single sermon given by Moses, cf. 5:31; see the various sermons in 6; 7; 10; also the remarks of von Rad, Theology, I, 223ff.

7. cf. 4:44; 17:19; 27:3, 26; 28:58; 29:20; 30:10; 31:9, 17, 18; von Rad defines the Deuteronomic torah as "the whole of the bestowals of Jahweh's saving will-Willensoffenbarung", Theology, I, 222.

The purpose of Deuteronomy was to confront Israel with its position before Yahweh as the chosen people and to reinforce Yahweh's claims over the nation. Against a background of political instability<sup>1</sup> and religious infidelity<sup>2</sup> the authors faced the people with the demand for one God,<sup>3</sup> one sanctuary,<sup>4</sup> one Torah, and one source of justice.<sup>5</sup> In such a period of unrest and disloyalty to Yahweh the book of Deuteronomy appeared with its emphases on Yahweh's election of the people and his lordship over the land.<sup>6</sup> The clarion call to Israel in the midst of the problems created by its existence in Canaan in the seventh century was:

"Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God is Yahweh alone."<sup>7</sup>

By viewing the nation as it was in the days before the entry into the land Deuteronomy could emphasise Israel's election and the responsibilities of its position before Yahweh.

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1. Nicholson derives the demand for centralisation from the political exigencies of Hezekiah's period, "The Centralisation of the Cult in Deuteronomy", VT, 1963, 383ff.; Maag relates the demand to the deliverance of Jerusalem in 701, "Erwägungen zur deuteronomischen Kultzentralisation", VT, 1956, 10ff.
  2. The polemic against syncretism is a dominant feature of Deuteronomy, see the remarks of von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, 71; Theology, I, 227f.; Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 538.
  3. 6:4; cf. 5:7.
  4. 12:5, 11, 14, 18, 21, 26; see below subsection c.
  5. cf. 17:8, 9; Köhler has emphasised that Deuteronomy demanded the unification of justice as well as that of worship, Hebrew Man, 170ff. This is rather doubtful for the reference is to any case which was too difficult for the local court to deal with; perhaps the concept of justice and its practice but not the place.
  6. On this point see the remarks of R. Martin-Achard, "La signification theologique de l'election d'Israël", TZ, 1960, 333ff.
  7. 6:4; this may also be translated "Yahweh our God is one Yahweh"; or even "Yahweh our God, Yahweh alone", see variants in RSV, also the remarks of von Rad, Deuteronomy, 63.

b) The Exodus election tradition

A new departure with Deuteronomy was the application of the term  $\gamma\eta\eta$  to the nation.<sup>1</sup> Up to the period of Deuteronomy's appearance the term had been applied to the king and the city of Jerusalem, but part of the reform pattern of Deuteronomy was the attempt to curb the image of the king in the southern kingdom.<sup>2</sup> This they achieved by taking the election term applied normally to Yahweh's anointed and addressing it to the people as a whole. This is not to say that the idea of Israel's election by Yahweh was an innovation of Deuteronomy.<sup>3</sup> On the contrary, the idea of Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh went far back into the past history of the nation.<sup>4</sup> The only new element in Deuteronomy's approach to the subject was the application of the explicit terminology to the nation.

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1. 4:37; 7:6; 10:15; 14:2. "Erst im Dt. findet sich der Erwählungsgedanke bezüglich des ganzen Volkes in seiner ganzen Irrationalität.... Das Verbum  $\gamma\eta\eta$  (Subjekt Gott-Objekt Volk) ist eine original dt. Prägung.", von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, 27f.; also Vriezen, Erwählung, 47.
2. See especially Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult-tradition", VT, 1965, 300ff.
3. Contra Pfeiffer, "Facts and Faith in Biblical History", JBL, 1951, 1-14; Köhler, Theology, 81f.
4. Only by insisting that the idea of election was completely bound up with the term  $\gamma\eta\eta$  is it possible to maintain that the idea of Israel's election was a relatively late one. Basically the idea belonged to the early period of Israel's existence, see the remarks of Wright, "The Faith of Israel", IB, I, 353; "Erwählung im AT", RGG<sup>3</sup>, II, 612; IB, II, 380; also the comments and notes above in ch. 2, 1d. That Deuteronomy used the idea of Israel's election with such emphasis is evidence that the book may well be viewed as a development of the older Mosaic traditions and of the amphictyonic ideology. By showing how the term, applied to the king, actually applied to the people, the Deuteronomists not only criticised the monarchy but taught the people their true position before Yahweh.

The king "in whose shadow"<sup>1</sup> the people of Judah lived was given very curt treatment in Deuteronomy. This procedure was part of the pattern of emphasising the election of the nation. Their message was basically a pointing out of the fact that, long before the institution of the monarchy was founded, Yahweh elected Israel to be his people.

" For you are a people holy to Yahweh your God; Yahweh your God has chosen you (ךִּיבְרַךְ) to be a people for his own possession, out of all the peoples that are on the face of the earth." <sup>2</sup>

The vital importance of this message must have been accentuated during the latter half of the seventh century when Israel had lost its political independence and was surrounded by foreign powers. Yet the Deuteronomists were not just interested in the election of the people in an academic sense. The point of Israel's election which they wished to make was that of the special relationship between Yahweh and his people. They were chosen to be "a people holy to Yahweh"; that is, a people separated from their neighbours and given over to the worship of Yahweh and, also, the keeping of his covenantal demands.

" Know therefore that Yahweh your God is God, the faithful God who keeps covenant and hesed with those who love him and keep his commandments, ..... You shall therefore be careful to do the commandmentx, and the statutes, and the<sub>3</sub> ordinances, which I command you this day." <sup>3</sup>

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1. cf. Lam. 4:20—"The breath of our nostrils, Yahweh's anointed/was taken in their pits/he of whom we said, 'under his shadow/we shall live among the nations.'"

2. 7:6; cf. 14:2.

3. 7:9, 11.

Certain aspects of Israel's election were emphasised by Deuteronomy:

" It was not because you were more in number than any other people that Yahweh set his love upon you and chose you, for you were the fewest of all peoples; but it is because Yahweh loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt."<sup>1</sup>

Lest Israel should boast in its exalted and privileged position as the chosen nation of Yahweh, the Deuteronomists were quick to point out that this election had absolutely nothing to do with any natural merit in the nation. The basis of their election was Yahweh's love for them, "he set his love<sup>2</sup> upon you and chose you". The result of this election was the exodus from Egypt with its redemption from slavery.<sup>3</sup> On this basis of election and divine love Israel was commanded to love Yahweh:

" Hear, O Israel: Yahweh our God is Yahweh alone; and you shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might."<sup>4</sup>

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1. 7:7,8; cf. 4:37; 10:15; the reference in ch. 4 probably belonged to the preface of the Deuteronomistic history (Joshua-II Kings), so Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, 1943, 12ff.
2. 7:7; פִּזְוֵה "to hang on someone, to cling to", see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 68.
3. 7:8; the occurrence of פִּזְוֵה here is a technical term for "liberation from slavery", cf. Ex. 13:3; 16:32; 20:2; Dt. 5:6; 6:12; see J.N.M. Wijngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed: (Dt. 6:20-23; 26:5-9), 1963, 23f.; "פִּזְוֵה and פִּזְוֵה, a twofold approach to the Exodus", VT, 1965, 91-102.
4. 6:4,5; cf. 5:10; Jos. 22:5; on a vassal's duty to love his lord, see W.L. Moran, "The Ancient Near Eastern Background of the Love of God in Deuteronomy", CBQ, 1963, 77-87; on love in Deuteronomy, see L.E. Toombs, "Love and Justice in Deuteronomy", Int, 1965, 399-411.

Love in Deuteronomy was intimately bound up with election and covenant; indeed love had become a dogma in the way it was handled by the Deuteronomists.<sup>1</sup> Those scholars who view the basic significance of the name Yahweh as being connected with passion would emphasise the interrelationship between Yahweh's love for Israel and Yahweh's commanding of Israel to love him.<sup>2</sup> The application of the idea of love in Deuteronomy was rather similar to Hosea's usage of love.<sup>3</sup> This factor would illustrate the already suggested notion that the milieu of Deuteronomy was originally in the northern kingdom. The new aspect in Deuteronomy with reference to love was the command "you shall love Yahweh your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might".<sup>4</sup> However the emphasis on love was balanced by an equal emphasis on fear:

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1. cf. 4:37; 5:10; 6:4, 5; 7:7; 10:15, 12, 18, 19; cf. 15:16; on love as a dogma, see the remarks of G. Quell, "Love in the OT", *TWNT*, I, 33f.
  2. e.g. see S. D. Goitein, "YHWH the passionate. The monotheistic Meaning and Origin of the Name YHWH", *VT*, 1956, 1-9; "He is passionately devoted to those whom he regards as worthy, i.e. to those who are devoted to him", 4. This is not the place to consider the vast field of conjectures on the meaning and origin of the divine name Yhwh; see the remarks of S. Mowinckel, "The Name of the God of Moses", *HUCA*, 1961, 121-33, he emphasises the active element in a meaning derived from existence and views the original form as a cultic cry 'Oh he'=ya-huwa; cf. Vriezen, "'Ehje 'aser 'ehje", *FS Bertholet*, 498ff.; G. R. Driver, "The original form of the name 'Yahweh': evidence and conclusions", *ZAW*, 1928, 7ff.; J. Gray, "The God Yw in the Religion of Canaan", *JNES*, 1953, 278-83; Köhler, *Theology*, 40ff.; von Rad, *Theology*, I, 179ff.
  3. cf. Hos. 1-3; 11:1, 4; 14:4; on  $\text{אהבה}$  see D. Winton Thomas, "The root  $\text{אהבה}$  'love' in Hebrew", *ZAW*, 1939, 57-64; on the whole subject of love in the OT see C. Wiener, *Recherches sur l'amour pour Dieu dans l'Ancien Testament*, 1957, esp. 26ff. with reference to the above.
  4. 6:5; perhaps the emphasis in the command belongs/the deuteronomistic phrase "with all your heart, soul, might" rather than to the word "love" thus making it less of a legalised concept.

" You shall fear Yahweh your God; you shall serve him, and swear by his name."<sup>1</sup>

" For Yahweh your God is God of gods and lord of lords, the great, the mighty, and the terrible God, who is not partial and takes no bribe. You shall fear Yahweh your God; you shall serve him and cleave to him, and by his name you shall swear."<sup>2</sup>

One outstanding occurrence of the exodus motif was the preface to the Decalogue:

" I am Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage."<sup>3</sup>

Each time that this particular set of laws was read out to the people they would hear that majestic prefix acknowledging Yahweh as their exodus God. Also, whenever the pious in Israel went to the sanctuary to offer the firstfruits of his produce, he would recite before Yahweh his God a short credo which summed up his exodus faith.<sup>4</sup> Thus Israel's consciousness of Yahweh's great redemptive act in the exodus from slavery in Egypt was woven into their worship at his sanctuary.

Further aspects of the exodus faith in Deuteronomy included the belief that Yahweh in his own person had led the

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1. 6:13; see also 4:10; 5:29; 6:2, 24; 8:6; 10:12; 13:5; 14:23; 17:19; 28:58; 31:12, 13; see the comprehensive study on fear in the OT, J. Becker, Gottesfurcht im Alten Testament, AB 25, 1965, esp. 92ff. on Deuteronomy; and 107ff. on love and fear in Deuteronomy.  
 2. 10:17, 20; on p. 27 "cleave" see the remarks of Eichrodt, Theologie, III, 1939, 34+n.  
 3. 5:6=Ex. 20:2; perhaps Hos. 12:9(10); 13:4; were echoes of this formula. On the formula "I am Yahweh", see Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe", Gottes Offenbarung, 11-40.  
 4. 26:1-11; esp. 5-10.



people out of Egypt:

" And because he loved your fathers and chose their descendants after them, and brought you out of Egypt in his own person, by his great power." <sup>1</sup>

Some of the laws used the period of slavery in Egypt as the motivating force behind the command to observe them:

" You shall not pervert the justice due to the sojourner or to the fatherless, or take a widow's garment in pledge; but you shall remember that you were a slave in Egypt and Yahweh your God redeemed you from there; therefore I command you to do this." <sup>2</sup>

Thus the laws of Deuteronomy were far from being impractical, abstract codifications of justice but were essentially practical and existentially motivated. Yahweh demanded of his people their love on the ground of his love for them; he also demanded that they keep his laws on the basis of their own practical experience of exploitation under the Pharaohs of Egypt.

Should disaster hit the land because of failure to keep Yahweh's laws then observers of the devastated scene would enquire as to the cause of such desolation, "what means the heat of this great anger?"—and their answer would be:

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1. 4:37; following the translation given by A.R. Johnson, "Aspects of the use of the term  $\text{וְעִמּוֹ}$  in the OT", FS Eissfeldt, 155-9; esp. 159. RSV reads "with his own presence"; cf. the development of this idea in Is. 63:9—"the angel of his presence saved them"; on the cultic significance of  $\text{וְעִמּוֹ}$  see Pss. 24:6; 27:8, 9; 95:2; 67:1; 80:3; Gn. 32:30, 31; Ex. 23:15, 17; 25:30; 33:11; 34:20; Num. 6:25; Dt. 5:4; Jos. 24:1; Hos. 5:15; Dan. 9:17, 27; cf. I QS 2:4, 9; see the remarks of Eichrodt, Theology, I, 103f.; Huntjens, Covenant Concept in the Qumran Community in the Light of Earlier Covenantal Ideas in Israel, 85ff.

2. 24:17, 18; cf. Is. 1:23.

" Then men would say, 'It is because they forsook the covenant of Yahweh, the God of their fathers, which he made with them when he brought them out of the land of Egypt.'"<sup>1</sup>

Hence it is quite clear how the Deuteronomists using the twin chords of election and the exodus tradition hammered out a variation on a theme which confronted Israel with its position before Yahweh and the responsibilities of that position.

The appendices at the end of Deuteronomy included a lengthy song known as the Song of Moses.<sup>2</sup> This song contained a reference to Yahweh's election of Israel, though it did not employ the technical term  $\text{בְּרִית}$ . This omission was simply due to the early date at which the song was composed.<sup>3</sup> The relevant passage reads:<sup>4</sup>

" Remember the days of old  
 consider the years of many generations;  
 ask your father, and he will show you;  
 your elders, and they will tell you.  
 When 'Elyon gave to the nations their inheritance,  
 when he separated the sons of men,  
 he fixed the bounds of the peoples  
 according to the number of the sons of God."<sup>6</sup>

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1. 29:25.

2. 32:1-43; one of the most comprehensive expositions of this song is G.E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 26-67.

3. Possibly as early as the eleventh century B.C., so Eissfeldt, Introduction, 227; also his monograph in BAL, 104/5; Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy XXXII", VT, 1959, 339-46; early period of northern kingdom, Welch, Deuteronomy, 124; c. 815-805, so Wright, op. cit. 67; but von Rad assigns it to an exilic period, Deuteronomy, 200.

4. vv. 7-10.

5. In spite of the various theories about a pre-Davidic 'El 'Elyon cult in Jerusalem we would accept Wright's cautious statement,

"'Elyon was simply an honorific epithet for Yahweh', op. cit. 28n<sup>7</sup>.

6. LXX reading; confirmed by DSS reading, 4Q Dt.; MT "sons of Israel."

For Yahweh's portion is his people,  
 Jacob his allotted heritage.  
 He found him in a desert land,  
 and in the howling waste of the wilderness;  
 he encircled him, he cared for him,  
 he kept him as the apple of his eye."

The election content of this song consisted of the contrast between Israel and all the other nations. Their bounds had been set according to the number of the b<sup>e</sup>ne 'elohim or angels, whereas Israel's portion lay with Yahweh. Israel itself was the heritage of Yahweh. Within the code Israel had been contrasted with the nations by their lack of numbers; here the nations were so inferior as to be separated into a quite different category from Israel. This was the significance of the cultic refrain:

" Blessed is the nation whose God is Yahweh,  
 the people whom he has chosen as his heritage!"<sup>1</sup>

The reference to Yahweh having found Israel in the desert is not to be understood as a distinct election tradition apart from the mainstream of the exodus-Sinai-Landnahme election scheme.<sup>2</sup> It was rather a case of the desert aspect of Israel's journey from Egypt to Canaan not having always been included in the recital of the events of the Heilsgeschichte.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps

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1. Ps. 33:12; on the significance of the idea of נחלת "inheritance" see von Rad, Theology, I, 223ff.; see further below in this subsection.
  2. Such is the case argued by Bach, Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste; followed by von Rad, Deuteronomy, 197.
  3. Cf. Dt. 6:21-23; 26:5-9; Jer. 32:20-23; with Pss. 78:9-55; 105:32-45; 106:6ff.; Am. 2:9, 10; Hos. 2:14-20 (16-22); Mic. 6:3-5; Jer. 2:6. Thus it is quite inaccurate for von Rad to suggest that by the time of Dt. 32 (exilic from his point of view) the desert tradition had been "half-forgotten"; it simply was a strand of the exodus tradition which was included or omitted according to the wishes of the particular writer.

Israel's period in the desert was considered too protracted to be constantly included in a delineation of the major events of the nation's Heilsgeschichte. How/<sup>ever</sup>the desert period did belong together with all the other themes of Israel's early history.<sup>1</sup> By selecting just the desert aspect of Israel's history the author of this song was able to emphasise the image of Yahweh's tender care for his people.<sup>2</sup>

The main stress on the exodus election tradition in Deuteronomy was on the Landnahme<sup>3</sup> aspect.<sup>4</sup> The main purpose of the exodus was the gift of the land of Canaan:

"....he brought you out of Egypt with his own presence, by his great power, driving out before you nations greater and mightier than yourselves, to bring you in, to give you their<sub>5</sub> land for an inheritance, as at this day."

" You shall therefore keep all the commandment which I command you this day, that you may be strong, and go in and take possession of the land which you are going over to possess, and that you may live long in the land which Yahweh swore to your fathers to give to them and to their descendants, a land flowing with milk and honey. For the land which you are entering to take possession of it is not like the land of Egypt.....but the land which you are going over to possess is a land of hills and valleys, which drinks water by the rain from heaven, a land which Yahweh your God cares for; the eyes of Yahweh your God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year to the end of the year."<sup>6</sup>

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1. Wildberger also views the desert period as an original theme, *Jahwes Eigentumsvolk*, 104ff.

2. vv. 10-14; cf. Hos. 2:14-20 (16-22).

3. Landnahme=land settlement, the term is Alt's, see "The Settlement of the Israelites in Palestine", *Essays on OT History and Religion*, 135-69; =KSGVI, I, 89-125.

4. See Wildberger, "Israel und sein Land", *EvTh*, 1956, 404-22; esp. 407n.

5. 4:37, 38; cf. 5:16; 6:3, 10, 18, 23; 7:1, 13; 8:1, 7-10; 9:5; 11:29; 12:1.

6. 11:8-12.

This constant stressing of the land as Yahweh's gift to his people was plainly aimed at underlining one of the major tenets of Yahwism:

" The land shall not be sold in perpetuity, for the land is mine; for you are strangers and sojourners with me."<sup>1</sup>

" Behold, to Yahweh your God belong heaven and the heaven of heavens, the earth with all that is in it."<sup>2</sup>

" If I were hungry, I would not tell you; for the world and all that is in it is mine."<sup>3</sup>

Israel received Canaan as a gift from Yahweh and it became their land. But ultimately the land belonged to Yahweh and Israel only possessed it because of their relationship with Yahweh. Thus for the Deuteronomists there was an element of contingency in Israel's possession of the land. Failure to keep Yahweh's covenant would entail the expulsion of the nation from the land.<sup>4</sup> Behind this approach to the ownership of the land probably lay a polemic against Canaanite influences in the southern cult.<sup>5</sup> The tendency for Israel to allow syncretism to develop in cultic matters was a permanent bone of contention between people and prophets. The Canaanite beliefs

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1. Lev. 25:23; see the remarks of Alt, "The Origins of Israelite Law", op. cit. 128ff.

2. Dt. 10:14.

3. Ps. 50:12.

4. Dt. 6:15; 29:28.

5. cf. the remarks of Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult-tradition", VT, 1965, 308; also Bächli, Israel und die Völker, 156.

which related the land to the worship of the ba'alim had always had a fatal attraction for the Israelites. They had tended to equate Yahweh with the local ba'alim and so had worshipped him under such forms and in the manner of the fertility cult rituals of Canaan. This approach to religion and worship had been absolutely anathematised by the prophets especially Hosea. This controversy between Yahwism and Ba'alism may be seen as part of the motivation behind the writing of Deuteronomy.

This possession of the land was a gift from Yahweh the owner of it. But it was not given to Israel for any notable merit within the nation, far from it:

" Know therefore, that Yahweh your God is not giving you this good land to possess because of your righteousness; for you are a stubborn people."<sup>1</sup>

The basic reasons for the gift of the land given by the Deuteronomists were the promise to the fathers and the expulsion of the nations from the land because of their evil.<sup>2</sup> Here the polemic against the Canaanites reached its apex. Far from their religion being a method of worship to be imitated, it was part and parcel of a people whom Yahweh wished to drive out of the land itself.

Israel's existence in Canaan was contingent upon their

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1. 9:6.

2. 9:4,5; cf. 4:37,38; 7:20-24; 8:20; 9:1-3; 11:25; 12:2,29; this lack of merit in Israel concerning the gift of the land was also an element in Yahweh's election of the nation, 7:7.

obedience to the laws of Yahweh and failure to do so would lead to famine<sup>1</sup> and even exile.<sup>2</sup> Thus law and possession were interrelated and Israel was assured that they held no permanent position in the land. Every aspect of their situation in the land was tied down to their election by Yahweh and made contingent upon their working out of the responsibilities belonging to such a privilege.

A feature of the political background of this particular period was the fact that Josiah had been able to reclaim the lands which the Assyrians had annexed from Israel.<sup>3</sup> This feature would account for much of Deuteronomy's emphasis on the land. It would also demonstrate the relevance of setting the document in the Mosaic period and featuring Israel before the Landnahme. Deuteronomy also applied the tribal idea of land inheritance to the whole land of Canaan.<sup>4</sup> Thus the land became the heritage of the nation rather than areas of it having been the inheritance of local tribes. This notion was part of the pattern in Deuteronomy of one God, one nation, and one land.

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1. 11:17.

2. 29:25-28.

3. See II Chr. 34:6,7; also II K. 23; this rejection of the Assyrian religion could only have taken place during a period of Assyrian weakness. Josiah may well have aspired to restore the old Davidic empire. On the history of the period see Bright, History, 294ff.; Noth, History, 272ff.

4. Apart from Jud. 20:6 the idea of Israel as a whole having a נהלך is basically deuteronomistic, so von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch", op. cit. 90ff. On the idea of "Gross-Israel" see Galling, Erwählungstraditionen, 68ff.

Finally, in concluding this section on the exodus election tradition in Deuteronomy we would emphasise that exodus-Sinai-Landnahme all belonged together in Israel's Heilsgeschichte and cannot be separated into independent traditions as some scholars would insist upon doing.<sup>1</sup> Although Deuteronomy appeared at a late date in Israel's history its reflexion of this basic unity of the tradition was in keeping with the original order of events. The recital of the Heilsgeschichte events in Deuteronomy ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> aimed at establishing Yahweh's right as overlord over his people Israel.<sup>2</sup>

c) The David-Zion election tradition

Technically speaking there was no David-Zion election tradition in Deuteronomy. However the idea of election was applied in a number of places to the king and the sanctuary. Therefore it becomes necessary to consider what precisely was the attitude which the Deuteronomists took towards one of the most central dogmas of the southern kingdom. This is a situation where much can be gained by understanding the significance of what was not said, as well as what was said.

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1. Against von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch", op. cit. 13ff.; Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", op. cit. 36ff.; see also Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, 63ff.; and Mowinckel on the cultic origin of Sinai, Le Decalogue, EHRP 16, 1927.

2. This is one of the two conclusions arrived at in Wijngaards' thesis, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed (Dt. 6:20-23; 26:5-9), 58. The other one is "the Exodus-Landgiving structure is originally covenantal".



1) The king

" When you come to the land which Yahweh your God gives you, and you possess it and dwell in it, and then say, 'I will set a king over me, like all the nations that are round about me'; you may indeed set as king over you him whom Yahweh your God will choose. One from among your brethren you shall set as king over you; you may not put a foreigner over you, who is not your brother. Only he must not multiply horses for himself, or cause the people to return to Egypt in order to multiply horses, since Yahweh has said to you, 'You shall never return that way again.' And he shall not multiply wives for himself, lest his heart turn away; nor shall he greatly multiply for himself silver and gold. And when he sits on the throne of his kingdom, he shall write for himself in a book a copy of this law, from that which is in charge of the Levitical priests; and it shall be with him, and he shall read in it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear Yahweh his God, by keeping all the words of this law and these statutes, and doing them; that his heart may not be lifted up above his brethren, and that he may not turn aside from the commandment, either to the right hand or to the left; so that he may continue long in his kingdom, he and his children, in Israel."<sup>1</sup>

How peremptorily the Deuteronomists dealt with the king! No poetic phrases ring out to acknowledge the greatness of Yahweh's anointed one nor reiterations of the glory of the promises given to David. Just the very sober delineation of what the chosen king must and must not do. To a certain extent the king was viewed as an intrusion into the life of the people hence the legislation was given in order that the kingship might not disturb Deuteronomy's organisation of the people's life.<sup>2</sup>

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1. 17:14-20.

2. So Alt, "Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums", KSGVI, II, 264.

The intention of the Deuteronomists was quite unmistakable; they wished to curb the various ideas held about the king. By their silence on so much of the royal theology of the south they wished to convey that they considered the king to be rather a minor figure within the context of Yahweh's people. In spite of the somewhat idealistic tenor of their book they had to make some concession to reality by recognising the king's existence.<sup>1</sup> So they admitted to Israel's right to have a king but emphasised that the one on the throne had to be the one chosen by Yahweh. Furthermore there were certain royal practices of the past that he must not perpetrate. The comments on horses and wives were a direct criticism of the ways of king Solomon. Undoubtedly the writers preserved some of the hard feelings about Solomon that must have been common in the northern kingdom after the breakaway from the south. Thus their law for the king was basically pragmatic with heavy overtones of their own religious outlook added to it. The picture of the king sitting on his throne contemplating the book of Deuteronomy can hardly have suggested the idea of a powerful being who as Yahweh's chosen one would bring greatness to the nation. Thus it is clear that we should view the attitude of the Deuteronomists towards the king as being plainly antagonistic and deliberately belittling. By their complete ignoring of the Davidic covenant they must have hoped to have

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1. In Deuteronomy the monarchy was seen as "an additional feature which was optional", so Alt, "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah", Essays on OT History and Religion, 241.

counteracted the excessive claims of the royal theology in Jerusalem. In this sense the David-Zion election tradition was completely ignored by Deuteronomy.

Opposition to the institution of the monarchy had always existed in ancient Israel, even at the outset of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Throughout the history of the monarchy the prophetic movement had always been critical of the occupant of the throne, though not against the institution per se. These areas of criticism show just how little influence the ideas of the neighbouring nations concerning kingship had on the Israelite office.<sup>2</sup> There is probably little point in trying to determine which form of kingship Deuteronomy had in mind, be it that of Judah or of northern Israel, when making out this law.<sup>3</sup> For basically the kingship of both kingdoms was constitutionally similar. No doubt there were differences but mutatis mutandis they cannot be made out to have been two different types of

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1. I Sam. 8:6-9; Noth maintains that the deuteronomistic compiler has shaped the material here, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, I, 57; however we would argue against those who view the objection against the monarchy as a later attitude, for the reasons enumerated in the chapter must have epitomised the views of a certain section of the community even at such an early period; see also Mendelsohn, "Samuel's Denunciation of Kingship in the Light of the Akkadian Documents from Ugarit", BASOR, 1956, 17ff.
  2. This is a controversial subject; we would follow the remarks of C. J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East, 1948, 35ff.; also Porteous, "Royal Wisdom", Essays Rowley: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East, ed. M. Noth & D. W. Thomas, SVT III, 1955, 250; and would be very cautious about what A. R. Johnson has to say, "Hebrew Conceptions of Kingship", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship. Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East and in Israel, ed. S. H. Hooke, 1958, 204-35.
  3. cf. von Rad, Deuteronomy, 119; he admits that no clear answer is possible.

kingship. Some scholars have categorised kingship in the south as having been dynastic, and in the north as having been charismatic.<sup>1</sup> This neat differentiation just will not do.<sup>2</sup> Both elements existed in both kingdoms and explanations for the different histories of the two kingdoms must be sought for in the geographical and political situations surrounding each kingdom. The major difference between the two monarchies was, no doubt, the fact that the south had a theology built up around the Davidic occupant of the throne. But this factor concerned the beliefs of the people not the nature of the monarchy. We know far too little about the northern kingship and its individual kings to draw any far-reaching comparisons.

Deuteronomy's statement "you may indeed set as king over you him whom Yahweh your God will choose"<sup>3</sup> is too neutral to indicate whether the emphasis was on the charisma or the free choice of the people. It is extremely difficult to relate this law to the Davidic kingship at all. For surely it was not a question of choosing a king in the south but simply a case of living under the Davidic successor to the throne! Therefore it

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1. The most outstanding advocate of this viewpoint was A. Alt, see "The Monarchy in the Kingdoms of Israel and Judah", op. cit. 241ff.; K. Galling relates Dt. 17:14-20 to the northern idea of kingship on the basis of its charismatic aspect, "Das Königsgesetz im Deuteronomium", TLZ, 1951, cols. 133ff.
  2. Alt's thesis has rightly been called in question by T. C. G. Thornton, "Charismatic Kingship in Israel and Judah", JTS, 1963, 1-11; his main point is that the Davidic house survived because Judah was a good deal smaller, therefore more manageable, than Israel; its loyalties were not divided by two shrines as in Israel.
  3. v. 15; Noth thinks that D tried to unite both concepts here, "Office and Vocation in the OT", op. cit. 241n.

is possible to see in this piece of legislation a snub directed against the house of David. Whether there was a polemic here against the facile acceptance of the individual Davidic descendant is impossible to say as the law was rather brief on the subject. However the law itself never materialised into any form of practice in the pre-exilic monarchy. It may have influenced the post-exilic development of the high priest as the leader of a theocratic community. Certainly the image of Israel in Deuteronomy was closer to that of a religious cultic congregation<sup>1</sup> than that of a monarchy ruled over by a member of the house of David.<sup>2</sup>

#### ii) The sanctuary

The major object of Deuteronomy's use of מִקְדָּשׁ was the sanctuary:<sup>3</sup>

" You shall surely destroy all the places where the nations whom you shall dispossess served their gods,....and destroy their name out of that place. You shall not do so to Yahweh your God. But you shall seek the place which Yahweh your God will choose out of all your tribes to put his name and make his habitation there; thither you shall go, and thither you shall bring your burnt offerings and your sacrifices.... Take heed that you do not offer your burnt offerings at every place that you see; but at the place which Yahweh will choose in one of your tribes, there<sup>4</sup> shall you offer your burnt offerings....."

1. See A. R. Hulst, "Der Name 'Israel' im Deuteronomium", OTS, 1951, 65ff.

2. See the remarks of Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 584ff.

3. מִקְדָּשׁ - "sanctuary", so A. Cowley, "The Meaning of מִקְדָּשׁ in Hebrew", JTS, 1916, 174ff.

4. 12:2-6, 13f.; cf. 12:11, 18, 21, 26; 14:23-25; 15:20; 16:2, 6, 7, 11, 15, 16; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 31:11.

This emphasis on one central sanctuary was a principal part of Deuteronomy's anti-Canaanite policy. Throughout Canaan there were shrines dedicated to the local ba'alim of the land. These provided a major threat to pure Yahwism as they were a constant temptation to the Israelites to worship under the aegis of the ba'alim:

" For long ago you broke your yoke  
and burst your bonds;  
and you said, 'I will not serve.'  
Yea, upon every high hill  
and under every green tree  
you bowed down as a harlot."<sup>1</sup>

So the one sanctuary chosen by Yahweh would stand in contrast to the many sanctuaries of the ba'alim. Here again the motif of election is one of distinguishing Israel from the nations round about it.

Deuteronomy's pattern of unification probably demanded a central sanctuary. The law of centralisation would then have been an extension of the basic principle—"Yahweh our God is one Yahweh".<sup>2</sup> One God, one people, one land, and therefore there must be one centre of worship and sacrifice. However the principle of centralised worship was not quite a Deuteronommic innovation. For the old amphictyonic cult object, the ark, had basically embodied the principle of centralised worship.<sup>3</sup>

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1. So Jer. 2:20; cf. Hos. 4:12ff.

2. Dt. 6:4; translating 'ehād as "one" rather than "alone" in this case; von Rad views the centralising laws as a later stratum of tradition in the book's complicated process of growth, so Deuteronomy, 89.

3. In agreement with von Rad, IDE, I, 834.

Such was the precedent for Deuteronomy's approach to the scheme of centralisation. By demythologising the ark<sup>1</sup> the Deuteronomists were able to apply their doctrine to the cult in Jerusalem. At this stage it is necessary to point out that the sanctuary in Deuteronomy must have referred to Jerusalem. For it is inconceivable that any northern shrine preserved cult traditions about the ark which for centuries had been the centre of the Jerusalem cultus.<sup>2</sup>

The question remains, why was the sanctuary chosen by Yahweh left unnamed? Many answers have been given to this particular problem. It may well be that the authors had a certain amount of doubt about Jerusalem and therefore left the name blank.<sup>3</sup> Earlier shrines which had enjoyed periods of importance in ancient Israel were Shechem<sup>4</sup> and Shiloh.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps within a northern context the forerunners of the Deuteronomists had envisaged a centralised cult at one of the northern shrines, and their disciples, after the fall of Samaria, in the

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1. 10:1-3; 31:9, 26; we would agree with von Rad on the principle that D demythologised the ark, Studies in Deuteronomy, 40; also Theology, I, 238.
  2. So also Clements, "Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem cult-tradition", VT, 1965, 302f.; Henton Davies regards D's view of the ark as belonging to a different cult tradition than that of Jerusalem, "Ark of the Covenant", IDB, I, 225.
  3. cf. von Rad, Deuteronomy, 94; Studies in Deuteronomy, 38.
  4. Jos. 8:30ff.; von Rad emphasises that D belongs to the Yahweh amphictyony of Shechem, Studies in Deuteronomy, 41. F. Dumermuth has sought to ally the centralisation formula with Bethel or Shechem, "Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie und ihren Voraussetzungen", ZAW, 1958, 59-98.
  5. I Sam. 1-4; "Shiloh where I made my name dwell at first"-Jer. 7:12. On the relation between Shiloh and Jerusalem see Bissfeldt, "Silo und Jerusalem", SVT IV, 1957, 138-47.

south reworked the idea into their pattern for the reform of the Jerusalem cultus. In this sense the blank represents the blueprint of the idea which the reformers preferred to leave as such in their document. A further explanation for the unnamed sanctuary was the factor that they wished to present their work as the farewell speech of Moses on the plains of Moab and so by leaving the name blank they avoided an anachronism.<sup>1</sup> To summarise this question we may conclude that in spite of the various other sanctuaries which could possibly have fitted this formula,<sup>2</sup> the most reasonable explanation of the phrase is its application to Jerusalem. This interpretation is reinforced by the usage of the  $\text{בְּחַר}$ -motif which already belonged to Jerusalem, the notion of Yahweh's name "dwelling"<sup>3</sup> there, and the data furnished about the ark which was a cult object of the Jerusalem cultus.

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1. So Clements, *op. cit.* 312; also Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", *op. cit.* 144; Noth offers this explanation as one possibility, the other being that the author "has intentionally left the selection of the single cult place open, and has therefore actually decided against Jerusalem."; however he thinks that Jerusalem was probably accepted by D.
  2. cf. "...it is very likely that they believed in some kind of cultic succession in which Shiloh was regarded as the first dwelling-place of Yahweh's name in Canaan, being followed by Jerusalem after the destruction of the former sanctuary.", so Clements, *op. cit.* 312; in view of what has been said about Shiloh above this is quite probable.

3. cf. I K. 8:12, 13; Is. 8:18; on  $\text{שָׁכַן}$  "dwell" as it appears in the varying formulas in Deuteronomy note,

12:14, 18, 26; 14:25; 15:20; 16:7, 15; 17:8, 10; 31:11-	הַמִּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה
12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11-	הַמִּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה
12:21; 14:24-	הַמִּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה
12:5-	הַמִּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר יִבְחַר יְהוָה

.....  $\text{שָׁכַן}$  שְׁמוֹ שֵׁם  $\text{שָׁכַן}$  שְׁמוֹ שֵׁם  $\text{שָׁכַן}$  שְׁמוֹ שֵׁם



The main point of this centralising doctrine was its role as a corrective to the excessive views held about the presence of Yahweh in the Jerusalem cultus. As far as the Deuteronomists were concerned Yahweh dwelt in the heavens whereas his name dwelt in the sanctuary. The ark was not a throne from their point of view, but a simple box in which were kept the tablets of the law.<sup>1</sup> No trace of mythology or royal theology penetrated their outlook and with the exception of their usage of the  $\text{ןןן}$ -motif the David-Zion election tradition was completely ignored. This curt dismissal of the mainstream of thought in the Jerusalem cultus not only belonged to the Deuteronomists' outlook and belief but it also fitted into their pattern of Israel as the chosen people of Yahweh living within a covenant relationship with the overlord of the land. Israel were not chosen because they belonged to the people of Yahweh's anointed king who sat on the throne in Zion the chosen city. Far from it, the king might be chosen but the people's election lay in the dim distant past when Yahweh in great power brought Israel out of Egypt. The land was theirs because Yahweh had given it to them as an inheritance and not because Zion was the navel of the earth. A good deal of this is, of course, inference but the silences of Deuteronomy speak volumes when set beside the images of David-Zion as portrayed by the liturgies of the Jerusalem cultus, the Psalms.

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1.10:1-5;31:9,25f.; on aspects of the ark see von Rad, "The Tent and the Ark", The Problem of the Hexateuch, 103-24.

iii) The Levites

It is impossible to consider the idea of election in Deuteronomy without making some passing reference to the election of the Levites. The important position that the Levites held in Deuteronomy was no doubt due to the authors of that book having been among the Levitical circles.<sup>1</sup>

" The Levitical priests, that is, all the tribe of Levi, shall have no portion or inheritance with Israel; they shall eat the offerings by fire to Yahweh, and his rightful dues. They shall have no inheritance among their brethren; Yahweh is their inheritance, as he promised them. For Yahweh your God has chosen him out of all your tribes, to stand and minister in the name of Yahweh, him and his sons for ever."<sup>2</sup>

One problem of interpretation which has arisen out of this passage is that of the phrase "Levitical priests", or as it appears in the MT "the priests the Levites".<sup>3</sup> Some scholars have separated the two terms and so produced two groups of functionaries, Levites and priests.<sup>4</sup> This distinction is explained as referring to priests proper, and among the Levites those who were altar clergy and the rest who acted as teaching priests in the status of a client.<sup>5</sup> A further viewpoint

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1. 10:8; 12:12, 18, 19; 14:27, 29; 16:11, 14; 18:1, 6, 7; 24:8; 26:10, 12, 13; 27:9; 31:25; on the Levitical milieu of D see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 24f.; Studies in Deuteronomy, 66.

2. 18:1, 2, 5.

3. 18:1; דַּוָּיָד דַּוָּיָדָּ

4. Especially G. E. Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy", VT, 1954, 325-30; also R. Abba, "Priests and Levites", IDB, III, 876-89.

5. So Wright, op. cit. 328f.; Levite = "teaching priest who was in the status of a client, without an inheritance, and dependent for livelihood upon those among whom he lived", Wright, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Deuteronomy", IB, II, 413.

on the significance of the Levites views them as originally being a religious order dedicated to the maintenance of a Yahwistic amphictyony.<sup>1</sup>

We would view all priests as Levites and vice versa.<sup>2</sup> However with this rider, that the correlation of Levites and priests represented the ultimate organisation of the priestly movement in Israel and not the situation which always held sway. For in the early history of ancient Israel many non-Levites were priests.<sup>3</sup> The struggle between the Levitical circles and the non-Levitical circles had almost reached its climax when the <sup>blessing</sup> song of Moses was penned.<sup>4</sup>

" And of Levi he said,  
 'Give to Levi thy Thummim,  
 and thy Urim to thy godly one,  
 whom thou didst test at Massah,  
 with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;  
 For they observed thy word,  
 and kept thy covenant.  
 They shall teach Jacob thy ordinances,  
 and Israel thy law;  
 they shall put incense before thee,  
 and whole burnt offering upon thy altar.'"<sup>5</sup>

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1. A.H.J. Gunneweg, Leviten und Priester. Hauptlinien der Traditionsbildung und Geschichte des israelitisch-jüdischen Kultpersonals, FRLANT 89, 1965, 69-81.
  2. See J.A. Emerton, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy", VT, 1963, 129-38; mainly written to refute Wright's article in VT, 1954; also Johnson, Cultic Prophet, 3n.; see de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 358ff.
  3. cf. Samuel-I Sam. 1-15; David-II Sam. 24:25; on the early history of the Levite in Jud. 17-18 see M. Noth, "The Background of Judges 17-18", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 68-85; Gunneweg, op.cit. 14ff.
  4. So G.B. Gray, Sacrifice in the Old Testament. Its Theory and Practice, 1925, 239ff.
  5. Dt. 33:8-10, reading "give to Levi" in v. 8 with LXX; the situation referred to in this saying is quite obscure, though it is most probable that it hints at a disputation between priestly parties with the decision going to the Levites, see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 206f.; Gray, Sacrifice in the OT, 254f.

Deuteronomy's attitude towards the Levites as the chosen priests of Yahweh may also have been part of the polemic against the Jerusalem cult officials, the Zadokite priesthood. Thus they had put forward a comprehensive programme for the reform of the Jerusalem cultus. They opposed the royal theology of Zion with a simpler policy of viewing the sanctuary as the place where Yahweh had put his name. This sanctuary was designated as the place which Yahweh had chosen. Such a designation completely denigrated the profound concepts allied to the city by the cult. Hence the very absence of the name of Jerusalem in their work was a deliberate attempt to balance the varying ideologies by overemphasising the insignificance of the city.

In view of what has gone before in this particular section it would be quite reasonable to agree with von Rad's assertion that there is in Deuteronomy a "complete absence of the tradition of the Davidic covenant with all its Messianic consequences".<sup>1</sup> Yet this feature is very important in any consideration of the David-Zion election tradition in the Old Testament. It reveals the tendency that must have existed in the southern kingdom to stress the election of king and city at the expense of the election of the nation. This imbalance Deuteronomy set out to redress by simply emphasising the election of the nation at the expense of the election of king and city.

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1. Studies in Deuteronomy, 62.

d) The Patriarchal election tradition

A recurring motif in the Deuteronomists' outline of Israel's exodus election tradition was that of the election of the patriarchs:

"...because he loved your fathers, and chose their descendants after them.." <sup>1</sup>

"...it is because Yahweh loves you, and is keeping the oath which he swore to your fathers, that Yahweh has brought you out with a mighty hand, and redeemed you from the house of bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh king of Egypt." <sup>2</sup>

" And you shall make response before Yahweh your God, 'A wandering Aramean was my father; and he went down into Egypt and sojourned there, few in number; and there he became a nation, great, mighty, and populous. And the Egyptians treated us harshly, and afflicted us, and laid upon us hard bondage. Then we cried to Yahweh God of our fathers, and Yahweh heard our voice, and saw our affliction, our toil, and our oppression; and Yahweh brought us out of Egypt with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, with great terror, with signs and wonders; and he brought us into this place and gave us <sub>3</sub> this land, a land flowing with milk and honey. "

Technically speaking these references are not about the election of the fathers but simply traditions reciting <sup>4</sup> the events of the exodus yet including the motif of Yahweh's love for the fathers. The Deuteronomists viewed Israel's Heilsgeschichte as having been initiated in the pre-exodus period of the patriarchs and subsequently the exodus was the fulfilment of

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1. 4:37; cf. 10:15.

2. 7:8; cf. 6:20-23.

3. 26:5-9; cf. v. 5 with 10:22.

4. On the subject of recital in the OT see G.E. Wright, God Who Acts. Biblical Theology as Recital; esp. 70ff. on these passages.

Yahweh's promise to the fathers.

When the individual worshipper went up to the sanctuary to offer the first-fruits of his harvest he would recite a short credo.<sup>1</sup> This stated some of the salient points of the Heilsgeschichte and was bound up with the acknowledgment of Yahweh as the giver of the land's produce:

"And behold, now I bring the first of the fruit of the<sub>2</sub>ground, which thou, O Yahweh, hast given me."

In this particular instance the recital began with Jacob;<sup>3</sup> "a wandering Aramean was my father", both the element of peregrination and of perishing was present in this refrain.<sup>4</sup> We may note the interrelationship between cult and history; the cultic traditions of ancient Israel were bound up inextricably with the historical traditions of the amphictyony.

Yet this involvement of the fathers in the exodus-Sinai-Landnahme tradition was at variance with the dominant themes of the eighth century prophets. In their work we have already noted that the patriarchs played no part except for the association between their names and the titles of the nation.<sup>5</sup>

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1. We would view this particular credo as an abbreviated form of the Heilsgeschichte rather than the complete original form, see von Rad, Deuteronomy, 158, for a slightly different standpoint. 2. 26:10; cf. Lev. 25:23.

3. 26:5; the Aramean here referred to Jacob, in agreement with von Rad, ibid. 158; and against Galling's rejection of this viewpoint, Erwählungstraditionen, 8.

4. 𐤃𐤁𐤁 "perish, stray, be lost", cf. Dt. 7:20; I Sam. 9:3; Ez. 34:4; in agreement with Wright, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Deuteronomy", IB, II, 484.

5. See especially Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 110ff.

Whatever the reason for this lack of utilisation in the prophets it cannot have been due to ignorance of the traditions. For since the ninth century at least the Yahwist's massive corpus of Israel's early history and pre-history had been in existence.

To grasp the nature of the patriarchal election tradition it is necessary to go back to the material which portrayed these enigmatic figures. The main sources for this study are the two major works, J and E.<sup>1</sup> The stories about the fathers reflected an historical background<sup>2</sup> though it is extremely difficult to comment on what particular features of the stories were historical or on how much tribal material was worked into a pattern of biographical detail.<sup>3</sup> The following are the main passages relevant to this election study.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Any study of these two works would be a major study in itself, hence we have had to confine ourselves to following the basic conclusions of the outstanding scholars in this field; see esp. M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch; von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch", op. cit. 1-78; also Eissfeldt, Introduction, 155-219.
  2. On this point see Bright, History, 60-93; C. H. Gordon, "The Patriarchal Age", JER, 1953, 238-43; "The Patriarchal Narratives", JNES, 1954, 56-9; J. M. Holt, The Patriarchs of Israel, 1964; Mendenhall, "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition", BA XVII, 1954, 50-76; E. A. Speiser, "The Biblical Idea of History in its Near East Setting", IEJ, 1957, 201-16.
  3. Apart from the above references see Rowley, "Recent Discovery and the Patriarchal Age", BJRL, 1949/50, 44-79; = The Servant of the Lord and other Essays on the OT, 1952, 269-305; also see H. Seebass, Der Erzvater Israel und die Einführung der Jahweverehrung in Kanaan, BZAW 98, 1966.
  4. The basic commentary used in this section is von Rad, Genesis; for the religion of the patriarchs the outstanding contribution is probably that of Alt, "The God of the Fathers", Essays on OT History and Religion, 3-77; = KSGVI, I, 1-78; also Noth, The Old Testament World, ET, 1966, 280ff.

- " Now Yahweh said to Abram, 'Go from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you. And I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you, and him who curses you I will curse; and by you all the families of the earth will bless themselves.'"<sup>1</sup>
- " Then Yahweh appeared to Abram, and said, 'To your descendants I will give this land.'"<sup>2</sup>
- " Yahweh said to Abram, after Lot had separated from him, 'Lift up your eyes, and look from the place where you are, northward and southward and eastward and westward; for all the land which you see I will give to you and to your descendants for ever. I will make your descendants as the dust of the earth; so that if one can count the dust of the earth, your descendants also can be counted. Arise, walk through the length and the breadth of the land, for I will give it to you.'"<sup>3</sup>
- " Then Yahweh said to Abram, 'Know of a surety that your descendants will be sojourners in a land that is not theirs, and will be slaves there, and they will be oppressed for four hundred years; but I will bring judgment on the nation which they serve, and afterward they shall come out with great possessions.' When the sun had gone down and it was dark, behold, a smoking fire pot and a flaming torch passed between the pieces. On that day Yahweh made a covenant with Abram, saying, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates.'"<sup>4</sup>
- " When Abram was ninety-nine years old Yahweh appeared to Abram, and said to him, 'I am 'El Shaddai; walk before me, and be blameless. And I will make my covenant between me and you, and will multiply you exceedingly.' Then Abram fell on his face; and God said to him, 'Behold, my covenant is with you, and you shall be the

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1. Gn. 12:1-3; ~~ex~~cf. Ps. 72:17; on: 72 as an election keyword see Altmann, Erwählungstheologie und Universalismus im AT, 16f. + n.

2. Gn. 12:7.

3. Gn. 13:14-17; cf. Dt. 10:22; 26:5.

4. Gn. 15:13, 14, 17, 18.



father of a multitude of nations.No longer shall your name be Abram, but your name shall be Abraham; for I have made you the father of a multitude of nations. I will make you exceedingly fruitful; and I will make nations of you, and kings shall come forth from you. And I will establish my covenant between me and you and your descendants after you throughout their generations for an everlasting covenant, to be God to you and to your descendants after you. And I will give to you, and to your descendants after you, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting<sub>1</sub> possession; and I will be their God." <sup>1</sup>

" God said, '... Sarah your wife shall bear you a son, and you shall call his name Isaac. I will establish my covenant with him as an everlasting<sub>2</sub> covenant for his descendants after him.' " <sup>2</sup>

" And the angel of Yahweh called to Abraham a second time from heaven, and said, 'By myself I have sworn, says Yahweh, because you have done this, and have not withheld your son, your only son, I will indeed bless you, and I will multiply your descendants as the stars of heaven and as the sand which is on the seashore. And your descendants shall possess the gate of their enemies, and by your descendants shall all the nations of the earth bless themselves, because you have obeyed my voice.' " <sup>3</sup>

" And Jacob dreamed that there was a ladder set up on the earth... and behold Yahweh stood above it and said, 'I am Yahweh, the God of Abraham your father and the God of Isaac; the land on which you lie I will give to you and to your descendants; and your descendants shall belike the dust of the earth... and by you and your descendants shall all the families of the earth bless themselves. Behold, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go, and will bring you back to this land.' " <sup>4</sup>

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1. Gn. 17:1-8.

2. Gn. 17:19; cf. 26:24.

3. Gn. 22:15-18.

4. Gn. 28:12-15.

The outstanding features of these passages were the element of promise, the future gift of a land, and the guarantee of descendants. The patriarchs were essentially lonely, solitary individuals moving about in a semi-nomadic fashion without a land of their own. Yet dominating the story as depicted by the Yahwist and the Elohist was the theme of promise.<sup>1</sup> Centuries later the prophet Deutero-Isaiah looked back on that period, when the solitary Abraham sought a land, and used the scene as a metaphor of hope for the exiles.<sup>2</sup>

Although the concentration on the patriarchs only appeared at a late date, this was because as Israel's political stock declined the nation felt a greater affinity with those ancestors who had looked for the promise even if they did not fully enter into it. The more uncertain that Israel became about itself the more emphasis it put on that period of life when the promise had yet to be fulfilled.

The covenant with Abraham was of that type known as

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1. We cannot agree with J. Hoftijzer's view that the promise tradition first appeared towards the end of the kingdom or during the exile, Die Verheissungen an die drei Erzväter, 1956, 99; on the promise element in the OT, see Wolff, "The Kerygma of the Yahwist", Int. 1966, 131-58; Westermann, "The Way of the Promise through the OT", The OT and Christian Faith, ed. B. W. Anderson, 1964, 200-24; Zimmerli, "Promise and Fulfillment", Essays on OT Interpretation, 89-122; Noth stresses the element of promise in the patriarchal narratives, but views Jacob as the original recipient of the promise, History, 121-7; yet it must be noted that the promise was linked with Abraham a good deal more than it was with Jacob!
  2. cf. Is. 51:2; Ez. 33:24; on the background of the patriarchs, see also, A. Parrot, Abraham et son temps, CAB 14, 1962.

promissory.<sup>1</sup> It stood in direct contrast to the covenant made at Sinai where Israel was expected to keep certain conditions in order to maintain the covenant relationship with Yahweh. Yahweh's covenant with Abraham was a ceremony in which both partners were involved but only Yahweh undertook to do something. Thus the promise of the land was totally unconditional. This factor would explain the growing popularity of the patriarchal tradition as Israel's possession of the land became more and more uncertain. For Israel's claim on the land lay in that they were the descendants of the patriarchs. This point ~~by~~ was emphasised by the Deuteronomists in their recognition of the exodus as a result of Yahweh's oath to the fathers.

A question which arises at this point is, what precisely was the relationship between Israel and these pre-Israelite figures? Alt has demonstrated that the religion of the patriarchs consisted of each patriarch worshipping an individual god, e.g., the "Fear of Isaac", or the "Mighty One of Jacob".<sup>2</sup> The basic structure of this religion was the personal relationship existing between god and worshipper. This, no doubt,

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1. On this covenant, see L. A. Snijders, "Gen. 15: the Covenant with Abram", OTS, 261-79; in a sense the Davidic covenant was based on the patriarchal covenant, and was of the promissory type.

2. "The God of the Fathers", op. cit. 25ff.; Albright would translate  $\text{קָיִן}$ :  $\text{קָיִן}$  as "Kinsman" rather than "Fear", so From the Stone Age to Christianity, 248; Alt suggests that the particular god of Abraham may have been  $\text{שָׁרֵי}$   $\text{שָׁרֵי}$   $\text{שָׁרֵי}$  "Shield of Abraham", cf. Gn. 15:1; op. cit. 66n.

would have attracted the Israelites when they arrived in Canaan after the exodus from Egypt. Furthermore the belief in a god who was not tied down to one sanctuary but was personally involved with his worshipper would have fitted in with certain aspects of Yahwism. Also the fact that certain sanctuaries in Canaan were connected with these patriarchs would have influenced the various tribes which settled around those sanctuaries. In this sense the God of the fathers would have been linked to certain tribes and especially in the role of one of the gods of the fathers. This would explain why the patriarchs received such little emphasis from the eighth century prophets. They were basically devoted to Yahweh the God of all Israel and probably considered the individual tribal ancestral gods as being irrelevant for their purpose. The growing emphasis on Yahweh as the God of the fathers and the relating of the fathers to the Heilsgeschichte which began to develop in the seventh century was probably due to two factors. Firstly, the stress in the patriarchal religion was on the personal factor, hence in a period of grim political exigencies such a religious tenor would have been most appropriate. Secondly, the Deuteronomists who wished to put forward a theology for all Israel using the underlying principle of unity would have been keen to draw the patriarchs into the scope of the Heilsgeschichte.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. "What the gods of the Fathers were to the smaller communities, (Yahweh) was to the whole confederation of the tribes.", Alt, ibid. 60.

On the other hand, it has been suggested that the patriarchs had been familiar with the term Yahweh as a phrase expressing his presence and action; from this point of view the new element in the work of Moses was the interpretation of the phrase as a proper name.<sup>1</sup> Yet another view maintains that Yahweh was the patron deity of one of Moses' ancestors.<sup>2</sup>

We would maintain that the basic reason for the combination of patriarchal traditions and Israelite traditions lay in the fact that both sets of traditions had the themes of election and promise in common.<sup>3</sup> As the idea of Israel's election by Yahweh received more attention in the writings of the kingdom so did the stories about the patriarchs. They were linked together because Israel was capable of recognising a basic affinity between the nation and this little group in the dim distant past. It was far less of an artificial syncretism than it was a dynamic interpretation of data which could be best explained in the way Israel had explained it.

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1. So J. Barr, "The Problem of Israelite Monotheism", TGUOS, XVII, 1957/8, 52ff.; cf. I. Lewy, "The Beginnings of the Worship of Yahweh, conflicting biblical Views", VT, 1956, 429-35; on the question of whether Yahweh as such was known before the time of Moses.
  2. So J. P. Hyatt, "Yahweh as 'God of my Father'", VT, 1955, 130-6. This, however, is not the place to discuss the significance of Yahweh or the extremely complex problem of whether Yahweh was known to the patriarchs; Ex. 6:3 has provided a great deal of controversy in terms of interpretation, see Noth, Exodus, 56ff.; also Mowinckel, "The Name of the God of Moses", HUCA, 1961, 121-33.
  3. On this point we would agree with G. E. Wright, "Modern Issues in Biblical Studies: History and the Patriarchs", ExpT, LXXI, 1960, 292-6; against G. von Rad, "History and the Patriarchs", ExpT, LXXII, 1961, 213-6; cf. the remarks of J. Bright to the effect that a history of Israel must begin with the migration of the patriarchs, Early Israel in Recent History Writing, SBT 19, 1956, 120.

e) Summary

The central purpose of Deuteronomy was "to furnish Israel with a complete order of faith and life which is the prerequisite for a prosperous and secure life and existence on the God-given land".<sup>1</sup> To achieve this they set out the details of Israel's Heilsgeschichte under the theme of Yahweh's election of the nation. Linked to the exodus faith was the story of the patriarchs. Yahweh's part in the exodus and the gift of the land was seen as the outcome of his promise and love to the fathers. Neither the exodus nor the Landnahme had taken place because of any merit in the nation but because of Yahweh's love for and his election of the people. Yet the people's existence in Canaan was contingent upon their obeying the terms of the covenant. To give their code an impression of comprehensiveness the Deuteronomists included legislation for the king<sup>2</sup> and the prophet.<sup>3</sup>

Two polemical motifs lay behind the work of Deuteronomy. The fight against Canaanite syncretism and the desire to reform the Jerusalem cultus. This polemical spirit accounted for the insistence upon the land as being Yahweh's gift to Israel as their inheritance. The land belonged to Yahweh and Israel held it under him. The demand for centralisation also stemmed

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1. So Wright, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Deuteronomy", IB, II, 316.

2. 17:14-20; this law may have been a secondary addition as the king was out of place in a book dealing with the amphictyonic covenant, see Wright, *ibid.* 441ff.

3. 13:1-5; 18:15-22.

from this anti-Canaanite polemic. The usage of the  $\gamma n \bar{\gamma}$ -motif in Deuteronomy derived from the royal theology of the Jerusalem cultus. In Zion the king and the city were the chosen ones of Yahweh. Deuteronomy attempted to redress the exaggerated notions of royal election by insisting on Yahweh's election of the whole nation at the exodus, long before the institution of the monarchy had come into existence. The existence of a king was barely tolerated by the Deuteronomists. They were concerned with the state of the nation before Yahweh and the purity of its religion. The importance of Deuteronomy for any study of the election traditions of ancient Israel lies in the fact that it sought to counteract certain emphases in the southern kingdom by the application of ideas which had their origin in the sacral traditions of the old amphictyonic confederation. This emphasis on the election of the nation was a feature of the literature of the Old Testament written during periods of political and religious crisis. Much of Deuteronomy's value lies in the area of what it did not say. However the thoroughgoing reform demanded by the Deuteronomists proved to be quite impossible when applied to the cultus in Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. 18:1-8 with II K. 23:9-"however the priests of the high places did not come up to the altar of Yahweh in Jerusalem, but they ate unleavened bread among their brethren."  
The main influence of Deuteronomy can be seen in the Chronicler's application of election to the Levitical priesthood.

#### 4. Summary

It is not possible to determine the relationship between the dating of Deuteronomy and that of the Psalms with respect to the subject of election.<sup>1</sup> Both Deuteronomy and those psalms which dealt with election had a long tradition behind them of very ancient material and ideas. Some of the election elements in the psalms concerning the patriarchal stories were quite similar to the patriarchal ideas set out in Deuteronomy. Yet it simply is not possible to date such occurrences. The cultic background of the Psalms provided for the inclusion of much material which reflected tribal ideas and individual opinions, hence the election content of the Psalms may be very old. Deuteronomy codified many of these old ideas and presented them in a unified form. Thus Deuteronomy may be looked upon as the collective application of what the psalms were the individualistic supporters of. The main importance of Deuteronomy and the Psalms for this thesis is the light they throw on the idea of election in Israel as it may have been towards the end of the seventh century when Jeremiah appeared on the scene.

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1. Koch maintains that some of the occurrences of election in the Psalms predate Deuteronomy, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", ZAW, 1955, 205-26; esp. 216.



## CHAPTER VIII

### ELECTION IN JEREMIAH

#### 1. Introduction

For most of the seventh century Judah lay under the iron fist of Assyria. Thus Manasseh, its king, was a loyal vassal of the Assyrian kings and consequently allowed the religion of his overlord to flourish in Israel. This state of syncretism meant that much of Hezekiah's reform was completely cancelled. In this way the pure Yahwistic faith suffered a great deal and the Deuteronomistic historians considered Manasseh to have been one of the most wicked kings in Judah.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Manasseh in 642 and the assassination of his son Amon,<sup>2</sup> Josiah came to the throne of Judah. With the reign of Josiah Judah achieved its last period of independence.<sup>3</sup> As the Assyrians lost their hegemony of the ancient Near East Josiah was able to reestablish Judah's freedom. He took

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1. II K. 21:10-18; on the Deuteronomistic historians see especially, Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, I, 3ff.; von Rad, "Ch. 7- The Deuteronomistic Theology of History in the Books of Kings", Studies in Deuteronomy, 74-91; North, The Old Testament Interpretation of History, 85-106.

2. II K. 21:23; Noth thinks this action may have been the result of a conflict between pro-Assyrian and anti-Assyrian groups during the decline of Assyria, History, 272.

3. II K. 22-23.

possession of the provinces into which Assyria had divided northern Israel.<sup>1</sup> It is quite probable that Josiah envisaged the restoration of the Davidic kingdom with one king, a member of the house of David, ruling over both Judah and Israel.

More important than this political achievement, from the point of view of the followers of Yahweh, was the reform which Josiah instigated. This reform consisted mainly of a purging of the syncretistic elements from the worship of Yahweh which it had acquired during the period of Judah's vassalage to Assyria. In the course of this reform<sup>2</sup> a copy of "the book of the law" was found.<sup>3</sup> It is generally agreed among scholars that this lawbook was the book of Deuteronomy in some form.<sup>4</sup>

Deuteronomy was a collection of ancient laws and sacral traditions which had been gathered together by members of the Levitical circles who had come south after the fall of Samaria.<sup>5</sup>

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1. The exact extent of his domain is not certain, Noth would understand Jos. 15; 18-19, to derive from Josiah's period, History, 273; cf. Alt, "Judas Gaue unter Josia", KSGVI, II, 276-88; Bright advocates caution in using Joshua in such a way, History, 300n.
  2. II K. 22:3-8; Bright rightly emphasises this fact, The Kingdom of God, 105; History, 296.
  3. II K. 22:8.
  4. See above ch. VII, 3; cf. Dt. 18:6-8 with II K. 23:9. See also Rowley, "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy", SOTP, 157-74.
  5. Although found in 621 and integrated into Josiah's reform there is no question but that Deuteronomy was a good deal older than that date; much of its material went back to the amphictyonic traditions of ancient Israel. Whether the compilers of Deuteronomy originally contemplated Shechem as the central sanctuary (cf. Rowley, ibid. 166) and later adapted their legislation to suit Jerusalem is not really important. We view the document found in the temple as basically aimed at the reform of the Jerusalem cultus, an aim that was reinforced by it having been found in the temple.

It had perhaps been written during the period of Manasseh's syncretistic reign. Its discovery had a great impact on Josiah with the result that, after enquiries had been made of Huldah the prophetess, the king made a covenant before Yahweh to keep all the statutes of Yahweh written in the book.<sup>1</sup> Thus the royal theology of Zion was again linked to the older Mosaic covenant tradition of Sinai.<sup>2</sup>

In 612 the neo-Babylonian empire destroyed Nineveh and two years later Haran was wrecked by them. Thus the Assyrians came to <sup>an</sup> end. However Judah was caught in between the Egypt-Assyria armies and the Babylonians. In 609 in an attempt to prevent Pharaoh Necho from assisting Asshur-uballit Josiah was killed at Megiddo.<sup>3</sup> For the next few years Judah was under Egyptian domination and was forced to pay levy to their new overlord. During this period Josiah's reform lapsed and pagan practices were once again restored.<sup>4</sup>

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1. II K.23:1-3; on the king as mediator of the covenant see Widengren, "King and Covenant", *JSS*, 1957, 1-32; Noth's objection to Josiah's involvement of the elders of Jerusalem in this covenant is based far more on his own rigid suppositions of what constituted the kingdom of Judah and also his view of the role of the king than on any information available in the OT, see his "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", *op. cit.* 45ff. cf. his essay, "God, King, and Nation in the OT", *ibid.* 167ff.
  2. We would reject Rost's view that the two covenant traditions had had separate existences up till this point and then were linked together in 621, so "Davidsbund und Sinaibund", *TLZ*, 1947, 129ff
  3. II K.23:29,30; he was most probably killed in battle, so Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine*, 130; followed by Bright, *History*, 303; cf. II Chr.35:23f.; Noth rejects this viewpoint, *History*, 279.
  4. cf. Jer.7:16-18; 11:9-13; Ez.8.

The hegemony of Egypt was soon broken when the Babylonian Nebuchadnezzar<sup>1</sup> defeated the Egyptian forces at Carchemish in 605. Thus Judah once more came under the power of a Mesopotamian empire. However Jehoiakim, the king of Judah, refused to remain a quiet vassal of the Babylonians and turned to Egypt for aid. By the time the Babylonians had eventually marched on Judah Jehoiakim had died.<sup>2</sup> His son Jehoiachin soon surrendered and was deported along with Judah's leading officials to Babylon.<sup>3</sup> The next ten years under Zedekiah's reign were filled with constant agitation and intrigue in Judah. An upsurge of patriotism seems to have involved Judah in its final downfall. For by 589 Judah was in open rebellion against the Babylonians. Relying upon Egyptian help Judah indulged in revolt and soon Jerusalem was under siege by the Babylonians. One by one the towns of Judah were taken<sup>4</sup> until finally in 587 Jerusalem was captured and the state of Judah came to an end forever.<sup>5</sup>

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1. This is the popular spelling of his name which we have followed, the Babylonian form is Nabû-kudurri-uṣur, see Noth, History, 280n.
  2. Bright suggests that he may have been assassinated, cf. Jer. 22:18f.; 36:30; see History, 306.
  3. II K. 24:10-17.
  4. On this particular aspect of Judah's final history see the Lachish letters; see Albright, "Palestinian Inscriptions", ANET, 320ff.; D. Winton Thomas, "Letters from Lachish", DOTT, 212ff.; also the relevant sections in Burrows, What Mean These Stones?, 182ff.
  5. Apart from the OT sources the above historical background to this period was culled from Bright, History, 288-310; Noth, History, 269-89; Albright, "The Seal of Eliakim and the Last Pre-Exilic History of Judah", JBL, 1932, 77-106.

Such a world of conflict and varying fortunes for Judah provided the environment in which Jeremiah worked.<sup>1</sup> He came from Anathoth where his family were members of the priesthood.<sup>2</sup> He may have been a priest himself<sup>3</sup> but his main significance in Judah was as a prophet. In 626, when he was still only a youth, he received his call to be a prophet:

" Now the word of Yahweh came to me saying,  
'Before I formed you in the womb I knew you,  
and before you were born I consecrated you:  
I appointed you a prophet to the nations.'<sup>4</sup>

Even though the  $\text{נבא}$ -motif does not appear here, this call represented Yahweh's election of Jeremiah to the office of the prophet. In a sense the terms of Jeremiah's election reflected

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1. See also D.W. Thomas, "The Age of Jeremiah in the Light of Recent Archaeological Discovery", *PEQ*, 1950, 1-15. The main works consulted on Jeremiah include-Eissfeldt, *Introduction*, 346-65; J.P. Hyatt, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Jeremiah", *IB*, V, 777-1142; J.W. Miller, *Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht*, 1955; Muilenburg, "Jeremiah the Prophet", *IDB*, II, 823-35; H.G. Reventlow, *Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia*, 1963; W. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, *HAT* 12, 1947; J. Skinner, *Prophecy and Religion. Studies in the Life of Jeremiah*, 1961 ed.; Weiser, *Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia*, *ATD* 20/21, 1952/55; Welch, *Jeremiah: His Time and his Work*, 1951 ed.; H. Wildberger, *Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia*, Diss. 1942.

2. 1:1; cf. I K. 2:26f.

3. This point is debated by scholars; Haldar insists on his cultic role, *Associations*, 112, 121; Muilenburg thinks he may have been connected with the temple, *op. cit.* 830; that he was not a priest is the view of Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, 208; Weiser, *Introduction*, 209; Welch, *op. cit.* 34; Hyatt maintains that he never served as a priest, *op. cit.* 778; Meek considers it doubtful that Jeremiah belonged to a priestly family, *Hebrew Origins*, 1950 rev. ed., 179.

4. 1:5; some scholars reject 626 as the date of his call; Gottwald places it in 616, *All the Kingdoms of the Earth*, 242; Hyatt puts it in 609, *IB*, V, 779; also his "The Beginning of Jeremiah's Prophecy", *ZAW*, 1966, 204-14; also Holladay, "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-understanding: Moses, Samuel, and Psalm 22", *JBL*, 1964, 153-64; in 605 by C.F. Whitley, "The Date of Jeremiah's Call", *VT*, 1964, 467-83; cf. his *The Exilic Age*, 1957, 34-43.

microcosmically some of the basic features of Israel's election.<sup>1</sup> Thus the prophet was known by Yahweh and set apart by him for a certain task.<sup>2</sup> What Yahweh chose was invariably sanctified and became his personal property.

Jeremiah's role as a prophet concerned both Judah and the nations. The content of his prophecies was to be judgment and salvation:

" Behold, I have put my words in your mouth.  
See, I have set you this day over nations  
and over kingdoms,  
to pluck up and to break down,  
to destroy and to overthrow,  
to build and to plant."<sup>3</sup>

He emerged as a prophet when Judah was going through a period of religious and political crisis.<sup>4</sup> Of the prophets of ancient Israel whose works have survived, Jeremiah was outstanding as the most sensitive prophet, perhaps, of them all. He lived in an age of wrath<sup>5</sup> and alienation, and it was his work to interpret to his people the word of Yahweh.

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1. E. Voegelin argues that election had been transferred from the nation to Jeremiah the individual, see Order and History: Vol. I - Israel and Revelation, 1956, 467.

2. In the same way Israel was known by Yahweh in Egypt (before it was a nation) and set apart by him, cf. Ex. 19:5, 6; Am. 3:2; Jer. 2:3.

3. 1:9, 10; the phrase "to destroy and to overthrow" is probably a later addition, see Weiser, Das Buch des Propheten Jeremia, 7; also Rudolph, op. cit. 4; see BH.

4. On this feature of Jeremiah's prophecy see especially, H-J. Kraus, Prophetie in der Krisis. Studien zu Texten aus dem Buch Jeremia, BS 43, 1964.

5. "Jeremiah lived in an age of wrath rather than was a prophet of wrath", so J. Heschel, The Prophets, 106.

The prophets of ancient Israel had stood before the people as the servants of Yahweh.<sup>1</sup> In this role they had acted as the messengers of their God,<sup>2</sup> as mediators of the covenant,<sup>3</sup> as intercessors on behalf of the people before Yahweh,<sup>4</sup> as speakers on behalf of Yahweh to the people,<sup>5</sup> as preachers of Yahweh's lawsuit with his people,<sup>6</sup> and as politicians.<sup>7</sup> These basic functions of the prophet in Israelite society were also part of Jeremiah's ministry.

As a young man he had objected to his prophetic call because of his youth and inexperience.<sup>8</sup> Throughout his ministry he complained against Yahweh because of the bitterness of his task and the opposition of the people.<sup>9</sup> The book of Jeremiah

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1. II K. 9:7; Jer. 26:5; 29:19; Ez. 38:17; Am. 3:7. C. Lindhagen writes "As אֲנִי וְאֲנִי the prophets stand in a special relationship to Yahweh as compared with the people as a whole, comparable with that of courtiers and ministers to the king.", The Servant Motif in the OT. A Preliminary Study to the 'Ebed-Yahweh Problem in Deuterom-Isaiah, 1950, 279.
  2. Ex. 3:10; Num. 16:28; Dt. 34:11; I Sam. 12:8; Mic. 6:4; Is. 6:8; Jer. 1:7; see J. F. Ross, "The Prophet as Yahweh's Messenger", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 98-107; R. Rendtorff, "Botenformel und Botenspruch", ZAW, 1962, 165-77; Noth, "History and the Word of God in the Old Testament", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 179-93.
  3. I Sam. 12; see Kraus, Worship in Israel, 108ff.; M. Newman, "The Prophetic Call of Samuel", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 86-97; Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", VT, 1959, 347-65; cf. I K. 18.
  4. Am. 7:1-6; Mic. 7:8-20; cf. Jer. 11:14; see Scharbert, Heilsmittler im Alten Testament und im Alten Orient, 158-224.
  5. Jer. 1:9; 2:2; see Rendtorff, "Zum Gebrauch der Formel n<sup>e</sup>'um jahwe im Jeremiabuch", ZAW, 1954, 27-37.
  6. Hos. 4:1; Mic. 6:2; Is. 3:13; see J. Harvey, "Le 'Rib-pattern', réquisitoire prophétique sur la rupture de l'alliance", Bibl. 1962, 172-96.
  7. Is. 7:3-17; see Jenni, Die politischen Voraussagen der Propheten; on all these aspects of the prophets see Muilenburg's essay, "The 'Office' of the Prophet in Ancient Israel", The Bible in Modern Scholarship, ed. J. P. Hyatt, 1966, 74-97.
  8. I:6.
  9. 9:1; 10:19; 11:19; 15:15; 18:20; 20:7-12; cf. 1:19.

is one of the fullest accounts of the intimate relationship that existed between Yahweh and his prophets. The sense of alienation which permeated his oracles had also penetrated his personality.<sup>1</sup> In this way the prophecies of Jeremiah were intimately bound up with his own experiences of Yahweh's activity. This was one of the central features of Jeremiah's work. Yahweh's word was Yahweh's deed. By the proclamation of this divine word Jeremiah brought about the fulfilment of it.

" See, I have set you this day over nations  
and over kingdoms,  
to pluck up and to break<sub>2</sub> down,  
to build and to plant."

This commission can only be understood if interpreted in this sense.<sup>3</sup> In this way the prophets created the situations in which Yahweh dealt with his people.<sup>4</sup> It was always a case of declaring the word of Yahweh, never a word.<sup>5</sup> Thus Jeremiah was able to assert:

" For twenty-three years the word of Yahweh  
has come to me, and I have spoken early and  
persistently to you " <sup>6</sup>

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1. On his complaints see E. Gerstenberger, "Jeremiah's Complaints", *JBL*, 1963, 393-408; Holladay, "Jeremiah's Lawsuit with God", *Int.* 1963, 280-87.
  2. 1:10.
  3. Östborn has rightly emphasised that the keyword in Jeremiah is that of Yahweh's activity, Cult and Canon. A Study in the Canonization of the OT, UUA 10, 1950, 54f.; see Wildberger, *op. cit.* 11ff.
  4. See von Rad, *Theology*, II, 80-98; the prophets perceived the word "as event, a contingent happening in history", 87; see also Vriezen, *Outline*, 93ff.
  5. This feature was first pointed out by Köhler, *Theology*, 106f. It was always the word for the situation to which it was addressed.
  6. 25:3; here the word referred to twenty-three years yet was not termed "words"! The word אָדָּמָה contains the basic idea of earliness, "speaking early and often" so *BDB*, 1014.



Jeremiah's message of judgment was directed not only against the foreign nations but also against the house of Judah.<sup>1</sup> He warned Judah of approaching disaster because of its sins. This disaster was viewed as coming from the north, a designation, not of a particular people,<sup>2</sup> but of Yahweh's judgment in general.<sup>3</sup> He attacked the people for their idolatry and their insistence on cultic observations without the concomitant loyalty to Yahweh's covenant.<sup>4</sup> However he was not against the cultus per se but simply reechoed the normal prophetic attitude towards a people intent on cultic orthodoxy without a corresponding ethical life.<sup>5</sup>

He also found himself in constant conflict with those whom he termed "prophets who prophesy lies".<sup>6</sup> This strife

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1. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the oracles against the nations; see however, R. Bach, Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum Kampf in alttestamentlichen Prophetenspruch, WMANT 9, 1962, 51ff.; E. Scherer, Unpersönlich formulierte prophetische Orakel, drei Formen prophetischer Rede, Diss. 1964.
  2. Rowley would argue for identifying this northern foe with the Scythians, see "The Early Prophecies of Jeremiah in their Setting", BJRL, 1962, 198-234; = Men of God, 1963, 133-68; cf. Skinner, op. cit. 40.
  3. Following Weiser, Jeremia, 16, 44; Rudolph, Jeremia, 9, 27; cf. "The ultimate source of this doom... is Yahweh", Welch, op. cit. 98. On the north motif in the OT see Childs, "The Enemy from the North and the Chaos Tradition", JBL, 1959, 187-98.
  4. 2:20ff.; 3:6-9; 7:1-15; 9:1-6; 11:1-17.
  5. J. Jocz maintains that Jeremiah rejected the cultus with its sacrificial system, The Spiritual History of Israel, 1961, 84ff. On this whole question see R. Hentschke, Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus, BZAW 75, 1957; Lindblom, Prophecy, 351-60; Rowley, "Ritual and the Hebrew Prophets", Myth, Ritual, and Kingship, 236-60; Skinner, op. cit. 165-84.
  6. 23:26; see 23:28; also 5:31; cf. Dt. 13:1-5; 18:15-22; on this subject see G. Quell, Wahre und falsche Propheten: Versuch einer Interpretation, 1952; in Jeremiah see Kraus, Prophezie in der Krisis, 105-15; Reventlow, Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia, 121-40; von Rad, Theology, II, 209f.

was mainly caused by the complete difference of opinion that existed between Jeremiah's view of the near future and the preaching of the other prophets. Jeremiah declared a word of imminent judgment whereas the other prophets proclaimed a word of peace.<sup>1</sup> Yet how could the common people distinguish between the two viewpoints and identify which one was the authentic word from Yahweh? That this had become a serious problem for the pious in Israel by the time of Jeremiah is quite clear from the fact that the Deuteronomists had tried to legislate for the situation.<sup>2</sup> The criteria drawn up by them really did nothing to clarify the problem. Indeed, an application of their tests to the oracles of the "false" prophets would have achieved nothing positive as it can hardly be asserted that these prophets attempted to draw the people away from Yahweh. As far as the criterion of fulfilment went only hindsight could meet that, and there precisely lay the problem for the people. When a prophet spoke there was absolutely no way of deciding at that point whether his prophecy would be fulfilled or not. It is also a striking fact that many of the prophecies of men who were undoubtedly genuine prophets of Yahweh failed this test of fulfilment. It has even been suggested that Jeremiah

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1. cf. 27:16-22; 28:5-9.

2. Dt. 13:1-5; 18:20-22; the two basic principles adduced by the Deuteronomists for testing the authenticity of a prophet's message were - i) should a prophet attempt to lead the people away from Yahweh he was false, 13:1-5; ii) "when a prophet speaks in the name of Yahweh, if the word does not come to pass or come true, that is a word which Yahweh has not spoken", 18:22.

himself was branded as a false prophet on the basis of the Deuteronomists' criteria!<sup>1</sup>

This link between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy raises the question of the relationship of Jeremiah to Josiah's lawbook. Accepting the fact that the lawbook found in the temple in 621 was that of Deuteronomy, and also accepting the fact that Jeremiah received his call to be a prophet in 626, the question inevitably rises.<sup>2</sup> One fact remains certain and that is, we know very little on this subject because there is virtually no evidence within Jeremiah to provide us with a satisfactory answer to the problem. The similarity between some of the language of Jeremiah and that of Deuteronomy cannot be used as conclusive evidence for a Deuteronomic redaction of parts of Jeremiah.<sup>3</sup> The language of both books belonged to a common period<sup>4</sup> and to argue from one to the other is to go round in circles without achieving anything positive. It may tentatively

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1. So R. Davidson, "Orthodoxy and the Prophetic Word: a Study of the Relationship between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy", VT, 1964, 407-16.
  2. This is far too involved a subject for this thesis to cope with; see however Rowley, "The Prophet Jeremiah and the Book of Deuteronomy", SOTP, 157-74; also his "The Early Prophecies of Jeremiah in their Setting", op. cit. esp. 223ff.
  3. "Jeremiah has fallen into the hands of deuteronomistic zealots who used him in their propaganda", so Bentzen, Introduction, II, 119; Hyatt maintains that the deuteronomists inserted the early dates into Jeremiah in order to show that he approved of their reforms, so "Jeremiah and Deuteronomy", JNES, 1942, 156-73. The view taken of the relationship between the two books will depend entirely on the view taken of the dating for D.
  4. In agreement with Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 415ff.; also Bright who asserts that the style of Jeremiah was akin to Deuteronomy's and no more, "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah", JBL, 1951, 15-35; it was the language of the age, 27; also the view of Muilenburg, "Jeremiah the Prophet", IDB, II, 834.

be suggested that Jeremiah approved of certain elements of the reform, especially in view of his praise for Josiah.<sup>1</sup>

Other features in Jeremiah's work worth comment were his role as intercessor for his people,<sup>2</sup> his personal religion before Yahweh,<sup>3</sup> and his debt to Hosea for some of his ideas.<sup>4</sup> It has been asserted that with Jeremiah there appeared a new development of the idea of individualism in ancient Israel.<sup>5</sup> Strictly speaking this viewpoint is not true. Whatever may have been the case with "corporate personality" in Israel,<sup>6</sup> it would be far more accurate to speak of the slow submergence of the individual as Israel's history progressed towards the Exile.<sup>7</sup>

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1. In agreement with Anderson, The History and Religion of Israel, 136f. On the content of Deuteronomy and Jeremiah, see von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, 89-100.
  2. cf. 18:20; with 11:14; see Reventlow, "Prophetenamt und Mittleramt", ZTK, 1961, 269-84; Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia, 140ff.
  3. See the so-called Confessions, 15:10-18; 17:14-18; 20:7-12; see Skinner, op. cit. 201-30; von Rad, Theology, II, 201ff.
  4. cf. 3:1-5, 19-25; with Hos. 1-3; and 4:1; with Hos. 6:1-3. This connexion with Hosea may also be seen in Deuteronomy. The reference to Mic. 3:12 in Jer. 26:18 shows that that prophet also had some influence over Jeremiah, cf. 7:1-15 with Mic. 3:11; on Jeremiah and Hosea, see Welch, op. cit. 57-75.
  5. See for example Voegelin, Israel and Revelation, 457.
  6. The main statement concerning the principle of "corporate personality" in the OT was Wheeler Robinson's, "The Hebrew Conception of Corporate Personality", Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments, BZAW 66, 1936, 49-62; see also his Inspiration and Revelation in the OT, 70f.; see also Pedersen, Israel, I-II; and Johnson, The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God, 1942; Robinson's view has been criticised by J. R. Porter, "The legal aspects of the concept of 'corporate personality' in the Old Testament", VT, 1965, 361-80.
  7. See the excellent essay by G. E. Mendenhall, "The Relation of the Individual to Political Society in Ancient Israel", Biblical Studies in Memory of H. C. Alleman, 1960, 89-108.

Much of the transmission of Jeremiah's oracles from an oral state to a written one was due to his amanuensis, Baruch.<sup>1</sup> However some of Jeremiah's work was originally written<sup>2</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that such a state of affairs was not quite common in the prophets of ancient Israel.<sup>3</sup>

Having spent most of his prophetic ministry preaching against Judah's tendency to seek for help from Egypt, it was the final irony that Jeremiah himself should finish out his life there.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. The Exodus election tradition

Jeremiah had a firm grasp of the election-covenant faith of the Mosaic age.<sup>5</sup> The reason for his sure understanding of Israel's election tradition may partly lie in his background, which was to be found in the Benjaminite village of Anathoth.<sup>6</sup>

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1. cf. 36:4; see H.G. May, "Towards an Objective Approach to the Book of Jeremiah: The Biographer", JBL, 1942, 139-55; against his late dating for the prose sections of Jeremiah, see Bright, "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah", JBL, 1951, 15-35.

2. cf. 29:1ff.

3. See G. Widengren, Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets, 1948, 71ff.; see also S. Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition: The Prophetic Books in the Light of the Growth and History of the Tradition, 1946, esp. 60ff.; cf. Eissfeldt, "The Prophetic Literature", OTMS, 115-61; esp. 128ff.

4. 43:5-7; it was hardly a voluntary action on the part of Jeremiah, but more a case of forced exile.

5. So Muilenburg, "Jeremiah the Prophet", IDB, II, 825; in this way Jeremiah also was similar to Hosea. The interrelationship between Hosea, Deuteronomy, and Jeremiah suggests a common stock of traditions in the north which were equally at home in the south—this was essentially true of the exodus election-covenant faith.

6. cf. 1:1; 31:15; see von Rad, Theology, II, 192; on the tribe of Benjamin, see K. D. Schunck, Benjamin. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Geschichte eines israelitischen Stammes, BZAW 86, 1963.

The territory of the tribe of Benjamin lay between that of Ephraim and that of Judah.<sup>1</sup> Within Ephraim the election tradition of Israel had been tenaciously held, whereas in the south the emphasis had been on the David-Zion election tradition. Yet, again, we would emphasise that the election faith of the exodus-Sinai-Landnahme tradition had its place in the southern kingdom. However there were times when the popular emphasis was on the royal theology of Jerusalem and the tradition of the exodus election and covenant faith tended to be relegated to a secondary place in the beliefs of Judah. The Deuteronomists had set out to readjust this imbalance and, no doubt, Jeremiah, with his religious upbringing, would have been equally insistent on the paramount importance of the exodus faith for the people of Judah. This clash between popular belief<sup>2</sup> and prophetic faith may be seen in much of Jeremiah's teaching. To a certain extent scholars have tended to mistake the various emphases of the prophets as evidence for views they probably did not hold. Thus certain conclusions are drawn from the fact that Isaiah concentrated on the Zion tradition to the virtual exclusion of the exodus tradition. Whereas Isaiah's message was governed by the demands of the situations which

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1. This geographical information is taken from Plate IV, The Westminster Smaller Bible Atlas, ed. G. E. Wright & F. V. Filson,<sup>9</sup> 1963.
  2. It is rather difficult to distinguish what represents popular belief in the OT; however a certain idea can be obtained by viewing much of what the prophets attacked as representing popular belief, cf. Mic. 3:11; Jer. 7:4; Ez. 18:2. It is most probable that Lam. 4:20 indicates the popular view of the king.

confronted him and Judah at the time of his preaching. Too much importance has been attached by scholars to the areas of prophetic silence. In this way a case has been made out for the separation of the election traditions of ancient Israel into two distinct groups; the northern kingdom is viewed as the faithful guardians of the exodus tradition, and the south is seen as having replaced the exodus tradition with that of the David-Zion election idea. Such a viewpoint we would reject as being quite inadequate an interpretation of the Old Testament data. The exodus election faith was common to both kingdoms,<sup>1</sup> though the David-Zion faith belonged exclusively to the south.

A further reason for Jeremiah's grasp of Israel's early election tradition may be found in the influence of Hosea's work on him. Hosea prophesied solely to the northern kingdom and used the exodus-desert-Landnahme tradition as a basic motif in his preaching. Jeremiah was familiar with his work and incorporated some of his motifs into his own work.<sup>2</sup> It may have been the case that Jeremiah had come into close contact with some disciples of Hosea's.<sup>3</sup> Though it is equally possible that he was au fait with the writings of Hosea.

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1. An illustration of this point may be found in the fact that Deuteronomy, with its original northern milieu, could appeal to the southern kingdom on the grounds of Israel's election at the exodus.

2. cf. Jer. 3:1-5, 19-25; 4:1; with Hos. 1-3; 6:1-3.

3. As suggested by von Rad, Theology, II, 192. Both Hosea and Deuteronomy may be traced to the influence of the Levitical circles, see above, chs. III; VII; also Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat", TLZ, 1956, 83-94. It may, therefore, be the case that Jeremiah grew up under the influence of Levitical circles.

Such basically northern influences on Jeremiah's outlook need not be taken as evidence that the exodus faith was a dogma exclusive to the northern kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Both kingdoms shared the same faith, but the northern kingdom was concerned exclusively with the exodus tradition, whereas the southern kingdom had developed an election tradition concerning its king and its capital city.

a) The exodus<sup>2</sup>

Jeremiah's handling of the exodus tradition was strictly in line with the prophetic treatment of it in the previous century.<sup>3</sup> Thus:

" Hear the word of Yahweh, O house of Jacob,<sup>4</sup>  
and all the families of the house of Israel.  
Thus says Yahweh:  
'What wrong did your fathers find in me  
that they went far from me,  
and went after worthlessness, and became worthless?  
They did not say, 'Where is Yahweh  
who brought us up<sup>5</sup> from the land of Egypt,  
who led us in the wilderness,  
in a land of deserts and pits,  
in a land of drought and deep darkness,  
in a land that none passes through,  
where no man dwells?'

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1. Against the tenor of von Rad's remarks, Theology, II, 192.
  2. On this section, see also Rohland, Die Bedeutung der Erwählungs-traditionen Israels für die Eschatologie der alttestamentlichen Propheten, 63-77.
  3. cf. Jer. 2:5-9; with Am. 2:10ff.; Mic. 6:1ff.; see Rohland, ibid. 63.
  4. 2:4-9; the phrases in v.4 suggest that Jeremiah may have also included the northern kingdom in his remarks, see Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 210.
  5. The basic significance of וּבְרִיחַ in v.6 is that of 'to bring to a goal'; it belongs to the oldest exodus-Landnahme tradition, see Wijngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed (Dt. 6:20-23; 26:5-9), 32ff.; also " וּבְרִיחַ and וּבְרִיחַ, a twofold approach to the Exodus", VT, 1965, 91-102; esp. 98ff.



And I brought you into a plentiful land  
 to enjoy its fruits and its good things.  
 But when you came in you defiled my land,  
 and made my heritage an abomination.  
 The priests did not say, 'Where is Yahweh?'  
 Those who handle the law did not know me;  
 the shepherds transgressed against me;  
 the prophets prophesied by Ba'al  
 and went after things that do not profit.  
 Therefore I still contend with you, says Yahweh,  
 and with your children's children I will contend.'"

This formulation of the lawsuit between Yahweh and Israel in terms of the exodus-desert-Landnahme tradition was a technical feature of the prophetic accusation of the nation.<sup>2</sup> Both Amos<sup>3</sup> and Micah<sup>4</sup> had made good use of it before Jeremiah. In each case the outline was the same; exodus-desert-Landnahme. Hosea<sup>5</sup> had also used these features of Israel's election faith in his prophecies. Yet it would be wrong to argue that it was simply a northern idea. For Amos, Micah, and Jeremiah belonged to the south. Obviously, this enumeration of the various aspects of the exodus election tradition within the lawsuit context was a fixed form from at least the eighth century onwards.<sup>6</sup>

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1. v.8 following the MT reading; RSV reads "rulers"; Rohland translates "Seher", *op.cit.* 63.

2. The various scholarly articles on the lawsuit in the OT have been reviewed in various sections of the thesis above.

3. 2:9-11.

4. 6:1-5; Micah enumerated some of the incidents which occurred between the exodus and the Landnahme.

5. 2:14-20 (16-22); 9:10; 13:5; these references were not set in a lawsuit context, cf. 4:1-6.

6. It is very difficult to date the origins of the lawsuit between Yahweh and his chosen people in the OT. Wright views the period of civil wars during the time of Omri's dynasty as the likeliest date for the emergence of the idea of the controversy between Yahweh and people, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 64f.

A shorter oracle also referred to the wilderness period:

" Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem,  
 Thus says Yahweh,  
 'I remember the devotion of your youth,  
 your love as a bride,  
 how you followed me in the wilderness,  
 in a land not sown.  
 Israel was holy to Yahweh,  
 the first fruits of his harvest.  
 All who ate of it became guilty;  
 evil came upon<sub>1</sub> them.  
 says Yahweh.'"<sup>1</sup>

The brevity of this oracle does not permit any interpretation which claims that some of the prophets viewed the wilderness period as an ideal one.<sup>2</sup> The desert was not an ideal situation for Israel for it was "a land of deserts and pits/a land of drought and deep darkness/a land that none passes through/ where no man dwells".<sup>3</sup> Nor did the prophets view Israel's period in the desert as a period when there was harmony between people and God. Even Jeremiah was aware that right from the early days of Israel's existence the nation had been in rebellion against Yahweh.<sup>4</sup>

The main significance of this oracle was the emphasis it placed on the eagerness with which Israel fled from Egypt, and its early devotion to Yahweh. For the purpose of the lawsuit argument the period of Israel's rebellion against

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1. 2:2,3; MT reads  $\eta\alpha\chi\iota\lambda\alpha$ ; Weiser, "the harvest", Jeremia, 17.

2. cf. the views of the Rechabites, Jer. 35:1-11; see the remarks of de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 13ff.; also Humbert, "Osée le prophète bedouin", RHPR, 1921, 97-118.

3. Jer. 2:6; cf. Hos. 13:5.

4. So 7:21-26; cf. Dt. 9:6ff.

Yahweh in the desert was omitted. In this way Jeremiah wished to contrast the devotion of the people towards Yahweh in the earlier period of their history and the sinfulness of the nation from the Landnahme period onwards. Thus the prophets were not bound to the older traditions, but could remould them according to whatever point they wished to make.<sup>1</sup>

In so far as the prophets wished to confront Israel with their fall from grace then the desert period took on the appearance of an ideal time of faithfulness to Yahweh. Yet this was simply a case of aspect and emphasis. For the prophets were very conscious of Israel's continual failure to obey Yahweh. The desert had been the transition stage between the exodus and the Landnahme, that is between election and the fulfilment of the purpose of that election. So it constituted a time when Yahweh was able to deal with his people in a much less formal way than became the case when the people settled in the land. It was a place of opportunity and a time for Israel to follow Yahweh.<sup>2</sup>

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1. This is also the basic argument of Fohrer, "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JBL, 1961, 309-19.
  2. This concept of the desert period is fundamental to a proper understanding of Deuteronomy. The authors viewed Israel as being in a situation between election and its fulfilment, as such they confronted Israel with a choice—"Behold, I set before you this day a blessing and a curse..... See, I have set before you this day life and good, death and evil." (11:26; 30:15). In this way the desert represented a flexible position before Yahweh, whereas at a later period judgment was directed against the people on account of their failure to make the right choice. For a discussion of the significance of the desert tradition, see Barth, "Zur Bedeutung der Wüstentradition", SVT XV, 1966, 14-23.

From the prophetic standpoint of Yahwism the desert period represented a time when Israel followed after Yahweh as a bride follows her bridegroom. This image denoted faithfulness and must be understood in the light of Jeremiah's subsequent complaints:

" Has a nation changed its gods,  
 even though they are no gods?  
 But my people have changed their glory  
 for that which does not profit.  
 Be appalled, O heavens, at this,  
 be shocked, be utterly desolate, says Yahweh,  
 for my people have committed two evils:  
 they have forsaken me,  
 the fountain of living waters,  
 and hewed out cisterns for themselves,  
 broken cisterns,  
 that can hold no water. "1

" For long ago you broke your yoke  
 and burst your bonds;  
 and you said, 'I will not serve.'  
 Yea, upon every high hill  
 and under every green tree  
 you bowed down as a harlot.  
 Yet I planted you a choice vine,  
 wholly of pure seed.  
 How then have you turned degenerate  
 and become a wild vine?"2

The lawsuit between Yahweh and Israel basically involved the divine anger against Israel because of its apostasy due to the worship of the ba'alim of the land of Canaan. From the days of Elijah the prophetic movement had preached against such practices in Israel, and had constantly faced Israel with the

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1. 2:11-13; v. 12 should perhaps read "be shocked, O earth" in order to provide a parallel to clause a; for the heavens and the earth were witnesses in Yahweh's lawsuit with his people, cf. Dt. 32:1; BH suggests "be shocked O mountains of the earth"; see Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBL, 1959, 288; also Wright, op. cit. 44.  
 2. 2:20, 21.

choice between Yahweh and the ba'alim.<sup>1</sup> So the idealism of the desert period lay in the fact that as yet Israel had not turned from Yahweh to go after the ba'alim of Canaan. To the prophets, who were champions of Yahweh, this facet of Israel's history would have been a point worth emphasising in the days that had befallen the nation. Whatever may have been the internal position between Yahweh and Israel at least there had been virtually no idolatry. This point also found expression in Hosea's message:

" Like grapes in the wilderness,  
 I found Israel.  
 Like the first fruit on the fig tree,  
 in its first season,  
 I saw your fathers.  
 But they came to Ba'al-pe'or,  
 and consecrated themselves to Ba'al,  
 and became detestable like the thing they loved."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the idealism of the desert period lay, not in any nomadic ideal but in "that purity of religious life and that faithfulness to the Covenant, which was associated in Israel's mind with its former life in the desert."<sup>3</sup>

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1. "And Elijah came near to all the people and said, 'How long will you go limping with two different opinions? If Yahweh is God, follow him; but if Ba'al, then follow him.' "-I K.18:21.
  2. 9:10; the similarity of language and idea again demonstrates the influence of Hosea on Jeremiah. It may also be noted that Hosea viewed the desert period as a good period in Israel's history until the irruption of ba'alism into the nation's life.
  3. So de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 14; cf. von Rad's remarks, Theology, I, 281ff. We cannot, however, agree with de Vaux that the prophets envisaged a return to the life of the desert as salvation for the nation. In so far as any return to the desert was anticipated it was purely a temporary incident, after which the people would find a new life with a new covenant in a restored land; cf. Hos. 2:14-23 (16-25); 11:11.

To conclude these remarks on the tradition of the desert period we would emphasise that it is not possible to separate the section dealing with the desert as though it were an independent election tradition.<sup>1</sup> The occasional reference to the desert period on its own<sup>2</sup> cannot be construed as evidence that it once had an independent existence apart from the other aspects of the exodus election tradition. From a rational point of view Israel must have crossed the desert to reach Canaan from Egypt. Such a journey would undoubtedly have impressed itself deeply on the memory and consciousness of the nation.<sup>3</sup> We would not disagree that many of the phrases used about the desert period were used in the cultus, but we would reject the viewpoint which maintains that those phrases originated in the cultus.<sup>4</sup> Israel's election tradition about the exodus and the subsequent events up to the Landnahme belonged to their history rather than their cultus. Eventually they became the basic liturgy of the cultus but even then they always retained their place in the nation's history.

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1. This is the core of Bach's thesis, Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste; see ch. 1 for his remarks on Jeremiah.

2. cf. Dt. 32:10; Hos. 9:10.

3. cf. Ex. 15:22ff.; at this point in the Pentateuch the wanderings in the desert began, the passage is ascribed to J, so Noth, Exodus, 128. cf. Ps. 78:17ff.; this psalm has been given a very early dating by Eissfeldt (see above ch. VII, 2c). Now the fact that the tradition appeared in the earliest sections of the OT does not of course establish its connexion with the exodus, yet it does make it all the more difficult to maintain that it ever had an independent existence outside the main tradition.

4. See von Rad, Theology, I, 281; von Rad's emphasis on Dt. 26:5-9 is too one-sided, for the credo expressed therein cannot be viewed as a comprehensive statement of Israel's beliefs.

On a different occasion Jeremiah reviewed the history of Israel from the exodus as a period of rebellion:<sup>1</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh of hosts,<sup>2</sup> the God of Israel:<sup>3</sup>  
'Add burnt offerings to your sacrifices, and eat the flesh. For in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, I did not speak to your fathers or command them concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this command I gave them, 'Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and you shall be my people; and walk in all the way that I command you, that it may be well with you.' But they did not obey or incline their ear, but walked in their own counsels and the stubbornness of their evil hearts, and went backward and not forward. From the day that your fathers came out of the land of Egypt to this day, I have persistently sent all my servants the prophets to them, day after day; yet they did not listen to me, or incline their ear, but stiffened their<sup>4</sup> neck. They did worse than their fathers.'" <sup>4</sup>

The precise significance of this attack on the sacrificial system is a difficult problem of interpretation. Was Jeremiah rejecting in toto the idea that sacrifices had been offered during the desert period?<sup>5</sup> Or was this an exaggerated statement

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1. 7:21-26; Wildberger links the reference to the exodus election in v. 22 and in 2:2 with Gilgal, which reflects Jeremiah's Benjamite background, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, 63f. Wildberger would view Gilgal as the location of the election tradition, 55ff.
  2. v. 21 this title "Yahweh of hosts" has recently been viewed as originally having been a title of divine majesty taken over from the Canaanites; it was not so much a military designation as a royal one; so J. B. Ross, "Jahweh § BA'OT in Samuel and Psalms", VT, 1967, 76-92.
  3. On the titles of God in Jeremiah see F. Baumgärtel, "Zu den Gottesnamen in den Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel", FS Bertholet, 1-30.
  4. Rohland would discard vv. 25f. as deuteronomistic and also v. 26 is a repetition of v. 24, op. cit. 65n.
  5. cf. Am. 5:25; see the remarks of Skinner, op. cit. 165-84. The whole question of the prophetic attitude to the cultus is fraught with difficulties and cannot possibly be discussed in this thesis.

made in an attempt to bring home to the listeners the enormity of the gap between Israel's practices and Yahweh's commands?<sup>1</sup> However, the main point of the prophecy for this study is the inclusion of the exodus motif in Jeremiah's attack on the nation. Far from there ever having been an ideal time in the beginning of Israel's history, the prophet would point out that the nation had always followed its own course and ignored the laws of Yahweh. Judah's insistence on a correct ritual in the cultus was, therefore, very typical of that rebellious spirit which the nation had always shown towards Yahweh. The important feature in the exodus faith was not a correct attitude towards sacrifice, but an obedience towards the commandments of Yahweh. The prophets had always insisted that the demands of Yahweh lay in the field of ethics and right living, not in a rigid system of cultic services.<sup>2</sup> To know Yahweh was to "do justice and righteousness" and to judge "the cause of the poor and needy".<sup>3</sup> By this standard of behaviour Judah did not know Yahweh, and therefore their emphasis on cultic observations was of no avail before Yahweh.

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1. The principle here surely was that of ignoring every aspect but one of a given situation in order to focus attention on that one aspect. In this way the idea of Israel's devotion in the desert (2:2) ignored the stubbornness of 7:24 in order to contrast the period before the ba'alim with the period when Israel whored after them. So whether Yahweh commanded sacrifices or not is quite irrelevant, what he did command was "obey my voice"! A case of emphasis by exaggeration. In the same way Am. 5:25 is to be explained. The prophets rejected a cultus which was a substitute for the laws of Yahweh.

2. cf. Am. 5:21-24; Hos. 6:6; Mic. 6:6-8; Is. 1:12-17.

3. Jer. 22:15, 16.



One of the outstanding incidents in the ministry of Jeremiah was his buying of a field in Anathoth.<sup>1</sup> This action was a symbol for the promise of Yahweh to restore the land to the people. Having bought the field Jeremiah prayed:

" Ah Lord Yahweh! It is thou who hast made the heavens and the earth by thy great power and by thy outstretched arm! Nothing is too hard for thee, who showest mercy to thousands, but dost requite the guilt of fathers to their children after them, O great and mighty God whose name is Yahweh of hosts, great in counsel and mighty in deed; whose eyes are open to all the ways of men, rewarding every man according to his ways and according to the fruit of his doings; who hast shown signs and wonders in the land of Egypt, and to this day in Israel and among all mankind, and hast made thee a name, as at this day. Thou didst bring thy people Israel out of the land of Egypt with signs and wonders, with a strong hand and outstretched arm, and with great terror; and thou gavest them this land, which thou didst swear to their fathers to give them, a land flowing with milk and honey; and they entered and took possession of it. But they did not obey thy voice or walk in thy law; they did nothing of all thou didst command them to do. Therefore thou hast made all this evil come upon them. Behold, the siege mounds have come up to the city to take it, and because of sword and famine and pestilence the city is given into the hands of the Chaldeans who are fighting against it. Yet thou, O Lord Yahweh, hast said to me, 'Buy the field for money and get witnesses'—though the city<sup>2</sup> is given into the hands of the Chaldeans."

A recital of Yahweh's greatness from his creation of the heavens and the earth<sup>3</sup> through the events of the Heilsgeschichte to the

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1. 32:6-15.

2. 32:17-25.

3. cf. Pss. 33:6-12; 89:1-4(2-5); where the recital of the election faith was preceded by a reference to Yahweh's work in creation.

Babylonian threat to the city, were the component parts of this prayer. The field which Jeremiah bought stood as a guarantee that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land".<sup>1</sup> This action was part of Jeremiah's message of hope to the people, for his ministry was not only a declaration of judgment but also a work of building and planting.

Yahweh had rejected the people<sup>2</sup> but eventually there would be a return to the land. This return would replace the image of the exodus in the people's speech:

"Therefore, behold, the days are coming, says Yahweh, when it shall no longer be said, 'As Yahweh lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt', but 'As Yahweh lives who brought up the people out of the north country and out of all the countries where he had driven them.' For I will bring them back to their own land which I gave to their fathers."<sup>3</sup>

This was the first intimation of a new exodus which later prophets developed in greater detail.<sup>4</sup> The old exodus reference would be discarded because it would have ceased to have had any great significance, but in its place there would be a new

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1. 32:15.

2. 6:30—"refuse silver they are called/for Yahweh has rejected them."

3. 16:14, 15=23:7, 8; although the verses appear to be out of place in the section vv. 10-18, and the idea is mainly one that was propounded by Deutero-Isaiah, it is not necessary to regard it as not belonging to Jeremiah; most probably it belonged to a cult tradition which both prophets referred to, so Weiser, Jeremia, 146.

4. See below chs. IX and X; also Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten", Gottes Offenbarung, 192-204.

event which was comparable to the old exodus and this event would pass into the language of the people. Yet the old purpose of the original exodus would remain, namely the land as a gift to the fathers. Thus there would be a new beginning but it would be allied to the old goal of the Heilsgeschichte.<sup>1</sup>

In passing it may be noted that Jeremiah was familiar with the idea of the land as Israel's "heritage";<sup>2</sup> the land as Yahweh's "heritage";<sup>3</sup> Israel as a "vine";<sup>4</sup> and Israel as Yahweh's "son".<sup>5</sup> The idea of Israel as a harlot going after the ba'alim was, no doubt, an image borrowed from Hosea.<sup>6</sup> The images of Israel as a "bride"<sup>7</sup> and a "harlot"<sup>8</sup> represented on one hand Israel as the faithful people of Yahweh, and on the other Israel as the faithless people forsaking Yahweh in order to follow the ba'alim. The application of the metaphor "virgin" to Israel<sup>9</sup> cannot have had any particular significance for it was also applied to Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

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1. cf. "Auch hier aber ist das Ziel der neuen Erwählung das Wohnen Israels im Lande, so dass jene eschatologische Erneuerung der Heilsgeschichte zugleich die Erfüllung der alten Landverheissung darstellte.", Rohland, op. cit. 74.

2. 17:4.

3. 2:7.

4. 2:21—"choice vine"—soreq; cf. Is. 5:2; "vine"—gephen—cf. 6:9; "vineyard"—kerem—12:10.

5. 31:9; cf. 3:19, 20 where the metaphors "sons", "father", "heritage", "land", "faithless wife", all occur.

6. cf. 2:20 with Hos. 1:2; 4:12.

7. 2:2.

8. 2:20; 3:1-5.

9. cf. 14:17; 18:13; 31:4, 21; the wide frame of reference in these texts probably indicates that Jeremiah used "virgin" purely as a term of reference without any specific indication of a relationship between Israel and the idea of virginity.

10. 46:11.

b) The covenant

The background of the prophetic preaching of the lawsuit between Yahweh and Israel was the covenant.<sup>1</sup> From the time of Elijah onwards the prophets confronted Israel with the dire consequences of the broken covenant. From the viewpoint of the Yahwistic prophets the people of both kingdoms lived under the threat of judgment because they had failed to remain loyal to Yahweh and his covenant.<sup>2</sup> In 722 Samaria had fallen to the Assyrians and the northern kingdom had ceased to exist as an independent state. Both Isaiah and Micah had threatened Judah with the approaching wrath of Yahweh because of the rift between the practical demands of the covenant and the people's way of life. Jeremiah's preaching concerning the broken covenant fitted into the mainstream of this prophetic attitude.<sup>3</sup>

The fundamental demand of Yahweh's covenant was that Israel should have no other gods except Yahweh.<sup>4</sup> Failure to observe this basic demand would render Israel outside the

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1. On the lawsuit see especially Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede", ZTK, 1952, 1ff.
  2. We would reject Whitley's view that the covenant idea only appeared at a late date in ancient Israel, see "Covenant and Commandment in Israel", JNES, 1963, 37-48; a more positive view is taken by Mendenhall (amongst others), "Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition", BA, XVII, 1954, 50-76.
  3. Bright emphasises this facet of Jeremiah's teaching by entitling his chapter on Jeremiah, "The Broken Covenant and the New Covenant", The Kingdom of God, 99-128.
  4. Ex. 20:3=Dt. 5:7; this exclusiveness was the basis of Israel's existence in the world of the ancient Near East, for without such a distinguishing feature there would have been no Israel. Israel was essentially a religious community, see Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine", BA, XXV, 1962, 66-87. On this specific law see Zimmerli, "Das zweite Gebot", Gottes Offenbarung, 234-48.

jurisdiction and protection of Yahweh. Such a state of affairs would mean the ejection of Israel from Canaan which they held in trust from Yahweh. This implication of the covenant faith had been emphasised by the Deuteronomy lawbook. Hence during the period of Jeremiah's ministry there was a general feeling of impending doom among those who were devotees of Yahweh.

The main component of Jeremiah's lawsuit was the complaint directed against Judah for having rejected Yahweh. Technically Judah still worshipped Yahweh in the cultus and placed a great deal of emphasis on the temple in Jerusalem. But from the prophetic standpoint they had forsaken Yahweh. This conclusion was arrived at by the simple deduction of comparing Judah's syncretistic practices with the fundamental rule of Yahwism—"you shall have no other gods besides me". Israel's basic failure to understand the jealous nature of Yahweh and their insistence on identifying the ba'alim with Yahweh had been the cause of the constant friction between people and prophets throughout their pre-exilic history.

The destruction in the land of Israel had been caused by their rejection of Yahweh:

" The lions have roared against him,  
 they have roared loudly.  
 They have made his land a waste;  
 his cities are in ruin, without inhabitant.  
 Have you not brought this upon yourself  
 by forsaking Yahweh your God,<sup>1</sup>  
 when he led you in the way? "

Jeremiah viewed Judah in terms of complete desolation:

" I looked on the earth, and lo, it was waste and void;  
and to the heavens, and they had no light.  
I looked on the mountains, and lo, they were quaking,  
and all the hills moved to and fro.  
I looked, and lo, there was no man,  
and all the birds of the air had fled.  
I looked, and lo, the fruitful land was a desert,  
and all its cities were laid in ruins <sup>1</sup>  
before Yahweh, before his fierce anger."

This impressive image of primeval chaos in the land signified that Israel's Heilsgeschichte was at an end. Indeed the situation was such as to suggest that creation itself had been abandoned.<sup>2</sup> The prophet himself was an assessor of the people:

" I have made you an assayer and tester among my people,  
that you may know and assay their ways.  
They are all stubbornly rebellious,  
going about with slanders;  
they are bronze and iron,  
all of them act corruptly.  
The bellows blow fiercely,  
the lead is consumed by the fire;  
in vain the refining goes on,  
for the wicked are not removed.  
Refuse silver they are called,  
for Yahweh has rejected them."<sup>3</sup>

Jeremiah was also given the mission of warning the people of the curse entailed in the breaking of Yahweh's covenant:

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1. 4:23-26; there is no reason for discarding this as non Jeremianic as Frost does, Old Testament Apocalyptic. Its Origin and Growth, 1952, 53f.

2. cf. Gn. 1:2; see Bright, The Kingdom of God, 114; we would agree with Lindblom's interpretation, "The description of the destruction of the universe is a symbolic representation of the destruction of the land of Judah.", Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 127; see also Skinner, op.cit. 50f.

3. 6:27-30.

" The word that came to Jeremiah from Yahweh: 'Hear the words of this covenant, and speak to the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. You shall say to them, Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel: Cursed be the man who does not heed the words of this covenant which I commanded your fathers when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, from the iron furnace, saying, Listen to my voice, and do all that I command you. So shall you be my people, and I will be your God, that I may perform the oath which I swore to your fathers to give them a land flowing<sub>1</sub> with milk and honey, as at this day.' "

Whether this passage reflected Jeremiah's attitude to Deuteronomy is quite immaterial, for much of the language of Deuteronomy was cultic and predated the actual finding of the lawbook in 621 by many centuries. The troubled times in which Jeremiah preached were, no doubt, viewed by him as evidence that a curse had fallen on the people of Yahweh. The rearguard action of Deuteronomy proved to be quite ineffectual.

Judah was in complete revolt from Yahweh and the complete devotion to the ba'alim had produced a state of affairs which brought forth the remark, "your gods have become as many as your cities, O Judah".<sup>2</sup> Rebellion was rife and the covenant of the fathers lay broken:

" Again Yahweh said to me, 'There is revolt among the men of Judah and the inhabitants of Jerusalem. They have turned back to the iniquities of their forefathers, who refused to hear my words; they have gone after other gods to serve them; the house of Israel and the house of Judah have broken my covenant which I made with their fathers.' " <sup>3</sup>

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1. 11:1-5; on curses and the law see S. Gewirtz, "West Semitic Curses and the Problem of the Origins of Hebrew Law", VT, 1961, 137-58.  
 2. 11:13; cf. 2:28.  
 3. 11:9, 10.

Although on the people's side the covenant had been broken it was Jeremiah's prayer that Yahweh would "remember and not break thy covenant with us".<sup>1</sup> From this statement it is possible to view the covenant relationship between Yahweh and his people in ancient Israel as having been a two-way arrangement. Thus an acknowledgment of sin might well result in Yahweh maintaining his part of the covenant in spite of it having been broken by the people.<sup>2</sup>

However the sins of Judah had proved to be too much for Yahweh's continued tolerance of his people. Jeremiah was warned "do not pray for this people, or lift up a cry or prayer on their behalf, for I will not listen when they call to me in the time of their trouble".<sup>3</sup> Thus the office of intercessor which was part of the prophetic function in Israel was denied to Jeremiah.<sup>4</sup> So less than two centuries after Amos had pronounced an end upon the northern kingdom the southern kingdom was approaching its end. Wrath was the lot of those who did not know Yahweh, and as there was no knowledge of him in Judah it was inevitable that judgment should fall on them.<sup>5</sup>

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1. 14:21.

2. cf. 14:19ff.; note Hos. 11:9—"I will not execute my fierce anger/ I will not again destroy Ephraim/ for I am God and not man/ the Holy One in your midst/ and I will not come to destroy." The popular outlook on the covenant may well have viewed it as an agreement whereby Yahweh guaranteed security without any reciprocal action on the people's part, but the prophets did not maintain such a view. The full significance of Jer. 14:21 is not very clear.

3. 11:14.

4. cf. Gn. 20:7; Jer. 18:20; see Johnson, Cultic Prophet, 59f.

5. cf. 10:25; 5:4.



Finally Yahweh's word was given that he had rejected the house of Judah:

- " Disaster follows hard on disaster,  
the whole land is laid waste.  
Suddenly my tents are destroyed,<sup>1</sup>  
my curtains in a moment."
- " The bellows blow fiercely,  
the lead is consumed by the fire;  
in vain the refining goes on,  
for the wicked are not removed.  
Refuse silver they are called,  
for Yahweh has rejected them."<sup>2</sup>
- " Cut off your hair and cast it away;  
raise a lamentation on the bare heights,  
for Yahweh has rejected and forsaken<sup>3</sup>  
the generation of his wrath."
- " Because your fathers have forsaken me, says  
Yahweh, and have gone after other gods and  
served and worshiped them, and have forsaken  
me and have not kept my law, and because you  
have done worse than your fathers, for behold,  
every one of you follows his stubborn evil  
will, refusing to listen to me; therefore I  
will hurl you out of this land into a land  
which neither you nor your fathers have  
known, and there you shall serve other gods  
day and night, for I will show you no favor."<sup>4</sup>

Thus the tentative offerings of hope<sup>5</sup> had petered out into the silence of a non-receptive nation and the final knell of doom was sounded. With the ejection of Judah from the land of Canaan the Heilsgeschichte, which had found its fulfilment in the gift of the land some six centuries previously, came to an end.

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1.4:20.

2.6:29,30.

3.7:29.

4.16:11-13; this particular recital was a negative form of Dt.26:5-9; that is, one recounted the events of the Heilsgeschichte, the other retold aspects of the judgment and rejection.

5.cf.3:12-14,22;4:1-4;7:5-7.

The proclaiming of the broken covenant was part of Jeremiah's commission "to pluck up and to break down". The note of hope contained in the "to build and to plant" part of that commission became the basis of his teaching on the new covenant. If the old covenant had been broken by the people then the agreement between Yahweh and Israel no longer was in existence. Any positive outlook for the future would have had to ~~have posited~~ a basis for any new relationship which come into being between Yahweh and the people. Having viewed the return from exile as an event comparable with the original exodus from Egypt, it was quite natural for Jeremiah to envisage the new association between God and people in terms of a new covenant.

" Behold, the days are coming, says Yahweh, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and the house of Judah, not like the covenant which I made with their fathers when I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, my covenant which they broke, though I was their husband, says Yahweh. But this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, says Yahweh: I will put my law within them, and I will write it upon their hearts; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. And no longer shall each man teach his neighbour and each his brother, saying, 'Know Yahweh', for they shall all know me, from the least of them to the greatest, says Yahweh; for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." <sup>1</sup>

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1.31:31-34; omit the phrase "and the house of Judah" in v.31 as a later addition, cf. v.33; see Weiser, Jeremia, 272n.

So the future<sup>1</sup> which held dire judgment for the nation also held salvation. Yet the new covenant would not be a renewal of the old Sinai covenant.<sup>2</sup> It would be a new and distinctively different covenant than the one made at Sinai. The old covenant had required a certain response from the Israelites, whereas this new covenant would avoid such a demand by placing Yahweh's Torah within the heart. The failure of the nation to fulfil the demands of the covenant had brought about the destruction of the people and their land. The new covenant side stepped that problem by invoking a new principle. In this way the covenant became an eschatological concept.<sup>3</sup>

The idea of the law being in the heart belonged to Deuteronomy.<sup>4</sup> In this sense Jeremiah was in agreement with certain of the ideas put forward by the Deuteronomists.<sup>5</sup> Presumably Yahweh's Torah in the future covenant was the same as his Torah in the old covenant. The fundamental function of

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1. The phrase "days are coming" referred to the period of judgment (19:6) and also to the period of renewal (31:31); according to von Rad such phrases in Jeremiah were the equivalent of the "day of Yahweh", "ἡμερα", TWNT, II, 946.

2. v. 32; see Weiser, Jeremia, 294ff.

3. See the remarks of Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, in its contemporary setting, ET 1956, ed. 1960, 46f. See also on Ez. 37:26-28 below, ch. IX.

4. cf. Dt. 6:6; 11:18; 30:14; it was a fundamental idea of Deuteronomy, so Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 581; see also Östborn, Tōrā in the Old Testament, 151.

5. The differences between Jeremiah and Deuteronomy have been exaggerated by some scholars; to suggest that D had a less spiritual concept of Yahweh's law than Jeremiah is to ignore Dt. 6:4-7. On the ideas of both Deuteronomy and Jeremiah see von Rad, Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, 90-100.

this new covenant with its Torah in the heart was that each individual might know Yahweh. Jeremiah had complained in the lawsuit that those who handled Yahweh's Torah did not know him.<sup>1</sup> The new covenant would rectify such a state of affairs by removing the need for each man to teach his neighbour. The basic content of such a knowledge of Yahweh involved an acknowledgment of the acts of Yahweh,<sup>2</sup> and not only an intellectual perception of him but also a relationship of intimacy between the knower and the known.<sup>3</sup>

Just as the purpose of the exodus had been summed up in the phrase "I will take you for my people, and I will be your God",<sup>4</sup> so the purpose of this new covenant would be "I will be their God, and they shall be my people". The new covenant would create a new people.<sup>5</sup> This new people would live within a realm where each man was intimate with Yahweh and the sins of the past would have been wiped out.

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1. 2:8.

2. see Bultmann, "YIVWOKO", TWNT, I, 698.

3. The significance of YHWH has been discussed above, see ch. II, 2b; also the remarks of Weiser, Jeremia, 11; and Zimmerli, Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel, Gottes Offenbarung, 41-119.

4. Ex. 6:7.

5. cf. "Der neue Bundesschluss schafft somit ein neues Israel, ein Israel, das Jahwe nicht mehr den Rücken zukehren kann, sondern in der 'Erkenntnis Jahwes' lebt.", Rohland, op. cit. 71; also the remarks of von Rad, "Auch bei Jeremia ist der endliche Gotteszweck ein Volk. Das Neue, das Jeremia gebracht hat, ist die Erkenntnis von der unirdischen Basis des Gottesvolkes, die der Fragwürdigkeit natürlicher Ordnungen entnommen ist. Es geschieht eine neuschöpfende Gottestat. Gott wird-hier wirkt der jeremianische Individualismus gerade auf den neuen Volksgedanken vertiefend und fördernd-die Thora in die Herzen geben, dann wird Israel das Gottesvolk sein.", Das Gottesvolk im Deuteronomium, 100.

This oracle concerning the future contained both elements of the new and of the old.<sup>1</sup> Both the terms 'covenant' and 'torah' belonged to the old Heilsgeschichte but in this context they were interpreted in an eschatological sense.<sup>2</sup> The theocratic idea of Deuteronomy<sup>3</sup> had been projected into the future with the basic purpose of the exodus retained. However much Jeremiah may have viewed the old Heilsgeschichte as a complete failure he was unable to avoid using the terminology of it for his delineation of the nation's future.

The new covenant would be mediated by Yahweh himself.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps Jeremiah had in mind a contrast to the covenant which Josiah had made when the lawbook of Deuteronomy was found.<sup>5</sup> That particular covenant had failed to bring about any lasting effect on the people. This new one would establish the goal of the old exodus and would prove effectual in creating a genuine

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1. On the new elements in Jeremiah's concept see Skinner, op.cit. 328ff.; on the whole passage see W.D. Davies, Torah in the Messianic Age and/or the Age to Come, JBLM VII, 1952, 13-28.
  2. cf. "Die theozentrische Perspektive, in der Jeremia hier vom neuen Bund spricht, bringt es mit sich, dass der geschichtliche Horizont sich ins Eschatologische ausweitet ('nach jenen Tagen'), und der neue Bund als die ideale Vollendung der Heilsordnung Gottes erscheint, die alle Bundesglieder, gross und klein, umfasst.", so Weiser, Jeremia, 296.
  3. On the theocratic idea in Deuteronomy see especially Vriezen, Die Erwählung Israels nach dem Alten Testament, 51-64; esp. 60- "Diese theokratische Idee hat ihren festen Punkt in der Erwählung Gottes."
  4. vv. 31, 33; on this notion see H.W. Wolff, "Jahwe als Bundesvermittler", VT, 1956, 316-20.
  5. II K. 23:1-3; cf. Jer. 34:18; see Rudolph, Jeremia, 170. On Josiah's covenant see Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 41-9; the failure of that covenant may well have influenced Jeremiah's thinking on the idea of a new covenant this time mediated by Yahweh.

theocracy.

Thus the election traditions of Israel were used to shape the outline of the future. The prophetic eschatology was deeply rooted in the sacral traditions of the nation, and especially those traditions which dealt with the election of the nation.<sup>1</sup> However the prophets reshaped the old ideas in the light of experience and gave them an eschatological setting in which Yahweh himself entered the scene of history. The mistakes and failures of the past would be righted in the future economy, and the comparative differences between the old ideas and the new ideas reflected the lessons the prophets had learned from Israel's failures in the past. In Jeremiah the picture of the future was indeed hopeful but it was an extremely sober application of the principle of hope.<sup>2</sup> In a sense the past dealings of Yahweh with Israel were the only way there could be any relationship between God and people. Therefore the images of the future were firmly rooted in the acts of the past. Certain new elements were developed in order to meet the failures which had plagued Israel's history but these new aspects invariably revealed a deep understanding of the old traditions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. This is the main contention of Rohland's thesis; see the remarks of Eichrodt, Theology, I, 59.

2. In agreement with von Rad, Theology, II, 212.

3. 31:31-4 was paraphrased in 32:37-41 which may be regarded as secondary material in Jeremiah, see Miller, op. cit. 66, 173ff.; Becker, Gottesfurcht im AT, 165ff.; von Rad, Theology, II, 214f.

Jeremiah's declaration of a new covenant in the future has been viewed by some scholars as evidence that Jeremiah considered himself to be the Mosaic prophet spoken of in the law of Deuteronomy.<sup>1</sup> That particular law read thus:

"Yahweh your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among you, from your brethren—him you shall heed—.... I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their brethren; and I will put my words in his mouth, and he shall<sup>2</sup> speak to them all that I command him."

It has been argued that this law reflected the institution of a prophetic office.<sup>3</sup> That is, a continuity of the role of the prophet in ancient Israel. In this sense Deuteronomy can be viewed as the proclamation of the Mosaic prophetic office.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, the law in Deuteronomy may only have been an attempt to legislate for the prophetic office in order to fit the phenomenon of prophecy into the Deuteronomic ideology of a unified way of life.<sup>5</sup>

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1. See especially Holladay, "The Background of Jeremiah's Self-understanding: Moses, Samuel, and Psalm 22", JBL, 1964, 153-64; also his "Jeremiah and Moses—Further Observations", JBL, 1966, 17-27. On the later development of the idea see H.M. Teeple, The Mosaic Eschatological Prophet, JBLM X, 1957.
  2. Dt. 18:15, 18; cf. Num. 12:6-8; Eissfeldt includes Num. 12 (parts of the chapter) in the oldest narrative strand of the Pentateuch, (his L source), Introduction, 195.
  3. So Kraus, Worship in Israel, 106ff.
  4. Kraus, ibid. 109; that Deuteronomy purported to be an address by Moses to Israel may be viewed as a possible argument in favour of the view put forward by Kraus, though there are equally good arguments for the Mosaic setting of Deuteronomy without resort to this particular one.
  5. Such is the argument of Noth, "Office and Vocation in the OT", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 247n.; von Rad thinks that the idea of an eschatological prophetic mediator may have been meant by Dt. 18:15ff., so Deuteronomy, 123.

The role of mediator was part of the function of the prophet in ancient Israel.<sup>1</sup> This mediatorship often involved the covenant.<sup>2</sup> The outstanding examples of this practice in Israel were Samuel,<sup>3</sup> and Elijah.<sup>4</sup> There was also a tradition in the northern kingdom which viewed Moses as a prophet.<sup>5</sup> In this sense Moses was the great prophetic covenant mediator. It is possible that there was a tradition in ancient Israel that viewed the prophets as the continuation of the Mosaic covenant mediator idea, but the information available is far too obscure to pronounce on the subject with any certainty.<sup>6</sup>

The law in Deuteronomy concerning the prophet who would be like Moses may have embodied the hope for a new Moses rather than the assertion of a continuous line of Mosaic prophets.<sup>7</sup> If such was the case then it is quite possible that Jeremiah may have thought of himself in terms of such a person. Such an identification would lend force to his proclamation of a new covenant in the future. However, the subject is far

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1. This point has been discussed in various notes above; see also the remarks of von Rad, Theology, II, 403f.
  2. See the remarks of Newman, "The Prophetic Call of Samuel", op.cit. 86-97; as well as those of Kraus, op.cit. 106ff.
  3. See esp. I Sam. 12; it is worth noting that Samuel's name was linked with that of Moses in Ps. 99:6 and Jer. 15:1.
  4. I K. 18:30-40; see Alt, "Das Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel", KSGVI, II, 135-49.
  5. Hos. 12:13(14); cf. Dt. 18:15; 34:10; the influence of these on Jeremiah lends weight to the argument.
  6. The cautiousness of Noth is to be preferred to the confident assertions of Kraus.
  7. This would mean that  $\alpha' \rho' \eta$  is not to be understood in a distributive sense as Kraus understands it, op.cit. 107; von Rad is uncertain about the sense of the word but thinks it may have contained a promise of a new Moses, Theology, II, 26ln.



too uncertain to make any comments of a decisive nature. We would suggest that Jeremiah's attitude to the return as an event which would replace the exodus and his teaching about the new covenant do tend towards the idea that his role as a prophet may well have been a Mosaic one. Apart from such slight indications there is little else to be said on the subject.

c) The remnant

Occasionally Jeremiah viewed the future with tentative feelings of hope. This element of hope belonged to the positive side of his preaching, that is, to the 'building and planting' aspect of his call. The insistent emphasis on divine judgment in the message of the prophets of Israel enabled them to declare a word of hope from time to time.<sup>1</sup> By putting forth their oracles of doom they ensured that the word of hope would not be misconstrued by the people. The ability of the nation to fasten on to ideas of salvation at the expense of judgment was one of the main reasons why the prophetic oracles concentrated so much on the theme of Yahweh's judgment against his sinful people. Yet hope was not absent from the prophetic word; they were not one-sided extremists but men who were concerned with declaring both salvation and retribution.

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1. cf. "That Israel's faith could survive at all, that Israel could live to hope in anything at all, was in good part due to prophets who so ruthlessly demolished all false hope.", Bright, The Kingdom of God, 124.

One image of hope in the prophets was their teaching about a remnant of the people of Israel.<sup>1</sup> In Jeremiah this feature also had its place.<sup>2</sup> A further element of hope may be found in one of his poems which used the keyword "return".<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah viewed apostasy and repentance as correlatives, as different aspects of the same idea.<sup>4</sup> A whisper of hope lay in the statement:

" For thus says Yahweh, 'The whole land shall be a desolation; yet I will not make a full end.'<sup>5</sup>

Jeremiah's letter to the exiles was an expression of his belief in a future for Israel.<sup>6</sup> If on occasions his message was one of total destruction, such as the parable of the potter,<sup>7</sup> or the vision of the devastated earth,<sup>8</sup> it must not be simply assumed that the words of hope were later additions. For the tension between both viewpoints undoubtedly existed in the

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1. On this idea see above ch. VI, 2b.
  2. On the remnant in Jeremiah, see Warne, The Origin, Development and Significance of the Concept of the Remnant in the OT, 109-18.
  3. 3:1-4:4; see Muilenburg, "A study in Hebrew rhetoric: repetition and style", SVT I, 1953, 104f.
  4. For the use of שׁוּב in Jeremiah see Holladay, The Root ŠUBH in the OT, 128-39.
  5. 4:27; also 5:10, 18; Hyatt maintains that the word "not" has been inserted into 5:10 in order to mitigate the idea of complete judgment, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Jeremiah", IB, V, 847; however there does not appear to be any good reason for such a viewpoint.
  6. 29:1ff.; "for thus says Yahweh, I will fulfil to you my promise and bring you back to this place", v. 10.
  7. The parable of the potter in 18:1-11 held out possibilities of return and salvation, but the enacted parable of the potter's flask in 19 suggested total destruction for people and city.
  8. 4:23-26 applying this vision of universal destruction to Judah in a specific sense.

prophet's own mind, and any facile rejection of positive elements in Jeremiah's work constitutes an inadequate approach to the study of the prophetic movement.<sup>1</sup>

The vision of the two baskets of figs represented one of the main remnant motifs in Jeremiah.<sup>2</sup> The bad figs were those in Israel who did not go into captivity but remained behind in the land. The good figs represented the exiles:

" Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel: Like these good figs, so I will regard as good the exiles from Judah, whom I have sent away from this place to the land of the Chaldeans. I will set my eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them back to this land. I will build them up, and not tear them down; I will plant them, and not uproot them. I will give them a heart to know that I am Yahweh; and they shall be my people and I will be their God, for they shall return to me with their whole heart."

The contrast between the two groups was that of the future prospects of each group.<sup>4</sup> With the exiles in Babylon lay the future hopes of Israel, whilst those at home were doomed to destruction.

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1. On this point see the remarks of Skinner, *op. cit.* 74ff. esp. "we must recognise that both elements exist side by side in the prophetic writings, though we may not be able to see how the two were combined in the minds of the prophets themselves", 77.
  2. 24; Hyatt claims that this chapter was written by the Deuteronomists and expressed an attitude inconsistent with that of Jeremiah, *IB*, V, 997; we would reject this claim.
  3. 24:5-7; cf. *Ez.* 11:14-21; see the remarks of Miller, *op. cit.* 96f.
  4. So P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, KAT X, 1928, 245; cf. the view expressed by Jeremiah on another occasion—"If you will remain in this land, then I will build you up and not pull you down; I will plant you, and not pluck you up; for I repent of the evil which I did to you"—42:10. With reference to the good figs in 24 Welch would explain Jeremiah's viewpoint as having been a case of rejecting the insular religious confidence of the Judeans based on the presence of the temple, *op. cit.* 164.

The image of Israel as a vine planted by Yahweh was a distinctive metaphor for the nation's election.<sup>1</sup> It was an image that appears to have had a northern setting, though the southern prophet Isaiah was thoroughly acquainted with it.<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah used the image to describe Israel as it was in the early days of its election, though like Isaiah he had to admit that the nation had turned sour in the eyes of Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> The metaphor was slightly varied by him with reference to the remnant:

" Thus says Yahweh of hosts:  
 'Glean thoroughly as a vine  
 the remnant of Israel;  
 like a grape-gatherer, pass your hand again  
 over its branches.'"<sup>4</sup>

On another occasion the simile was used to denote the barren state of the nation:

" When I would gather them, says Yahweh,  
 there are no grapes on the vine,  
 nor figs on the fig tree;  
 even the leaves are withered,  
 and what I gave them has passed away from them."<sup>5</sup>

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1. see Zimmerli, "Das Gotteswort des Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 133-47; esp. 134f.; also Rohland, op.cit. 70.
  2. For the northern setting see Ps. 80:8-15 (9-16) which was a psalm from the northern kingdom, Weiser, The Psalms, 547; cf. Hos. 10:1; 9:10; also Gn. 49:11; it provided the material for one of Isaiah's most striking parables, Is. 5:1-7. We would maintain that the various terms for vine and vineyard (e.g. kerem, gephen, soreq) belonged to the one election idea, and their variety may be explained as an example of the fertility of the Israelite imagination with reference to Israel's relationship to Yahweh.
  3. 2:21; cf. Is. 5:2, 4, 7.
  4. 6:9; MT reads "they shall glean"; see BH which is followed by Weiser, Jeremia, 57; and the RSV.
  5. 8:13; delete clause e as it appears to be a corruption, so BH; Weiser would read y<sup>e</sup>ba'arum for ya'abrum, Jeremia, 76n.

Such references to a remnant of Israel were entirely concerned with the idea of a totality of destruction<sup>1</sup> or the complete failure of the nation.

After the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 the people who remained in the land of Judah were termed the remnant.<sup>2</sup> Towards this remnant Jeremiah exercised a ministry of assurance:

" Thus says Yahweh, the God of Israel.....  
If you will remain in this land, then I will build you up and not pull you down; I will plant you, and not pluck you up; for I repent of the evil which I did to you. Do not fear the king of Babylon, of whom you are afraid; do not fear him, says Yahweh, for I am with you, to save you and to deliver you from his hand. I will grant you mercy, that he may have mercy on you and let you remain in your own land."

Although this particular remnant did not belong to the remnant of hope which had been taken to Babylon, their situation illustrates the principle of grace towards a remaining few which constituted the basis of the remnant idea in the Old Testament.

One of the outstanding examples of the remnant idea in Jeremiah's life and preaching was his buying of a field in Anathoth.<sup>4</sup> This purchase was a symbol that "houses and fields and vineyards shall again be bought in this land".<sup>5</sup> The bought field constituted an earnest of Yahweh's restoration of Israel

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1. cf. 15:9.

2. 42:2; here remnant is applied to what was essentially a group of survivors.

3. 42:9-12.

4. 32:6-15.

5. 32:15.

to its own land in the future. The small portion of the land which was then owned by Jeremiah became a figure for the future. In this way the field represented the remnant idea, for it was all that remained to Judah during the long exile. It was a claim for ownership which could be implemented at a later period.

The idea of a remnant finding grace from Yahweh was used by Jeremiah to preface his prophecies on the restoration of Israel in the future.<sup>1</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh:

'The people who survived the sword  
found grace in the wilderness;  
when Israel sought for rest,<sup>2</sup>

Yahweh appeared to him from afar.

I have loved you with an everlasting love;  
therefore I have continued my faithfulness to you.  
Again I will build you, and you shall be built,  
O virgin Israel!

Again you shall adorn yourself with timbrels,  
and shall go forth in the dance of the merry-makers.

Again you shall plant vineyards  
upon the mountains of Samaria;  
and planters shall plant,  
and shall enjoy the fruit.<sup>3</sup>

For there shall be a day when watchmen will call  
in the hill country of Ephraim:

'Arise, and let us go up to Zion,  
to Yahweh our God.'"

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1. 31:2-6; on the idea of grace in the OT see K.W. Neubauer, Der Stamm CH N N im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments, Diss. 1964; esp. 135ff. on grace in Jeremiah.

2. v.2 is quite obscure; Bach translates it "Yahweh found in the desert/a people who survived the sword/as he went, Israel, to create peace for him", Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste; followed by Rohland, op.cit. 30f., 76f. Weiser views the translation of 2d as being uncertain, Jeremia, 269n.; v.3a read "to him" with LXX instead of MT "to me"; see BH.

3. v.5cd, BH suggests "the planters of plants shall enjoy"; Weiser reads "Die die Pflanzungen angelegt haben, sollen sie geniessen", Jeremia, 270.

Here the remnant, that is the survivors, of northern Israel after the fall of Samaria in 722<sup>1</sup> provided Jeremiah with an image for his view of the future role that the north would have. The restoration of the northern kingdom would be akin to the first exodus when Israel experienced Yahweh's love in the desert.<sup>2</sup> The picture of the rebuilding of northern Israel was composed of elements taken from the sacral tradition of the theophany at Sinai.<sup>3</sup>

The concept of the remnant was taken up by Jeremiah and used rather sparingly because of the nature of his message of judgment. However he advanced Isaiah's idea of a remnant by specifically applying the notion to the people who had been deported to Babylon. In the earlier period of his ministry he was uncertain about the question of deliverance or total destruction, but with the passage of time he was able to envisage salvation for a few. These few, whether in Babylon or Judah, would find grace before Yahweh. The few in Babylon would eventually return to their homeland and there Yahweh would rebuild the kingdom of Israel and Judah.<sup>4</sup>

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1. We would agree in relating v.2 to the fall of Samaria in 722 with Rohland, *op.cit.* 77; see also Weiser, *Jeremia*, 283; Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 163ff.
  2. cf. 2:2; Hos. 2:14ff. (16ff.); the motif of 'finding favour' occurs five times in Ex. 33:12-17.
  3. On this particular point see especially the remarks of Weiser, *Jeremia*, 283ff.; "Das neue Heil wird Ereignis im Rahmen des alten. Der Grund dafür und zugleich das Spiegel der Gewissheit ruht in der Gegenwart Gottes, der in der Theophanie dem Volk 'von fernher' erscheint und sein Wesen offenbart.", 284.
  4. On the rebuilding of the kingdom see below 3b.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

If Jeremiah placed less emphasis on the tradition of the election of David and his city than Isaiah did, it was because the historical conditions were totally different, not because the tradition was alien to him.<sup>1</sup> In a period of total political disintegration and national crisis Jeremiah had little opportunity for prophecies of glorious content for the royal house of Judah. Undoubtedly his experience of life under the last few kings of Judah had not convinced him of any outstanding qualities in the successors to the throne of David. Even the godly Josiah had got himself killed in a foolhardy expedition against the Egyptian Necho. Isaiah's reading of the events of his time had convinced him that Jerusalem would survive, in the same way Jeremiah saw that if Judah persisted in the policies of resistance to Babylon then disaster would most certainly befall the nation and the land. Jeremiah preached his word of divine judgment against both king and people. Yet he was also aware of the need for a positive message of salvation, a word which would "build and plant" for the future. The Heilsgeschichte may have been at an end but the prophets were constantly aware that Yahweh could act in a new way and to this end they gave forth a word of hope to the few who were still faithful to Yahweh. So we find in Jeremiah some strands of positive thinking about the future of the city and its monarch.

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1. We view Jeremiah's limited use of the tradition to reflect his historical situation rather than von Rad's assertion that it was an alien tradition in his outlook, Theology, II, 192.



a) The king<sup>1</sup>

Yahweh's rejection of Judah had been balanced in the teaching of Jeremiah by his view of a renewal of the nation's election in a coming period. In the same way his teaching about the rejection of the king<sup>2</sup> was balanced by his view of a future king:

" Behold, the days are coming, says Yahweh, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah will be saved, and Israel will dwell securely. And this is the name by which he will<sub>3</sub> be called: 'Yahweh is our righteousness'."

This image of the coming king has traces of the influence of both Isaiah<sup>4</sup> and Micah.<sup>5</sup> His wise rule would bring about justice and righteousness in the land and Israel would find security. All of this was in complete contrast to Judah's way of life under its last few kings. Hence the allusion to Zedekiah in the name of this coming Davidic ruler. Jeremiah had no reason for thinking kindly of Zedekiah, for the king had on one occasion handed him over to the princes with the result that he had been thrown into a disused cistern.<sup>6</sup>

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1. On this section see Rohland, *op. cit.* 249-53; also M. Sekine, "Davidsbund und Sinaibund bei Jeremia", *VT*, 1959, 47-57.

2. cf. 22:24-30.

3. 23:5,6; Volz considers this passage does not belong to Jeremiah, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, 233; Skinner is uncertain about it, *op. cit.* 310-19; we see no adequate reason for maintaining its inauthenticity.

4. cf. Is. 9:2-7(1-6); 11:1-9.

5. cf. Mic. 5:2-5(1-4).

6. 38:1-6; "King Zedekiah said, 'Behold, he is in your hands; for the king can do nothing against you.' "-v. 5.

It may well be that Jeremiah did not view this future king in terms of an eschatological<sup>1</sup> messianic figure so much as a person who would embody the Yahwistic demands of the royal occupant of David's throne. Thus Jeremiah had on one occasion confronted the king with an oracle delineating the characteristics of the rightful king:

" And to the house of the king of Judah say,  
 'Hear the word of Yahweh, O house of David!  
 Thus says Yahweh:  
 'Execute justice in the morning,  
 and deliver from the hand of the oppressor  
 him who has been robbed,  
 lest my wrath go forth like fire,  
 and burn with none to quench it,<sup>2</sup>  
 because of your evil doings.' "

The prophetic attitude towards the occupant of the throne in Jerusalem had always been one of toleration in so far as the king executed his duties in strict obedience to the demands of the Yahwistic faith. In this sense there was no ideal king only a demand for each king to be the true embodiment of a faithful, righteous servant of Israel's God. With the passage of time and the failure of each king to live up to this standard there came into the prophetic message an expectation of hope in a coming royal figure who would meet these demands. This ideal king, ideal in the sense of complete conformity to Yahwism, would create a kingdom similar to that ruled over by

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1. The phrase "the days are coming" in v. 5 is considered not to be understood eschatologically by both Rudolph, Jeremia, 127; and Weiser, Jeremia, 204.
  2. 21:11, 12; read v. 11 as "concerning the house of Judah" with LXX, see BH; Weiser omits v. 12g as a later addition, Jeremia, 187n.; see BH.

David in the early days of the monarchy. With time this hope became less an historical expectation and more an eschatological concept. It is rather difficult to pinpoint the crystallisation of the historical hope into the eschatological figure but this metamorphosis probably developed considerably during the exile, so that by the time of the post-exilic prophet Zechariah the branch had become a technical term for the messiah.<sup>1</sup> It is probably true to say that there were elements of the historical, the ideal, and the eschatological in the prophetic thinking about the future Davidic figure from the beginning of the concept.<sup>2</sup>

Further intimations about the future Davidic occupant of the throne include:

"And it shall come to pass in that day, says Yahweh of hosts, that I will break off the yoke from their neck, and I will burst their bonds, and strangers shall no more make servants of them. But they shall serve Yahweh their God and David their king, whom I will raise up for them."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Zec. 3:8; 6:12; so Weiser, *Jeremia*, 204n.
  2. The whole question of eschatology in the pre-exilic prophets is a subject on which there has been much discussion with very little of a definitive nature emerging from it all. Most of the pre-exilic messianic (so-called) passages have been consigned to a post-exilic date by Mowinkel, *He That Cometh*, 15-20. The paucity of material on this subject in the OT makes it very difficult to assess what exactly were the current ideas during the pre-exilic period on this subject. On the question of OT eschatology see Vriezen, "Prophecy and Eschatology", *SVT I*, 1953, 199-229; Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, 360-75; Frost, "Eschatology and Myth", *VT*, 1952, 70-80.
  3. 30:8, 9; MT reads in v. 8 "your neck and your bonds"; this reading follows LXX and RSV. Hyatt regards these verses as not belonging to Jeremiah, *IB*, V, 786; also Lindblom, *op. cit.* 374n.; cf. Rudolph, *Jeremia*, 161; we see no adequate reason for rejecting it, see Rohland, *op. cit.* 66f.; 252f.

" Thus says Yahweh:  
 Behold I will restore the fortunes of the tents of Jacob,  
 and have compassion on his dwellings;  
 the city shall be rebuilt upon its mound,  
 and the palace shall stand where it used to be.  
 Out of them shall come songs of thanksgiving,  
 and the voices of those who make merry.  
 I will multiply them, and they shall not be few;  
 I will make them honored, and they shall not be small.  
 Their children shall be as they were of old,  
 and their congregation shall be established before me;  
 and I will punish all who oppress them.  
 Their prince shall be one of themselves,  
 their ruler shall come forth from their midst;  
 I will make him draw near, and he shall approach me,  
 for who would dare of himself to approach me?  
 says Yahweh.  
 And you shall be my people,<sup>1</sup>  
 and I will be your God."

These prophecies concerned the northern kingdom and represented a very natural hope for a release from foreign domination and a leader who would come from among themselves.<sup>2</sup> However the leader was viewed less in political terms and more in the role of the earlier religious sacral figure of Israel's history.<sup>3</sup> The influence of Micah can again be detected in this last oracle.<sup>4</sup> The future would bring about a situation in which the

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1.30:18-22; Hyatt rejects this section also as a later insertion, IB, V, 786; again we must insist that there is no good argument for such a viewpoint; so that we agree with Weiser in accepting it as having come from Jeremiah, Jeremia, 281f.

2. v. 21; cf. Dt. 17:15.

3. See the remarks of Weiser, especially, "Jeremia bewegt sich hier nicht in staatspolitischen, sondern in religiös-sakralen Gedankenreihen, die einerseits von der Tradition her, andererseits durch die theozentrische Perspektive bestimmt sind, dass Gott es ist, der selbst und allein diese Wendung herbeiführt (v. 18). Dies gilt auch für die Verheissung von v. 21, wo im Blick auf die gegenwärtige Not der Fremdherrschaft des Volkes ein Herrscher aus den eigenen Reihen in Aussicht gestellt wird.", Jeremia, 281.

4. cf. }  $\omega$  in v. 21 with Mic. 5:2(1).

two kingdoms would be restored in their own land and ruled over by a Davidic leader.<sup>1</sup>

Jeremiah's view of the future Davidic king was always held within the context of the new restored Israel. Yahweh's restoration of the nation was the basis for the new king.<sup>2</sup> A new exodus would bring the people of both kingdoms back to Israel and there they would become Yahweh's people and he would become their God. In other words, the whole purpose of the exodus election would ultimately be fulfilled.<sup>3</sup> Within such a context the new ruler would assume the throne of David and establish both justice and security in the land.

b) The city<sup>4</sup>

The main trend of Jeremiah's oracles about Zion was that of judgment.<sup>5</sup> Up till his time Jerusalem had survived various invasions and sieges to such an extent that the people had come

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1. Lindblom would regard the ruler of 30:21 "as the first ruler after the foundation of the new community", and considers that his relationship to the messianic king is quite obscure, op.cit. 374.

2. cf. Weiser's remarks, "Der Neuschöpfung des Gottesvolkes entspricht die Neugründung der davidischen Königsherrschaft durch Jahwe. Darin besteht das Charakteristikum der neuen heilsgeschichtlichen Epoche.", Jeremia, 204. K  
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3. cf. 30:22; 31:33; the full significance of the terms of 30:18-21 are quite obscure, whether the prophet had in mind a restored Samaria with a sacral leader approaching Yahweh on behalf of his people apart from the Davidic king in Zion is not at all clear. The obscurity probably existed in the prophet's own mind as well; his outlook on the future was most probably a very tentative approach to a subject he could only visualise in vague forms.

4. On this particular section see the remarks of Rohland, op.cit. 190-3.

5. cf. 4:5-8; 6:1-8; 9:7-11; 19:1-9; 21:3-10; 26:6.

to believe the city to be inviolable.<sup>1</sup> This belief had been bolstered by Isaiah's prophecies concerning Yahweh's defence of the city,<sup>2</sup> the failure of Micah's oracle of destruction against the city to be realised,<sup>3</sup> and the presence of the ark of Yahweh of hosts in the city. This dogma had produced a state of complacency in the people so that Jeremiah was confronted by the refrain "this is the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh, the temple of Yahweh"<sup>4</sup> when he preached against the city.

Jeremiah's temple speech cannot be regarded as an attack on the temple or a rejection of the cultus per se.<sup>5</sup> For Jeremiah the temple was Yahweh's house,<sup>6</sup> yet this was no guarantee of protection against the violation of the sanctuary should the people fail to practice the justice demanded by the laws of Yahweh.<sup>7</sup> Jeremiah maintained that Judah's syncretistic practices and immorality had invalidated any claim to divine

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1. This question has been discussed above, see ch. VI, 3b.

2. cf. Is. 29:5-8; 31:4,5; in so far as Isaiah viewed Zion as inviolable it can only be maintained for the situations he had in view and not converted into a dogma valid for all time.

3. cf. Mic. 3:12 with Jer. 26:18f.

4. 7:4; presumably this refrain was a popular saying of Jeremiah's day, a sort of catchword or even a lucky charm.

5. In this we would agree with the remarks of Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 404ff., about the need to exercise caution when contrasting the religion of the people and that of the prophets. Basically both groups believed in Yahwism; the point of departure was that the people believed it was quite possible to combine both Yahwism and ba'alism. Such a practice was anathema for the prophets who took their stand on the old sacral law "you shall have no other gods besides me".

6. As is made quite clear by the references to "my name.... the house which is called by my name" in 7:10, 11, 12, 14.

7. 7:5, 6.

protection. To demonstrate this point he referred to the example of the destruction of the sanctuary at Shiloh:

" Go now to my place that was in Shiloh, where I made my name dwell at first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel....therefore I will do to the house which is called by my name, and in which you trust, and to the place which I gave to you<sup>1</sup> and to your fathers, as I did to Shiloh."

Shiloh had been the main sanctuary of ancient Israel at the period around the outset of the monarchy.<sup>2</sup> The ark had resided there and the prophet Samuel had ministered there also. However circa 1050 Shiloh had been destroyed in spite of these factors.<sup>3</sup> Thus the presence of the ark in the sanctuary of Yahweh was no guarantee against destruction. To the prophets of Israel such a viewpoint would have been both logical and the only possible interpretation from a Yahwistic standpoint. Therefore it is not necessary to view Jeremiah's attack against the dogma of Zion's inviolability as an attack on, and a rejection of, the David-Zion election tradition.

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1. 7:12,14; cf. 26:4-6; "if you will not listen to me.....then I will make this house like Shiloh, and I will make this city a curse for all the nations of the earth."

2. See I Sam. 1-4 esp. 4:3,4; cf. Ps. 78:59ff.

3. Apart from retrospective statements in the OT about this event (Jer. 7:12; 26:6; Ps. 78:60) nothing is known about it. Archaeology has shown that Shiloh was destroyed about 1050 B.C., see Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, 118; also Burrows, What Mean These Stones?, 251. It is quite possible that the background to Jeremiah's temple speech was a sudden turning to the temple for protection by the people after Josiah was killed at Megiddo in 609, see Weiser, Jeremia, 67. Bright also would date 7:2-15 (along with 26:1ff.) in the year 609, see The Kingdom of God, 112n.

Although Jeremiah did not view the temple as a talisman<sup>1</sup> guaranteeing divine protection to the nation, he did view it as the house of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> As such the behaviour of the people was all the more reprehensible:

" Both prophet and priest are ungodly;  
even in my house have I found their wickedness,<sup>3</sup>  
says Yahweh."

Yet the presence of Yahweh in his temple was not a permanent situation, but one which could be changed depending upon the actions of the nation.<sup>4</sup> Thus at a later date it could be said:

" I have forsaken my house,  
I have abandoned my heritage;  
I have given the beloved of my soul<sup>5</sup>  
into the hands of her enemies."

This attitude towards the temple and the divine presence in Judah was ultimately to prove vital to the survival and development of the Israelite religion, especially during the Exile when the land lay desolate and the temple in ruins. Once it had been demonstrated that Yahweh was not bound to any one physical location it became possible for the pious to worship

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1. On this question see Hentschke, "Der Tempel ist für Jeremia kein Talisman, der die Nähe Jahwes und damit seinen Schutz garantiert (7:4); vielmehr ist das Verhältnis Jahwes zum Tempel durch das Verhalten des dort anbetenden Volkes mit bestimmt. Jeremia bekämpft hier die naturhafte Bindung Gottes an einen heiligen Ort, genauso wie er die Verzerrung des Verhältnisse Jahwes zu Israel im Sinne naturhaft unlösbarer Bindung bekämpfte. In Gegensatz zu der Volksfrömmigkeit umfasst bei Jeremia das Handeln Jahwes die gesamte Völkerwelt, der gegenüber er zum Propheten eingesetzt ist (1:5, 10)", Die Stellung der vorexilischen Schriftpropheten zum Kultus, 65.

2. See Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, 69-108 on the subject of Jeremiah and the temple.

3. 23:11.

4. cf. 26:1-6.

5. 12:7.



him even when outside their own land. This factor was a main feature in the religion of the Jews of the Diaspora centuries after Jeremiah.

In spite of declaring a judgment of destruction against Zion, Jeremiah held out a word of hope and restoration for the city as well. After a period of exile<sup>1</sup> the people would come back to their own land and there rebuild their nation again.

" I will again have compassion on them, and I will bring them again each to his heritage and each to his land. And it shall come to pass, if they will diligently learn the ways of my people, to swear by my name, 'As Yahweh lives', even as they taught my people to swear by Ba'al, then they shall<sub>2</sub> be built up in the midst of my people."

" Return, O faithless children, says Yahweh; for I am your master (your ba'al); I will take you, one from a city and two from a family, and I will bring you to Zion. And I will give you shepherds after my own heart, who will feed you with knowledge and understanding. And when you have multiplied and increased in the land, in those days, says Yahweh, they shall no more say, 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh.' It shall not come to mind, or be remembered, or missed; it shall not be made again. At that time Jerusalem shall be called the throne of Yahweh, and all nations shall gather to it, to the presence of Yahweh in Jerusalem, and they shall no more stubbornly follow their own evil heart. In those days the house of Judah shall join the house of Israel, and together they shall come from the land of the north to the land, that I gave your fathers for a heritage."<sup>3</sup>

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1. On the seventy years of 29:10 see the remarks of Whitley, "The Term Seventy Years Captivity", VT, 1954, 60-72.
  2. 12:15, 16; this strange passage appears to have been directed at the nations around about Israel; Hyatt discards it as secondary, IB, V, 786; however see the comments of Weiser, Jeremia, 113f.
  3. 3:14-18; LXX omits "to the name of Yahweh to Jerusalem" in v. 17; Hyatt views the passage as secondary, op.cit. 786; see Rohland, op.cit. 192f.

The oath "Yahweh lives" reflected the election faith<sup>1</sup> in so far as it attested to a faith in Yahweh as opposed to the gods of the nations.<sup>2</sup> As a Benjaminite Jeremiah was interested in the future fate of the northern kingdom.<sup>3</sup> From the time of Amos onwards the prophets had proclaimed a future reunion of the northern kingdom with the southern kingdom.<sup>4</sup> This reunited kingdom would be ruled over by the legitimate heir to the Davidic throne. Jeremiah stood within this tradition although his vision of the future lacked some of the glorious terms applied to it by Isaiah. Jerusalem would be restored and would be called "the throne of Yahweh".<sup>5</sup> As the whole city would be the throne of Yahweh there would, obviously, be no further need for the sacral cult object, the ark of the covenant of Yahweh.

The future situation in Israel would be a restored kingdom consisting of both the north and the south in which

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1. Vawter maintains that this formula was Jeremiah's implicit allusion to the doctrine of election, The Conscience of Israel, 272.
  2. cf. 4:2; 5:2; 12:16; 16:14, 15; 23:7, 8; 38:16; on the idea of the living God in the OT, see H-J. Kraus, "Der lebendige Gott", EvTh, 1967, 169-200; esp. 172ff. on the formula in Jeremiah.
  3. cf. 1:1; 3:18; 23:6; 30:18; 31:4-6. Although the passage in 3:15-18 interrupts the flow of thought in vv. 14, 19, there is no need to regard the passage as non-genuine; most probably it is out of place in its present setting. It does however reflect some of the basic ideas of Jeremiah and therefore should not be denied to him.
  4. cf. Am. 9:11; Hos. 1:11(2:2); 3:4, 5(?); Is. 9:7(6); 11:1; Mic. 5:2(1); see the comments on these texts made above in part II of this thesis.
  5. Jer. 3:17; the new name of Jerusalem would be 'kissē Yahweh', cf. 'Yahweh shammah', Ez. 48:35; cf. Rohland's remark, "Dass hier die Stadt einen neuen Namen erhält, zeigt bei der Bedeutung, die die Antike dem Namen zumass, zugleich, dass es sich tatsächlich um einen völligen Neuanfang handelt.", op.cit. 193.

the people of the northern section of the kingdom would make pilgrimages to Zion in the south.

" Again you shall plant vineyards  
upon the mountains of Samaria;  
the planters shall plant  
and shall enjoy the fruit.  
For there shall be a day when watchmen will call  
in the hill country of Ephraim:  
'Arise, and let us go up<sup>1</sup> to Zion,  
to Yahweh our God.' "

Thus once more Zion would be the cultic centre of Israel, the place where Yahweh had his throne.<sup>2</sup> There too would be Yahweh's legitimate king who would usher in a reign of peace, security, righteousness, and justice.<sup>3</sup> This would constitute the total fulfilment of the David-Zion election tradition. It must, however, be noted that Jeremiah places no emphasis on the covenant Yahweh made with David. His view of a covenant in the future was based entirely on his understanding of the Sinai covenant rather than the Davidic covenant.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 31:5,6; cf. 41:4-6, where eighty men from the northern sanctuaries of Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria made a pilgrimage to the temple in Zion. Although it is possible to view this action as a late practice due to the closing of the northern sanctuaries, it is more probable that it represented a practice which had continued from before the time of the divided kingdom right down to the Exile; cf. Noth, "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", op. cit. 138n.
  2. So 3:17; Galling maintains that this view considered Zion to be the "religiöse Mittelpunkt, nichts anderes", Die Erwählungstraditionen Israels, 85.
  3. 23:5,6.
  4. So Sekine, "Davidsbund und Sinaibund bei Jeremia", VT, 1959, 56. However in so far as the covenant in 31:31-4 was of the promissory type, it may be said to have reflected the Davidic (Abrahamic) covenant rather than the Sinai one; on the various types of covenants see G.M. Tucker, "Covenant forms and contract forms", VT, 1965, 487-503; on Jeremiah's covenant see J. Coppens, "La nouvelle alliance en Jer. 31:31-34", CBQ, 1963, 12-21.

The vision of Zion as the throne of Yahweh and the gathering of the nations to it reflected the influence of Isaiah's vision of Zion as the centre of Yahweh's Torah on Jeremiah.<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah probably envisaged a certain turning of the nations towards Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> The description of the two kingdoms combined into one kingdom and serving Yahweh their God and David their king<sup>3</sup> surely represented Jeremiah's belief in the ultimate fulfilment of the David-Zion election tradition!<sup>4</sup>

There were certain aspects of Jeremiah's outlook on the restoration of the northern kingdom which present difficulties of interpretation. There was no doubt in Jeremiah's mind that Yahweh would restore Ephraim:

" Is Ephraim my dear son?  
 Is he my darling child?  
 For as often as I speak against him,  
 I do remember him still.  
 Therefore my heart yearns for him;  
 I will surely have mercy on him,  
 says Yahweh."<sup>5</sup>

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1. cf. Jer. 3:17 with Is. 2:2-4; see Rohland, op. cit. 193; Jeremiah's view of Yahweh's Torah in the future was that it would be in the hearts of his people, so 31:33.
2. cf. 12:14-17; on the subject of the relationship between Yahweh, Israel, and the nations, see below ch. X.
3. See 30:9.
4. Allowing for the difference of opinion on the essential unity of the David-Zion tradition, we would agree with Rohland's remarks, "Dass hier (3:14-18) die Stadt einen neuen Namen erhält, zeigt bei der Bedeutung, die die Antike dem Namen zuschrieb, zugleich, dass es sich tatsächlich um einen völligen Neuanfang handelt. Und wenn hier abschliessend durch die Wallfahrt der Völker die Ehre gezeigt wird, die durch diese Erneuerung der Erwählung Jerusalems nicht nur Jahwe, sondern auch der Stadt widerfährt, so muss dies hier-ebenso wie in Jes. 2:2ff-als Hinweis darauf gedeutet werden, dass dann endlich das wirklich in Erfüllung gehen sollte, was bisher zwar schon als Zeichen des Gottesberges besungen worden, aber in der Gegenwart wohl sehr wenig verwirklicht war. Auch Jeremia verheisst also zugleich mit der Erneuerung auch die Erfüllung der Erwählung des Zion.", ibid. 193.
5. 31:20.

However further details of this restoration included:

" Behold, I will restore the fortunes of the tents of Jacob,  
and have compassion on his dwellings;  
the city shall be rebuilt upon its mound,  
and the palace shall stand where it used to be.  
Their prince shall be one of themselves,  
their ruler shall come forth from their midst;  
I will make him draw near, and he shall approach me,  
for who would dare of himself to approach me?<sup>1</sup>  
says Yahweh."

The city to be rebuilt would presumably be Samaria, unless the phrase "the tents of Jacob" be taken as a reference to the whole of Israel.<sup>2</sup> The majestic chief<sup>3</sup> who would be the ruler over this restored nation would have a priestly role before Yahweh. The problem of interpretation lies in the identification of this ruler. Was he Jeremiah's Davidic king who would set up a secure kingdom of peace and justice? Or was he a sacral leader of the type Hosea had envisaged as being appointed over the reunited kingdoms?<sup>4</sup> The information provided by this prophecy is far too meagre to afford any satisfactory answer to these questions. The image of a community ruled over by a priestly chief was similar to that put forward by Ezekiel at a slightly later date.<sup>5</sup>

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1. 30:18, 21.

2. As suggested by Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 224.

3. מַלְאָכִים "majestic one", so BDB, 12; cf. Jud. 5:13, 25; Is. 10:34; 33:21; Jer. 14:3; 25:34. It is noteworthy that this ancient term is parallel to another ancient term מַלְאָכִים.

4. Hos. 1:11(2:2); see the remarks above ch. III, 3. The answer to these two questions might assist in deciding whether Hosea could conceivably have made the statement "and David their king" which appears in the MT in 3:10.

5. See below ch. IX. It may well be that 30:21 simply referred to one of the functions of the future Davidic king and that there was no conflict in the prophet's mind on the subject.

#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

Jeremiah had nothing to contribute to this particular tradition. His usage of the name of Jacob was the normal application of it to the northern kingdom or to Israel as a whole. The promissory element in his new covenant of the future probably reflected his understanding of the Davidic covenant rather than that of the patriarchs.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. Summary

Jeremiah stood within the mainstream of election ideas in ancient Israel. The main tradition for him was the exodus from Egypt with its subsequent period of wandering in the desert. The period in the desert had been an almost idyllic time of faithfulness to Yahweh. This faithfulness consisted basically of loyalty to Yahweh without any taint of ba'alism. However with the Landnahme there entered into the religion of the people the corruption of the Canaanite religion associated with the local ba'alim. This syncretism had constituted the evil of the nation before Yahweh, and because of it the people of Jerusalem and Judah faced the threat of destruction and exile. The presence of the temple in Zion would not secure the nation from the reality of Yahweh's judgment, for even in the early days of Israel's history Yahweh had destroyed Shiloh the sanctuary where his ark had been. In the early days of his ministry Jeremiah held out the possibility of repentance, but

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1. The reference to Israel as "the seed of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob" in 33:26 belongs to a secondary passage, see Weiser, Jeremia, 314ff. cf. 9:4-6 with Hos. 12:2-6(3-7).

the progress of time convinced him of the inevitability of the divine judgment.

The insistent preaching of judgment was balanced somewhat by the occasional word of hope. Hope for Jeremiah lay in the eventual return of the few who had gone into captivity to Babylon. To this end he both wrote a letter to the exiles in Babylon, and bought a field in Anathoth as a sign that Israel would once again inhabit the land. The idea of the remnant, which had been a pivot of Isaiah's teaching, signified to Jeremiah mainly the few who would survive destruction. This survival applied to those who remained in the land of Judah, and also those who were exiled from the land.<sup>1</sup>

The main emphasis on hope was the declaration that Yahweh would restore the "fortunes of the tents of Jacob". Both the kingdom of Judah and the kingdom of Ephraim would once more be reunited in their own land. This return from exile would be such a significant event that it would replace the original exodus from Egypt as a term for describing Yahweh's greatness. Thus the return would be a new exodus. The keynote of this return would be Yahweh's grace and love towards his people.

As a parallel to the idea of a new exodus Jeremiah maintained that in the future Yahweh would make a new covenant with Israel. His concept of a new covenant was an amalgam of

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1. 23:3; 42:2, 10.

old and new ideas. It was based on the covenant made at Sinai, yet its content was far more akin to the promissory nature of the covenants made with Abraham and with David. Yet the old idea of Yahweh's Torah was retained though it was viewed in eschatological terms. It would no longer be a case of having to follow a set of commands but simply a following of an inward impulse. For under the new covenant Yahweh's Torah would be written on the hearts of his people. With the making of this new covenant the purpose of the election of Israel at the original exodus would be fulfilled. Israel would be Yahweh's people, and Yahweh would be Israel's God. This state of affairs would also produce a situation wherein each individual member of the nation would know Yahweh for himself. In the future Yahweh would also be Israel's ba'al, thus making any reliance on the ba'alim of the land quite superfluous.

In spite of the continual failure of the kings of Judah to follow in the footsteps of the great servant of Yahweh, David, Jeremiah envisaged a coming ruler of Israel who would be the legitimate Davidic ruler of Yahweh's people. In contrast to Zedekiah, who had proved a weak and vacillating king, the coming Davidic king would set up a kingdom based on wise rule, justice, and righteousness. In his reign Judah would find deliverance and Israel security. Jeremiah's delineation of the coming king was rather sober in comparison with Isaiah's glowing description of Yahweh's anointed given at least a



century before Jeremiah. Jeremiah's reticence was, no doubt, due to his bitter experiences at the hands of the last kings of Judah.

A good deal of his preaching had been done against the city of Zion. The opposition to his message came from those who trusted in the existence of the temple, with its ark and cultus, as a guarantee of divine protection. Yet Jeremiah preached destruction of city and temple. In this matter he was to be confirmed by Nebuchadnezzar's siege of the city in 587. Once again, however, Jeremiah had a word of restoration to give concerning the city. Jerusalem would be restored indeed, though the ark, the sacral object of the early amphictyony, would disappear for all time. The restored city of Jerusalem would be given a new name—"kiss'ē Yahweh". In other words, what had once been the signification of the ark of the covenant would in the future be the significance of the whole city. The city itself would be the goal of two distinct types of pilgrimages. The nations of the earth would gather to it, and the northern tribes would continue their old practice of going up to the city of Zion to appear before Yahweh.

A consideration of Jeremiah's handling of Israel's election traditions will show that they not only provided him with a basis for his criticisms of Judah's rebellion before Yahweh, but that they also afforded him models for his thinking about the future of the nation. The old Heilsgeschichte had come to an end with the sinfulness of the people of Judah.

The Exile removed them from the land which Yahweh had given to them when they came out of Egypt. From one point of view the whole purpose of Israel's election had been invalidated by the events of 722 and 587. However the prophets had always maintained a belief in the ability of Yahweh to fulfil his promises given to the fathers of the nation. Jeremiah was no exception. He interpreted the older election traditions in the light of his own experience of having been chosen by Yahweh and the implications of such an election. He was able to see that out of Yahweh's judgment of the nation there could rise a new people who would experience for themselves the election of Yahweh in a new Heilsgeschichte. This new Heilsgeschichte would have its own exodus, covenant, land and king. These elements would be very similar to the original ones except that they would be greater. Many of the earlier mistakes would have been rectified and much of the ideal would become reality. In this way the election traditions of Israel provided the basic material for the eschatological outlook of Jeremiah.

## CHAPTER IX

### ELECTION IN EZEKIEL

#### 1. Introduction

The last decade of Judah's political existence opened with king Jehoiakim's refusal to pay tribute to the Babylonian overlord. This act of rebellion brought swift retaliation and in 597 Jerusalem was captured. This defeat led to the deportation of the ruling class with Jehoiachin, Jehoiakim's successor, to Babylon.<sup>1</sup> Among those deported was a young priest named Ezekiel.<sup>2</sup> With his work the phenomenon of Hebrew prophecy moved for the first time to a sphere of activity outside the land of Israel.

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1. II K.24; the historical background for Ezekiel is much the same as that for Jeremiah, see above ch. VIII, 1. For the activities of Nebuchadnezzar, see also G. Roux, Ancient Iraq, Pelican 1966, 342ff.
  2. For an introduction to Ezekiel the following have been made use of; G. A. Cooke, The Book of Ezekiel, ICC, 1936; Eichrodt, Der Prophet Hesekiel, ATD 22/1, 2, 1959/66; Eissfeldt, Introduction, 365-82; Fohrer, Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel, BZAW 72, 1952; Fohrer-Galling, Ezechiel, HAT 13, 1955; H. Gese, Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40-48) Traditionsgeschichtlich untersucht, BHT 25, 1957; C. G. Howie, The Date and Composition of Ezekiel, JBLM IV, 1950; W. A. Irwin, The Problem of Ezekiel, 1943; H. G. May, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Ezekiel", IB, VI, 39-338; N. Messel, Ezechielfragen, 1945; Reventlow, Wächter über Israel. Ezechiel und seine Tradition, BZAW 82, 1962; Rowley, "The Book of Ezekiel in Modern Study", BJRL, 1953, 146-90; Men of God, 169-210; W. Zimmerli, Ezechiel, BKAT XIII, 1955ff.; also certain of his essays in Gottes Offenbarung.

There has been much controversy among scholars in this century concerning the book of Ezekiel. One erudite scholar put forward the view that Ezekiel represented a pseudigraph written in the third century B.C.<sup>1</sup> Other scholars have dated the book in the post-exilic period.<sup>2</sup> The viewpoint adopted in this thesis is, more or less, the traditional one.<sup>3</sup> That is, the view which sees in Ezekiel the deposit of the teaching of the prophet Ezekiel who was exiled in Babylon.

Further controversy exists over the question of whether Ezekiel prophesied in Jerusalem or in Babylon, or in both places. It has been maintained by some that Ezekiel only preached in Jerusalem.<sup>4</sup> Other scholars view his sphere of activity as having included both Jerusalem and Babylon.<sup>5</sup> In spite of the many difficult problems of interpretation we would follow the

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1. So C.C. Torrey, Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy, 1930. Torrey considers Ezekiel to have been built on II K. 21:2-16, and to have been written c. 230.
  2. Messel maintains that it must have been written after the temple was rebuilt in 515, op. cit. 21ff. Elmslie also considers the book to be post-exilic and so omits Ezekiel from his study of the prophets, How Came Our Faith, 191n.
  3. This is the viewpoint followed by Cooke, Howie, Fohrer, Rowley, Zimmerli, Eichrodt; (all referred to in the second note of this chapter). Also by Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, 109-71; and by C.J. Mullo Weir, "Aspects of the Book of Ezekiel", VT, 1952, 97-112.
  4. This view was mainly propounded by V. Hertrich, Ezechielprobleme, BZAW 61, 1932; also J.B. Harford, Studies in the Book of Ezekiel, 1935.
  5. Bertholet put forward the view that Ezekiel received his call in Jerusalem in 593 and there prophesied until the siege of the city; after its fall he went to Babylon; Bertholet-Galling, Hesekiel, HAT 13, 1936, xxiiiff. Pfeiffer also believes that Ezekiel spent some of his ministry in Jerusalem, Introduction, 536f.; see May, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Ezekiel", IB, VI, 52ff.; for a discussion of the possibility of this view, see Bentzen, Introduction, II, 127f.

view that Ezekiel worked exclusively in Babylon among the exiles there.<sup>1</sup> This Babylonian background is reflected in some of Ezekiel's language and ideas.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of the wholesale rejection of much of the text of Ezekiel as being unauthentic which some scholars have indulged in,<sup>3</sup> we would maintain the opinion that our present book of Ezekiel represents substantially the work of that prophet, though there is, to be sure, a certain amount of redaction by later disciples.<sup>4</sup> This opinion holds good for the special appendix in 40-48.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the historical, literary, and textual problems of Ezekiel there remains the problem of the man himself. Of all the prophets of ancient Israel Ezekiel presents the most enigmatic figure. His visions and enacted parables belonged to a very strange personality. Many psychological studies have

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1. So Rowley, op. cit. 190; Fohrer, Die Hauptprobleme des Buches Ezechiel, 260; against Wheeler Robinson's view that Ezekiel was active in both countries, Two Hebrew Prophets: Studies in Hosea and Ezekiel, 1948, 75.
  2. On this point see the linguistic studies of G.R. Driver, "Ezekiel: Linguistic and Textual Problems", Bibl. 1954, 144-59; 299-312; and "Ezekiel's Inaugural Vision", VT, 1951, 60ff.
  3. G. Hölscher, Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch, 1924; and Irwin, The Problem of Ezekiel; are two of the major scholars who have produced theories which leave Ezekiel with only a small core of genuine verses.
  4. To a great extent the view followed in this thesis is that put forward by Howie in favour of the traditional opinion, op. cit. 100ff.; see also Rowley, op. cit. 190.
  5. Pfeiffer also views this section as belonging to Ezekiel, op. cit. 554; cf. Cooke, op. cit. xxvf.; Howie, op. cit. 102; rejected as such by Irwin, op. cit. 258 (the theory put forward by Irwin in this volume was maintained by him in a later article, see "Ezekiel Research since 1943", VT, 1953, 54-66); also by Hölscher, op. cit. 208; and Hertrich, op. cit. 120.

been written about Ezekiel.<sup>1</sup> Whatever may be the true explanation of his personality with its somewhat abnormal psychology we cannot formulate any form of comprehensive theory for the data provided does not permit us to do so.<sup>2</sup> The most that can be said is that Ezekiel, along with all the other Hebrew prophets, was different from so-called normal people. The ecstatic element in the prophets' nature may account for much of Ezekiel's peculiarity.<sup>3</sup> Ezekiel appears to have had more ecstatic experiences and visions than the other prophets.<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel has been viewed as a clairvoyant,<sup>5</sup> but it is probably more accurate to see him as a visionary.<sup>6</sup>

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1. We cannot possibly deal with this subject here; however see for example the Freudian treatment of Ezekiel's personality by E.C. Broome, "Ezekiel's Abnormal Personality", JBL, 1946, 277-92; and the comments of C.G. Jung, The Collected Works of C.G. Jung, Vol. 11: Psychology and Religion: West and East, ET, 1958, 420f.; Vol. 14: Mysterium Coniunctionis, ET, 1963, 206ff.; 442. These views are so embedded in modern psychological dogma that they really contribute very little to an understanding of Ezekiel.
  2. See Rowley, op. cit. 187ff.; and especially Howie who rejects the approach of Broome (see note 1 above), op. cit. 69-84. Robinson favours the view that Ezekiel worked in both countries as it avoids some of the "difficult psychical theories" involved in the prophet's personality, Two Hebrew Prophets, 78; Eissfeldt criticises him on the grounds that he may well be giving in too easily to the difficulty in the tradition, "The Prophetic Literature", OTMS, 157.
  3. On the subject of ecstasy in the prophets see especially T.H. Robinson, Prophecy and the Prophets in Ancient Israel, 1948; H.W. Robinson, Inspiration and Revelation in the OT, 173-86; also the remarks of Eissfeldt, "The Prophetic Literature", OTMS, 134-45.
  4. See Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 198.
  5. So Widengren, Literary and Psychological Aspects of the Hebrew Prophets, 111.
  6. Lindblom considers the evidence for clairvoyance among the prophets to be very meagre, op. cit. 200; Howie rejects the idea of Ezekiel as a clairvoyant and views him as "a sensitive, mystical individual", op. cit. 84.

In considering Ezekiel's contribution to the prophetic movement in ancient Israel it must be emphasised here that there has been a general failure of scholars to allow for his peculiar circumstances. As a young man he was taken from his homeland and transported across the country to a foreign land.<sup>1</sup> There he not only had time for the deliverance of his prophecies, but he also had a good deal of time in which to reflect on Israel's position before Yahweh and in the world at large.<sup>2</sup> His visions and his reflexions must, therefore, be viewed as the chief sources of his outlook. His reflexive nature would account for such a programme as that contained in chs. 40-48. His work also presupposed the earlier classical prophets.<sup>3</sup> Thus the influence of Amos,<sup>4</sup> Hosea,<sup>5</sup> and especially Jeremiah<sup>6</sup> can be detected in his book.

However there were many distinctive marks about the ministry of Ezekiel which contributed to making the prophet such an important figure in the development of the Israelite religion. As a prophet of the Exile he had the task of reinterpreting the ways of Yahweh to his fellow exiles so as to demonstrate that Israel still had a place in the purposes

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1. This point is rightly emphasised by Howie, *ibid.* 83f.

2. Lindblom also considers that reflexion may account for a good deal of the material in 40-48, *op. cit.* 264.

3. See the remarks of Zimmerli, "The special form- and tradition historical character of Ezekiel's prophecy", *VT*, 1965, 515-27; esp. 525.

4. cf. ch. 7 with Am. 8:1-3.

5. The motif of the adulterous wife is common to both prophets.

6. On this particular feature, see especially Miller, Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels sprachlich und theologisch untersucht.

of Yahweh. One of the most distinctive features of his work was the absence of so many concepts popular with the other prophets. Thus Ezekiel never spoke of "Yahweh of hosts";<sup>1</sup> the love of Yahweh was never mentioned;<sup>2</sup> the concept of *hesed*, so important in Hosea and Jeremiah, was absent from his work; nor did he ever speak of trust in Yahweh.<sup>3</sup> These elements were bypassed because Ezekiel was almost obsessed with the idea of Judah's sins.<sup>4</sup> His preaching against paganism in the Jerusalem cultus was an outstanding part of his denunciation of sin.<sup>5</sup> His apprehension of Yahweh's role in history was such that he viewed the entire judgment of Yahweh against Israel as an act directed towards creating the people's acknowledgment that he is Yahweh.<sup>6</sup>

"According to their way I will do to them, and according to their own judgments I will judge them; and they shall know that I am Yahweh."<sup>7</sup>

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1. By interpreting the title as "Yahweh, God of the stars", Köhler explains Ezekiel's non-usage of the term as part of his policy of not saying anything unfriendly towards Babylon, Theology, 51.
  2. Love as it appears in chs. 16; 20 referred to the lovers taken by Israel.
  3. Cf. the remarks of Zimmerli on the absence of these concepts, "The special form-and traditio-historical character of Ezekiel's prophecy", VT, 1965, 525f.
  4. See Zimmerli, "Das Gotteswort des Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 133-48;
  5. 6:1-7, 11-14; 8:5-18; see F. Horst, "Exilsgemeinde und Jerusalem in Ez. VII-XI", VT, 1953, 337-60; Gaster maintains that Ezekiel satirised the pagan practices at the autumn festival, "Ezekiel and the Mysteries", JBL, 1941, 289-310; on Tammuz (8:14) see O. R. Gurney, "Tammuz Reconsidered: Some Recent Developments", JSS, 1962, 147-60; S. H. Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology, 1963, 20ff.
  6. For this concept see especially Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 41-119.
  7. 7:27; a complete list of the occurrences of the phrase would be superfluous, its range and incidence has been noted by Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel", ibid. 42ff.



The formula "I am Yahweh" went back into Israel's past history.<sup>1</sup> Its usage by Ezekiel shows that there was a link between him and the pre-classical prophets.<sup>2</sup> A further link between earlier forms of prophecy in ancient Israel and Ezekiel was his use of the term "spirit".<sup>3</sup> This phrase along with the term "the hand of Yahweh" belonged to the prophetic activity of Elijah and Elisha.<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel, like Jeremiah, laid great emphasis on the divine word.<sup>5</sup> These few observations show that with the dawn of the exilic experience prophetism in Israel sought to express itself in a number of ways which for a long period had been out of fashion. There was a greater concentration on the older traditions which, perhaps, was due to a deeper sense of insecurity and loss.

The emphasis on religion and the individual, which Jeremiah had made, also was made by Ezekiel.<sup>6</sup> In his attempts to deal with the problems created by Israel's rebellion<sup>7</sup> he became the

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1. See Zimmerli, "Ich bin Jahwe", Gottes Offenbarung, 11-40; the unknown prophet in I K. 20:13, 28 used the formula.
  2. See Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel", ibid. 54ff. on its usage in I K. 20.
  3. On this feature see especially Mowinckel, "The 'Spirit' and the 'Word' in the Pre-exilic Reforming Prophets", JBL, 1934, 199-227; also his "Postscript", JBL, 1937, 261-5; Haldar objects to Mowinckel's view that the classical prophets did not think in terms of "spirit", Associations, 115ff.; cf. Is. 31:3; Hos. 9:7; Mic. 3:8.
  4. cf. 8:1; 11:5; I K. 18:46; these were terms belonging to the state of ecstasy, see Lindblom, op. cit. 174ff.
  5. cf. 6:1; 12:1; 13:1; 15:1; 16:1; Jer. 1:4, 11; 2:1; 7:1; see Zimmerli, "The special form- and traditio-historical character of Ezekiel's prophecy", op. cit. 516.
  6. See esp. 3; 18; cf. B. Lindars, "Ezekiel and individual responsibility", VT, 1965, 452-67; M. Tsevat, "The neo-Assyrian and neo-Babylonian Vassal Oaths and the Prophet Ezekiel", JBL, 1959, 199-204.
  7. cf. 2:5 - "they are a rebellious house", a characteristic term in Ezekiel.

initiator of apocalyptic.<sup>1</sup> However, on occasions Ezekiel was involved in a totally different prophetic role. He adopted a pastoral approach towards his people.<sup>2</sup> Warning and exhortation were the basic parts of this role:

" Therefore I will judge you, O house of Israel, every one according to his ways, says the Lord Yahweh. Repent and turn from all your transgressions, lest iniquity be your ruin. Cast away from you all the transgressions which you have committed against me, and get yourselves a new heart and a new spirit! Why will you die, O house of Israel? For I have no pleasure in the death of anyone, says the Lord Yahweh; so turn and live."<sup>3</sup>

In keeping with the prophetic message of the prophets who had preceded him in Israel, Ezekiel preached both salvation and judgment. As a "watcher"<sup>4</sup> over his people the prophet was a man with the responsibility of a nation in his hands. This element of responsibility lay behind Ezekiel's thinking on the subject of Israel's future hope. So it is to his handling of Israel's election traditions that we must now turn.

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1. So Howie, "Ezekiel", IDB, II, 212; cf. Albright's remark, "Ezekiel's visions of the early sixth century show a fully fledged eschatology of archaic type", History, Archaeology and Christian Humanism, 1965, 282.

2. So von Rad, who describes Ezekiel's role as corresponding to that of the NT "παρακλησις", Theology, II, 231.

3. 18:30-32; delete "Lord" in vv. 30, 32; see BH; Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 145; Reventlow views  $\text{דָּוָן}$  in this chapter as having a covenant background—"  $\text{דָּוָן}$  ist dort zuerst, als Angebot der Möglichkeit einer Umkehr, wie wir sahen, ein Bestandteil des sakralrechtlichen Formulars. Während aber der Prophet in der Bundesfestverkündigung gebunden spricht, als Mund des göttlichen Richters, ist hier alles der eigenen Initiative und der eigenen Verantwortung des Propheten anheimgegeben; keine direkte göttliche Anrede nimmt sie ihm ab.", Wächter über Israel, 131.

4. See Scharbert, Heilsmittler, 167-77; also Reventlow, op. cit. 116-34.

## 2. The Exodus election tradition

The ministry of Ezekiel was divided into two periods; one which consisted of preaching judgment against the people who had remained behind in Jerusalem after the deportation of 597, and the other which was a time of declaring hope for the future to those in exile. Ezekiel's inaugural vision had left him with a deep experience of the 'weightiness'<sup>1</sup> of Yahweh, and this impression sustained him in his denunciation of the rebellious nation of Israel. A sense of doom pervaded the life of Judah at that time and the prophet could see in the threat to the land the hand of Yahweh. For him the end of Judah would be the proof of Yahweh's righteousness.<sup>2</sup>

He applied his understanding of Israel's election traditions as a criterion of Israel's history. Yahweh's choice of his people had not only created the nation but it had posited the people's responsibility before their God. The nation's constant failure to respond to its election role constituted the nation's sin throughout its history. With the impending punishment of national disaster the people would cease to be Yahweh's chosen nation; their election would be at an end. This, ultimately, was the real crisis of the Exile for Israel. If the people ceased to exist as a people and in their

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1. 1:28; cf. 8:4; this is the essential meaning of  $\text{קִדְּוָה}$ ; von Rad terms it "what was intrinsically impressive about God", so " $\text{קִדְּוָה}$  in the OT", TWNT, II, 239.

2. cf. Zimmerli's remark--"Das Ende Jerusalems ist der Erweis der Gerechtigkeit Gottes", in his essay "Ezechiel, ein Zeuge der Gerechtigkeit Gottes", Das Alte Testament als Anrede, BET 24, 1956, 37-61; esp. 51.

own land then the whole point of Yahweh's election of them would<sup>be</sup> called into question. Yet this was precisely the problem facing the sixth century prophets. Their proclamation of Yahweh's judgment against Judah completely<sup>ly</sup> invalidated their election position before him. However the prophetic solution to this problem also lay in their handling of the election traditions.

Ezekiel was very familiar with those election traditions, although his manipulation of them added a tendentious element to them.<sup>1</sup> His employment of the traditions demonstrates, however, that the prophets were not bound to rigid traditions but viewed the beliefs of Israel as flexible entities.

a) The exodus<sup>2</sup>

The various terms which described the relationship between Yahweh and Israel were used by Ezekiel.<sup>3</sup> However the outstanding feature of Ezekiel's usage of the election traditions was the almost baroque fashion in which he recapitulated them. In the other prophets the traditions had been quoted in various forms but generally in a relatively

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1. See e.g. below in section a; cf. the remarks of von Rad, Theology, II, 226ff. In commenting on Ezekiel's handling of the election traditions Zimmerli writes, "Ezekiel appears, therefore, to be a late-comer for whom the ancient salvation traditions are thoroughly entwined.", "The special form-and traditio-historical character of Ezekiel's prophecy", VI, 1965, 525. Part of this statement is surely tautologous, for surely Ezekiel was indeed a late-comer among the prophets whatever his attitude to the ancient salvation traditions!

2. On this section, see also Rohland, op.cit. 78-93.

3. Cf. "plant" (16:7); "vine" (19:10); "flock" (36:37) and the figure of marriage (16:8).

concise manner. But Ezekiel, on occasions, expanded them in a highly individualistic fashion.<sup>1</sup> Not only did the election traditions serve as a criterion for Israel's history, but they also confronted the nation with its state before Yahweh. One of the striking keynotes of his delineation of those ancient credal statements was the emphasis on Israel's consistent rebellion against Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> Thus in the major occurrence of the exodus motif in his work:<sup>3</sup>

" In the seventh year, in the fifth month, on the tenth day of the month, certain of the elders of Israel came to inquire of Yahweh, and sat before me. And the word of Yahweh came to me: 'Son of man, speak to the elders of Israel, and say to them, Thus says the<sup>4</sup> Lord Yahweh, Is it to inquire of me that you come? As I live, says the Lord Yahweh, I will not be inquired of by you. Will you judge them, son of man, will you judge them? Then let them know the abominations of their fathers, and say to them, Thus says the<sup>5</sup> Lord Yahweh: On the day when I chose Israel, I swore to the seed of the house of Jacob, making myself known to them in the land of Egypt, I swore to them, saying, I am Yahweh your God. On that day I swore to them that I would bring them out of the land of Egypt into a land that I had searched out for them, a land flowing with milk and honey, the most glorious of all lands. And I said to

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1. This feature of the expansion of traditions by individuals must be kept in mind as a balance to von Rad's emphasis on the formal structure of such credos as contained in Dt. 26:5-9.
  2. Ezekiel was not the only prophet who maintained that Israel had been in rebellion against Yahweh from its earliest days, cf. Hos. 9:10; Jer. 7:22-25; Dt. 9:6-8.
  3. 20:1-31; Zimmerli refers to this chapter as "eine Schlüsselstellung für die Verkündigung Ezechiels", "Das Gotteswort des Ezechiel", *Gottes Offenbarung*, 143.
  4. Delete "Lord" in vv. 3, 5; see BH.
  5. v. 5, LXX reads "the house of Israel"; omit the first "I swore" as a dittography of the second occurrence; cf. Eichrodt, *Hesekiel*, 166n; also Fohrer, *Ezechiel*, 109; Cooke maintains that the only occurrence of 'swear' which is in its proper place is in v. 6, *Ezekiel*, 214.

them, Cast away the detestable things your eyes feast on, every one of you, and do not defile yourselves with the idols of Egypt; I am Yahweh your God. But they rebelled against me and would not listen to me; they did not every man cast away the detestable things their eyes feasted on, nor did they forsake the idols of Egypt. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them and spend my anger against them in the midst of the land of Egypt. But I acted for the sake of my name, that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations among whom they dwelt, in whose sight I made myself known to them in bringing them out of the land of Egypt. So I led them out of the land of Egypt and brought them into the wilderness. I gave them my statutes and showed them my ordinances, by whose observance man shall live. Moreover I gave them my sabbaths, as a sign<sup>1</sup> between me and them, that they might know that I Yahweh sanctify them. But the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they did not walk in my statutes but rejected my ordinances, by whose observance man shall live; and my sabbaths they greatly profaned. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them in the wilderness, to make a full end of them. But I acted for the sake of my name, that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations, in whose sight I had brought them out. Moreover I swore to them in the wilderness that I would not bring them into the land which I had given them; a land flowing with milk and honey, the most glorious of all lands, because they rejected my ordinances and did not walk in my statutes, and profaned my sabbaths; for their heart went after their idols.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless my eye spared them, and I did not destroy them or make a full end of them in the wilderness. And I said to their children in the

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1. Eichrodt deletes v.12 and the references to sabbaths in vv.13,16; Hesekiel,166f.; he comments "V.12, der als Kern des ganzen Gesetzes, sozusagen als seine Essenz das Sabbatgebot bringt und es in die Worte von 2.Mose 31:13 einkleidet, ist als priesterliche Überarbeitung auszuscheiden.", ibid.174.
  2. v.15 following LXX, Syr., Vulg.; MT omits "to them".
  3. v.17 would make a better sequel to v.14 than its present position following v.16; see also Eichrodt, ibid.167n.

wilderness, Do not walk in the statutes of your fathers, nor observe their ordinances, nor defile yourselves with their idols. I Yahweh am your God; walk in my statutes, and be careful to observe my ordinances, and hallow my sabbaths that they may be a sign between me and you, that you may know that I am Yahweh your God. But the children rebelled against me; they did not walk in my statutes, and were not careful to observe my ordinances, by whose observance man shall live; they profaned my sabbaths. Then I thought I would pour out my wrath upon them and spend my anger against them in the wilderness. But I withheld my hand, and acted for the sake of my name, that it should not be profaned in the sight of the nations, in whose sight I had brought them out. Moreover I swore to them in the wilderness that I would scatter them among the nations and disperse them through the countries, because they had not executed my ordinances, but had rejected my statutes and profaned my sabbaths, and their eyes were set on their fathers' idols. Moreover I gave them statutes that were not good and ordinances by which they could not have life; and I defiled them through their very gifts in making them offer by fire all their first-born, that I might horrify them; I did it that they might know that I am Yahweh. Therefore, son of man, speak to the house of Israel and say to them, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: In this again your fathers blasphemed me, by dealing treacherously with me. For when I had brought them into the land which I swore to give them, then wherever they saw any high hill or any leafy tree, there they offered their sacrifices and presented the provocation of their offering; there they sent up their soothing odors, and there they poured out their drink offerings. Wherefore say to the house of Israel, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Will you defile yourselves after the manner of your fathers and go astray after their detestable things? When you offer your gifts and sacrifice your sons by fire, you defile yourselves with all your idols to this day. And shall I be inquired of by you, O house of Israel? As I live, says Yahweh, I will not be inquired of by you."

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1.v.28 is inserted between v.22 and v.23 by Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 167n;  
v.29 is most probably a gloss (omitted in the above text).

This particular application of the exodus election tradition was quite unique among the prophets of ancient Israel. Ezekiel used the different elements of the election faith as a framework for his didacticism. The recital of the essential events of the Heilsgeschichte was not, in this instance, an act of worship in the cultus, nor was it a paean to Yahweh for his love towards Israel, it was simply an accusation of constant rebellion against Yahweh directed at the nation. It was not to inform, but to impeach. The most important feature in it was its application to the generation of Ezekiel's day. Yet in spite of its strange appearance it was modelled on the normal recital of the Heilsgeschichte.<sup>1</sup>

The essential features of the exodus-Sinai-wilderness-Landnahme were all present.<sup>2</sup> However Ezekiel added a number of novel elements to them. Foremost of these were the refrains of Israel's rebellion against Yahweh,<sup>3</sup> the motif of the exodus having taken place "in the sight of the nations among whom they dwelt", and the motive of the Heilsgeschichte as being "for the sake of my name". A further dominant idea in his

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1. The recital came about in reply to a question concerning the elders' inquiry of Yahweh, vv. 1-4, 31; cf. Dt. 26:1-4; apart from Ezekiel's idiosyncrastic treatment of the subject it could have been a variant of Dt. 26:5-9.
  2. "On the day when I chose (יָרַדְתִּי) Israel", v. 5 presumably referred to the period just prior to the departure from Egypt, cf. Ex. 12:21-40 or perhaps the call of Moses, Ex. 3:1-17.
  3. Although the notion of Israel's early rebellion against Yahweh was not created by Ezekiel (cf. Hos. 9:10; Dt. 9:6-8; Jer. 7:22-25), the prophet has added a new dimension to it by maintaining that the rebellion took place even as far back as the period of slavery in Egypt, v. 8!



distinctive treatment was the raison d'etre of Yahweh's actions—"that you may know that I Yahweh am your God". To a great extent this knowledge was very much an intellectual perception of Yahweh rather than the deeply committed reciprocal knowledge spoken of by the other prophets. The essential element in the knowledge of Yahweh for Ezekiel was the apprehension and acknowledgment of Yahweh's majestic being.<sup>1</sup>

Yet these innovations were not simply the idiosyncrasies of an abnormal personality. They were interfused with the election tradition for a distinct purpose. This purpose was bound up with the relevance of the prophecy to the situation in which the exiles found themselves. That some of the people of Judah were in exile at all was striking confirmation of Ezekiel's diagnosis of the nation's condition as being one of rebellion against Yahweh. This trait they shared with their ancestors. The indictment of Israel's history was also the indictment of Ezekiel's period. In spite of Ezekiel's rhetorical exaggerations there was a genuine attempt to bring home to the exiles the true nature of their position. No doubt they were aware of their plight as such, but there was a deeper purpose in the delineation of the Heilsgeschichte with its tale of national failure. By emphasising the fact that the exodus had

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1. cf. 17:24; 20:40-44; hence the emphasis on יָדַע in Ezekiel. cf. "Menschliches Erkennen geschieht im Gegenüber zum Handeln Jahwes und realisiert sich darin, dass Jahwe selber sich dem Menschen vorstellt "ich bin Jahwe". Nur von dieser Weise des Erkennens redet das Buch Ezechiel.", Zimmerli, "Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buche Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 108f.

occurred in "the sight of the nations", Ezekiel was able to link the situation prevailing in his time with that of the exodus. Furthermore, by making Yahweh's motive for the original Heilsgeschichte a case of action "for the sake of my name", the prophet was attempting to cope with the serious problems created by Judah's destruction. Throughout Israel's history of rebellion Yahweh had always withheld his hand from the complete destruction of the nation. Thus it may well be argued that Ezekiel fully intended his hearers to grasp the implications of his denunciation. His carefully thought out recital of divine actions and human responses was geared to meet the exigency of the Exile with its termination of the Heilsgeschichte.

That this is a feasible interpretation is demonstrated by considering another oracle of Ezekiel's.<sup>1</sup> Before reviewing this particular prophecy it is necessary to note what Ezekiel had to say about the Exile itself.<sup>2</sup>

"What is in your mind shall never happen—the thought, 'Let us be like the nations, like the tribes, of the countries, and worship wood and stone.'<sup>3</sup> As I live, says Yahweh, surely with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you. I will bring you out from the peoples and gather you out of the countries where you are scattered,

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1. 20:40-44.

2. 20:32-38; it should be pointed out that 20:1-31 applied to those deported in 597 only; vv. 32-38 applied to Judah in the Exile, although it is quite clear from the text itself that what Ezekiel had in mind was the period between the end of the Exile and the restoration.

3. We would agree with Rohland that there is a caesura between v. 31 and v. 32, op. cit. 82. Eichrodt would omit "worship wood and stone" in v. 32 as a deuteronomistic revision, Hesekiel, 168n.

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with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out; and I will bring you into the wilderness of the peoples, and there I will enter into judgment with you face to face. As I entered into judgment with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt, so I will enter into judgment with you, says the Lord Yahweh. I will make you pass under the rod, and I will let you go in by number.<sup>2</sup> I will purge out the rebels from among you, and those who transgress against me; I will bring them out of the land where they sojourn, but they shall not enter the land of Israel. Then you will know that I am Yahweh."<sup>3</sup>

It is quite clear that Ezekiel viewed the judgment of the Exile as being a repetition of Yahweh's dealings with Israel when they first came out of Egypt at the time of the exodus. He had been influenced by Hosea's teaching that Yahweh would bring Israel into the wilderness again and there re-establish the covenant between himself and the nation.<sup>4</sup> The phrase "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm", which Ezekiel used to describe Yahweh's action, was a technical clause for his part in the first exodus.<sup>5</sup>

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1. The phrase "with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out" in v.34 should probably be deleted as a dittographical gloss from v.33, so Eichrodt, *Hesekiel*, 168n.
  2. v.37 following LXX; MT reads "I will bring you into the bond of the covenant", see Eichrodt, *ibid.* 168n.; Rohland, *op.cit.* 22n.
  3. Wherever the phrase "Lord Yahweh" occurs in ch.20 Eichrodt emends it to read simply "Yahweh"; the conflate reading probably was the work of a later scribe, cf. e.g. the DSS, where the same tendency can be seen.
  4. Hos. 2:14-20 (16-22).
  5. cf. Ex. 6:6; Dt. 4:34; 5:15; 26:8; Rohland remarks, "Nicht ohne Grund verbindet Hesekiel das יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ, das sonst im AT immer auf den ersten Exodus bezogen wird mit dem Exodus, mit dem Jahwe die Geschichte der Erwählung seines Volkes offenbar neu beginnen und zugleich seine Macht neu beweisen wollte.", *ibid.* 84.

Israel's past experience of the wilderness period had had a profound effect on the nation's consciousness. It had influenced the prophetic thinking in many ways. With the ending of the semi-nomadic period and the settlement in the land of Canaan, Israel had slowly built up a small national state. In time a monarchy had been instituted and the nation had enjoyed for a short period a time of political independence. Certain splinter movements within the nation had taken a reactionary attitude to the Israelite development of a civilised state.<sup>1</sup> They wished to perpetuate the desert existence without the decadent tendencies of civilisation. Although the prophets were keen critics of Israel's national existence they were not members of the 'back to the desert' movement. Yet they too looked back on the desert period as the time when Israel went after Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> In fact, the desert era became for the nation an epitome for the whole Heilsgeschichte. It became known simply as the time when Yahweh had found Israel.<sup>3</sup>

This desert motif coloured much of Ezekiel's thought. It can be seen as the background to one of his most unusual allegories. This allegory described Israel's election by Yahweh in terms quite distinct from the normal election formula.

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1. The Rechabites were an outstanding example of such movements—Jer. 35:6, 7ff.

2. cf. Hos. 9:10; Jer. 2:2.

3. Dt. 32:10; Hos. 9:10; this idea of Yahweh having found Israel in the desert must be viewed as an alternative way of expressing the events surrounding the exodus, and not as an independent election tradition as Bach would argue; see his Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste.

" Again the word of Yahweh came to me: 'Son of<sup>1</sup> man, make known to Jerusalem her abominations, and say, Thus says the Lord Yahweh to Jerusalem: Your origin and birth are of the land<sup>2</sup> of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite<sup>3</sup> and your mother a Hittite. And as for your birth<sup>3</sup>, on the day you were born your navel string was not cut, nor were you washed with water to cleanse you, nor rubbed with salt, nor swathed with bands. No eye pitied you, to do any of these things to you out of compassion for you; but you were cast out on the open field, for you were abhorred, on the day that you were born. And when I passed by you, and saw you weltering in your blood, I said<sup>4</sup> to you in your blood, 'Live, and grow up like a plant of the field.' And<sup>5</sup> you grew up and became tall and arrived at full<sup>5</sup> maidenhood; your breasts were formed, and your hair had grown; yet you were naked and bare. When I passed by you again and looked upon you, behold, you were at the age for love; and I spread my skirt over you, and covered your nakedness; yes, I plighted my troth to you, says the Lord Yahweh, and entered into a covenant with you, and you became mine." <sup>7</sup>

This strange picture of Israel's beginnings was a further tendentious interpretation of history by Ezekiel. The idea of Yahweh passing by and seeing Israel reflected the 'found in the desert' motif. The betrothal of Yahweh and Israel reflected the normal view of the exodus, as did the covenant idea. The purpose of such an allegory was simply to present Israel's beginnings as a time of sheer wretchedness and to emphasise the fact that Yahweh himself had rescued the nation from its plight.

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1. 1.16:1-8; these verses were only the prelude to an attack on Israel as Yahweh's unfaithful wife.
  2. cf. v. 45; MT reads "the Amorite".
  3. v. 4; probably a dittography from v. 3; so Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 115n.
  4. v. 6 MT repeats the phrase "I said to you in your blood, Live"; "grow up like a plant" follows LXX; MT reads "myriad".
  5. v. 7 MT reads "ornament of ornaments"; emended to ד'גל אצף that is 'puberty', see Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 116n.

The development of the allegory to present the entire history of Israel as a period of unfaithfulness to Yahweh<sup>1</sup> belonged to Ezekiel's attitude to history. He was indebted to the earlier prophets for the image of Israel as Yahweh's unfaithful wife.<sup>2</sup> But he developed the concept until it became a title for Israel's history. On one hand Yahweh's election of Israel, on the other Israel's sombre history of sin.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was that the Exile represented for Ezekiel the final outcome of a long history of rebellion. Yet this rebellion had always had its counterpart in the concern of Yahweh for his honour. By skilfully juxtapositioning these two themes Ezekiel laid the foundation for his belief in a future restoration for the nation.

#### b) Restoration

As the wood of the vine was used for fuel so Yahweh would allow Jerusalem and its inhabitants to be consumed and the land to become desolate.<sup>4</sup> The destruction of the nation would be "a day of clouds and thick darkness".<sup>5</sup> So the

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1. 16:15-52; cf. 23; Ezekiel used the metaphor of whoring for both political and sacral apostasy.

2. cf. Hos. 1-3; Jer. 2:20-37; 3:1-10; see especially the remarks of Miller, *op. cit.* 140ff.

3. cf. Zimmerli's comments, "The election of Israel in Egypt, the giving of the law, the exodus and the wandering in the wilderness are all narrated in plain language. It is the great credal history of Israel, but from the very beginning everything is set in the sombre light of a history of sin and of continual violation of Yahweh's law.", The Law and the Prophets, 81.

4. See ch. 15.

5. 34:12.

Heilsgeschichte came to an end and Israel as a nation died when Judah went into exile to Babylon.

Having preached the word of doom Ezekiel then turned to the task of restoring the confidence of the exiles by declaring a message of hope for the future. If the nation had died at the Exile then the future held a resurrection for Israel.<sup>1</sup> This idea of a national resurrection had been suggested at an earlier period by Hosea.<sup>2</sup> But Ezekiel developed it into one of the most forceful of his images of restoration:<sup>3</sup>

" The hand of Yahweh was upon me, and he brought me out by the Spirit of Yahweh, and set me down in the midst of the valley; it was full of bones. And he led me round among them; and behold, they were very many upon the valley; and lo, they were very dry. And he said to me, 'Son of man, can these bones live?' And I answered, 'O Lord Yahweh, thou knowest.' Again he said to me, 'Prophecy to these bones, and say to them, O dry bones, hear the word of Yahweh. Thus says the Lord Yahweh to these bones: Behold, I will cause breath to enter you, and you shall live. And I will lay sinews upon you, and will cause flesh to come upon you, and cover you with skin, and put breath in you, and you shall live; and you shall know that I am Yahweh.'

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1. cf. Eichrodt's remark, "Because at the Exile the nation died, the Return was interpreted as its revival from the grave", *Theology*, I, 467.
  2. Hos. 6:1, 2; see Wijngaards, "Death and resurrection in covenantal context (Hos. VI:2)", *VT*, 1967, 226-39.
  3. 37:1-14; on this passage see H. Riesenfeld, The Resurrection in Ezekiel XXXVII and in the Dura-Europos Paintings, UUA 11, 1948; R. Martin-Achard, From Death to Life. A Study of the Development of the Doctrine of the Resurrection in the Old Testament, ET, 1960, 73-90; for the idea elsewhere in the OT see C. Barth's important work, Die Erretung vom Tode, 1947. We feel Riesenfeld places too much emphasis on the cultic and mythological aspects of resurrection in his study.

So I prophesied as I was commanded; and as I prophesied, there was a noise, and behold, a rattling; and the bones came together, bone to bone. And as I looked, there were sinews on them, and flesh had come upon them, and skin had covered them; but there was no breath in them. Then he said to me, 'Prophesy to the breath, prophesy, son of man, and say to the breath, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live.' So I prophesied as he commanded me, and the breath came into them, and they lived, and stood upon their feet, an exceedingly great host. Then he said to me, 'Son of man, these bones are the whole house of Israel. Behold, they say, 'Our bones are dried up, and our hope is lost; we are clean cut off.' Therefore prophesy, and say to them, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Behold, I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people;<sup>1</sup> and I will bring you home into the land of Israel. And you shall know that I am Yahweh, when I open your graves, and raise you from your graves, O my people. And I will put my Spirit within you, and you shall live, and I will place you in your own land; then you shall know that I, Yahweh, have spoken, and I have done it, says Yahweh.' "

This vision was Yahweh's answer to the complaint of the exiles that they had lost hope.<sup>2</sup> The role the prophet had in this restoration must be noted—"Prophesy to the breath/wind". In this sense the prophet brought about the word he preached.<sup>3</sup> Having to a great extent brought about the destruction of Israel by their preaching the prophets now had to bring about the restoration by their message of hope.

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1. v. 12 LXX lacks the phrase "O my people".

2. Fohrer rightly remarks "Es stammt aus der in der 7. Str zitierten Klage der Deportierten, die über ihre vernichteten Hoffnungen jammern und dabei sagen, dass ihre Gebeine verdorrt sind und dass sie zugrunde gehen(11)", Ezechiel, 206.

3. cf. the remarks on this subject of von Rad, Theology, II, 90ff.



The image of death applied to the whole of Israel, that is, both north and south. Therefore the image of resurrection applied to both kingdoms. The rising out of the graves would in effect be a new exodus, and the return to the land of Israel a new Landnahme.<sup>1</sup> There were two images mixed together in this prophecy. The valley was a battlefield, and it was also a graveyard.<sup>2</sup> Thus the ideas of defeat as well as death were present. The operative force in this revival would be Yahweh—"I will open your graves, and raise you from your graves, and I will bring you home into the land of Israel."<sup>3</sup> This great act of resurrection and restoration would be yet another item in that great chain of events destined to demonstrate to the nation "that I am Yahweh".

Further intimations of restoration were given by Ezekiel on different occasions. The return from the Exile would bring about the fulfilment of the exodus election tradition. That is, the goal of the exodus, which had been to make Israel the people

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1. cf. Zimmerli's comments, "Der Prophet hat seinem Volke ~~verheißungen~~ die Heimkehr aus Zerstreuung und Verlorenheit ansagen können. Er verkündet da Leben, wo es evident geworden ist, dass es mit dem Leben des von Gott gerufenen nun doch endgültig aus ist. Er schaut aus auf den Tag des neuen Auszugs, an dem die über den Anfängen des Volkes geschehene Freiheit neu Gegenwart wird. Er schaut aus auf den Tag der neuen Landnahme, in der sich wieder zusammenfindet, was ferne und voneinander getrennt gewesen war.", Ezechiel, 902. See also his essay, "'Leben' und 'Tod' im Buche des Propheten Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 178-91. We disagree with Riesenfeld's attempt to associate these elements with the New Year Festival, op.cit. 17ff.; Israel's historical traditions were sufficient to explain the prophet's ideas.
  2. This point is rightly made by Martin-Achard, op.cit. 95; and Riesenfeld, op.cit. 17; Irwin, on the contrary, rejects vv. 12ff. as being possibly secondary (he regards the ch. as not coming from Ezekiel) with reference to vv. 1-11, The Problem of Ezekiel, 246ff.
  3. v. 12.

of Yahweh and Yahweh the God of Israel, would be achieved.

Thus his answer to the exiles' problem was: <sup>1</sup>

" And the word of Yahweh came to me: 'Son of man, your brethern, even your brethern, your<sup>2</sup> fellow exiles, the whole house of Israel, all of them, are those of whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem have said, 'They have gone far from Yahweh; to us this land is given for a possession.' Therefore say, 'Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Though I removed them,<sup>3</sup> far off among the nations, and though I scattered them among the countries, yet I have been a sanctuary to them for a while in the countries where they have gone.' Therefore say, 'Thus says Yahweh: I will gather you from the peoples, and assemble you out of the countries where you have been scattered, and I will give you the land of Israel.' And when they come there, they will remove from it all its detestable things and all its abominations. And I will give them one<sup>4</sup> heart, and put a new spirit within them; I will take the stony heart out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my statutes and keep my ordinances and obey them; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God. But as for those whose heart goes after their<sup>5</sup> detestable things and their abominations, I will requite their deeds upon their own heads, says Yahweh.' "

The same problem had faced Jeremiah.<sup>6</sup> Those who had remained behind in Judah after the deportation of 597 had tended to

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1. 11:14-21.

2. v. 15; omit the second "your brethern"; "your fellow exiles" follows LXX, Syr.; MT reads "the men of thy kindred"; Eichrodt would omit "the whole house of Israel" because Ezekiel did not view the exiles as having been Israel exclusively, Hesekiel, 49n.

3. v. 16 MT reads "them" but in v. 17 it reads "you"; whereas LXX reads the third person throughout.

4. So MT in v. 19; some MSS and Syr. read "new"; LXX reads "another"; cf. 36:26 where MT reads "new".

5. v. 21 MT is somewhat obscure, reading "to the heart of their detestable things...."; BH suggests "but these after their detestable things..."; v. 21 should be a final sentence on the inhabitants of Jerusalem, cf. Cooke, Ezekiel, 126.

6. See Jer. 24.

regard the deportees as being completely outside Yahweh's plans for his people. They believed that without the benefit of the temple the exiles were out of contact with Yahweh. But Ezekiel viewed the matter quite differently. The exiles may have been without the Jerusalem sanctuary, but they had Yahweh himself as a sanctuary. Furthermore, the exiles would eventually be brought back to the land and it would become their land. This was very much the same solution that Jeremiah had given.<sup>1</sup> Thus it was made clear that Yahweh was not bound to the land of Israel, but that his presence could be found wherever his people were.

The exiles would come back to their own land and like the old exodus theme they would be the people of God. To this old pattern of Yahweh's dealings with Israel was added a new element. The idea of a new heart and a new spirit was to permeate the new Israel in its old land. This element of the new was mingled with the element of the old in the exilic prophets. New situations, undoubtedly, required new solutions, but always the prophets remoulded the old traditions into the pattern of the new. Thus there was a basic continuity between the sacral traditions of Israel's past history and the forward looking eschatology of the prophets. The old election traditions retained their seminal influence on the prophetic teaching even within the context of the Exile.

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1. Jer. 24:6-"I will set my eyes upon them for good, and I will bring them back to this land...."; cf. Jer. 29:1-14.

The twin motifs of the renewal of the land and the inner renewal of the people were the subject of a further prophecy. Having shown that the Exile came about because of Israel's sins during their life in Canaan,<sup>1</sup> the prophet described the features of the new life in the renewed land:

" Therefore say to the house of Israel, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: It is not for your sake, O house of Israel, that I am about to act, but for the sake of my holy name, which you have profaned among the nations to which you came. And I will vindicate the holiness of my great name, which has been profaned among the nations, and which you have profaned among them; and the nations will know that I am Yahweh, says the Lord Yahweh, when through you I vindicate my holiness before their eyes. For I will take you from the nations, and gather you from all the countries, and bring you into your own land. I will sprinkle clean water upon you, and you shall be clean from all your uncleannesses, and from all your idols I will cleanse you. A new heart I will give you, and a new spirit I will put within you; and I will take out of your flesh the heart of stone and give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes and be careful to observe my ordinances. You shall dwell in the land which I gave to your fathers; and you shall be my people, and I will be your God. And I will deliver you from all your uncleannesses; and I will summon the grain and make it abundant and lay no famine upon you. I will make the fruit of the tree and the increase of the field abundant, that you may never again suffer the disgrace of famine among the nations. Then you will remember your evil ways, and your deeds that were not good; and you will loathe yourselves for your iniquities and your abominable deeds. It is not for your sake that I will act, says the Lord Yahweh; let that be known to you. Be ashamed and<sup>2</sup> confounded for your ways, O house of Israel. "

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1. 36:16-21.

2. 36:22-32.

Any promise of restoration must have given rise to the question-if Israel was exiled for its sins how can it possibly return to its own land again? Ezekiel answered this problem to his own satisfaction by emphasising Yahweh's honour. The return would have nothing to do with any merit on Israel's behalf, but would be the act of Yahweh for the sake of his holy name. The return would be a vindication of Yahweh's holiness. This vindication had reference to the other nations: <sup>1</sup>

" Now I will restore the fortunes of Jacob, and have mercy upon the whole house of Israel; and I will be jealous for my holy name. They shall forget their shame....when they dwell securely in their land with none to make them afraid, when I have brought them back from the peoples and gathered them from their enemies' lands, and through them have vindicated my holiness in the sight of many nations. Then they shall know that I am their God Yahweh because I sent them into exile among the nations, and then gathered them into their own land."

This motif of Israel's Exile and return taking place with the nations as spectators, observing the events and relating them to the actions of Yahweh, was a favourite one of Ezekiel's. It also explains why he delineated the exodus election tradition in the form so peculiar to him.<sup>2</sup> By setting his own time in a similar context to the period of the exodus he was able to view the Exile and its subsequent return in terms of another exodus.

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1. 39:25-28; cf. 36:23; The note of pity/mercy in 39:25 was one of the very few such references in Ezekiel's work; see the remarks of B. Renaud, *Je suis un Dieu jaloux. Etude d'un thème biblique*, LD 36, 1963, 73-90; Fohrer would delete vv. 23-29, Ezechiel, 218.  
2. 20:1-31.

The renewal of the exodus and the land was also applied to the people. They would be given a new heart and a new spirit.<sup>1</sup> This new spirit would enable Israel to keep Yahweh's laws. This idea was akin to Jeremiah's view that the renewed Israel would have Yahweh's Torah written on their hearts. The Exile had come about because Israel had failed to keep the Torah, thus the prophets had to provide a solution which would effectively cope with such a situation in the new land. They did this by personalising Israel's religion and making it an inner reality within the lives of the restored people.

The restored nation would dwell in the land Yahweh gave to their fathers. The land itself would be blessed with an almost paradisaal fruitfulness.<sup>2</sup> Again Ezekiel was making use of ideas put forward by Hosea in his prophecy of Yahweh's future betrothal to Israel. The old promise of a land "flowing with milk and honey" would again have an application to Israel's position in Canaan.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 36:26; 11:19; cf. Jer. 31:31-4; on  $\square$  in the OT see Johnson, The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel, 23ff.

2. 36:8-12, 30; cf. Hos. 2:21-23 (23-25).

3. cf. Rohland's remarks, "Dieses Motiv der paradiesischen Fruchtbarkeit, das auch in 36:1-12 betont wird, ist der zweite wichtige Punkt in 36:16ff: denn dieses Motiv ist uns ja schon in Hos. 2:23f als Zeichen der Erfüllung der Erwählung begegnet und muss auch hier in diesem Sinn verstanden werden, Bezeichnend ist, dass Hesekiel hier noch einmal die Reinigung des Volkes als Voraussetzung gerade dieses Segens nennt und damit unsere schon bei Hosea ausgesprochene Vermutung bestätigt, dass es die Störung des Verhältnisses zwischen Jahwe und Israel war, die nach dem Urteil der Propheten die Erfüllung der alten Verheissung vom 'Land, das von Milch und Honig fließt', bisher verhindert hatte.", op.cit. 90.

c) The remnant

Finally, a brief consideration of Ezekiel's outlook on the idea of the remnant. Ezekiel made virtually no use of the idea in any positive sense.<sup>1</sup> As an intercessor he was deeply concerned with those who remained of the people:

" And while they were smiting, and I was left alone, I fell upon my face, and cried, 'Ah, Lord Yahweh! wilt thou destroy all that remains of Israel in the<sub>2</sub> outpouring of thy wrath upon Jerusalem?' " <sup>2</sup>

" And it came to pass, while I was prophesying, that Pelatiah the son of Benaiah died. Then I fell down upon my face, and cried with a loud voice, and said, 'Ah Lord Yahweh! wilt thou<sub>3</sub> make a full end of the remnant of Israel?' " <sup>3</sup>

Neither of these statements can be viewed as anything other than an enquiry concerning the survival of the remnant in a physical sense. Certain statements of the prophet's may have contained the remnant idea in a positive sense, though their authenticity has been questioned. Thus:

" But I will let a few of them escape from the sword, from famine and pestilence, that they may confess all their abominations among the nations <sup>4</sup> where they go, and may know that I am Yahweh. "

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1. "Ezekiel has no doctrine of a remnant", Cooke, Ezekiel, 70; on the other hand, Rowley maintains that "To Ezekiel the Remnant was rather the Israel that should arise from the death of the Exile", The Biblical Doctrine of Election, 77; Buber claims that Ezekiel individualised the idea of a remnant—"The Remnant no longer appears as a preserved life-community of the faithful who are saved, but as a sum of individuals", Prophetic Faith, 186. On the subject of individualism in Ezekiel, Fohrer remarks "Steht demnach bei Ez wie bei Jeremia der einzelne Mensch im Mittelpunkt seiner Botschaft, so ist dieser Zug doch nicht einfach als 'Individualismus', sondern besser als 'Personalismus' zu bezeichnen (W. Eichrodt), weil der Einzelne stets in eine Gemeinschaft eingegliedert ist, nicht aber isoliert lebt.", Ezechiel, xxx.

2. 9:8.

3. 11:13.

4. 12:16.

It may be granted that there was a positive aspect to this particular remnant's survival but there is too little data given about them to comment decisively.

" Yet I will leave some of you alive. When you have among the nations some who escape the sword, and when you are scattered through the countries, then those of you who escape will remember me among the nations where they are carried captive, when I have broken their wanton heart which has departed from me, and blinded their eyes which turn wantonly after their idols; and they will be loathsome in their own sight for the evils which they have committed, for all their abominations. And they shall know that I am Yahweh; I have not said in<sub>1</sub> vain that I would do this evil to them. "

" For thus says the Lord Yahweh: How much more when I send upon Jerusalem my four sore acts of judgment, sword, famine, evil beasts, and pestilence, to cut off from it man and beast! Yet, if there should be left in it any survivors to lead out sons and daughters, when they come forth to you, and you see their ways and their doings, you will be consoled for the evil that I have brought upon Jerusalem, for all that I have brought upon it. They will console you, when you see their ways and their doings; and you shall know that I have not done ~~it~~ without cause all<sub>2</sub> that I have done in it, says the Lord Yahweh. "

A consideration of these passages will show that the remnant referred to specific survival groups who would either remember Yahweh in exile among the nations, or be a consolation to those deprived by the destruction of Jerusalem. A comparison of such situations with what Ezekiel preached elsewhere as being

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1. 6:8-10; Fohrer consigns these verses to a redactor, Hauptprobleme, 72f.; Cooke thinks Ezekiel may have added them at a later time, Ezekiel, 70.

2. 14:21-23; cf. Jer. 42:1-17.



the lot of the exiles will reveal the complete difference between this remnant and the future of the exiles. Ezekiel did not address the exiles as the remnant,<sup>1</sup> and, no doubt, from his point of view the people in exile from their land were the ones with whom Yahweh would act in the future. Whether he used the significance of the remnant idea, in spite of a sparse usage of its terminology, is a rather difficult question to answer.<sup>2</sup> We would be inclined to regard his references to a remnant as having referred strictly to survivors from the fall of Jerusalem, and his ideas of hope for the future as having been centred on elements other than a remnant. The central element in his future outlook was the revival of the nation, that is, the exiles, and the renewing of the Heilsgeschichte by a new exodus and a new Landnahme.<sup>3</sup>

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1. This point is rightly made by Heaton, "The Root  $\gamma\chi\psi$  and the Doctrine of the Remnant", *JTS*, 1952, 30f.

2. Warne in his concluding remarks on the remnant in Ezekiel writes, "As with Jeremiah, so in Ezekiel there is evident a hesitancy to use the term 'Remnant' for the Golah or for those who remained in Jerusalem. We may suppose that it was in order that no false hopes should be raised. Ezekiel saw the imminence of judgment so complete that every ordinary basis for the continuance of the people would be swept away. But there is a hope in Ezekiel's prophecies, and in expressing this hope he carried forward the essence of the prophetic hope which centred in the concept of the Remnant. Thus, although the terminology of the Remnant is sparse, Ezekiel did make full use of the significance of the idea.", *op. cit.* 130f.

3. Rohland concludes his study of the exodus election tradition in Ezekiel with the observation, "Auch er beschränkt jedoch diese Verheissung (37:1-14) der Erneuerung auf die Exulanten und zeigt damit, dass nur die, die die Katastrophe von 586 als Ende der Heilsgeschichte erfahren haben, auch durch die Rückführung zu einem neuen Volk werden können. Auch hier ist also der enge Bezug zwischen eschatologischer Erwartung und Erwählungstradition völlig eindeutig.", *op. cit.* 93.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

The catastrophe of the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 brought those institutions which were not native to Israel, that is, the monarchy and the temple, to an end. With their termination the promises given to David lost their validity. However the belief in a Davidic king reigning in Jerusalem did not die with the Exile. Israel still looked forward to a time when the legitimate king would assume the throne and rule over a reunited kingdom in all the glory and prowess of the original David.

However Ezekiel's view of the future king was a very tempered one. Israel's experience of life under its various monarchs had not convinced the prophets of the justification for some of the unqualified views held about the monarchy by the people. A comparison of the views of Jeremiah and Ezekiel on the future ruler of Israel with those of Isaiah will show, not contradictions but a generally more sober picture of that personage. There was a greater tendency to redress the balance between people and king, and to envisage a situation more akin to the structure of Israel's early history when David had been king over the sacral amphictyony.<sup>1</sup>

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1. cf. von Rad's comment on Ezekiel—"He is strangely unable to expound the Davidic tradition", Theology, II, 236. This is only true in so far as von Rad believes that the David election tradition was quite separate from the exodus faith. However we would explain such a reticence as being the natural outcome of a view which saw the king in the terms of his original position within Israel. Ezekiel did not expound the Davidic tradition because such an exposition would have given to the king an emphasis the prophets could not sanction.

a) King and covenant<sup>1</sup>

A consideration of Ezekiel's view of the future Davidic leader of Israel leads to the opinion that with this particular prophet the beliefs concerning the monarchy came a full circle to arrive at a situation rather similar to those prevailing in the early days of the kingship. For his teaching about the king was bound up with his outlook on the new covenant between Yahweh and Israel. Once again the king would rule over a people who were living in a covenant relationship with Yahweh. The undue emphasis on the king in the Jerusalem cultus would be replaced with a revival of the original position of the king:

" Now therefore thus you shall say to my servant David, 'Thus says Yahweh of hosts, I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, that you should be prince over my people Israel.' " <sup>2</sup>

Among the prophets of the southern kingdom there had always been a belief in the future restoration of the northern kingdom to the dominion of David.<sup>3</sup> For them the division of the kingdom in the days of Rehoboam had been a tragic disruption of the divine promises to David. With the destruction of the north in 722 all that had remained to Israel had been Judah. The fall of Jerusalem had finally ended David's kingdom.

1. On this section, see also Rohland, op. cit. 254-62.

2. II Sam. 7:8.

3. cf. Am. 9:11; Is. 11:1; Mic. 5:3(2); Jer. 23:6. The reference to Benjamin as "a lamp" for David in I K. 11:36 may reflect this belief; especially if Noth's understanding of  $\text{נֶדֶן}$  as a "new break/new beginning" is correct, see his "Jerusalem and the Israelite Tradition", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 137f.

For Ezekiel, too, the future held a promise of a restoration of the north and south as one kingdom. Thus:<sup>1</sup>

" The word of Yahweh came to me?<sup>2</sup> 'Son of man, take a stick and write on it, 'For Judah and<sup>3</sup> the children of Israel associated with him'; then take another stick and write upon it, 'For Joseph (the stick of Ephraim)<sup>4</sup> and all the house of Israel associated with him'; and join them together into one stick, that they may become one in your hand. And when your people say to you, 'Will you not show us what you mean by these?' say to them, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Behold, I am about to take the stick of Joseph (which is in the hand of Ephraim) and the tribes of Israel associated with him; and I will join it with the stick of Judah, and make them one stick, that they may be one in my hand. When the sticks on which you write are in your hand before their eyes, then say to them, Thus says the Lord Yahweh: Behold, I will take the people of Israel from the nations among which they have gone, and will gather them from all sides, and bring them to their own land; and I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king over them all; and they shall be no longer two nations, and no longer divided into two kingdoms. They shall not defile themselves any more with their idols<sup>5</sup> and their detestable things, or with any of their transgressions; but I will (~~xxxx~~) save them from all the backslidings in which they have sinned, and will cleanse them; and they shall be my people, and I will be their God.' "

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1. 37:15-23; vv. 24-28 also belong to this section but they will be considered below; they have been separated here simply in order to underline the notion of the reunion of the two kingdoms.
  2. v. 16 MT reads "but thou", which is lacking in some MSS and LXX. MT also reads "one stick" whereas LXX omits "one".
  3. Omit "and the children of Israel associated with him", cf. v. 19; see Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 358n.
  4. Omit "the stick of Ephraim" as an explanatory gloss; see BH; Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 358n; Zimmerli, Ezechiel, 904; this particular verse appears to have been considerably expanded.
  5. v. 23 LXX omits "their detestable things.... their transgressions"; in v. 22 LXX reads "prince" for MT "king", see Zimmerli, ibid. 905.

This desire to see the two kingdoms reunited as one kingdom under a Davidic leader was a main element in the David-Zion election tradition in the south.<sup>1</sup> The division of the kingdom in the first place had represented the collapse of the tent of David. Ultimately any fulfilment of the promises made to David would have had to have been in terms of a kingdom commensurate with that of David's original territory. Under one leader and as one people they would once again attain the position which had been the goal of the exodus.

Yahweh's future anointed leader had been viewed as "a shoot from the stump of Jesse" by Isaiah,<sup>2</sup> and as "a righteous branch" by Jeremiah.<sup>3</sup> Ezekiel gave a parable which may have been influenced by these metaphors:<sup>4</sup>

" Thus says the Lord Yahweh: 'I myself will take a sprig from the lofty top of the cedar,<sup>5</sup> and will set it out; I will break off from the topmost of its young twigs a tender one, and I myself will plant it upon a high and lofty mountain; on the mountain height of Israel I will plant it, that it may bring forth boughs and bear fruit, and become a noble cedar; and under it will dwell all kinds of beasts; in the shade of its branches birds of every sort will nest. And all the trees of the field shall know that I Yahweh bring low the high tree, and make high the low tree, dry up the green tree, and make the dry tree flourish. I Yahweh have spoken, and I will do it.' "

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1. Contrary to von Rad's remarks this symbolism of the two sticks represents an exposition of the Davidic tradition; cf. Theology, II, 236
  2. Is. 11:1.
  3. Jer. 23:5.
  4. 17:22-24; see also the comments of Rohland, op. cit. 254ff.
  5. Omit "and will set it out" in v. 22 with LXX and some MSS; for an understanding of the parable see vv. 1-21.

The constant use of a metaphor signifying the coming ruler as an 'offshoot' reveals the idea of continuity which was a central feature of the Davidic election tradition. Although Ezekiel was in agreement with the earlier prophets on this point, it must be noted that he disagreed with Jeremiah on the question of which king was the legitimate one. That is, in the deportation of 597 Jehoiachin the king of Judah had been taken to Babylon. Behind him, in Judah, Zedekiah had succeeded to the throne. Thus, technically speaking, Judah had two kings in existence at the same time; one in Babylon, and the other in Judah. Such a strange situation must have given rise to the development of two rival factions. One party would have supported Zedekiah and the other group would have been in favour of Jehoiachin.<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah apparently supported Zedekiah,<sup>2</sup> and said of Jehoiachin:

" Thus says Yahweh:  
 'Write this man down as childless,  
 a man who shall not succeed in his days;  
 for none of his offspring shall succeed  
 in sitting on the throne of David,<sup>3</sup>  
 and ruling again in Judah.' "

On the other hand, Ezekiel ignored Zedekiah completely and

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1. The subject is discussed by Noth in his essay, "The Jerusalem Catastrophe of 587 B.C., and its significance for Israel", The Laws in the Pentateuch, 260-80.
  2. cf. Jer. 38:17-20; it is most probable that Jeremiah supported Zedekiah only in so far as he opposed the Jehoiachin faction; as far as he was concerned neither king offered hope for the future, hence his pun on Zedekiah's name in 23:5,6.
  3. Jer. 22:30; this imprecation must be understood as an attack on the Jehoiachin supporters, rather than a statement about his progeny, for I Chr. 3:17, 18 states a list of his sons.

supported Jehoiachin.<sup>1</sup> This, however, was simply a case of two opposing parties creating a certain amount of internal friction, and has very little bearing on the subject of the David-Zion election tradition in Ezekiel.

The image of the tender twig planted on the mountain height of Israel was Ezekiel's affirmation of a new beginning for the house of David in Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The fulfilment of such a promise would confront the kings<sup>3</sup> of the other nations with Yahweh's existence and would be a testimony to his power. The restored kingdom would be ruled over by a Davidic leader. Ezekiel made certain observations about both this leader and the state of life in Israel under him:<sup>4</sup>

" And I will set up over them<sup>5</sup> one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them:<sup>6</sup> he shall feed them and be their shepherd. And I, Yahweh, will be their God, and my servant David shall be prince among them; I, Yahweh, have spoken. I will make with them a covenant of peace and banish wild beasts from the land, so that they may dwell securely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods. And I will make them and the places round about my hill a blessing; and I will send down the showers

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1. 19:5-9 has, however, been considered a reference to Zedekiah, see J. Herrmann, Ezechiel, KAT XI, 1924, 116ff.; also vv. 10-14, see Bertholet, Hesekiel, 69ff.; Noth would refer it to Jehoiachin, op. cit. 273ff.; also Cooke, Ezekiel, 205ff.
  2. Rohland maintains that here the Davidic tradition was linked to the Zion tradition, op. cit. 255n. We would disagree with this view as we maintain that they were never separate traditions.
  3. This surely is the meaning of 17:24.
  4. 34:23-30.
  5. Eichrodt would omit "over them" in v. 23; Heskiel, 330n; ~~XXX~~<sup>B</sup> ~~xxxx~~ ~~xxxx~~ ~~ix~~; the suffixes in the verse vary from masculine to feminine, see BH and Eichrodt's observations, ibid. 330n.
  6. LXX omits the second "he shall feed them".

in their season; they shall be showers of blessing. And the trees of the field shall yield their fruit, and the earth shall yield its increase, and they shall be secure in their land; and they shall know that I am Yahweh, when I break the bars of their yoke, and deliver them from the hand of those who enslaved them. They shall no more be a prey to the nations, nor shall the beasts of the land devour them; they shall dwell securely, and none shall make them afraid. And I will provide for them prosperous plantations so that they shall no more be consumed with hunger in the land, and no longer suffer the reproach of the nations. And they shall know that I, Yahweh their God, am with them, and that they, the house of Israel, are my people, says the Lord Yahweh."<sup>1</sup>

The restored Israel was to have Yahweh as their shepherd.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore they were to have also as their shepherd the future Davidic leader. David, the servant of Yahweh,<sup>3</sup> would be both shepherd<sup>4</sup> and prince<sup>5</sup> over the new Israel. The original David had been taken from tending the sheep in order to be a shepherd over Israel.<sup>6</sup> So the future leader would again follow the same pattern.

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1. v. 31 is probably a later addition, hence not included in the above passage; see the comments of Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 330n.

2. cf. 34:11-16; esp. v. 15: "I myself will be the shepherd of my sheep, and I will make them lie down, says the Lord Yahweh."

3. On the king as Yahweh's servant, see Linshagen, The Servant Motif in the OT, 280-4; however we view with reservations his application of a cultic content to the word 'servant'; it undoubtedly contained that notion but primarily it referred to the personal relationship between Yahweh and the individual.

4. The idea of shepherd was contained in the epithet "leader" applied to David in II Sam. 7:8, see J. J. Glück, "Nagid-Shepherd", VT, 1963, 144-50; cf. W. Richter, "Die Nāgīd-Formel", CBQ, 1965, 71-84.

5. On נָשִׂיב see E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical נָשִׂיב", CBQ, 1963, 111-17.

6. II Sam. 7:8; Ps. 78:70, 71.



Yet the reference to David was only a passing one. The emphasis of the prophecy was on Yahweh's covenant of peace with his people. This covenant would usher in an age of harmonious life for Israel.<sup>1</sup> The state of peaceful existence would have reference to nature and to the other nations. The images of a land from which the wild beasts have been banished, and wherein there would be great prosperity probably were developed by Ezekiel from Hosea's description of a future covenant with the beasts of the field.<sup>2</sup> Israel would come back to their land from the lands of their banishment and would find in a new life on the mountains of Israel a quiet, peaceful, and propitious existence. All of this would come from the hand of Yahweh:

" And I will bring them out from the peoples, and gather them from the countries, and will bring them into their own land; and I will feed them on the mountains of Israel, by the fountains, and all the inhabited places of the country. I will feed them with good pasture, and upon the mountain heights of Israel shall be their pasture; there they shall lie down in good grazing land, and on fat pasture they shall feed on the mountains of Israel. I myself will be the shepherd of my sheep." <sup>3</sup>

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1. The fundamental meaning of  $\text{שָׁלוֹם}$  "peace" is 'totality'; it creates a harmonious community, see Pedersen, Israel, I-II, 263f. In this particular instance the covenant inaugurates a relationship of peace, so von Rad, " $\text{שָׁלוֹם}$  in the OT", TWNT, II, 403. It may be contrasted with 13:10, 16 where Israel's situation before 587 was one of "no peace".
  2. Hos. 2:18(20); Hosea's covenant was with the beasts, whereas Ezekiel envisaged the disappearance of the wild beasts; in each case a different species of animal was in mind, and both incidences were prerequisites to a peaceful, secure way of life.
  3. 34:13-15.

Not only would there be safety from wild animals within the country, and agricultural prosperity, but there would be complete security from the threat of foreign nations. For over a century Israel had been under constant threat of invasion and devastation from its enemies. Judah had faced the Syro-Ephraimite coalition in the days of Isaiah, had lived for a long time as the vassal of Assyria, had undergone various incursions of the Egyptians into its land, and finally had been subjected to the hegemony of the Babylonians. Thus it was that each prophet had looked forward to a time of peace in the long distant future. Indeed, even those prophets termed 'false prophets' by the canonical prophets had preached peace, though they had tended to predict peace all the time without any correlation between their message and Israel's daily experience. Isaiah called his coming ruler "prince of peace";<sup>1</sup> Micah saw his leader as "one of peace/when the Assyrian comes into our land";<sup>2</sup> and in the days of Jeremiah's "righteous branch" Israel would find security.<sup>3</sup> So Ezekiel, standing in the line of the prophetic expectation of future peace under Yahweh's anointed leader, depicted a restoration scene where Israel would finally live in peace and security in its own land as the people of Yahweh.

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1. Is. 9:6(5).

2. Mic. 5:5(4).

3. Jer. 23:5,6.

The future relationship between Yahweh and his people would be of a covenantal structure. Thus the future would be in terms of Israel's past. So Ezekiel interwove his ideas of the future Davidic leader with his notions of the new covenant. He did not comment on the original Davidic covenant<sup>1</sup> because it had, in the first place, been based on the covenant made with Israel at Sinai. The demand of his time was for a message of reconstruction for the nation. Therefore he fitted his outlook on the David election tradition within the more fundamental context of a renewed covenant. Because of this new covenant the old exodus theme "they shall be my people, and I will be their God" would again apply to Israel.

" My servant David shall be king<sup>2</sup> over them; and they shall all have one shepherd. They shall follow my ordinances and be careful to observe my statutes. They shall dwell in the land where your fathers dwelt that I gave to my servant Jacob; they and their children and their children's children shall dwell there for ever; and David my servant shall be their prince for ever. I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be<sup>3</sup> an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people. Then the nations will know that I Yahweh sanctify Israel, when my sanctuary is in the midst of them for evermore."

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1. The reference to covenant in 16:8 probably referred to the covenant at Sinai rather than the one with David, see Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", *Verbannung und Heimkehr*, 239.  
 2. 37:24-28; v. 24 LXX reads *ἄρχων* "prince" for "king" as it did in v. 22.  
 3. v. 26 RSV follow Targum in reading "bless"; MT reads "give".

The restored and united kingdom would be ruled over by a Davidic shepherd and prince. Ezekiel referred to this leader twice as "king".<sup>1</sup> Otherwise he preferred to view him as being both a shepherd and a prince. These terms and the functions they described belonged to the early period of the monarchy, especially to the days of David.<sup>2</sup> The idea of the prince belonged to the period of the judges who preceded the time of the monarchy.<sup>3</sup> Thus during the Exile there was an attempt to revive the ancient office of the leaders of the old sacral amphictyony. From the time of Deuteronomy there had been a strong campaign to curb the exaggerated views taken of the monarch in the Jerusalem cultus. When the state of Judah broke up in 587 the office of king ceased to have any practical significance for the exiles in Babylon or the remnant left in Judah. The institution of kingship which had been taken over from the Canaanite nations in the eleventh century no longer existed. In so far as Israel was without a king it was in a position rather similar to the days of the judges. Therefore it was natural for Ezekiel to envisage a revival of some of the outstanding features of the early leaders of the

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1. 37:22,24; in spite of the LXX reading of "prince" in the place of "king" we would agree with Zimmerli that the MT reading should be retained, Ezechiel, 912. There are no grounds for rejecting the MT reading especially as it forms an integral part of the text, cf. "one king.....two kingdoms" in v.22.

2. For David as shepherd see II Sam.5:2; Ps.78:70f.

3. cf. Num.1:16;7:2;34:18; Jos.9:18;17:4;22:14; I Chr.7:40; II Chr.1:2. see Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nasi", CBQ, 1963, 111-17. Solomon was also referred to as "prince"-I K.11:34.

nation in the Davidic prince of the resurrected Israel.

One God, one nation, one king, one shepherd--thus would the future repeat the pattern of the past. A permanent covenant of peace would also characterise the future economy. There would be a complete obedience to Yahweh's statutes and laws. This obedience would be brought about by the gift of a new spirit.<sup>1</sup> At this point both Ezekiel and Jeremiah had viewed the new covenant in a somewhat different way from the earlier concepts of the covenant in Israel. Israel's total failure to fulfil the demands of Yahweh's covenant made with them at Sinai had led to the constant prophetic declaration of the lawsuit between Yahweh and his people. Ultimately the prophets viewed the destruction of the state by the Babylonians as the outcome of Yahweh's judgment against the nation. Thus Ezekiel maintained:

" Yea, thus says the Lord Yahweh: I will deal with you as you have done, who have despised the oath in breaking the covenant "<sup>2</sup>

Yet in spite of this rejection the future would see a revival of Yahweh's covenant with Israel:

" ...yet I will remember my covenant with you in the days of your youth, and I will<sub>3</sub> establish with you an everlasting covenant. "

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1. 11:19, 20; cf. Jer. 31:31-34.

2. 16:59; vv. 59-63 of ch. 16 are generally regarded as not having been written by Ezekiel, see Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 131f.; Fohrer, Ezechiel, 92ff. It is argued that the ideas reflected those of the Priestly writer, see also Cooke, Ezekiel, 180f. It may well be that the verses were appended at a later date by disciples of Ezekiel, though much of the thought of the passage reflected ideas held by Ezekiel.

3. 16:60.

The new covenant would be kept by a renewed people with a new spirit within them.<sup>1</sup> At this stage the covenant had become for Ezekiel and Jeremiah an eschatological concept.<sup>2</sup> It would be kept by virtue of the inner spiritual state of the nation. Thus the prophets had transformed an old concept into something quite radically different and new. Their handling of the idea of the new covenant reveals that they had subjected the idea to a good deal of thinking in the light of Israel's historical experience of living under the covenant. The failure of one covenant had led to the formulation of this new covenant which would in itself guarantee the fulfilment of its terms.<sup>3</sup> In this way the teaching of the later prophets tended to use earlier concepts in a re-interpreted way so as to meet the exigencies brought about by the Exile. The past provided the pattern and illustrated the failures inherent within the complete set-up. From such observations the prophets put forward a new scheme for the future. But this scheme was principally concerned with observing a continuity between the Israel of the past and the new Israel of the future.

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1. Jer. 31:31-34; Ez. 11:19, 20; 37:24-28.

2. On this point see the interesting discussion by Bultmann, "Prophecy and Fulfilment", Essays Philosophical and Theological, ET, 1955, 182-208. On the covenant in Jeremiah, see Martin-Achard, "La Nouvelle Alliance selon Jeremie", RTP, 1962, 82-92.

3. cf. R. Schreiber, Der Neue Bund im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum, Diss. 1954/55, for a comprehensive review of the tension which existed between the old Sinai covenant and the new covenant. It may well be that both prophets envisaged the future covenant between Yahweh and Israel as reflecting more the promissory nature of the covenants with the patriarchs and with David than that of the Sinai covenant.

The total integration of the Davidic prince within the exodus-Sinai tradition in Ezekiel<sup>1</sup> was not an innovation of that prophet but a further example of his attitude to the future as being essentially based on the pattern of the past. Any divorce between the exodus-Sinai-Landnahme election faith and the David-Zion faith in Judah had been due to the overemphasis on the royal tradition by the Jerusalem cultus. The David-Zion election tradition had grown out of the exodus tradition in the early days of the monarchy and together they had formed the essential content of belief in the southern kingdom. Ezekiel restated this fundamental feature of the Davidic kingdom by viewing the future state of Israel in terms taken from both traditions. Granted this particular feature was not evident in the work of the prophets before Ezekiel but it cannot be argued from this that there was no relation between the two traditions in the southern kingdom until Ezekiel's time. The two traditions were distinct in so far as their content matter ~~was~~<sup>was</sup> different, but they were by no means as inimical as has been argued by some modern scholars.

A further contact between Ezekiel and the older traditions

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1. Thus von Rad remarks, "...Ezekiel fuses the Sinai tradition and the David tradition which Jeremiah still kept essentially separate. But the Sinai tradition dominates his thought—under the new David, Israel will obey the commandments (Ez. 37:24)", Theology, II, 236; cf. Rohland, "Auffällig ist nun allerdings, dass hier, bei der Verheissung des neuen David—und nicht bei der des neuen Exodus!—von einem Bundesschluss Jahwes die Rede ist.", op. cit. 258.

was his emphasis on the Davidic leader as a prince.<sup>1</sup> Such a title signified the essential relationship between Yahweh and his servant as being that of vassal and overlord.<sup>2</sup> In the early history of Israel Yahweh had reigned over his people and they had had various human leaders who had arisen in given situations in order to meet various crises. The older idea of Yahweh as king in Israel found an echo in one of Ezekiel's restoration prophecies:

"As I live, says the Lord Yahweh, surely with a mighty hand and an ~~(outstretched)~~ outstretched arm, and with wrath poured out, I will be king over you."<sup>3</sup>

The Davidic ruler in Israel would then be a representative of Yahweh's rule.

#### b) City and sanctuary<sup>4</sup>

Ezekiel regarded Jerusalem as the "navel of the earth"<sup>5</sup>. Yet his main emphasis on Jerusalem was one of judgment because the nation had defiled the sanctuary.<sup>6</sup> The history of the city

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1. The usage of king in 37:22,24 shows that there was a certain degree of ambiguity in Ezekiel's thinking on this subject. Miller thinks that perhaps the LXX reading "prince" should be followed, Das Verhältnis Jeremias und Hesekiels, 179n.
  2. Vassal-kings were usually titled "princes" in deference to their overlords' title "king", see Noth, Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels, BWANT IV, 1, 1930, 151ff.
  3. 20:33; on the kingdom of Yahweh, see esp. Maag, "Malkut Jhwh", SVT, 1959, 129-53.
  4. On this particular section, see Rohland, op. cit. 194-9; Rohland observes that Zion had no place in Ezekiel's language but that he constantly spoke of Jerusalem, ibid. 194.
  5. 38:12; this may well refer to the whole land as well as the city; cf. 5:5 - "This is Jerusalem; I have set her in the centre of the nations".
  6. 5:11; 8-11.



had been one of continuous unfaithfulness to Yahweh:

" The word of Yahweh came to me: 'Son of man, there were two women, the daughters of one mother; they played the harlot in Egypt; they played the harlot in their youth; there their breasts were pressed and their virgin bosoms handled. Oholah was the name of the elder and Oholibah the name of her sister. They became mine, and they bore sons and daughters. As for their names, Oholah<sub>1</sub> is Samaria, and Oholibah is Jerusalem. '"

The infidelity spoken of here was that of political alliances with Egypt and Assyria.<sup>2</sup>

Ezekiel was aware of the ethnic background of early Jerusalem—"your origin and your birth are of the land of the Canaanites; your father was an Amorite, and your mother was a Hittite".<sup>3</sup> This remark was the preface to a lengthy harangue against the cultic apostasy of the nation. Because of the nation's sins the city would be destroyed:

" Therefore thus says the Lord Yahweh: Like the wood of the vine among the trees of the forest, which I have given to the fire for fuel, so will I give up the inhabitants of Jerusalem. And I will set my face against them; though they escape from the fire, the fire shall yet consume them; and you will know that I am Yahweh, when I set my face against them. And I will make the land desolate, because they have acted faithlessly, says Yahweh."<sup>4</sup>

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1. 23:1-4; the last sentence of v. 4 is an explanatory gloss, see Cooke, Ezekiel, 249; Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 210n.

2. In ch. 16 the infidelity was the syncretism within the cult.

3. 16:3; see Zimmerli, "Das Gotteswort des Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 137; von Rad, Theology, II, 221. In section 2a of this chapter we viewed 16:1-8 as also having reference to the election of Israel; apart from the primary application to Jerusalem this appears to be a quite legitimate interpretation. Ezekiel's allegories are extremely difficult to interpret, e.g. 23:4 which views Samaria as an elder sister to Jerusalem!

4. 15:6-8; Eichrodt would delete v. 8, Hesekiel, 112n.

Jeremiah had made clear to his hearers that the presence of the temple in Jerusalem was no guarantee of security against the judgment of Yahweh against the city.<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel also regarded the city as unprotected by the sanctuary in its midst. For him the temple no longer held the presence of Yahweh. In a sequence of visions the prophet observed the glory of Yahweh departing from the temple:

" Then the glory of Yahweh went forth from the threshold of the house, and stood over the cherubim. And the cherubim lifted up their wings and mounted up from the earth in my sight as they went forth, with the wheels beside them; and they stood at the door of the east gate of the house of Yahweh; and the<sub>2</sub> glory of the God of Israel was over them. "

" Then the cherubim lifted up their wings, with the wheels beside them; and the glory of the God of Israel was over them. And the glory of Yahweh went up from the midst of the city, and stood upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city. " <sup>3</sup>

Thus the city no longer contained the presence of Yahweh.

However, the destruction of the temple and the city was only a temporary end for Israel. With the execution of Yahweh's judgment there also came an end to his wrath. This factor was made quite clear by Ezekiel in his comments on the exiles.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Jer. 7:1-15.

2. 10:18, 19.

3. 11:22, 23; chs. 8-11 contain Ezekiel's second vision concerning the temple.

4. Martin Schmidt rightly observes, "In der Existenz der Gola realisiert sich nicht nur das Ende Israels (24:23), sondern auch der Anfang eines neuen Israel. Die Trennung von Jerusalem bedeutet nicht nur Ende der Volksgeschichte, sondern auch Befreiung von der Schuld Jerusalems, Neuanfang der Gottesgeschichte.", Prophet und Tempel, 151f.

With the restoration of Israel to their own land after the Exile, the people would again serve Yahweh on his holy hill:<sup>1</sup>

" For on my holy mountain, the mountain height of Israel, says the Lord Yahweh, there all the house of Israel, all of them, shall serve me in the land; there I will accept them, and there I will require your contributions and the choicest of your gifts, with all your sacred offerings. As a pleasing odor I will accept you, when I bring you out from the peoples, and gather you out of the countries where you have been scattered; and I will manifest my holiness among you in the sight of the nations."

Thus Ezekiel envisaged a reorganised cultus on the mount of Zion in the restored state. Furthermore, Yahweh's sanctuary would be in the midst of his people:

" I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore. My dwelling place shall be with them; and I will<sub>2</sub> be their God, and they shall be my people."<sup>2</sup>

One of the remarkable features about Ezekiel was his somewhat systematic consideration of the problems peculiar to Israel during the catastrophic period of the deportations and the Exile. His prophecies give the impression of an extremely capable mind brought to bear on the enigmas of the age and their possible solutions.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the most comprehensive of

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1. 20:40, 41; omit "in the land" in v. 40 with LXX.

2. 37:26, 27.

3. He was not only a prophet but also an intellectual and a theologian; cf. von Rad's remarks, "Ezekiel.... is a man of not only all-round general culture, but of intellectual powers of the first rank. What is really remarkable and intriguing, however, is that Ezekiel finds a place for rational reflexion beside the visionary and inspired elements in his work. Ezekiel is not only a prophet, but a theologian as well.", Theology, II, 222f.

all his conceptions was that of his vision of the future community with its city and temple set out in the supplement to his prophecies in chapters 40-48.<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have rejected this particular booklet as not having emanated from Ezekiel.<sup>2</sup> However, we are of the firm opinion that, although some of the ideas contained therein were most probably secondary additions, the supplement originated with Ezekiel and contained some of his most characteristic ideas.<sup>3</sup> It also represented his most constructive piece of thinking. In so far as Jeremiah's purchase of a field in Anathoth was a sign of his good faith in Israel's future hope, even so this blueprint of Ezekiel's was a practical demonstration that he was convinced of the fact that Israel had a future within its own land before Yahweh.

This document of restoration viewed Israel as "a self-contained community".<sup>4</sup> This community would tend to make the

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1. The whole section is extensively analysed by Gese, Der Verfassungsentwurf des Ezechiel (Kap. 40-48); see also Schmidt, Prophet und Tempel, 163-71; Cooke, Ezekiel, 425ff.; Zimmerli, Ezechiel, 976ff.
  2. So von Rad, Theology, II, 296n.; Noth, "The Laws in the Pentateuch: Their Assumptions and Meaning", op. cit. 68n.; Irwin, The Problem of Ezekiel, 252ff.
  3. Scholars who accept the authenticity of 40-48 include, Pfeiffer, Introduction, 554; Howie, The Date and Composition of Ezekiel, 102; Eissfeldt, Introduction, 376; May, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Ezekiel", IB, VI, 283; Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 264; Gallings has argued from archaeological sources that Ezekiel must have known the first temple (Solomon's) in order to write 40-48, see his contributions to the commentaries, Bertholet-Galling, Hesekiel; Fohrer-Galling, Ezechiel, 220ff.; cf. W.F. Lofthouse, Israel after the Exile, 1928, 88.
  4. This phrase is taken from Pedersen, Israel, III-IV, 598.

temple worship less of a royalist monopoly as it had been in the days of the monarchy and more the religious exercise of the community.<sup>1</sup> Ezekiel had watched the glory of Yahweh departing from the old temple prior to its destruction; in his vision of the future restored temple he saw the glory of Yahweh ~~re~~-entering the new temple:<sup>2</sup>

" Afterward he brought me to the gate, the gate<sup>3</sup> facing east. And behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the east; and the sound of his coming was like the sound of many waters; and the earth shone with his glory. And the<sup>4</sup> vision I saw was like the vision which I had seen when he came to destroy the city, and like the vision which I had seen by the river Chebar; and I fell upon my face. As the glory of Yahweh entered the temple by the gate facing east, the Spirit lifted me up, and brought me into the inner court; and behold, the glory of Yahweh filled the temple. While the man was standing beside me, I heard one speaking to me out of the temple; and he said to me, 'Son of man, this is the place of my throne and the place of the soles of my feet,<sup>5</sup> where I will dwell in the midst of the people<sup>6</sup> of Israel for ever.' "

The first vision of the glory of the God of Israel had been the prelude to judgment and destruction, whereas this vision was the prologue to a new state of blessing.<sup>6</sup>

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1. cf. Pfeiffer, Religion in the Old Testament, 1961, 178.

2. 43:1-7a.

3. v.1 delete the second occurrence of "gate"; see BH; cf. LXX, Syr.; Vulg.

4. v.3 MT reads "and like the vision"; RSV follows LXX. The second reference to vision in the verse follows Syr.; MT reads "and the visions"; LXX "vision"; Syr. "like the vision".

5. v.7, MT; LXX reads "my name shall dwell there"; followed by Eichrodt, Hesekiel, 390n. For MT reading "the people of Israel" LXX reads "the house of Israel".

6. In the same way it may be said that 40-48 was the antithesis to 8-11.

The temple as the dwelling place of Yahweh reflected one of the features of the permanent covenant between Israel and Yahweh in the future.

" I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore."<sup>1</sup>

In the old economy before the Exile Yahweh had had his dwelling place in the temple. In the new community he would also dwell in the new temple. Thus Ezekiel's plan for the future was based on the old pattern.

The officials in this new sanctuary would be the Levites, the sons of Zadok.<sup>2</sup> The leader of the community would be a prince:

" And to the prince shall belong the land on both sides of the holy district and the property of the city, alongside the holy district and the property of the city, on the west and on the east, corresponding in length to one of the tribal portions, and extending from the western to the eastern boundary of the land. It is to be his property in Israel. And my princes shall no more oppress my people; but they shall let the house of Israel<sub>3</sub> have the land according to their tribes."

The prince would have certain cultic privileges in the restored cultus:

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1. 37:26.

2. 44:15-31; Ezekiel divided the Levites into those who were sons of Zadok, and could therefore have the full status of priests, and those who were simply Levites but not of the family of Zadok, who could only have an inferior status as cult assistants. On this subject see Gunneweg, "Das Zadokidische Programm im Ezechielischen Verfassungsentwurf", Leviten und Priester, 188-203.

3. 45:7,8; in v. 8 LXX reads "the princes of Israel" for MT "my princes"

" Then he brought me back to the outer gate of the sanctuary, which faces east; and it was shut. And he said to me, 'This gate shall remain shut; it shall not be opened, and no one shall enter by it; for Yahweh, the God of Israel, has entered by it; therefore it shall remain shut. Only the prince may sit in it to eat bread before Yahweh; he shall enter by way of the vestibule of the gate, and shall go out by the same way.' "

The question arises as to whether this prince was the Davidic prince spoken of by Ezekiel in other prophecies. It has been argued that the two rulers were entirely different conceptions of Ezekiel's.<sup>2</sup> Thus the Davidic ruler belonged to the period before the fall of Jerusalem in 587, and the prince of the community to a period some fourteen years after that fall.<sup>3</sup> However, it is not necessary to posit such a dual outlook in the mind of Ezekiel. Ezekiel's description of the Davidic king/prince/shepherd was very much lacking in detail. His designation of the community prince was equally lacking in delineation. Yet both sets of images were essentially functional within their given context. The Davidic ruler had a role of leadership and so had the community prince. A general comparison of the two descriptions would reveal only one difference between them. Namely, the reference to the Davidic leader as king. The cultic role of the prince may well

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1. 44:1-3; v. 2 MT reads "Yahweh" which is an obvious mistake.

2. See Klausner, The Messianic Idea in Israel, 125-34; also Danell, Studies in the Name Israel in the OT, 257-61, esp. 261n.

3. cf. 40:1; it may be noted that Ezekiel dated the Exile from the time of the deportation, and 587 then referred simply to the year "the city was conquered".

have been quite negligible,<sup>1</sup> for the community prince only had cultic privileges, not a cultic office.<sup>2</sup> In all probability the prince of the community was Ezekiel's later draft of which the Davidic prince was an earlier idea. The two pictures should then be viewed as different aspects of the one figure. The context, therefore, determined the data provided about each role.

Apart from the two occurrences of the title "king" Ezekiel preferred to refer to his version of the coming Davidic leader as "prince". The same ruler would have his place in the renewed community but without a cultic role. The earlier prophets had avoided using the title "king" in so far as it was possible. Yet Ezekiel's usage of the term was akin to Jeremiah's use of it.<sup>3</sup> There was a certain amount of doubt in the minds of the prophets about the designation of the future Davidic ruler.<sup>4</sup> They obviously disliked the term "king" for it had associations with the monarchs of their day and as such could hardly have provided much of an honorific for the messianic ruler.

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1. It is difficult to say whether the designation "shepherd" (37:24) for the Davidic king-prince had any cultic significance or not.
  2. In this way the position of the king in the pre-exilic Jerusalem cultus was effectively countered in the future community. On the subject of prince and priests in Ezekiel, see Procksch, "Fürst und Priester bei Hesekiel", ZAW, 1940, 90-133.
  3. Jer. 23:5 - "I will raise up for David a righteous branch, and he shall reign as king".
  4. The contrast between the emphasis on the Davidic descent of the leader and the lack of reference to him as "king" was evidence of this element of doubt; also cf. Hos. 1:11 (2:2); Mic. 5:2(1); and contrast Jer. 23:5, 6 with 30:21.



Finally, it must be noted that the new city with its new temple was situated "upon a very high mountain" in the land of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The name of this city would be "Yahweh shāmmāh".<sup>2</sup> Thus its distinguishing mark would be the presence of Yahweh the God of Israel. Yet what was the connexion between this new city and the old Zion? Although both were referred to as being on very high mountains, it would appear that the new city was intended to be somewhat distinct from the old Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> The new city would have the characteristics of the old Zion and was Ezekiel's version of Isaiah's vision of Zion as the pilgrimage centre for the nations.<sup>4</sup> With the setting up of this city and the rule of the Davidic prince the David-Zion election tradition would reach its climax. Within the context of the community<sup>5</sup> it would be integrated once more with the exodus-Sinai election tradition.

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1. 40:2; cf. 20:40.

2. 48:35; cf. Jer. 3:17; Eichrodt comments, "Der Name erinnert an den alten Heilsnamen 'Immanuel' und weist wie dieser auf die Nähe Jahves hin, der zwar nicht in der Stadt wie früher, aber in ihrer nächsten Nähe Wohnung genommen hat.", Hesekiel, 421.

3. So Pfeiffer, Introduction, 532; Cooke writes, "the very site of the new Jerusalem will be shifted to a spot outside the temple; and a change of name will mark a change in the city's character", Ezekiel, 427.

4. cf. Is. 2:2-4; Rohland remarks, "Zunächst ist bemerkenswert, dass nach Ez. 40:2 der neue Tempel auf einem sehr hohen Berge liegen sollte. Beachtet man, dass..... der Tempelbauplan sich ziemlich genau an das Vorbild des salomonischen Tempels hält und auf dessen Wiederherstellung zielt, so muss dieses Missverhältnis zu den wirklichen Höhenverhältnissen in und um Jerusalem sehr überraschen. Es erklärt sich jedoch zweifellos-ähnlich wie Jes. 2:2-4-aus dem Bestreben, dem kommenden Tempel sämtliche Eigenschaften zuzuschreiben, die generell vom Gottesberg als dem Wohnort der Gottheit ausgesagt wurden.", op. cit. 197.

5. On the idea of community in Ezekiel, see Zimmerli, "Die Eigenart der prophetischen Rede des Ezechiel", Gottes Offenbarung, 148-77.

#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

During the Exile a greater interest was taken in the traditions concerning the patriarchs.<sup>1</sup> This interest appeared quite strongly in the work of Deutero-Isaiah, but was not very prominent in Ezekiel's outlook. The outstanding reference to one of the patriarchs was Ezekiel's view of the land as "the land which I gave to my servant Jacob".<sup>2</sup> Thus the recollection of Yahweh's promise of a land to the patriarch was seen as having a special relevancy during the period of the Exile.

Abraham's experience as a solitary man who eventually got possession of the land was remembered by those who had remained behind in the land of Judah.<sup>3</sup> However in that situation the prophet had to point out that Abraham's experience had absolutely no significance, for judgment was certain. A further trace of the patriarchal story may be seen in the statement concerning the covenant of peace:

" I will make a covenant of peace with them;  
it shall be an everlasting covenant with  
them; and I will bless them and multiply  
them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst  
of them for evermore." 4

Following the reading of the Targum "I will bless them" the connexion between this text and the Yahwist's introduction to the patriarchal narratives becomes quite clear. Both

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1. On the development of prophecy during the Exile, see Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 375-403.

2. 28:25; 37:25.

3. 33:23-29.

4. 37:26; cf. Gn. 12:1-3.

contained the ideas of blessing and increase.

Israel during the troublesome period of the Exile found itself in a position rather similar to the patriarchal one. They were without a land and therefore no longer a nation. One of the basic elements in the patriarchal election tradition was that of promise. Without a land yet promised one by the God they worshipped. Thus the theme of promise came back into Israel's life. The covenant promised to Israel in the future reflected more of the promissory nature of the covenants with the patriarchs and with David than it did the covenant made with the nation at Sinai. It would appear that Ezekiel had grouped together various elements taken from the diverse experiences of the nation throughout its history and even its pre-history.

In the burning heat of the desert Israel would be purged of its sinners,<sup>1</sup> and would then be restored to its own land. Thus the nation would receive the fulfilment of the promise of the land of Canaan which had been made to their fathers many centuries before ever Israel had entered the land for the first time. In this way the patriarchal election tradition began to blossom into an important aspect of the restoration preaching of the exilic prophets.

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1. 20:33-38; on some of the ideas connected with the desert in the life and thought of ancient Israel, see R. T. Anderson, "The Role of the Desert in Israelite Thought", (~~JBR~~) JBR, 1959, 41-5.

## 5. Summary

The closing decades of Judah's existence as a state saw a deepening of interest in the early election traditions of the nation. Ezekiel, with his firm conviction of Yahweh's glory and majesty, viewed the events and experiences of history as elements in the self-manifestation of Yahweh. Thus what Israel underwent in its history was all directed towards a knowledge of Yahweh. History was the sphere of Yahweh's revelation of himself designed to convince Israel of his power and holiness.

Ezekiel's treatment of Israel's ancient sacral traditions was quite distinctive. He schematised the nation's history and election traditions into a pattern which demonstrated the nation's constant rebellion against Yahweh. This particular motif had been used by other prophets and schools of thought in Israel before Ezekiel but never to the extent that he employed it. The presentation of Israel's history under such a scheme of interpretation was deliberately designed to show the relevancy of the old election traditions and the nation's history to the exigencies of deportation and the Exile.

Both the nation's history and the city of Jerusalem's history were histories of infidelity, both political and cultic, towards Yahweh. The consequences of such continual rebellion would be manifested by Yahweh's judgment against Judah. This judgment took the form of deportation from Judah to Babylon for some of the ruling classes and the eventual exiling of the nation after the destruction of Jerusalem in 587. With this

termination of the state of Judah the Heilsgeschichte would come to an end.

Such was the negative side of Ezekiel's prophecy. But his treatment of the election tradition of the exodus within the pattern of Israel's history had been designed to show that behind the nation's past Yahweh had always stood in order to accomplish his own plans in spite of Israel's failure to obey his commandments. Mercy was constantly extended to Israel so that Yahweh's name might not be profaned in the sight of the nation. Yahweh's concern for his name would, therefore, be the ultimate basis for a new exodus from the Exile.<sup>1</sup> Once again Yahweh would bring the nation into the desert and there purge it of its sinners. Then there would be a resurrection of the nation from its graves; a resurrection which would come about by the prophetic word given under Yahweh's command.

The old exodus-wilderness-Landnahme election tradition would form the pattern for the future restoration of the nation. In this way the new events in the existence of Israel became the content of the old forms. The election tradition provided the impetus for looking at the future with hope. In the past Yahweh had chosen Israel and led them out of foreign servitude into a land of their own. In the future he would again choose them and lead them back into their own land. Thus in some ways the Exile placed Israel in very much the same position

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1. On this theme, see esp. Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten", Gottes Offenbarung, 192-204.

as the people in Egypt were in before the exodus.

In keeping with the exodus election pattern the restored nation would stand in a covenant relationship to Yahweh. The new covenant would be one of peace and security for Israel in its own land. Furthermore the people of the restored nation would be given a new heart and a new spirit<sup>1</sup> which would guarantee their observation of Yahweh's statutes. In this aspect of his teaching Ezekiel was very close to Jeremiah. Both viewed the future Israel as existing within a spiritual relationship to Yahweh. The flaws in the old covenant approach, which left a gap between Yahweh's demands and Israel's performance, would be eradicated in the new economy. The old way of life would give way to a new existence. For this reason there was an emphasis on personalism in both Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It has been observed about the new way of life envisaged by these prophets:

" It is the Word of promise which replaces the old reality by a new reality which includes in a new creation the individual as well as the people, the nations as well as the whole of nature, and which resolves the insuperable resistance to a life bound by an absolute obligation to God's will. In putting 'his law in their inward parts, and writing it in their hearts', and in renewing the very heart of personal life by means of his spirit, God establishes a community of will with his creatures which cannot be perfected in the present, and which has been the goal<sub>2</sub> of his covenantal relation with Israel."

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1. On the idea of "spirit" in Ezekiel, see Lys, RUACH: le souffle dans l'Ancien Testament, 121-46.

2. Eichrodt, Man in the Old Testament, SBT 4, ET, 1961, 75f.

Ezekiel interwove his conception of the future of the Davidic ruler with his exposition of the exodus election tradition. The goal of the exodus had been simply the establishing of Israel as the people of Yahweh and Yahweh as the God of Israel within the land of Canaan. The return from the Exile would bring Israel back to its own land as a united kingdom, in which both northern and southern kingdoms would again constitute one single dominion. Over this kingdom the Davidic prince would reign as king and shepherd.

In the future Yahweh's sanctuary would be in the midst of his people. The pattern of Solomon's temple was followed for the temple of the new city. In this new city Ezekiel envisaged the fulfilment of the David-Zion election tradition concerning Zion. The new community would be ruled over by a prince and the land would be divided into allotments which would be the inheritances of the tribes of Israel. Thus the division of the land reflected the practice of the sacral amphictyony in the early days of Israel's life in the land of Canaan. The cultic officials of the new temple were the Levites. The Levites who were sons of Zadok were to have the full status of priests, and the rest of the Levites were to be lesser cultic administrators. The most significant feature about this new community was that its city was to be called "Yahweh sh<sup>h</sup>mmah". This name designated the fundamental factor of Yahweh's presence in the midst of his people.

The images and metaphors used by Ezekiel for the future state of restored Israel were taken from various elements in both the exodus-Sinai-wilderness-Landnahme election tradition and the David-Zion election tradition. In addition, he also used some of the basic themes from the patriarchal tradition, such as the idea of blessing and also the promise of a populous nation. The final state of the new Israel would be the complete fulfilment of the original election of the nation, the king, and the fathers. Israel would dwell in the land, given to their forefathers, as the people of Yahweh and would be ruled over by a prince who would be of the house of David. Thus in Ezekiel the significance of the election traditions for the eschatological concepts of the prophets can be seen very plainly.



## CHAPTER X

### ELECTION IN DEUTERO-ISAIAH

#### 1. Introduction

##### a) The Exile

When the Babylonians captured the city of Jerusalem in 587 all that remained of the state of Judah ceased to exist. Some of the nation remained in the land, others went into exile to Babylon. But the chosen people had come to the end of its life as a political entity. The land given to them by Yahweh was no longer theirs. The chosen city with its king, of the house of David, lay in ruins. The king of whom it was believed,

" The breath of our nostrils, Yahweh's anointed,  
was taken in their pits,  
he of whom we said, 'Under his shadow<sub>1</sub>  
we shall live among the nations.'"<sup>1</sup>

had gone into captivity to Babylon. Thus the belief in the election of the nation, the king, and the city was destroyed.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Lam. 4:20.

2. Albrektson has rightly argued that the background for the theology of the Book of Lamentations was to be found in the ideas concerning the election of Zion and popular beliefs in the inviolability of the city which were current in Judah at the period of the destruction of the state, Studies in the Text and Theology of the Book of Lamentations, 214-39. On the other hand Gottwald argues that the key to Lamentations must be found in the tension which existed between Deuteronomic faith and historical adversity, Studies in the Book of Lamentations, 47-62.

During the Exile a poet reflected on the destruction of Jerusalem and lamented thus:

" How Yahweh in his anger  
 has set the daughter of Zion under a cloud!  
 He has cast down from heaven to earth  
 the splendor of Israel;  
 he has not remembered his footstool  
 in the day of his anger.  
 Yahweh has destroyed without mercy  
 all the habitations of Jacob;  
 in his wrath he has broken down  
 the strongholds of the daughter of Judah;  
 he has brought down to the ground in dishonor  
 the kingdom and its rulers.  
 He has cut down in fierce anger  
 all the might of Israel;  
 he has withdrawn from them his right hand  
 in the face of the enemy;  
 he has burned like a flaming fire in Jacob,  
 consuming all around.  
 He has bent his bow like an enemy,  
 with his right hand set like a foe;  
 and he has slain all the pride of our eyes  
 in the tent of the daughter of Zion;  
 he has poured out his fury like fire.  
 Yahweh has become like an enemy,  
 he has destroyed Israel;  
 he has destroyed all its palaces,  
 laid in ruins its strongholds;  
 and he has multiplied in the daughter of Judah  
 mourning and lamentation.  
 He has broken down his booth like that of a garden,  
 laid in ruins the place of his appointed feasts;  
 Yahweh has brought to an end in Zion  
 appointed feast and sabbath,  
 and in his fierce indignation has spurned  
 king and priest.  
 Yahweh has scorned his altar,  
 disowned his sanctuary;  
 he has delivered into the hand of the enemy  
 the walls of her palaces;  
 a clamor was raised in the house of Yahweh  
 as on the day of an appointed feast." 1

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1. Lam. 2:1-7; the date of this lament must be sometime during the period 587-538, see Eissfeldt, Introduction, 503f.

Although the destruction of 587 was only the final act of a long process of disintegration within Israel<sup>1</sup> it was quite catastrophic for the pious in Israel.<sup>2</sup> It raised serious problems for which the Yahwistic religion had to find solutions. The temple was destroyed and sacrifice ceased to be offered there.<sup>3</sup> Notwithstanding this loss some cultic life continued in Judah during the Exile.<sup>4</sup> However virtually nothing is known about life in Judah during the half century following the fall of Jerusalem.<sup>5</sup>

Life for the exiles in Babylon was not intolerably harsh. Though they were not free they were allowed to build houses and undertake agricultural tasks.<sup>6</sup> They also had some form of community life.<sup>7</sup> Eventually they must have organised an adequate way of life for themselves even though so far from the land their fathers had received from Yahweh as an inheritance.

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1. This point is emphasised by Noth, "The Jerusalem Catastrophe of 587 B.C., and its significance for Israel", op.cit. 260ff.; cf. also his History, 289.
  2. cf. the state of mind reflected by Lamentations; also Ps. 137.
  3. See D. Jones, "The Cessation of Sacrifice after the Destruction of the Temple in 586 BC", JTS, 1963, 12-31.
  4. cf. Jer. 41:5; Jones argues that this was purely a non-animal sacrifice, ibid. 15; whether such practices continued throughout the Exile is not known.
  5. See the remarks of Bright, History, 324f.; see esp. E. Janssen, Juda in der Exilszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Frage der Entstehung des Judentums, FRLANT 69, 1956, 24-56.
  6. cf. Jer. 29:5, 6 - "Build houses and live in them; plant gardens and eat their produce. Take wives and have sons and daughters; take wives for your sons, and give your daughters in marriage, that they may bear sons and daughters; multiply there, and do not decrease."
  7. cf. Ez. 8:1; 14:1; 33:30-33; L. E. Browne argues that וּבְיָמֵינוּ in Ezra 8:17 was a sanctuary, "A Jewish Sanctuary in Babylonia", JTS, 1916, 400f.; cf. also C. C. Torrey, Ezra Studies, 1910, 317.

The Israelites in Babylon were a minority compared with those who remained behind in Palestine. Yet the exiles were viewed as the nucleus of the future Israel.<sup>1</sup> The problems created by the destruction of Jerusalem and their solution became the task of the exilic prophets.<sup>2</sup> The main problem was the question of Yahweh's power. The whole of Israel's faith had to be rethought and reinterpreted in order to provide an adequate answer to the situation of the Exile. Thus it was that the sixth century provided a good deal of constructive thought within the religion of Israel.<sup>3</sup> The century produced two outstanding prophets, Ezekiel and an unknown prophet usually referred to as Deutero-Isaiah, and the Priestly Code.<sup>4</sup>

The Babylonian empire proved to be a short-lived empire.<sup>5</sup> After the death of Nebuchadnezzar the empire became unstable and Babylonian power quickly declined. The Median kingdom, which had been Babylon's chief rival, was taken over by Cyrus the Persian by 550. In 539 Gobryas, a general under Cyrus, took Babylon without a fight. So all of western Asia came under Persian rule.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Noth considers the exiles to have been an outpost and the tribes left behind to have been the centre of Israelite life, History, 292ff.; Bright disagrees with his viewpoint, History, 325n.
  2. See Janssen, Juda in der Exilszeit, 57-118.
  3. cf. D.W. Thomas, "The Sixth Century BC: A Creative Epoch in the History of Israel", JSS, 1961, 33-46.
  4. Noth suggests that P belongs to the period before 515, Exodus, 17; on the content of P, see von Rad, Theology, I, 232-79.
  5. For the history of this period, see Bright, History, 341-55; Noth, History, 300-16.
  6. See the Cyrus Cylinder in A.L. Oppenheim, "Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts", ANET, 315f.

By this time there was some expectation of a return from the Exile among those in Babylon:

" The punishment of your iniquity,  
O daughter of Zion, is accomplished,<sup>1</sup>  
he will keep you in exile no longer;"<sup>1</sup>

The chief exponent of this return was the anonymous prophet Deutero-Isaiah.

The Exile was a watershed for the religion of Israel.<sup>2</sup> After the return from Babylon the nation developed in a completely different way from the pre-exilic state. Thus the Exile stood as a dividing line between nationalism, which characterised Israel before the destruction of Jerusalem, and the religious community of the post-exilic period. Some scholars regard the terminology of "pre-exilic", "exilic", "post-exilic", as meaningless terms.<sup>3</sup> However, the Exile was a very seminal period for Israel's religion and mainly because of the prophetic ministry of Deutero-Isaiah.

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1. Lam. 4:22; it could also be translated "never again will he exile you", see T.J. Meek, "Introduction and Exegesis to the Book of Lamentations", IB, VI, 3-38, esp. 35.
  2. Kaufmann writes, "The fall of Jerusalem is the great watershed of the history of Israelite religion. The life of the people of Israel came to an end; the history of Judaism began. To be sure, the people lived on and were creative after the fall, but the form of their life and the conditions of their existence and creativity were radically transformed. Israel ceased to be a normal nation and became a religious community.", op. cit. 447.
  3. Especially Torrey who comments, "The destruction of the temple was a turning-point, partly for evil, but more for good, seeing that the nation as a political entity was doomed in any case. At all events, it was this catastrophe, not the exile, which constituted the dividing line between the two eras. The terms 'exilic', 'pre-exilic', and 'post-exilic' ought to be banished forever from usage, for they are merely misleading, and correspond to nothing that is real in Hebrew literature and life.", Ezra Studies, 289.

b) The prophet<sup>1</sup>

It is generally agreed among scholars that the prophecies contained in Isaiah 40-55 cannot have derived from Isaiah of Jerusalem.<sup>2</sup> The most commonly accepted author for them has been an unknown prophet who lived in Babylon towards the end of the Exile. Some scholars have viewed the prophecies as the product of a group rather than of an individual.<sup>3</sup> It has also been maintained that the book was written in Palestine towards the end of the fifth century and that, therefore, the author was not a prophet of the Exile but a prophet of the Dispersion.<sup>4</sup> However, we would maintain that Deutero-Isaiah's milieu was Babylon and that the period of his ministry was the closing decades of the Exile.

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1. For a general introduction to Deutero-Isaiah see the following, J. Begrich, Studien zu Deuterodesaja, BWANT 4/25, 1938; Eissfeldt, Introduction, 330-41; G. A. F. Knight, Deutero-Isaiah. A Theological Commentary on Isaiah 40-55, 1965; L. Köhler, Deuterodesaja (Jesaja 40-55) stilkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37, 1923; Muilenburg, "Introduction and Exegesis to Isaiah 40-66", IB, V, 381-773; C. R. North, The Second Isaiah. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary to Chapters XL-LV, 1964; J. Skinner, The Book of the Prophet Isaiah. Chapters XL-LXVI, CB, 1906; P. Volz, Jesaja II, KAT IX/2, 1932; H.-E. von Waldow, Anlass und Hintergrund der Verkündigung des Deuterodesaja, Diss. 1953; C. Westermann, Das Buch Jesaja. Kapitel 40-66, ATD 19, 1966.
  2. Some scholars regard chs. 40-66 as a unity, e.g. Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible, 1932, 218; F. James, Personalities of the OT, 1933, 363. Morgenstern, on the other hand, only attributes 40-48 to Deutero-Isaiah, "Jerusalem-485 BC", HUCA, 1956, 101-79; also his "The Message of Deutero-Isaiah in its Sequential Unfolding", HUCA, 1958, 1-67.
  3. Caspari views the book as the songs of the returning exiles, Lieder und Gottesprüche der Rückwanderer (Jesaja 40-55), BZAW 65, 1934.
  4. The main exponent of this theory is C. C. Torrey, The Second Isaiah, 1928, 53ff.; he also views chs. 40-66 as a homogeneous group. He is followed in his dating by Elmslie, How Came Our Faith, 339ff.

Nothing is known about the prophet's personal life. From the evidence of his book he was a profound thinker and a poet of a very high calibre.<sup>1</sup> The poems about the destruction of Jerusalem which were later embodied in the Book of Lamentations had a strong influence on him.<sup>2</sup> Although it is impossible to relate any of his prophecies to specific historical situations,<sup>3</sup> their general tenor shows that the military conquests of the Persian Cyrus had had a great effect on the prophet. These conquests convinced the prophet that soon Israel's Exile would be over. With this conviction he set out to encourage the exiles with his message of hope.<sup>4</sup>

The note of judgment which dominated the work of the pre-exilic prophets was absent from Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy. That is, in so far, as the judgment was directed against Israel. He was scathing in his attack on the Babylonians and his rejection of idolatry represents one of the outstanding polemics in the whole of the Old Testament. Isaiah's concept of Yahweh

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1. See Torrey, The Second Isaiah, 90; Muilenburg, "Introduction", IB, V, 382.
  2. See Gottwald, Studies in the Book of Lamentations, 115f.; followed by North, The Second Isaiah, 19.
  3. Attempts have been made to identify oracles with their possible historical background, but without any great success; see esp. S. Smith, Isaiah Chapters XL-LV: Literary Criticism and History, 1944; W. B. Stevenson, "Successive phases in the career of the Babylonian Isaiah", Werden und Wesen, BZAW 66, 1936, 89-96.
  4. In all probability Deutero-Isaiah did not appear in public, but worked privately as a writer; so Eissfeldt - "The whole nature of his compositions makes us think more readily of the unseen audience of the writer rather than of a congregation sitting before a speaker.", Introduction, 340; see also Begrich, op. cit. 93; von Rad, Theology, II, 242.

as the holy one of Israel was an important motif in the work of Deutero-Isaiah. The links between the two prophets would readily explain why the work of Deutero-Isaiah was appended to the prophecy of Isaiah. There was, obviously, a distinct Isaian tradition in ancient Israel which gathered various accretions from anonymous sources.<sup>1</sup> The anonymity of Deutero-Isaiah is probably to be explained by the nature of his work, that is, working in secret he never became a popular figure.<sup>2</sup>

Deutero-Isaiah was the first distinguished representative of the 'prophets of re-establishment'.<sup>3</sup> During an age which had shattered the traditional faith of the pious in Israel,<sup>4</sup> he meditated on the ways of Yahweh and produced his own answer to the enigma of the Exile. The solution of the matter lay in the transcendent nature of Yahweh. The nation had sinned but it had also received punishment from the hand of Yahweh which was the equivalent of its sin.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the Exile was almost over

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1. Smith writes - "...the name 'Isaiah' came to denote a body which endured in the national life of Israel and Judah from the seventh century to the fourth, an order of prophets, producing national leaders at times of crisis, distinguished in character and teaching from Jeremiah and Ezekiel." Isaiah Chapters XL-LV, 75. cf. Popper's definition, "A tradition is..capable of extending something of the personal attitude of its founder far beyond his personal life." Conjectures and Refutations, 134.

2. The nature of his work as a writer would render him more a private individual than a public speaker; this seems a more likely explanation than Smith's theory that he was a pro-Persian underground worker, 66. cit.

3. So Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israel's Worship, II, 73.

4. It is quite possible that the Book of Job reflected the problem created by the Exile for the faith of Israel; on the relation between Job and Deutero-Isaiah, see S. Terrien, "Quelques remarques sur les affinités de Job avec le Deutéro-Esaïe", SVT, 1966, 295-310.

5. 40:2; see von Rad, "D: 𐤃𐤃 in Jes. 40:2=Equivalent?", ZAW, 1967, 80ff.



and soon Israel would return to its own land. This return would be engineered by the mighty power of Yahweh. The prophet emphasised the nature of Yahweh's relationship with Israel. He was their creator,<sup>1</sup> their protector,<sup>2</sup> their king,<sup>3</sup> their husband,<sup>4</sup> and their God.<sup>5</sup> He was also their overlord and Israel was his servant.<sup>6</sup> In the light of this relationship the exiles could depend upon deliverance. The Exile was explained as a "brief moment" when Yahweh turned from his people:

" For a brief moment I forsook you,  
but with great compassion I will gather you.  
In overflowing wrath for a moment  
I hid my face from you,  
but with everlasting ~~hesed~~  
I will have compassion on you,  
says Yahweh, your Redeemer."

The moment of the Exile was drawing to a close and so Deutero-Isaiah penned his message of comfort.<sup>8</sup>

" Comfort, comfort my people,  
says your God.  
Speak tenderly to Jerusalem,  
and cry to her  
that her warfare is ended,  
that her iniquity is pardoned,  
that she has received from Yahweh's hand  
double for all her sins."

1. 43:1,15;44:1,24;45:11;51:13;54:5.

2. 41:14;43:1,14;44:6,24;47:4;48:17;49:7,26;54:5,8; the primary meaning of  $\chi\lambda$  is "protection", Johnson, "The primary meaning of  $\chi\lambda$ ", SVT I, 1953, 67-77; cf. D. Daube, Studies in Biblical Law, 1947, 39-62.

3. 41:21;43:15;44:6.

4. 54:5.

5. 40:9;41:10;43:3,13;45:5,15,22;48:17.

6. 41:8,9;43:10;44:2;45:4;48:20.

7. 54:7,8; cf. 40:27;45:15.

8. 40:1,2; the equation of Jerusalem and the people is here quite evident; thus Zion had become a symbol for the people of God, see Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", Verbannung und Heimkehr, 235-52.

The motifs of return and redemption were subsumed in Deutero-Isaiah's handling of the election traditions of Israel.<sup>1</sup> The emphasis on election was symptomatic of the period of crisis. At such periods Israel became more aware of its position before Yahweh as his chosen people. Crisis tended to establish identity. In the period when Deuteronomy was written Israel had been going through an era of religious apostasy under Manasseh followed by a time of, relatively speaking, political independence under Josiah. Both periods had contributed to the nation's crisis of identity. Hence the keynote of Deuteronomy was the election of the nation to be the people of Yahweh in the past and the relevance of the concept for life in the seventh century. In a period of even greater national crisis Deutero-Isaiah stressed the content of Israel's election traditions and expounded them in a fashion somewhat akin to that of the Deuteronomists.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of Israel's election was the ground of Deutero-Isaiah's faith in the future hope for his people.<sup>3</sup> Meditation and reflexion upon the concept convinced him that the old dogma of Israel's election by Yahweh constituted the vital element in any idea of a return from captivity.<sup>4</sup> Ezekiel, for his part,

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1. cf. von Rad, Theology, II, 239; Muilenburg, op. cit. 393.

2. cf. "Bref la théologie de l'élection chez le Deutéroésaïe reprend et prolonge, en les précisant, les indications du Deutéronome sur le peuple de Iahvé", Martin-Achard, "La signification théologique de l'élection d'Israël", TZ, 1960, 338.

3. Galling remarks "Das Glaubensbewusstsein ist retrospektiv, es gründet sich auf die Erwählung", Erwählungstraditionen, 88.

4. For election in Deutero-Isaiah, see Vriezen, Erwählung, 64-72.

had delineated the election traditions in such a way that they became the basis for his view of the future. So to a great extent had Jeremiah also utilised the traditions to provide both a commentary on Israel's history and a programme for the future. The prophets were not slavish upholders of the sacral traditions but maintained a balance between a fervent belief in them and a manipulation of their form and content whenever it suited their way of thinking.<sup>1</sup>

Deutero-Isaiah viewed his period as the time when Israel would experience the coming of Yahweh to fight on their behalf.

" Yahweh goes forth like a mighty man,  
like a man of war he stirs up his fury;  
he cries out, he shouts aloud,  
he shows himself mighty against his foes."<sup>2</sup>

This was the language of the ancient concept of the holy war.<sup>3</sup> The idea of Yahweh's coming was essentially the central feature of the prophetic eschatology in ancient Israel.<sup>4</sup> Thus Deutero-Isaiah's period was an eschatological epoch in Israel's history.<sup>5</sup>

1. This attitude reflected their role in ancient Israel; cf. E. Jacob's observation, "....the prophets were revolutionaries turned towards the past and conservatives inflamed by the passion for the future", "The Biblical Prophets: Revolutionaries or Conservatives? 2, Int. 1965, 47-55; esp. 55.

2. 42:13; cf. 40:10; 51:9; Ex. 15:3.

3. See esp. H. Fredriksson, Jahwe als Krieger. Studien zum alttestamentlichen Gottesbild, 1945, 101ff.; cf. the remarks of North, The Second Isaiah, 115f.

4. See E. Jenni, "Eschatology", IDB, II, 126-33; esp. "The coming of Yahweh is the central idea of OT eschatology", 127.

5. Vriezen writes, "This period (that of Deutero-Isaiah) I should like to call: actualizing eschatology (his italics): the kingdom of God is not only seen coming in visions but it is experienced as coming.", "Prophecy and Eschatology", SVT, 1953, 227.

The election traditions of Israel may be viewed as a bridge which the prophets used to link the nation's present state with its past and also as a reservoir of ideas for dealing with the future. New situations demanded new ideas. Yet these new ideas were invariably formulated in terms of the already existing traditions. The further Israel's history progressed the more the events of the exodus period and their interpretation developed in importance. The exodus event laid down once and for all Israel's position before Yahweh. Later generations sought to interpret the significance of that fundamental statement of Israel's election by Yahweh for their own age. When the state of Judah collapsed with the fall of Jerusalem it became apparent to the perspicacious prophets that Israel had entered on a situation very much akin to that prevailing in the days before the exodus from slavery in Egypt. As such the content of Israel's election faith became of vital importance in the attempt to cope with all the implications of the disaster. Thus it was that as the Babylonian power waned there arose among the exiles of Judah a prophet whose message was essentially a reaffirmation of Israel's election faith.<sup>1</sup>

" But you, Israel, my servant,  
 Jacob, whom I have chosen,  
 ..... You are my servant,  
 I have chosen you and not cast you off.  
 fear not, for I am with you,  
 be not dismayed, for I am your God."<sup>2</sup>

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1. The origins of Deutero-Isaiah's Heilsorakel is traced to Israel's mourning rites by von Waldow, 66.cit. 73-82; more probably to be understood in the light of the literary category of the priestly oracle of response to a suppliant's plea for Yahweh's help, see Begrich, "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel", ZAW, 1934, 81ff. 2.41:8-10.

## 2. The Exodus election tradition

### a) The new exodus<sup>1</sup>

Dominating the thought of Deutero-Isaiah was the motif of a new exodus.<sup>2</sup> The Exile was almost over and Yahweh would lead forth his people from captivity back to their own land. This journey from Babylon through the desert to Canaan would be very similar to the journey Israel made through the desert when the nation came out of Egypt.

" For thus says Yahweh: 'You were sold for nothing, and you shall be redeemed without money. For thus says the Lord Yahweh: My people went down at the first into Egypt to sojourn there, and the Assyrian oppressed them for nothing. Now therefore what have I here, says Yahweh, seeing that my people are taken away for nothing? Their rulers wail, says Yahweh, and continually all the day my name is despised. Therefore my people shall know my name; therefore in that day they shall know that it is I whom speak; here am I.'"<sup>3</sup>

The situation depicted here was used to set the scene for Yahweh's new deed. What prevailed in Babylon at the prophet's time simply could not be allowed to continue, for it was, in a sense, a repetition of Israel's experiences of oppression in Egypt.

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1. On this section, see Rohland, *op.cit.* 94-111.

2. See especially B.W. Anderson, "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah", *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, 177-95; and Zimmerli, "Der 'neue Exodus' in der Verkündigung der beiden grossen Exilspropheten", *Gottes Offenbarung*, 192-204; esp. 197ff.; see also North, *The Second Isaiah*, 16ff.; and the various commentaries.

3. 52:3-6; the language of these verses suggests that they may not have come from the prophet, although there is no reason why the prophet should not have written in prose. Westermann considers them to be a marginal gloss, *Das Buch Jesaja*, 200.

In view of this situation two orders were given:

- " Go forth from Babylon, flee from Chaldea,  
 declare this with a shout of joy, proclaim it,  
 send it forth to the end of the earth;  
 say, 'Yahweh has redeemed his servant Jacob!'  
 They thirsted not when he led them through the deserts;  
 he made water flow for them from the rock;<sup>1</sup>  
 he cleft the rock and the water gushed out."<sup>1</sup>
- " Depart, depart, go out thence,  
 touch no unclean thing;  
 go out from the midst of her, purify yourselves,  
 you who bear the vessels of Yahweh.  
 For you shall not go out in haste,  
 and you shall not go in flight,  
 for Yahweh will go before you,  
 and the God of Israel will be your rear guard."<sup>2</sup>

The first order reflected the great feeling of joy at the deliverance from Babylon. Because Yahweh was their protector the Israelites were his protégés.<sup>3</sup> As such his deliverance of them came within the bounds of his function as a kinsman-redeemer. This was the main reason why Deutero-Isaiah put such emphasis on Yahweh as Israel's go'el.

The allusion to the first exodus may clearly be seen in the reference to the journey through the desert.<sup>4</sup> The old exodus story with its various strands concerning the flight from Egypt and the period of life in the desert had so impressed itself on the consciousness of Israel throughout its history that now centuries later it had become the pattern for the return from the Exile.

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1. 48:20, 21.

2. 52:11, 12.

3. See Johnson, "The Primary meaning of  $\text{לִבְרִיחַ}$ ", SVT, 1953, 76.

4. 48:21; cf. Ex. 17:6; Num. 20:11.

The second order to leave Babylon suggested that the new exodus would be superior in some ways to the old exodus. Of the first exodus it was said-"you came out of the land of Egypt in hurried flight".<sup>1</sup> Of the new exodus the prophet claimed "you shall not go out in hurried escape". Thus the two events were not simply the same event with a repetition of the first in the second, but the first event provided the model for the second event.

Yahweh's power had been demonstrated in the exodus from Egypt by his deliverance of the nation from bondage, by his defeat of the Egyptian military, and by his making of a pathway through the Reed Sea.<sup>2</sup> But that power had been exercised in the past. So Deutero-Isaiah wished to distract the attention of the exiles from the past and to focus it on the events of the present period in Babylon. Thus he wrote:<sup>3</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh,  
 who makes a way in the sea,  
 a path in the mighty waters,  
 who brings forth chariot and horse,  
 army and warrior;  
 they lie down, they cannot rise,  
 they are extinguished, quenched like a wick:  
 'Remember not the former things,  
 nor consider the things of old.  
 Behold, I am doing a new thing;  
 now it springs forth, do you not perceive it?  
 I will make a way in the wilderness  
 and rivers in the desert.

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1. Dt. 16:3; cf. Ex. 12:11.

2. See esp. Ex. 14; 15.

3. 43:16-21.

The wild beasts will honor me,  
 the jackals and the ostriches;  
 for I give water in the wilderness,  
 rivers in the desert,  
 to give drink to my chosen people,  
 the people whom I formed for myself  
 that they might declare my praise.'"

The contrast between the two events was quite explicit in the prophet's mind here.<sup>1</sup> The worship of Israel had always made particular use of the nation's historical traditions; the cult had looked back to the events which formed the beginning of Israel's existence as a people. Undoubtedly, the exiles in Babylon had continued to remember the events of the Heilsgeschichte in whatever form of cultic worship they had there.<sup>2</sup> Now the prophet declares "remember not the former things/nor consider the things of old". In other words, 'forget the past' because Yahweh is about to do a new thing.

One of the tensions in the prophecy of Deutero-Isaiah was his treatment of the concepts of the "former things" and the "new things".<sup>3</sup> The high point of the tension was the

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1. The verbs in vv. 16, 17 may be translated by the past tense, though RSV renders them in the present, see North, The Second Isaiah, 124f. The reference to the return through the desert in 41:17-20 did not draw a contrast between that event and the original exodus.

2. There is virtually no evidence for whatever may have been the form of worship among the exiles. Weiser thinks that Deutero-Isaiah may be considered to be the spiritual leader of the synagogue, Introduction, 198; Muilenburg thinks that the synagogue had its origins in the gatherings addressed by the prophet, IB, V, 396; J. Weingreen, on the other hand, maintains that the synagogue had a pre-exilic origin, "The Origin of the Synagogue", Herm. XCVIII, 1964, 68-84; cf. Lindblom, Prophecy, 407; see also I. Sonne, "Synagogue", IDB, IV, 478.

3. cf. 41:21-29; 42:8, 9; 43:9, 16-19; 44:6-8; 45:9-13; 45:20, 21; 46:9-11; 48:3-8, 14-16.



injunction "remember not the former things". This was in striking contrast to his charge elsewhere "remember the former things of old".<sup>1</sup> The significance of the phrase "former things" was its reference to the exodus and to the Heilsgeschichte in general. The "new things" referred to the events of the prophet's own time, namely the deliverance of the nation from the Exile. The two concepts were set over in contrast to one another. The present was seen in contradistinction to the past. Yet the prophet's thinking about the events of his own day was very much coloured by the past. The tension within the prophet's outlook may probably be explained as a case of aspect and emphasis. The old events were to be regarded no longer as the supreme example of Yahweh's power.<sup>2</sup> In this sense the past was to be forgotten and Yahweh's power in the present perceived instead. But only in this sense, because the past had its significance as a testimony to Yahweh's character:

" Remember this and consider,  
 recall it to mind, you transgressors,  
 remember the former things of old;  
 for I am God, and there is no other; <sup>3</sup>  
 I am God, and there is none like me "

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1. 46:9.

2. So Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, 41.

3. 46:8, 9. For a discussion of the significance of the two terms see esp. Bentzen, "On the Ideas of 'the Old' and 'the New' in Deutero-Isaiah", ST, 1948, 183-7; North, "The 'Former Things' and the 'New Things' in Deutero-Isaiah", SOTP, 111-26. Stevenson views the 'former things' as a reference to the fulfilled part of the prophecy concerning the destruction of Babylon, and the 'new things' as referring to the unfulfilled part, namely, the return of the Jews to Palestine, "Successive phases in the career of the Babylonian Isaiah", Werden und Wesen, 94; also Skinner, op.cit. xxi.

The theme of the return through the desert quite dominated Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy. For Israel the Exile had been a time of darkness when Yahweh had forsaken them, but the return would reverse all of that:<sup>1</sup>

" For a long time I have held my peace,  
 I have kept still and restrained myself;  
 now I will cry out like a woman in travail,  
 I will gasp and pant.  
 I will lay waste mountains and hills,  
 and dry up all their herbage;  
 I will turn the rivers into islands,  
 and dry up the pools.  
 And I will lead the blind  
 in a way that they know not,<sup>2</sup>  
 in paths that they have not known I will guide them.  
 I will turn the darkness before them into light,  
 the rough places into level ground.  
 These are the things I will do,  
 and I will not forsake them."

The images of destruction were taken from the warlike activity of Yahweh as "a man of war". They stood as an opposite metaphor to Yahweh's making of "rivers in the desert". One group of images owed its choice to the prophet's handling of the election tradition of the exodus, and the other group belonged to another ancient idea. In this way the prophets were not only indebted to the election traditions, but also to many other ideas which had formed part of the beliefs of ancient Israel.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 42:14-16.

2. v. 16, omit "they know not" in both places; cf. Westermann, Jesaja, 87n; North would only omit the first occurrence, The Second Isaiah, 113

3. We would agree with von Rad that "the election traditions are constitutive for the whole of prophecy", Theology, II, 239. However it must also be emphasised that the prophets handled tradition quite freely and used ideas taken from sources other than that of election.

Yet for all his emphasis on Yahweh's new act and his demand that the past be forgotten the prophet steadfastly maintained that the past provided the pattern for the present. Yahweh's "new thing" would be the application to the present situation of his power demonstrated once before at the exodus.

" Awake, awake, put on strength,  
 O arm of Yahweh;  
 awake, as in the days of old,  
 the generations of long ago.  
 Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,  
 that didst pierce the dragon?  
 Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea,  
 the waters of the great deep;  
 that didst make the depths of the sea a way  
 for the redeemed to pass over?  
 And the ransomed of Yahweh shall return,  
 and come with singing to Zion;  
 everlasting joy shall be upon their heads;  
 they shall obtain joy and gladness,  
 and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."<sup>1</sup>

The arm of Yahweh had been the operative force at the exodus,<sup>2</sup> and now the prophet's cry was for Yahweh once more to arise in power and bring his people back from their captivity.

The prophet could depict the return in language that was less dependent on the motifs belonging to the exodus tradition. That he used both types of language on different occasions is evidence of the importance that he attached to the return. It became one of the outstanding elements in his work. In captivity Israel complained that "Yahweh has forsaken me/my lord has forgotten me".<sup>3</sup> Therefore, Deutero-Isaiah

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1. 51:9-11; v. 11 looks like a borrowing from 35:10; it was probably a cliché current in the prophet's day; see North, The Second Isaiah, 213.

2. cf. Dt. 4:34.

3. 49:14.

declared that the present time was "a day of salvation":<sup>1</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh:

'In a time of favor I have answered you,  
in a day of salvation I have helped you;  
I have kept you and given you  
as a covenant to the<sup>2</sup>people,  
to establish the land,  
to apportion the desolate heritages;  
saying to the prisoners, 'Come forth!  
to those who are in darkness,<sup>3</sup>'Appear'.  
They shall feed along the ways,  
on all bare heights shall be their pasture;  
they shall not hunger or thirst,  
neither scorching wind nor sun shall smite them,  
for he who has pity on them will lead them,  
and by springs of water<sup>4</sup> will guide them.  
And I will make all my<sup>4</sup>mountains a way,  
and my highways shall be raised up.'"

The old exodus brought Israel out of Egypt into the land of Canaan, the new exodus was designed to bring Israel out of Babylon back into their own land. Accordingly, the Landnahme element of the Heilsgeschichte was part of the new exodus. Again the tribes would have the land apportioned out to them as their heritages.<sup>5</sup>

All the component parts of the Heilsgeschichte were present in Deutero-Isaiah's delineation of the new exodus.

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1. 49:8-11.

2. The metre here may demand another word such as "desert" to balance it; however the matter is quite uncertain, see the remarks of Volz, *Jesaia II*, 99; and North, *The Second Isaiah*, 190.

3. It is usual to read "all the ways" with LXX in v. 9; see Westermann, *Jesaja*, 172n.; North, *op. cit.* 190.

4. Read as "mountains" omitting "my" in v. 11; MT form is an abbreviation according to Volz, *op. cit.* 99.

5. 49:8; cf. v. 6; in the early days of Israel's life in the land, the property was divided up among the tribes and was known as each tribe's particular inheritance, i. e. the hereditary land of that tribe; see von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the Hexateuch", 79-93. Whether the prophet envisaged a return to the amphictyonic way of life is not clear from the text.

Although he did not refer to Sinai he did make the occasional reference to the Torah.<sup>1</sup> However there was no reason for any allusion to Sinai as the new event would not include a giving of a new law.<sup>2</sup> Deutero-Isaiah's treatment of the covenant motif had more to do with his handling of the David-Zion tradition than with the exodus story.<sup>3</sup>

One of the most characteristic notes in Deutero-Isaiah was his note of joy. The period was one which afforded him the opportunity to preach a joyful word to his fellow exiles.<sup>4</sup> In this he was described by one of his own prophecies:

" How beautiful upon the mountains  
are the feet of him who brings good tidings,  
who publishes peace, who brings good tidings of good,  
who publishes salvation."

As a herald of salvation it was his joyful message that Israel would return to its own land with joy:

" For you shall go out in joy  
and be led forth in peace;  
and the mountains and the hills before you  
shall break forth into singing,  
and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands."<sup>6</sup>

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1. cf. 42:21, 24; 48:17, 18; 51:7.

2. Again we would stress that Sinai was an integral part of the Heilsgeschichte, and that its absence in some of Israel's credal statements was due to the eclectic viewpoint of the occasion; cf. the remarks of Huffmon, "The Exodus, Sinai, and the Credo", *CBQ*, 1965, 101-13.

3. cf. 49:8; 54:10; 55:3; see below, section 3.

4. cf. 40:9; 42:10-12; 44:23; 48:20; 49:13; 51:3, 11; 52:7-9; 54:1; 55:12. Köhler observes, "There is hardly a word so characteristic of the Old Testament as the word joy.", *Theology*, 151.

5. 52:7; cf. 40:9.

6. 55:12; cf. 51:11 which we have already noted may have been a fragment of poetry current in the prophet's time, and which he borrowed.

This note of joy was in striking contrast to the grim message of judgment preached by the pre-exilic prophets.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this difference was mainly that the earlier prophets had confronted Israel with a word of judgment which ultimately led to the punishment of the Exile. But in Deutero-Isaiah's time that judgment was over. Israel had received the equivalent of its sins and its period of exile was over. The relationship between Yahweh and Israel had often been described by the prophets as that existing between husband and wife. This metaphor was used by Deutero-Isaiah to describe the Exile situation:<sup>2</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh:

'Where is your mother's bill of divorce,  
with which I put her away?

Or which of my creditors is it  
to whom I have sold you?

Behold, for your iniquities you were sold,

and for your transgressions your mother was put away.'"

The answer to this rhetorical question was simply that although Yahweh had put Israel away he had never actually produced a writ of divorce, therefore the separation was only a temporary one.<sup>3</sup> Such an explanation would present the Exile as purely a

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1. In the prophetic lawsuit the heavens and the earth were witnesses against Israel, whereas in Deutero-Isaiah they were participants in the rejoicing over Israel's return from the Exile (49:13; 55:12).
  2. 50:1; Volz comments, "Die Mutter ist die Gesamtbevölkerung, die Kinder sind die einzelnen Israeliten vgl. Hos. 2:4ff.", Jesaja II, 107.
  3. In order for a divorce to be ratified it had to be accompanied with a writ, so Dt. 24:1-4; selling was a figure of speech for giving into the hands of one's enemies, Jud. 2:14; Jeremiah viewed the northern kingdom as having been put away with a decree of divorce, Jer. 3:8; Deutero-Isaiah's metaphors may have been influenced by Hosea's prophecies. On this text see Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, 199f.; and Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, 99f.

period of separation with the implication that it would end and Israel's relationship with Yahweh would be restored. Thus the Exile was a temporary divorce, "a brief moment"<sup>1</sup> when Yahweh turned his back on his people. For this reason Deutero-Isaiah's oracles were bound up with the theme of joy and rejoicing. The Exile was at an end and the new Heilsgeschichte was about to begin. This new Heilsgeschichte would be similar to the original one and would follow the old pattern of exodus-desert trek-Landnahme. In this way the exodus election tradition became the most prominent topic in Deutero-Isaiah's message.<sup>2</sup>

#### b) Election and creation

The  $\gamma\eta\lambda$ -motif runs through Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy like a fugue.<sup>3</sup> The Deuteronomic assertion that Yahweh had chosen Israel was taken up by the prophet and utilised to the

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1. 54:7.

2. cf. Muilenburg's remark, "The conception of the new exodus is the most profound and most prominent of the motifs in the tradition which Second Isaiah employs to portray the eschatological finale.", IB, V, 602; Anderson writes, "Second Isaiah's eschatological hope is shaped by images drawn from Israel's Heilsgeschichte, particularly the crucial event of the Exodus, from which flow consequences reaching into the present and on into the future. The Exodus, then, is a 'type' of the new exodus which will fulfill in a more wonderful fashion, with a deeper soteriological meaning, and with world-wide implications, Yahweh's purpose revealed by word and deed in the beginning.", "Exodus Typology in Second Isaiah", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 194f.

3. The main object of Yahweh's election in Deutero-Isaiah was Israel—as Jacob, 41:8; as Jeshurun, 44:2; as Israel, 41:9; 45:4; 44:1; as the people, 43:10, 20; the variety of designations shows that election for the prophet was an historical event; the term was also applied to the Servant, 42:1; 49:7 (see below, 3c). On election in Deutero-Isaiah, see also Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Erwählungsvorstellung in Israel", ZAW, 1955, 219ff.; von Waldow, Anlass und Hintergrund der Verkündigung des Deuterojesaja, 96ff.

fullest extent possible:

" But you, Israel, my servant,  
 Jacob, whom I have chosen,  
 the offspring of Abraham, my friend;  
 you whom I took from the ends of the earth,  
 and called from its farthest corners,  
 saying to you, 'You are my servant,  
 I have chosen you and not cast you off';"<sup>1</sup>

The terms "servant", "took", "called", all conveyed the basic idea of Israel's election.<sup>2</sup> The reiteration of the election idea was Deutero-Isaiah's attempt to redress the balance of Israel's faith which had been severely shaken by the catastrophe of the Exile. Because the nation was the chosen servant of Yahweh, and because as evidence of this elect position Yahweh would bring his people from the countries to which they had either fled or gone into exile, the prophet's words were:

" Fear not, for I am with you,  
 be not dismayed, for I am your God;  
 I will strengthen you, I will help you,  
 I will uphold you with my victorious right hand."<sup>3</sup>

If Yahweh chose Israel in the act of the first exodus<sup>4</sup>, then the second exodus would be the consequence of the nation's position before him as his chosen servant. Herein was the reason for Deutero-Isaiah's emphasis on election. As the prophet

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1. 41:8,9.

2. They belonged to what Koch called "das Wortfeld" of election; Wortfeld was defined, "Unter Wortfeld verstehe ich die Zusammenordnung der Wörter, die im Umkreis eines bestimmten Begriffs auftreten und dadurch Gedankenassoziationen zu erkennen geben, welche für den Verfasser beim Gebrauch des Begriffs mitschwangen.", op. cit. 206n.

3. 41:10.

4. cf. "On the day when I chose Israel....making myself known to them in the land of Egypt", Ez. 20:5.



was especially the herald of the return from the Exile it was his concern to persuade the exiles that such a return was not only feasible but was actually Yahweh's will for his people. This act of persuasion was achieved by his emphasis on the election of the nation. It, therefore, followed from Israel's position as Yahweh's chosen people that ultimately their God would act on their behalf and take them back to the land which they considered to be the centre of the earth.

Deutero-Isaiah's accentuation of the idea of election stressed the character and the role of Israel before Yahweh. Parallel to this feature of his work was his delineation of Yahweh's character and role towards Israel. For if the return was based on the nature of Israel's election by Yahweh, it was equally, if not more so, based on Yahweh's character.<sup>1</sup>

The images of Yahweh put forward by the prophet were descriptive of Yahweh's character per se, his power, and his relationship with his people. The emphasis on his holiness, his glory, the uniqueness of his godhead, and his role as the lord of history were all part of Deutero-Isaiah's general picture of Yahweh. They were all woven into the arguments produced by the prophet as evidence for the special relationship which existed between Yahweh and Israel and which was the grounds for Israel's ultimate return from the Exile.

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1. Because the main emphasis in Deutero-Isaiah's work was the return from the Exile, and this was linked with Israel's election as well as Yahweh's relation to his people, it is necessary to consider briefly the prophet's conception of God.

The nature of Yahweh as the lord of history, the only God before whom the gods of the nations were "nothing",<sup>1</sup> and the one who would brook no rivals was stated by the prophet in an oracle dealing with Yahweh's chosen servant.

" I am Yahweh, that is my name;  
 my glory I give to no other,  
 nor my praise to graven images.  
 Behold, the former things have come to pass,  
 and new things I now declare;  
 before they spring forth,  
 I tell you of them."<sup>2</sup>

The polemic between Yahweh and the gods belonged not only to the religious beliefs of the prophet but was an essential part of his argument from the character and disposition of Yahweh to the assuredness of Israel's hope for the future.

One of the prophet's distinctive emphases was on Yahweh as Israel's redeemer-protector-kinsman.

" Thus says Yahweh,  
 your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel:"<sup>3</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh, the King of Israel  
 and his Redeemer, Yahweh of hosts:"<sup>4</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh,  
 your Redeemer, the Holy One of Israel:"<sup>5</sup>

The original meaning of go'el was one who did his duty as a kinsman;<sup>6</sup> a duty which very much denoted the idea of protection.<sup>7</sup>

1. 41:24; "behold, you are nothing/and your work is nought".

2. 42:8, 9.

3. 43:14; cf. 41:14.

4. 44:6.

5. 48:17; cf. 49:26.

6. "The original meaning of ג'על, to do one's duty as a kinsman where blood has been shed, or where a name will die out or where land has fallen into strange hands, is no longer present where God is called ג'על." Köhler, Theology, 234.

7. See Johnson, "The primary meaning of ג'על", SVT, I, 1953, 67-77.

The situation of the Exile provided Yahweh, the protector of Israel, with an opportunity to exercise his power and set his people free.<sup>1</sup> Thus the character of Yahweh as go'el afforded the nation hope in a time of national despondency:

" Fear not, you worm Jacob,  
you men of Israel!  
I will help you, says Yahweh;  
your redeemer is the Holy One of Israel."<sup>2</sup>

Yahweh was also viewed as Israel's saviour:

" For I am Yahweh your God,  
the Holy One of Israel, your Saviour."<sup>3</sup>

" I, I am Yahweh,  
and besides me there is no saviour."<sup>4</sup>

" Declare and present your case;  
let them take counsel together!  
Who told this long ago?  
Who declared it of old?  
Was it not I, Yahweh?  
And there is no other god besides me,  
a righteous God and a Saviour;<sup>5</sup>  
there is none besides me."

" I will make your oppressors eat their own flesh,  
and they shall be drunk with their own blood  
as with wine.  
Then all flesh shall know  
that I am Yahweh your Saviour,  
and your Redeemer, the Mighty One of Jacob."<sup>6</sup>

Again the context for some of these statements was the polemic with the foreign gods. Deutero-Isaiah's attack on such idols was, to a great extent, based on a pragmatic approach to life. The gods failure in the sphere of history was evidence enough

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1. The sense of the concept was "liberate, set free" in Deutero-Isaiah's handling of it; cf. Köhler, Theology, 234.

2. 41:14.

3. 43:3.

4. 43:11.

5. 45:21.

6. 49:26.

for the prophet of their essential worthlessness.<sup>1</sup> The application of the title "saviour" to Yahweh denoted his role in contending with the enemies of Israel.<sup>2</sup> As their saviour he would take their part against the Babylonians and rescue them from the tyrant:

" Can the prey be taken from the mighty,  
or the captives of a tyrant be rescued?  
Surely, thus says Yahweh:  
'Even the captives of the mighty shall be taken,  
and the prey of the tyrant be rescued,  
for I will contend with those who contend with you,  
and I will save your children.'"<sup>3</sup>

Israel would also be ransomed by Yahweh and would return to their own land:

" And the ransomed of Yahweh shall return,  
and come with singing to Zion;  
everlasting joy shall be upon their heads;  
they shall obtain joy and gladness,  
and sorrow and sighing shall flee away."<sup>4</sup>

The original meaning of ransom/redeem was the taking of something "out of the possession and ownership of another into one's own possession and ownership by giving an equivalent for it".<sup>5</sup> On one occasion Deutero-Isaiah wrote:

" For I am Yahweh your God,  
the Holy One of Israel, your Saviour.  
I give Egypt as your ransom,  
Ethiopia and Seba in exchange for you."<sup>6</sup>

1. This is not to say that the prophet did not reject the gods per se as a true Yahwistic believer would have done.

2. J. Sawyer suggests that the forensic content of *mosia*<sup>c</sup> may have denoted "advocate", that is, the opposite of the *saṭan*, "What was a *mosia*<sup>c</sup>?", VT, 1965, 475-86.

3. 49:24, 25; v. 24 "tyrant" follows LXX; MT reads "righteous one".

4. 51:11; cf. 35:10.

5. So Köhler, *Theology*, 233.

6. 43:3; here, however, the Hebrew word is  $\text{רָדַם}$  not  $\text{הָרַד}$ .

The essential idea of redemption here was that of deliverance from destruction.<sup>1</sup> Thus Deutero-Isaiah viewed Yahweh as Israel's kinsman-protector, its saviour,<sup>2</sup> and the one who gave a ransom on the nation's behalf to deliver it from doom. All of these epithets described Yahweh's activity in returning Israel to its own land from the Babylonian Exile.

Deutero-Isaiah developed the election idea in a new distinctive way by linking it with the tradition of Yahweh as the creator of the world.<sup>3</sup>

- " But now thus says Yahweh,  
 he who created you, O Jacob,  
 he who formed you, O Israel:  
 'Fear not, for I have redeemed you;  
 I have called you by name, you are mine.'"<sup>4</sup>
- " Yahweh is the everlasting God,  
 the Creator of the ends of the earth."<sup>5</sup>
- " Thus says God, Yahweh,  
 who created the heavens and stretched them out,  
 who spread forth the earth and what comes from it,  
 who gives breath to the people upon it,  
 and spirit to those who walk in it:  
 'I am Yahweh, I have called you in righteousness,  
 I have taken you by the hand and kept you;  
 I have given you as a covenant<sup>6</sup> to the people,  
 a light to the nations '" ←<sup>6</sup> ?

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1. cf. "... 3x2 primarily suggests the return of men or things into their old legitimate place, 77D the saving of men or things from their doom.", Daube, Studies in Biblical Law, 39.
2. The emphasis on salvation in Deutero-Isaiah may help to explain why his work was appended to the book of Isaiah.
3. See esp. Rendtorff, "Die theologische Stellung des Schöpfungsglaubens bei Deuterijosaja", ZTK, 1954, 3-13. The following quotations give an outline of either the creation of Israel or of the world.
4. 43:1.
5. 40:28.
6. 42:5,6; in v.5 LXX reads "the Lord God"; the significance of this particular passage for election-creation is its association of creation and the Servant of Yahweh, who is a chosen one (v.1); see below, section 3c.

- " I am Yahweh, your Holy One,  
the Creator of Israel, your King."<sup>1</sup>
- " But now hear, O Jacob my servant,  
Israel whom I have chosen!  
Thus says Yahweh who made you,  
who formed you from the womb and will help you:  
Fear not, O Jacob my servant,  
Jeshurun whom I have chosen."<sup>2</sup>
- " Thus says Yahweh, your Redeemer,  
who formed you from the womb:  
'I am Yahweh, who made all things,  
who stretched out the heavens, alone,  
who spread out the earth.'"<sup>3</sup>
- " Thus says Yahweh,  
the Holy One of Israel, and his Maker:  
'Will you question me about my children,  
or command me concerning the work of my hands?  
I made the earth,  
and created man upon it;  
it was my hands that stretched out the heavens,  
and I commanded all their host.'"<sup>4</sup>
- " For thus says Yahweh,  
who created the heavens  
(he is God!),  
who formed the earth and made it  
(he established it;  
he did not create it a chaos,  
he formed it to be inhabited!):  
'I am Yahweh, and there is no other.'"<sup>5</sup>

The twin strands of Yahweh as the creator of the world and as the creator of Israel were dominant elements in Deutero-Isaiah's message. The creation of Israel was linked with its election<sup>6</sup>, and the creation of the world was used as a motif to illustrate both Yahweh's greatness and also his power in history. The prophet was less interested in the creation per se than he was

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1.43:15.

2.44:1,2.

3.44:24.

4.45:11,12.

5.45:18.

6.cf. "In Is.xliv:1f. Israel's creation is co-ordinated with her election", von Rad, Theology, II, 24ln.

in it as an additional motif in his argument.<sup>1</sup>

The peoples of the ancient Near East all had mythologies relating to the creation of the world by their particular gods.<sup>2</sup> In the Ugaritic mythology El was looked upon as the creator-god.<sup>3</sup> In Israel the prophets had made very little reference to the idea of Yahweh as the creator.<sup>4</sup> Apart from the Yahwist's writings there was little interest in the doctrine before the Exile. During the Exile, however, the idea came into greater popularity and both Deutero-Isaiah and the Priestly writer incorporated the tradition into their works.<sup>5</sup> Yet even at that stage the interest in the tradition lay more in the significance it lent to the particular presuppositions of the writer concerned than in any value it may have had in itself. Thus it was that in ancient Israel the creation tradition never attained to any

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1. See von Rad, "The Theological Problem of the Old Testament Doctrine of Creation", The Problem of the Pentateuch, 131-43.
  2. See esp. S.G.F. Brandon, Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East, 1963; also the articles and translations by S.N. Kramer, "Sumerian Myths and Epic Tales", ANET, 37-59; E.A. Speiser, "Akkadian Myths and Epics", ANET, 60-72.
  3. He was referred to as b n y. b n w t, "creator of creatures", Baal, II, iii, 11, 31; see Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, 93ff.; also Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, SVT V, 1957, 58. See also Schmidt, Königtum Gottes in Ugarit und Israel, 49-52; L.R. Fisher, "Creation at Ugarit and in the Old Testament", VT, 1965, 313-24. It may be noted in passing that in the creation passage in Is. 42:5 Yahweh is referred to as  $\int \times \int$  in MT.
  4. The doxologies in Am. 4:13; 5:8; 9:5, 6; are rare examples of the idea; there is little reason for regarding them as later than Amos, for the idea of creation undoubtedly had a place in pre-exilic Israelite belief (cf. the Yahwist).
  5. On creation in the OT, see T. Boman, "The Biblical Doctrine of Creation", CQR, 1964, 140-51; K. Koch, "Wort und Einheit des Schöpfergottes in Memphis und Jerusalem", ZTK, 1965, 251-93; D.D. Evans, The Logic of Self-Involvement. A Philosophical Study of Everyday Language with Special Reference to the Christian Use of Language about God as Creator, 1963, 145-204.

status of an independent tradition but always remained subordinated to another theme.<sup>1</sup>

In a prophecy about the crossing of the Reed Sea the prophet alluded to the creation myth:

"Awake, awake, put on strength,  
O arm of Yahweh;  
awake, as in the days of old,  
the generations of long ago.  
Was it not thou that didst cut Rahab in pieces,  
that didst pierce the dragon?  
Was it not thou that didst dry up the sea,  
the waters of the great deep;  
that didst make the depths of the sea a way  
for the redeemed to pass over?"<sup>2</sup>

Here the ancient creation myth concerning Tiamat, the chaos monster of Babylonian cosmogony, was interwoven with some of the elements from Israel's crossing of the Reed Sea at the exodus from Egypt.<sup>3</sup> In this way the Hebrews historicised myth and integrated it with their own sacral traditions which were deeply rooted in history.<sup>4</sup>

Yahweh's triumph over the primeval forces of chaos was

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1. cf. Köhler's remark, "The creation of the world by God in the Old Testament is no independent fact; creation is intended to be the opening of history.", Theology, 87. Apart from Deutero-Isaiah's handling of the creation tradition, the same approach can be seen in the Psalms, cf. 33:6-12; 89:1-4(2-5).

2. 51:9, 10.

3. In Ugaritic the god Yam was the sea; "Rahab", "the dragon/sea-monster (tannin)", "the sea", "the deep (tehōm)", were all synonyms for the original chaos. Snaitch writes, "The legends (J, E and P) never said the Israelites crossed the yam-sup. This was never said until the story of the crossing of 'the sea' was interwoven with the great Creation-myth. The yam sup was the deep sea away to the south with its tides and great depths, all of it very different from the Mediterranean which was close at hand and the only sea they really knew.", "יָם־סוּפִּי: the Sea of Reeds: the Red Sea", VT, 1965, 395-8.

4. cf. North, The Second Isaiah, 212.



prefixed to the Heilsgeschichte and also made into a motif of his power demonstrated at the exodus.<sup>1</sup> The victory over chaos and over the Egyptians was invoked in order that Yahweh would rise up and once again deliver his people. In this way the exodus tradition was made the nucleus of Israel's experience of Yahweh. From the centrality of its place in Israel's Heilsgeschichte the past and the future were viewed.<sup>2</sup> Thus aspects of Yahweh's power were retrojected into the dim past of antiquity and predicated of his role in creation. The same attributes of his power were projected into the future in order to describe the eschaton.

Creation in Israel was essentially an eschatological concept.<sup>3</sup> This factor explains why it appeared so little in the pre-exilic prophets but blossomed during the Exile. The growing concern with the future of the nation, which was a characteristic feature of that period when the nation's very

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1. On the idea of Yahweh's fight with chaos, see esp. Fredriksson, Jahwe als Krieger, 59ff.; that the chaos tradition should appear in Deutero-Isaiah was only natural with his emphasis on Yahweh of hosts as "a man of war"; the whole tenor of his depiction of Yahweh was one of warlike strength.
  2. In a sense Israel interpreted its later history in a typological way. This is not the place to go into the concept of typology, but see von Rad, "Typological Interpretation of the OT", Essays on OT Interpretation, 17-39; and Eichrodt, "Is Typological Exegesis an Appropriate Method?", Essays on OT Interpretation, 224-45.
  3. cf. Köhler, "Creation in Old Testament theology is an eschatological concept", Theology, 88; cf. Jacob, Theology, 136ff.; see esp. C. Stuhlmüller, "The Theology of Creation in Second Isaiah", CBQ, 1959, 429-67; esp. 462ff. on the eschatological aspect of creation in Deutero-Isaiah; on the other hand, Mowinckel argues that Deutero-Isaiah's message was not a true eschatology because of its historical attitudes (e.g. Cyrus), He That Cometh, 153f.

existence appeared to be finished, led to a concentration on those features of the Heilsgeschichte which afforded most hope for the future. Within Israel's cultus the recital of the events of the nation's election faith was introduced by references to Yahweh's role in creation.<sup>1</sup> By expressing their faith in Yahweh as creator the faithful hoped that he would again exercise his power on their behalf and make good the promise contained in the nation's election.<sup>2</sup>

To summarise Deutero-Isaiah's handling of the exodus election tradition, it may be stated that the prophet centred his message on the declaration of the return of the exiles as a new exodus. The new exodus would be parallel to the old saving event; exodus, desert period, Landnahme would all have their counterpart in the return. Various motifs describing Yahweh's role on behalf of his people were interwoven with this election exposition, chief of which was Yahweh as creator and protector.<sup>3</sup> With Deutero-Isaiah Israel's election faith reached its highest form of expression, and especially the exposition of the exodus tradition.

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1. cf. Ps. 89:5ff. (6ff.); the cultic influences in the work of Deutero-Isaiah may explain partly the prophet's use of the creation tradition as an indissoluble part of the Heilsgeschichte; on the other hand, the prophet's approach to this form may have influenced the post-exilic development of the cultus.
  2. cf. Ps. 74:12-17; before the Exile Yahweh's power had been demonstrated by the exodus; however the destruction of the state of Judah had called that power into question and so thinking was focussed on the more transcendental act of power, the creation. On the promise in the OT, see esp. C. Westermann, "The Way of the Promise through the Old Testament", The Old Testament and Christian Faith, ed. B. W. Anderson, 1964, 200-24.
  3. Deutero-Isaiah used the terms "redeem" and "create" almost as synonyms, see von Rad, Theology, II, 241.

### 3. The David-Zion election tradition

#### a) Zion<sup>1</sup>

During the Exile there was a greater tendency among the prophets to use Zion/Jerusalem and Israel as synonyms.<sup>2</sup> The destruction of Jerusalem in 587 had removed the city from any active function in the life of the exiles. Hence it became a case of applying the city's name to the people as a parallel title to Israel, in the same way that Israel had become the name for Judah as well after the fall of Samaria. It was very much an example of pars pro toto. Thereby the election tradition concerning Zion gravitated towards integration with the general concept of the election of Israel.

Apart from this new development which Deutero-Isaiah employed on occasions,<sup>3</sup> the prophet regarded Zion in the traditional manner in Israel. The return from the Exile included the restoration of Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the cities of Judah. Furthermore, he believed and maintained that the temple would be rebuilt:

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1. On the Zion tradition in Deutero-Isaiah, see also Rohland, op.cit. 200-3.

2. cf. Ez. 16; 23; where the allegories concerning Jerusalem used the city's name as a synonym for the people within it and for Judah in general. This was the beginning of the metamorphosis of the topographical city into a symbol which reached its apex in the NT concept of "the Jerusalem above" (Gal. 4:26), and the "new Jerusalem" (Rev. 21:2).

3. cf. esp. 40:1, 2 - "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God.

Speak tenderly to Jerusalem".

cf. 40:9; 52:1, 2; see esp. Porteous, "Jerusalem-Zion: the Growth of a Symbol", Verbannung und Heimkehr, 235-52.

" Thus says Yahweh, your Redeemer,  
 who formed you from the womb:  
 'I am Yahweh, who made all things,  
 who says of Jerusalem, 'She shall be inhabited,'  
 and of the cities of Judah, 'They shall be built,  
 and I will raise up their ruins';  
 who says to the deep, 'Be dry,  
 I will dry up your rivers';  
 who says of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd,  
 and he shall fulfill all my purpose';  
 saying of Jerusalem, 'She shall be built',  
 and of the temple, 'Your foundation shall be laid.'"<sup>1</sup>

" Awake, awake,  
 put on your strength, O Zion;  
 put on your beautiful garments,  
 O Jerusalem, the holy city;  
 for there shall no more come into you  
 the uncircumcised and the unclean.  
 Shake yourself from the dust, arise;  
 O captive Jerusalem;  
 loose the bonds from your neck,<sup>2</sup>  
 O captive daughter of Zion."

However bearable life may have been for the exiles in Babylon the true Israelite would have constantly looked for the day when Yahweh would deliver his people from captivity and restore them to their own land. For Deutero-Isaiah this restoration included the rebuilding of Jerusalem and its temple, and also the building of the cities of Judah. In other words, the complete restoration of national life in the land of Judah.<sup>3</sup>

There was a distinctly eschatological view taken of the restored city by the prophet. The restoration of the land would have a paradisaical character:

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1. 44:24, 26-28; v. 27 may have been a two-way allusion to the Reed Sea incident and the parallel event of the return from the Exile.

2. 52:1, 2; v. 2bMT reads "sit down", emended to "captive"; see North, *The Second Isaiah*, 218.

3. cf. 52:7-10; 54:1-3.

" For Yahweh will comfort Zion;  
 he will comfort all her waste places,  
 and will make her wilderness like Eden,  
 her desert like the garden of Yahweh;  
 joy and gladness will be found in her,<sup>1</sup>  
 thanksgiving and the voice of song."

" O afflicted one, storm-tossed, and not comforted,<sup>2</sup>  
 behold, I will set your stones in antimony,  
 and lay your foundations with sapphires.  
 I will make your pinnacles of agate,  
 your gates of carbuncles,  
 and all your wall of precious stones.<sup>3</sup>  
 All your sons shall be taught by Yahweh,  
 and great shall be the prosperity of your sons.  
 In righteousness you shall be established;  
 you shall be far from oppression,  
 for you shall not fear;  
 and from terror, for it shall not come near you.  
 If any one stirs up strife,  
 it is not from me;  
 whoever stirs up strife with you  
 shall fall because of you.  
 Behold, I have created the smith  
 who blows the fire of coals,  
 and produces a weapon for its purpose.  
 I have also created the ravager to destroy;  
 no weapon that is fashioned against you shall prosper,  
 and you shall confute every tongue that rises  
 against you in judgment.<sup>4</sup>  
 This is the heritage of the servants of Yahweh  
 and their vindication from me,  
 says Yahweh."

The principle of the end being similar to the beginning in human history was clearly held by the prophet. The final state of restored Judah would be akin to the prelapsarian

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1. 51:3; cf. Gn. 2:8, 9; 13:10; Ez. 28:13; 31:9; on the mythology in Ez. 28, see J. L. McKenzie, "Mythical Allusions in Ez. 28:12-18", *JBL*, 1956, 322-7; H. G. May, "The King in the Garden of Eden: A Study of Ezekiel 28:12-19", *Israel's Prophetic Heritage*, 166-76.

2. 54:11-17.

3. v. 13 should perhaps be read as "all your builders", so DS1a; cf. BH; and Westermann, *Jesaja*, 222n.; Westermann also inserts v. 14a in between strophes a and b of v. 13; *ibid.* 223.

4. v. 17b is omitted by DS1a.

paradise which the Hebrew myths depicted primitive man as having enjoyed.<sup>1</sup> The promise of security was an integral part of the prophetic preaching on the future state of restored Israel.<sup>2</sup> The prophet again made a passing reference to Yahweh's role as creator, this time in order to stress the protection Yahweh would provide for his people. The guarantee of security—"no weapon that is fashioned against you shall prosper"—was an assertion of Zion's future inviolability. Whatever may have been the prophetic view as regards the security of the city in the pre-exilic period,<sup>3</sup> the dogma of its inviolability was most certainly propounded by Deutero-Isaiah with reference to the eschatological state of the city.<sup>4</sup> In this sense the future would surpass the past, for previously Jerusalem had fallen to the Babylonians but in the coming day Yahweh would undertake the safety of the city. This protection would be Yahweh's vindication of his servants and their inheritance.<sup>5</sup>

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1. In the two passages quoted it may be noted that the first paradise was a garden but here it would be the cities and the land; perhaps there was an underlying motif of the redemption of the curse on Cain, who was the first builder of cities, cf. Gn. 4.
  2. cf. Is. 9:7(6); Mic. 5:4(3); Jer. 23:6.
  3. This question has been dealt with above, see VI, 3b; there it was decided that although there probably was a popular myth about the inviolability of Zion, Isaiah's proclamation concerning Yahweh's defence of the city only applied to the situations referred to by him.
  4. In this belief Deutero-Isaiah was probably developing ideas first propounded by Isaiah of Jerusalem; 54:15 may well have been influenced by Is. 28:16, if so then here are two further connecting links between the two Isaian prophets.
  5. 54:17; the use of "inheritance" (parallel to vindication/ righteousness) was a most peculiar one, for it normally referred to Israel's inheritance of Canaan (Dt. 4:21); perhaps the meaning was two-fold, both a comment on the lot of Yahweh's servants, and a reference to the land in its secure state.

During the time of Isaiah of Jerusalem there had been an anonymous oracle, about a pilgrimage to Zion made by the nations, in circulation which that prophet had viewed as a suitable vehicle for some of his thoughts on Zion's role in the future.<sup>1</sup> It obviously reflected the thinking of the prophets in the late eighth century for Micah had also used it.<sup>2</sup> Now almost two centuries later Deutero-Isaiah took up some of the motifs of that oracle and interwove them into his outlook on the return of the exiles and the future relationship between Israel and the nations:

" Thus says Yahweh:

'The wealth of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia,  
and the Sabeans, men of stature,  
shall come over to you and be yours,  
they shall follow you;  
they shall come over in chains and bow down to you.  
They will make supplication to you, saying:  
'God is with you only, and there is no other,  
no god besides him.'"<sup>3</sup>

" Thus says the Lord Yahweh:

'Behold, I will lift up my hand to the nations,  
and raise my signal to the peoples;  
and they shall bring your sons in their bosom,  
and your daughters shall be carried on their shoulders.  
Kings shall be your foster fathers,  
and their queens your nursing mothers.  
With their faces to the ground they shall bow down  
to you,  
and lick the dust of your feet.  
Then you will know that I am Yahweh;  
those who wait for me shall not be put to shame.'"<sup>4</sup>

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1. Is. 2:2-4.

2. Mic. 4:1-3.

3. 45:14; whether the spoiling of the Egyptians (Ex. 12:35f.) was an underlying image in this oracle is perhaps a rather tendentious interpretation.

4. 49:22, 23; cf. 28:16; 8:17; the idea of waiting for Yahweh occurs in both Isaiahs.

The images used about the return from the Exile were very strong ones and conveyed the glorious nature of the event. The submission of the nations to Israel was not a sign of national superiority but a token of the sovereignty of Yahweh. In one case the nations would acknowledge that there were no gods besides Yahweh, in the other instance Israel would be aware of Yahweh's manifestation of himself by virtue of the nations' actions.<sup>1</sup>

Although the main election tradition for Deutero-Isaiah was that of the exodus, he took up that part of the David-Zion tradition which dealt with Zion and used it to discuss the homecoming of the exiles. If the exodus ultimately led to the acquisition of Jerusalem, then the return would logically lead to the rebuilding of the land of Judah, of Jerusalem, and also the temple. The future condition of the land would be quite paradisaical, and the nation would dwell there in total safety. Yahweh would guarantee this security of the city as his vindication of his people. The builders of the new Zion would all be taught of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the nations would come to Zion and there acknowledge Yahweh as the only God.<sup>3</sup>

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1. 49:23; the phrase "you will know that I am Yahweh" looks rather like the fulfilment of Ezekiel's dominant theme "that you may know that I am Yahweh", cf. Ez. 20:12, 20, 26, 38, esp. 44.  
 2. 54:13; cf. 8:16; 50:4; this may have represented Deutero-Isaiah's version of Jeremiah's state under the new covenant where there would be no further need to teach each other a knowledge of Yahweh because they would already know him, Jer. 31:34.  
 3. 45:14; 49:22, 23; cf. "there shall no more come into you/the uncircumcised and the unclean", 52:1.



b) Davidi) Cyrus

The prophetic belief in Yahweh as the lord of history included the view that Yahweh could, on occasions, make use of non-Israelites to forward his purposes. Thus the first Isaiah had viewed the Assyrians as the rod of Yahweh's anger.<sup>1</sup> For Deutero-Isaiah this belief was a fundamental part of his understanding of the history of his time. During the period of his activity there had appeared on the horizon of Near Eastern politics the all-conquering figure of Cyrus, the Persian king. The prophet considered him to be the one who would destroy the Babylonians and liberate Israel. So he made some statements about the role Cyrus would play in Yahweh's restoration plan for his people.

" I am Yahweh, who made all things,  
 who says of Cyrus, 'He is my shepherd,  
 and he shall fulfill all my purpose';"<sup>2</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh to his anointed, to Cyrus,<sup>3</sup>  
 whose right hand I have grasped,  
 to subdue nations before him  
 and ungird the loins of kings,  
 to open doors before him  
 that gates may not be closed:  
 'I will go before you  
 and level the mountains,<sup>4</sup>  
 I will break in pieces the doors of bronze  
 and cut asunder the bars of iron  
 I will give you the treasures of darkness  
 and the hoards in secret places,

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1. 10:5.

2. 44:28.

3. 45:1-4; cf. 41:2, 25.

4. v. 2 "mountains" following LXX; DS Ia; MT "swellings"; Westermann suggests reading "the ways", Jesaja, 124n.

that you may know that it is I, Yahweh  
 the God of Israel, who call you by your name.  
 For the sake of my servant Jacob,  
 and Israel my chosen,  
 I call you by your name,  
 I surname you, though you do not know me.'"

The epithets given to Cyrus, "shepherd", "anointed" have led some scholars to maintain the opinion that Cyrus had taken the place of the Davidic king and become the rightful king of Judah.<sup>1</sup> However this viewpoint cannot be maintained for the titles simply designated Cyrus as Yahweh's ruler and representative.<sup>2</sup> He was Yahweh's chosen political servant, for Israel's election role had nothing to do with a political position.<sup>3</sup> To a great extent the titles were rhetorical exaggerations<sup>4</sup> and were the prophet's method of signifying that it was Yahweh who was behind the rise of Cyrus. For the rise of Cyrus was considered to be on behalf of Israel, Yahweh's chosen servant. It was one more example of Deutero-Isaiah's interpretation of history within a context of the election faith of Israel.

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1. The chief exponent of this view is Smith, who writes, "If Cyrus was the anointed of Yahweh, he had taken the place of the line of David, and had become the true king of Judah", Isaiah Chapters XL-LV, 74.
  2. See the remarks of Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, 56ff.; and North, The Second Isaiah, 147ff.
  3. Altmann rightly remarks, "Der politische Erwählte Jahwes aber ist nicht Israel, sondern Kyros, so dass man nicht von Nationalismus bei Deuterojesaja sprechen kann.", Erwählungs-  
theologie und Universalismus im AT, 26. Zimmerli considers that the prophet's message changed from announcing the eschatological coming of Yahweh to the assertion of liberation through Cyrus, "Promise and Fulfillment", Essays on OT Interpretation, 106.
  4. So von Rad, Theology, II, 244n.

ii) David<sup>1</sup>

Although Deutero-Isaiah emphasised the role of Zion in the future state of Israel he practically ignored David and his house. There were a number of important reasons for this omission in the prophet's work. The history of the monarchy in Israel had been one of conflict between the individual monarchs and the Yahwistic prophets. From the beginning of the institution there had been some quite strong opposition to the whole idea of kingship. Always there had been a prophet belonging to Yahweh at hand ready to confront the king with any breach of his covenant or the laws of Yahweh. One high point of this conflict was Elijah's opposition to Ahab and his contest with the prophets of Ba'al on mount Carmel. During the eighth and seventh centuries the classical prophets had continued this dispute wherever the kings failed to remain loyal to Yahweh. Finally, with the fall of Jerusalem the institution of the monarchy disappeared from Israel's life.

Therefore, it is not surprising to find a prophet such as Deutero-Isaiah viewing the future as a period without a king in Israel. A further reason for his viewpoint may be found in his stress on Yahweh as king:

" I am Yahweh, your Holy One,  
the Creator of Israel, your King. " <sup>1</sup>

" Thus says Yahweh, the King of Israel  
and his Redeemer, Yahweh of hosts. " <sup>2</sup>

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1. 43:15; the emphasis on Yahweh's kingship linked Deutero-Isaiah to Isaiah, cf. 6:5.

2. 44:6.

The failure of the kings in history and the nature of Yahweh as king tended to convince Deutero-Isaiah that there was little need for a king in Israel.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the dominant reason for the prophet's paucity of references to the Davidic leader was his conception of an entirely different figure in a rather different role for the future. This was that enigmatic figure who appeared in a number of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecies, known to modern scholarship as the Servant of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup>

However Deutero-Isaiah did make one reference to David:

" Ho, every one who thirsts,<sup>3</sup>  
 come to the waters;  
 and he who has no money,  
 come, buy and eat!  
 Come, buy wine and milk  
 without money and without price.  
 Why do you spend your money for that which is not bread,  
 and your labor for that which does not satisfy?  
 Hearken diligently to me, and eat what is good,  
 and delight yourselves in fatness.  
 Incline your ear, and come to me;  
 hear, that your soul may live;  
 and I will make with you an everlasting covenant,  
 my steadfast ~~hesed~~(s) for David.<sup>4</sup>  
 Behold, I made him a witness to the peoples,<sup>5</sup>  
 a leader and commander for the peoples.  
 Behold, you shall call nations that ~~you~~ know not,  
 and nations that knew you not shall run to you,  
 because of Yahweh your God, and the Holy One of Israel,  
 for he has glorified you."

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1. Deutero-Isaiah's emphasis on the kingship of Yahweh belonged to the eschatological nature of his prophecy, for as Maag notes, "Nur in Israel hat die Königsherrschaft Gottes einen unverkennbar eschatologischen Aspekt", "Malkut Jhwh", SVT VII, 1960, 131.
  2. See below, section 3c.
  3. 55:1-5; v.1 DS1a omits "and eat and come buy" in strophes d, e.
  4. v.3 ~~hesed~~ is in the plural and possibly should be rendered "the deeds of ~~hesed~~", see North, The Second Isaiah, 257.
  5. v.4 translate the first "peoples" as "nations" perhaps; cf. the remarks of G.R. Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems: Isaiah xl-lxvi", JTS, 1935, 396-406; esp. 404.

The interpretation of this passage presents certain difficulties.<sup>1</sup> The opening phrases may reflect the influence of the old covenant meal which was eaten at Sinai.<sup>2</sup> The reference to water may also be a motif from the period in the desert belonging originally to the first exodus, and now related to the return from the Exile. The acts of *hesed*<sup>3</sup> to David referred to the covenant made with David by Yahweh, and also to all that had been signified by his election and the promise of a dynasty.<sup>4</sup> However here the prophet did not anticipate the continuance of the Davidic house after the return from the Exile, but a transference of the Davidic covenant to the nation as a whole.<sup>5</sup> In this way the Davidic election tradition was democratized and applied to the people. They became the heirs to the acts of *hesed* to David.

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1. For a study of it, see esp. Eissfeldt, "The Promises of Grace to David in Isaiah 55:1-5", Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 196-207.
  2. cf. Ex. 24:11.
  3. On *hesed* in the OT, see H. J. Stoebe, "Die Bedeutung des Wortes *h&sd* im AT", VT, 1952, 244-54.
  4. cf. II Sam. 23:5; Pss. 18:50; 89:28; and esp. II Sam. 7:8-16 which was the original prophetic oracle dealing with the promise of a Davidic dynasty.
  5. In this we would agree with Rohland's comments, "Allerdings ist hier die Erwartung eines neuen David oder eines 'gerechten Spross' offenbar g&nzlich verlassen. Nicht der Herrscher, sondern das ganze Volk w&rdede der Empf&nger des Davids-Bundes sein.", op. cit. 264; Eissfeldt observes, "...our Exilic prophet does not count the Davidic kingdom among the blessings hoped for in the coming Day of Salvation", op. cit. 203; North follows this view, The Second Isaiah, 258; ~~xxx~~ Knight, Deutero-Isaiah, 258ff. appears to be closer to Skinner's view, "the original covenant guarantees an endless dominion to the family of David, and after the restoration this will assume a spiritual character and expand into universal empire in the reign of the Messiah.", Isaiah XL-LXVI, 144; Volz, who divides 55:1-5 into two sections, I-3a and 3b-5, opposes Skinner's interpretation, Jesaja II, 139.

The David-Zion election tradition applied the epithets "chosen" and "servant" to David.<sup>1</sup> However, in Deutero-Isaiah these epithets were invariably applied to Israel.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, it was only logical that the prophet should continue to apply them to the nation and reject the notion of a restored kingdom, with a Davidic king on the throne. But he did not consider that the "steadfast acts of *hesed*" nor the "permanent covenant" were thereby invalidated. Far from it, for the promises to David had categorically stated "he has made with me an eternal covenant/ordered in all things and secure".<sup>3</sup> So in order to maintain this guarantee Deutero-Isaiah applied the terms, originally applied to David and his dynasty, to the people of Israel.<sup>4</sup> Thus, although the prophet had no faith in a dynasty which had seldom reached any spectacular heights of religious fidelity to Yahweh, and which now was non-existent, he did asseverate his faith in the election of the nation. This faith was grounded in the original exodus election tradition, and in his own peculiarly interpreted Davidic election tradition. The continual survival of the nation through the Exile and afterwards would be an adequate fulfilment of the promises and the acts of *hesed* to David.

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1. Ps. 89:3(4); cf. Ps. 78:70.

2. 41:8, 9; 44:1, 2; 45:4; cf. 42:1; 49:6, 7.

3. II Sam. 23:5; cf. Ps. 89:19-27(20-38).

4. 55:4, 5—"I made him a witness to the nations/a leader and commander for the peoples/you shall call nations that you know not/and nations that knew you not shall run to you". This democratisation process would, to a certain extent, restore Israel to the position it had before the monarchy when there was only the exodus election tradition.

c) The Servant of Yahweh<sup>1</sup>

Apart from his emphasis on the return from the Exile written in terms of the election traditions of ancient Israel, Deutero-Isaiah's outstanding contribution to the field of classical Hebrew prophecy was his conception of the Servant of Yahweh. This enigmatic figure was the subject of four songs in the prophet's work.<sup>2</sup> We see no reason for not attributing these songs to Deutero-Isaiah himself.

The adherents of Yahwism in ancient Israel had always been conscious of their distinctiveness among the nations as followers of Yahweh. Israel, as a small nation, had suffered throughout its history at the hands of greater nations whenever such nations chose to march through Palestine en route to war. Indeed, the nation's very beginning had been in the slave-camps

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1. The literature on this topic is far too vast to be adequately dealt with here, we can ~~but~~ give an indication of some of the more important works; Eissfeldt, "The Ebed-Jahwe in Isaiah xl-lv in the Light of the Israelite Conceptions of the Community and the Individual, the Ideal and the Real", ExpT, 1932/3, 261-8; Engnell, "The 'Ebed Yahweh Songs and the Suffering Messiah in 'Deutero-Isaiah'", BJRL, 1948, 3-42; Kaiser, Der Königliche Knecht. Eine traditions-geschichtlich-exegetische Studie über die Ebed-Jahwe-Lieder bei Deuterojesaja, FRANT 70, 1959; Lindblom, The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah. A new attempt to solve an old problem, 1951; Lindhagen, The Servant Motif in the OT; Morgenstern, "The Suffering Servant-a new solution-", VT, 1961, 292-320; 406-31; North, The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. An Historical and Critical Study, 1948; J.S. van der Ploeg, Les Chants du Serviteur de Jahve dans la seconde partie du Livre d'Isaïe, 1936; R. Press, "Der Gottesknecht im AT", ZAW, 1955, 67-99; Rowley, "The Servant of the Lord in the Light of Three Decades of Criticism", The Servant of the Lord, 3-60; "The Suffering Servant and the Davidic Messiah", The Servant of the Lord, 61-93; Snaith, "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah", SOTP, 187-200. Zimmerli, The Servant of God, 1-42.
2. 42:1-9; 49:1-6; 50:4-11; 52:13-53:12.

of Egypt. In the Exile Israel went through further deprivation. Out of all these experiences the perceptive in Israel began to view the future less in glowing terms and more in the light of a role which included suffering as a prominent element.

Deutero-Isaiah's Servant was one of Yahweh's chosen ones:

" Behold my servant,whom I uphold,  
 my chosen,in whom my soul delights;  
 I will put my spirit upon him,  
 he will bring forth justice to the nations.  
 He will not cry or lift up his voice,  
 or make it heard in the street;  
 a bruised reed he will not break,  
 and a dimly burning wick he will not quench;  
 he will faithfully bring forth justice.  
 He will not fail or be discouraged  
 till he has established justice in the earth;  
 and the coastlands wait for his law."<sup>1</sup>

Here the Servant as Yahweh's chosen one was given the task of bringing "justice" to the nations. The meaning of "justice" is not very clear. It may have meant a "declaration of judgment"<sup>2</sup>, or more probably "religion"<sup>3</sup>,with the emphasis on the practical aspect of such a religion.<sup>4</sup> In other words,the mission of the Servant was the spread of Yahwism in the earth. This factor was brought out in other statements about the Servant:

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1. 42:1-4; LXX adds "Jacob" before "my servant",and "Israel" before "my chosen" in v.1.;this would give a 4:4 line in a 3:3 context;however,although the MT is probably the original text,the LXX reading gives the meaning of the lines,cf.41:8.
  2. cf. Begrich, Studien zu Deuterocesaja, 161ff.; Zimmerli, The Servant of God, 29f.
  3. cf. von Rad's statement, "It could in fact be equated with true religion", Theology, II, 252; see also Mowinckel, He That Cometh, 189n.; Skinner, Isaiah XL-LXVI, 27; Lindblom defines it as "all the demands of the divine law", The Servant Songs, 17.
  4. cf. Mic. 6:8; see the comments of North, The Second Isaiah, 107f.; Volz writes, "mischpät ist ein Wort für Religion;...für unseren Dichter gibt es nur einen einzigen mischpät, eine einzige Religion, die absolute Wahrheit", Jesaja II, 153.



" I am Yahweh, I have called you in righteousness,  
 I have taken you by the hand and kept you;  
 I have given you as a covenant to the people,  
 a light to the nations,  
 to open the eyes that are blind,  
 to bring out the prisoners from the dungeon,  
 from the prison those who sit in darkness."<sup>1</sup>

" And now Yahweh says,  
 who formed me from the womb to be his servant  
 to bring back Jacob to him,  
 and that Israel might be gathered to him,  
 for I am honored in the eyes of Yahweh,  
 and my God has become my strength-  
 he says:

'It is too light a thing that you should be my servant  
 to raise up the tribes of Jacob  
 and to restore the preserved of Israel;  
 I will give you as a light to the nations,  
 that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth."<sup>2</sup>

The Servant's role here was as the restorer of Israel  
 as well as being a light to the nations. It has been asserted  
 that there was no missionary outlook in Deutero-Isaiah,<sup>3</sup> but in  
 the light of the above statements we would be inclined to view  
 the Servant as having a distinctly missionary task.<sup>4</sup>

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1. 42:6,7; some scholars do not regard vv. 5ff. as being part of  
 the Servant song of vv. 1-4; so Mowinckel, *op. cit.* 189n.; North,  
The Suffering Servant, 131ff.; however the subject matter is  
 so similar that it is quite impossible to separate the two.  
 v. 6 "a covenant to the people" = "covenant of humanity", so  
 Quell, "Love in the OT", TWNT, I, 34m.; Lindblom renders it,  
 "a confederation of peoples", The Servant Songs, 21.

2. 49:5,6.

3. See esp. P.A.H. de Boer, Second-Isaiah's Message, OTS XI, 1956, 80ff.;  
 Snaith, "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah", SOTP, 187ff.;

4. In agreement with Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 427f.;  
 Vriezen, Erwählung, 64ff.; Rowley, Election, 62f.; on the missionary  
 idea in the OT, see F.M.T. de Liagre-Böhle, "Missions- und  
 Erwählungsgedanke in Alt-Israel", FS Bertholet, 77-96. On  
 universalism in Deutero-Isaiah, see Blank, "Studies in Deutero-  
 Isaiah", HUCA, 1940, 1-46; Morgenstern, "Deutero-Isaiah's  
 terminology for 'universal God'", JBL, 1943, 269-80; perhaps  
 at the root of the election idea there was a universalistic  
 concept of Yahweh, for only a universal God could choose.

The question of the identity of the Servant has raised many problems for modern scholarship. The Servant has been identified with the Davidic messiah,<sup>1</sup> the prophet himself,<sup>2</sup> an unnamed prophet,<sup>3</sup> the house of David represented by Jehoiachin during the captivity,<sup>4</sup> Moses redivivus,<sup>5</sup> and Israel.<sup>6</sup> The wide range of interpretations is ample evidence of the complexity of the subject. No one interpretation is adequate by itself or does justice to the depth of concept concealed in the figure of the Servant. The Servant may well have been a specific individual, but he also stood as a symbol for Israel.<sup>7</sup> Not an ideal Israel<sup>8</sup> but for all that was good in Israel.<sup>8</sup> In certain parts of Deutero-Isaiah's prophecy the Servant was Israel, in other parts the Servant transcended any identification with Israel. Ultimately it must be admitted that the history

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1. Engnell, *op. cit.* 42; Johnson, *Sacral Kingship*, 125.
  2. H. M. Orlinsky, *The So-called 'Suffering Servant' in Is. 53*, 1964.
  3. See esp. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, 213ff.
  4. Snaith, "The Servant of the Lord in Deutero-Isaiah", *SOTP*, 191; E. Burrows, "The Servant of Yahweh in Isaiah: An Interpretation", *The Gospel of the Infancy*, 59-80; esp. 76; M. C. D'Arcy writes, "at the same time the House of David and a representative of it", *The Sense of History: Secular and Sacred*, 1959, 226.
  5. Apart from his emphasis on the Servant as Moses redivivus, Bentzen writes, "The 'Ebed Yahweh is Deutero-Isaiah and Israel, the new Moses ('Messias' in radically changed form) and the congregation for whom he is ready to die, in one single person, the Patriarch of the new race.", *King and Messiah*, 67.
  6. See Eissfeldt, *op. cit.* 261ff.; Blank, "Studies in Deutero-Isaiah", *HUCA*, 1940, 29f.; Blank views the Servant as being based on a pattern of Jeremiah; the identification of the Servant with Israel is not affected in any way by the omission or inclusion of "Israel" in 49:3.
  7. "The servant of the Songs is thought of as an individual, but he symbolizes allegorically a community, namely Israel.", Lindblom, *The Servant Songs in Deutero-Isaiah*, 103.
  8. cf. "It can certainly be said that the figure of the Servant embodies all that is good in Israel's existence before Jahweh." *Theology*, II, 260.

of Israel was too obscure at this period for any degree of certainty to be reached concerning the Servant's identity.<sup>1</sup>

Some of Deutero-Isaiah's sketches of the Servant of Yahweh presented him as a vicarious sufferer. In so far as the Servant can be identified as commensurate with some of Israel, then we have a distinct advance in the prophet's concept of Israel's role in the world. It may be that at one level of thought the prophet viewed the Servant as representing the pious in Israel. The roles of a suffering servant and of a missionary confronted Israel with the full implications and responsibilities of its election position before Yahweh. The nation ceased to be an independent state long before the Exile but during that period of crisis the prophetic voice shaped Israel's destiny into a new form. After the Exile the nation developed on the lines of a theocratic community and eventually Israel's role as a missionary to the nations was implemented in a practical way.<sup>2</sup> The motif of the suffering servant reminded Israel that being the chosen of Yahweh was a way of life that entailed suffering. At this point the prophet had raised election to a point where it was less than a dogma and more a way of life through which Yahweh could communicate, not only with Israel but with the nations.

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1. There is very little to be said for J. Palache's viewpoint that Meshullam ben Zerubbabel was the Servant of Yahweh, "The 'Ebed Yahweh Enigma in Pseudo-Isaiah", Sinai en Paran. Opera Minora, 1959, 69-98; esp. 90; cf. Buber who also takes this view, The Prophetic Faith, 231ff.

2. cf. the Book of Jonah; see Vriezen's comments of the theocratic development, Erwählung, 71.

#### 4. The Patriarchal election tradition

Deutero-Isaiah with his wide knowledge of Israel's early beginnings was aware of the patriarchal tradition. He was also aware of the covenant made with Noah.<sup>1</sup> The tradition of the fathers which he was familiar with was the Abraham tradition:

" But you, Israel, my servant,  
Jacob, whom I have chosen,  
the offspring of Abraham, my friend."<sup>2</sup>

" Hearken to me, you who pursue deliverance,  
you who seek Yahweh;  
look to the rock from which you were hewn,  
and to the quarry from which you were digged.  
Look to Abraham your father  
and to Sarah who bore you;  
for when he was but one I called him,  
and I blessed him and made him many.  
For Yahweh will comfort Zion;  
he will comfort all her waste places,  
and will make her wilderness like Eden,  
her desert like the garden of Yahweh;"<sup>3</sup>

For Deutero-Isaiah the beginning of the nation's history was the patriarchal period, therefore the nation was called "the offspring of Abraham". As a further guarantee of the future restoration of Zion the pious were ordered to look back to the period when Abraham was a solitary figure. Then Yahweh had blessed him and made him into a mighty nation. In the same way he would deliver the exiles and the few who remained to Judah would again be multiplied until Israel was a great and populous nation again dwelling in its own land.

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1. 54:9,10.

2. 41:8.

3. 51:1-3; cf. Gn. 13:10.

This particular command of Deutero-Isaiah's was in striking contrast to Ezekiel's reaction to the people who said, "Abraham was only one man, yet he got possession of the land; but we are many; the land is surely given us to possess."<sup>1</sup> From these two incidents it becomes quite clear that the nation was very conscious of the early traditions concerning the patriarchs during the sixth century. The outstanding motif from that tradition relating to Abraham was the patriarch's insignificant beginnings. Yet when he was alone Yahweh called him, blessed him, and made him into a great nation. But this feature of the patriarchal tradition did not have relevance for Israel per se. Before the Exile those who were looking for a repetition of Abraham's situation were warned of judgment not blessing. Yet towards the end of the Exile those in captivity were bidden to take notice of what had happened to Abraham when he was in a position somewhat akin to Israel's situation in the Exile. Yahweh's blessing of Abraham in the past was a guarantee that he would bless Israel again. Once again it was a case of Urzeit-Endzeit. Thus the prophet prophesied:

" Enlarge the place of your tent,  
 and let the curtains of your habitations  
 be stretched out;  
 hold not back, lengthen your cords  
 and strengthen your stakes.  
 For you will spread abroad to the right and to the left,  
 and your descendants will possess the nations  
 and will people the desolate cities."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ez. 33:24-29.

2. Is. 54:2,3.

## 5. Summary

The prophecies of Deutero-Isaiah developed the idea of election and its traditions to the greatest degree in the Old Testament. This was due to the circumstances in which the book was written, namely, the Exile. This period of crisis produced in Israel a profound attempt to come to terms with the implications of such a disaster. In times of crises ancient Israel fell back more and more on the dogmas of its election by Yahweh and the special relationship existing between God and people.

Towards the end of the Exile the prophet Deutero-Isaiah became active. Fired by a conviction that the rise to power of the Persian Cyrus indicated that Israel's captivity would soon be over, he wrote a collection of his prophecies dominated by the theme of a return from the Exile. The essence of his prophecies was a reformulation of the election traditions in the light of their relevancy for his period and the plight of the Israelites.

In order to comfort his people he put a great deal of stress on the twin motifs of Israel as Yahweh's chosen one and his servant. Inseparately linked these two ideas underlined Israel's privileges and their responsibilities before Yahweh. The weight of his arguments was dependant upon a very comprehensive reinterpretation of the exodus election tradition. The return from the Exile was envisaged in terms that were parallel to the events of the original exodus from Egypt.

Indeed, the return was to be a second exodus. Exodus from a foreign land, journey through the desert, entry into Canaan; all the major aspects of the old Heilsgeschichte were to be repeated in the new exodus of the return. Great stress was placed on the journey through the desert, which was compared to the crossing of the Reed Sea in the days of the first exodus.

This new Heilsgeschichte would come into being solely by the grace<sup>1</sup> and power of Yahweh. Yahweh as protector, saviour, king, and creator, would redeem his people from the land of their captivity. A distinctive element in Deutero-Isaiah's work was his emphasis on Yahweh as creator. This role was linked to the exodus election tradition so that "creation is the initial act of which redemption is the finale".<sup>2</sup> The creation myth of Yahweh's victory over the chaos-god was associated with the triumph at the Reed Sea against the Egyptians, and appealed to for another demonstration of power in the return from Babylon.

If the exodus election tradition was the predominant theme of the prophet's work then the David-Zion election tradition was an important secondary element in his outlook. However, of this tradition the prophet only used the ideas associated with Zion. Thus the terms "Israel" and "Jerusalem" were used as synonyms. The exiles would return to the land

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1. On this point, see H.L. Creager, "The Grace of God in Second Isaiah", Biblical Studies in Memory of H.C. Alleman, 123-36.

2. So Muilenburg, IB, V, 402.

and Jerusalem with its temple would be rebuilt. Yahweh would guarantee the security of the city as a vindication of his servants. But the prophet did not envisage a restoration of the Davidic dynasty upon the throne in Jerusalem. By a process of democratisation the promises given to David were applied to the nation instead.<sup>1</sup>

A major contribution of Deutero-Isaiah's to the idea of election was his portrait of the Servant of Yahweh. The difficulties of interpretation surrounding this figure are evidence of a very comprehensive symbol. At one level the Servant was Israel, yet he was more than Israel. He embodied many of the features of Moses and Jeremiah. He had a distinctly prophetic personality. Yet above everything he was a servant of Yahweh whose sufferings were offered up as a guilt offering for others. With him election in Israel reached its apex.

A further important aspect of Deutero-Isaiah's work was his motif of Israel as a missionary force in the world. Here the emphasis was less on the privilege of election and more on the responsibilities of such a state. Israel was slowly understanding its position in the world as the elect people of Yahweh.<sup>2</sup> The emphasis on Israel's election was beginning to be balanced by an equal stress on the significance of being

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1. cf. "the expectation of the restoration of the people is couched in terms of royal messianism", J.L. McKenzie, "Royal Messianism", Myths and Realities. Studies in Biblical Theology, 1963, 203-31;
  2. "The history of Israelite religion in the last generations before the Exile moves toward this goal: the moulding of Israel into a prophet-nation, "a witness to the peoples' ".", Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, 451.



Yahweh's servant in the world.

Deutero-Isaiah also made some reference to the patriarchs. In conclusion it may be pointed out that the prophet, although leaning heavily on the election traditions, followed the normal prophetic approach to tradition, which was, indebtedness to the traditions combined with an independent handling of them. Deutero-Isaiah was more interested in the election traditions of Israel in terms of their utilisation in putting over his message, than in an exposition of them per se.

## EPILOGUE

Israel returned from the Exile and set about rebuilding Jerusalem and its temple. At first there were great hopes that Zerubbabel, governor of Judah, whom the prophet Haggai called the chosen servant of Yahweh,<sup>1</sup> would be the branch the earlier prophets had spoken of.<sup>2</sup> However, these hopes were not realised. The post-exilic prophets followed the teaching of Ezekiel and focussed much of their attention on the rebuilding of the temple.

The Chronicler developed the election theme in a somewhat stereotyped manner. There were two main election themes for him, that of David and the subsidiary election of the Levites.<sup>3</sup> Later generations viewed Ezra, the scribe, as a second Moses with a command from Yahweh on mount Horeb to go to Israel with the commandment of God.<sup>4</sup>

The election traditions became fixed doctrines which were used to relate the situation each generation found itself

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1. Hag. 2:20-23.

2. Zec. 6:12; cf. Is. 11:1; Jer. 23:5f.

3. I Chr 15:2; 28:4; II Chr. 13:5; 21:7; cf. R. North, "Theology of the Chronicler", JBL, 1963, 369-81.

4. cf. II Esdras 2:33ff.

in to Israel's position before Yahweh. Thus, the Qumran community considered itself to be the 'elect' people of God and members of the new covenant.<sup>1</sup> In the same way the early Christians came to look upon themselves as the 'elect', heirs of the promise, partakers of the new covenant, and as the new Israel.<sup>2</sup>

This thesis may be concluded with the observation that Israel's election traditions functioned as a viable myth,<sup>3</sup> making real to each generation the word-deed of Yahweh which had effected the exodus from Egypt when Israel was but a child. The idea of election became an outstandingly seminal myth for the continuation of the concept of the people of God. It also became a formula for describing and understanding the relationship between man and God in terms of privilege and responsibility.

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1. This aspect of covenant and election has been comprehensively studied by Huntjens in his thesis, The Covenant Concept in the Qumran Community in the Light of Earlier Covenantal Ideas in Israel, Diss. 1964.

2. cf. Jn. 15:16; I Cor. 11:25; Gal. 3:29.

3. We would agree with Frankfort in describing Israel's idea of election as being a specifically Hebrew myth, see Before Philosophy, Pelican 1961, 244.

## APPENDIX

### כּוּל IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

#### 1. כּוּל כּוּל

##### a. divine choice

of Abraham, Neh. 9:7; Israel, Dt. 7:7; Is. 44:1; Ez. 20:5; to become his people, Dt. 7:6; 14:2; Jeshurun, Is. 44:2; the seed of the patriarchs, Dt. 4:37; 10:15; Levites, Dt. 18:5; 21:5; I Ch. 15:2; II Ch. 29:11; Aaron, Ps. 105:26; Judah, I Ch. 28:4; not Ephraim, Ps. 78:67; Levi and Judah, Jer. 33:24; the king, Dt. 17:15; especially David, I Sam. 10:24; 16:8, 9, 10; II Sam. 6:21; I K. 8:16 (= II Ch. 6:6); I Ch. 28:4, 5; 29:1; II Ch. 6:5; Ps. 78:70; others, Num. 16:5; 17:20 (P); Hag. 2:23; place of sacrifice, Dt. 12:18; 14:25; 16:7, 15; 17:8; II Ch. 7:12; the city, I K. 8:16, 44 (= II Ch. 6:5, 34); 11:32; Jerusalem, II Ch. 6:6; Is. 14:1; Zec. 1:17; 2:16; 3:2; Zion, Ps. 132:13; delusions, Is. 66:4.

##### b. human choice

of ways, Pr. 3:31; Is. 66:3; good things, Is. 7:15, 16; life, Dt. 30:19; gods, Jud. 10:14; Is. 41:24; God's good pleasure, Is. 56:4; 65:12; 66:4.

#### 2. כּוּל כּוּל

##### a. divine choice

of Israel, Is. 41:8; 43:10; the people, I K. 3:8; Ps. 33:12; men, Num. 16:7;

Ps. 65:5; king, II Sam. 16:18; I K. 11:34; place of sacrifice, Dt. 12:14, 26; 15:20; 17:10; 31:11; Jos. 9:27; especially עִיר אֱלֹהִים Dt. 12:5, 21; 14:24; עִיר אֱלֹהִים Dt. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; Neh. 1:9; the city, I K. 8:48=II Ch. 6:38; עִיר אֱלֹהִים I K. 11:36; 14:21 (=II Ch. 12:13); Jerusalem, I K. 11:13; II K. 21:7 (=II Ch. 33:7); II K. 23:27; fast, Is. 58:5, 6; way, Ps. 25:12.

**b. human choice**

place to dwell in, Dt. 23:7; gardens, Is. 1:29; king, I Sam. 12:13; wives, Gn. 6:2; what to do, II Sam. 15:15.

3. בְּחֵרָה

**a. divine choice**

of Levi, I Sam. 2:28; Jacob, Ps. 135:4, 5; inheritance, Ps. 47:5.

**b. human choice**

persons, Ex. 17:9; Jos. 24:15, 22; I Sam. 8:18; 13:12; II Sam. 24:12 (=I Ch. 21:20); things, Gn. 13:11; I Sam. 17:40; I K. 18:23, 25; Job 34:4.

4. בְּחַרְתָּ

choose, select from, II Sam. 10:9 (=I Ch. 19:10).

5. בְּחַרְתֶּם

**a. divine choice**

temple, II Ch. 7:16; Judah, Ps. 78:68; servant, Is. 41:9; 49:7.

**b. human choice**

persons, Ex. 18:28; Jud. 5:8; Jos. 8:3; II Sam. 17:1; things, Job 7:15; 9:14; 15:5; 29:25; 34:33; Ps. 119:30, 173; Pr. 1:29; Is. 40:20.

6. לך בחר

this thou hast chosen rather than affliction, Job 36:21;  
with לך and לך -all that thou chooseth to (lay) upon me, II Sam. 19:39.

7. בחר

of a ruler, Ps. 89:20; warrior, Jer. 49:19 (=50:44); as cedars, Ct. 5:15;  
chosen chariots, Ex. 14:7; chosen men, warriors, Jud. 20:15, 16, 34;  
I Sam. 24:3; II Ch. 13:3, 17; I K. 12:21 = II Ch. 11:1; II Ch. 25:5;  
warriors of Israel, I Sam. 26:2; Ps. 78:31; II Sam. 10:9 (cf. I Ch. 19:10).

8. בחר (Aram. = בחר)

test, try, Is. 48:10.

Niphal-be chosen, Pr. 8:10, 19; 10:20; Jer. 8:3; Pr. 16:16; 22:1, 3.

Pual-chosen, Ec. 9:4.

בחר

chosen, I Ch. 16:13; Ps. 89:4; 105:6, 43; 106:5, 23; Is. 42:1; 43:20; 45:4;  
65:9, 15, 22; always the chosen/elect of Yahweh.

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