

“The Modern Hypothesis and Recent Criticism of the Early Prophets”  
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III. Isaiah (continued)

We have endeavored to show that with reference to Isa. 28-31 the main argument on which the critics base their theory of the composite nature of these sections, viz., the obvious dualism of the contents, breaks down before a careful exegesis. So far as the dualism exists it was found to bear evidence of a higher unity of design, the contrasts involved proved capable of harmonious interpretation as coordinated and mutually supplementary parts of one program of judgment. Although in several respects closely related to the preceding discourses, chaps. 32-33 differ from them by the absence of the *unmediated* contrast between threatening and promise which plays so large a part in the discussion of chaps. 28-31. Owing to the elimination of this factor, the critical treatment of these remaining two chapters has been on the whole more free from attempts at analysis: the Isaianic authorship is denied, but the uniform character, if not the actual unity of composition, mostly upheld. Duhm is the only critic who carries the disintegrating process over into chap. 32 *for the purpose of separating between genuine and spurious elements*. He gives vers. 1-5 to Isaiah, makes vers. 6-8 late, and separates vers. 9-14 from vers. 15-20, yet without detriment to the Isaianic origin of the two last-mentioned pieces. This adherence to the divisive principle has in the present case at least the advantage of saving a good deal of the contents of our chapter to the prophet, as may be seen from the fact that Hackmann, who abandons this principle in reference to verses 1-8, also denies the genuineness of the entire section, thus keeping as Isaianic only vers. 9-20, and even that with hesitation. Cheyne declares the whole chapter post-exilic, dividing it into the three parts, vers. 1-8, 9-14, 15-20. Chapter 33 is considered a unit by most critics.<sup>1</sup>

To view the present criticism of chapter 32 in its proper light it should be remembered that the original attack upon this chapter derived its main force from the assumption of the genuineness of the Messianic prophecies in chapters 9 and 11, and of the promissory material in chaps. 28-31. Said Stade: “A greater difference as to power of poetic representation than exists between 9:5, 6, 11:1, 9 (cf. also 29:17-21) on the one hand, and chapter 32:1-8 on the other hand, I cannot conceive.” And again: “If we wish to form an idea of the person and work of Isaiah, we must do so on the basis of chapters 22, 28-31. . . . I hope I have shown that in the figure reconstructed from chapters 22, 28-31 there is no place for the features gathered from chapters 32, 33.” Still further: “The prospect that Jerusalem is to be laid waste cannot be reconciled with Isaiah’s ordinary expectation of the future.”<sup>2</sup> Now Hackmann and Cheyne no longer believe in the genuineness of these prophecies in chaps. 9-11, 28-31, and protest against finding there the historical lifelike Isaiah. Hence, while adhering to Stade’s conclusion, they must deny themselves the use of his principal argument. Under these circumstances it might not seem unreasonable to expect that criticism would reverse its former judgment. If the Messianic picture of 32:1-8 was rejected because of its soberness in comparison with the glowing colors of chaps. 9 and 11, why, now that the latter have been recognized as laid on by a later hand, are not the restraint and simplicity observable in chap. 32 allowed to count in favor of Isaianic authorship? If chap. 32:9-20 was denied a place among the genuine oracles of the Sennacherib-crisis because ver. 14 foretells a long desolation of Jerusalem, thus contradicting the prospect of immediate deliverance held forth in chaps. 28-31, then this very feature ought now to strengthen the case of its genuineness with those who assume that Isaiah expected during that crisis

the fall and destruction of the city precisely as here announced. So it would be indeed if modern criticism contented itself with being purely historical and with putting the sole question whether a certain prophecy can be fitted into the writer's general outlook upon the future at a given time. In reality, however, the decisive considerations with the critics lie not in the historical background, but in the religious ideas of the prophecy. Let it agree ever so well with what is known concerning the course of events in Isaiah's time and the attitude assumed toward them by the prophet, this will not save its genuineness in case the theological conceptions and general religious atmosphere on the principles of evolution require a later origin. Historically speaking, nothing more in harmony with the attitude of Isaiah, as understood by the critics themselves, could be conceived than the prophecy in vers. 1-4, nothing could be made to fit more admirably into their own construction of the prophet's message in 701 than the gloomy words of ver. 14. But all this can have no weight so long as the reflective and didactic tone and contents of vers. 4-8 are felt to "belong to an advanced stage of national development, when ethical terminology had become a subject of study and the idea of a moral (as opposed to a merely ceremonial) reformation had sunk deeply into the minds of the faithful;" or so long as the derivation of the national renewal from the outpouring of the Spirit (ver. 15), instead of a spontaneous moral act, is believed to indicate that "we are listening to none of the primitive prophets, but to one of the ablest disciples of that great prophet of the Spirit, Ezekiel."<sup>3</sup> The similarity of these and other religious ideas to those characteristic of the excised sections in chaps. 28-31 furnishes an irresistible motive for the rejection of chap. 32.<sup>4</sup> Discounting this and leaving out of consideration for the present the linguistic phenomena, what remains of the critical argument will be seen to lack all convincing force. First the indefiniteness of the reference to "kings" and "princes" is appealed to as proving that the writer lived in a kingless age, and deemed it necessary to intimate that the institution of the kingdom would be restored in the future.<sup>5</sup> It is plain, however, from the whole statement that the emphasis rests not on the fact that there will be a king, but exclusively on the manner in which he will exercise his rule; and this in itself suggests a contrast between him and the imperfect king of the writer's present. Besides, if there was no king, there certainly were מְשִׁיכִים in the post-exilic times; which proves that every thought of a restoration of extinct offices was foreign to the author's mind. The anarthrous form of the nouns is most naturally explained from this, that, in harmony with the context, the idea of a thorough national reform filled the prophet's soul, so that not the concrete personality of the Messiah, but the abstract quality of his reign as the main force in insuring the perfect society acquired importance. Hence the absence of the personal definiteness found in the descriptions of chaps. 9 and 11 and the coordination of the Messiah and his associates in the government, "the princes."<sup>6</sup> And, inasmuch as the preceding discourses were directed rather against the Judean magnates than against the king, it was to be expected that the emphasis should be equally distributed here and the princes receive even greater prominence than the ideal king.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, a post-exilic writer, to whom the kingdom as such possessed the absorbing interest of a thing belonging to the Messianic future, would hardly have exercised such restraint of the imagination as to dwell exclusively on its ethical significance.<sup>8</sup>

No more conclusive than this are the undoctinal arguments used to discredit the Isaianic origin of vers. 9-20. These may be reduced to two heads: the alleged vagueness and the alleged imitative character of the discourse. In substantiation of the former charge, it is said, for example, that, whereas the prophecy begins with reproving the women for their false security, this purpose is immediately lost sight of and a general destruction announced in terms lacking all specific reference to the women's fate. The answer to this is obvious: vers. 12-14, in depicting the desolation of pleasant

fields, fruitful vines, houses of joy and palaces, are meant as a solemn warning to the women that the immediate and visible sources of their comfort, which for the present still enable them to ignore the coming danger, will fail. It is true the general situation which occasioned the prophecy is not sharply outlined, we do not learn in what precisely the reprehensible feeling of ease and confidence of these women manifested itself; but what is indefinite to us may have been to the prophet and his public perfectly clear and specific because defined by the circumstances under which it was spoken. The vagueness is no greater than, e.g., that of chap. 18, the genuineness of which is questioned by nobody; the only difference is that there we are fortunately able, on the basis of other prophecies, to reconstrue the situation, whilst here we lack the data for doing this.<sup>9</sup>

As to the imitative character of the style of this section, nothing less than unmistakable dependence upon post-Isaianic passages or erroneous reproduction of Isaianic material would be decisive here, since it is absolutely impossible to determine how far a writer may or may not be capable of repeating with slight variations the thought or expression of some former discourse. Suppose it were proven that ver. 9 imitates Gen. 4:23, or Amos 6:1; no reason is conceivable why the imitator should not be Isaiah.<sup>10</sup> Much has been made of the dependence of ver. 15 on 29:17, or *vice versa*. Duhm thinks that our passage is a mistaken quotation of the older passage in chap. 29. The change of Lebanon into garden-land and of garden-land into forest is in chap. 29 used as a figure to describe the *reversal* of existing conditions. According to Duhm, the writer of 32 misunderstood this, and interpreting the words in question of a *raising* of all conditions to a higher plane, thus gave expression to the essentially different thought, that the wilderness will become garden-land and the garden-land forest. Even if this interpretation of ver. 15 by Duhm were correct, it would by no means follow from this that what we have before us is a case of mistaken quotation. There is nothing unworthy of the prophet in the idea that he himself gave this new and suggestive turn to words used on a previous occasion. That the coming revolution of things would at the same time raise life to higher potentialities was a thought of sufficient importance to deserve explicit statement. The proposed exegesis is, however, far from necessary or even natural. To us it seems that the writer of 32:15 meant to express the thought thus imputed to him as little as it is meant to be expressed in 29:17. He could not well place the “forest” (יער) above the “garden-land” (כרמל). The former is rather the wild forest in contrast with the cultivated soil, and that the writer puts כרמל above יער is shown conclusively by the substitution for the latter of מדבר in ver. 16: “Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field.”<sup>11</sup> Consequently it is safe to assume that his words imply no more than a reversal of existing conditions, a result still further confirmed by the fact that according to ver. 16 the יער = מדבר remains, whereas on the view imputed to him by Duhm all מדבר would be changed into כרמל.<sup>12</sup>

If thus nothing can be discovered in chap. 32 inconsistent with Isaiah’s authorship, there are, on the other hand, some features which seem positively to exclude post-exilic origin. It is incredible, in view of all we know of that period, that one of its writers should have foretold the total destruction of Jerusalem, and that עד עולם “for ever.” Nor is it easy to explain how a later author could risk such a definite prediction as that contained in the words, “for days beyond a year” (ver. 10).<sup>13</sup> Here, as elsewhere, it is highly significant that none of the critics has ventured to fix the alleged post-exilic date of the prophecy with any degree of definiteness. It is not sound criticism to abandon a date which invests the oracle with at least a certain amount of historical meaning in order to set it adrift upon the mostly unknown sea of the post-exilic period.<sup>14</sup>

The same may be said in reference to chap. 33. Without the slightest violence, the facts and conditions here presupposed can be made to fit into what we know about the course of events in, and immediately before the year 701. From a combination of the account in 2 Kings 18:13-19:37 (= Isa. 36-37) and the Assyrian records it appears that after some sort of understanding had been reached between Sennacherib and Hezekiah and a tribute paid by the latter, the Assyrian king for some reason changed his mind, broke the agreement and renewed hostilities. Chap. 33:1 refers to this treachery on the part of Sennacherib. Ver. 7 *seq.* speak of the embassy of peace sent to Lachish (2 Kings 18:14) and of the renewed havoc wrought by the invaders in the already devastated land. Ver. 14 alludes to the severe threats of ruin for the sinners in Jerusalem with which Isaiah had constantly interwoven his promise of ultimate deliverance. Ver. 18 finally mentions the payment of the tribute. This is a chain of correspondences as strong as can be supplied for any prophecy with an historical background, and must be considered the weightiest evidence in favor of the genuineness of our chapter. To this view of the matter indeed two objections will be raised: first, that the Assyrian inscriptions know nothing of such a course of events as is here assumed with a renewal of hostilities after Hezekiah had first capitulated and agreed to pay a tribute of submission; and secondly, that the narrative in 2 Kings 18:13-19:37 has long been known to be a composite piece in which not successive developments in the Sennacherib-campaign are described, but three different and in some points contradictory versions given of the same occurrences. Consequently, it is claimed, we are not justified in creating a historical milieu for Isa. 33 by making 2 Kings 18:13-16 descriptive of the first stage of Sennacherib's proceedings, instead of, what criticism has proven it to be, a compact account, and that the most reliable of the three accounts here conglomerated, covering the whole campaign. Against the former of these two objections we must urge that there is more than blind faith in the Biblical representation to make us doubt the accuracy of the Assyrian record. We have reason to surmise that some such version of events as is reflected in Isa. 33 must stand nearer to the historical reality. In more than one respect Sennacherib's own statement gives rise to this presumption. It represents Hezekiah's tribute as sent through an envoy to Nineveh, whereas as a matter of fact it was rendered at Lachish (2 Kings 18:14).<sup>15</sup> While this is already an indication that the payment belongs to an earlier stage of the campaign than the king would have us believe, inasmuch as he marches from Lachish to Libna,<sup>16</sup> still further plausibility is given to such a view by what is related concerning King Padi of Ekron. This prince had been deposed by the anti-Assyrian party and delivered for safe-keeping to Hezekiah at Jerusalem. Now Sennacherib tells us that Padi was brought out of Jerusalem and replaced on his throne apparently before the final attempt on Jerusalem occurred. And that this is not inserted in the account proleptically, but in its proper chronological position, follows from the fact that the gift to Padi of part of the territory conquered from Judea is afterwards mentioned as preceding the measures taken against Jerusalem. Padi's release from his prison in Jerusalem presupposes a submission of Hezekiah at a comparatively early stage of the campaign and a consequent suspension of hostilities against Judah. Thus the sequence of 2 Kings 18:16, 17, is confirmed, and it becomes probable that the payment of the tribute has been transferred from the middle to the end of the campaign for the express purpose of covering up the miscarriage of the later expedition against the Judean capital. That this is a reasonable interpretation of the facts, and one which may well be reached without undue harmonistic bias, will be seen from its adoption by Wellhausen.<sup>17</sup>

If thus the historical character of the sequence of events assumed in 2 Kings 18, vers. 13 and 17, appears to rest on a sufficiently firm basis, the further question as to the literary unity or compositeness

of the narrative there becomes immaterial for the genuineness of Isa. 33. Let us suppose that two accounts of the same episode are interwoven in Kings (one consisting of chap. 18:17-19:9a, the other of 19:9b-35, discounting later glosses and insertions). This would be inconsistent with the Isaianic authorship of Isa. 33, only if it could be proven that the writer of this chapter had before him the unified account and treated its component parts as successive steps in the history of the year 701. Cheyne, indeed, claims that our prophecy, though late, was nevertheless written to fit the assumed situation of the Sennacherib crisis, and that the author drew the view of the order of events which underlies his composition from the narrative in 2 Kings 18:13-19:37.<sup>18</sup> But of such *literary* dependence there is not a trace. It is impossible so much as to infer from chap. 33 that the writer followed a history in which Sennacherib was said to have sent twice to Hezekiah demanding the surrender of the city. All he assumes is that first some sort of pacification had been reached between Hezekiah and the Assyrian king and that afterwards the latter perfidiously renewed the hostilities. There is no evidence whatever that this information was derived from reading the account in 2 Kings. On the contrary, the terms in which the conduct of the Assyrians is characterized are much more vivid than would have been suggested by a mere literary reproduction and reading between the lines of the verses in Kings. But we may go further than this. If the fictitious situation of Isa. 33 is artificially constructed out of the composite narrative in Kings, how is it to be explained that no allusion to the twofold message of Sennacherib appears therein? Why does the author, who so sharply distinguishes between the first attack of the Assyrians on Judah and the later one, so entirely blend together the two stages of the later attempt upon the capital, which his source taught him to distinguish? So long as this question is not answered the dependence of Isa. 33 on the redaction of the book of Kings must be held not only unproven, but also highly improbable.

In view of what has been said it is fair to assume that on purely historical grounds no one would have seriously called in question the genuineness of our prophecy. That, nevertheless, the present drift of criticism is toward the denial of this is plainly due to doctrinal considerations. The following are the reasons enumerated by Cheyne to prove the post-exilic standpoint of the writer. The liturgical tendency which crops out in ver. 2 in the self identification of the speaker with his people, showing that not only the germ of a Church, but a Church itself existed; the prophecy is the prayer or meditation of a righteous people, and no attempt is made to bring sinners to repentance or to terrify them by warnings; the writer reveals great enthusiasm for religious services (ver. 20); has a sensuous conception of the divine presence in Zion (ver. 14); betrays acquaintance with the Psalms, and, since no part of the Psalter has yet been shown to have a pre-exilic basis, this proves his post-exilic date; his Messianic belief is vague and his conception of Jerusalem's enemies indistinct and un-Isaianic.<sup>19</sup> Of these criteria the majority will be immediately recognized as instances of the application of the evolutionary principle to the criticism of Isaiah. The arguments from vers. 2 and 20 will lack all force for one who believes that there was a church-nation in Isaiah's time, and that the prophet could delight in its religious assemblies. There are examples in undisputed Isaianic discourses where the prophet identifies himself with the nation (cf. 1:9, 6:11, 8:10, 14:32, 17:14, 22:4). As to the writer's acquaintance with the Psalter, it is certainly not over-conservative to adhere to the belief that a solid stock of the Psalter existed toward the close of the eighth century,<sup>20</sup> and that the modern view concerning the late origin of the Psalms is nothing but a corollary of the theory of development. The vagueness of the Messianic belief expressed in ver. 17 ought to weigh little or to weigh on the other side with Cheyne, who himself inclines to the rejection of the more concrete pictures of chaps. 9 and 11. But it cannot even be made to count against the traditional view which

retains the latter as Isaianic. The personal Messianic conception, if it enter into ver. 17 at all, and not simply King Hezekiah be referred to, is introduced here as a subordinate element by way of contrast with the humiliation the present king had been made to undergo.<sup>21</sup> The generalizing terms in which Jerusalem's enemies are spoken of in vers. 3 and 12 are not essentially different from those employed in chaps. 8:9, 10, 14:26, 27, 17:12-14, and simply show that Isaiah had grasped the antithesis between the world and the kingdom of Jehovah, and realized the typical import of the Assyrian crisis. Cheyne himself believes that the post-exilic writer enlarged upon the extant Isaianic prophecies because he regarded them as having a still unexhausted validity, and because to him and others the overthrow of Sennacherib had become typical of the great future judgment. This proves that the typical interpretation is not superimposed on the prophecy, but suggested by the words themselves. If, however, there are sufficient historical grounds on which to affirm the Isaianic authorship, its denial on account of the typical import alone would be unjustified. What ground have we to assume that Ezekiel must have been the first to frame the dogma of a final world-attack upon Jerusalem, and that this dogma cannot have its roots in Isaiah, except the *a priori* ground that early prophecy is too naively bound up in the present, too humanly limited, to combine in one perspective the issues immediately impending with those of a remote future?<sup>22</sup> The only two features which remain after the subtraction of all this, and which, if correctly interpreted by the critics, would certainly betray affinity with post-exilic Judaism are the alleged absence of the demand for repentance and the sensuous conception of the divine presence in Zion found in ver. 14. But in regard to the former, we may answer that ver. 14 proves the intensely ethical spirit of ancient prophetism not to be wanting here. The sinners in Zion, it is true, are represented as first wakening to a sense of the divine righteousness and of their own delinquency through the judgment, but from the writer's standpoint this in itself is evidence of their confirmed wickedness, a conception characteristically Isaianic. The prophet on his part is keenly conscious of the preponderance of the evil element among his people before the judgment arrives.<sup>23</sup> What more stringent rebuke of sin and what more urgent call to repentance can be imagined than such a prediction of the fiercest of judgments, the exposure of the wicked to their own conscience? And what could be more in harmony with the import of the other prophecies in chaps. 28-31 than this distinction of a double purpose in the divine overruling of the crisis, the punishment of Assyria together with the punishment of Judah? The only difference is that in the discourses spoken before the invasion the sharp edge of the prophet's denunciation is turned more directly against his obdurate countrymen, whilst here in the midst of the calamity and under the fresh impression of the Assyrian perfidy, the foreign foe comes in for the first and larger share of the invective. Finally, the view that ver. 14b refers to a visible manifestation of God in fire, instead of being a mere figurative description of the ceaseless activity of the divine righteousness, has been first proposed by Duhm, who compares a passage in the book of Enoch, chap. 14:15, *seq.*<sup>24</sup> This is a case of undue forcing of the literal meaning of words, analogous to the one we have observed on chap. 2:1. Undoubtedly the passage is dependent on Ps. 15:1, where the absence of the notion of fire puts the figurative intent beyond question. The latter is also favored by the numerous instances in which Isaiah in undisputed passages represents the divine holiness as a devouring fire (cf. 1:25, 31, 5:24, 25, 9:19, 29:6). It is true, this figure here associates itself for Isaiah with the thought of Jehovah's dwelling among Israel on Zion, and assumes the specific form that those who reside in the center of the theocracy are most exposed to the consuming power of his ethical nature. But this imposes no necessity to think of a physical visible phenomenon terrible in proportion to its local nearness. Nothing more is meant than that close association with the central institutions symbolizing Jehovah's kingship over Israel requires special purity of life. This is precisely the same thought which has found classical expression

in the account of the vision of chap. 6.<sup>25</sup>

Here as well as in reference to chap. 32:9-20 the critics are unable to fix upon any definite post-exilic date at which the writing of the prophecy becomes intelligible. And yet its terms are such that circumstances of the most concrete kind must have furnished the occasion for its composition. Duhm alone has ventured a specific dating. He would have us think of the conquest of Jerusalem by Antiochus Eupator about the year 162 B.C. But the two situations differ in important particulars. According to Isa. 33, the country and outlying cities have been laid waste by the enemy, but the capital has not been touched as yet. In the year 162, on the other hand, Zion itself was compelled to capitulate and the treachery of the Syrians consisted in reducing its strongholds contrary to the promise of the king (cf. 1 Maccab. 6:18-62). Of the payment of a tribute at that particular time nothing is recorded. It is also doubtful whether the troops collected by Antiochus from "other kingdoms and from the islands of the sea" could be fitly designated, "a people of a deep speech that thou canst not perceive; of a strange tongue that thou canst not understand" (ver. 19).

Our discussion up to this point has been concerned with the internal character of the disputed prophecies themselves. We have examined at some length the phenomena which are believed to point to editorial expansion of an original Isaianic stock, and have endeavored to show their inadequacy for establishing this view and the possibility of interpreting the prophecies from the standpoint that Isaiah wrote the entire collection. The matter, however, admits of being considered from two other sides. We may ask in the first place whether those sections of the present group of prophecies which even the critics retain are, as they stand in the critical reconstruction of the genuine Isaianic text, free from all promissory, eschatological material. And secondly the question may be put what light the other groups of admitted Isaianic discourses shed on the point at issue—whether the prophet faced the crisis of Sennacherib's campaign with or without the confidence that Jehovah would work salvation for His people.

In connection with the first inquiry, three passages come under consideration, chaps. 28:16; 23-29; 30:27-33. Of these 28:16 is above all critical suspicion; the two others, though denied to the prophet by Cheyne, are still considered Isaianic by Duhm; 28:25-29 also by Hackmann, who, however, protests against assigning this section to the Sennacherib-period. This protest is a virtual confession that a prophecy whose genuineness is not subject to reasonable doubt must be removed from its present position among the adjoining Sennacherib-discourses, before the recent hypothesis of the purely denunciatory character of these discourses can be consistently carried through. In other words, the critical exegesis of the acknowledged Isaianic parts of chaps. 28-31 is irreconcilable with the plain sense of a prophecy equally entitled to recognition, but whose testimony is summarily disposed of by transferring it to some other undefined period of the prophet's life. The burden of this characteristic *Mashal* is the very opposite of what the critics make out to have been the burden of Isaiah's message in the crisis under discussion. It is none other than that Jehovah "pursues in His judgment a positive purpose of salvation, the building of His kingdom."<sup>26</sup> Jehovah, who has instructed the husbandman to plow, not forever, but only until the ground shall be prepared for receiving the seed, and to treat with discrimination the various kinds of grain harvested from it, so as to beat out fitches and cumin with a staff or rod, whilst upon the bread-corn the sledge and cartwheel may be turned, yet with moderation lest they grind it—Jehovah, who has taught all this, cannot Himself pursue any less careful or discriminating method in His husbandry with Israel. To

the plowing of His judgments also there must be a limit because out of the present empirical Israel a future ideal Israel must be produced by means of “the holy seed” (6:13); and now that the climax of His work,<sup>27</sup> the final gathering in of the harvest has arrived, He proceeds to separate the chaff from the wheat of His people, but in such a careful and judicious manner that none of the latter is injured in the least.<sup>28</sup> The thoughts thus elaborated are in full harmony with the view that Isaiah expected, on the one hand, that Sennacherib would bring Jerusalem to the verge of ruin, but, on the other hand, viewed the whole process of judgment as governed by the principle of salvation and not of destruction.<sup>29</sup>

Chap. 30:27-33 differs from the section just discussed in that the overthrow of the Assyrian is here explicitly announced and placed in the foreground. As above Hackmann, so in the present case Cheyne protests in advance against admitting its testimony for determining the attitude of Isaiah during the Sennacherib-campaign: “If it be really Isaiah’s work it must belong to a later period than the preceding discourses.” He then proceeds to argue against the Isaianic authorship with reasons largely derived from the linguistic phenomena. The few other considerations adduced are either based on the evolutionary theory, or apply in the well-known way a previously fixed standard of the prophet’s capabilities in a psychological or literary respect. Of the former nature is the statement that ver. 29 makes mention of a religious festival-song, and, for Isaiah, betrays too strong a sympathetic interest in festival processions. The reference to the Passover-celebration in this verse springs rather from a historical than from a liturgical motive, the deliverance from Assyria being compared to that from Egypt of which the Passover was the memorial-feast. Unless the connection between Passover and exodus be *a priori* declared late, there is nothing in the sentiment expressed impossible or unnatural to Isaiah. That the phrase, “Jahve’s name” (ver. 27), is un-Isaianic and late can be maintained only after the unwarranted excision of chap. 18:7, already touched upon, and it may be doubted whether a late writer would so easily have represented the theophany as coming “*from afar*.” The features taken exception to on psychological and aesthetic grounds are the excessive bitterness felt by the writer toward the Assyrian and the little poetic restraint exercised in the portrayal of his destruction. Cheyne thinks that a comparison of our prophecy from this point of view with chap. 18 reveals a great difference, telling strongly against the genuineness of the former. This, however, overlooks the fact that in chap. 18 not the overthrow of the Assyrian in itself, but Jehovah’s intention to bring about this overthrow, unaided by any human power, is the central thought of the discourse, whilst here the punishment of Judah’s enemies is dwelt upon for its own sake. Once granted that Isaiah could, from religious and patriotic motives, contemplate the Assyrian’s fall with satisfaction, no fault can be found with the form in which the judgment-scene is here depicted. Due allowance must be made for the grandly poetic manner in which the whole is conceived from which, rather than from an overflow of bitter feeling, the *verve* and the detailed character of the description must be explained. After all, Cheyne himself remarks that Isaiah’s statement in chap. 18:6 is “awful,” so that, as far as the sentiment embodied in both passages is concerned, the difference appears a relative one, and there is no occasion to find the one expressive of righteous resentment, the other of “vindictive pleasure.” Some of the denunciations hurled by the prophet against the sinners in Zion might otherwise be criticized on the same ground.<sup>30</sup>

The third passage of promissory import as yet untouched by the critical analysis is chap. 28:16. In view of its implications it may well create surprise that no one has hitherto pointed to it with suspicion. But the verse is too firmly embedded in the context to allow of the easy operation whereby

the two relatively independent sections, 28:23-29 and 30:27-33, are removed; ver. 17 presupposes it and ver. 17 itself is an integral part of the prophecy of threatening, consequently must be Isaianic on the critical view. Where analysis gives out, however, it still remains possible to bring the objectionable verse into harmony with the hypothesis by means of a peculiar interpretation. Hackmann, in a statement already quoted in another connection,<sup>31</sup> attempts to do this. He thinks that the passage with many other prophetic passages has shared the fate of being exploited by the traditional exegesis in the interest of the Messianic theology, but that the simple sense as determined by the context is sufficiently plain. This sense he paraphrases as follows: "Ye have placed your confidence in the alliance with Egypt in which ye deem yourselves secure: but this policy is carried on in deceit and falsehood (the negotiations were kept secret as well from Assyria as from Jahve and His prophet, and besides may have involved many a questionable manipulation on the part of the grandees); Jahve, on the contrary, makes the foundation trust in himself, in the exercise of which righteousness and judgment, honest discharge of your obligations (as tributary to Assyria) are to be binding, until Jahve's providence brings deliverance; ye abandon the only secure basis of trust in Jahve and of honest dealing and rely on Egypt with the aid of fraud and dissimulation—by doing this ye have sealed your fate."<sup>32</sup>

But whatever may be the case elsewhere, it is certain that in the present instance the so-called Messianic interpretation (in the wider sense) has more to support it in the words themselves than Hackmann allows. The divine act spoken of must be something more than the laying down of an abstract principle on which to suspend the fate of the Judeans. Not the hypothetical appointment, but the real establishment of a place of security is referred to. This follows from the description given of the foundation-stone. It is said to have been laid "in Zion," a statement which would be without significance unless the firmness of the foundation and the immunity of Zion in the coming crisis were in some sense interdependent. The preciousness of this stone laid in Zion is further emphasized, which again shows that it possesses a positive value in the prophet's estimation on account of the glorious structure surely to be raised on it. The same conclusion must be drawn from the fact that to faith in the foundation laid there is attached the promise of security. If trust in Jehovah still remains in the prophet's view the proper frame of mind, if there are still, as his words imply, those who exercise it, and if it still guarantees them safety, then the impending judgment must necessarily have its reverse side of protection and deliverance. Hackmann's paraphrase fails to do justice to all these features. They can be satisfactorily explained on no other view than that ver. 16 actually alludes to Zion's escape from the Assyrian attack through a divine interposition, the certainty of this escape being given in the necessity of Zion's continued existence for the accomplishment of Jehovah's purpose. It is true the prophet affirms this truth not for its own sake: he describes the divine method of salvation simply to bring out by way of contrast that the measures adopted by the politicians are utterly worthless and to emphasize that the nature of Jehovah's plan, as requiring faith, precludes their sharing in its benefits. The whole statement is obviously turned against the rulers of Jerusalem and the **לִבְנֵי** which opens ver. 16 has its usual ominous sense. Nevertheless, the very manner in which it is turned against them implies that some positive provision for the preservation of Zion has been made. It is only in ver. 17, where the further construction of the building on the foundation already laid is spoken of, that the statement assumes the conditional form. Not the stone is the test-principle, but righteousness and judgment appear as the line and plummet by which Jehovah determines who will become citizens of the new Zion in process of construction.

Having thus seen that in two places the discourses of chaps. 28-31 reflect the prophet's confidence in the preservation of Zion as the goal of the approaching judgment, we must next inquire what presumptive evidence to strengthen this conclusion may be gathered from other Isaianic prophecies. The utterances of chaps. 28-33 are not the only material concerned with the events of the year 701 that has come down to us from the pen of Isaiah. There are several prophecies scattered throughout the book which, with more or less agreement among scholars, are recognized as genuine and either belonging to the same period or at least looking forward to its developments. In reviewing these pieces, two questions should be kept in mind: 1. Did the prophet foresee that the Assyrian army would be overtaken by disaster? 2. Did he expect this catastrophe before or after the conquest of Jerusalem by the enemy?

We begin our investigation with chaps. 7 and 8. Here it is plain and now well-nigh universally recognized, that the sign of Immanuel (apart from its more remote Messianic implication, with which we have not here to deal) is intended as a pledge of deliverance to Judah. But the question is to what the deliverance promised in this name refers. Is it confined to the collapse of the Syro-Ephraimitic confederacy against Judah, or does it include also salvation from some later and more dangerous crisis? The recent critics, Duhm, Hackmann and Cheyne, think that no more is implied in the name Immanuel than that, as over against Syria and Ephraim, God will be on the side of Judah. The sign actually given does not essentially differ from the sign originally offered and, like the latter, is a sign of encouragement to Ahaz and the Judeans. Within a year mothers will call their children then born Immanuel in view of the destruction of Judah's allied enemies. This restriction of the meaning of the sign is undoubtedly calculated to satisfy the modern desire for straightforwardness and simplicity in the prophetic thought. But it is open to serious objections on exegetical grounds. First of all it compels those who hold it to excise chap. 7:15 as a gloss because here a further development, the devastation of Judah, is associated with the person of Immanuel, so that His significance appears to extend beyond his birth and name-giving to His subsequent experience. And it should be observed that there is nothing in the phraseology of this verse why it should be suspected: the case is entirely one of ruling out a subsequent statement by interpretation of what precedes. Still further this view neglects the obvious change in the prophet's tone, taking place in vers. 13, 14, in response to the attitude assumed by the king. It is impossible that, after having solemnly announced the principle, "if ye will not believe, surely ye shall not be established," the prophet should take no cognizance of the unbelief so clearly revealed in Ahaz's words, and repeat his original message as if nothing had intervened. The wording of vers. 13, 14, moreover, the "hear ye now," the reference to "the wearying of God," the ominous לִבְנֵי, all lead us to expect something quite different. Again, the view in question knows not what to do with ver. 17. It is impossible to take this verse as the beginning of a new prophecy uttered on a later occasion, for it is much more clearly marked off from ver. 18 than from ver. 16. Hence nothing remains but to declare it an editorial insertion intended to link together two prophecies of different dates. But here also it must be noted that, inasmuch as the verse contains nothing suspicious on the ground of style and language, its sacrifice is plainly due to the exigencies of this novel exegesis. And even though one were to overlook all this, vers. 18-20 are at all events directed against Judah.<sup>33</sup> This entails the necessity of assuming that between the dates at which vers. 16 and 18 *seq.* were severally spoken a crisis had occurred in the affairs of Judah, whereby the prophet was led to substitute threatening for encouragement. But why should the occurrence of such a crisis at this point have been left unrecorded? Are we at liberty to ignore the plain indications in the text that the crisis was reached when Ahaz refused the sign, and then to postulate one afterwards, where

there is no basis for it in the narrative? The same question applies to Hackmann, who places the turning-point between 8:4 and 5.<sup>34</sup>

If, then, Immanuel marks not only by his infancy the deliverance of Judah from Ephraim and Syria, but also by his early youth the invasion of Judah itself, it becomes necessary, in order to insure the promissory import of the sign at its end, that to these two there be added a third stage in the significance of his career, a stage in which his name will be ultimately verified by the escape of Judah from the Assyrian danger. In chap. 7, it is true, the prophecy stops short of the unfolding of this last idea, although it is not obscurely intimated that, in consequence of the destiny expressed in his name, the calamities that befall him must issue for his good. In chap. 8:9, 10, however, the prophet supplements this deficiency and explicitly states that the counsel of the peoples and far-off countries must come to naught because God is with the remnant of Judah in accordance with the sign given.<sup>35</sup> Of the critics at least Duhm and Cheyne<sup>36</sup> acknowledge the Isaianic character of these two verses. Says the latter: "If they are not by Isaiah, they are a good imitation of his style. Certainly their energy is worthy of Isaiah. Nor is the phraseology unlike his. The ideas, too, are not alien to Isaiah."<sup>37</sup> But they refuse to be guided by the passage in their interpretation of the name Immanuel, on the ground that here it is an editorial addition and forms no part of the original discourse. We are constrained to believe that the main motive for this assumption lies in the exegesis forced upon chap. 7 and in the determination to deny every meaning of the name Immanuel extending beyond the events of the year 734. Whosoever does not approach the text with this preconceived view will find its use in both vers. 8 and 10 perfectly natural. In the former verse it is introduced partly to emphasize the glaring contradiction between Judah's ultimate destiny of deliverance and its nearer devastation by the enemy, partly to strike the keynote for the exultant strain of ver. 9, whilst in ver. 10 it fitly closes this strain as a single full-sounding peal of triumph. Taking it as a whole, the prophet could not have more characteristically expressed his belief in the continuity of the divine purpose of salvation through all the successive stages of Judah's impending judgment. But even if the name Immanuel in vers. 8 and 10 were proven a later gloss, the remaining oracle of vers. 9, 10, would still testify that Isaiah foresaw during the Syro-Ephraimitic crisis the frustration of Assyria's plan. For there is no sufficient reason to assume with Giesebrecht and Cheyne that these verses were added at a later date by Isaiah himself for the purpose of supplementing the foregoing prophecy against Judah with a more hopeful view. They stand among utterances which all without exception belong to the neighborhood of 734. That the transition from ver. 8 to ver. 9 is psychologically quite conceivable has been shown above. The **וְכִי** of ver. 11 makes sufficient connection with what precedes, on the view that vers. 9, 10, express a confidence peculiar to Isaiah and the small circle of his friends as distinguished from the trembling mass of the people, the possession of which confidence the prophet justifies with an appeal to a revelation expressly sent by Jehovah to warn him against participation in the irreligious fear of the others. And, as Duhm has already observed, the connection which ver. 11 would make with ver. 8 is by no means so much preferable to this, as to furnish an argument for the elimination of vers. 9 and 10 from the original context.<sup>38</sup> The fact remains, therefore, that we have here an early witness to the Isaianic character of the doctrine of Judah's deliverance. And, though it is not expressly stated that the enemy's counsel will be brought to naught before Zion is conquered, nevertheless the terms used, taken in connection with the statement of ver. 8, that the invasion will reach "to the neck," rather favor this interpretation.

The fact that Isaiah as early as 734 predicted the ultimate defeat of the Assyrian attack upon Judah

speaks in favor of the genuineness of the disputed sections of chaps. 28-33. A belief thus firmly held and triumphantly expressed is not likely to have been given up by a prophet of the temper of Isaiah at the very time when history was about to put its correctness to the test. If the critics desire to be thorough in their removal of the promissory element from the prophecies of Isaiah, they should attack this element in its root in chaps. 7 and 8. In point of fact, an attempt has been made in this direction by Prof. F.C. Porter, in an article published in vol. 14 of the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1895). In order to avoid the difficulties which appear to him connected with the ordinary view, as well as those besetting the modern exegesis of Duhm, Hackmann and Cheyne, the author suggests that the name Immanuel be understood as expressing "not the prophet's faith, but the false faith, the ungrounded confidence of the king and the people." "It is a name," he says, "which a Jewish woman soon to give birth might naturally give to her son, but which the experiences of such a son even in his earliest infancy would contradict." The sign would then consist "not in the name nor in the lot of the boy, but in the relation of the two, in the contradiction of the name by the lot." Prof. Porter's further statement and defense of this theory are instructive from more than one point of view. Over against Duhm, Hackmann and Cheyne his position is strong, because it avoids the mutilation of the text of chap. 7 by the arbitrary rejection of vers. 15 and 17. If one of the two sides of the sign is to be sacrificed, to do so in the purely exegetical way proposed by Prof. Porter with the effect of eliminating the promise is certainly preferable to doing it by critical means with the opposite effect of removing the threatening. But what we are most concerned with at the present moment is the extent to which the author has been influenced in reaching this conclusion by his general conception of the early prophetic standpoint. The first and chief argument he urges in support of his view is "that Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah are not to be regarded as the authors, but rather as the critics of the national, or so-called Messianic hope." In other words, Prof. Porter has felt and justly felt that the hitherto universally accepted exegesis of chaps. 7 and 8 is inconsistent with the modern conception of prophetism, and that the novel way in which the most recent criticism has endeavored to remove the contradiction has been unsuccessful; that accordingly, another interpretation is called for to effect a thorough and permanent reconciliation. It must be even acknowledged that the view commended by him for this purpose is in the highest degree ingenious. Nevertheless, we do not believe that it will stand either the historical or the exegetical test. How could Isaiah, with his undoubtedly profound diagnosis of Ahaz's character, expect from the king a state of mind in which he would ascribe his deliverance to Jehovah? Ahaz's fault did not consist, as Prof. Porter attempts to make out, in false confidence, but in unbelief. He relied rather upon the power of the Assyrian than upon Jehovah as the national God. The contrary cannot be proven from the admonition to fear Jehovah in chap. 8:13, 14, for the opposite of fear which is here condemned consists not in false confidence, but in neglect of Jehovah, in the despising of the waters of Shiloh that go softly (ver. 6). And if Ahaz was not subject to unbelief, why did Isaiah offer a sign at all? Further, even to Prof. Porter's exegesis, chap. 8: 9, 10, remains a barrier which only critical excision can remove. In view of all this we prefer to retain the traditional exegesis of Isa. 7 with its distinction of three stages in the career of Immanuel, and must insist upon it that the difficulties which it places in the way of the modern theory still await a satisfactory solution.<sup>39</sup>

Cheyne has briefly commented upon Prof. Porter's exegesis in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1897 (p. 131). He considers the difficulties in the way of accepting it insuperable, and professes unwillingness to face its ulterior critical consequences. Unfortunately Cheyne has, as he himself states on this occasion, refrained from setting forth any positive or constructive view of the

development of Isaiah's expectations of the future. He intimates that, if attempting a sketch of this kind, he would take a different course from that of the German scholars. His construction would start from the most probable critical facts and explain Isaiah's apparent inconsistencies by the help of history and psychology. This is a thoroughly sound principle, and it would be most interesting to have the result of its application by Cheyne. We believe, however, that when the help of history and psychology is not scorned out of partiality to the modern hypothesis, there are no sufficient critical grounds to abandon the unity and genuineness as a whole of Isa. 28-33.

Chap. 14:24-27 is best assigned to the period of Sargon.<sup>40</sup> Here again the overthrow of the Assyrian is distinctly foretold. Nor does it remain doubtful whether the prophet places this event before or after the fall of Jerusalem. Even if one were to follow Duhm and Cheyne in excising ver. 25b, "then shall his yoke depart from off them and his burden depart from off their shoulder," there would still be the significant statement in ver. 25a to the effect that the predicted catastrophe is to befall the enemy in Jehovah's land and upon Jehovah's mountains. This is not merely emphasized, as Duhm thinks, because it must appear that Jehovah and no other god has vanquished Assyria; the thought is clearly implied that Jehovah will not permit that which is his own to be wrested from Him by the invader. To what an extent this conviction of Isaiah was independent of the immediate political outlook appears from a comparison of this prophecy with chap. 20. In the latter, probably belonging to the same time, the prophet shows himself fully aware that the end of the Assyrian's victorious advance is not yet in sight. The Egyptians and all the inhabitants of the Philistine coast-land will be led captive in his train. But this does not for a moment shake his belief in Judah's ultimate escape. Why, then, should Isaiah have allowed this constant element to drop out of his message in the later period, when, so far as we know, he had no such positive assurance that the supremacy of Assyria was still indefinitely to be continued?

The last passage dealing with our subject and dating from before the time of Sennacherib is chap. 17:12-14. I see no reason to separate these verses from the preceding prophecy on Damascus and Ephraim, for the progress of thought is precisely the same as that in chaps. 7 and 8. But no matter whether, adhering to this connection, we date the oracle from before 732, or with Cheyne from before 723, in either case it proves that at a comparatively early date Isaiah foretold the miscarriage of the Assyrian attack upon Judah.<sup>41</sup> A special feature is the suddenness of the blow here predicted: between evening and morning the enemies are swept away. As has been observed, this feature is likewise characteristic of the discourses in chaps. 28-33, so that it supplies a link of connection between the two. As in the preceding instance, the judgment upon Assyria is thought of as coupled with salvation for Judah. The triumphant tone of ver. 14 admits of no other interpretation than that the oppressed will survive the oppressor.

Now it might be said that the prophecies just reviewed, while conclusive for the earlier period, do not prove Isaiah to have cherished similar expectations as late as the reign of Sennacherib. We are, however, able to trace the presence and vitality of the idea in question up to the very eve of the delivery of the discourses in chaps. 28-33. Chap. 10 and chap. 18 are by an increasing number of scholars assigned to the Sennacherib-crisis. It is uncertain which of these two prophecies is prior in time. But in all likelihood both still precede the utterances of chaps. 28-31.<sup>42</sup> In both the prophet speaks of a judgment on the Assyrian as imminent. In both also this judgment is expected in the form of a direct divine interposition.<sup>43</sup> Here, then, we have evidence that still immediately

before the developments reflected in chaps. 28-31 the prophet's mind was powerfully stirred by the prospect of the Assyrian's punishment. Is it possible to believe that all of a sudden this expectation was obliterated from the consciousness of Isaiah, so that he could pass through a period of great tension and almost feverish productivity without betraying by a single word what had but a little while before claimed his supreme interest? If this can be believed, every idea of continuity in the prophet's thinking and feeling may as well be dismissed. The discovery that against his counsel and behind his back an alliance with Egypt was being concluded, will not of itself account for so radical a change of outlook. For Isaiah had never conditioned his prediction of the enemies' downfall on abstention from such an alliance, not even when the offer of it was definitely made. In chap. 18 he contents himself with announcing to the Egyptians that it is unnecessary, because Jehovah alone will work the deliverance. Had the matter presented itself as conditional to his mind, it would have been necessary to state this here in precise terms. On the other hand, if the prophecy is clothed in absolute terms, and if it embodied to Isaiah a fundamental principle, the principle of the supremacy of Jehovah's purpose in regard to Israel over the plan of the Assyrian, then we must even go one step further and say: It was impossible for a man of Isaiah's temper to revoke the same or let it pass out of notice in silence. The only psychologically conceivable and theologically consistent attitude to take, in case the maturing of an alliance threatened to interfere with the divine plan, was to declare that the unbelieving promoters of the scheme would perish, that the Egyptian help would utterly fail and that after all the purpose of Jehovah alone would stand. And this is precisely the train of thought we have found to prevail in the discourses of chaps. 28-32.

Hackmann is the only writer who has as yet attempted to correlate the negative results of the criticism of Isa. 28-31 with the data furnished by the other prophecies, so as to outline a sketch of the development of the prophet's predictions concerning the future from the beginning till the end of his activity. It is interesting to notice how this acute critic meets the difficulty here confronting him. The two factors entering into the problem are, on the one hand, the positive assurances of chaps. 8, 10, 14, 17, 18, 20, that Judah will be rescued; on the other hand, the equally positive predictions in chaps. 28-31 (as reconstructed by the critics) that even Jerusalem will fall into the enemies' hands. Hackmann removes the contradiction in a twofold manner. First, he rules out chap. 8:9, 10, and 14:12-14 as un-Isaianic. These, it will be observed, are the passages where the deliverance of Judah is most unambiguously associated with the destruction of the enemy. In regard to chap. 18, it must be remembered that the critics amputate ver. 7 on account of its Deuteronomistic implications. Even so, however, the clear meaning remains that the ruin which Jehovah is preparing for the Assyrian aims at the deliverance of his people. For this the Egyptian alliance was intended, and the prophet represents God's plan as rendering the latter superfluous. It is here that Hackmann resorts to his second means of escape from an unwelcome conclusion. He so interprets the figures of ver. 4, 5, that the element of unconditional promise disappears. Jehovah is waiting and looking on from His dwelling place because Judah has not yet been properly educated in the Assyrian affliction, nor has yet sufficiently learned her true dependence on God. Unfortunately this exegesis is excluded by the manner in which the prophet himself works out the figure. What Jehovah waits for is not a condition of ripeness in the Judeans, but in the Assyrians, the moment at which the latter's plan will be on the point of bearing fruit. The whole thought of the conditionality of the divine purpose is imported into the chapter from without.

The adjustment of chap. 10 is attempted partly by critical, partly by exegetical means. This is

the piece which, Hackmann concedes, lends a semblance of support to the traditional view. In its present form it undoubtedly conveys the thought that the Assyrian's destruction serves the double purpose of punishing his arrogance and of delivering the Judeans. But this, according to Hackmann, is a misunderstanding arising from reading the prophecy (vers. 5-19) in the light of the much later appendix (vers. 20-27). The latter alone is responsible for the combination of the two above-mentioned ideas. On the contrary, vers. 5-19, when interpreted by themselves, are not concerned with the destiny of Jerusalem, but exclusively with the fate of the Assyrian. The latter's sin does not consist in having overstepped the divinely set limits of his career by attacking Jerusalem, but in the boastful spirit in which he has performed his mission. Not *before*, but *after* Jerusalem has been conquered will the enemy be checked and rebuked. "The whole work of Jehovah," in ver. 12, includes the delivery of the capital into the Assyrian's hands. Thus there is not a word of comfort for the Judeans in the whole prophecy. Hackmann endeavors to commend this exegesis by the general consideration that, after having repeatedly and emphatically announced the fall of Jerusalem, Isaiah could not in the moment of danger itself revoke all his threatenings simply because Hezekiah had at the eleventh hour been compelled by the failure of his own plans to throw himself upon the help of Jehovah.<sup>44</sup>

It is not necessary to insist for the refutation of this view upon the integrity of chap. 10 as a whole. The argument may with greater briefness and more apologetic weight be based on what Hackmann and the other critics admit to be Isaianic material, ver. 5-19. Beforehand, however, it should be noticed, how Hackmann approaches chap. 10, from the supposition that the dispute about chaps. 28-31 has been already decided in favor of the composite character of these chapters. On this supposition Isaiah had in all his utterances of the Sennacherib-crisis subsequent to chap. 18 predicted nothing but ruin to Jerusalem, and Hackmann is, of course, justified in asking whether under such circumstances the prophet could suddenly at the last moment change his message to one of promise. In other words, the combined force of the critically manipulated sections of chaps. 28-31 is brought to bear upon chap. 10, and is allowed to influence the exegesis. The result will be totally different, if, not prejudging the case of chaps. 28-31, but admitting the element of promise there as possibly genuine, we examine chap. 10:5-19 on its own merits. Though Hackmann correctly affirms that in this section the central idea is the fate of Assyria, and not the future of Jerusalem, yet the prophet could scarcely avoid revealing indirectly what issue from the impending crisis he expected for the city. The first sin laid to the Assyrian's charge is that, instead of merely despoiling the nation, against which Jehovah sent him, he plans its extirpation. This places the limit to which Jehovah desires His instrument to go in afflicting Judah, this side the destruction of Jerusalem, which would have been equivalent to extirpation. When in the boastful speech put into the mouth of the great king the climax of the latter's presumption is found in this, that he thinks to conquer Jerusalem as easily as the other cities enumerated, this already indicates that to the prophet the recognition of the uniqueness of Jehovah was associated with the protection of Mount Zion. Not the invasion of the Judean country, but the attack upon the capital excites Isaiah's indignation, and this because it is inspired on the Assyrian's part by a belief in the superiority of himself and his gods over Jehovah. Though not absolutely necessary, it is most natural to ascribe to the prophet the opinion that the king will be unable to make good his boast.<sup>45</sup> Finally, the phrase, "all his work on Mount Zion and in Jerusalem" (ver. 12), suggests the idea of a punitive treatment issuing not into the negative result of destruction, but in the positive one of reformation. If Cheyne were right in combining 14:24-27 with 10:13, 14, this would furnish additional proof that the catastrophe is expected before the Assyrian

will have succeeded in taking Jerusalem.

A few words should be said regarding chap. 22. It has been urged that the contents of vers. 1-14 can be better explained if only the threatening sections of chaps. 28-31 are Isaianic, than in case the entire complex of these discourses must be considered genuine.<sup>46</sup> It has further been claimed that the captivity of Shebna predicted in ver. 18 cannot have been expected by the prophet as an isolated event, but must have been thought of as comprised in the captivity of the entire city.<sup>47</sup> In view of the uncertain exegesis of vers. 1-14, and the difficulty of determining the exact situation there presupposed, as well as the point of time at which to place it, no sweeping conclusions on either side can be safely drawn from this passage. Expositors are not even agreed whether the tenses in vers. 3-13 are prophetic or historical perfects, relate to the future or to the past. While some affirm the former, others the latter, of late a third view has been proposed by Hackmann, who would take vers. 2b-5 as prediction, and the remainder as descriptive of what had already occurred. Without entering upon a discussion of the merits of these various views, we may note a few points. First, if ver. 5 were to be taken as predictive (Cheyne: "A day of tumult, etc., has in store Jehovah of Hosts;" similarly Hackmann), and the words were spoken after the siege of Jerusalem had been raised by the Assyrian troops (cf. vers. 1, 2, 13), it would follow that Isaiah even at that moment still expected that the enemy would return and the end would be the fall of the city, and this would contradict the hopeful passages of chaps. 28-31, and in so far prove the latter spurious. Neither of these two assumptions, however, seems to be necessary or even probable. The feasting on the housetops of ver. 1 must be the same as that referred to in ver. 13, and, inasmuch as the latter was inspired by the sentiment, "tomorrow we die," it describes not the joy of unexpected deliverance, but the wild orgies of despair.<sup>48</sup> The Assyrian troops are still before the city. Consequently ver. 5 may be translated in the present tense: "This is a day of tumult, etc." Or, if the future be insisted upon, even this does not necessarily exclude the genuineness of the promissory sections in chaps. 28-31. In view of the anxious crisis still to be gone through, Isaiah might well speak of an approaching day of tumult and trampling and confusion, while nevertheless believing in the ultimate deliverance of the city. There is nothing in the terms used which suggests that Jerusalem must be taken, for in ver. 4 "the destruction of the daughter of my people" refers to the past, to the devastated Judean country. Secondly, as regards vers. 6-14, that these are retrospective follows both from the use of the tenses and from the words **בְּיוֹם הַהוּא** in ver. 12. The prophet here speaks after the enemy has departed. But the form in which his threatening is clothed in nowise compels us to think that an impending destruction of the city was in his mind. The sentence, "Surely this iniquity shall not be purged from you till ye die," is entirely general in its tone.<sup>49</sup> Thirdly, it is exceedingly difficult to imagine how Isaiah, after having unremittingly represented the coming crisis as involving the destruction of Jerusalem, could, after the event had proved him mistaken, coolly claim that it had been intended to produce conversion (ver. 12). The critically reconstructed text of Isa. 28-31 certainly does not read as a preparation for a call to repentance. It strikes the note of absolute reprobation. Its terms are such as to leave no room for the inexpiable sin as a still higher stage of iniquity. After the issue had given the lie to Isaiah's dismal forebodings and justified the optimism of the politicians, the prophet must have possessed more than ordinary naiveté, if he expected the words of ver. 14 to be taken for anything else than the impotent threat of a deluded visionary. On the other hand, the interpretation of chaps. 28-31 in their integrity, not only leaves room for, but distinctly brings out the thought, that Jehovah's wonderful dealings with Jerusalem are intended to lead to her conversion. Finally, that Isaiah expected the banishment of Shebna to be brought about as a result of the conquest of Jerusalem and

in connection with a general captivity of the people, the words give us no right to infer.

#### IV. Micah

The prophecy of Micah shares with that of Zechariah the distinction of having been among the first to which the modern hypothesis of post-exilic expansion and redaction was applied. Stade's study on Deutero-Zechariah, wherein the author disclosed his program for the new critical treatment of the prophetic writings, appeared as the opening article in the periodical which has been edited by him since 1881, the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, and in the next installment of the same year this was followed by his "Observations on the Book of Micah." Owing to this early presentation of the case, Stade's proposals in reference to Micah have received more elaborate and exhaustive discussion, both from his own standpoint and from that opposed to his hypothesis, than any other question brought to the front by the recent development of prophetic criticism. Apart from current articles and views expressed in works on Introduction and in the latest commentaries, the controversy has called forth two extended monographs on our subject, that of Ryssel, *Investigations on the State of the Text and the Authenticity of the Book of Micah* (1887), and that of Elhorst, *The Prophecy of Micah* (1891), the former a German, the latter a Dutch treatise. In both not merely are the points at issue examined, but likewise a full survey is given of the history of modern critical opinion up to the date of publication. Since, however, neither of these two books has appeared in an English translation, it will not be superfluous to give a brief outline of the course taken by the discussion, before we endeavor to estimate its bearing upon the contest between the old and the new conception of prophetism and of its place in Old Testament history.

Stade was not the first who denied to Micah the authorship of a considerable part of the book bearing his name. Ewald, in the second edition of his *Prophets of the Old Covenant* (1867), assigned chaps. 6 and 7 to the time of Manasseh on account of the totally different historical and religious situation reflected in them. Though admitting that the chronology does not absolutely require this, yet for reasons found in the dramatic form, the style and the language of this section, Ewald thinks that not Micah, but some other prophet is the writer. In reference to chap. 2:12, 13, also, this critic anticipated the later conclusions by assuming that these verses are a marginal annotation either from the hand of Micah himself, or from an ancient reader, and that they are intended to illustrate the kind of false prophesying referred to in ver. 11.<sup>50</sup> While the latter view, in this specific form, was soon shown to be untenable, Ewald's opinion about a part at least of chap. 7 received the support of Wellhausen. Wellhausen discriminates between 6:1-7:6, on the one hand, and 7:7-20, on the other. While not positively committing himself for or against the derivation of the former section from Micah, he finds that 7:7-20 is plainly written from a standpoint about a century later than the time of Manasseh and presupposes the exile, and that the obvious affinity between it and Isa. 40 goes to support this judgment.<sup>51</sup>

Meanwhile among Dutch critics a discussion had arisen in reference to chaps. 4 and 5, which in a somewhat similar manner forestalled the views subsequently developed by Stade on this section of the book. In vol. 5 of the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* (1871), Oort published an article on "The Beth-Ephrathah of Micah 5:1." Attaching himself to the conjectural emendation of this verse proposed by Roorda, so as to make it read, "And thou *house of Ephrathah*," instead of "And thou *Bethlehem Ephrathah*," Oort infers from Gen. 35:16 *seq.*, 48:7,<sup>52</sup> 1 Sam. 10:2 and Jer. 31:15, that there was

an Ephrath in the territory of Benjamin, and that it is this Ephrath that is meant in the emended text of the prophet. He further identifies the “house of Ephrathah” with the house of Saul, and on the basis of this identification makes Micah predict the rejection of the Davidic dynasty, and the return of that of Saul to power in the person of the victorious ruler of the future. In the light of this interpretation, Oort then finds in the Migdal ‘Eder of 4:8 another place in Benjamin<sup>53</sup> associated with the house of Saul, so that this verse contains the same promise concerning the restoration of this house as 5:1. But, these two fixed points being given, it follows that 4:8 brings the contrast to 3:12: Zion to be plowed as a field—the Benjaminites Migdal ‘Eder to rise to royal glory. What stands between must therefore be an interpolation. Similarly 4:11-13 breaks the connection between ver. 10 and ver. 14, and thereby proves itself foreign to the original prophecy. These two excised pieces form a continuous oracle of one of those false prophets so severely denounced by Micah. Micah’s genuine discourse consists of 3:12, 4:8-10, 14, 5:1 *seq.*<sup>54</sup>

This hypothesis of Oort was subjected to a searching criticism by Kuenen in the next volume of the same periodical (1872). The article is written in Kuenen’s best vein, and may be cited not only as a masterpiece of that objective, incisive, luminous treatment of a difficult problem in which the author stands unrivaled, but also as one of the few instances where the arguments advanced are so final and convincing as to leave the opposing view beyond all possibility of resuscitation. The attempted exegesis and analysis are shown to be impossible as well as unfounded. Kuenen does not offer any new theory of his own. In regard to 4:11-13 he recognizes the difficulty of reconciling the situation there presupposed with that reflected in the verses preceding. But even here he does not turn the obscurity of the connection into a plea for denying the genuineness of the passage. It is further to be observed that incidentally in his argument Kuenen quotes from the concluding section of the book as from a prophecy of Micah, which leads us to infer that at the time he had not adopted the view of Ewald.<sup>55</sup>

Here the matter rested for almost ten years. The controversy was renewed along the whole line by the above-mentioned publication of Stade. Although this critic from the outset confined himself to chap. 2:12, 13, and chaps. 4, 5, being evidently of the opinion that the question of the two closing chapters of the book had been finally disposed of by Ewald, yet in the course of the discussion it soon appeared that even this later section had not yet ceased, in the opinion of at least some liberal critics, to be debatable ground. In regard to 2:12, 13, Stade undertakes to show that the symmetrical structure of the context in which these verses are placed requires their expulsion and proves the necessity of connecting 3:1 with 2:11. As to its contents, the passage has nothing in common with the Messianic utterances of Isaiah, but resembles rather Jer. 31:8 and Isa. 52:12. It presupposes that Israel is in dispersion and must be gathered into a flock. All this leads him to declare these verses an exilic or post-exilic insertion from the hand of one who lived in the circle of ideas of Deutero-Isaiah. Stade also tries to assign a motive for this insertion. The interpolator may have referred 2:8-10 to crimes perpetrated on fugitives from Northern-Israel, or may have desired to place his own words about the gathering of Israel from among the Gentiles in contrast with ver. 9, where the taking away of Jehovah’s glory from the young children means to drive them into idolatry by ejection from Jehovah’s land.

Much more complicated is Stade’s hypothesis in reference to chaps. 4 and 5. It may be briefly stated as follows: 4:1-4, 11-5:4a, 6-14 reveal their close connection by the conception of the “many nations”

which they have in common. But this is a conception belonging distinctly to the post-Ezekielian development of prophecy; consequently we must assume that at some date after the exile the three pieces just named were added as a continuous discourse to the genuine work of Micah. The motive for this insertion lay in the one-sidedness of the prophecy of judgment in chaps. 1-3.<sup>56</sup> At a still later time some one who attributed the whole thus obtained to Micah wondered at the absence of all reference to the Babylonian exile, as an episode intervening between the prophet's own historical standpoint and the eschatological era to which the attack of the many nations on Jerusalem belongs. To fill this gap in the assumed perspective of Micah, the two passages 4:5-10 and 5:4b, 5, were composed and inserted. The final arrangement of the inserted material was determined by the desire to make 4:1-4 contrast with 3:12.

From three quarters these proposals received at least, a partial support, although the particular elements of the hypothesis accepted or dissented from were in each case different. First. Giesebrecht expressed himself to the effect that even before the publication of Stade's views he had become convinced of the spuriousness of chap. 4, but could not agree with the rejection of chap. 5.<sup>57</sup> In replying to this,<sup>58</sup> Stade endeavors to strengthen his position as regards chap. 5 by an extended discussion of the reference to Bethlehem in ver. 1, as well as by an attempt to show that the polemic against the Asherim and Mazzeboth in vers. 12, 13, proves this passage to be later than the reformation of King Josiah. On the former point it is interesting to observe that Stade seems unaware of the thorough manner in which the Ephrath-question had been sifted and conclusively settled once for all by Kuenen in the criticism of Oort above referred to (1872). Kuenen's presentation of the case, though written eleven years before, will serve equally well as an answer to the German critic, who infers from the identification of Bethlehem and Ephrathah that the prophecy must be post-exilic, as to his Dutch predecessor, who thought that Micah, because speaking of Ephrath, must have expected a deliverer from the house of Saul,—for both contentions rest on the common basis *that in the pre-exilic period only a Benjaminitic Ephrath was known*, and it was precisely this basis which Kuenen had effectually destroyed.

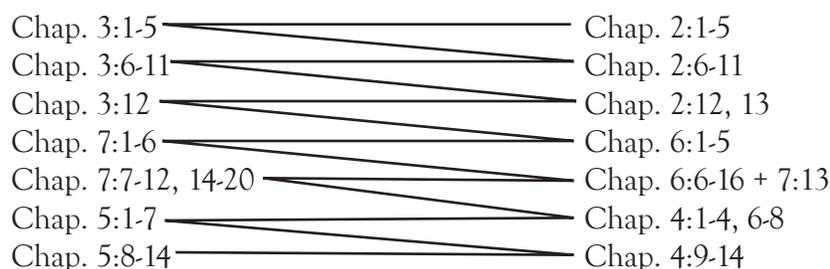
Second among the critics to accept Stade's conclusions was Cornill. But while agreeing with him as to chaps. 4 and 5, Cornill takes occasion from this avowal to revive the whole question concerning 6:1-7:6, the debate on which Stade had treated as definitely closed by Ewald's and Wellhausen's arguments. In his opinion, 6:1 reads as a justification of 3:12, and everything in 6:1-7:6, which had been applied to the reign of Manasseh, will apply equally well to the time of Ahaz, not excepting 6:7, so that from a chronological point of view no objection can be raised against Micah's authorship. Cornill declares that the origin of the book becomes a riddle to him, if after chap. 3 nothing is from the hand of the prophet, for to neutralize the pessimism of chaps. 1-3, the addition of chaps. 4 and 5 fully sufficed, and for appending a second piece no further motive existed. In his view the book consists of three genuine parts, to each of which a later prophecy has been joined, viz., chaps. 1-2:11, with the appendix 2:12, 13; chap. 3 with the appendix chaps. 4 and 5; chaps. 6-7:6, with the appendix 7:7-20.<sup>59</sup>

The third, who accepted Stade's results on some points, while taking issue with him on others, was Nowack.<sup>60</sup> The agreement, however, extends no further than 2:12, 13, whereas on almost every point of chaps. 4 and 5 the validity of Stade's arguments is denied. The latter's analysis is found faulty: 4:11-13 do not require 5:1-3, indeed leave nothing to be done by the Messiah; 5:2 even disagrees with

the former passage in which no “giving up” is assumed; 4:11 *seq.* similarly contradicts 5:6 *seq.*, because in the latter only a remnant appears as being saved; finally 4:11-13 also clash with 3:12. Consequently these verses, instead of forming a unit with 4:1-4 and 4:14-5:3, 6-14, as Stade had contended, must, according to Nowack, be considered a later insertion which introduces a disharmonious element into the context.<sup>61</sup> Of the remainder Nowack upholds the genuineness, except of the words **בבל** **עַד** **וּבִאֵת** **עַד** in 4:10, which are declared a gloss; 5:4, 5, which he considers interpolated; and 4:5-8, in regard to which he is non-committal. The motive for inserting the gloss in ver. 10 and for adding vers. 5-8, must be sought in the contradiction which was felt to exist between Micah’s prophecy of Jerusalem’s conquest by the Assyrian and the actual outcome of events. As this will not apply to 5: 4, 5, Nowack confesses his inability to explain the insertion of these verses. The conclusion of the article is directed against Cornill’s attempt to save the genuineness of 6:1-7:6.

In a brief statement immediately subjoined to Nowack’s article, Stade replied to the latter’s arguments, and upheld the soundness of his hypothesis. Among those who expressed dissent from the new conclusions was Reuss.<sup>62</sup> Robertson Smith also held to chaps. 1-5 as a single well-connected book, with the qualification that in chap. 4:8 the words, “thou shalt come unto Babylon,” and the whole of chap. 4:11-13, are interpolated, and that 2:12, 13, require at least to be transposed.<sup>63</sup> Cheyne contented himself with assuming the later origin of 4:5-10, 5:4, 5.<sup>64</sup> A more hearty defense of the genuineness not merely of the material attacked in chaps. 4 and 5, but of the contents of the book as a whole, was made by Ryssel in his treatise mentioned at the beginning of this article. Here all the objections made to Micah’s authorship from the various quarters of the critical side are carefully collected and exhaustively investigated. Ryssel’s treatment so fully takes into account all possibilities of the problem that it may be considered the final word on the question from the conservative standpoint.

A new departure was inaugurated by Elhorst, who proposed to remove all difficulties by assuming that the prophecy was at one time written in sections forming two parallel columns on the same page. A later copyist, instead of taking first a section from the right-hand column and next one from the left-hand column, as had been the order in which the writer wished his manuscript, to be read, put all the sections of the first column and all the sections of the second column together. The following table will make plain what is, according to Elhorst, the original arrangement of the prophecy, and how from it, in his opinion, the present disorder arose:



It will be perceived that Elhorst does not draw chap. 1 within the scope of his hypothesis. He further thinks that chaps. 6 and 7 originally preceded chaps. 4 and 5, and accounts for their present position by the additional hypothesis that some copyist found the prophecy on four pieces containing chap. 1, chaps. 2, 3, chaps. 6, 7, chaps. 4, 5, respectively. By mistaking the sequence of the third and

fourth pieces he made them exchange places. A misunderstanding on the part of still another copyist is assumed to explain the displacement of 7:13. While in principle accepting Stade's view of a post-exilic redaction of the genuine prophecy, Elhorst is much more moderate than Stade in its application. Even chaps. 6 and 7 in their entirety are vindicated to Micah. The only piece given to the later writer is chap. 4:9-14 + 5:8. This must be post-exilic, Elhorst thinks, because it predicts an attack upon Jerusalem subsequent to the Babylonian captivity.<sup>65</sup>

Between the discussions of Ryssel and Elhorst falls the appearance of vol. 2 of the new edition of Kuenen's *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek* (1889). Here Stade's hypothesis is still characterized as "a most singular opinion," the validity of his arguments derived from the universalism in 4:1-3, from the identification of Bethlehem and Ephrathah in 5:1, from the polemic against the Mazzeboth and the Asherim in 5:9-14, is denied. At the same time the influence of Stade's criticism is perceptible in the admission that in chap. 4:6-8 the captivity and the cessation of Israel's national existence form the point of departure of the prophecy, whilst also 4:11-13 leave the Assyrian period far behind and remind us of Ezek. 38, *seq.*, and Zech. 12, 14. With much hesitation Kuenen concludes that 4:9 *seq.*, 14-5:5, 6-8, (also 9-14, in a less pronounced form than the present one) may have descended from Micah. Of a later exilic and post-exilic date are 4:6-8, 11-13, and the redaction of 5:9-14. Chaps. 6 : 1-7:6 was written in all probability during the reign of Manasseh, but not by Micah. The close of the book, 7:7-20, translates us into the Babylonian captivity.<sup>66</sup>

Though this position of Kuenen marks a considerable advance beyond that taken seventeen years before in his debate with Oort, it was soon rendered conservative by the steady movement of criticism toward the denial of Micah's connection with chaps. 4 and 5 *in toto*.<sup>67</sup> Wellhausen in 1892 finds that 2:12, 13, presuppose the exile and the diaspora and simply prefixes to 4:1-5:14 the title of appendix. The only passage in reference to which he makes serious reserve is 5:9-13. This, he admits, might without difficulty be assigned to Micah. Curiously enough even here Wellhausen seems to be non-committal in regard to the authorship of 6:1-7:6; 6:1-6, he says, fit excellently into the time of Manasseh and that Micah wrote them is not impossible. On the other hand, in 7:1-6 marks of affinity with Malachi and the Psalms are pointed out. Cheyne, in the introduction to Robertson Smith's *The Prophets of Israel* (1895), thinks that "with regard to the Book of Micah, it is becoming more and more doubtful whether more than two or three fragments of the heterogeneous collection of fragments in chaps. 4-7 can have come from that prophet." Volz recognizes no more than 4:9-10a, 14; 5:9-14, as genuine remnants. The last-mentioned passage bears, however, at present, a different meaning from that intended by the prophet, who simply predicted the destruction of military power and of cultic objects because in these the national life was embodied, and not from any reform motive. In ver. 14 he thinks that not the Gentiles but Judah was threatened by the prophet in the original form of the verse. Volz is also willing to admit that in 5:4 *seq.* there may be hidden some genuine words of Micah, but these are now beyond the possibility of restoration. Chaps. 2:12 *seq.*, 4:6 *seq.*, 10b-13, 5:6-8, are of one author and exilic: they were inserted to break the force of the genuine predictions of doom in whose neighborhood they stand, while for the same purpose 5:9-14 was rewritten. Chap. 4:1-4 was probably added in the time of Deutero-Isaiah. A post-exilic poet interpolated 4:8, 5:1, 3, 4a. Still later accretions are 4:5 and 5:4 *seq.* Volz acknowledges that in regard to the details of the composition of chap. 4 *seq.*, no certainty can be reached. But that the greater part does not come from Micah is absolutely certain in his view.

In conclusion of this historical review the present views of Nowack, as formulated in the volume from his hand on the Minor Prophets in the *Handkommentar zum Alten Testament*, should be noticed. As stated above, in 1884 this critic entered the lists against Stade, not merely in opposition to the latter's analysis, but equally to defend the genuineness of the greater part of chaps. 4 and 5. It is significant of the drift of present-day criticism toward the acceptance of Stade's principles that in this newest exposition of Micah all the fundamental points, which the author had contested with such skill and vigor thirteen years before, are now abandoned. To be sure, Nowack still endeavors to vindicate 4:9, 10a, 14 + 5:9-13 for Micah, but even this is qualified and greatly weakened by a "perhaps." Besides, from a doctrinal point of view the retention of these fragments is quite unimportant, whereas the surrender of the other pieces is of far-reaching consequence. Still more significant, however, is the fact that this change of opinion is not justified by any refutation of the author's own former arguments. Apparently the difference between now and then is due to the greater force with which the *a priori* principles of Stade's method appeal to the critical consciousness of the times. The facts have remained what they were, but the relative weight of all objective data has decreased in the same proportion as the idea of development has become the predominating factor in shaping the modern views on prophetism and the prophetic literature.

We now proceed to consider the bearing of the disintegration of Micah's book on the main principles of the critical hypothesis and also the *a posteriori* grounds, which, it is claimed, justify the analysis. The discussion divides itself into three parts. Within the limits of chaps. 1-3 only one passage is involved, viz., 2:12, 13. Here it is the Messianic element (whether in the wider impersonal or in the specific personal sense depends on the exegesis) whose right to a place among the ideas of Micah is disputed. Of the two following chapters scarcely anything is left intact, and the doctrinal interest at stake concerns four points: (1) The antiquity of the idea of universalism; (2) that of the fully developed Messianic hope; (3) the pre-Ezekielian origin of the eschatological idea of a world-attack upon Zion; (4) the pre-Deuteronomic date of the polemic against certain features of the popular cult. The debate about the authorship of chaps. 6 and 7, finally, derives its Biblico-theological interest from the testimony which the closing section (7:7-20), if genuine, bears to the promissory outlook of early prophecy.

Chap. 2:12, 13, contain the prediction of the reassembling of all Israel and their triumphant breaking forth under the leadership of their king. The grounds on which this passage is pronounced late are partly derived from the contents and partly from the connection. As to the former, it is claimed that the historical situation reflected in these verses is not that of the age of Micah, but of the exile. As to the latter, it is deemed psychologically inconceivable that the prophet himself should have passed without transition from the fierce tone of rebuke and the stern announcement of evil characterizing his previous discourse to the note of comfort and promise which is struck in these verses. It has been suggested that these objections may be removed at one stroke by finding here, instead of an expression of Micah's own hopes, an illustration of the deceitful hopes preached by those false prophets whom, according to ver. 11, the people delighted to hear. This view was held long ago by Aben Ezra, and has been revived in modern times by such writers as Roorda,<sup>68</sup> Ewald,<sup>69</sup> Kleinert,<sup>70</sup> and others. But according to 3:11, the false prophets would not even consider the possibility of evil coming upon Israel: by admitting that the people were to be reduced to a remnant they would have in principle passed over to Micah's standpoint, and their further assurance that Israel would be reassembled again cannot have been quoted as a fundamental point of difference between them

and the true prophets, unless we assume that the latter positively contradicted every prospect of restoration, which no one will maintain. Nor can vers. 12, 13, be said to form an illustration of the kind of prophesying referred to in ver. 11. The prophesying “of wine and strong drink” must relate to a promise of more realistic and sensual pleasures than that of the reassembling of scattered Israel.

Even if the proposed solution were not beset with all these difficulties, it would still, just as much as the ordinary exegesis, remain open to the criticism that the situation presupposed is that of the age of the exile. We must, therefore, enquire what force there is in this argument. Of the naive form in which certain writers are wont to press it as if every literary representation of the exile as present must invariably involve its actual historical presence, we may dispose without further ceremony. It is an undeniable fact that in certain instances the prophetic consciousness projects itself into a more or less distant time so as to view future events as present or even past. The only question can be whether the starting-point for such a mental process is given in the general historical perspective of Micah. Now the prophet clearly predicts in the undoubtedly genuine portions of his book a captivity not merely of Ephraim, but also of Judah, on a no less extensive scale than that actually brought about by the Chaldeans. This is indeed denied by Robertson Smith, with whom Cheyne expresses agreement.<sup>71</sup> But what the latter calls a “capital argument” is very far from convincing. The text of chap. 2:5, from which Robertson Smith infers that after the judgment the congregation of Jehovah remains, is highly obscure and uncertain; perhaps the words on which the argument hinges belong to the sixth verse.<sup>72</sup> In ver. 4 *the whole people* are made to utter the lamentation that their portion is removed and their fields are divided. Does not this presuppose a national captivity? In 1:16 also the subject, though not explicitly named, can be none other than the personified nation. That the nobility of Israel, “the glory,” will flee to the cave of Adullam (1:15) by no means excludes a captivity of the mass. Nothing of course can be inferred from chap. 5:1. Even if we explain the dislike to military equipment and city civilization voiced in 1:13, 5:10, 11, from the prophet’s rural sympathies, it by no means gives us the right to infer that his preference for the country districts and their inhabitants must have led him to believe that these would escape from the impending captivity. In general it may be doubted whether, after Amos and Hosea and Isaiah had plainly foretold a deportation of the people *en masse*, and a sort of prophetic tradition had been formed on this point, Micah could have easily introduced a modification in regard to such a standing feature of the prophecy of judgment. If the evidence of exegesis plainly proved this, we should have to accept it; but this is far from being the case. There is no need, therefore, in order to escape the exilic dating of our passage to follow Ryssel’s explanation, who maintains that the exiles are not here represented as constituting the whole of Israel, but that the “totality of Jacob,” of which the prophet speaks, is the result of the reunion of the *Grundstock* which has remained in Palestine with the exiles returned from among the Gentiles. Decisive against this view is that the assembling evidently takes place in the foreign land, whence also the assembled forces march forth. Ryssel himself so conceives of it, but without reconciling this representation with the exegesis of ver. 12a proposed by him. So far as I see, a reconciliation could be effected only by supplying the thought that the *Grundstock* first march to the foreign land to deliver their exiled brethren, and then, reunited with these, march back to Palestine as described in ver. 13. But if such had been the writer’s meaning, he could hardly have failed to state it in explicit terms, since the idea, being quite novel, does not readily suggest itself.<sup>73</sup>

It must be granted then, without reserve, that the exile forms the background of the passage under review. But the critics go too far in asserting that this background must be the real historical situation

of a later writer, and cannot be the imaginative situation into which Micah projected himself, and out of which he spoke his prophecy of restoration. That the exile as it actually came about fits the description ought certainly not to be used as an argument against its authenticity. Nothing appears which in any way betrays a later standpoint or acquaintance with later facts than those well within the range of vision of the eighth century. Stade indeed thinks that the words reveal affinity to Isa. 52:15, Jer. 31:8, while points of contact with genuine Messianic oracles of Isaiah are lacking. Waiving the question of the exilic origin of Isa. 52, of course taken for granted by Stade, this critic himself will not claim that the passages cited are the models upon which the writer of Micah 2:12, 13, framed his prophecy. The similarity of thought and expression is of so general a kind that from a mere comparison nothing can be determined about the sequence of the three passages. As to Isaiah, since Stade expressed the above opinion, it has become more and more recognized that the Messianic prophecies in 8:23-9:6 and 11:1-9 have for their background the captivity of the entire remnant of Israel and the cessation of the Davidic dynasty ruling in the prophet's time. There are other utterances of Isaiah, such as 10:20, 11:11, still more closely resembling Micah 2:12, 13, but unfortunately these are excluded by the critics from the genuine work of the prophet.

After having ascertained that in the contents of the passage there is nothing prejudicial to its genuineness, we are qualified to determine more precisely how much weight can be attributed to considerations drawn from its connection with what precedes or follows. Of course, to show that a prophecy might have been spoken or written by Micah is not equivalent to a demonstration that he must be the author. Just as little, however, does a lack of close connection of itself prove the presence of an interpolated piece. It would seem a sound principle of criticism that, in a text where the contents are unobjectionable, three things are required to make out a clear case of interpolation: (1) it should be shown that no transition of thought is discoverable; (2) that a later writer could have some adequate motive for inserting the passage where it stands; (3) that after its expulsion from the context the preceding and following words make plausible connection. Especially the second and third of these requirements should be rigidly insisted upon. Not to do so would mean to ignore the possibility that some genuine part of a prophetic book may have become displaced and strayed into an environment where it appears foreign to the writer's momentary trend of thought without being foreign in principle to his general circle of ideas. Now turning to the case in hand, we find that the difficulty of explaining the transition from ver. 11 to ver. 12 furnishes the whole basis of the critical contention. Granting for a moment that this difficulty is in reality as great as it is made out to be, still it is insufficient to prove the later origin of our passage unless the other two conditions are complied with. And this has not been done. First of all, no reasonable motive for the insertion can be discovered. The general explanation, that the later writers used to append their work in such places where they felt the need of taking off the sharp edge of an exceptionally severe prediction of judgment by a qualifying promise, does not apply in this instance. Ver. 11 is not the climax of a threatening passage, nor is ver. 10 sufficiently severe in its tone to have called for such a remedy. Immediately after 1:16 or 2:5 would have been the proper place for interpolating a promise. Stade has suggested a twofold motive from which the insertion might be explained. He thinks that perhaps some reader referred vers. 8-10 to crimes perpetrated on fugitives from northern Israel, and thereby was induced to add a prediction about the gathering of the scattered Ephraimites. Or a contrast to ver. 9 may have been intended where the taking away of Jehovah's glory from the young children means to drive them into idolatry by expulsion from Jehovah's land: hence the remnant of Israel receives the promise that it will be gathered from among the *Gentiles* who serve idols. Micah, however,

does not use Jacob and Israel elsewhere with specific reference to the northern kingdom. The later writer, therefore, in order to make his meaning plain would have been apt to speak of Ephraim as the subject of the promise. And as to the second suggestion, if such a subtle antithesis had been actually present to his mind, he would surely have stated in so many words that the gathering of ver. 12 was to be from among the Gentiles, and would involve the restitution of Jehovah's glory to the exiles. And after all, one cannot help asking if the later writer considered the connection of thought between Micah's words and his own sufficiently lucid, why should not Micah himself have been of the same opinion? If a contrast of this sort is actually implied, there is no reason for asserting that Micah can have had nothing to do with it, except the *a priori* one that the contrast between threatening and promise is foreign to early prophecy.

But, although no plausible motive can be assigned for an interpolation at this precise juncture, yet we might perhaps be persuaded to assume one in case after the removal of vers. 12, 13, the continuity of the discourse left nothing to be desired. This, however, is by no means the case. Chap. 2:11 does not read as if intended to close the section which begins at 2:1 or at 2:6. This is acknowledged by those of the critics who believe that the appended passage has been allowed to extrude the genuine conclusion. If 2:11 and 3:1 were to be closely connected we would expect the prophet to have more formally indicated by the use of a personal pronoun that he considered his own announcement of judgment as the direct opposite to the prophesying of wine and strong drink of the other seers.<sup>74</sup> On the other hand, if vers. 12, 13, are genuine words of Micah, the transition from them to 3:1 by means of the simple **וְאָמַר** is perfectly natural. As C.B. Michaelis<sup>75</sup> has well said, its force may be paraphrased as follows: "But while we are yet but too far away from the longed-for times, which have just been promised, I say in the meanwhile, viz., in order to complete the list of the iniquities of evil princes and teachers begun in chap. 2."

Stade has taken special pains to prove that the expulsion of the passage under review is imperatively demanded by the symmetrical structure of the remainder of chaps. 1-3, considered by him a single discourse. He maintains that 3:1 is parallel to 2:7 and 3:8, inasmuch as in each of these three statements Micah defines his attitude over against the sinful rulers and the false prophets. Consequently 3:1 ought to follow immediately upon 2:11, just as 2:7 follows immediately upon 2:6 and 3:8 upon 3:7. There is no reason to deny that in a general sense the sequence of thought is thus correctly indicated. But the symmetry is not so perfect as Stade believes. That the obscure words in 2:7 are spoken by the prophet and define his attitude toward the persons rebuked and threatened in the foregoing is denied by many commentators. It is perhaps even more probable that ver. 7 contains the words of the sinners instead of giving the answer of Micah. In that case the parallelism with 3:1 would entirely disappear. And, as Ryssel has already pointed out, 3:1 does not bring so much Micah's "Stellungnahme" in reference to his opponents, as rather a new description of their wickedness. Stade's synopsis of the contents of chap. 2 can thus be improved upon by leaving out altogether the item of Micah's prophetic self-assertion over against the sinful rulers and seers. If ver. 7 be taken as words of the sinners, a perfect parallelism results; 2:1-2 and 2:8-9 describe the sin, 2:3-5 and 2:10 announce the judgment, 2:6, 7, and 2:11 finally speak of the resentment which the prophecy of evil awakens in those against whom it is directed. But, as will be perceived, on this scheme Stade's conclusion that 3:1 must have followed immediately upon 2:11 no longer holds. It might be said, to be sure, that if 2:6, 7, is the end of section 1, then 2:11 ought to be the end of section 2. But as section 3, consisting of 3:1-12 is enlarged over against the two preceding ones by the introduction of

new elements, and has subjoined to itself a promissory discourse in 4:1 *seq.*, so the prophet might well advance in section 2 beyond the limits of section 1 by appending the promise of 2:12, 13, which in point of proportion and progress of thought places it midway between what precedes and follows.

After all, it still remains an open question whether a transition in the prophet's mind between vers. 11 and 12 cannot be made psychologically conceivable. It must be admitted that we cannot fall back upon the writer's desire to produce a rhetorical contrast, for ver. 11 coming between breaks the force of the contrast. No solution can be considered satisfactory which does not take its point of departure in ver. 11. Here we have the thought that those who make sensual delights the theme of their message find it easy to gain the popular ear. Now this thought was calculated to awaken in Micah a sense of the disadvantage under which he labored owing to the character of his own message. He had no bright prospect to hold out either for the present or the immediate future. Nevertheless he was conscious of being the herald of an infinitely higher and farther-reaching hope, the hope of salvation after judgment. What is more natural than that under the circumstances he should give utterance to this consciousness for his own relief, though fully aware that a salvation thus conditioned on previous calamity would have no charm for his hearers. There is nothing irrational or unworthy of a true prophet in such a train of thought. The expression of it becomes still more intelligible if we assume that vers. 12, 13, did not constitute part of the spoken discourse, but were added afterwards, when, in committing the same to writing, the prophet could give freer vent to his feeling.<sup>76</sup>

Passing on to the discussion of chaps. 4 and 5, we may again divide the objections raised against the prophecies here grouped together into two classes. On the one hand, it is alleged that the historical background of some of the sections cannot possibly be that of Micah, and that the several pieces presuppose entirely different situations out of which or for which they were written. On the other hand, it is believed that the connection of the fragments is so defective and clumsy as to exclude every idea of its representing a continuity of thought in the mind of a single author. The disorder is such that it can be understood only as the result of a more or less complicated process in which the earlier material passed through several hands and was increased by a number of additions or rewritten for the purpose of altering its original meaning.

The central idea of 4:1-5, and the possibility of correlating it to the thought of the eighth-century prophets, has been dealt with in a previous article. As regards Micah in particular, the undisputed part of his prophecy offered no occasion for any direct deliverance on Jehovah's relation to the Gentile world. The only passage throwing light on the prophet's views touching this point is chap. 1:2, where all peoples, the earth and its fullness are called upon to hear God's witness against them. An attempt has been made to limit the part of the peoples, in the transaction described, to that of witnesses, so that the idea of Jehovah's exercising rule over them would not be implied.<sup>77</sup> But if the words meant, "Let the Lord God be a witness *among* you," those *against* whom the witness is to be borne would also have been named. The passage does prove, therefore, that Micah believed Jehovah concerned in the conduct and destiny of the other nations and that the presuppositions for the universalism expressed in 4:1-5 were not wanting in his thought. But it proves more than this. If the prophet found it necessary to state at the very opening of his prophecy that the divine judgment was directed against the Gentiles as much as against Israel, is it likely that he would have allowed this conviction no further influence on the character of his message? If, as the critics believe, 3:12 is the

end of his genuine discourse, there is a remarkable incongruity as well as disproportion between the announcement of the text and the further working out of the sermon.<sup>78</sup>

Ver. 4, wanting in Isaiah, Stade considers too sentimental in its tone to be of an early date. He compares 2 Kings 18:31, Lev. 26:3-5, Deut. 28:1 *seq.* Waiving the question of the late date fixed by the critics for Leviticus and Deuteronomy, it is hard to believe that Micah cannot have appreciated the blessings of peace and expressed his appreciation of them in a proverbial form.

Chap. 4:6, 7, stand in a line with 2:12, 13, so that only a few words of comment are required. Undoubtedly here, also, the exile is presupposed, but not in any form which would imply that the author knew it from actual experience. The figure of the sheep "halting" and "driven away" recurs with the use of the same words in Zeph. 3:19, and with the use of one of them in Ezek. 34:16. Inasmuch as these must have been familiar terms of pastoral life, their appearance wherever the figure of the shepherd and his flock appears is perfectly natural. Even if the application of this figure by these prophets to the gathering of Israel proves literary dependence, which we do not believe, there is no reason why the original should not be recognized in Micah. The prophet's discourse abounds in figures derived from his rural surroundings (cf. 2:12, 13; 4:3, 4, 12, 13; 5:6, 7; 6:15; 7:1, 2, 4, 14, and the original way in which the idea of the shepherd is brought in connection with the pastoral antecedents of David as the type of the Messiah in 5:1, 3).<sup>79</sup> Attention has also been called to the technical use of **רִשְׁמוֹת**, "a remnant," in ver. 7.<sup>80</sup> Standing parallel with "a strong nation," this expression, it is said, must be a title of honor and promise. There would be something strange in this only if we did not know that with Isaiah already the term **רִשְׁמוֹת** had obtained a fixed meaning in which it was associated not merely with the judgment of the present, but likewise with the restoration of the future. Still further, exception is taken to the idea of Jehovah's kingship as dependent on Zech. 14:9. To this the answer has been given that this idea is protected by its prominence in Isaiah. Since this kingship was identified with Israel's national existence, the restoration would naturally assume to the prophet the form of a renewal of Jehovah's rule over his people, which had been suspended by the captivity.

In vers. 8-10 little is found by the critics to which suspicion can attach. In fact, vers. 9, 10a are the one fragment of chap. 4 in reference to whose possible or plausible genuineness a certain consensus has begun to form itself. As may be seen from the historical survey given above, Oort., Kuenen, Nowack, Volz, concede it to Micah; even Wellhausen is not positive in expressing the contrary opinion. Against ver. 8 Stade advances the trite argument that "the former dominion" presupposes the cessation of the Davidic kingdom. Nevertheless Stade himself considers vers. 8-10 from one hand; in ver. 9 on his own interpretation the later writer artificially transports himself backwards into the time of Micah as his apparent present and out of it projects himself into the Chaldean crisis as his ideal present. Why then, supposing always that Micah could imagine a restoration at all, should we deem him incapable of going through the same mental process in the opposite direction? In ver. 10 those critics who uphold the genuineness reject the words, "and shalt come even unto Babylon," as a gloss added *ex eventu*. In so far as this opinion results from anti-supernaturalistic bias it would be useless to argue against it. That there is nothing external to mark the clause as a gloss is shown by the fact that other critics, like Stade, who treat the whole context as a *vaticinium ex eventu*, find nothing objectionable in it and treat it as of one piece with the rest. A difficulty is further found in Jer. 26:19, where the destruction of Jerusalem predicted in Micah 3:12 is represented as referring to the Assyrian crisis

under King Hezekiah, and as having been averted by the repentance of people and king. But, as Ryssel and others have shown, whatever may have been the prophet's own meaning or the ultimate divine intent of the prophecy, it was quite possible for Micah's and Jeremiah's contemporaries to connect the idea of deportation to Babel with an Assyrian invasion. It would be rash, therefore, to conclude that in Jeremiah's days either the whole prophecy of chap. 4:9, 10, or at least the words referring to Babylon were not known.<sup>81</sup>

With vers. 11-13 we reach that part of the chapter in the denial of whose genuineness the recent critics, however varying their views in other respects, are unanimous. As vers. 9, 10a are recognized as the one fragment which may perhaps be from Micah, so this piece is before all others recognized as the one that must be late. A difference is, however, to be observed, as to the ground on which this judgment is based by the several critics. While Stade proceeds on the principle that the whole idea of an attack of many nations upon Zion is post-Ezekielian, most of the others take the position that, while the contents of vers. 11-13 *in themselves* admit of Micah's authorship, yet the contradiction between them and what immediately precedes renders it psychologically impossible that both should be from the same writer. Undoubtedly Stade's view has the advantage of greater consistency. In the consciousness of the early prophets as at present defined, there is hardly a place for a prediction of this type. For not merely are the defeat and the destruction of the Gentile nations that attack Zion foretold, but in ver. 11 their hostility is represented as inspired by the desire "to profane" her, i.e., to prove by the conquest of Zion that her claims to special sacredness and inviolability are unfounded.<sup>82</sup> We have here, in fact, the same thought which underlies Ezekiel's prediction of a world-attack upon the holy city, and those unwilling to believe that the early prophets ascribed such a sanctity to Zion should follow Stade in rejecting the verses on their own merit, altogether apart from the question whether they can be reconciled with what precedes or not.

But this observation in reference to ver. 11 also points out the way, we believe, in which the deeper harmony between the two apparently conflicting utterances here placed together must be sought. Evidently the point of view from which the prophet approaches the conflict of the world-power with Judah is a twofold one. In so far as this conflict is viewed as a matter between Jehovah and the people and as intended for the punishment of Israel's sin, it must result in captivity. In so far as it is viewed as a matter between the nations and Zion in its religious significance, the issue must be destruction for the Gentiles, because in Zion they attack Jehovah.<sup>83</sup> We know how in Isaiah these two modes of viewing the conflict and of forecasting its issue go side by side from almost the beginning until the end of his ministry, and that the recent critical attempts to eliminate this dualism from Isaiah cannot be considered successful. Why, then, should the appearance of the same phenomenon in Isaiah's contemporary Micah make us despair? The harmonizing of Micah 3:12 and 4:11-13 is precisely as difficult and no more difficult than the harmonizing of Isa. 3:26, 5:13, 6:12, on the one hand, and 8:9, 10, 10:5-19, on the other hand. That in Micah the two representations stand in closer proximity than in Isaiah should not prejudice us against their genuineness, because we need not assume that they occupied the same relative position in the prophet's oral discourse.<sup>84</sup> The historical facts to which this mode of viewing the conflict and of anticipating its outcome might attach itself were given to both Isaiah and Micah in the expedition of Sennacherib, of the year 701. The developments of this crisis offered a striking illustration of the principle here proclaimed as having validity for all time. Thus we can maintain that the prophecy preserves its contact with the history of the people of God in the prophet's own age, while yet through the clearly realized typical import of these

contemporary events it is made to extend beyond these and to cover the remote future.

In chap. 4:14-5:4, several things are believed to indicate a later date than the age of Micah. As stated above, Stade has renewed the objections at one time raised by Oort against the association of Bethlehem and Ephrathah and against the description of Bethlehem as “little to be among the thousands of Judah.” The data of this controversy are as follows: Jer. 31:15 and 1 Sam. 10:2 prove that Rachel’s grave was situated not far from Ramah on or near the border of Benjamin. Now it is inferred from Gen. 35:19 (cf. 48:7) that Ephrath lay in the neighborhood of the sepulcher of Rachel. Consequently it cannot be identical with Bethlehem, and the words in Genesis making this identification must be a gloss. The explanation of Nöldeke and Dillmann, to the effect that there may have existed two grave-pillars of Rachel, one near Ramah and another near Bethlehem-Ephrath, and that, E in Genesis refers to the latter, whilst Jeremiah and the author of 1 Sam. 10:2 have in mind the former, is rejected by Stade, because E in his narrative is supposed to deal exclusively with localities on the border of the two Rachel tribes—Joseph and Benjamin.<sup>85</sup> Further, there could not have existed a grave-pillar of Rachel in Bethlehem because the inhabitants of that place did not trace their descent from Rachel. But, if the testimony of E for the identity of Bethlehem and Ephrathah falls away, there is reason to examine critically the other passages in which the two are associated. These are: (1) 1 Sam. 17:12, where Jesse is called “that Ephrathite of Bethlehem Judah.” This verse, Stade thinks, has been so seriously meddled with by a later hand that its beginning is entirely out of joint: **וְיִזְרְעֵל** must at all events be removed, and, this being so, the preceding **אֶפְרַתִּי** may as well be thrown out as a redactorial addition. (2) Ruth 1:2, 4:11: these passages are claimed to prove nothing because the Book of Ruth is post-exilic. (3) Three passages in 1 Chronicles, chaps. 2:19, 50, and 4:4: here Ephrathah appears as the wife of Caleb and the mother of Hur, and is explicitly connected with Bethlehem. Stade maintains, however, that Bethlehem’s connection with the clan Caleb does not rest on ancient tradition and both form and contents of the passages belong to the post-exilic period. He also appeals to the fact that the adjective **אֶפְרַתִּי** means, in all passages except 1 Sam. 17:2, “the Ephraimite,” which renders it probable that the place called Ephrath known in pre-exilic times as the grave of Rachel lay on the border of Benjamin, i.e., still in Ephraim. The conclusion of the whole is according to Stade that Micah 5:1 appears to stand on a level with Ruth and Chronicles, two post-exilic products.<sup>86</sup> In regard to the other point, the smallness predicated of Bethlehem, he refers to Neh. 7:26, where the men of Bethlehem and Netophah are given as 188, a small number,—so that this feature likewise would point to a post-exilic writer.<sup>87</sup>

In answering all this the one essential point should be kept distinct from the accessory questions which have clustered around it in the course of the controversy.<sup>88</sup> This one essential point is whether it can be proven that Bethlehem had nothing to do with Ephrath or Ephrathah in the time of Micah. But how can this be established? Let us suppose for a moment that Stade is justified in throwing out the “Ephrathi” in 1 Sam. 17:12,<sup>89</sup> and in declaring Ruth post-exilic. This by no means settles the question. It only yields the negative result that there remains no pre-exilic passage from which we can prove that Bethlehem was in early times associated with Ephrathah. This is something quite different from furnishing the positive proof that such an association cannot have existed. Still further, though Chronicles is post-exilic and Ruth is considered so by modern critics, at any rate they bear witness to the fact that in that period Bethlehem sustained a close relation to Ephrathah. This being so, what right have we to assume that not only the usage but the origin of the usage must be post-exilic, and that it cannot reach back into the eighth century B.C.? In one case only could such a conclusion

be justified, viz., if it were possible to explain from well-known, specifically post-exilic data how the association or identification arose, or, what amounts to the same thing, to assign a definite motive for the interest of the writers of Chronicles and Ruth to bring the two names together. This has not been done nor can it be done. To quote the words of Kuenen: "It will not easily enter into the head of any man that the Chronicler's statements concerning Ephrath and her children are explainable from any sub-tendency."<sup>90</sup> On this point the Chronicler gives us simple facts in a genealogical form chosen by himself." Oort's hypothesis offered at least the advantage of explaining what interest the post-exilic writer had in transferring the name Ephrath from the house of Saul to that of David, but this hypothesis has been so entirely overthrown by Kuenen that even the author would not think of reviving it at the present day.<sup>91</sup>

As has been stated, Stade contends further that the smallness predicated of Bethlehem can be understood only from the standpoint of a post-exilic writer. Though it is true that the men of Bethlehem and Netophah appear in Neh. 7 as among the least numerous of the contingents there enumerated, yet we have no certainty that this relative smallness of the family resulted from the exile. It may have existed before. The writer of Micah 5:1 had a special motive for emphasizing this smallness. Obviously the thought was in his mind that the house of David when giving birth to the Messiah would be reduced to the former state of insignificance, naturally resulting from its numerical smallness, in which it existed before David's elevation to the throne gave it the highest rank among the families of Judah. In other words, the description of Bethlehem in Micah 5:1 serves the same purpose which is served by the peculiar phrase, "the stock of Jesse," in Isa. 11:1.<sup>92</sup>

In two other respects, 5:1-3 have been declared out of harmony with their surroundings. Nowack, in criticizing Stade's analysis, remarks that in 4:11-13 there is no room for the conception of a Messiah since the total destruction of the Gentiles leaves nothing to be done by Him. And 5:2 is out of agreement with 4:11-13 because in the latter passage no "giving up" is expected. Both difficulties are met in principle by our remarks made above on 4:11-13. If the perspective here opening up before the prophet is determined by the antithesis between Jehovah and the Gentiles, and has its historical background in the Sennacherib-crisis, we at once understand why the idea of Israel's surrender to the nations and the figure of the Messiah find no place in it. But, although in the nearer fulfillment of this prophecy the Messiah plays no part and Zion appears as yet untouched by the profaning hands of the Gentiles, this by no means excludes its also finding a fulfillment in later developments which presuppose the deliverance from exile and the appearance of the Messiah on the stage of history.

Chap. 5:4, 5, are said to be inconsistent with the preceding context because they make no mention of the Messiah, whose place is here rather taken by the "seven shepherds" and the "eight principal men." Stade, who raises this difficulty, has himself suggested the solution, viz., that these verses do not describe the beginning of the Messianic period, but an episode during its course. The shepherds and principal men are servants of the Messiah. This simple explanation cannot be discredited by forcing the meaning of the words, "and this shall be peace," as if these of necessity must introduce a description of the opening of the Messianic era, which description would then differ from the one contained in vers. 1-3.

Next we briefly notice the contradiction discovered between 5:6 and 4:11-13, in so far as in the former passage a mere remnant of Jacob is saved out of the judgment, whereas in the latter the daughter

of Zion as such is promised victory over the many nations assembled against her. By abandoning the genuineness of 5:1-8, and placing it on a line with 4:11-13, Nowack has himself implicitly acknowledged that the inconsistency is merely apparent. The late writer to whom he attributes vers. 6-8 knew, of course, that the daughter of Zion, who was in the future to destroy the many nations, consisted of the remnant of pre-exilic Israel.

A still further lack of agreement has been pointed out between 5:6-8 and 4:11-13, on the one hand, and the universalistic prophecy, 4:1-5, on the other hand. The first two passages breathe a spirit of hostility against the Gentiles, whereas the last is inspired by a sentiment of peace and goodwill toward all nations. If the point of comparison in the figure of the dew and rain in 5:7 be the refreshing and fructifying influence to be exerted by the remnant of Jacob upon the peoples, the writer must have thought that these two attitudes could go together, since they are placed in close proximity here as represented by the figures of ver. 7 and ver. 8 respectively. If the other exegesis be adopted, which finds the points of comparison with the dew and the rain in the prospective numerousness of the remnant and their sole dependence on Jehovah, even then ver. 8 does not exclude the ultimate realization of the ideal expressed in 4:1-4.

The last point in chap. 5 we must touch upon concerns vers. 9-14. These verses contain a prediction that the objects of idolatry and the implements of war will be taken away from Israel. It is conceded by Stade, Wellhausen and others that as a whole the prophecy fits into the age of Micah. But it has become generally accepted among adherents of the modern view that the prophetic opposition to the Mazzeboth and Asherim in particular dates from the time of the Deuteronomic reform. The Isaianic reform under Hezekiah, so far as it is historical, aimed only at the abolishment of images. Josiah in his day still found an Asherah in the temple at Jerusalem as well as at Bethel. The fight against Mazzeboth and Asherim did not begin until the Bamoth were made an object of attack. From Hosea 3:4, 10:1, 2, Isa. 19:19, Stade endeavors to show that in the estimation of the early prophets Mazzebah is = altar, no better, no worse. Isa. 17:8 proves nothing to the contrary, because the style is unworthy of Isaiah and the contents do not fit into the circle of his ideas. The manner in which the author of Micah 5:9-14 throws together into an indefinite category "graven images," and "Mazzeboth," and "Asherim," betrays that he does not speak from experience, whereas the author of Deut. 12:3 still stands sufficiently near the old cultus to distinguish sharply between its various objects.

Those who are at one with Stade in their general conception of the origin of the Deuteronomic movement, and would yet uphold the genuineness of our passage, have replied to this reasoning that the principles of reform enforced in that movement must have had a previous history and found earlier isolated defendants, and that nothing hinders us from counting Micah among the number of these. Although Isaiah did not oppose the Mazzeboth and Asherim, Micah shows himself independent enough of his great contemporary to warrant the surmise that in this point he may have differed from or advanced beyond him.<sup>93</sup> But this reply does not meet the real difficulty. As Stade has been quick in pointing out, the condemnation of Asherim and Mazzeboth in chap. 5:12 is not introduced as something new and unprecedented. The passage becomes intelligible only if we can place back of it a long polemic against the objects whose extermination is here predicted. This leaves us no other choice than either, with Stade, to find this earlier opposition in the Deuteronomic movement, which means to deny the passage to Micah; or to assume it in the prophetic labors of the

men who preceded Micah, which will mean that the prophetic attitude on this point was from the very first in harmony with the principles of the reform under King Josiah. The passages in the early prophets which mention the Mazzeboth are Hosea 3:4, 10:1, 2, Isa. 19:19. The Asherim occur in Isa. 17:8 only where they are named in conjunction with the Hammanim or "sun-pillars." Besides this a reference to the Asherah has been found in Hosea 4:12, where Jehovah complains that His people ask counsel at their stock and that their staff declareth unto them, since the spirit of whoredom has caused them to err, and they have gone a-whoring from under their God.<sup>94</sup> Of these we must leave out of account Isa. 17:8, since this verse is considered by recent critics an interpolation. That in Hosea 4:12 אֲשֵׁרָה alludes to the Asherah is not impossible, but far from certain.<sup>95</sup> From Hosea 3:4 many writers have inferred that Hosea took no *special* offense at the Mazzebah because it is here placed on a line with sacrifice as such, and with the two other pairs of king-prince, ephod-teraphim. That this conclusion is unwarranted appears from the fact that Hoses elsewhere openly condemns all images, and must, therefore, have opposed the teraphim on this principle alone if for no other reason. The sense of the passage is simply that all the representative forms of civil and religious life will be taken away from Israel. Whether these forms are in the prophet's view legitimate or illegitimate is not stated. In an indirect way we learn, however, that they must have been partly of the one, partly of the other category. For ver. 4 gives in literal terms what ver. 3 expresses in terms of the figure. Now the figure implies two thoughts: (1) That Hosea's wife shall be separated from her lovers; (2) that she shall be separated from her legal husband also. If ver. 5 is to correspond to this, the same two elements must be included in it, and the prophet must have conceived of some of the things mentioned as illegal. Of course it is not possible to go farther and prove from the words themselves that the Mazzeboth in particular fell under his disapproval. Chap. 10:1, 2, speak of the Mazzeboth after a condemnatory fashion, and place them on a level with the many altars. It is significant that not the multiplication of the Mazzeboth, but the building of them as such is reflected upon. And inasmuch as the multiplication of the places of worship was certainly connected by the prophet with the paganizing influences at work among Israel, this passage rather favors the conclusion that he considered the Mazzebah likewise an adjunct of the Baal-cult and for that reason opposed it.<sup>96</sup>

The total silence of the early prophets on the Asherah (apart from Isa. 17:8 and our passage in Micah) deserves attention. That we have no right to construe it as implying approval or indifference is plain. Otherwise Jeremiah might with equal warrant be quoted in favor of the Asherah, since he never names it explicitly and the Mazzebah only in chap. 43:13.<sup>97</sup> The probable explanation is that the Asherim were so closely associated with pronounced and avowed idolatry as to require no special condemnation beyond that included in the general polemic against the latter. Stade has indeed objected to this on the ground that by several passages the connection of the Asherah with Jehovah worship is placed beyond question, and has even gone to the length of denying the existence of a goddess Asherah, with whom the wooden Ashera would have been associated, except in the imagination of the later writers.<sup>98</sup> But this last position has been made untenable by the testimony of the El-Amarna letters. A goddess Asherah more or less closely identified with Ashtoreth did exist.<sup>99</sup> Of course this does not disprove that the ignorant idolatrous mass of the people also brought the wooden Asherah into connection with Jehovah, but it makes it at least highly probable that the prophets whose perception of the specifically pagan element in the popular cult was unquestionably keen would have been aware of the derivation of the symbol from the goddess, and consequently opposed it. Hosea's opposition to the use of the title Baal for Jehovah furnishes an analogy.<sup>100</sup>

The contents of vers. 9-14, apart from the reference to the Mazzeboth and Asherim, fit better into the eighth century than into any other period. This is true especially of the announcement that the horses and chariots and fortified cities, i.e., all warlike implements, will be done away with. The condemnation of witchcraft and images also has its most striking parallels in Isaiah. It is the recognition of this by such critics as Kuenen and Wellhausen that has given rise to the double-faced hypothesis that vers. 9-14 in their original form are from Micah and that the Deuteronomistic condemnation of Mazzeboth and Asherim was introduced by a later redactor of the piece. This proves that in all other respects the passage bears the impress of the time of Micah. No literary signs of redaction whatever are discoverable. This part of the hypothesis simply serves to get rid of an obnoxious element in an otherwise unobjectionable context.

We must now briefly review the difficulties found by the critics in the concatenation of the various pieces that compose chaps. 4 and 5. The first seam is located in 4:5, where the ׀ causes difficulty. Stade thinks the connection effected by means of it presupposes in the writer's mind the reflection that the foregoing prophecy had not been fulfilled. That is to say, if we understand Stade aright, the sentence introduced by ׀ was intended by a later writer to give the reason for the *unexpressed* thought of that writer that vers. 14 had not yet come true. Whatever may be thought of the possibility of this exegesis, it is certainly not the most plausible one. If we place the emphasis of the verse on the last words, "for ever and ever," it will be seen to affirm the truth of the foregoing prophecy and to yield a perfectly natural connection. This promise will surely be fulfilled, because Israel is the only nation which will not need to change its God.<sup>101</sup> After this statement has brought the prediction of universalism to a fitting close, the transition to vers. 6-8 as to another aspect of the eschatological hope is easily effected by the general term, "in that day." In regard to vers. 9-14 *seq.* everything depends on the interpretation of the three "nows" in vers. 9, 11, 14. Undoubtedly the first, עתה, marks a contrast to the opening phrase of both ver. 7 and ver. 6, inasmuch as the prophet returns from the remote future to the nearer present. This contrast, however, need not be pressed to the extent of limiting the עתה to the writer's historical present; it rather comprehends everything this side of the coming age. Why עתה should not be allowed this wider sense when by common consent of the critics the phrase ביום ההוא is indefinitely used of the whole eschatological future, is hard to see. The only question is whether Micah could so use it, and this depends ultimately on whether the conception of the Messianic age had made a sufficiently deep impression on his mind to compress all preceding developments for his perspective into one scene. On this view of the matter the three visions relating to the pre-Messianic history stand between the two eschatological prophecies of 4:1-8 and 5:1-8. The grouping of the three is not determined by chronological reasons, but by the natural sequence of the main thoughts embodied in each. The promise of the restoration of the kingdom to the daughter of Jerusalem suggests the previous departure of this kingdom, the ensuing exile and the deliverance from Babylon. By force of contrast the prospect of the indignity and pain to be inflicted by the world-power upon the daughter of Zion calls up the vision of vers. 11-13, where Zion appears victorious over the nations. In the third scene, 4:14-5:8, the same contrast between humiliation and victory is worked out with special reference to the present ruler and the future Messianic king, and thus the discourse returns to its point of departure in 4:8, but enriched by the personal Messianic element. Nobody will deny that this is at least a plausible development of thought. That the material might have been distributed as well, or perhaps to better advantage from the point of view of logic or historical sequence, does not prove that its present arrangement would have been unnatural or impossible to the prophet. To this must be added that there are several recurring phrases and

constructions which closely link together the various pieces. Foremost among these is the repetition of the words, “many nations,” which has already induced Stade to ascribe the three pieces in which these occur to one author. Further, “Mount Zion,” or “Zion,” is common to 4:1-5 and 4:6, 7, and “the daughter of Zion” to 4:8, 10, 13; **עַל יְד** in 4:11 points back to **כַּת צִיּוֹן** in ver. 10; **וַאֲתָהּ** opens the sentence in both 4:8 and 5:1; the address, “be in pain and labor,” in 4:10, is entirely like that in ver. 13, “arise and thresh;” the phrase, “the name of Jehovah,” appears in 4:5 and 5:3; **מִשָּׁל** in 4:14 points back to **מִמִּשְׁלָה** in 4:8; the coincidence in the figure of the shepherd between 4:6 and 5:3 has been already commented upon. In ordinary cases these resemblances would be considered sufficient to make out a strong case for unity of authorship. As it is, the critics have to explain them on the assumption that the later writer or writers purposely assimilated their work to the older material they wished to enlarge upon. But, if in a matter of form they exercised such care, the question becomes all the more pertinent why in the more weighty matter of the harmony and connection of thought they could be so artless and careless as the critical view implies. It is much easier to believe that the prophet himself used this freedom in the grouping of his scenes than that the later redactors or interpolators, who professedly wrote in order to harmonize his work with extraneous data either of history or of hope, should have failed to obliterate as much as possible all discrepancies of representation.<sup>102</sup>

In chap. 5 the second verse is the only one which requires comment in this connection. Volz believes that it breaks the continuity between ver. 1 and ver. 3, and must have been inserted at an even later date than the already post-exilic piece, 5:1, 3, 4a. His reasons for this opinion are the following. While Jehovah is the speaking person in ver. 1, He is spoken of in the third person in ver. 2. Or, if **ל** be referred to the writer, the incongruence remains between the subjects of **יָצָא** and **יָתְנָם**. Further, according to ver. 2, the Messiah is born in exile, whilst according to ver. 1 He comes out of Bethlehem. Ver. 2 does not place the figure of the Messiah sufficiently in the foreground. The writer of vers. 1 and 3 does not look forward to a long period of oppression by the Gentiles. **לְכֵן** in ver. 2 is meaningless. Neither the suffix in **יָתְנָם** nor the conception of the **לְדָרָה** finds explanation in the context. The interpolation rests on Isa. 7:14, and perhaps on Isa. 9:5, and is due to a desire to account for the delay in the Messiah’s appearance.

The first of these reasons may be disposed of by a reference to such passages as Isa. 3:1, 4; Micah 7: 18-20. Ver. 2 does not state anything about the Messiah’s birthplace, but simply makes His birth, or rather activity the *terminus ad quem* of Israel’s surrender to the Gentiles. The interpolator could not have possibly meant to say with ver. 1 before him that the Messiah was to be born in exile. If ver. 2 is a mere definition of time, we do not expect it to dwell on the figure or work of the Messiah. That the writer of vers. 1, 3, knows nothing of a period of “giving up” is indicated by nothing. **לְכֵן** makes perfect connection: it states as the reason why the Messiah must come from Bethlehem that the present royal state of the house of David shall come to an end through exile. Finally **יָתְנָם** is without antecedent only if vers. 1-3 are violently torn out of the context and placed by themselves. In the text as it stands the antecedent is given in 4:14, 11, 9, etc. That the verse presupposes Isa. 7:14 or 9:5 is no argument against its genuineness for those who maintain the Isaianic origin of these passages.

Chap. 5:9-14 have been objected to on the ground that, while from their present position the import of these verses ought to be promissory, it is, in point of fact, of a minatory character, it not being said that Israel will voluntarily relinquish the objects specified, but that Jehovah will exterminate them.<sup>103</sup> This overlooks that in ver. 13 the voluntary relinquishment on Israel’s part is implied in the

words, “thou shalt no more worship the work of thine hands.” The ideal Israel is here addressed, who over against the wicked mass would consider even the violent extirpation of idolatry and of the implements of war a blessing. It should also be noticed that according to ver. 15 this act will secure Israel’s safety in the judgment which is to come upon the nations.

The last section of Micah’s book in which we are interested, chap. 7:7-20, does not call for such extended discussion as it seemed necessary to give to chaps. 4 and 5. Although the promise in this case follows quite abruptly on the denunciation of 7:1-6, yet it is carefully adjusted to the latter by the statement that a severe punishment must precede its fulfillment. Only over against “the enemy,” the world-power, Israel is righteous. Now the question is, whether the standpoint of the speaker is the exile of reality or the exile anticipated in imagination. It should be observed that the writer does not speak for his own person, but in the name of the people. This self-identification with Israel may have made it easier for him to forget his actual present and to enter into the spirit of a future situation. So far as we know nothing has been pointed out inconsistent with this interpretation of the piece. On the other hand, the critical exegesis has been quite uncertain in defining the situation of the writer. At first it was thought that the exile satisfied all the requirements. But the omission of all reference to Babylon in ver. 12 is decidedly unfavorable to this view. Hence, and in order to explain the broad contrast between Zion and the Gentile world, it has been found necessary to bring the prophecy down to the post-exilic period.<sup>104</sup> But here again ver. 11 forbids to go beyond the time of Nehemiah when the walls were built. Was it as natural at that time to predict the return of the exiled people in the terms of ver. 12 as it was from the standpoint of Micah? The same applies to the prayer for the restitution of Bashan and Gilead in ver. 14, inasmuch as the depopulation of these regions must have been fresh in the memory of the prophet. The words, “as in the days of old,” explain themselves from the fact that not so much the possession as the passing of these regions into the possession of Israel, is uppermost in the writer’s mind. Cf. ver. 15, “as in the days of thy coming forth out of the land of Egypt,” etc. Nowack renders ver. 14b, “which dwell solitarily in the wilderness in the midst of fruitful fields,” and thinks that this proves the writer’s standpoint to be post-exilic, because Israel is here represented as returned from exile but in possession only of the waste and infertile places, whilst all around the fruitful regions are occupied by the enemies. Apart, however, from the uncertainty of the exegesis, there is evidently a progress in the discourse between ver. 12, which predicts the return, and 14, which pictures the situation in which the returned exiles will find themselves. This situation is explained by ver. 13: when they come they will find the land desolate; hence the further prayer that the ancient conditions may be restored. Thus it is unnecessary to give ארץ in ver. 13 the sense of “earth,” a rendering which makes the statement come in very abruptly.<sup>105</sup>

The closing part of Micah’s book, if its genuineness can be vindicated, will be seen to have an important bearing on the origin of the monotheism of the early prophets. According to the critical hypothesis, in its most widely accepted form, the monotheistic tendency of these writers was a correlate of the conviction that Jehovah would deal with Israel on the principle of strict justice. Specifically as the God of righteousness pure and simple, Jehovah appeared unique among the gods, therefore the only God. Micah 7:18-20 formally reverses this reasoning. Jehovah is unique not because He refuses but because He delights to exercise grace: “Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth iniquity, and passeth by the transgression of the remnant of his heritage? He retaineth not his anger forever, because He delighteth in mercy. He will turn again, and have compassion upon us; He will tread our iniquities under foot: and will cast all our sins into the depths of the sea. Thou wilt

perform the truth to Jacob, the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our fathers from the days of old.”

(Footnotes)

<sup>1</sup> An exception is Sörensen, *Juda und die Assyrische Weltmacht*, p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Z.A.W., 4:269-271. Similarly Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 178.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 28:29, 29:24, 30:20, 21.

<sup>5</sup> So Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, 44; Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 173.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Micah 5:4.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dillmann's *Commentar*, p. 285; Bredenkamp's *Commentar*, p. 190.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Duhm's remarks on 32:1 (p. 210): "This verse presents a strong obstacle to the post-exilic dating of the prophecy; not as if it would have been impossible for a post-exilic writer to speak of a *future* king, but because he could not have spoken of him after such a matter-of-fact fashion, and would inevitably have made the Messiah more conspicuous."

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the excellent remarks of Hackmann on this point, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 98. The case of chap. 3:16-4:6 is entirely parallel to that of the present passage. Guthe tries to make out a difference, because in chap. 3:16 *seq.* a judgment is threatened which strikes at the specific evil denounced, whilst here the punishment lacks all adaptation to the sin of the women. On the explanation suggested above this difference does not exist.

<sup>10</sup> Duhm surmises that the style of ver. 9 is that of the conventional beginning of a popular song and remarks: "The discovery that there must be imitation of some other passage in this is not calculated to increase our respect for criticism."

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Micah 3:18; Jer. 26:12.

<sup>12</sup> Still a different view of the relation of the two passages is taken by Cheyne, who thinks that 32:15 is the older one, and that both speak of a raising of conditions above their normal level. Cheyne further suggests that the writer of 29:17 took כַּרְמֶל in 32:15 for the ridge of Mt. Carmel and hence substituted Lebanon for מְדַבֵּר, the sense being that Lebanon will in the future have vines not only on its slopes, but on its summit, and Carmel become so thickly set with noble trees as to resemble a forest. This misunderstanding of 32:15 would of course exclude the authorship of Isaiah. But the variation between Lebanon and מְדַבֵּר need not have had this origin. Both signify wild regions. And the use of מְדַבֵּר in his model would of itself have been sufficient to warn the writer that כַּרְמֶל was not intended as a proper name. Apart from this peculiar exegesis, the main point of Cheyne's view, viz., that both passages refer to an improvement of conditions, offers no obstacle to the genuineness of either, except it be held that Isaiah could not have twice expressed the same thought.

<sup>13</sup> Duhm has well shown that this phrase is not intended as an indefinite oracular statement (so Stade), but resembles the German *über Jahr und Tag*, being equivalent to the less idiomatic phrase of 29:1.

<sup>14</sup> Cheyne goes no farther than: "It is tempting but unnecessary to bring down the date as low as the oppression of the Jews by Artaxerxes Ochus."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Tiele, *Babylonisch-assyrische Geschichte*, 1:292.

<sup>16</sup> Tiele proposes to reverse the order of 2 Kings 18:17-37 and 19:10-13, making the embassy from Libna precede the sending of the army corps from Lachish. His reason for this is twofold: 1. Because the Assyrians could not reach Lachish except by way of Libna; of this I am not competent to judge. 2. Because the sending of letters obviously represents the first mild attempt to reduce Hezekiah to submission, whilst the dispatch of an army corps marks a second more vigorous step of procedure. Against this it should be observed, that Sennacherib, after hearing of Tirhaka's approach and perceiving the necessity of withdrawing the troops sent to Jerusalem and concentrating his forces, would naturally before doing so make a last effort to obtain some result from his expedition, even though he could hardly expect a bare message to succeed when the appearance of his soldiers had failed.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Bleck's *Einleitung*, 256.

<sup>18</sup> That, while denying the genuineness of the discourse, Cheyne yet acknowledges its natural connection with the history of Isaiah's time in the form above stated, shows how plainly the situation of the year 701 is written on its very face.

<sup>19</sup> *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 169, 170.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Dillmann's *Commentar*, p. 293.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. what has been said above on chap. 32:1.

<sup>22</sup> Of course the concrete enemies which the prophet has in mind and which form the substratum of his typical vision of the future are the Assyrians. But the situation was so self-explanatory that it was unnecessary to mention them by name.

<sup>23</sup> Vers. 13-26 are true prediction as well as vers. 1-12 and not to be assigned to a somewhat later time. There is no necessity for bisecting a chapter which by its very form evinces its unity of composition.

<sup>24</sup> The later Jews had a crassly materialistic conception of the fiery base on which the throne of God's glory was supposed to rest and out of the stream of which angels were believed to be continually created (Cf. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen Palästinischen Theologie*, 160, 161).

<sup>25</sup> It should be observed that in chap. 6:5 also the conception of dwelling in the midst of an unclean people, as disqualifying for the vision of Jehovah, is significantly brought forward. Here nobody thinks of understanding that which terrifies Isaiah as a material fire. In like manner chap. 6:7 may be said to contain the germ of 33:15. Attention should be called to the intimate connection in which the ideas of chap. 33 stand to the fundamental teaching of Isaiah. This has been well exhibited by George Adam Smith in the *Expositor's Bible*.

<sup>26</sup> Dillmann, *Commentar*, 258.

<sup>27</sup> 28:29 has obvious points of contact with ver. 21 and still more with 29:14.

<sup>28</sup> Guthe, *Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, 28, thinks the parable is intended to justify the prophet's change from his earlier and darker representations of the judgment to the milder and more hopeful view of the later discourses in which the deliverance of Judah is promised. But to express this thought the figure would have been badly chosen, for its *point* lies precisely in the intelligence and consistency of the husbandman, who in all his doings from the very first has his eyes on the harvest. If Jehovah through the prophet had predicted at one time a severer and at another time a milder issue of His judgments, He would have shown Himself in so far lacking in such intelligence and consistency.

<sup>29</sup> Cheyne's argument against the genuineness of the parable, that it cannot have been addressed to the sinners addressed in the preceding, has no weight, because, the piece does not introduce itself as addressed to the same persons. In reference to the alleged imitation of Gen. 4:23 in ver. 23, see above; the linguistic phenomena will be discussed later; the Isaianic words are here particularly numerous.

<sup>30</sup> The dependence of ver. 28a on chap. 8:8a is doubtful, the similarity being confined to the use of the figure of the stream reaching to the neck; if real it proves nothing against the Isaianic authorship. Equally general is the resemblance between ver. 28b and chap. 29:5, which again would be conclusive only if first the secondary character of the latter verse was established.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. October number, p. 615.

<sup>32</sup> *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, p. 100, Note 2.

<sup>33</sup> Hackmann alone hazards the view that vers. 18-25 refer to Northern Israel, and omitting vers. 15 and 17 connects ver. 18 directly with ver. 16. But the fact that in chap. 8:1-8 a threatening against Syria-Ephraim is immediately followed by one against Judah renders a similar sequence here probable.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Prof. Porter in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 14.

<sup>35</sup> Duhm, to be sure, takes the impossible view that the peoples and far-off countries come under consideration only as witnesses, not as enemies to be defeated, and that the real assailants of Judah to which the oracle refers are Syria and Ephraim.

<sup>36</sup> Hackmann follows Stade in denying the genuineness of the verses.

<sup>37</sup> *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 37.

<sup>38</sup> Both Duhm and Cheyne have an original way of dividing the text. After eliminating the words **כי עמנואל**

(taking the suffix in ארצך as a corruption of כִּי) they separate vers. 8b from what precedes and assume that it is the close of a sentence of which the first part has been lost. Cheyne in particular thinks that the wings spoken of are Jehovah's wings and that their stretching out over the land is meant in a favorable sense. Against this proposal cf. Kittel in the sixth edition of Dillmann's Commentary, *in loco*.

<sup>39</sup> Prof. Porter thinks that no argument in favor of Isaiah's reputation as a promissory prophet can be drawn from Jer. 26:17-19. He argues that, if the friends of Jeremiah did not appeal to Isaiah as a prophet of evil, at least his enemies did not appeal to him either as a prophet of the inviolability of Zion. But the two cases stand not alike. On the critical hypothesis Isaiah's prophecies were well-nigh entirely prophecies of destruction. How could the friends of Jeremiah have failed to shield their protégé with this great name, if such was really the historical tradition concerning Isaiah? In our view Isaiah's prophecies contained the announcements of ruin and of salvation for Jerusalem in close juxtaposition and curiously intermingled. This made them an unsuitable weapon in the hands of those who attacked Jeremiah.

<sup>40</sup> Cheyne puts it in 711 as a companion piece to chap. 20. He combines it with the prophecy 10:5-9, 13, 14, of which, in his view, it once formed the close.

<sup>41</sup> According to a third view represented by Duhm and Dillmann, chap. 17:12-14 form the introduction to chap. 18. In this case it would belong, together with the latter, to the Sennacherib-period.

<sup>42</sup> Cheyne would put the embassy described in chap. 18 as sent from Egypt after the embassy sent from Judah to Egypt according to chap. 30, 31. Hackmann adopts the reverse order, and this is to be preferred, because it is easier to understand how Isaiah could first speak of the Egyptians in the tone of chap. 18 before as yet serious thoughts were entertained at Jerusalem of an alliance, and afterwards when the secret negotiations with that power were in full progress in the totally different tone of chap. 28-31, than *vice versa*. Cf. *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, p. 98.

<sup>43</sup> The exegesis of Sörensen, who finds in chap. 18 the prediction of a military defeat of Sennacherib's host and thinks that the approach of the Egyptian army produced such confidence in Isaiah, has found no acceptance.

<sup>44</sup> *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, 103-107.

<sup>45</sup> Duhm and Cheyne reject vers. 10-12, but on insufficient grounds. The term "idols" (if we do not emend the text of ver. 10 by reading לַמַּמְלָכֹת הָאֱלֹהִים for לַמַּמְלָכֹת הָאֱלֹהִים) does not make the Assyrian king speak from the standpoint of monotheism, but is the natural result of his having to speak with the vocabulary of Isaiah. For the expression of the thought that all the other gods were powerless before his gods no stronger word offered itself than אֱלֹהִים, elsewhere used by the prophet to describe the powerlessness of the idols as contrasted with Jehovah. The term may have had a stronger meaning when thus predicated by Isaiah of false gods, but this would not disqualify it for forcibly expressing the conviction of the pagan king that the gods of other nations were practically nothing when arrayed against his own.

<sup>46</sup> Cheyne, *Introduction to the Book of Isaiah*, 135.

<sup>47</sup> Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaja*, 108.

<sup>48</sup> Sörensen thinks that the words "tomorrow we die" are simply the proverbial epicurean justification for enjoying the present life; Cheyne assumes that the Jerusalemites resorted to the banquet-table to drown their apprehension of a possible return of the enemy. Both seem to me less plausible than the ordinary view given above.

<sup>49</sup> Whether vers. 1-14 are one continuous discourse or consist of two distinct prophecies is difficult to decide. In the former case the present vers. 1, 2 must be a present of retrospective vision; though speaking after the deliverance, Isaiah transports himself back to the time when the city was still besieged and the people at their mad carousal. Then from ver. 6 onward this vivid realization of a present scene gives way to the calmer description of the past. In the other case vers. 1-5 were actually spoken during the siege and subsequently prefixed in writing to the discourse of vers. 6-14, dating from after the deliverance.

<sup>50</sup> For earlier defenders of this view, cf. Ryssel, p. 10.

<sup>51</sup> Wellhausen, in the fourth edition of Bleck's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (1878), p. 425 (note).

<sup>52</sup> According to Oort, in both passages of Genesis the words "the same is Bethlehem" are due to a

misunderstanding of the redactor, or are at least inserted by a later hand.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Gen. 35:16-23; the words, “Ophel of the daughter of Zion,” are made an interpolation like Lehem in 5:1.

<sup>54</sup> Oort assumes that the combination of Bethlehem and Ephrathah had no basis in fact, but was entirely due to the post-exilic scribes, who first changed the meaning of Micah’s prophecy in favor of David’s house, and then introduced the identification of Ephrathah and Bethlehem thus obtained into the Genesis-passages, 1 Sam. 17:12, Jos. 15:59 (Sept.) and into the book of Ruth (*Theol. Tijdschr.*, 5:510).

<sup>55</sup> On p. 273 *seq.* of the same volume Oort formally acknowledges the shipwreck of his hypothesis, but also declares that, after its abandonment, Micah 4, 5, become more of a mystery than ever. This statement is followed (p. 279 *seq.*) by some remarks of DeGoeje, proposing several emendations of the text and in general endeavoring to elucidate the connection of thought on the assumption of its genuineness as a whole. In reference to the Ephrath-question, DeGoeje suggests that it is not necessary to assume a Benjaminitic place of that name, since in Genesis after all the Judean Ephrath may be referred to, the expression *יְרֵאֵת כְּבָרָת* “some way” (to Ephrath) being perhaps sufficiently indefinite in character to apply equally well to comparatively long as to shorter distances. A third part of the article consists of some further observations by Kuenen, who insists upon the two Ephraths and upon considering the words “this is Bethlehem” in Genesis a mistaken geographical gloss. While rejecting most of DeGoeje’s conjectures, Kuenen makes a valuable contribution of his own toward the better understanding of chaps. 4 and 5.

<sup>56</sup> It will be observed that this was written before Stade himself had fully grasped the new critical principle of the one-sidedness of *all* early prophecy as a prophecy of judgment pure and simple. He here still assumes that Micah appeared unique in this respect to the post-exilic reader. The present idea is that Hosea as well as Amos, Isaiah almost as much as Micah, were found deficient in the element of promise and were all expanded and supplemented accordingly.

<sup>57</sup> *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1881), pp. 443, 444. For a later view of Giesebrecht, cf. *Beiträge zur Jesaja Kritik*.

<sup>58</sup> *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (1883), p. 4 *seq.*

<sup>59</sup> *Z. A. W.* (1884), p. 88 (note).

<sup>60</sup> *Z. A. W.* (1884), pp. 277-291.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Robertson Smith on Micah in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, where the same proposal to excise 4:11-13 had been made.

<sup>62</sup> *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments* (1881), p. 314; cf. *Z. A. W.* (1883), p. 1 *seq.*

<sup>63</sup> *The Prophets of Israel* (1882), L. vii (Notes 4 and 6). In excising 4:11-13, Robertson Smith follows Oort, without, however, approving of his general treatment of the context.

<sup>64</sup> *The Cambridge Bible for Schools, Micah* (1882), p. 34.

<sup>65</sup> *De Profetie van Micha*, pp. 65-108.

<sup>66</sup> *Historisch-Kritisch Onderzoek*, 2:369-380.

<sup>67</sup> One more defender of the authenticity of the entire prophecy arose in Wildeboer (*De Letterkunde des Ouden Verbonds*, 1893, pp. 174-183). On most points this author sides with Ryssel, although showing some inclination to follow Kuenen in his rejection of the passages mentioned above. An earlier treatise of Wildeboer on Micah (1884) is not accessible to me. The genuineness of chaps. 1-5 was further upheld by Pont in *Theologische Studien* (1888, 1889). He assigns 6:1-7:6 to the reign of Manasseh and 7:7-20 to the post-exilic age.

<sup>68</sup> Roorda explained as follows: The false prophet admits that Jerusalem may be besieged, but maintains that it cannot be conquered, because the enemy will be compelled to raise the siege when numberless troops of warriors under the leadership of God Himself stream together to protect the walls and to beat back the enemy.

<sup>69</sup> Ewald assumed that Micah originally wrote the words in the margin as an example of false prophesying, and that against his intention they were afterwards put into the text by a transcriber.

<sup>70</sup> Kleinert sought to make the above interpretation plausible by rendering the closing words of ver. 11, “and were to prophesy to this people.” As Ryssel shows, this rendering is excluded by the construction.

<sup>71</sup> *The Prophets of Israel*, 2nd ed., pp. 290-292; Introduction, p. xxvii.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Nowack's Commentary *in loco*.

<sup>73</sup> For the various possibilities of interpretation cf. Elhorst, pp. 43-48. Ryssel compares Hos. 2:1, 2. But even if "the children of Israel" in ver. 10 be here referred to Northern-Israel, and the gathering together of Israel and Judah of ver. 11 be understood as taking place in Palestine, it should be remembered that Hosea's perspective, especially in the first part of his book, represents an earlier stage of prophecy than that of Micah. To him the exile of Judah had not been as clearly revealed as to the latter, so that his picture of the restoration could more easily assume the form of a bringing back of exiled Israel to Judah. In the case of Micah such indefiniteness of speech was no longer possible.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. 3:8, where a similar contrast is marked by וְאִלֵּים אֲנֹכִי.

<sup>75</sup> Quoted by Hengstenberg, *Christology* (English translation), 1:411.

<sup>76</sup> In reference to the various attempts to find for 2:12, 13, another more suitable place in the Book of Micah, cf. Ryssel, p. 213. Ryssel thinks Steiner's proposal to put the verses after 4:8 not without plausibility. Elhorst places our passage between 3:11 and 12. On this cf. the criticism of Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift* (1893), p. 251.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1893, p. 263.

<sup>78</sup> Kusters, *l.c.*, thinks that all the passages quoted from Isaiah as bearing on this question prove no more than that Jehovah surpasses in power the gods of the Gentiles, and is able to protect his people from their attacks. Isaiah, however, not merely teaches that Jehovah can protect Israel from other nations, but also that Jehovah summons and brings these nations to execute judgment upon Israel, which is quite a different matter, and goes far beyond the theology Kusters would ascribe to that prophet. And this is true of Micah as well as of Isaiah.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Nowack, *Z. A. W.*, 1884, p. 280.

<sup>80</sup> Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1893, p. 264.

<sup>81</sup> Though there is nothing about the disputed clause to suggest its spuriousness, it should not, on the other hand, be allowed to prejudice against the genuineness of its surroundings those who find it unacceptable on *a priori* grounds. The three words can be taken out without destroying the sense of what remains. "Thou shalt dwell in the field; there shall Jehovah redeem thee," would on this view mean that the daughter of Zion must be reduced to a state of helplessness and utter exposure, symbolized by the open field as over against the fortified city. This thought is in full harmony with Micah's judgment on fortresses and cities elsewhere. Hosea 2:16 would be a parallel. Cf. Kuenen, in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1872, p. 298, against a proposal of DeGoeje to include in the alleged gloss also the following words up to ver. 11.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Keil's Commentary *in loco*.

<sup>83</sup> That this is actually the point of view from which the whole prophecy of vers. 11-13 wishes to be understood may be seen from the closing words of ver. 13; the gain and substance of the nations are devoted to Jehovah, i.e., to His sanctuary, because they attempted to rob Him and to defile His dwelling-place.

<sup>84</sup> Another way of removing the conflict is to take the two prophecies as referring to different times. Thus Hengstenberg finds in vers. 9, 10, the Babylonian captivity predicted; in vers. 11-13, the Maccabean conflict; in ver. 14 the Roman oppression. Others, like Caspari and Keil, while not assuming a precise chronological succession, yet insist upon placing the event of vers. 11-13 as an eschatological episode between the exile and the Messianic developments described in ver. 1 *seq.* The weakness of this exegesis lies in its rendering of וְעַתָּה in ver. 11 as "then," whereas in vers. 9 and 14 it obviously means "now" and designates the writer's real or ideal present. Since the three "nows" are correlated they must be rendered alike in each case.

<sup>85</sup> This would not apply to Gen. 48:7, which is assigned to P, but Stade gives everything after וְרַךְ to the redactor who copied from the passage in chap. 35.

<sup>86</sup> *Z. A. W.*, 1883, p. 4 *seq.*

<sup>87</sup> *Z. A. W.*, 1884, p. 293.

<sup>88</sup> Thus the question whether the words הוּא בְּתֵל חָם in the Genesis passages are a gloss is entirely immaterial. We do not believe this assumption necessary. DeGoeje's explanation, given in a previous note, seems quite

satisfactory. It is significant that neither in Jeremiah nor in 1 Sam. 10:2 is the name Ephrath mentioned in connection with Rachel's grave. But even if the disputed words are a gloss and express a mistaken identification of Bethlehem-Judah with the Ephrath near which Rachel was buried, the glossator could not have made the mistake unless Bethlehem had been called Ephrath in his day. The whole question, therefore, reduces itself to this,—whether this designation as it was then current reached back into ancient time or was a novel usage. Equally immaterial is the question whether the original reading in Micah 5:1 is Beth Ephrathah or Bethlehem-Ephrathah. According to Roorda the first Hebrew text was **בֵּית אֶפְרַתָּה** and the original rendering of the Septuagint corresponding to this οἶκος Ἐφραθα. Then **בֵּית לַחֵם** was written in the margin of the Hebrew in explanation. A copyist took this to mean that **בֵּית לַחֵם** should be read **בֵּית לַחֵם** and made the change. Thus originated the present Hebrew text. A comparison of the original Septuagint with it suggested as a compromise βηθλεεμ οἶκος Ἐφραθα, which is the present Greek text. Roorda's conjecture may possibly be correct. It is equally possible, however, that the Septuagint text contains an explanation of the Hebrew as it now stands. In that case the latter may well be original. Cf. the combination Bethlehem-Judah.

<sup>89</sup> There is more reason to believe that **אֶפְרַתָּי** belongs to the original text (whatever may be the truth about **זָה**) and that the words **מִבֵּית לַחֵם** were added either by the writer or by a later hand to guard against the misinterpretation of **אֶפְרַתָּי** as “Ephraimite.”

<sup>90</sup> Kuenen, of course, makes 1 Chron. 2, as a whole, a tendency-piece. Cf. *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1872, p. 49.

<sup>91</sup> No weight can be attached to Stade's argument, based on the constant use of **אֶפְרַתָּי** = Ephraimite, because this adjective may well have borne a double meaning. Indeed this must be assumed on Stade's own theory, since the word must have belonged to both the place Ephrath and the larger territory of Ephraim.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Volz, p. 67, who admits that an indirect polemic against the Davidic nobility must be implied. Elhorst thinks he has discovered a way in which the identification of Bethlehem and Ephrathah may be post-exilic and yet Micah the author of 5:1. Reading Beth-Ephrath, he suggests that David's family, though residing in Bethlehem, came originally from Ephrath, near Ramah, and was for this reason called Ephrathite. A post-exilic copyist then would have made the mistake of identifying Bethlehem and Ephrath. The difficulty about this is that Micah, a Judean prophet, would hardly have designated the royal house by a name recalling its Ephraimite descent. Cf. Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1893, p. 263.

<sup>93</sup> Nowack, *Z. A. W.*, 1884, p. 284; Elhorst, p. 52.

<sup>94</sup> Pont finds in Micah 1:7 an allusion to the immoral significance of the Asherim. This possible allusion would become an explicit reference if, with Wellhausen, we were to change **אֶת־נִיֹּה** in **אֲשֵׁרִיָּה**, a conjecture which has much in its favor; the term “hires” appears strange between “graven images” and “idols,” and the “burning with fire” goes well with the Asherim which it is proposed to substitute.

<sup>95</sup> Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1893, p. 267, suggests that the reference may be to the use of Teraphim, and that the Asherah cannot be meant, because the latter had nothing to do with the giving of oracles.

<sup>96</sup> By making Isa. 19:19 late, the critics admit that the interpretation of the Mazzebah here as a symbolic stone must be allowed.

<sup>97</sup> Jer. 2:27 is no more decisive or explicit than Hos. 4:12.

<sup>98</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 1:184, 460. Cf. also Meyer, *Geschichte des Alterthums*, 1:248.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Wolf-Baudissin in Herzog's *Real Encyclopedia*, 3rd ed., 2nd Vol., Art. “Astarte” and “Aschera,” p. 158; Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, 1:286.

<sup>100</sup> The critics have all the more reason to take the view given above regarding the prophetic silence on the Asherah, since their J and E of the Hexateuch, assigned to this same period, are supposed to have changed the Mazzeboth into memorial stones for the purpose of obliterating their original meaning. Since no such attempt is made in reference to the Asherim, J and E must have either thought that these were more innocent than the Mazzeboth, which is impossible to believe, or must have thought them too inherently pagan to admit of a similar idealization. If then the silence of J and E is to be explained from the utter disapproval of the Asherah, why cannot the silence of the early prophets be construed in the same manner?

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Kuenen in *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 6:290.

<sup>102</sup> This point has been rightly insisted upon by Elhorst, pp. 46-48, 54-58. Elhorst has also shown that neither

Stade nor Kuenen succeeds in making out a much better continuity of thought than exists at present. Stade's 4:1-4, 11-5:3, 6-14 is hardly more rational than the text as it stands. Especially עתה and v. 2 cause difficulty on Stade's view. Kuenen's hypothesis does not explain what was the motive for the insertion of 4:6-8, and the removal of these verses leaves the subject addressed in ver. 9 in doubt. Nowack finally and Volz do not make clear how the words which they tentatively concede to Micah could have existed in or been reduced to their isolated fragmentary state, nor do they make intelligible the process through which this nucleus passed so as to attain its present size and composition.

<sup>103</sup> Kusters, *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1893, p. 265.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaja-Kritik*, p. 217.

<sup>105</sup> Ryssel has already called attention to the following points of contact between 7:7-20 and the other parts of the book: ימי עולם in ver. 14 cf. 5:1; מעלל ver. 13 cf. 2:7 and 3:4; the contrast between Zion and the world is conceived of in 7:10 after the same manner as in 4:11-13; בוא עד, ver. 12 cf. 4:8b; the shepherd-figure of 7:14 recalls 4:6 and 5:3. Little can be built on the play in ver. 18 on the name of Micah ("who is a God like unto Thee?"). The critics might make use of this to explain how the later prophecy came to be put on the name of Micah.