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THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH MESSIANISM

A thesis

submitted to the faculty of Concordia Seminary

St. Louis, Mo.,

in partial fulfillment of the conditions pertaining to

the attainment of the degree of

MASTER OF SACRED THEOLOGY

by

Arthur Klinik ^{Ph.D.} 1900

June 6, 1925.

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BIOGRAPHY

I was born at Elmira, Ontario January 19, 1900. After four years in the Elmira Public School, I entered the newly-opened St. Paul's Lutheran day-school of my home congregation, from which I was graduated in 1914. In the autumn of the same year I entered the Elmira High School. The regular four-year course was completed in three years, thus enabling me to attend the Kitchener Collegiate Institute and take one year of special work in mathematics, physics and modern languages. From the beginning of my High School course I had fully intended to enter the College of Engineering of the University of Toronto, and had chosen my courses with this in view.

But in the early part of 1918, a severe attack of pneumonia, followed by serious complications, which kept me confined for three months, turned my thoughts in a different direction. My father promised to send me through one of our Synodical institutions. Springfield looked inviting at first, on account of my previous education, but by late in the summer I had made up my mind to enter Fort Wayne College. This, however, was not an easy thing to do. The immigration officials were very strict and special papers had to be secured to enable me to leave the country, so November had come before everything was settled.

Entering the Fort Wayne Concordia a month before the Christmas Holidays, I found the course very strange, since the whole educational system differed from that of my High School days. Much of my technical knowledge was of no use at all to me. I had dropped Latin two years before and Greek was an altogether unknown quantity. But the greatest difficulty of all was that German was used as a medium of instruction in both these branches, and at first most of my time was wasted in trying to acquire the German technical terms, and in drilling the grammatical rules for those things which, in my previous Latin reading, had become second nature to me. The result was a great deal of discouragement, especially since the influenza claimed me twice -- in December and in February, and I finally had to be sent home on account of lung trouble early in May.

In the fall of 1919 I returned and entered Secunda (first-year college), and gradually became accustomed to the change, though I could take no more than passing interest in Greek, with the result that, upon the completion of my final year at Fort Wayne, I found my grades all good or excellent except Greek and in that I had failed. It was then that Doctor Zucker did me a favor which I have appreciated more and more every year since. He called me to his house and told me that he could as easily have given a passing grade to me as well as to some others, but that he would like to see me learn Greek for my own benefit in later life. That summer I took a correspondence course with a school in Toronto drilling the fundamentals of the

language, and easily passed the fall examinations. Ever since, Greek has been one of my favorite branches.

In the fall of 1921 I entered Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, from which I was then graduated and received my Bachelor's degree in 1924.

This dissertation is the result of my year of graduate work in Old and New Testament Exegesis and History under Profs. Fuhrbringer, Arndt, Gruebner and Kretzmann, supplemented by frequent visits to the Seminary and City Libraries. An attempt has been made to give due credit to those authorities from whom material has been taken. The Scripture references have been incorporated in the text, all others in footnotes.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JEWISH INSTITUTIONS

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FOREWORD

The Messianic idea of the Old Testament has no parallel in other ancient religions. In spite of the assertions of the "Religionsgeschichtliche Schule", who want to place the prophets of the ancient Scriptures on a line with other ancient seers and mystics,¹ an unbiased reader of the religious literature of antiquity cannot but be struck by the vast differences between the spirit of the Old Testament, and of heathen writers. The Gentile nations, despairing in the present, and heedless of the future, gloried in their past, in which they saw the perfection of all happiness, national, social, and religious. The Greek and Roman classics knew of five successive ages and races of men, beginning with the golden age, "when men lived happily and painlessly on the fruits of the untilled soil, passing away in dreamless sleep to become the guardian angels of the world, until the iron age, the most degenerate of all in which the authors themselves lived."²

The ancient people of God, too, know of a golden age, but this age is not to be found in the heavy past. All the thoughts of the people, from the pure biblical ideals to the sensuous apocalyptic and rabbinical hopes, point to the future - all are centred in the Messianic idea in some form or other. How this idea originated, how the details were gradually filled in to form a complete picture, which was then completely fulfilled by the advent of Christ and his Kingdom, is to be the purpose of the two introductory chapters. The remainder of this treatise is to

1. Doane: "Bible Myths and their Parallels in other Religions" p. 193, 521f.
2. Greenstone: "The Messianic idea in Jewish History" p. 22

be devoted to the extra-biblical development of canonical Messianic material, supplemented as it was by the imaginations and desires of numerous writers and teachers, until at the time when the Messiah actually did appear, the clear prophetic utterances, which pointed so unmistakably to him, were completely disregarded, while the devout Jew went on hoping and praying and continues to hope to this day, for a Messiah who will never come.

THE HISTORY OF PROPHECY

Prophetly understood, the whole Old Testament is full of Christ, and all is intended to point to Christ as our only Savior. It is an organic unity. The predictions are not isolated, but features of one grand prophetic picture. Its ritual and institutions form a part of one glorious system. Its history is not a chain of loosely-connected events, but each event in that chain has its purpose, and is indispensable, supporting as it does that line of prophesy regarding the Redeemer which is woven like a golden thread through every link. Thus the main purpose of the Old Testament, of its history, its types, its predictions, was to prepare the peoples' minds for the reception of Christ. From a comparison of the Prophecy with the Fulfillment when the Messiah should come, they were to be able to recognize the true Deliverer, and definitely to renounce all false Messianic aspirants.

Thus, at first vague and indistinct, the idea becomes clearer as the ages roll on. From the first promise of the Woman's Seed the revelation progresses, becoming ever more definite, ever more detailed, until in the predictions of the Messianic Psalm and Prophecy, we see Christ "placarded before our very eyes" in colors surpassing in vividness even the accounts of the eye-witnesses who wrote the Gospels. We shall now briefly trace this revelation in its expansion from age to age.

Genesis connects the promise of redemption immediately with the narrative of the Fall. Even before the curse of God struck the guilty

human race, the promise of the "Woman's Seed who shall bruise the serpent's head", was given (Gen. 3:15), to strengthen them in the sorrow, pain, and suffering which their disobedience had brought upon them. "Seed" was promised to them. They were not to die at once as God had threatened. And this promised seed was to crush the serpent's head, to deprive the devil of all power over the human race. Dim though it was, this promise supported them in the trials which were at hand. Evidently they expected it to be fulfilled at once, for when Eve had given birth to her first son, she cried exultingly, "I have the man, the Lord!" She was soon disillusioned, yet the hope remained.

Among Seth's family the promise was kept alive. Already during the life-time of Seth's son "men began to call upon the name of the Lord", to preach the good news of the coming Deliverer publicly.(Gen. 4:26). From this family came Enosh, who, according to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (11:5) had this saving faith in the promise, a fact which is expanded in Jude (14f) "And Enosh also, the seventh from Adam, prophesied ... behold the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints, to execute judgment upon all". So this Enosh believed both in the judgment that would strike the wicked, and in the redemption promised to the faithful. The over-increasing wickedness of the great majority of men only keyed up the hope of the believing remnant to a higher pitch. Lamech evidently believed that his son Heah was the promised seed, when he said (Gen. 5:29) "This name shall comfort us concerning the work and toil of our hands". The name Comforter, here implied for the first time, later

became a common Messianic designation. (Is. 61:2, John 14:16). But even now the hope was not realized. Noah, though a "preacher of righteousness" (II Peter 2:5), was not the Messiah.

The flood rooted out all except one family, and, in this family, the line of Shem was designated by Noah's blessing (Gen. 9:26) as that of the Messiah. "So Noah died and became the heir of the righteousness which is by faith." 1 (Heb. 11:7).

The same promise was given to Abraham in a more definite form. He was called (Gen. 12:1-3, Heb. 11:8) to go out of his homeland into a new country. Here he was a sojourner all his life, and received a renewal of the promise at each turning-point in his career. We have the testimony of the author of Hebrews that he "looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God" (Heb. 11:10). It was through faith in the promise that Sarah, barren all her life, was able, at the very height of barrenness according to the usual lot of women, "to conceive seed" (Heb. 11:11), that seed which was finally to produce the Messiah. In Isaac the promise continued (Gen. 21:12, Heb. 11:18). Isaac conveyed it to Jacob. This patriarch prophetically blessing the heads of the twelve tribes, definitely assigned the sceptre to Judah. (Gen. 49:10). Thus the hope had been transferred from one of mankind in general, to a race (that of Shem), a tribe (Judah) but it was still vague, though not, as some would have us believe, so vague that it was not able to save those who trusted in it, as the whole eleventh chapter of Hebrews testifies.

1. That this faith had as its object the promised Messiah, the whole context in Hebrews plainly shows.

As far as has been revealed to us, the period of Moses contained the next prediction of the Messianic age, with a fuller description of the Prophet, by whom it was to be inaugurated. Moses, the legislator and leader of the Hebrews, predicted the coming of another prophet, like unto himself, whom the Lord would raise up unto them in a future age. (Deut. 18:15-18). At the same time the law, the types and the whole symbolical nature of the priesthood and sacrifice pointed forward to a greater and more perfect priest and priesthood. (Compare the priesthood of Christ, as illustrated in the Epistle to the Hebrews). Here too, the unwilling prophecy of the heathen seer Balaam looked forward in confirmation of all prophecies up to this time, to the triumph of the Hebrew race in the person of that "star of Jacob" and "sceptre of Israel" who should overcome the powers of the Earth. (Numb. 24:17).

The period of the Judges appears to have been dark on the whole, yet at all times the promise was kept alive in some part of the nation. The priestly functions continued to be exercised though at times the outlook must have been gloomy indeed. Yet these dismal days must have reminded the people of the promise, and no doubt paved the way for the revival of the whole worship which began under Samuel and continued during the reigns of Saul, David and Solomon.

So far we find only the prophetic and priestly elements of the Messiah's work emphasized, with the regal element faintly alluded to in Jacob's blessing of Judah. The establishment of the Kingdom gave occasion for the expansion of this idea. The promised seed, the prophet, the priest,

was to be a King, of the family of David. In connection with his reign, therefore, we have distinct predictions of the Messiah's authority, of the hostility of the Kings of the Earth, of his sceptre of righteousness, of his victory over death and of his dominion, including both Israel and the Gentiles. (cf. Psalm 2, 16, 45, 110). David himself received the promise, (II Sam. 7:11f) that, when he has died the Lord will raise up his seed after him, a man who is to build the house of the Lord and whose Kingdom is to be established forever. He is to be chastened with the rods of men, yet God's mercy will not depart from him. David recognizes these features, and in deep humility exclaims, "Who am I, and what is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? This is the manner of men, the Lord God!" It is commonly said that this is only a prophecy regarding Solomon, but, if David were only looking for something earthly, he would scarcely exult as he did. No, in this descendant of his, he saw the God-man, the promised Messiah, ONE¹ of his descendants as we see from I Chron. 17:11. And this interpretation is the only one which can bear the light of Acts 2:30, where Peter represents David as "being a prophet, and knowing that God had sworn an oath to him that of the fruit of his loins according to the flesh he would raise up Christ to sit on his throne".

Thus the character and kingdom of the coming one were gradually brought into view. It remained for the Psalms, most of which were composed during this period, to expand the picture, and above all to impress it on the minds of the people. The Psalms passed into the liturgy of

1. Rationalistic exegeses would have us believe that this refers to the whole Jewish race instead of to Christ. See Briggs: "Messianic Prophecy" p. 150f.

the Temple service, and thus sang themselves and their precious contents into the hearts of the devout worshippers. Very beautiful is the ever growing distinctness of the prophecies. In Psalm 16:4f the Messiah is a man who, leading a spotless life, fulfils the law. We hear him expressing his willingness to come and do the Father's will (40:7), he is a preacher of righteousness (40:9), declaring God's faithfulness and salvation. He is a man zealous for the cause of Jehovah, and is therefore hated (35:19). His enemies mistreat him (39:21-25), one of his own followers betrays him, his own familiar friend whom he trusted and who ate at his table (41:9), gives him over into the hands of his enemies. He is rejected by the people (118:32), he suffers untold agony and torture (22), he commends his departing spirit to God; he dies, yet death cannot hold him. Psalm 13:10 gives the promise of the resurrection of God's Holy One. He ascends to heaven (68:18) and is exalted to the right hand of God, while his subsequent glory and majesty, ruling as he does over the Kings of the earth, recurs again and again. At the same time his priestly function is not neglected - he remains a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek (110:4f).

Not only in the Psalms which are clearly Messianic, but throughout the Psalter we find the Messiah portrayed. This book alone ought to have enabled the thoughtful reader to get a clear enough portrait to recognize the Messiah.

The glory of the reigns of David and Solomon soon faded. Human tyranny, as experienced with ever intensified rigor during the period

of the later Kings, only served to throw the Messianic hope into clearer relief. In contrast to the present oppression was seen the glory of Messiah's Kingdom. The ever-increasing idolatry and wickedness of the race must have brought home to the true believers their utter unworthiness of God's grace, and stimulated their longing for the Redeemer, with his gracious teaching and priestly intercession. It was in this period of decline and apostasy, ending with the return from the Babylonian captivity, that we find a Messianic consciousness which rivals that of the earlier Psalms.

Practically all of the prophets bear testimony, in more or less clear tones, to some phase or other of the Messiah's life and work. Some only bring in a few remarks. Others, like Isaiah and Micah, are very complete. Many things, apparently contradictory and irreconcilable, are foretold as referring to one great Deliverer, whose dignity, whose character and whose office are altogether peculiar and in whom the fate of the whole human race is bound up. Many passages, which rationalistic interpreters of all ages, from the Rabbis to the modernists, have twisted out of all proportion, simply will not bear any other application, they clearly testify of a Messiah¹. The later prophecies follow two distinct lines, that of the "Suffering Servant of Jehovah" is best illustrated by Isaiah, and that of the "Son of Man" by Daniel. In the prophets, the Messiah is human, yet superhuman. He is "from everlasting" (Mic. 5:2) and, in keeping with His eternity, He possesses divine power. (Mic. 5:4). Yet he is truly human (Is. 7:14) - "born of a virgin", "Unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given" - true man - yet in the same breath he

1. For such a masterly explanation of Is. 53 as referring, not to a Messiah, but to the whole Jewish race as the "Suffering Servant", see Joseph "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 160f.

is called "the mighty God"; A person whose divine and human nature are inseparable, he is "Immanuel" God with us.

This God-man suffers, not for himself, but vicariously "Surely He has borne our griefs and carried our sorrows ... he was wounded for our transgressions ... with his stripes we are healed." The people are guilty (Is. 54:5) and have no chance of ever atoning for their sins (Is. 59:16), which he, therefore as the Servant of Jehovah takes upon himself. As such he is identified with the Son of David (Is. 55:3f). Zechariah emphasizes the priesthood of the promised one. As priest he suffers death (Zech. 12:10-13) and thus fully atones for the sins of the people. (Zech. 5). That the promised priest is the same as the promised King we see from Zech. 6:9-15. Thus the suffering servant of Jehovah is identified with both the Son of David and the Great High-priest.

But, parallel with these lines, runs the concept "Son of Man" in Daniel. He comes "in the clouds to the Ancient of Days." This person appears as a human being, yet is also divine, for only of God is it ever said that "he maketh the clouds his chariot". (Ps. 104:3). It is the voice of this Son of Man which is heard on the banks of Ulai (Dan. 8:15-17), it is he whose face has the appearance of lightning, and the voice of whose words is like the voice of a multitude. (Dan. 10:5f). Thus, though the Old Testament never states that this son of man is the Servant of Jehovah, all the principal elements are common to both conceptions.

The later prophets added a further limit to the time when the Messianic age could be expected. Daniel, in his prophecy of the "Seventy

Weeks" does nothing more than show that all is predetermined in the mind of an omniscient God,¹ while Malachi announces that a forerunner, a second Elijah will precede the Messiah and thus (Mal. 4:5f) adds another feature to the expectation. With Malachi the period of prophecy closed.

We have traced the hope from the Prot-evangel in Paradise to the last of the prophets. Elements were added from time to time, ever new, yet ever in harmony with that first promise. All has been but a gradual unveiling of a beautiful picture, a first hurried glimpse of which was given to our common parents, and then the veil again covered all, only to be removed, here a bit and there a bit, until at the end of the prophetic period every phase of the Messiah's person, work and kingdom had been foreshadowed.

Foreshadowed - but where is the reality to be found? Christians have found the prophecies all fulfilled in Christ. The Jews recognize not a single one as fulfilled in Him. Before we pass on to the Messianic ideas of later Judaism, it may be well to give a brief survey of the fulfillment of prophecy in Christ. The prophecies may be grouped under a number of general heads - those regarding the time of His appearance, His family and the place of His birth, certain facts of His life, His character, the blessings of His reign, the testimony of the forerunner and finally the testimony of Christ Himself, as well as that of the writers of the New Testament.

1. Exegeses of all schools have undertaken to explain the Seventy periods of Seven. Rationalists say that Daniel projects himself back into the time of Cyrus, and consequently the whole prophecy is nothing but "a pious fraud", (Farrar, in Expositors Bible) to convince the people that the period of oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes was now nearly over. Yet Driver admits, (Int. to O.T. p. 465) that "no satisfactory interpretation of this passage appears yet to have been found". Even orthodox exegeses offer rather fantastic mathematical calculations (see Bentflower, "In and around the Book of Daniel (1923). See also Hongstenberg and Keil (in loco). The only satisfactory explanation is that which takes the 70 weeks as a period fixed in the mind of God, yet purposely left unrevealed to men.

MESSIANIC PROPHECIES FULFILLED IN CHRIST

The first promise concerning the time of the coming of the Messiah was very indefinite. We have seen that Eve expected her son to be the Deliverer, and so it must have been all through the time of the Patriarchs. The first really clear indication of the time of His coming was the blessing of Jacob upon Judah, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come" (Gen. 49:10). Judah was to continue a united people, living under their own laws, until the coming of the promised one. This was true until the time of Jesus. Unhappily though they were at times in the free exercise of their religious and legal system, groaning as they often did under the yoke of a foreign conqueror, the people had still remained a unity, with Jerusalem as the centre, Palestine as the Holy Land, the law of Moses as the governing code. Shortly after the birth of the Savior came the beginning of the end, and then in fulfillment of the predictions, all ceased. Shiloh has come. Israel is still a people, a name, but - not a nation. Malachi, the last of the prophets, determined the time quite definitely in his prophecy of the Elijah and the sudden coming of the Lord into His temple. (Mal. 3:1). The passage is quoted by Jesus himself and referred to John the Baptist, His own forerunner. (Math. 11:10, Mark 1:2). Thus Jesus fulfils the requirements of the Messiah with regard to the time of His coming.

There are very clear indications concerning the family and

birthplace of the Coming One. He was to be an Israelite, of the tribe of Judah, of the family of David (Is. 11:1-2), and in Micah (5:2), Bethlehem is designated as the place from which the Ruler of Israel shall go forth. All these predictions have been fulfilled. We have the complete testimony of all the evangelists, especially that of Matthew and Luke, in two separate and distinct genealogies, (Math. 1 and Luke 3), in the silence of Christ's enemies when they certainly would have spoken had all these well-known prophecies not been fulfilled in Him. In Him also, two apparently irreconcilable predictions, (Micah 5:2, where Bethlehem is designated as the birthplace, and Is. 9:1-2, where the land of Zebulun and Naphtali are spoken of as especially favored) are, by the wonderful working of Providence, which brought Joseph and Mary, both inhabitants of Nazareth, to Bethlehem, beautifully harmonized. (Mat. 4: 15-16).

The obscurity, the meanness, the poverty of Messiah's external condition are surely fulfilled in the life of Jesus of Nazareth, "He hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him ... whom man despiseth, whom the nation abhorreth." (Is. 49:7f). We hear the echo in the New Testament, "Is not this the carpenter's son?" "What good can come out of Nazareth?" The humiliating incidents in the life of Messiah, foretold hundreds of years before, are all strikingly reproduced in the life of Jesus. His riding in triumph into Jerusalem, His being betrayed for thirty pieces of silver, the scourging, the buffeting, the spitting, the piercing of His hands and feet, that last drink of vinegar and gall, the parting of His raiment and the casting of lots upon His vesture, the circumstances of His death

and burial, His resurrection without seeing corruption - all these facts were expressly predicted, and all are fulfilled to the letter. If the Messiah is a person, that person is Jesus of Nazareth.

The prophets represent the character of the Messiah as one of the purest virtues. His wisdom and knowledge, His weakness and purity, His righteousness, His kindness and compassion, His patience, His humility, His courage, His supernatural resolution to fulfill His mission, His complete trust in God and resignation to His will - all these are portrayed in vivid colors as characteristics of the Messiah, and all are literally fulfilled in Jesus. But the most vivid of all prophecies is that of His suffering and death. In one continuous passage (Is. 52, 53) which even the orthodox legendry of Oregno and Driver can place at no later date than "the close of the Babylonian captivity," the whole suffering of Christ on the cross as well as all the preceding events, are graphically portrayed, in a style which beggars all description and with an accuracy which only an eye-witness or a God-inspired prophet could even possibly approach. The application is so obvious, the sufferings of the Servant of Jehovah, who has just previously been called the "light of the Gentiles, the light of God in whom His soul delighteth" - all these are so minutely foretold that, placing them side by side with Gospel history is all that is required to convince the unbiased mind that the suffering Servant is Jesus. To avoid all possibility of mistaking the fulfillment of the prophecy, the dignity of His person, the incredibility of

1. Driver: "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" p. 225.

the Jews, the innocence of the sufferer, the cause of His sufferings and His subsequent exaltation are all particularly marked. "Those things which God hath shown by the mouth of all the prophets, that Christ should suffer, he hath so fulfilled ... for thus it behoved Christ to suffer, according to the Scriptures."

The Kingdom of the Messiah is described in the prophets as one of mercy and peace. The King is able to suspend the laws of nature, "The eyes of the blind shall be opened, the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped. Then shall the lame man leap as the hart and the tongue of the dumb sing." (Is. 35:5-6). The whole gospel history is filled with just such acts of power and mercy - at His word all these things occurred. (Mat. 9:35, 11:5).

When the time was fulfilled, according to prophecy, the forerunner of the Messiah was to come. This forerunner came in the person of John the Baptist. He repeatedly affirmed that he was not the Messiah. It was a joy to him to represent himself as the "voice of one crying in the wilderness, 'Repent!'" and finally to fulfill his life's mission by pointing publicly to Jesus as the Messiah. (John 1:34), after having heard the witness of the Father at the Baptism of Jesus. On two successive days he points out Jesus to the wondering crowd as the "Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world." (John 1:26f, 36).¹

1. It is objected by Renan and Strauss and other rationalists that John's testimony to the deity and humanity of Christ sounds like later theology. But why limit him to the narrow doctrines of that very Pharisaism which he denounced? He was a prophet, greater than all the prophets, as Jesus himself says - why then deny him prophetic vision and consciousness of his own relation to the Messiah? (John 1:33). Even supposing the prophetic trait to be absent, why should it not be possible for this man, a Nazarene and consequently a diligent student of the Old Testament, to draw the true deity and true humanity of the promised one from this source?

there was something about the personality of Jesus which convinced many of those who saw Him, of His Messiahship. In the first chapter of John we are told of Philip coming to Nathanael and bringing the glad news, v.45, "We have found him of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph." Nathanael could not believe it. "Himself a Galilean, he knew the ignorance of that province and the evil reputation of that rude town." "Out of Nazareth." "Can any good thing come out of Nazareth?" Philip said simply, "Come and see." What he saw convinced the incredulous one. "Rabbi", he says, "Thou art the Son of God, Thou art the King of Israel." "Thus it was always with a great number of those who approached Jesus in the days of his flesh. He seldom asserted His claims, He never argued them, He simply manifested Himself, and such as had eyes to see and hearts to understand, hailed Him as their Lord. He was His own best evidence."¹

Yet Jesus' testimony to himself as Messiah is by no means lacking in the Gospels. He calls himself "Son of Man" some eighty times. This title was no doubt used, as is commonly accepted² to veil his Messianic character for a time, in order not to encourage the false hopes which were usually connected with Messianic names, while at the same time it was in itself a confession of Messiahship to all those who remembered the term from Daniel's prophecies (7:13 etc.). Daniel associates this name with Him chiefly in the character of judge, as the chief actor in the events which mark the end of the age. This sense Jesus by no means

1. David Smith: "The Historic Jesus" p. 64.

2. Weiss: "Biblical Theology of the New Testament" p. 73.

discards but rather affirms (Mat. 13:41, 16:28, 19:25, 24:30, 25:31 etc) "whereas the other titles are used by others of Him, this is only used by Himself, of Himself."¹

Only once in the Synoptics (Mat. 27:43) and a few places in John (10:36, 5:25, 9:35, 11:4) is it said that Jesus directly assumed this title "Son of God". Yet it is repeatedly given Him by others,² and accepted by Him. But the Sonship of Jesus is different from the sonship of believers. He prays, not "our Father", as He taught the disciples to pray, but "My Father". (Mat. 26:39,42). It is a peculiar relation, different from that of angels and men. (Mat. 11:27)(Mark 13:32). By this title he definitely attaches himself to the Old Testament, in which it signifies the Messiah (II Sam. 7:14, Ps. 2:7-9). Independently He executes divine decrees (Mat. 11:27), this making himself equal with God and finally, in answer to the High Priest's direct question, He solemnly affirms that He is the "Anointed of Israel, Christ, the Son of the Blessed, (Mark 14:61) and immediately goes on in the vein of Daniel" ... ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power and coming in the clouds of heaven." The identification is clear from Christ's own lips. The Son of Man is the Son of God. Both are designations for the Anointed of Israel, and this Anointed of Israel is Christ himself. There is no doubt that He claimed this - this was the charge on which He was condemned, Blasphemy! (Mark 14:64).

1. Sanday; "Outlines of the Life of Christ" p.96.

2. By the Baptist (John 1:34); by Nathanael (John 1:49); by the tempter (Mat. 4:3); by the Centurion (Mat. 15:30); by Evangelists (Mark 1:1, John 3:18, 20:31).

Jesus was anointed as Messiah, with the Holy Ghost and with power and regarded this power as an essential feature of His Messiahship (Mat. 11:5, Luke 15:32). In quoting Isaiah 61:1, He applies the passage to Himself (Mat. 11:5) "The Lord hath anointed Me to preach good tidings". He is above all the anointed of the Old Testament - even David calls Him Lord (Mark 12:36-37). He is above even the holiest part of the old covenant, the Temple (Mat. 12:6).

At the same time He is the Son of David. This title He never declines. "It is inconceivable that anyone would have been allowed his claim of Messiahship, who regarded his Davidic descent as doubtful."¹ Yet the title is never used directly by Jesus Himself. He claimed royal power, yet made no move to regain the lost throne of the house of David. On the contrary, he commanded obedience to the ruler of the country (Mark 12:14-17). His power is never to be realized fully in this life. It is only when the disciples are certain of His Messiahship (Mark 8:29) that He reveals all to them (Mark 8:31) how in conformity with prophecy, He is to be violently slain by the leaders of His own nation, subsequently to be raised to the exalted state, which is the last and greatest token of His Messiahship. Death and Resurrection are to be the transition prophesied in Psalm 110:1, of Jehovah's Anointed. (cf. Mat. 8:31, 9:31, 10:34). This is the answer to the question which He Himself had put. (Mark 12:37).

His Kingdom Jesus declares to be, not a political restoration of the theocracy, which could only be accomplished by a successful use

1. Weiss: "Biblical Theology of the New Testament" Vol. I. p. 87ⁿ

of physical force, or a violent interference on the part of God with the external destinies of the nation - Jesus puts himself directly against popular expectation on this point (John 5:17, 12:47, 8:16) - but a spiritual one, which does not come in striking events (Luke 27:20,21). The disciples are rather to pray for the development of the Kingdom (Mat. 6:10), surrender every earthly possession for it (Mat. 13:44-5, 19:12). It began to be fulfilled when Christ began to gather disciples, yet will be consummated in the future, when the full power and majesty of the Messiah will be revealed upon his return "with the clouds of Heaven (Dan. 7:13, Mark 14:62). Thus He explains all Scripture to point to Himself as Messiah.

Jesus produces all the signs of the Messianic time. Asked by John, "Art thou He that should come?", He points to the fulfillment of Isaiah 55:5-6 where the signs of the Messiah and their fulfillment in Him are sufficient answer. For the time being He must hide His Messianic dignity to prevent a popular uprising in His favor, but His approaching death makes it possible to publicly declare all without ruining His plans. At Jericho He openly accepts the title "Son of David" (Mark 10:47), allows Himself to be called Messianic King" at His entrance to Jerusalem (Mark 11:9-10), claims to be the "chief cornerstone of the Kingdom" in agreement with Ps. 118:22, and finally, as stated above, affirms on oath before the highest tribunal of His nation, that He is "Christ, the Son of the Blessed."

And He is not only a Messiah, in whom some prophecies are fulfilled, but the Messiah, in whom all the Messianic passages of the Old Testament find their fulfillment. The disciples have found in Him what the prophets and pious men of the Old Testament sought. (Luke 10:24).

"For those who, before the Christian dispensation raised upon the ancient prophecies, some single aspect of the Messiah sufficed to fill in the whole view. We, in the light of Christian revelation, see realized and harmonized in our Lord all the conflicting Messianic hopes, all the visions of the prophets. He is at once the Suffering Servant and the Davidic King, the Judge of Mankind and its Savior, true Man and true God."¹ In Him, and in Him only, the world has had, and still has, its Savior.

Thus was every phase of the Messianic person and work revealed bit by bit in the Old Testament from the Prot-evangel to the last prediction of Malachi, fulfilled in Christ, and declared to be fulfilled by Him and by His apostles, who at His command now went out into the world to proclaim the good news to all men. But it was not a doctrine which found ready acceptance with the people, least of all with those among whom one would expect it to be most eagerly grasped, and with whom God had taken such pains - the Jews. After about four years of hard work, after exhibiting all the signs of the Kingdom and even after the open avowal of His dignity and the sealing of this avowal by His death and resurrection, Jesus could, at His ascension, number only 120 in Jerusalem and probably 500 in all the world, as His followers. By the majority

1. Catholic Encyclopaedia, Art. "Messiah"

of His age, He was either ignored, as being beneath their notice, or openly persecuted as an impostor.

Before discussing the attitude of those who rejected their Messiah, it might be well to review those factors which entered into the formation of their distorted and anti-Biblical hope. The Old Testament was closed with Malachi, but the people by no means ceased to write and preach. All these writings are in a sense interpretations of Scripture.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE APOCRYPHA

"During the interval between the closing of the canon of the Old Testament and the Alexandrian period, there was nothing in the political situation to arouse intellectual activity, nothing in the social to encourage it, nothing in the religious to be reflected in it - no outstanding personality, no outstanding event with which to connect it. On that period rests silence and darkness."¹ Recently liberated from captivity, yet still overruled by the foreign master, the Jews were too busy trying to reconstruct their political and economic situation, to produce either a history or a great literature. But the results showed in the following period. Emerging from the gloom we see the Jewish nation, based on Old Testament principles, yet altogether new in spirit. Equally distinct from the Old Testament standard was the literature of the following period, which may for convenience be divided into Apocryphal and Apocalyptic writings, though this distinction cannot always be made. In this literature the germs of all later traditionalism and rabbinism are to be found, and in these very germs may be seen the internal weakness of the Jewish character in the tendency to overlook the spiritual elements of religion. In the first period of her history, Israel had failed through a bare legalistic obedience to the letter of the Mosaic Code. In the second period she had failed through her apostasy to heathenism. Now, with the last vestiges of idolatry stamped out, she was to fail again - this time

1. Marchant: "Prophecy and History in their Relation to the Messiah" p. 265.

through a complete misunderstanding and misinterpreting of the divinely-inspired prophets, especially where these prophets touched the Messianic Hope. Israel's final apostasy at the time of Christ began, not at his appearance - this was only the necessary sequel to all that had preceded - but at the time of the return from the Exile.

Two centuries passed after the return from Babylon, centuries when little of note seems to have been produced, and then suddenly a renaissance occurred. But the bulk of the literature is of a disappointing character. There is nothing original in its external form nor in its tone, and the thought, though at times fresh, is usually debased. So far below the standard of the true prophets has the post-exilic literature fallen that the writer of I Maccabees laments the departure of prophetic inspiration from God's people. (I Mac. 9:27).

The whole worship, while carried on strictly according to the Mosaic precepts, became superficial. The doctrine of original sin was consistently ignored or directly denied. Mere outward orthodoxy and decency took the place of real devotion. But even this outward decency was not always stressed as it should have been. The books of Judith and Tobit show what depths Jewish morality sometimes reached. The weight of thought is centred on this world, and consequently, we can expect little to be written about the true Messianic Hope.

From the absence of any reference to the Messianic Hope at the time of Judas Maccabaeus some scholars of note¹ have deduced the certainty

1. Conder: "Judas Maccabaeus" p. 68-70. Drummond: "The Jewish Messiah" p. 198.

that the Hope was no longer in existence¹ and only flared up again about the time of the birth of Christ. But the argument from silence, always shaky, is particularly so here, since it has been shown that the later historical books of the Old Testament itself are also silent on this point. (Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther). It would be a mistake, therefore, to infer that the Messianic hope had entirely died out. It was not ignored, but so changed in form as to be recognized only with difficulty. The Person of the Messiah had been placed far in the background - in forefront was the Messianic time, the anti-Gentile² national expectation of the exaltation of Israel.³ The Messiah himself had become a mere foil to the time when Israel's enemies would be made her footstool and Israel's glory shine forth and all the nations bow in humble reverence at her feet. It was not the the "Prince of Peace" of the prophets who was expected, not the reconciler of the world, but a Kingdom of power and glory for Israel. "It was a narrow Judaic expectation -- not even remotely approaching the universalism of the prophets - the longing of a down trodden people with the memory of personal injury constantly at fever heat, and now cold towards the heart if their religion, seeking, and hence finding in the prophets only their own glory and the doom of the hated unbeliever. Behind all the actions of the Maccabees will be felt, rather than seen, this spirit - ever bitter, ever revengeful, hoping, praying for the period of Israel's political deliverance."

A difference in tendency has been shown between the canonical books of the Old Testament, and the Apocrypha. There is a marked dif-

1. Greenstone: "Messiah Idea in Jewish History" p. 64.
2. Eccles. 36:1-10, 29:23. Baruch 4:25, 31-35)
3. Eccles. 36:11-17, Baruch 4:22-25.

ference in all essential points. The former led up to the manger in Bethlehem - the Apocrypha were only a preface to the Judaism of Christ's time. "And yet there is something truly noble in the conscious superiority of the Jews and in their defiance, when, on the eve of the coming battle the despised and defeated minority speaks in the haughty language of assured victory." The unconquerable spirit of David is revived in the Maccabees, but it has lost its nobler elements, of repentance of faith and trust in Jehovah.

Such literature was naturally very popular, and, no doubt, widely circulated. The Talmud quotes a great many passages from Ecclesiasticus, while Josephus refers to I Maccabees, III Esdras and additions to Esther. Thus, while giving later generations a picture of the religious conditions of their own time, the Apocrypha must have been no small factor in the formation of the spirit of their own and of the succeeding period.

The Messianic future which had been portrayed in the Apocrypha, where it appeared at all, was distinctly nationalistic. There is no trace of the universalism of the Canonical Scriptures. The Hope had lost its personal aspect and had become a mere national expectation - the Jews themselves were to be the centre of the coming age and to inherit all the promises. But this was only the beginning - all was vague and indistinct compared with the clear-drawn visions of the Apocalyptic Literature, which while overlapping slightly on the Apocryphal period was mostly written later.

Historic records prove that only the poorest and most intensely religious of the Exiles had returned to the Holy Land, perhaps less than one tenth as many as went into exile, but in the quiet period of reconstruction, much had been done. The Canon of Scripture had been closed, the laws of Moses were strictly enforced, Babylonian and other foreign elements had been rigorously excluded from the ritual - in short, the Puritan period of the Jewish religion had come. Judas Maccabaeus at first seemed to them to be the man fitted to carry out the program of even the most orthodox, but the break soon came. In despair this party withdrew completely from politics and later developed into the sect of Pharisees. Another branch of the party, willing to concede their more extreme religious positions in the interest of unity, continued to support the Asmonaeans, and, as time went on and conditions became worse and worse, these patriots came to be called Zealots.¹ These Zealots were the ones who were chiefly responsible for the continuance of the Messianic hope in the Apocalyptic literature, while the Pharisees, the bearers of Rabbinical tradition, played a great part in the development of the Hope in the exegetic writings.

1. Josephus, true to his temporizing character, calls the descendants of these Zealots "Sicarii" and "robbers". Yet much that is highest and noblest in Judaism was preserved through just these men - misguided perhaps, in both politics and religion, they were nevertheless sincere in their patriotism.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE APOCALYPTICAL WRITINGS

We can only faintly imagine the feelings of the Jewish patriot when he saw the fate of his own Holy Land, to which his ancestors had come back from the exile with such high hopes. Disappointment had followed upon disappointment - one foreigner ceased to oppress the Jews, only to be succeeded by another. To the Zealot, anything which opposed his ideal was absolutely intolerable. The Roman in Palestine? The Idolater in the Holy Land which God himself had promised to the Faithful? Surely Jehovah must avenge His people, surely his people could not sit down quietly and tolerate such indignities! Every opportunity must be seized to harass and, if possible, to expel the hated foreigner. They could not submit to his rule! "They whetted their daggers to the sound of Psalms, they sharpened their swords to the martial music of prophetic utterances, which to them seemed only denunciations and imprecations on the enemy. And they laid them down to dream, in those Apocalyptic visions which form the subject-matter of so much in the Pseud-epigraphic writings."¹

These representations are based upon many prophetic passages of the Old Testament, but they are conceived and developed in a form often entirely inconsistent with the spirit of the original. Their hope was, after all, a carnal one, and so "the ethical and spiritual elements which, in the prophets, always predominate, here retire into the background and

1. Ebersheim: "History and Prophecy" p. 380.

are overshadowed by the consuous elements which are richly unfolded in the foreground of the poet's imagination and fancy."¹ Such a keynote could not but awake the enthusiasm of the more patriotic among the people, especially in Galilee, that home of the seer and the mystic and hot-bed of sedition and intrigue. Intensely Jewish, sometimes exhorting the Faithful to arise and take revenge upon the enemy, sometimes calling upon Jehovah to avenge his people, but always triumphant, this literature played a very important part in the preservation of the Messianic hope, and was directly responsible for much of the bloodshed incident to the popular uprisings a century or two later.

In form the writings are Apocalyptic. The thoughts expressed are represented in visions of the future, based upon and modelled after the exalted prophecies of the Old Testament, but often throwing these prophecies into the shade by the richness of revelation which they profess to give. These men did not profess to write fiction - they represented their visions as prophetic revelations, as direct communications from Jehovah. And to gain all the more popularity, they were usually in some way connected with the names of heroic men of old. Enoch² and Moses, neither of whom had been seen to die, as well as Isaiah, Baruch, Solomon and others, who for obvious reasons were regarded as especially capable of such revelations, were chosen as the pseudo-authors of the writings³.

1. Briggs: "The Messiah of the Gospels" p. 18f.

2. As Enoch was one who "walked with God" Gen. 5:24, it was concluded that he had enjoyed exceptional opportunities of knowing the secrets of God's will, so he had revealed to his descendants this knowledge which they, in turn handed down to be made known in time of doubt and distress."
Goodspeed: "Israel's Messianic Hope" p. 236.

3. Exceptions do of course occur - a notable example is the case of the Sibyl of Alexandria, which was modelled after its Roman name-sake.

Most of this literature was committed to writing between 200 B.C. and 100 A.D. Authorities differ with regard to the dates of some of the books, but a difference of a few years or even of decades can make but little difference to the general impression which the books must have left upon generation after generation of those who fairly lived in them. Even if a book can be proved to have been written after the birth of Christ, it still stands as a sample of the works which were being produced within its generation and even, to a certain degree, within its century.

While numerous Apocalypses have been discovered, it seems quite plausible, as Briggs¹ and Cobern² state, that many more have completely perished. Even the comparatively few which are available are extremely interesting and furnish indubitable evidence that the masses of the people still clung to the Messianic hope in some form or other, living not for the present, but for the future, where they saw all their dreams come true - dreams which give us a picture of their idea of the coming Kingdom which we could not otherwise have obtained.

We have only space here to sketch but briefly the main features of the Messianic Hope as it is expressed in the Apocalyptical literature. There are, of course, numerous variations. Each writer has something different to present to his readers, some new phase of the Messiah's person, some miraculous feature of His work, until not only the whole physical world is included in the prophecies concerning His coming, but the spiritual world as well.

1. Briggs: "The Messiah of the Gospels" p. 4f.
2. Cobern: "The New Archaeological Discoveries" p. 603f.

The fundamental idea of all this literature is that the end of the world is at hand. And the meaning is not only that the present world, with its present race of men, is to pass away, as heathen writers have it, but that the whole order of things is old and worn-out - earth, heaven, sun, moon and stars have completed their allotted circuit and will be destroyed. But this is by no means to be the end of all. The Faithful are to look for an "AION HAI AION" when all will be restored in even greater glory, and this age is to be the hope and comfort of the devout Israelite.

Such an age will necessarily be ushered in by miraculous signs, which cannot be better set forth than in the words of the earliest Alexandrian Sibyl:¹ "And fiery swords shall fall from Heaven on earth and mighty lights shall come down flaming in the midst of men and another earth shall be tossed in those days by an Immortal Hand ... and all the sea shall shudder at the face of the Immortal .. high mountain peaks and huge hills He will rend, and Erebus, the dark and dismal, will appear to all and misty gorges in the lofty hills shall be full of the dead ... the rocks shall stream with blood and every torrent fill the plain ... God judges all by war and sword and fire and overwhelming flood, and there shall be brimstone from heaven and stones and grievous hail."

Nearly every element in these visions is included in the Old Testament predictions, but the Sibyl groups them in a very effective way. Even the most righteous will not be exempt from the horrors of the coming

1. From a long quotation in Briggs, "Messiah of the Gospels" p. 18f.

age, which will increase in rigor as the time draws near for its consummation. As the climax of all signs, the Anti-Christ¹ will appear, who is represented as a messenger of Satan himself and an almost exact counterpart of the Messiah in power and majesty, only with a diabolical nature. His royal sway is to extend over the whole world. As political ruler he subjugates all nations under his tyrannical banner, while at the same time he arrogates to himself unlimited power in the religious life of the nation. The greatest imaginable depredations are carried out, and finally, as the climax of audacity, he seats himself in the Holy of Holies itself, the centre of that Most Holy Sanctuary where Jehovah the Covenant-God of Israel alone may dwell. This is the signal for the end.

"Now tell I thee a sign exceeding clear, that thou mayest know when of all things on earth the end shall be. When in the starry heaven, swords shall be seen by night towards west or east, straightway shall there be a dark cloud of dust ... and the sun's brightness in the midst of heaven shall be eclipsed ... and there shall be signs of blood-drops, ... and ye shall see a war of horse and feet."¹ The Messiah and the rulers of the clash. Down from Heaven the Incincted has come, riding upon the clouds with myriads of His avenging angels and in a bloody battle consumes all his enemies with the sword or with the fiery words which proceed from His mouth. Some writers represent Him as annihilating all His enemies, others allow some of them to remain as vassals and slaves to enhance His glory.² At any rate a judgment will be held, "and behold,

1. From one of the earliest sections of the Sibylline Books, in Briggs, "Messiah of the Gospels" p. 22.

2. Cobern: "New Archaeological Discoveries" p. 612.--(quotation from Psalm of Solomon)

he comes with myriads of his holy ones to hold judgment upon them, and he will destroy the ungodly and will call all flesh to account for everything that sinners and the ungodly have done and committed against him."¹

While it is interesting to note how closely the Apocalyptists follow the Old Testament prophecy, with regard to the signs of the end, the similarity is especially noticeable in their representation of the person of the Messiah. In the 17th Psalm of Solomon, which Cobern² dates 70-40 B.C., God is reminded of His promise to David concerning the everlasting Kingdom of His Seed. "Behold, O Lord and raise up from their Kings a Son of David, for the time which thou knowest, O God, to reign over Israel thy servant. And gird him with strength to crush unjust rulers and to purge Jerusalem from the nations who are tempting her in ruin. In wisdom and in righteousness cast out sinners from the inheritance ... And there will be no unrighteous - all will be saints and their King the Lord Messiah. He will bless the people of God in Wisdom and with gladness and he himself will be PURE FROM SIN, to rule a great people ... for God made him capable by the Holy Spirit³ ... feeding the flock of God in faith and righteousness,⁴ in holiness will he lead them all. This Seed of David is not a mere man - he is a pre-existent heavenly being. "At that hour the Son of Man was named in the presence of the Lord of Spirits ... and ere the sun and signs were created, ere the stars of heaven were made was his name named before the Lord of Spirits. He will be a staff to the righteous that they may not fall and he will be the

1. Maceh 1:3-9 in Briggs, "Messiah of the Gospels" p. 12.

2. Cobern: "New Archaeological Discoveries" p. 611.

3. Compare here Isaiah 11:2 "The Spirit of the Lord will rest upon him, etc."

4. cf. Micah 5:4., Ezekiel 34:23f.

light of the people and the hope of those who are troubled in their hearts.¹ There will fall down and worship before him all who dwell on earth and will praise and glorify and sing to the Lord of Spirits. And for this was he ELECTED and CONCRATED before him **BEH THE CREATION**² and unto eternity will he be before him."³ This passage shows contact with both Daniel (7:13) and Micah (5:2) with the "Son of Man", and with the "Ruler of Beth-lehem" whose going-forth is from of old, from everlasting."

The Kingdom of this ruler is to be one of peace and quietness. After the enemies have been properly disposed of, "Then will he a Kingdom for all time raise up for all men and the holy law give to the pious to whom he has pledged to open up the land ... Him mortals shall call Son of the Great God ... and all the paths of fields and rough hills and lofty mountains and the sea's wild waves shall in those days be easy to pass over for all the peace of the good shall come on earth ... and wolves and lambs preciously shall eat grass in the mountains, and among the kids shall leopards graze and wandering beasts shall lodge among the calves ... and with young babes will dragons fall asleep unharmed, for God's hand shall be on them."⁴

1. cf. Is. 42:6, 49:6.

2. "This pre-existent idea" says Briggs, "is an important advance on the Messianic idea expressed in the Old Testament ... the highest stage reached before the advent of the Messiah. But it is not yet a Christian conception and it might easily become anti-Christian. There is no trace of the doctrine of the divinity of the Messiah, nor of his exaltation to the right hand of God". (Then how, we ask is this the "highest plane yet reached" and "an advance upon the Old Testament", in view of the Messianic Psalms, especially Ps. 110?)

3. Similitudes of Enoch 47:3-48:6, quoted in Briggs, "Messiah of the Gospels" p. 25f.

4. Briggs: "Messiah of the Gospels" p. 22f, (from the earliest Sibyl) (cf. Is. 11:6-9, 45:25).

Such will be the Kingdom of the Coming One. But not only is he to be a ruler of the living - the dead, too, are to rise again and take part in the glorious reign. "And in those days will the earth give back that entrusted to it and Abaddon will give back what it owes ... and he will select the righteous and holy among them, for the day has come that they should be saved."¹ Righteousness, is attained, not by the work of the Messiah, but by the fulfillment of the law. No trace of the atonement, as we find it in the New Testament, is to be found in any of the Apocalyptic writings. The requirement for full membership in the Messiah's Kingdom is Jewish blood, cleansed and purified by rigid obedience to the Mosaic Code. The lack of either of these points absolutely disqualifies for citizenship in the Messianic Utopia. Thus the main reason for the Messiah's coming is only to deal out justice. The down-trodden and miserable Faithful Ones will at length receive the due reward for their righteous deeds, while the oppressor and the apostate in Israel itself will be consigned to everlasting perdition.

We have already seen that a great deal of the Apocalyptic material is based on the Old Testament, especially on Daniel and Ezekiel and other prophets who emphasized the supernatural power of the coming Messiah. At times also the priestly function of the Deliverer is stressed thus conforming to this side of His character as represented in the Old Testament. "Then shall the Lord raise up a new priest and to him all the words of the Lord shall be revealed and he shall execute a righteous judgment upon the Earth for a multitude of days, and his star shall arise in Heaven as of a King." (The priestly function of the Messiah is here shown to be

1. Briggs, p. 27. Similitudes of Enoch - ch. 51.

but another phase of his Kingly dignity)...¹ And there shall be peace in all the earth and in his priesthood the Gentiles shall be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth and enlightened through the grace of the Lord.... In his priesthood shall sin come to an end."¹ Other sources of material would naturally be the traditions and literature of the nations surrounding Israel. The religion of Babylon, the temporary home of the ancestors of the writers contained Theohetological ideas akin to theirs. The Egyptian mystery cults among them the writer of the Sibylline oracles noted, no doubt influenced his interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. Torah, far to the East had put her stamp upon the minds of those who had come under her sway. With such material, aided by an active imagination and the bitterness due to the continual oppression of the Gentiles, it is no wonder that the enthusiasm of the writer knew no bounds. Having no present, Torah threw itself into the future² and into just such a future as the individual mind desired. .

Translations were, naturally very numerous. While the Tossiani's Tora is the main feature of all this literature³ in the older Apocalypses the Tossiani appears only in the background - it is God himself who strikes terror into the Gentiles and restores peace and plenty. Later, the Messiah is the one whose work is emphasized, first as the instrument of God, and then, as one who does it all in his own power. Sometimes the Kingdom endures for a thousand years⁴ before the final judgment comes, sometimes this follows immediately upon the coming of the Messiah. Thus, while

1. The Apocryphic "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs - Testament of Levi" quoted in Gubern: "Archaeology of the Ten Testament" p. 608.
2. Goltze: "Life and Words of Christ" p. 78.
3. Greenstone: "The Tossiani Idea in Jewish History" p. 62f.
4. It is interesting to note the similarity between the Apocryphical writings and the various phases of Islamism.

the writers invariably reflect their sources or the peculiar bias of their own minds, and thus differ widely in details, containing many foolish and fantastic elements, a germ of truth appears in all - enough to mislead a pious Jew into believing that they were true expositions of his beloved Scriptures just as it is often the most pious Christians of today who are led astray into false Millennial hopes. This fact will account for many of the fantastic notions which persisted so strongly in the heads of Christ's contemporaries. It was true of them, as it is of all would be advances on the clear word of God - for a time the Biblical doctrine and the new ideas exist side by side, then the Bible is shoved more and more into the background, until it comes to be disregarded altogether, and the pernicious theory is accepted as God's revelation.

Just how far this apocalyptic literature spread is not known, but, with the continuous intercourse between the various outlying settlements of Jews and the home land, it would by no means be confined to the place of its origin. Its influence is shown in passing, in the New Testament, as we shall presently see. But there was another type of literature developed during this period which exerted an even greater influence upon the minds of the Jews than the Apocalyptic writings. While the latter may have been accessible to comparatively few, and may have missed some communities altogether, this type, the Haggadic, was present wherever Jewish blood flowed in the veins of the people, and wherever Gentile proselytes pored over the sacred rolls of their adopted religion. To this literature, therefore, we must now turn.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE IN THE HEBREW LITERATURE

The Jews living in foreign countries had, of course, originally spoken their own language. This practice endured for a generation or two. Then the growing children learned the language of the land of their birth, and, though serious and consistent efforts were made on the part of the learned to keep up the sacred Hebrew of the Old Testament, this goal was reached only in the case of those who had the benefit of a higher education. The masses spoke the language of those among whom they lived, with whom they worked and traded, and upon whom they were dependent for the amassing of wealth which, then as now, was uppermost in the minds of most of them. They hated these Gentiles under whose yoke they were forced to exist, they despised them, but at the same time they learned their language and their customs in order to deal more profitably with them. The Scriptures continued to be read in the original for a long time - how long after they were no longer properly understood we do not know - but it was quite evident that they were failing in their purpose, since the language was falling more and more into disuse. Three alternatives were open to the conscientious synagogue ruler. He might continue as he had done so far and read the Scriptures in Hebrew, knowing well that the greater part of their meaning would be lost. He might sacrifice his love for Jehovah's language and have them translated into a tongue which the people would understand. Or, he might combine the two methods - read the text in the original and then paraphrase it in

the language intelligible to the common people. In this way he could satisfy his reverence for his inspired Scriptures and at the same time instruct his people in the word of the Law.

Just how many translations of parts of the Hebrew were made during this period cannot be definitely determined, but one work on the whole Old Testament, including even extra-canonical literature, won its way by its intrinsic worth as well as by the legends circulated about its unique origin, into the hearts of the Greek-speaking Diaspora. In a sense every translation is a commentary and the rendering on one expression may give us more than a glimpse of the theological bias of the translator. The more liberally he translates, the less will we be able to see his peculiar tendency.

On the whole the Messianic passages in the Old Testament original are faithfully reproduced almost word for word without any attempt whatever either to interpret them or apply them to the needs of the people. One tendency is noticeable, however - where such an attempt is made to solve an ambiguous expression, it is nearly always done by referring the prophecy to the Nation Israel as the source of divine blessings, instead of to a personal Messiah, just as the greater number of Reformed Jews do today. But, since the great majority of the passages merely put into Greek the original meaning of the Hebrew, the Septuagint played a comparatively small part in the development of the Messianic Hope, considering its importance otherwise. Even the passages which put a false construction on an ambiguous term, though they may have perverted the ideas of some one man who studied them exclusively, could scarcely have influenced the

general Messianic conception very much one way or the other.

But by its carelessness in including many Apocryphal and Apocalyptic books along with the Canonical Scriptures, the Septuagint did do a great deal of damage. How far the distinction between these writings was maintained we do not know, but one thing is certain - the Septuagint was the means of giving them a greater circulation as well as a greater semblance of authority than they could otherwise have enjoyed. So the Septuagint translation, itself comparatively pure, became the agent for the spread of false ideas, just as the Vulgate became in the Church of the Middle Ages.

It was natural that the translators of the Septuagint could allow their dogmatic ideas but little freedom in the translation of the sacred writings. But with the commentators on the text the case was entirely different. They did not profess to give a mere translation of the words, but used or misused Scripture passages in such a way that they supported their own ideas of the meaning of the text in question. Thus a great deal of violence was done to the literal meaning of Scripture. Allegorical interpretations, supplemented at every turn by the personal bias and imagination of the writer, took the place of that faithfulness to the letter which was characteristic of the translators mentioned above.

While the Septuagint was generally cautious with regard to a passage of ambiguous meaning, the Rabbis were not. No problem was too great for them to solve, no seeming contradiction too difficult for them to give a plausible explanation for it. They never hesitated to give an

opinion. And it is these opinions of the Rabbis, which, transmitted orally from generation to generation, formed the basis of all study at the time of Christ. Just when the various Targums were committed to writing cannot be settled definitely,¹ but it makes very little difference to us here, since an opinion would have to get the approval of at least a generation or two of scholars before an author would dare to put it down. This much is certain - a great deal of it was written before the fall of Jerusalem, within the life-time of Jesus' contemporaries.

It is a very difficult matter to determine just what views of the Messiah were held by the Rabbis. It is true that the Hope occupies a more prominent place in all their writings than does any other doctrine,² but, in a collection of sayings covering as much space as the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and consisting of comments by Rabbis of all shades of opinion from the radical Hillel, who denied that Israel should still expect a Messiah,³ to the most orthodox, the form of the hope is so loose and undetermined that it drives one almost to despair in trying to formulate it.

To the average Rabbi the whole sacred Scriptures were full of the Messiah. The whole past was symbolical and typical of the future, the Old Testament was the glass through which the blessings of the coming age were seen. Thus we find them asserting that. "All the prophets prophesied only of the days of the Messiah" and "the world was created only for the Messiah."⁴ It is, in fact, quite interesting to note the

1. Westcott ("Introduction to the Gospels" p. 135) believes that a part of them at least was written as early as the century before Christ.

2. Greenstone: "The Messiah Idea" p. 83.

3. Greenstone: "The Messiah Idea" p. 83.

4. Sanhedrin 98b and 99a. Quoted in Ebersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus" Vol. I. p. 163.

seemingly simple passages into which the Rabbis can force an allegorical meaning. They found reference to the Messiah in most of the passages to which we commonly refer as Messianic, but in a great many others as well.¹ The verbally Messianic passages form a comparatively small and secondary element in their conception of the coming era. Indeed every event, no matter how far removed from any phase of the Messianic hope, was regarded as prophetic, and every fact or prediction was accepted as new light on the coming age, until the future became "one blaze of glory, the golden age for which every Israelite longed."

But just here lay the danger. A painter may have his central figure perfectly proportioned and in correct perspective, and then spoil the whole effect by adding too much color and emphasizing minor objects altogether too much. That is exactly what the Rabbis did. They drew a bright picture of the future, but in that picture other factors and events obscured the central figure - the Messiah was crowded into the background, the Jewish nation and their prosperity took his place. As long as a Messiah in the Old Testament form was needed, such a Messiah was longed for. But now what need had Israel for such a one? The consciousness of the need no longer existed, and this lays bare one of the most disappointing phases of Rabbinic doctrine - they absolutely disregarded original sin and minimized the damning quality of all actual sins except those which were committed against the traditions of the elders. The result of Adam's sin, they say, was death for himself, but this fact has nothing to do with us. The death of the individual is to be attributed to his own sin only - thus Moses, Enoch and Elijah did not suffer death. It is in the

1. Edersheim: "Life and Times of Jesus" p. 163, says that the Messianic passages in the Old Testament according to the Ancient Synagogue amount to 456.

power of each to overcome sin and to gain life "by study and good works",¹ so if anyone is lost it is his own fault, just as he also is responsible for his own salvation. It is natural that in such a system there was no room for the vicarious atonement of the sinner. It was not the restoration of the soul to the grace of Jehovah, but the restoration of the nation to power and glory that Israel hoped for, so their picture of the Messiah was painted accordingly.

The main feature of the person of the Messiah in the Rabbinical writings is his humanity.² The prophecy of Isaiah, "Unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given" is expressly applied to the Messiah in the Targum, and in the Midrash on Jeremiah 30:9 he is designated as their King whom Jehovah will raise up "from the midst of them." So it is certain that he is to be an Israelite, and equally certain that he is to come from the tribe of Judah and the family of David. (Targum on Psalm 72:1). Indeed the title "Son of David" is used quite generally as a paraphrase for the term Messiah.

Still, while confining his human origin, the Rabbi considered the Messiah to be no ordinary man. He is to be "exalted and extolled", according to Isaiah 52:13 and on this passage the Targum of Jonathan tells us that he is higher than Abraham, the founder of the Hebrew race, higher even than Moses, the great prophet and lawgiver. But this is not all. He is more exalted than the spirits of all the Patriarchs combined (Targum on Isaiah 11:1). It is he who appears as the "morning light when the sun rises" (Midrash on II Sam. 23:4), worthy of more honor and

1. Merzhain: "Life and Times of Jesus" p. 164.

2. of. Greenstone: "The Messiah Idea in Jewish History" p. 95.

glory than even the ministering angels.

Since he is so much more exalted than all the rest of creation, it is but natural to suppose that he existed before then and this fact is found stated quite definitely several times. When Eve speaks of "another Seed" at the birth of Seth, the Talmud construes this to mean, "Seed from another place" (Ber. R. 23), meaning that Eve supposed she had now received the promised Deliverer from heaven. Yalbut, on the sixtieth chapter of Isaiah, states that the Messiah is that light which was hidden by God under his throne - prepared by Jehovah before the worlds were created but hidden until God's predetermined time shall come for him to be revealed, in these latter days, when he shall cast down Satan with all the wicked into Gehenna.

From all this it is quite evident that, if the Messiah was not considered to be divine, he was at least far above the ordinary human being. Greenstone¹ says he was "divine only in the greatness of his national gifts, through which the Heathen nations should be destroyed and Israel become a World power." But when we see "Spirit of God" in Genesis 1:2 identified with the "Spirit of the King Messiah" (Ber. R. 8) and when Yalbut, commenting on Psalm 2 "against the Lord and against his Anointed" and representing this "Anointed of God" as the Son of God, it is quite evident that some of the Rabbis at least emphasized the Divine character of the Deliverer as much as did the later Apocalypticist. Yet this cannot be said of all the Rabbis - indeed I have found no passage

1. "Messiah Idea in Jewish History" p. 97.

where the essential sonship of the Messiah is affirmed. He seems to be rather a "creature" of God, later exalted to the state of sonship. "This day have I begotten thee" in Psalm 2:7 is referred, not to the "eternal today" of God, but to some period after time had begun when the Messiah is made the Son of God. As such he can perform miracles, and really does re-enact all the miracles done in the past (Midrash on Exod. 1:11). But the Divine Presence is not to be "profaned" by teaching that the Messiah occupies a throne alongside that of Jehovah himself. (Hagigah 14a, Sanhedrin 38b). The "Divinity" of the Messiah in the "modern" sense of the word can thus easily be deduced from the Rabbinical writings, but the essential "Deity" is not held.

The conception of the office and work of the Messiah is naturally affected by the denial of the sinfulness of human nature and its need for redemption in the Christian sense. Since every man could, by proper exercise of his will-power, and by mortifying his evil lusts and desires, free himself from all sin, a Deliverer from sin was not needed. This did away with the necessity for the doctrine of the prophetic and priestly offices of Christ, which are so clearly foretold throughout the Old Testament. The law had been given - all an Israelite had to do was to keep it perfectly, and he had nothing to fear from the eternal judge - there was no need of further legislation. And since there was no sin which could not be atoned for by the sinner himself, the priestly function, which includes the vicarious sacrifice of the Ancients was almost entirely forgotten.

Still the designation of the Messiah as the "Servant of Jehovah" remains at least in some of the better Rabbinical writings. He is that Servant whom Jehovah has chosen, and who should prosper. It is true that many of the Rabbis see in the "Suffering Servant" throughout Isaiah, only the suffering nation of Israel, (just as the modern Jews affirm), yet in some way or other, this period of distress is connected with the Messiah's coming. It is "because Jehovah has cleansed their souls from sin that they shall see the Kingdom of Messiah" - this soul-trying fire of tribulation and persecution is a cleansing preparation for the advent of their Deliverer. (Jonathan ben Uziel on Isaiah 53:15). The sufferings of the Messiah himself are described in numerous passages, but the reason for this suffering is very perplexing.

The first Messianic prophecy regarding the woman's seed (Gen. 3:15) is referred by the Rabbis to the Servant (Shem. R. 30) "He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." In this bruising of the heel of the Seed is seen the suffering which the Deliverer must undergo. From Isaiah 11:3 the Talmud, by a curious bit of juggling, deduces the fact that Jehovah has "laden the Messiah with commands and sufferings like mill-stones." Yalkut on Isaiah 49:6 states that the Messiah "suffers in every age for the sins of that generation", but God will in the day of Redemption repay it all. Several times it is said that one-third of the sufferings of the world from Adam until the present are to be borne by the Deliverer when he comes.

Just how far these sufferings which are ascribed to him are thought of as vicarious in the various writings is a perplexing question. If the denial of original sin and of the need of a Savior as represented above, was absolute and universal, this phase of Messiah's suffering could only be permitted to exist by gross inconsistency, and this really seems to be the case. But we also know that that "remnant of Israel" still held to the true doctrine of salvation in the Deliverer, the faith in which the patriarchs had died, and it is quite conceivable that some of the writers of the Talmud could forget their pre-conceived ideas for a moment while attempting to unfold the meaning of an obviously vicarious passage of Scripture. Thus in Yalkut Jehovah is represented as making an agreement with the Messiah to this effect: "The sins of those who are hidden with the (thy people) shall cause thee to be put under an iron yoke, and they will do with thee as with a calf whose eyes are covered, and on account of their sins thy tongue shall cleave to the roof of thy mouth." The Deliverer accepts this suffering "with gladness and joy" on condition that not one of Israel shall be lost, but that all his people shall share in the redemption which he is about to effect - even the "prematurely-born and the still uncreated" are to be partakers of the blessings which he is going to introduce. For seven days he is afflicted and it is then that he cries out, "My strength is dried up like a potsherd." The Targum on Isaiah 53:5 applies this directly to the Messiah, "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities." There is no doubt

that pious minds like those of Simon and Anna and Elizabeth and Mary pondered long over these passages and thus retained their belief in a vicarious atonement. As for the rest, one thing at least is certain. If the sufferings of the Messiah were not regarded as vicarious, they were in some way at least to benefit the living and the dead and at his coming primal innocence is to be restored to the faithful. The death of the Servant is referred to in a comment on Zechariah 12:10 where it is said "they shall look upon him whom they have pierced and they shall mourn for him as one mourneth for his only son."

On the whole, the standpoint of the Rabbis on the vicarious suffering and death of Messiah is very unsatisfactory. It could not have seemed very important to them, or more would have been said about it. On the contrary, the tendency appears throughout to minimize this part of his work or as is done by most of the commentators, to disregard it altogether in favor of the kingly office, which is the point stressed in all Rabbinical writings, for here was what they were looking for, a Messiah who should crush the obnoxious foreigner and rule over the ancient Kingdom of David.

The King who looms up in the minds of the writers of the Talmud is to be one of themselves. Balazac's prophecy (Numbers 25:21) is paraphrased in the Targum of Onkelos, "a King shall arise from Jacob and a Messiah shall be anointed from Israel." The term King is also expressly referred to the Messiah in the Targum Pseudo-Jonathan. This King is

to be one who is so great and powerful that all the tribes of Israel will obey him, (Jerusalem Targum on Deut. 33:5), but not only the tribes of Israel, for Messiah is likened to Solomon who is represented as "ruling over the whole world."

The first duty of the Messianic King is to overcome Gentile opposition. In the meantime Israel is merely to wait, to submit to the yoke of the foreigner, for the Messiah is represented as saying, (Targum on Cant. 7:4) "Why should you rise against the Gentiles? Wait a little until these nations are conquered and then shall the Lord remember you and it shall be his good will to set you free." Then the King comes in all his power and glory, crushing all opposition before him. "He shall drink of the brook in the way" is applied by Yalkut to the Messianic time when the streams of the blood of the wicked shall flow through the land, and birds will come to drink of it. The triumphant song of Moses (Exodus 15:15) is also referred to this time, when Israel shall sing praises to the Lord for the overthrow of the Gentiles.

With the Gentiles either annihilated or cowed into submission by the conqueror, his next duty, (and oh how the Rabbis gloried in this), is the Redemption and Restoration of Israel. The wicked could of course not take part in this Kingdom of the righteous, so they are destroyed. (Midrash on Cant. 3:15). Then the King proceeds to put the Law into its rightful place. "Israel will not require to be taught by the Messiah," for the Law has already been given and nothing new is required. He will impress what they already know on the hearts of the faithful. "Washing

his garments in wine" is explained to mean "teaching the Law to Israel" - his clothes in the blood of grapes" means, "he will bring them back from their errors". (Midrash on Gen. 49:11). He will restore to the race of men what Adam lost through the fall, perfect holiness and understanding of the Law, and then he will summarize all the Messianic teaching in thirty new commandments, which will now also be taught to the Gentiles who have submitted to Messiah's rule. The Genesis passage (9:27) "Japhet shall dwell in the tents of Shem" is construed to mean that "the descendants of Japhet shall become proselytes and dwell in the schools of Shem." (Targum Pseudo-Jonathan). The whole realm is one of law and order, in which Israel says, "I will take thee, O King Messiah, and make thee go up into my Temple and there shalt thou teach me to tremble before the Lord and to walk in his ways." (Targum on Cant. 6:2). In conformity with the holy Law, Messiah will rule "in the fear of Jehovah". (II Sam. 23:3).

Externally, the Kingdom is one of great power and glory, far surpassing that of David and Solomon. Then will finally be fulfilled the promise to Abraham in Genesis (15:16f) where all Palestine from Egypt to the Euphrates is given to his seed. (Ber. R. 44). Rest will then prevail - the enemies round about, reduced to the status of vassals, will bring gifts to the triumphant King. And then indeed will be fulfilled that promise of Jehovah, that, after their mourning, he would turn their sorrow into joy. (Midrash on Gen. 50:10). Peace and plenty prevails - the Utopia has come!

How long the reign of the Messiah was to last, the Rabbis were not able to settle among themselves. Rabbi Elieser commenting on the term "day" in Psalm 90:15 is quite sure the Kingdom will endure for one

thousand years since a day with the Lord is as a thousand years! But Rabbi Joshua finds it necessary to protest on the basis of this text, because the plural "years" is used, and therefore the reign must last at least two thousand years. The computations of various other commentators vary from seven thousand years - representing the seven days of the Bridal celebrations - to forty years, the period of Israel's wanderings in the wilderness. It is typical of the Rabbis just as it is of the exponents of the modern "Diesseitigkeitsreligion", that they concerned themselves very little about what would happen after their earthly paradise had run its course and they would once more be confronted with the question which is as old as the human race: What is to be expected after death?

But the Rabbi, waking from his dreams of the Kingdom, found himself back again in the unsavey present, and now he sought to establish definitely the period when the Messiah could be expected. The Targum Pseudo-Jonathan states that the exact time of his appearance was not known to Jacob nor even to Daniel (on Genesis 49:1). "A mystery is the day of death - a mystery also is that day when shall come the King Messiah. Who shall find it out?" (Targum on Eccl. 7:26). Still various signs were given whereby the approach of the deliverance was to be recognized. "If you see generation after generation blaspheming, expect the coming of Messiah." (Midrash on Cant. 2:15). Rabbi Joshua commenting on Isaiah 60:21 says, "The son of David shall not come until all are either just or unjust." Others expect him to come when "all nations are warring

together." (Midrash on Gen. 14:1). Many Rabbis affirm that "if Israel would keep only one Sabbath perfectly, the Messiah would immediately come." Others, again, are sure that, regardless of all other signs, he will not come "until all souls predestined for it have appeared in human bodies."¹ Numerous guesses were made with regard to the exact time of his advent. Four thousand years after creation, 4291 years after creation, or other figures were worked out by a system of allegorical interpretation. But the general view came to be that no one could know when he was coming, since God had purposely left it unrevealed.

There was one thing regarding the time, however, which was recognized - the Messiah would be preceded by his Elijah. "Three days before the coming of Messiah will Elijah come" to proclaim the advent of the reign of peace. (Yalkut on Isaiah 52:7). He is to be the forerunner of the Messiah and will himself take no small part in the reorganization of the coming age - the adjusting of all disputes regarding the meaning of the Law, the correcting of all genealogical records which have become confused, the slaying of Satan and the performance of many other super-human deeds are all attributed to him.² In many points the Jewish expectation of the Elijah exceeded the Scripture passages on which it had originally been based. Thus some of the Targums seem scarcely to distinguish between his character and that of the Messiah himself, so great have their imaginations made him. But even so the main reason for the forerunner's coming is not totally disregarded - he is to prepare the hearts of the people by repentance, and to point out the Messiah when he comes. "That Elijah, himself, though gone from earth, still lived

1. Ebersheim: "Life and Times of Jesus" Vol. II p. 711. "The pre-existence of souls is taught. These souls were created when the universe came into being and are kept in heaven until one after the other appears in human form - then the Messiah can come."

2. Greenstone: "The Messiah Idea in Jewish History" p. 95.

and might reappear, either to thunder forth warnings and rebukes such as he had uttered to the apostate King Ahab and to the devotee of Baal, or to rekindle the Spirit of loyalty to God in the rebellious nation, became a common belief."¹ On this one point all the commentators agree, the passage Malachi 4:5-6 refers to the Elijah and, when he has come the Messianic era is to follow immediately.

The birth-place of the Messiah seems never to have been seriously called into dispute. The passage in Micah (5:2) designating Bethlehem as the favored village, is uniformly regarded as Messianic and, though Galilee is also mentioned in several obscure passages, this opinion does not seem to have gained any considerable following at any time. Bethlehem, the city of David, was to be the birthplace of his illustrious son.

The Hope as it is current in the Apocalyptic and Exegetic literature has been described above. It remains to be seen just how far and in what way this literature influenced the thinking and acting of the men of the farms and towns and cities throughout Palestine. With opinions so much at variance from which to draw their Messianic ideas, it is but natural that the mind of the ordinary man would be confused at times, but then gradually the most easily understood elements would be picked out and formulated into a hope all his own. In spite of discrepancies,

1. Fisher: "Beginnings of Christianity" p. 417.

however, there were some elements of the hope which all seem to have held in common.

In the first place a Hope still existed. In all except perhaps the sect of the Sadducees and other Epicureans who lived only for this life, the people were looking for some manifestation¹ of Jehovah to help his down-trodden holy nation. It was also commonly held that this redemption would be accomplished by a Person, who would stand in a peculiar relation to Jehovah, and still be a descendant of David, born in the town of Bethlehem. And nearly all looked for the setting-up of a Kingdom with the Son of David ruling over a realm richer and greater than even that of Solomon.

As the layman inclined towards one extreme or the other, the King would be wholly human or wholly divine and the Kingdom would be an earthly one, with earthly glory and political greatness, as the outstanding features, or it would be closer to the Apocalyptic ideal, with the supernatural constantly emphasized. It is not to be expected however, that any but the extremely speculative and visionary would understand the supernatural dreams of the fiery apocalypticists of Galilee. Later on, when Jerusalem was surrounded, and all human hope cut off, these were to have their day, and were, by their fanaticism to effect the almost complete destruction of their generation, which Titus would gladly have saved. In the time of Christ, however, all was in a comparatively settled state. Disturbances did occur, Roman and Assyrian intrigue did cause discomfort to the citizen and a Deliverer was needed, but it was a political leader, a world-

1. Beecher: "The Prophets and the Promise" p. 366.

conquering hero who seemed to be the ideal. So the ideal of the average layman was far removed from that of Jesus Christ with his utterly opposite doctrines of the aim and nature of the Messiah and His Kingdom.¹

It remains, however, to be seen from the historical records of the period of Christ, whether or not this is a correct view of the Messianic expectation which existed at the time of His appearance.

1. Geikie: "Life of Christ" p. 85.

THE HOPE AS DESCRIBED IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

After examining the Messianic Hope as it is expressed in the Apocalyptic and Pseudepigraphic writings, one would scarcely imagine that there could be any in Israel who still adhered to the Promise-doctrine as it is fully brought out in the Old Testament. But such is not the case, as the New Testament plainly shows us. God has, in all times, even in those which outwardly appear most unpromising and most wicked, retained a following of true believers. The wicked generation before the flood had its Noah and its Noah, the period of the Patriarchs was dark one, but it had its Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, even the rotten Church before the Reformation had its believing remnant, gathered about its sacred Scriptures and its prophets. So, in the general confusion at the opening of the Christian era, Jehovah still had his chosen remnant, and of these Luke gives us a beautiful picture in the opening chapters of his Gospel.

In the words and actions of men and women like Zacharias and Elizabeth and Joseph and Mary and Simeon and Anna and the first disciples, we see that the hope, though perhaps hazy on certain points, was very much alive. When the revelation has been made to Mary that her son is to be called the "Son of the Highest, and the Lord will give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob forever and of his Kingdom there shall be no end," (Luke 1:32-33), she knows at once that her hopes have been fulfilled in a measure such as

she had not even dared to hope for. It was the dream of every Jewish maiden that some day she might be the Mother of the Messiah, and Mary, realizing that this coveted distinction has come to her, does not doubt the words of the angel, nor suspect deception, but breaks out in her song of praise, "My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit hath rejoiced in God, my Saviour. For he hath regarded the low estate of his handmaiden, for behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed ... and his mercy is upon all ... as he spake to our fathers, to Abraham and to his seed forever." (Luke 1:46-55). Are we to assume that Mary received all this by inspiration only, and that before she had cared little about the Messiah? No - here is the pent-up Messianic desire of her whole young life, bursting forth spontaneously, partly, at least, in the language of those sacred scriptures from which her ideas were drawn. It is true that, later on, her fundamentally correct attitude was also somewhat clouded by the opinions of those under whose influence she had lived - she did not realize that this Son of hers should be "about his Father's business." (Luke 2:49). She became somewhat impatient at his seeming reluctance to rise to the situation at the wedding-feast at Cana. Nor did she realize fully the necessity and the significance of his vicarious death. But here, after all, was a mind so instructed in the Messianic promises that it could grasp at once and cling forever to the Messiah when he appeared in the flesh.

Zacharias realizes too that the Messianic age has come. A priest, and instructed in all Rabbinical lore, he still sees the Old Testament

prophecies in their true light. He thanks God for remembering his holy covenant and "the oath which he swore to our Father Abraham." (Luke 1:73).

And what shall we say of Simeon, whom Luke describes as "just and devout waiting for the consolation of Israel?" This man knew by inspiration of the Holy Spirit "that he should not see death until he had seen the Lord's Christ," (Luke 2:26) and now, at the sight of Jesus, he too exalts "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace ... for mine eyes have seen thy salvation ... a light to enlighten the Gentiles and the glory of thy people Israel." (Luke 2:30-32). It is in almost the exact words of Isaiah (49:6) that he thanks God, thus showing that he understood the passage correctly. Anna also shared this hope as did many others for we are told that she "spoke of him to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." (Luke 2:38).

Later on, when John said to his two disciples, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world," (John 1:36), they realized at once that John meant the Messiah, so they followed Jesus. The idea was a familiar one with them. They must have known and felt that there were sins to be taken away. Thus the "great message was not merely that the Kingdom was at hand." It was "Repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand."¹ (Mat. 14:17).

The first blind following of Jesus on the part of the disciples looked very promising and showed that they had some knowledge of His person and work, but it took three whole years or more of careful instruction to show them the true purpose of His coming and the necessity

1. Beecher: "The Prophets and the Promise" p. 375.

of his suffering and death, and even then they did not understand. This in itself shows us that the current Messianic opinions must have been altogether off the track to be able to influence the very disciples of the Lord to misunderstand those things which recurred again and again beneath their very eyes. Thus, though the New Testament writers do not profess to present to us a description of the prevailing Messianic hope, we may by piecing together the passages which mention various factors, obtain a fairly clear view of the hope of the average Jew. And we may be sure that these sidelights which we thus obtain are true to fact since they are mentioned with such simplicity and naturalness and with such notable absence of any trace of a tendency. Thus, disregarding the inspiration of the New Testament books completely and taking them as mere history¹ we shall try to get a connected picture of the current Hope.

As has been gathered from the account of the hope in the Apocryphical and Pseudepigraphic writings, it was by no means confined to Judaea. Most of Jesus' disciples were Jews, and it was among the Jews that the nucleus of the Christian Church was formed, but the hope existed outside of Judaea as well. The Samaritan woman at Jacob's well was expecting a Messiah and so were "all the twelve tribes", as Paul states. (Acts 28: 6-7). And in that gathering at the feast of Pentecost there were Jews from all the world (Acts 2:9-11) many of whom after the apostles had preached to them immediately realized that their Messiah had come. In the Diaspora as well as at home in Palestine the hope was by no means

1. Even the Modernists admit that they are as trustworthy as any other contemporary history.

dead. But the holy scripture seemed to promise to each in the coming deliverance exactly that freedom from restraint which he was looking for. Atonement, independence, restoration of the Kingdom, union of the scattered elements of Israel¹ - such ideas dominated the hearts and minds of various people. In all conditions of life were those who expected the Messiah - the dethroned prince, the religious Pharisee, the common man of the streets, each had his own ideal of what the Messiah should accomplish.

No one seemed to be sure just when the Kingdom should come. On one occasion (Luke 17:20) Jesus was asked by the Pharisees "When the Kingdom of God should come." Jesus forestalled the next question with regard to the signs of the coming by "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation" - you will not see the signs, it will be among you before you know it. Do not expect to hear anybody say, "Lo, here! or Lo, there!" for the Kingdom is not an outward, earthly one like you expect but is "within you", spiritual. (Luke 18:21-22). This answer must have caused the Pharisees a great deal of perplexity - since it showed that their hopes of a series of signs "in the wilderness", and "in the secret chamber" were altogether unfounded.

Just how the Messiah was to appear and what were to be the signs preceding his advent had been clearly predicted in the Old Testament. Isaiah had given a sign, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive, and shall bring forth a son." (Isaiah 7:14). This sign was not recognized by the Jews of Christ's time, nor is it recognized to this day, instead, Jesus is referred to as the son of an immoral woman. The sign of Micah regarding

1. of. Westcott: "Introduction to the Gospels" p

the star had come and gone. The Magi had drawn the attention of the religious authorities to it, but it had been disregarded. The last and most evident sign, prophesied by Malachi, that of the Elijah had now been fulfilled in John the Baptist and it too had gone unrecognized by the religious leaders. Some of them must have been expecting the literal fulfillment of this prophecy, as the Rabbis taught (see above). Some doubtless recognized that this man was to be specially gifted by Jehovah, for when Jesus performed his miracles, we find the people debating whether he is "Elias, Jeremias or one of the prophets." But the idea of Elias as the forerunner was evidently deeply rooted. It perplexed the disciples when they tried to harmonize the belief of their revered scribes, that Elijah should first come, with their growing certainty that Jesus really was the Messiah, because, as far as even they knew, Elijah had not yet come. (cf. Mat. 17:10). It must have been difficult for the disciples also, as well as for the Scribe, to realize that this man, who simply lived among them as one of themselves, whose ancestry and relatives they know (Mat. 13:56) could be that Messiah who, as they pictured the Hope to themselves, should come down from heaven to appear suddenly among men, "for", they said, "when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is." (John 7:27). Thus, though the New Testament gives the impression that at least a good number of the Jews were expecting the Messiah, and expecting him to appear soon, the history and outward appearance of Jesus were too much against their preconceived notions for them to accept him.

In the New Testament, as in all the Rabbinical writings, all appear to be clear as to the place of Messiah's appearance. The answer

was given the Magi without much hesitation or debate, (Mat. 2:3) a fact which makes it clear to us at once that all must have been pretty well agreed on Bethlehem, or they would not have given the answer so quickly. Indeed the very fact that Jesus was a Galileean caused many to doubt that he was the Messiah (John 7:41-42) and Nathanael that Israelite in whom is no guile, has to "come and see" before he can believe that any "good can come out of Nazareth." (John 1:46).

Regarding the ancestry of the Messiah no doubt at all appears in the New Testament.¹ Jesus asks the Pharisees whose son the Messiah should be, and they answer at once, "David's." (Mat 22:42). Evidently this was already a technical term for the Deliverer, for when Jesus performed miracles the crowd immediately began to question, "Is not this the Son of David?" (Mat. 12:23). When the blind men wish to call his attention to their distress, probably not knowing his real name, they address him as the "Son of David." (Mat. 9:27). The climax, of course, came when, on that last triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the delirious crowd hailed him with cries of "Hosannah to the Son of David!" (Mat. 21:9). Evidently the Pharisees realized what this title meant, for they tried to induce Jesus to deny it, (Mat. 21:16) realizing that the multitude, certain of at least this part of Jesus' claim to the Messiahship, might make things unpleasant for them.

But in the general recognition of the Messiah as the Son of David, Moses' prediction of a prophet, "like unto me" was not completely for-

1. Not a trace appears here of the other Messiah, the son of Joseph who appears here and there in Rabbinical writings. cf. Greenstone: "Messiah Idea in Jewish History" p. 95, 124, 166, etc. (This idea seems to have been a later development and has consequently been omitted in the discussion).

gotten, though it appears only a few times and the conception seems to be somewhat hazy. "This is that prophet who should come into the world" (John 6:14 refers to this prediction, and the sign which the Jews demanded of Jesus seems to be calculated to prove whether he is this great prophet or not. (John 6:31). It was certainly a prophet, rather than a political ruler to whom the Samaritans looked forward, for the woman at Jacob's well was expecting someone, not to rescue her nation from the foreign yoke but rather to "tell us all things," (John 4:25) to expound to them all which their Pentateuch had left unexplained.

The Divine and Human natures of the Messiah remained a mystery to the Jews when we see pictured in the New Testament. It is true that the Sanhedrin recognized the title "Son of God" as belonging to the Messiah, (though how literally they took it, is an open question), when the high priest adjured Jesus, "Tell us whether thou be Christ, the Son of God," (Mat. 26:63) and when Jesus claimed the title as his own they condemned him for blasphemy. By the use of this title in speaking to Jesus, the devils tried to turn the people away from him, as from a blasphemer, and in this way to do as much harm as possible to his work. Though as Michels¹ points out, the Rabbinical writings do not look forward to the Messiah as true God, their idea of him is so far above human that it is but a short step from this view to the acknowledgment of him as the Son of God, as essentially Divine.

At times it almost seems that the fatal mistake of the Jews was not this, that they expected their Messiah to be truly human, but rather the opposite - they were disappointed when the claimant to the Messiahship appeared to them as a man, with a seeming overabundance of the weak-

1. Michels; "Life and Times of Jesus" Vol. I p. 171.

nesses and infirmities common to the human race. Even His own disciples could not be made to understand His announcement, "The Son of Man shall be betrayed into the hands of men and they shall kill him," and they "were exceedingly sorry," (Mat. 27:22-23), so contrary did this fact run to all their expectations. Even Peter, quick to acknowledge Jesus as "Christ, the Son of the living God" (Mat. 16:13-17), began to rebuke him for mentioning his suffering and death (Mat. 16:21-22). It was, in fact, Jesus' death which, in spite of all his teaching to the contrary, definitely robbed the disciples of the last vestige of hope that he was he "who should have redeemed Israel." (Luke 24:21).

If the very disciples of Jesus, under the direct and constant influence of his teaching could not rid themselves of their preconceived notions, one thing is certainly true - these notions must have been very strong indeed in others who were not thus favored. They saw too much of Jesus the Man to believe that this frail creature could be their expected Deliverer. His miracles - yes, they certainly showed super-human power, but might it not be, after all, that he was casting out devils through Beelzebub, the prince of the Devils? (Mat. 10:25). And his human weaknesses conclusively proved that he was not Divine. He was probably one of the prophets come back to life. This appears to have been the common explanation of the difficulty. (Mat. 21:11,46). This alone could explain his ability to perform miracles and, at the same time, his suffering human nature.

With such a distorted idea of the Messiah's person, we need not be surprised to note the total absence of a real understanding and appreciation of his work. Those who had hailed him as the Son of David at his entrance to Jerusalem abandoned him as soon as they found out that he was not going to accept the leadership in a popular uprising. Even his own disciples completely misunderstood the nature of his Kingdom, in spite of all the drilling through which he put them. It was quite in harmony with the popular hope that the two "sons of thunder", James and John, coveted for themselves the two most important seats in his glorious realm. This idea was so firmly attached to all their thinking that even after his resurrection the disciples ask "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the Kingdom to Israel?" (Acts 1:6). His own brethren, who had grown up with him, could not be persuaded to accept him as Messiah, and it is only to be attributed to the convincing power of Jesus' own words that Nicodemus, steeped as he was in Rabbinical Messianism and totally unconscious of the necessity of a change of heart as the prime requisite for entrance to the Kingdom, could be brought to see the error of his beloved traditions. (John 5).

Thus the New Testament records prove that the popular Messianic idea was not at all like the reality which challenged their acceptance. Some few, indeed had been enabled, by the Spirit, to remain steadfast in the Old Testament doctrine, others succeeded in suppressing their own notions enough to make it possible for the true doctrines of the Person and atoning Work of Christ to gain an entrance into their hearts,

but in the great majority, these distorted opinions formed an effective barrier. The Hope, as it was learned from the Rabbin and Apocalyptic writers was not a further development of root ideas in the Old Testament¹ - it is a poisonous human fabrication - not progress but decay is evident even in a cursory reading of the facts as we have them in the Gospels.

1. This is the contention of nearly all rationalist interpreters, Christian as well as Jewish - Goodspeed, Greenstone, Joseph and all the "modern" Encyclopaedias and Bible Dictionaries support it.

THE HOPE AS DESCRIBED IN SEVULAR WRITINGS

The conception of the Messianic hope was naturally not identical in the various parts of the world in which the Jews found themselves. In the countries to which they had been deported, Israel could not hope to remain in complete doctrinal union with the home country, especially in such an uncertain matter as the Hope had come to be. It is not surprising, therefore, that we should find it tinged with the various philosophies and religions of the heathen world. We have seen above that the Persians and Babylonian religions had something to do with the more extremely fantastic details of Apocalypticism. The religion of the Jews of Alexandria, the intellectual metropolis, was particularly open to the inroads of heathen ideas and in the writings of Philo the influence of Greek philosophy is plainly seen.

Philo, attempting the impossible task of harmonizing the religion of Judaism with the idealistic theories of Plato, could not but give up much that was vital to his own religion, and one of the first elements to be cast overboard was the Messianic hope in the true sense. He does speak¹ of a "man who shall come leading a host and he shall subdue nations great and populous by the aid of God, who shall send the help that befits the holy ... moreover this one shall not only enjoy surely, without bloodshed, victory in war, but also an unassailable right of sovereignty, for the help of those who may become his subjects through good-will, or fear,

1. Philo, quoted in Westcott: "Introduction to the Gospels" p. 148-149.

or reverence." There is some similarity here to the popular Jewish hope. But it was not the Messiah on whose person and work the hope of the philosophizing party rested, but on the Jewish race as a race. The Messiah is not even an essential element in his scheme which represents the triumph of the virtue of all true believers and the confusion of all God's enemies and the restoration of God's people to the promised land.¹ The Jew needs no Messiah - he has three advocates before Jehovah. These are: "the goodness and kindness of Jehovah who invites him, the holiness of the patriarchs, and the good works of those who wish to be reconciled."²

In such a system there is no room at all for the mediatorial work of a Divine-human Redeemer, and in spite of the attempts which have been made and are still being made to prove that Philo's LOGOS-idea is the source of, and identical with that of John's Gospel, the two systems have nothing at all in common - Philo's remains a heathen perversion of the Old Testament, tinted with Apocalyptic and Rabbinical ideas, and explains nothing, while John's Gospel, testifying of the eternal "Word who became Flesh" satisfactorily removes all difficulties.

There is another Jewish writer of this period, however, of whom one might expect a great deal. Josephus himself a learned Jew and Pharisee³ professing as he does to write an accurate history of his own people, should certainly be able to give us a clear picture of the Messianic hope. It is true that he himself has abandoned all hope in a personal Messiah for his nation, yet he does not deny that the hope existed in others.

1. Westcott: "Introduction to the Gospels" p. 143.
2. Westcott: "Introduction to the Gospels" p. 150.
3. See his autobiography in Whiston's translation, p. 7, and 317.

He gives his testimony of the existence of a certain sect or "tribe" of Christians who recognize the Christ in Jesus of Nazareth, a doer of wonderful works and a teacher of such men as receive the truth with pleasure,"¹ but all in done in such a matter-of-fact tone that we see his indifference to the whole affair. But for the vulgar crowd who are foolish enough to listen to the many claims of the "vagabonds and robbers, who, under the pretense of divine inspiration persuade the multitude to indulge in mad hopes and lead them forth into the wilderness, promising to show them evident prodigies and signs wrought according to the foreknowledge of God," he has little sympathy.

One of the most outstanding of these, according to Josephus, was Theudas (mentioned in Acts 5:36) who "persuaded a great part of the people to take their effects with them and follow him to the river Jordan, for he told them that he was a prophet and that he would, by his own command, divide the river and afford them easy passage over it, and many were deluded by his words."²

The same credulity is shown in the case of the Egyptian seeress who succeeded in gathering an immense following and led them to Jerusalem where he proposed to have the walls crumble at his word.³

It is plain from the writings of Josephus that after the coming of Jesus, the Messianic hope did not become a dead issue, but continued to be more and more emphasized, especially among the Zealots, who, despairing of ever ridding themselves of the Roman yoke in any other way,

1. Josephus: "Antiquities" 13:5, p. 548.
2. Josephus: "Antiquities" 20:5, p. 606.
3. Josephus: "Antiquities" 20:7:6, p. 2.

rose in arms under the slightest provocation and fought to the death for anyone who made the claim of being a deliverer. He tells us that the siege and destruction of Jerusalem are to be attributed to the influence of this hope,¹ which inspired the defenders of the city, against all common sense, to provoke the Romans, trusting in an ambiguous oracle, found in their sacred writings that at that time one of their country should rule the world.² And even in the untold sufferings of the populace, it was this hope which spurred the leaders on - the hope that at the final moment, before all was lost, the Deliverer would appear and save them from destruction.

The Apocalyptic writers had not written ⁱⁿ vain. The "Messianic messiah" had always been expected by the most extremely fanatical Zealots. In the terrible scenes of the siege they recognized what their favorite authors had predicted and they were willing to endure anything, even death itself to make Israel worthy of a Messiah. The process was too slow, so they hastened the decisive moment by provoking the Romans and making it impossible for them to show mercy. The decisive moment came, but the Deliverer did not. The charred remains of a temple, a heap of ruins where their proud city had stood, thousands of their best people put to the sword and the rest enslaved by the conqueror, - all this was the final result of that adherence to a false Messianic hope instead of accepting their true Messiah when he appeared among them.

1. "The universal belief in the immediate coming of the triumphant Messiah which was so widely diffused as to be mentioned by Suetonius and Tacitus as a great cause of the war (Tacitus Hist. 5:13, Suetonius Vesp. 4) Hilman: "History of the Jews" I p. 510.

2. Josephus: "War" 6:5:4.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE THROUGHOUT THE CHRISTIAN ERA

The destruction of Jerusalem was the end of Judaism as a nation, but the religion was continued. Wherever the Jew went,¹ he took with him, if possible, his sacred scriptures or at least that part of Scriptural and Rabbinical Knowledge which he had imbibed during a life-time of study. With him, too, went his Messianic hope, for this a vital part of the religion of Judaism. Each new oppression to which he was subjected, each new persecution only served to make this hope more real, and the object of it more eagerly longed for.

It was quite natural with such rapt hope of a Messiah, that numerous impostors should arise. The claims of several of these who professed to be able to do miraculous works have been noted above. After the final dispersion of the Jews, periodical deceptions were attempted, and each time a good part of the people, blinded by their present misery and by the golden predictions of the Pseudo-Messiahs, were willing to sacrifice money, friends and position, and follow the Deliverer through shame and torture and even to endure death itself for the sake of their hope. "The disappointment in each particular case might break the spirit and confound the faith of the immediate followers of the watch. The Messiah was ever present to the thoughts and to the visions of the Jews; their prosperity seemed the harbinger of his coming; their darkest calamities gathered around them only to display, with the force of stronger contrast

1. "In every Kingdom of the modern world there has been a Jewish element." Homer: "Jews" p. 5f.

the mercy of their God and the glory of their Redeemer."¹

No less than twenty-four such impostors have been enumerated as having appeared in different places and at different times, and even then we cannot be sure that we have them all. But there are a few outstanding ones who deserve special notice.

The first to have much success was Bar-Cocheba, who, as the name shows, claimed to be that "Star of Jacob" alluded to by Balaam. Discontented with the Roman rule under Hadrian, he actually succeeded in having himself crowned King of the Jews by an enthusiastic mob, after having been announced by a fore-runner of his own choosing. He raised an army of Zealots, and even began to coin money bearing his likeness and proclaiming him as King and Messiah of the Jews. His prosperity was short-lived, however, and the zeal of his followers was soon crushed under the ruthless heel of the Roman legions.

A few centuries later the so-called Moses Cretensis claimed the Messiahship, pretending to be the second Moses sent to rescue the Jews who were being persecuted in Crete, and promising to divide the waters of the sea just as his great type Moses had done, and give them a safe passage through it. So wrapped up were the people in their false hopes that they gathered all their property and followed him to the sea-coast, throwing themselves into the water, trusting absolutely that their Messiah would do as he had said. But this was not the manner of man whom wind and waves would obey - they continued to wash the coasts and some of the deluded fanatics were drowned.

1. Hilman: "History of the Jews" II p. 438.

Every few years throughout the Middle ages a new Messiah would appear and the news of these would travel all over the world, for the Jews were represented in every part of the then-known world, and, owing to the love of travel innate in the Jewish consciousness and stimulated by repeated expulsions, the Jews of many an isolated place became familiar with the manners of foreign co-religionists who would find their way into the local synagogues. The fact that each message of a new Messiah's success was shortly followed by the account of his overthrow and death did not seem to dampen the ardor of those who hoped for deliverance. Preachers, teachers and pilgrims carried Jewish ideas from place to place, the latest opinions of the learned Rabbis of Babylon, Cordova, Cairo and Rome were soon known throughout Judaea. "Now and then an excited mystic came, carrying confused but rousing tales of the wondrous doings of ever-new claimants to the Messiahship and fanned that smouldering dream of an ideal future which brightened the present hideous reality and made it tolerable."¹

The Jewish Messianic idea shows but little that is new during the centuries of the Christian era. Old views, which had been transmitted orally from generation to generation, were committed to writing, and the root-ideas in them were further developed. The tendency of the Rabbis now seemed to be to emphasize the "Messianic woes" which had formerly been mentioned as the sure marks of the approaching Kingdom. The tone of the Talmud at times gives one the impression of despair rather than of faith. Drought, famine, thunder and wars were among the signs that

1. Abrahams: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" p. 5.

should precede the Messiah - moral decay, the converting of synagogues into houses of ill-fame, internal strife and lawlessness were predicted, all of which were known as the "birth-pangs of the Messiah." The picture which men drew from the Rabbinical writings was so dark that some of the Rabbis even declared "that they wished not to behold his coming."¹

Disappointment had followed upon disappointment and the condition of the Jews throughout the world was growing steadily worse in spite of all their hopes for the speedy coming of the Deliverer. So much misery had resulted from the calculations with regard to the exact period of his advent, calculations which had all proved erroneous, that despair began to grip the hearts of those Rabbis who had formerly been enthusiasts. A new maxim gained much popularity in Rabbinism: "let his bones be broken who computes the limits of Messiah's coming."²

While the 12th century was particularly rich in claimants to the Messianic throne, the inevitable disappointments caused a reaction, which was increased by the action of the Roman Church. Pursuing a method which has since been followed at various times, the Church decided that it was time now for the Jews to accept the real Messiah. Bloody persecutions ensued in Spain where thousands of the Jews were put to death for their faith. Others, seeing that there was small hope for escape to other countries and even less prospect of being left unmolested when they arrived there, decided to play the part of the hypocrite and accept the religion of their persecutors. But while pressing the cross to their lips, they vowed eternal fidelity to the cause of Israel, and secretly

1. Westcott: "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" p. 153.
2. Westcott: "Introduction to the Study of the Gospels" p. 154.

promised Jehovah that they would forsake the "false" religion as soon as the opportunity offered. However, without synagogues and without their beloved traditions, many actually fell away and became agnostics. The Jewish race, they now believed, was born to suffer forever, and the day would never come for deliverance from oppression, never should they see a day of freedom and independence. Just at this crisis, however, there arose one Rabbi Abrahamel, who realizing that such a spirit could only result in the final disintegration of Judaism now turned once more to the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament and wrote book after book to prove that the deliverance was near at hand.

The time was again ripe for an impostor to arise, and he came in the person of Ascher Luzzatto, who, after succeeding in inducing a great number of enthusiasts to follow him back to Palestine, died suddenly and left them once more without hope.

But the greatest of all Jewish claimants to the Messiahship was Sabbatai Zevi, of Smyrna, born in 1626. He was personally attractive and zealous for all the rites of Judaism, so, when at the age of twenty-five he announced himself as the Messiah, he obtained a huge following at once and set out for the East, proclaiming himself as Messiah as he went. Returning to Smyrna, he took openly, in full synagogue, the title of Messiah, silencing all those who dared to oppose him. Now Zealots everywhere destroyed their dwellings took their money and jewels and prepared to return to the Holy Land. The whole affair was cut short, however, by the interference of the Sultan, who threw Sabbatai into

prison and dispersed his followers.¹

Such continual disappointments would doubtless have destroyed every vestige of the Messianic hope, if there had not been other factors at work which neutralized their effects. The family life of the Jews fostered a spirit of devotion to Jehovah and a certainty that sooner or later, he would rebuild his Zion. On the long evenings in the winter, the families of the merchants in Paris, of the bankers of Germany as well as those of the ever-present Rabbis would sit for hours around the table and talk of the coming Kingdom. While the more faint-hearted among the Jews were despairing, the sound of Messianic table hymns would rise from these little knots of the Faithful - hymns which, like these Apocalyptic visions of old, fused the smouldering hope of the Messiah's coming. There is a great deal of pathos in the religious fervor of this poetry, in the prayers for that glorious future, rays of which were already piercing the gloom of the present.

..... "Here is hope come.
 What, a soul crushed! Lo, stronger
 Bringeth the balsamic Sabbath.
 Build, oh rebuild thou thy Temple,
 Fill again Zion thy city
 Glad with delight will we go there,
 Other and new songs to sing thee,
 Merciful One and All-holy,
 Praised for ever and ever."²

The result which this fervent prayer attempted to achieve was also sought for in other ways. The idea was certainly quite widespread that, as the Rabbis had taught, the Messiah could not come until all the souls created by God from the primal chaos had appeared in human bodies.

1. Homer: "Jews" p. 216f gives a full account of Messiah's career.
 2. From a table-hymn quoted at some length in Abrahams: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" p. 153f.

Just how many souls remained to be thus supplied, no one was able to determine, but in the meantime every effort was made to accomplish this purpose. "To hurry" on the great day, mothers and fathers eagerly joined their children¹ in wedlock, each mother dreaming, perhaps, that in the child of her own offspring God would deign to plant the soul of the longed-for Redeemer."²

Another factor which served to keep the Hope ever alive was the belief, which seems to have attained a great deal of popularity among the Jews of the Middle Ages, that these two new religions, which persecuted Judaism and threatened its very existence, Christianity and Mohammedanism, were, after all only a preface to a greater and better Jewish Kingdom than that of the ancient heroes. This "raging of the Gentiles" as they chose to style it, would not continue forever - in due time they too would come and bow to the Jewish Messiah, who should appear at God's own chosen moment, and "all men will become God's seed when they acknowledge him, and all become one mighty tree,"³ for, "when the Messiah comes, all will return from their errors."⁴ With this hope in their breasts, even the rankest intolerance and persecution could be endured.

So, through numerous disappointments in men who claimed to be the Messiah, through persecution and ridicule the Jewish Messianic hope has persisted to the present day. But today, if that be possible the Messianism of the Jews exists in even more forms than ever before.

1. "In the first half of the 17th century the groom was frequently not more than 10 years old and the bride younger still."- quoted in Abrahams: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" p. 167.
2. Abrahams: "Jewish life in the Middle Ages" p. 168
3. Jehudah Halevi, a Rabbi of the 12th century quoted in Abrahams: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" p. 414.
4. Maimonides, in Abrahams: "Jewish Life in the Middle Ages" p. 414.

THE HIRSHLAWISM OF THE JEWS OF TODAY

What is probably the most important movement in modern Judaism is known as Zionism. "Zionism is an ideal, and as such it is indefinable. It is thus subject to various interpretations and susceptible of different aspects. It may appear to one as the rebirth of national Jewish consciousness, to another as a religious revival, whilst to a third it may present itself as a path leading to the goal of Jewish culture; and to a fourth it may take the form of the last and only solution of the Jewish problem." By reason of this variety of aspects, Zionism has been able to unite on its platform the most heterogeneous elements, representing Jews of all countries and exhibiting almost all the different types of culture and thought as only a really great and universal movement could command. That each of its representatives should represent the particular aspect most congenial to his way of thinking, and most suitable for his mode of action, is only natural. On one point, however, they all¹ agree, namely that it is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary, that Palestine, the land of our fathers, should be recovered with the purpose of forming a home for at least a portion of the Jews, who would lead there an independent national life."²

The practical carrying-out of the Zionish ideal has, until recently, been attempted only fitfully and very ineffectually, one of these attempts, which resulted in failure, that of Sabbatai Zevi, has already been mentioned. Various attempts at settlement of the Jews were made

1. Various attempts have however been made to found a Jewish Zion in other parts of the world. (see below)
2. Schechter: "Sermonary Addresses" p. 91-92.

during the 19th century. W.D. Robertson tried to found a colony of Jewish Hellenists in the upper Mississippi region in 1819. The American Consul Grosvenor, a convert to Judaism, also made an attempt to colonize the country near Jerusalem in 1850. Other expeditions were numerous but all failed in their purpose, lacking the organization and backing required for so great a project. It was only under Theodore Herzl, a prominent Jew of Vienna that the Zionist movement came at all to be recognized as a force in the world. By the publication of his "Judenstaat" and other literature, he soon won over to his cause such Jewish leaders as Max Nordau and Israel Sangwill and others. The ideas of the "Judenstaat" spread through out the world and six successive Zionist conferences were held. The movement was greatly encouraged when the Sultan of Turkey in 1899 removed the ban, whereby it had been impossible for Jews to remain longer than three months in Palestine. One hundred thousand "shekel-payers" were enlisted by the leaders and a colony was established near Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem. However all attempts to gain independence of the Turkish rule for these colonists failed miserably, and this put a damper on the movement for some time. In 1904 Herzl died and Max Nordau was elected president of the Zionists.¹

To all outsiders the Zionist movement seems to have been a failure so far, but Dr. Schochter vehemently denies this. He says, "The activity of Zionism must not be judged by what it has accomplished in Zion and Jerusalem - where it has to deal with political problems as yet not ripe for solution - but by what it has achieved for Zion and Jerusalem,

¹. A concise history of Zionism by Coethell is given in Sacher: "Zionism and the Jewish Future" p. 117-137.

through the awakening of the Jewish national consciousness, notwithstanding the systematic and ruthless efforts made in the opposite direction during the greater part of the last century..... It had to recreate the Jewish consciousness before creating the Jewish state. In this respect, Zionism has already achieved great things. There is hardly a single Jewish community in any part of the globe, which is not represented by a larger or smaller number of men and women acknowledging themselves as Zionists and standing out as a living protest against the tendency towards assimilation It has established a press to spread its doctrines ... it has given to the world Asher Ginsberg ... it has called into existence numerous societies whose aim is to make the sacred tongue a living language..... Foremost of all, it has succeeded in bringing back into the fold many men and women, both here and in Europe, who otherwise would have been lost to Judaism."¹

And even in Palestine itself, according to Sacher,² the results which have already been achieved are remarkable. "There have grown up in Palestine the beginnings of a new Jewish life, - small beginnings as yet, but full of promise for the future. In Palestine today there are Jews settled on the soil and in the towns whose national consciousness is Jewish and whose language is Hebrew. The ideal of the return to the land of Palestine as the home of the Jewish people, has begun to take concrete shape." This was written in 1916, and the hope is expressed by the author that, in the period of reconstruction, "a new order will be built upon the ruins of the old," an order of which "right and jus-

1. Schechter; "Seminary Addresses" p. 93-103.

2. Sacher; "Zionism and the Jewish Future" p. 9f.

ties" are to be the foundations.¹

Since 1916 the Zionists have by no means been inactive. According to the report of the Zionist organization to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, in October 1924, twenty-seven million dollars have been spent during the past seven years in making Palestine a fit place for the Jews to live in. Baron Rothschild has invested forty million more in the improvement of Palestinian farm colonies. Meanwhile the Palestinian Foundation Fund plans to spend seven million a year in the development of the country. "That these sums are being spent in a land of limited area, of neglected soil, of intricate international relationships and of other disadvantages, is also indicative of the strength of the belief that the Jewish national idea is historically inseparable from Palestine. The Land, as well as the Law and the Language, seem to be fundamental in that desire for a spiritual and political rebirth of the Jewish people which animates the Zionists."²

The physical needs of the people, however, are not only ones that are being provided for in the New Zion. Overlooking the walls of Jerusalem, on Mount Scopus, where the conquering Vespasian pitched his tent before the siege of the city, now stands the humble beginning of a great Hebrew University. The corner-stone was laid in 1918 and since then the institution has had the protection of the British Government of Palestine, which it sorely needs because of the hostility of the Arabs. Hope is running high among the Jews and the Earl of Balfour, an enthusiastic Zionist, in his speech of dedication only a few months ago, said in part,

1. Sachse: "Zionism and the Jewish Future" p. 11

2. Lutheran Quarterly, article by P.F. Blochhardt, Jan. 1925, p. 13f.

"Unless I utterly misunderstand the signs of the times, unless I have profoundly mistaken the various Jewish people, the experiment is predestined to inevitable success, on which not only men of Jewish birth, but others sharing the common civilization of the world will have reason to congratulate themselves."¹

But the Orthodox Jews look upon the whole movement with alarm and they have sufficient reasons to do so. For in the outward development of the country and in the national and intellectual enthusiasm, which has been manifested in the Zionist movement from the beginning, the Messianic hope has been almost completely lost. There are, it is true, still these among the Zionists who hope that the Messiah will come as soon as the Holy Land is prepared for him, but for the average enthusiast the promise of personal Deliverer has lost all significance, and Zionism, as Ginsberg (Aahad Ha'am) admits, means for them "simply the foundation, in Palestine, by means of diplomatic negotiations with Turkey and with other powers, of a safe refuge for all oppressed and persecuted Jews, who cannot live under tolerable conditions in their native countries, and seek a means of escape from poverty and hunger."² Meanwhile the more uneducated masses of the Jews in Eastern Europe still adhere to the old Rabbinical doctrine of the early Christian period that the Messiah will eventually come and reunite the scattered tribes in Palestine.

Then we see the opposition which the Reformed Jews show towards the Zionist movement, we are likely to think that this movement is actuated

1. Balfour: in "Literary Digest" Apr. 25, 1925.
2. Ha'am: "Selected Essays" p. 254f.

by conservative principles only but this is far from being the case, as we have seen above. Their objections centre around an altogether different circumstance - the breaking-up of all social and business ties upon which the prosperity of the modern Jew depends, a sacrifice which is insisted upon by the more fanatical of the Zionist party, has been the cause behind most of the enmity between the two parties. Indeed, the Reformed Jew, just like the modern "Christian" liberalist, is very "tolerant" and eager to extend the hand of fellowship to everyone. He does not definitely state that the belief in a Messiah or in the Restoration of the Jewish state is a delusion. He recognizes that there are millions of devout Jews who cling passionately to these beliefs, that among oppressed Jewish communities such as these in the East, the belief in a national revival of Israel is a powerful solace and support under galling persecutions, and "who", asks Rabbi Joseph,¹ "would willingly seal up the springs of so much blessing? Who would dare to tell these companies of sorrowing, trusting souls, that the hope is vain? No one can say what the future has in store for us."² It may possibly be God's will that Israel once more is to enjoy political independence and to be settled in its own land under its own rulers. Nay, it would be rash to declare positively that the prophets could not have had this far-off event in mind when they dreamt of the future. If then, we meet with Jews who believe in a Return or a National Revival or even in a Personal Messiah, let no one venture to say dogmatically, that they are wrong."

1. Joseph: "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 170f.

2. This seems to be the keynote of Jewish, as of "Christian" liberalism.

But to the liberalist these ideas seem small compared with his conception of the Messianic Idea. "There are many Jews, and their number is steadily increasing, who do not and cannot believe in these things. They cannot believe in the restoration of the Jewish state for they hold that such an event would impede, rather than promote the great purpose for which Judaism lives. The moral and religious education of the world, they maintain, can best be promoted by close contact between Jew and Gentile. Isolation, they argue, even though it be isolation in Palestine and accompanied by national independence, would mean failure to Israel's mission. Those who hold this opinion point, in justification, to the venerable saying of the Rabbis, that the two destructions of Jerusalem were providentially designed as a means of winning the world for religious truth. They remind us also of that other Rabbinic utterance which declares that, on the day the temple fell, the Messiah was born and the fulfillment of Israel's task begun. These persons cherish a strong faith in the future of Judaism, but for them it is a future marked by moral and religious triumphs, and not by national glory. It is a spiritual Empire that Israel is to win, and it can only be won by the Jew remaining a citizen of the world and directly influencing the religious life of the world by his creed and example."¹

Regarding the future these Jews do not try to form a clear picture. It is enough for them to know that it is they who are to redeem the world by precept and example, and they are willing to leave the rest to fate. But that they have a future in store for them, that there is a

1. Joseph: "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 170f.

Messianic age coming, they consider to be one of the fundamentals of Judaism, without which the whole fabric would fall to pieces. "If there is no golden age in store for the world, which the Jew is to bring nearer by his belief and by his example, if Israel is never to behold the triumph of the great principles for which he has borne such pathetic witness, then Judaism is vain. To despair of that triumph is to confess that Judaism has no purpose to fulfill in God's scheme. If the doctrine of the divine unity is the foundation of our religion, the Messianic Idea is its caping-stone."¹

This system of religion, knowing nothing of original sin, or of the need for a spiritual rebirth and a vicarious atonement, can, of course find no place for a true Messiah any more than it was possible for the Rabbis of Christ's time to conceive of such a need. This is the inevitable conclusion, if the ideas expressed above are followed through consistently. And be it said to the credit of Liberal Judaism that, if wrong, they are consistent at least. "A half-divine figure, who is to change the existing order of things by the waving of a magic wand has no place in their thoughts. They believe implicitly in the Messianic Age - the Messianic Person they reject or ignore. They are inclined to believe, with the old Rabbi who declared ² that Israel had no longer a Messiah, seeing that they had enjoyed him in King Mesekiah, - the prophetic utterances which seem to foreshadow a Prince of Peace yet to come, have been fulfilled long ago."³

1. Joseph: "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 172.
2. Sanhedrin 97b.
3. Joseph: "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 174.

It is this code of morality which the liberal Jew regards as the final religion of the whole earth. Of course the broad outlines of his creed have to be accepted, but they are so broad that anyone except a polytheist or a true Christian can easily do so. Thus, regarding God, they would have us believe that "He is one, a Spirit, our Universal Father."¹ Man is not a sin-lust soul, who needs a Savior, but "heavenly in origin, free, responsible, endowed with the power of lifting himself to God in prayer and purity without extraneous aid."¹ Indeed Joseph fully agrees with the Rabbis who declare, "He who renounces idolatry is, in effect, a Jew."²

With a creed such as this it is no wonder that Liberal Rabbis can publicly shake hands with Liberalist "Christians" and hail them as "good Jews." For just as the liberalist Jew has ceased to be a Jew, the liberalist Christian has let slip every distinctive doctrine of the Christian faith.³ For both "sin is villainy in public life."⁴ Both minimize the necessity of creeds and doctrines⁵ and emphasize the moral freedom of the individual, to save himself or make himself miserable in this life by his own efforts, and "he who has learned to love God, who is the perfect Goodness and Truth, with the highest love of his heart, and to love his neighbor as himself, is a saved man, no matter what creed he may profess or what language he may speak."⁶ And the Golden age which both expect is the same. About the world to come they know very little, but

1. Joseph: "Judaism as Creed and Life" p. 174.
2. Megillah 13a.
3. Hachen: "Christianity and Liberalism" p. 6-8.
4. Clarke: "Common Sense in Religion" p. 131.
5. Hachen: "Christianity and Liberalism" p. 18.
6. Gladden: "Present-day Theology" p. 63.

their duty is to promote brotherly love among men and so make the present world a Paradise - and let the future take care of itself.¹ "The world is really the centre of all the Liberalists' thoughts; religion itself and even God, are merely a means for the betterment of conditions upon this earth."² This is the heart of the whole "Diesseitigkeitstheologie" - calling it "Christian" or "Jewish" does not change matters in the least.

Looking back over the Messianic ideals of the Jews of all ages, we see that, in every case, one seed-thought, the Messiah-idea, is derived from the Old Testament. But natural man cannot receive these things - he seeks in his own way to explain what the Bible has left partly obscure. We see him, caught by the glorious promise which one passage seems to give him, neglect all the rest, and follow this idea through, interpreting it to fill his own needs and to suit his own whims, until at last the Messiah-idea itself is so covered up by dreams and traditions, as to present an altogether different aspect from that breathed by the original.

Orthodoxy, Zionism, and modern Jewish liberalism - all these are mere outgrowths of these tendencies already active in ancient Apocalyptic and Rabbinical literature. Today the Jewish Messiah is anything from a Person to the embodiment of the principles of an earthly Utopia. Meanwhile, the world is hurrying on to inevitable destruction and the Messianic Age seems farther away than ever. What will be the Jewish Messianism of the future? Will these among them, who are still longing

1. Hachen: "Christianity and Liberalism" p. 148.
 2. Hachen: "Christianity and Liberalism" p. 149.

for a Messiah at length despair of their false ideals, turn to the Bible with an unbiased mind and find the way in greater numbers to that Redeemer who is still saying to the world, "Search the Scriptures... for they are they which testify of ME," and see in Him their salvation, as those thousands at Pentecost did, or will they go on, trusting in their own man-made religion, until Judgment day reveals to both doubting Jew and Gentile that Jesus is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father?

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