A P P R O V A L

This dissertation entitled

THE SYMBOLISM OF THE SHEPHERD

IN BIBLICAL, INTERTESTAMENTAL,

AND NEW TESTAMENT MATERIAL

by

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INTRODUCTION

The ancient work of shepherding and tending sheep has provided the world with one of its most enduring religious symbols. The use of this figure and its attendant idioms is found early in man's recorded history when he sought to conceptualize religious forms against the background of his daily experiences.[1] From the earliest clay tablets of Mesopotamia, the oldest writings of Egypt, and the vast literature of the Old Testament, intertestamental, and New Testament material, the shepherd symbol has been called upon to illustrate many and varied abstract concepts and situations. The New Testament and the subsequent writings of the Church Fathers often allude to the symbol both explicitly and implicitly for the purpose of showing a fulfilment in Jesus. The early Church eventually came to regard him as the "Great Shepherd." Therefore, from one of the most familiar sights of the ancient Near East and from a routine of daily life came a complexity of thought which furnished the ancient world with one of its most widely

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[1]The term religious is used to include every aspect in the life of ancient Near Eastern man since he viewed himself in a world with complete religious significance. Therefore, the figure of the shepherd when used even with a political connotation must still be considered religious.

used metaphors. Even in modern times, the Pastoral or Eclogue has become a recognized form of poetry.[2] This development inspired some of the great composers to immortalize in music the idyllic shepherd life.[3]

The average man sees religion on his own personal, philosophical, or existential level. Relative to this study, even the modern man is often thrown back in his thoughts and speech to ancient idioms and ideas which best illustrate his own circumstance--the shepherd symbol is just such a vehicle which provides the background for the social and religious needs of many people. The characteristics of sheep obviously provide a spectrum of consideration for similar characteristics in mankind. Therefore, the figure could enjoy a wide application to which we are witnesses in the great amount of literature which makes use of the image.

Man's religious quest does not start from scratch, but he rather stands in relation to his past and his heritage. The past becomes relevant to him through the media-

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[2]Raymond M. Alden, "Literary Forms," Americana Encyclopedia, Vol. 17 (1957), p. 472.

[3]For example, Beethoven's Symphony No. 6 (op. 68), published in 1809, is a "Pastoral Symphony" of this nature; see, under this title (Harvard Dictionary of Music by Willi Apel Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967). It is also thought that the Eclogue represented a stage in the development of opera; see, under this title in the same work. Relevant to the Pastoral is also the use of "Program music" wherein an extramusical aspect is introduced to create a feeling of realism; see in the same work. Further discussion of this point may be found in Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 17 (1958), pp. 362-363.

tion of images and not through his personal experiences.

The context and environment of the past become a collection of events which may ultimately represent to the individual a kind of religious paradigm. The concepts take on the role of filling a need in the mind of the worshiper and situations are manipulated to fit a current event. Religious forms then become quite dependent on the images of the past.

Just so, in the symbol of a shepherd, a historical actuality exemplifies a mythic-dimension and becomes a prominent feature of illustration. Events are "lifted out of the specific contexts of their occurrence and taken as symbols of continuing, universal situations."[4]

Behind the concept of the shepherd-flock relationship would lie the actual situation of the shepherd and the flock in his care. The idea of sheep would typify the notion of the helpless, the vulnerable, the weak, and that which was in need of oversight and protection. Also, the implications are several, i.e., their circumstance left them open to the preying threat of wild beasts as well as robbers. The concept generally would portray those unable to defend themselves and unable to find their way even to where there was ample food and water. Sheep therefore were subject to all kinds of dangers, easily lost, and thus irresponsible about their own safety. The characteristics

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[4]Theodor H. Gaster, "Myth," The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, ed. G.A. Buttrick et al., Vol. 3 (New York and Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1962), p. 486.

thus found in sheep (other animals such as cattle would be included in the image) would provide the symbol with a comprehensive comparison to mankind and the point of view the writer was trying to present. On the other hand, the shepherd represented a kind of paragon of all virtues. Here was the archetype, the exemplar of one who would be responsible, considerate, strong, intelligent, and a real protector of the flocks or herds. He was a guide, knowledgeable of where to find food and water, a healer who cares for the "little ones," willing to die for the flock, diligent, watchful, patient, and with concern for every individual animal.

As G. Ernest Wright has said, "One of the oldest figures which we possess is that of the Good Shepherd caring for his flock."[5] The titles, "Shepherd" and "Good Shepherd," are attested as early as the third millennium B.C.[6] The titles became favorite expressions for the king among Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian rulers. Also, the gods of these peoples were often presented under this symbol. Among the ancient Israelites, the motif of the shepherd and flock was always an important and significant concept of their special relationship with Yahweh. The use of the image is found early in the Biblical Literature

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[5]G. Ernest Wright, "The Good Shepherd," The Biblical Archaeologist, II (1939), 44-48.

[6]Valentine Muller, "The Prehistory of the 'Good Shepherd,'" Journal of Near Eastern Studies, III (Jan. - Oct., 1944), 87-90.

(possibly reflecting the days of Israel's desert wanderings) and continues far beyond the material of the Old Testament itself. Not only was the symbol used to describe the relationship between Yahweh and Israel but also the same correlate was used to illustrate the relation between Israel's leaders and the people.

The purpose here is to demonstrate the various concepts which ran through the minds of the people of the ancient Near East when the shepherd image was used. Although arising from the same basic work and activity, different notions developed about the significance of the shepherd and his responsibility. But even though the various ideas connected with this image are not alike, there still remains a core of meaning that perhaps adheres in each particular use of the image. Whatever may have been the ultimate development of the concept, it is certain that the image grew directly out of the common daily task of a shepherd tending his flock or herd. Appropriate to this point Wright also makes this comment:

> Considering the fact that "shepherd" and "sheep" were a most important part of the life of the Ancient East, it is little wonder that no other words in the Bible compare with them in symbolic interest. No other phase of life left a deeper impression than the pastoral upon the literary modes of expression, the idea, and the institutions of every civilization in the Near East.[7]

The scope of the work before us should provide a clearer understanding of the use of the shepherd motif

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[7]Wright, op. cit.

among the nations of the ancient Near East in pre-Old Testament times. This in turn will provide a base of investigation for the Old Testament material itself. From this background one is in a better position to appreciate the shepherd image as it may occur in all subsequent literature, especially that of the intertestamental and New Testament period.

This study will consider first of all some of the material from ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia. By this method we will observe the use of the shepherd image behind the scenes of the Biblical and Post-Biblical material. Therefore, with these elements in the background, we are better able to approach the Hebrew Literature and more accurately judge the use of the shepherd image as it was utilized over a long range of time and to see what purposes the authors sought to imply by the symbol. Finally, we can enter the later years of the postexilic period and observe how the shepherd image - at least among certain groups - developed into a particular concept denoting the messianic king.

The structure of the New Testament and that of the Church rests to a large extent upon the concepts and notions surrounding the work and function of a shepherd tending his flock. This is demonstrated in the views the early Church had concerning its crucified leader and likewise in the Church and its leadership. Inherent even in the terms which refer to Church officers is the reflection of the ancient shepherding activity with its attendant responsibilities and problems.

Before launching directly into the study of the shepherd image itself, it is important that we notice the pastoral life that was so much a part of the Near East in ancient times and even remains to this day a prominent activity throughout that land. Generally unknown to the Western mind are those aspects which make the use of the shepherd image quite significant to those closely acquainted with the work. Therefore, we will now look at that which was probably the most important of early occupations.[8]

Great flocks have always been characteristic of the land of Palestine and her peripheral neighbors. The term "flocks" would generally refer to such animals as small cattle, sheep, and goats.[9] The chief possession of all the animals, owing to size, abundance, and usefulness, was probably the sheep. Job is said to have had 14,000 sheep (42:12). At the dedication of the Temple it is reported that King Solomon sacrificed 120,000 sheep (1 Kings 8:63). J. Pedersen makes the observation that "The Israelitic blessing is that of peasants and shepherds."[10] The posses-

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[8]This factor is discussed at length in John W. Flight's article "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament," JBL, XLII (1923), pp. 158-191. E.g., he says: "Flocks constituted the main possessions of the Hebrew nomads, and the care of these flocks formed their chief occupation." (p. 165); see also R.H. Kennett, Ancient Hebrew Social Life and Custom Indicated in Law Narrative and Metaphor (London: Oxford University Press, 1931), p. 61.

[9]B.D.B., ad loc. reveals that the term for possessions (ref. to those of the nomads) is practically a synonym for "cattle."

[10]John. Pedersen, Israel, I-II, trans. Mrs. Auslang (London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 209.

sion of herds and flocks was indicative of power and wealth, for we read that when the Lord would greatly bless Abraham he gave to him "flocks and herds" (Gen. 24:35).

The work of shepherding the flock was often done by the owner of the sheep himself. Abel was a "keeper of sheep" (Gen. 4:2,3). Jacob cared for his own flocks (Gen. 30:40). In Ezekiel, God is shown picturing himself as the shepherd who seeks out his own sheep who have been scattered (34:12). Very often, this work would be delegated to the owner's children. For example, Rachel cared for her father's sheep (1 Sam. 16:19; also see 1 Sam. 17:15). We may notice in the case of David that though he was the youngest of Jesse's sons he was given this responsibility (1 Sam. 16:11). It is also noticeable that the work is sometimes assigned to a young girl such as Rachel (Gen. 29: 6). Nevertheless, whether the work was given to the youngest, or to a girl, it was a chore which implies responsibility. Perhaps the responsibility demonstrated in this work and one's performance implies his qualifications for greater tasks as for example in the case of David who would some day become the king.

One of the obvious and chief duties of the shepherd was to see that the sheep found plenty to eat and drink.[11] Another important function of the shepherd was that of guarding the flock from predatory beasts which would often

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[11]Numerous allusions to this aspect of the work are reflected in later Biblical material which will be noted in that section.

threaten to harm or kill the sheep. The "good shepherd" would guard the sheep against any attack, whether by the terrible lion (Amos 3:12; 1 Sam. 17:34) or by the more dreaded bear (Amos 5:19). Sometimes thieves would sneak in among the sheep, slashing their throats and carrying off their prey into the night. Dangers were always present for the unsuspecting flock to which the shepherd must constantly be on the alert.[12] The "good shepherd" was always aware of the condition of his flock, and for this reason Jacob was concerned that the sheep be not overdriven lest they should die (Gen. 33:13). Oftentimes the shepherd's responsibility meant carrying the helpless lambs in the folds of his garment (Isa. 40:11). The well-known Christian art motif of a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders is of ancient derivation.[13] His concern also extended to the sick or wounded of the flock. When these conditions were found, the shepherd, believing in the efficacy of olive oil anoints the victim from a ram's horn or a bowl wherein the oil is always kept for this purpose.[14] Also available for the fevered sheep was probably an overflowing jar of cool water for quenching the thirst of the sickened animal as is

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[12]John D. Whiting, "Among The Bethlehem Shepherds," The National Geographic Magazine, L (Dec., 1926), p. 745.

[13]Müller, op. cit., p. 87; Henri Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (London: Gregg Press Ltd., 1965), Plate 45.

[14]Whiting, op. cit., p. 753. This is based on the practice of modern shepherds, but it is a practice implied in several Biblical allusions.

practiced today by the Basque sheepherders.[15] Essentially, the work and goal of the shepherd was that of keeping the flock intact (Ex. 22:13; Gen. 31:38). The sheepfold may have been a simple walled enclosure of temporary structure made from tangled bushes affording a small amount of protection from the weather and enemies (Num. 32:16; Judg. 5:16; 2 Chron. 32:28; Ps. 78:70; Zeph. 2:6; John 10:1). At times, sheep would be taken into caves which afforded the very best of protection (1 Sam. 24:3). Some sheepfolds were built on a more permanent basis, usually in the valleys where the flocks would be protected from the cold. These more permanent folds were composed of an interior and an exterior compartment. The interior provided the protection of both walls and a roof. The exterior area was surrounded by a wall from four to six feet high. Sharp thornbushes were placed on the top of this wall to protect the sheep against wild animals and perhaps, thieves. A gate into this sheepfold was guarded by a watchman.[16]

The equipment of the shepherd was in keeping with his work. He wore a simple robe made of cotton, and about this robe he girded himself with a leather girdle. He also may have possessed a coat of camel's hair which could

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[15]James K. Wallace, "The Basque Sheepherder and the Shepherd Psalm," The Reader's Digest, LVI (June, 1950), p. 44.

[16]James A. Patch, "Sheepcote, Sheepfold," The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia, IV (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1957), p. 2757; G.E. Post, "Sheep," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings, IV (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1902), pp. 486-487.

shed the hardest rain and provide the greatest warmth on the coldest nights. His headgear was made of white cotton, folded into a triangle and secured by goat's hair. The shepherd was always well shod for protection against thorns, briars, and the rocky ground over which he led his sheep. Inserted in his leather girdle or slung over his neck was a small bag (scrip) used to carry bread, olives, cheese, and other simple foods. This bag was also handy for items such as flint, tinder for starting fires, a knife, or stones which might be used in cases of emergency. The sling was made from the long hair from the back of the sheep. It was braided in such a way as to make a very effective weapon to drive off any animal which might make an attack upon the sheep. It was the shepherd's main weapon of defence with which he was often a very fine marksman. The sling was also used to drop a stone in the vicinity of a wandering sheep in order to turn the animal back toward the fold and safety. Dogs were also used to help in the work of the shepherd, probably serving as pets and also to fight and drive off wild beasts which might prey upon the flock.[17] The shepherd carried a rod or light stick which may have had a crook on one end. His staff was probably a long, heavy cane used for walking and as a general aid in his routine of watching after the flock. Another part of the shepherd's equipment was his flute. The instrument

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[17]H. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 46.

was made of two reeds bound together with wax and cord with each pipe containing six holes. From this crude instrument minor strains of music entertained shepherd and sheep through many hours of solitude and loneliness.[18]

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[18]Whiting, op. cit., pp. 729-730.

CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SHEPHERD SYMBOL

The background of the shepherd image in the Old Testament and Post-Old Testament material begins in the regions of Egypt and Mesopotamia. The civilizations which developed in these two places are at present well attested to the extent that they can "serve as a paradigm for the more sporadically documented areas."[1]

The most distant ancestors of these peoples were successful in evolving cultures which included basic agricultural developments, the production of simple grains (emmer wheat and barley), and the domestication of animals such as sheep, goat, cattle, pigs, and the dog.[2] James Mellaart reminds us however, that neither these particular "food crops nor sheep and goat are native to Egypt."[3] This is significant because the eventual influx of these small animals into Egypt is accountable from outside her borders.

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[1]W.W. Hallo and W.K. Simpson, The Ancient Near East A History (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1971), p. v.

[2]This domestication took place from the Mesolithic Period (10000-9000 B.C.) to the the Neolithic Period (7000-5600 B.C.).

[3]James Mellaart, Earliest Civilizations of the Near East (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), p. 14.

Egypt

A definitive outline of the earliest periods of Egypt's history is greatly obscured from our view.[4] Its written records begin in the late fourth and early third millennia B.C., but the prehistoric centuries laid the groundwork for the concepts and institutions which later appeared.[5]

The shepherd image in Egypt is found early in its history. Its use is probably echoing a political requisite for a centralized monarchy and institutional cohesion. Yet the image certainly reflects a more far-reaching significance than merely political. Though the nomenclature was scarcely used,[6] the concept and thought of the king as a shepherd was quite extensive. This seems demonstrable from the widespread use of such symbols as the simple shepherd's crook with kings, princes, and chieftains. The image, as it was applied to the king was just another way of illustrating his power, eminence, and especially the nature of his rule. Because of the special place that the pharaoh occupied as Egypt's king, we must consider the man to whom the shepherd image was sometimes applied.

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[4]Hallo and Simpson, op. cit., pp. 187-198.

[5]Jean Vercoutter, "Archaic Egypt," The Near East: The Early Civilizations, eds. J. Bottero, et al., trans. R.F. Tannenbaum (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967), pp. 232-275.

[6]C.J. Gadd, Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), p. 38.

The Pharaoh

The position and importance of the ruler of ancient Egypt is not likely to be over-emphasized. The origins of Egyptian kingship came sometime toward the end of the pre-dynastic period.[7] Those causes which converged to produce a "divine" king are probably attributable for the most part to the rise of technology which rapidly transformed Egyptian society from that of a peasant culture into the most advanced of the the ancient world.[8] During the reign of Menes, the theology was already developed of a "united country under one king."[9] From these beginnings, based upon an early primordial cosmogony about the nature of the

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[7]There were momentous occurrences for the advancement of civilization in the late fourth and early third millennium B.C. Not only was this uniqueness to be found in Egypt, but also Mesopotamia shared a similar identity and way of life. Both cultures were based upon large and permanent communities in contrast to the less structured social unit of previous time. These communities took on their own tradition and unity of distinctive religious values. This led to an elaborate political and bureaucratic organization. Also, along with these developments came highly specialized occupations. A system of writing evolved, probably out of necessity since the social unit brought its economic demands. Trade and commerce extended to other regions and cultures. We find also the development of monumental architecture. Both Egypt and Mesopotamia followed similar lines of expansion in all these areas. Both civilizations were preceded by a sequence of prehistoric cultures. See Milton Covensky, The Ancient Near Eastern Tradition (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), pp. 7,8.

[8]Henri Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), pp. 15,16.

[9]Ibid., p. 24.

universe,[10] arose the basis for government which would maintain itself for three thousand years.

The concepts behind Egyptian kingship rest upon two propositions.[11] One maxim to the ancient Egyptian was the belief that the pharaoh was different from other men. The source and the level of his existence was considered entirely distinct from that of other human beings. This is basically the same idea that has persisted for centuries about the lineage of royal blood, therefore making a commoner unfit for the position of kingship (though the Egyptian concept was far more complex). In Egypt, the origins of this concept apparently extend back to King Scorpion,[12] thought to be an incarnation of the god Horus. Egyptian cosmology and kingship are bound together in an inseparable unity. That which made pharaoh different was his dual personality. He was god and he was man.[13] As a man, he could worship his god, his creator, but as a

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[10]Henri Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961), p. 50; Rudolf Anthes, "Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.," JNES, 18 (1959), pp. 169-212.

[11]For a complete discussion of this point, see H. Frankfort's chapter on "The Theoretical Foundation," Kingship and the Gods, pp. 24-35.

[12]"Scorpion" is the name adopted for a Late Predynastic Age king. He is thus identified because his name is written on a stone with a drawing of a scorpion. He was from the south and succeeded in defeating his northern enemies. His successor, King Nar-mer, finally brought about the ultimate unification of the north and south, thereby closing the prehistoric period of Egypt.

[13]John A. Wilson discusses pertinent aspects relating

ruler he was god and the great giver of life and sustenance to all his subjects.[14] The people accepted the pharaoh in this role believing him to be a divine being. As H. Frankfort observes:

> Pharaoh was no mere despot holding an unwilling people in slavery. He ruled in the strictest sense by divine right; and any attempt to describe the Egyptian state irrespective of the doctrine of Pharaoh's divinity would be fatuous.[15]

Therefore, the king as a divine ruler is taken for granted by the subjects of the Egyptian state. He stands as the omnipotent sovereign at the head of his country. And as Frankfort again notes: "The premises of Pharaoh's great personal power lie in the religious implications of Egyptian kingship."[16] Thus, based upon this proposition, the underlying principle of unity was present in the theology about state and king from the earliest times. The second aspect of this view of kingship provided for the continuance of pharaoh's potency even after his death. This factor is rooted in the ancient myth of Osiris, the chthonic god, providing for a succession of deity which was believed to be resident in each king ascending the throne as sover-

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to this subject - pointing out the fluidity of Egyptian concepts about their gods and the human rulers who sat on pharaoh's throne; see his chapter "Egypt: The Function of the State" (Before Philosophy [Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1971]).

[14]Magaret A. Murray, The Splendor that was Egypt (New York: Hawthorn Books, Inc., 1963), p. 174.

[15]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 31.

[16]Ibid., p. 42.

eign ruler over Egypt. "Hence the succession of earthly rulers assumed an unchanging mythological form, Horus succeeding Osiris, at each new succession, forever.[17]

The pharaoh's actions as a god implied that he act consistently with the status embodied within his being. One of the chief terms which describes pharaoh's rule is the word, maat, meaning "right order." From this designation and in view of the king's position as deity, justice and equity should be the order of the social realm. Anything other than this would not be in keeping with the inherent nature of Egypt's cosmology and theology. Therefore, to focus attention again on the pharaoh and his position we cite another statement by Frankfort: "Thus the king, in the solitariness of his divinity, shoulders an immense responsibility."[18] Apposite to this place of eminence is therefore a situation aptly described by John Wilson: "He was a lonely being, this god-king of Egypt, all by himself he stood between humans and gods. Texts and scenes emphasize his solitary responsibility."[19]

Pharaoh was to be a responsible, divine ruler, and as the sole authoritative ruler of Egypt he was obligated to maintain maat. Therefore, in the very doctrine of pharaoh's position of divinity we find a practical appli-

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[17]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 34-35.

[18]Ibid., p. 51.

[19]John Wilson, op. cit., p. 87.

cation in the political and social organization of the country. Everyone was subject to the king and his authority which was his by divine right. To rebel against the pharaoh was to rebel against a theology which bound together the entire structure of ancient Egyptian society. However, as Frankfort says: "The king's power, though absolute, was not arbitrary."[20] Being the font of all authority, commoners were dependent on the pharaoh and could look to him in trust, even having access to the royal court for reasons of appeal.[21] M. Murray amplifies this point:

> To his subjects he was the incarnation, the living embodiment, of the god of any district he happened to be visiting; he was their actual god in living form, whom they could see, speak to, and adore.[22]

Thus, in ancient Egypt, society and all nature were under the mediation of the divine king.[23] Pharaoh was the giver of life and abundance to all the land. Egyptian society apparently believed in all the attributes ascribed to the king. Texts reveal that even the inundations of the Nile occurred upon the king's establishment of maat. It was

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[20]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 49-58.

[21]As a god-king, effective rule was the nature of his character as it was the nature of the deities which flowed through him. Wilson says: "Understanding, supreme rule, building-up of the populace, protection, and punishment were all attributes of the king; the king was each of them; each of these attributes was manifest in a god or goddess; the king was each of these gods or goddesses," op. cit., p. 74.

[22]Murray, op. cit., p. 174.

[23]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 49-58.

the pharaoh who made life prosper and existence pleasant.[24]

Toward the end of the Old Kingdom and during the reign of the first four pharaohs of the Sixth Dynasty (2420-2260 B.C.), Egyptian society waned and crumbled from its previous glory. Wherein Egyptian society had characterized strength, order, and stability due to its centralized government and religious concepts, it was now declining to a level of abusive power and anarchy at the hands of the wealthy provincial land nobles (nomarchs).[25]

The advent of what is called the "First Intermediate Period" (circa 2260-2040 B.C.) which divides the Old and the Middle Kingdoms, brought an already weakened state to chaos and decay. Great upheavals took place during the reigns of the pharaohs from the Seventh to a part of the Eleventh Dynasties.[26] The situation was grave and was in fact a contradiction of all that was implied by the Egyptian cosmology, theology, and maat. As Vercoutter says: "The Old Kingdom monarchy was dead. Egypt now returned to what she had been before Menes - a congeries of warring

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[24]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 51-60; Ivan Engnell, Studies in Divine Kingship in the Ancient Near East (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktrycker, A.-B., 1943), pp. 7-11.

[25]This was due to a large extent to the hereditary nature of the nobility which continued power in the hands of a few families; Vercoutter, op. cit., p. 331.

[26]During this time, trade relations ceased with the lands north of Egypt and the northern Delta region was being overrun by Asiatics; see Rundle Clark, Myth & Symbol in Ancient Egypt (London: Thames & Hudson, 1959), pp. 68ff.

states."[27]

The decline of the First Intermediate Period produced a great avalanche of literature which was to no small degree attributable to the social injustices which prevailed during that time. Some of the material goes back to the Fifth Dynasty. The overriding issue right down to the Middle Kingdom was that of the corruption which had taken over in the land of Egypt.[28]

The dark and grim picture of Egypt during the years between the Old and Middle Kingdoms (2300-2050 B.C.) is reflected in The Admonitions of Ipu-wer. The conditions he depicts are due to the collapse of government and the invasions of foreigners in the land. Ipu-wer's goal and purpose for speaking to the pharaoh is apparently to punctuate the problem and set beside it the ideal rule hoped for at a time of restoration of justice. He thus says to the pharaoh:

> Behold now, it has come to a point where the land is despoiled of the kingship by a few irresponsible men.[29]

And again he says to the king what the king would do:

> . . . it shall come that he brings coolness upon the heart. Men shall say: "He is the herdsman of all men. Evil is not in his heart. Though his herds may be small, still he has spent the day caring for them."

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[27] Vercoutter, op. cit., p. 331.

[28] Adolf Erman (ed.), The Ancient Egyptians A Sourcebook of their Writings, trans. Aylward M. Blackman (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), pp. lii, liii, 92-93; Vercoutter, op. cit., pp. 340-341.

[29] ANET, p. 442.

> . . . Would that he might perceive their character from the (very) first generation! Then he would smite down evil; he would stretch forth the arm against it; he would destroy the seed thereof and their inheritance.[30]

Wilson makes the following observation on the point that Ipu-wer was stressing to the pharaoh:

> Ipu-wer also called into fond memory the many little things which one should do in a temple or at a feast, but immediately followed with a description of the good ruler as a conscientious shepherd who looked after his flocks with loving care: . . . The concept of the good shepherd rather than the distant and lordly owner of the flocks shifted the idea of kingship from possession as a right to responsibility as a duty. Property itself had rights, and the possessor was obligated to exert himself to the point of pain in protecting and nurturing his flocks.[31]

Ipu-wer is therefore insisting on what the duty and responsibility of the "good" king would be. In The Instruction for King Meri-ka-re[32] again is echoed the theme of justice. The king is told to "act for the god," and that men are "well directed," being the "cattle of the god."[33] The implications being that the king stood in a special relation to the god, and he would thus be expected to rule well the "herd" of his people. Another work from this period is A Dispute over Suicide[34] which reveals an individual who despairs over the conditions of life and seeks to find the

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[30] ANET, p. 443.

[31] John A. Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), p. 133.

[32] ANET, pp. 414-418.

[33] ANET, p. 417.

[34] ANET, pp. 405-407.

meaning of its true value. The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant[35] is evidence again of the concern about the social injustices of the day. Such writings as these were as J. Breasted says: "Evidently propaganda for a regime of justice and kindness towards the poor."[36]

It is important to note that during this period the cult of Osiris was revitalized to its highest level. Vercoutter points out that this would not have been the case were it not for the change in "Egyptian moral ideas."[37] One of the symbols of Osiris was that of a shepherd's crook. Whether this fact implies through such a symbol the concept of justice and mercy is an interesting question which would be difficult to prove - but we will study the crook and its significance in the next section.

During the Twelfth Dynasty kings (1991-1786 B.C.) there is frequent use of the term maat. This perhaps was now due to an attempt to reestablish a devotion to government and the king which had diminished in the intervening period since the great days of the Old Kingdom.[38] And, by the close of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egyptian civilization

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[35] ANET, pp. 407-410.

[36] James Henry Breasted, The Dawn of Conscience (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 93.

[37] Vercoutter, op. cit., pp. 343-344.

[38] Jean Vercoutter, "Egypt in the Middle Kingdom," The Near East: The Early Civilizations, eds. J. Bottero, et al., trans. R.F. Tannenbaum (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967), pp. 336-337.

reached one of its highest peaks.[39] Egyptian art and culture spread far beyond her own borders (to Syria-Palestine, Crete, Europe - Aegean shores, and Mesopotamia). The monuments and art objects reveal a certain strength and nobility which is attributable to the new stature which the pharaoh was trying to present in this period.[40] Amen-em-het II took the names "He Who Takes Pleasure in Justice" and "the Just of Voice." His successor, Sen-Usert II was "He Who Makes Justice Appear." The next pharaoh was Amen-em-het III and he was designated "Justice Belongs to Re."[41] John Wilson makes these appropriate remarks about the kings of this period:

> The rulers responded by taking formal throne names which expressed their desire and obligation to render ma<at to men and gods. This was another formulation of the concept of the good shepherd.[42]

Therefore, in Egypt the king was looked upon as the "herdsman" of the people. It was his responsibility to keep them well and alive through the overall principle of maat, an idea woven into the fabric of Egyptian life and religion.[43] The pharaoh as a man and as a god existed in

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[39] Ibid., pp. 354-382.

[40] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort and Bernard Ashmole, The Library of Art History, The Ancient World, Vol. 1 (New York: The New American Library, A Mentor Book, 1967), pp. 50-51.

[41] Wilson, The Culture of Ancient Egypt, p. 133.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Though there is no word in Egyptian for religion, this word best relates their outlook on existence and the order of life.

a world of loneliness - the loneliness of power - because he was the supreme leader of the administration of state. His purpose and responsibility was to tend the flock of his people. This involved controlling, driving, disciplining, and defending them as well as nurturing, sheltering and building up the population. This leader would keep the people "in green pastures," drive off "rapacious beasts" and help those who were weak and helpless.[44]

The Crook - Symbol of Authority

The concept of the king of Egypt as a shepherd is found during the earliest years of Egyptian history. The fact that the shepherd's crook is found in the Late Predynastic period (3200-3000 B.C.) illustrates the antiquity of the idea and no doubt is just the sort of symbol which would reflect the concept of rule[45] based upon maat.[46]

From this period has come the remains of a carved ivory knife handle. Depicted here is a row of men, with chin-beards, each carrying a shepherd's crook. W.C. Hayes notes that the crook "was from the earliest times a symbol of princely, and later of royal, authority, . . ."[47] Other

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[44]Wilson, Before Philosophy, pp. 88-89.

[45]Ibid.

[46]During the Pyramid Age the concept of order, justice, and truth was an important aspect of Egyptian life. The god-king was called "the good god"; see Hallo and Simpson, The Ancient Near East, pp. 216-217.

[47]William C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 28.

items such as palettes and vases have revealed something that appears to be a shepherd's crook from this prehistoric period of Egypt.[48]

From a later period, the pyramid texts[49] contain an inscription stating that the pharaoh would take "the shepherd's crook" in his hand "that Lower Egypt and Upper Egypt may bow (before him)."[50] From the period of the Twelfth Dynasty comes a twenty-three inch high wooden statuette which was found in the funerary enclosure of King Sen-Usert (Sesostris) I (1971-1928 B.C.). In his left hand is a long "hekat-scepter ( ), a symbol of kingly authority derived from the crook of the shepherds of primaeval times."[51] From the earliest times then, there seems to be little doubt that the shepherd's crook indicated a symbol of rulership and power.[52]

The symbol of the shepherd's crook shows up in many places during the long history of Egypt. It occurs often

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[48]Elise J. Baumgartel, The Culture of Prehistoric Egypt, II (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 78, 89, 146.

[49]These were magical and religious utterances inscribed in the chambers of the pyramids of Unas (last king of the Fifth Dynasty) and the pyramids of Dynasty Six; Hallo and Simpson, op. cit., pp. 227-228; Vercoutter, op. cit., pp. 297-298. On the antiquity of the Pyramid Texts see Rudolf Anthes, op. cit., pp. 170ff.

[50]Samuel A.B. Mercer, The Pyramid Texts in Translation and Commentary, I (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952), p. 67.

[51]Hayes, op. cit., pp. 192-194.

[52]Mercer, op. cit., IV, p. 58.

on the monuments, pillars, pylons, sarcophaguses, and the oft-carved stone artifacts from practically every period. On the famous gold coffin of Tutankhamun (Eighteenth Dynasty) is the shepherd's crook in great prominence. This is also true of a statue of his father Akhnaton (Amenhotep IV), now in the Louvre. A statue of Ramesses II in the Turin Museum also depicts the king holding a scepter (shape of a shepherd's crook) in his right hand, extended across his breast. Many other occurrences of this symbol are attested in the available material remains from the Predynastic Period through the period of the Ramessids.

The mental concepts which could take the simple shepherd's crook and turn it into a viable religious and governmental symbol of authority and power are easily understood.[53] When and where this metaphorical construct originated is not easy to trace. The crook staff is a characteristic instrument of several ancient Egyptian gods.[54] It seems however to be especially attributable to the god Osiris for the first time, and, it will be remembered that Osiris is the dead ancestor of the kings of

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[53]Wilson points out that a "shepherd's crook is one of the earliest insignia of the pharaoh and is the origin of one of the words meaning 'to rule,'" Before Philosophy, p. 88. See also Irmgard Woldering, The Art of Egypt, trans. Ann E. Keep (New York: Greystone Press, 1962), p. 232.

[54]Arthur C. Mace and Herbert E. Winlock, "The Tomb of Senebtisi at Lisht," Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, I, ed. Albert M. Lythogoe (New York: 1916), pp. 85-86.

Menes' line.[55]

In Egyptian cosmology, Ptah represents the creator of the earth out of a primordial chaos - other gods being representations of his power. The two gods, Horus and Seth become the contenders for the "Two Land of Egypt." The arbiter between them is Geb, the earth god, who divides the "Two Lands" between Horus and Seth (Lower Egypt going to Horus, and Upper Egypt given to the control of Seth). Ultimately, however, Geb bestows the rule of the entirety of Egypt upon Horus. It should be noted that Horus is the offspring of the dead Osiris. The interment of the latter was at Memphis which became the seat of authority for all Egypt during the reign of the first king, Menes. The most important funerary deity then, was Osiris, and his dominant role continued throughout the long history of Egypt. Osiris is always shown with a royal crown, crook, and flail, and he is sometimes called a "shepherd."[56]

The shepherd's staff as a symbol of authority is traceable back to Osiris and the concepts concerning the fusion of power between the dead Osiris and the living pharaoh.[57] This aspect is a peculiar feature of "Memphite Theology" and in this lies the seat of authority for the

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[55]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 31.

[56]E.A. Wallis Budge, Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection, II (London: Philip Lee Warner, 1911), p. 16.

[57]Ivan Engnell, op. cit., pp. 7-11.

governing of Egypt. How the shepherd's crook came to be associated with Osiris is unknown. Perhaps it was through the obvious implications of the use of such an instrument and the fact that it had the sanction of authority from the earliest times that caused it to be adopted into the myth and art of Osiris and thus to become a symbol for all time in Egypt.

Some scholars maintain that the adoption of the shepherd's crook as a symbol of power and authority goes back to the time when a primitive shepherd people inhabited the district of Busiris ("House of Osiris") in the eastern Delta.[58] Whether the Osiris cult originated in this area is a mooted point,[59] but the god of this Busirite region was a certain Andjeti who appears "holding a crooked scepter in one hand and a whip in the other, and with two feathers on his head."[60] Frankfort makes these comments about this viewpoint:

> Osiris is habitually called 'Lord of Busiris,' and the epithet even precedes 'Lord of Abydon.' It has therefore been assumed that Osiris was originally at home in the Delta, especially since the god of the Busirite region, Andjeti, was (alone among the early symbols) of human shape and appeared with feathers , crook , and flail , as did Osiris. It is, therefore, widely believed that Osiris derived these attributes from a deified Delta king.[61]

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[58]Hayes, op. cit., p. 286; H.G. Fischer, "Some Notes on the Easternmost Nomes of the Delta in the Old and Middle Kingdoms," JNES, 18 (July, 1959), pp. 129-142.

[59]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 200-201.

[60]Pierre Montet, Eternal Egypt, trans. D. Weightman (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1964), pp. 144-145.

[61]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 200.

The questions remain as to the origins of the crook and the shepherd image in Egypt. We would postulate however, that the origins were in fact in the eastern frontiers of the Delta region and originated with small groups of Asiatics who settled here with their small herds of sheep and cattle. Perhaps it was just such an influx of Asians which also influenced Egypt in other ways which are well attested. The culture that developed in Egypt in predynastic and protodynastic times reveal marked similarity to the protoliterate period in Mesopotamia.[62] The point of contact between these two great civilizations of the ancient world continues to be a question for which we have no answer at the present.[63] The zone of contact may well have been by way of sea trade or wandering craftsmen or that Palestine itself was a point of mediation between Egypt and Mesopotamia.[64] Perhaps the contact was also felt through the simple pasturing and herding of animals. Which direction the influence of the shepherd's crook went is beyond our present information. The crook is in evi-

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[62]Henri Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 122; George Roux, Ancient Iraq (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1964), p. 73; T. Burton Brown, Studies in 3rd Millennium History (London: Luzac & Co., 1946), p. 79.

[63]Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East, pp. 135-136.

[64]B. Abu-Al-Soof, "A Discussion of Uruk and Related Pottery in Iran, Northern Syria, Anatolia and Egypt in relation to Mesopotamia," Mesopotamia, III-IV, ed. Geappichelli (Torino: Universita Di Torino), pp. 177-178; M.E.L. Mallowan, "Mesopotamia & Syria-Diversity of the Earliest Civilizations," Sumer, V (1948).

dence in Mesopotamia from the early second millennium B.C. Depicted as an instrument belonging to a male deity, perhaps Amurru, the object is an apparent representation of authority. Just as in Egypt, the god or god-king is in possession of the shepherd's crook.[65] The use of the symbol was apparently common in Mesopotamia also even though attested at a much later day than that of Egypt. Whether the crook was used earlier to signify authority is uncertain but since the symbol of a shepherd is found in the texts from the earliest periods it is not difficult to assume that the crook was used symbolically as it was in Egypt.

It may be that the shepherd's crook staff is the precursor of the later scepter, or baton carried by kings and other figures of authority. The use of the crook or staff apparently came with the first attempts to domesticate such animals as sheep, goats, and small cattle. It is reasonable that this instrument, used to tend the herd or flock, provided the original impetus to transfer the significance of such an object to the larger "flock" of mankind.[66] It is certain that a great symbol developed

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[65]E. Douglas Van Buren, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, Piazza Pilotta 35, 1945), pp. 142-144.

[66]For a further indication of the various types of scepters and staffs used see Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, ed. H. T. Peck (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1963), pp. 184, 240, 1432. For drawings of Egyptian religious symbols, including the crook, see: Nina M. Davies, Picture Writing in Ancient Egypt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958), Plate X; Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, ed. A.M. Lythgoe (New York: 1916), pp. 85-86; Rundle Clark, op. cit., pp. 257-258.

out of the care and responsibility implicit in the work of a shepherd. This work was made parallel to the responsibility over man. Therefore, from the simple work of "pastoring" the flock came the attributes for the idea of leadership among men. Just as the ancient god(s) were featured with the crook as a badge of authority, so also the tribal chieftains took to themselves the same symbol. At some point the image became identifiable with the god Osiris, and is ultimately transferred to the kingly line by reason of the king's unity with the dead god.

Great Inscription of the Third Karnak Pylon

At the rear of the great Karnak hypostyle stands the third pylon erected by Amenhotep III (1411-1374 B.C.). Fragmentary inscriptions still remain on this pylon. Among them is one in laudation of the king, Amenhotep III. The words are typical words of praise, usually attributable to deity. In this we see something of the high regard held for the pharaoh. His kinship with the gods is quite discernable. Amenhotep is:

> The lord of eternity . . . abiding like the heavens, . . . Exalted above millions to lead on the people forever, . . . His eye is the sun, making brightness for all men, The Sole Lord, . . . the Leader, . . . His stride is swift, a star of electrum, . . . The good shepherd, vigilant for all people, whom the maker thereof has placed under his authority, lord of plenty, . . .[67]

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[67]James Henry Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, II (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1962), pp. 365-366.

As the "good shepherd" the pharaoh is "vigilant" for all the people. The position he held as king is explicitly said to have been given to him by his god. The deity mentioned here is the sun-god Re (possibly the Great God of the Old Kingdom called "Atum").[68] The pharaoh is described as being exalted in terms attributable to Re, thus showing the divine homogeneity between the two. It is noteworthy that the shepherd image finds a place in this context of praise - a concept that always played an important part in the lives of the Egyptians - that of the "good" ruler caring and watchful for his people.

Inscription at Redesiyeh

During the reign of Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.), the king was able to revive trade relations between the Red Sea region and the gold mines in the Gebel Zebara district. Because of a lack of sufficient water in this desert region, communications finally came to a standstill. By digging a well along the road, Seti was once again able to promote trade with this highly desirable and profitable territory.

A temple and a settlement were erected at this station along the way. Three inscriptions within the temple celebrate the importance of re-establishing the trade between these regions. The third inscription reveals how the people felt about their pharaoh and his grand achieve-

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[68]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, pp. 52-53.

ment. Following is a portion relevant to this study:

> Never was made the like of it by any king, save by the king, the maker of glorious things, the Son of Re, Seti-Merneptah, the good shepherd, who preserves his soldiers alive, the father and mother of all. They say from mouth to mouth: "O Amon, give to him eternity; double to him everlastingness. Ye gods dwelling in the well, give ye to him your duration; for he hath opened for us the way to march in; (when) it was closed up before us."[69]

The "good shepherd" aspect must be noted here as it is used to depict both a political and a religious sovereign. The idea has a ring of beneficence on the part of the king. The shepherd image was a tangible that expressed to every person in the kingdom the apparent closeness that must have existed between pharaoh and his subjects.

Great Karnak Inscription

In the latter years of Merneptah's reign (1225-1215 B.C.), the Libyans and the maritime peoples of the Mediterranean swept down into Egypt from the western Delta. Upon hearing of this aggression, Merneptah rallied his army, harried the enemy at Perire in a six hour battle, and managed to drive them back to the edge of the Libyan Desert.

As a result of this great victory, Merneptah has left us one of the longest inscriptions ever to come out of Egypt. The inscription was found on a wall connecting the main Karnak temple to Pylon VII (Baedeker's plan) and relates events leading up to the battle. Upon hearing of the invasion of this enemy, Merneptah was enraged at the report,

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[69] Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, III, p. 195.

"like a lion." A portion of what was said to his court follows:

> Hear ye the command of your lord: I give - - as ye shall do, saying: I am the ruler who shepherds you; I spend my time searching out - - - - - you, as a father, who preserves alive his children; while ye fear like birds, and ye know not the goodness of that which he does.[70]

Again, the shepherd image is used, being applied to Pharaoh Merneptah when the people seem to have been disturbed and frightened over the impending invasion of an enemy. The interesting aspect of this writing is that Merneptah indicates that he wants the people to have complete confidence in him as their protector. In stating his case he uses the shepherd figure and implies that he is greatly distressed because they fear the enemy. As the ruler of Egypt he was also considered the shepherd of Egypt and therefore because of this it was assumed the people were assured of safety and security.

Summary

To the ancient Egyptian the government was based upon a cosmology rather than upon a purely political structure. The government was conceived as a god-given establishment having its beginning with the creation of the world.[71] It is to be stressed that "The Egyptian state was

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[70] Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, III, p. 243.

[71] This creation was of a serene nature - probably reflecting the relative safety of "The Two Lands" felt by the people from the earliest times. Egyptian man for the most part felt comfortable in his compact ribbon of fertility - the Nile rising and reviving a land protected on

not a man-made alternative to other forms of political organization."[72] Rather, we have here a pharaoh who was a god-king, and the most important figure in the affairs of state. Being a direct descendant of the creator god, he ruled because it was ordered according to a divine purpose.[73] The people thus took his divinity for granted and life should have proceeded according to all the ideas inherent in the term maat. The monarchy, being the result of a predestined plan, was the only form of political government conceivable to the Egyptian.

> Apparently it possessed the compelling authority of an answer to an unconscious need, and it must therefore have been in profound harmony with the Egyptian mentality.[74]

We have demonstrated that the title of shepherd was used when speaking of the pharaoh of Egypt. Without speculating on the "mentality" of the Egyptians (as Frankfort mentions), we are made to wonder what the Egyptians really thought of their king as he ruled over them, and what was therefore intended by the use of such a term as "shepherd."

The question that comes to the fore is whether this

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both sides by mountains and desert. Here, "nature" was reliable, and the god-king functioned to cause regularity and a good life for all Egypt. For the creation myths of Egypt, see ANET, pp. 3ff. On the subject of how the environment influenced the ancient Egyptians, see John Wilson's "Egypt: The Nature of the Universe" (Before Philosophy), pp. 39-51; Thorkild Jacobsen's "Mesopotamia: The Cosmos as a State" (Before Philosophy), pp. 137-148.

[72]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 30.

[73]Wilson, Before Philosophy, pp. 73-74.

[74]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 32.

image indicates a close and benign relationship respecting the king and his subjects. We are justified in saying that the concept of maat was an attempt (though perhaps unconscious) toward establishing the "right order" in all society. We do have a pattern and a concept emerging in Egyptian history which projected how a "good" ruler would conduct the matters of state. We could speculate about the attitude of Pharaoh Merneptah since it is obvious that he wanted to be thought of highly by the people. He would thus use the concept of a good and benevolent shepherd. It is difficult to imagine that the image of the shepherd is used merely as so much religious or political window dressing without any personal significance. There is no doubt that the pharaoh had great personal power by virtue of the pure religious implications which resided in the kingship itself.[75] But it seems apparent from the evidence of ancient Egyptian society, and what we know the king said, and how the people felt, that the pharaoh in the ideal situation was viewed as a benign, kind, and watchful shepherd over the people.

In the prophecies of Ipu-wer for example, we find implications of the necessity of closeness that should exist between the king and the people.[76] However, during this time of Ipu-wer, the king is not represented according to the texts as being at all the ideal sovereign. It would

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[75]Frankfort, Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 42.

[76]Breasted, The Dawn of Conscience, pp. 198-200.

thus seem that if the religion, cosmology, and cosmogony demanded an unchangeable, rigid policy which perforce made the pharaoh absolute without question, then Ipu-wer is far out of place in his criticisms. What element permitted Ipu-wer to call in question the god-king monarch? Ipu-wer implies a degenerated condition that had weakened the office of pharaoh. Therefore, we conclude that at least a few (like Ipu-wer) recognized a very real human quality in the king - a quality that caused him utterly to fail in his responsibilities as the ruler and leader of the land. We point this out in order to illustrate that the use of the shepherd image may not have been solely a fixed religious concept which was irrespective of the actual relationship that might have, or should have, existed between Egypt's king and the people whom he governed. There may indeed have been the closeness that the shepherd image (which is recognized in later times) suggests. Protection, kindness, and intimate personal feeling for his subjects could well be implied by the use of the shepherd metaphor in the land of Egypt.

Mesopotamia

The influence of ancient Mesopotamia upon world civilization is as unique as it is singularly the fertilizing agent for later generations.[77] For three thousand years

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[77]E.g., see S. N. Kramer's chapter on "The Legacy of Sumer" (The Sumerians Their History, Culture, and Character [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970]), pp. 269-299

Mesopotamia was dominant in the consciousness of surrounding people. From India to Greece, from Iran to Egypt,[78] the "land between the rivers" reached out to beckon the world to partake of her advancements. Therefore, "one may state that in this region some kind of osmotic pressure from east to west was effective from the earliest periods."[79]

As in Egypt, the subject of the shepherd as a symbol extends far into the history of Mesopotamia. Though not more important, nor more widely contemplated, the image is explicitly stated in more documents than those now extant from Egypt. The figure itself was often used in reference to the king or ruler from the earliest times of Sumerian history. Throughout the long history of Mesopotamia, the gods were also often designated under this symbol.

In moving some one thousand miles from Egypt to Mesopotamia, we also notice a distance of thought between these two peoples concerning the concept of the king. As already noted, the Egyptians viewed their king as a god, and as a god seeing after the welfare of the land, he was thought of under the image of a shepherd.

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[78] Popular concensus of scholarship reveals Mesopotamian influence upon Egypt during the earliest periods of both civilizations. For a survey of this problem see H. Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East, pp. 121-137; W.W. Hallo, The Ancient Near East, pp. 188-190; T. Burton Brown, Studies in 3rd Millennium History (London: Luzac & Co., 1946), p. 79.

[79] A. Leo Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), p. 63.

Perhaps through the same mental processes, the transfer of the work and responsibility of the shepherd came to be thought of similarly by the Mesopotamians. The shepherd's staff was here also, as in Egypt, one of the insignia of authority.[80]

Mesopotamian kingship is to be seen in great contrast to that of Egypt. Whereas the god-king of Egypt ruled by divine right and in virtue of his own divinity, the Mesopotamian ruler was made king through the tenuous thread of selection by his peers. A different type society had developed in Mesopotamia, giving rise to a government termed "Primitive Democracy."[81]

The nature of the land of Mesopotamia, owing to its hostile and harsh environment, its vast plains, its scat-

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[80]Relative to the subject of crooks and scepters see the following: ANET, p. 114; John Wilson, Before Philosophy, pp. 151-153; Henri Frankfort, Cylinder Seals (London: Gregg Press Ltd., 1939), pp. 164, 178; E. Douglas Van Buren, Symbols of the Gods in Mesopotamian Art (Roma: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1945), pp. 142-144. The appearance of the crook in Mesopotamia in glyptic art comes in the early part of the second millennium B.C. Mainly, the crook is depicted as an instrument belonging to a male deity, perhaps Amurru, and is an apparent symbol of a shepherd's crook. The use of the image seems to have been quite common for it is used as filler material in various scenes. Whether the crook appears earlier than the Old Babylonian Period is uncertain. But since the symbol of a shepherd and the reference to the crook is found in the texts, we assume that the symbol of the crook was used at an early date in Mesopotamia as it was in Egypt.

[81]See T. Jacobsen's article, "Mesopotamia: The Cosmos as a State," (Before Philosophy), p. 141. This author originally used this term in JNES, II (1943), pp. 159-172.

tered inhabitants, evoked a different response to life and its origins from that of Egypt.[82] With right organization and technology, Mesopotamian man could take advantage of the fertility and productivity which lay dormant in the land.[83] Thus, Mesopotamian civilization "occurred under the sign of the city."[84] Man found his livelihood in Mesopotamia only as he found the means of cooperation with his fellowman and the development of a carefully workable social arrangement.[85] Since the land was waste and arid, the need of an irrigation system was obvious. The maintenance of such a system was so complex that a central government was needed.[86] Here was therefore, a "hydraulic society" with tremendous potential, strength, and productivity.[87]

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[82]Frankfort thus remarks that "the character of the land encouraged separatist and centrifugal tendencies," Kingship and the Gods, p. 217.

[83]Man in fact did take advantage of the land. As he was forced out of the mountains to take up residence in the hot, dry, and arid plain, his knowledge and technology increased. H.W.F. Saggs refers to man losing his "Garden of Eden," the Golden Age of Mythology, and was now forced to the fertile plain of Mesopotamia "to eat bread by the sweat of his brow," The Greatness that was Babylon (New York: The New American Library, A Mentor Book, 1968), pp. 29-30.

[84]Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East, p. 52.

[85]M.E.L. Mallowan, Early Mesopotamia and Iran (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 13-20.

[86]T. Jacobsen, "Summary of Report by the Diyala Basin Archaeological Project June 1, 1957-June 1, 1958," Sumer, (1958), pp. 87ff.

[87]For further information of Mesopotamian foundations of civilization see the following: T. Jacobsen & R.M.

Thus Jacobsen can say: "All great undertakings, all important decisions, originated in a general assembly of all citizens; they were not the affair of any single individual."[88]

The die was thus cast for the thinking about cosmic order and arrangement from the earliest days of the society. That which made society function in such an environment as Mesopotamia, was projected in due time onto the sphere of the gods. Therefore, to Mesopotamian man, "cosmic institutions would naturally come to loom important in his view of the universe, and the structure of the universe would stand out clearly as the structure of a state."[89]

The king therefore took on a different stature than that of a supreme, dominant, and all powerful figure. His power came as it was given him by the assembly of the city. These "elders"[90] of the assembly were there to support the

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Adams, "Salt & Silt in Ancient Mesopotamian Agriculture," Science, Vol. 128, (1958), p. 1254; Stanley D. Walters, Water For Larsa: An Old Babylonian Archive Dealing With Irrigation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), pp. 143ff.; Ida Bobula, "Sumerian Technology: A Survey of Early Material Achievements in Mesopotamia," The Smithsonian Report, Publication 4415, The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (1960), p. 640.

[88]Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, p. 148.

[89]Ibid.; see also E.A. Speiser, "Ancient Mesopotamia," The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. R.C. Dentan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 37-45.

[90]This represents a forerunner of what came to be the respected "elders" of the time of the Old Testament - in fact, we have to go to the OT to find "a complete portrait of an elder," Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 219; cf. Job 29:7-14, 21-23.

king and even give him "fatherly advice."[91] The ideal situation was for the king to be called in only in times of emergency - thus a short term reign would be all that was allotted to this lugal.[92] The ideal, however, was not the real. Certain kings from time to time did grasp at the power which was already in their hands during the critical times of emergency. "Those best fitted to take charge in an emergency must have enjoyed the exercise of power and have been the least willing to relinquish it at the end of their term of office."[93] The king in Mesopotamian society was not one who was essentially different from his fellows. But he was in fact one chosen by the assembly because of his superior leadership qualities. From time to time he abused his position of authority[94] and eventually, because there was a lack of natural unity in the land, a permanent leader became a necessity.[95]

It is thus evident that in Mesopotamia there was a different approach to the universe and society. The king was not the divine monarch seen in Egypt but the compatriot of the assembly to rule as an equal and deliver the state out of any crisis that may have befallen it.

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[91]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 220.

[92]Meaning "big man," Dietz Otto Edzard, "The Early Dynastic Period," The Near East, ed. J. Bottero et al. (New York: Delacorte Press, 1967), pp. 70ff.

[93]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 220.

[94]Ibid., p. 223.

[95]Ibid., p. 219.

This does not imply however that a divine element did not enter into Mesopotamian kingship. During the reign of Naram-Sin of Akkad the king seems to be of superhuman quality and all the kings of the Third Dynasty follow such an epithet. The kings of Isin used the sign of divinity along with a few kings of Eshnunna. Rim-Sin of Larsa assumed the title. In contrast to this practice, Hummurabi of Babylon never used such a title. A few Kassite rulers elevated themselves with the concept of deity, but by the time of the Assyrians and the Neo-Babylonians such a practice was unknown.[96] Even though terms are used to decorate and elevate the king's position during various periods, the idea does not imply divinity. Only those examples mentioned reflect a real approach to deity on the part of the Mesopotamian monarchs. Such a practice for the period from 2300 B.C. to 1500 B.C. is "an anomaly which we cannot fully explain."[97] The point therefore is this: In Egypt, the king was always a god, but in Mesopotamia he was a chosen representative to carry out the will of the people.[98] His election however, gave him a certain "divine" power which made him superior to other men, but

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[96]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 224-226.

[97]Ibid., p. 225.

[98]In his chapter on "The Deification of Kings" Frankfort says: "The texts and usages which we have examined hitherto bear witness to a single conception of rulership: the Mesopotamian king was a mortal charged with the crushing burden of leading mankind in its servitude" (p. 295).

not an equal with the gods.[99]

Generally, the concept of kingship in Mesopotamia was "well-defined"[100] and order was an important aspect of life to the Mesopotamian man.[101] Here, in the land between the rivers the city was founded and man bound himself together in a "primitive democracy." The situation demanded leadership and without it the whole of the population would be like a "flock of sheep without a shepherd."[102]

Egypt's king was the shepherd because he was the god. Deity resided with him as the sole authoritative ruler of the land. The entire complexity of Egyptian religion was bound up in the concept of the pharaoh's position and the "Memphite Theology" which lay behind it - his place as the shepherd is logically appropriate. In Mesopotamia, the king was a shepherd because the deity, or the assembly of "elders" had thus made him the "leader" for the purpose of bringing order to the land. He stood on an equal basis with his subjects. As the shepherd, the king in Mesopotamia was a counselor and companion to his fellows.

Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta

Going back almost five thousand years, this Sumerian

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[99] Ibid., Ch. 18.

[100] Ibid., p. 224.

[101] Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, pp. 217-219. In this place, Jacobsen is discussing the necessity of order and authority.

[102] Ibid., p. 218.

story relates the hostility existing between the rulers of two ancient city-states. Enmerkar, who ruled Erech (Uruk)[103] in southern Mesopotamia, set about to subject the prosperous, mountaintop city of Aratta in Iran. Several exchanges take place between these two sovereigns and the account of their relationship has brought us "the longest Sumerian epic tale as yet uncovered, the first of its kind in world literature."[104] On a second trip to Aratta, a herald, sent by Enmerkar delivers an inscribed clay tablet to the lord of the city. The declaration that is made on this tablet about the king of Erech to the Lord of Aratta reveals the shepherd image at an early date in Mesopotamia. The following is a portion of the tablet and the announcement made by the herald:

> My king, this is what he has spoken, this is what
> he has said -
> My king fit for the crown from his very birth,
> The lord of Erech, the leading serpent of Sumer, who
> . . . like a . . ,
> The ram full of princely might in the walled highland,
> The shepherd who . . . . ,
> Born of the faithful cow in the heart of the highland -
> Enmerkar, the son of Utu, has sent me to you, . . . [105]

The king is called "the leading serpent of Sumer,"

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[103]Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 45; Dietz Otto Edzard, The Near East, pp. 64ff.; Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 269ff.; M.E.L. Mallowan, Early Mesopotamia & Iran (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965), pp. 18ff.

[104]S.N. Kramer, History Begins At Sumer (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1959), p. 21. See also S.N. Kramer, "Cuneiform Studies and the History of Literature: The Sumerian Sacred Marriage Texts," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 107 (Dec. 20, 1963), pp. 486ff.

[105]Ibid., p. 26.

"the ram," and "the shepherd." Probably expressing some quality of leadership, each of these terms serves as an epithet of distinction for the kings. The significance of the symbol "shepherd" apparently denotes leadership and political power. Earlier in the text, the image is implied when it is said that the people of Aratta "will bend the knee before" Enmerkar "like highland sheep"; likewise, he is called a "beloved provider."[106]

A Myth Concerning The Birth of The Moon-god Sin

The study of Sumerian philosophy, cosmology, theology, and religion is a complex problem within itself.[107] The pantheon in Sumer formed the basis for Mesopotamian man's thinking in these areas and the mythmakers often composed their works concerning the gods along the lines of human activity.[108] The following poem is dated in the early part of the third millennium B.C. and reveals the origin of the moon-god Sin.[109] The parents of Sin are Enlil, the high

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[106] Ibid., p. 24.

[107] Ibid., pp. 77-82; S.N. Kramer, Sumerian Mythology, A Study of Spiritual and Literary Achievements in the Third Millennium B.C. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1944), pp. 30-75.

[108] Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 277-281; Thorkild Jacobsen, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (1963), pp. 473-484; Jacobsen, "The Cosmos as a State," Before Philosophy, pp. 138-199; Gaster, "Myth," op. cit.; S.H. Hooke, Middle Eastern Mythology (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Inc., 1963), pp. 23-30.

[109] See ANET, pp. 385-386 where he is also called "Nanna."

god of the Sumerian pantheon,[110] and the goddess Ninlil. The first excerpt below is the admonition of Ninlil's mother to her daughter that she make herself available for the eyes of Enlil. The second portion of the poem relates how Ninlil followed her mother's advice.

> In the pure stream, woman, bathe in the pure stream,
> Ninlil, walk along the bank of the stream Nunbirdu,
> The bright-eyed, the lord, the bright-eyed,
> The 'great mountain,'[111] Father Enlil, the bright-eyed will see you,
> The shepherd . . . who decrees the fates, the bright-eyed will see you,
> Will forthwith embrace (?) you, kiss you.
>
> In the pure stream, the woman bathes, in the pure stream,
> Ninlil walks along the bank of the stream Nunbirdu,
> The bright-eyed, the lord, the bright-eyed,
> The "great mountain," father Enlil, the bright-eyed saw her,
> The shepherd . . . who decrees the fates, the bright-saw her.[112]

The relevance of this myth is quite appropriate in that it reveals the supreme god of the Sumerians under the symbol of a shepherd. He is also regarded, apparently under this symbol, as the one in control of the fates of men.[113] The figure must therefore have stood for power and authority in a cosmological sense.

The Creation Epic

The Sumerian myth of creation is considered to be

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[110] Kramer, History Begins at Sumer, pp. 89-90.

[111] For Enlil as a "great mountain" cf. "The Death of Gilgamesh," ANET, p. 50.

[112] Kramer, History Begins at Sumer, p. 85.

[113] Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, pp. 148-149.

one of the original myths of the ancient Near East. The creation activities are carried out by several gods of the Sumerian pantheon.[114] In the later Babylonian version[115] of the creation, a more coherent picture of this myth is possible. By the time of the Old Babylonian Period, the poem was used during the celebration of the Babylonian, or Akitu, Festival. Its recitation became an important feature of the ritual which was centered upon the restoration of Bel-Marduk, the fertility god of Babylon.[116] Marduk thus emerges as the most important deity when he takes charge after defeating the primordial and chaotic, Tiamat.[117]

This epic demonstrates again the usefulness found in the shepherd figure by the ancients of Mesopotamia. The image occurs in the poem for the first time in Tablet VI

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[114]Scattered references from numerous fragments supply our present knowledge of this early myth; Hooke, op. cit., pp. 23-30.

[115]Exact dating of this version is difficult. There are problems connected with dating it during the time of Hammurabi since there is no indication that this king tried to elevate Marduk in any way; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 323-327. However, there is information that during the Kassite Period, the Hittites restored Marduk to Babylonia which would indicate that he was highly regarded before the final sack and destruction of the last kings of Hammurabi's dynasty; C.J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," The Cambridge Ancient History, II, fasc. 35 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965), pp. 52-53.

[116]Hooke, op. cit., pp. 41-46; Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), pp. 89-90; Henri Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 232-237; 313-333; Saggs, op. cit., p. 323.

[117]Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 235.

of the Akkadian document. The context has the gods of the pantheon gathered together in the assembly.[118] Before this assembly, Marduk is proposed for the task of defeating Tiamat (Tablet II). After defeating the monster (Tablet IV), Marduk creates man (Tablet VI), and is thereby praised in his position as the great hero over all.

Preceding the fifty names of Marduk which are related in the text, the shepherd motif occurs, illustrating the idea of Marduk's leadership over the earth and its inhabitants.

> Most exalted be the Son, our avenger;
> Let his sovereignty be surpassing, having no rival.
> May he shepherd the black-headed ones, his creatures.
> To the end of days, without forgetting, let them acclaim his ways.
> May he establish for his fathers the great food-offerings;
> Their support they shall furnish, shall tend their sanctuaries.[119]

In Tablet VII, Marduk is again extolled for his supreme position and especially for his victory over Tiamat. This portion of the epic makes reference to Marduk as SIR. SIR,[120] which is one of the fifty names ascribed to him.

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[118] Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 114-115; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 297-298; 325-326. This "assembly" was of ultimate importance in ancient Mesopotamia. "In the Mesopotamian view the assembly of the gods remained the fons et origo of divine decrees," Ibid., p. 236; see also T. Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture, ed. W.L. Moran (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), pp. 157-170.

[119] ANET, p. 69.

[120] SIR.SIR means perhaps, "who is a mountain structure (with sea above it)," ANET, (2nd ed.), p. 71.

The shepherd image occurs in the lines following this ascription of Marduk. Marduk is described under the name "ENBILULU," and the words used here refer to the irrigation system of Mesopotamia, and how Marduk's power made everything to function. He is "The irrigator of the plantations of the gods; Lord of abundance, opulence, and of ample crops, Who provides wealth, Enriches all dwellings, Who furnishes millet, causes barley to appear."[121] And, as the conqueror of Tiamat he is:

> SIR.SIR, who heaped up a mountain over her, Tiamat,
> Who the corpse of Tiamat carried off with his weapon;
> Who directs the land - their faithful shepherd;
> Whose hair is a grain field, his horned cap furrows;
> Who the wide-spreading Sea vaults in his wrath,
> Crossing (her) like a bridge at the place of single combat.[122]

It is apparent that Marduk, under the symbol of a shepherd, is regarded as a valiant leader of the world of mankind. Marduk is not only a leader and conqueror, but is also preeminent over the other gods, once again demonstrating the use of this symbol. Under the name of NEBIRU we meet the shepherd symbol again:

> NEBIRU shall hold the crossings of heaven and earth;
> Those who failed of crossing above and below,
> Ever of him shall inquire.
> Nebiru is the star[123] which in the skies is brilliant.
> Verily, he governs their turnings, to him indeed

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[121] ANET, p. 71.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Marduk is called the planet Jupiter. This aspect probably reflects the seasonal feature of Marduk's controlling powers; see Hooke, op. cit., p. 45.

they look,
Saying: "He who the midst of the Sea restlessly crosses,
Let 'Crossing' be his name, who controls its midst.
May he shepherd all the gods like sheep.
May he vanquish Tiamat; may her life be strait and short![124]

This epic is ritual, and no doubt political, as it elevates Marduk in the Semitic and Babylonian pantheon. It is difficult to say whether it came in the time of Hammurabi, or later, in the "Dark Ages."[125] But one thing is strongly noticeable and cogent to this study - namely, that the kingship is still rooted in the ancient ideas of describing rulership under the figure of a shepherd. To be a shepherd meant to be a provider, protector, and sustainer of the necessities of livelihood.

A Prayer of Lugalbanda

During the "heroic age" of ancient Sumer (ca. 2700-2500 B.C.)[126] the literature reveals three great heroes. They were: Enmerkar,[127] Lugalbanda, and Gilgamesh.[128] All

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[124] ANET, p. 72.

[125] Saggs, op. cit., pp. 326-327.

[126] This age followed "The Golden Age" or Early Dynastic I, 2900-2700 B.C., and reflects a time of great epic literature. This flourishing of hero tales is accompanied by other distinguishing features of the period such as monumental architecture (temples mainly) and fortifications. Politically, the cities attempted to bind themselves together into a "Kengir (Sumer) League"; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 34-42; Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 140-141.

[127] This is the same character mentioned previously in the story, "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta."

[128] Kramer, History Begins at Sumer, pp. 200-211;

three appear in the Sumerian King List and ruled over the "sacred precinct of Uruk" (Erech).[129]

In one of the epics Lugalbanda, while on an expedition to the distant city of Aratta, is left for dead by his companions on Mount Hurrum. After some time had elapsed, Lugalbanda awakens in his very sickened condition and utters a prayer to the god Utu.[130] He also makes supplication to the planet Venus, praying to Inanna. After this, he turns to the moon and prays to Sin. Finally, Lugalbanda looks back to the sun and the god Utu. Some of this prayer is as follows, revealing how that everything in some way is connected with the sun, that all are dependent, and that every facet of life is affected by its presence:

Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 43-47; Kramer, "Sumerian Literature; a Preliminary Survey of the Oldest Literature in the World," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 85, (Feb., 1942); Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 42-46; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 64-80. Relative to the importance of this traditional background of Sumer's heroes, see Speiser, op. cit., pp. 49-60; Kramer, Heroes of Sumer (Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pa., 1946).

[129] ANET, pp. 265-266. The rule from Uruk followed that of Kish, which was the first kingship after the Flood. It is interesting to note that several of the kings were shepherds. Eg., the ruler in Bad-tibira, was "the god Dumuzi, a shepherd"; see Jacobsen's articles in Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 25-30; 52-101; in Kish, Etana is also "a shepherd"; and finally, in Uruk "the god Lugalbanda" is called "a shepherd."

[130] The Sumerian pantheon was well developed by the time of this epic. Utu was one of the great cosmic gods (the sun), along with An (Sky), Enlil (wind), Inanna (Venus), Enki (sub-soil water), and Nanna (moon); Edzard, op. cit., p. 89. After the Semitic invasion into Mesopotamia, this Sumerian deity Utu becomes Shamash in Akkadian mythology; Hooke, op. cit., p. 38.

O Utu, shepherd of the land, father of the black-headed people,
When you go to sleep, the people too go to sleep with you;
Mighty Utu, when you rise, the people too rise with you;
Utu, without you
The prince travels not . . . the slave travels not to . . .
Of him who travels alone, you are his twin-grother,
Utu, of the man on a journey you are his 'third,'
Of the . . . you are his twin eye;
The poor, the helpless, the naked,
The "breast" of your light clothes like a garment of long wool,
The needy you cover with a garment of white wool . . .
Hero, son of the goddess Ningal, I sing your glory![131]

It is not difficult to see why the sun-god Utu might be thought of as a shepherd. Having the interest of the people within his power and control, he is viewed as a compassionate and kind herdsman, influencing and touching every part of society with his clothing of light. This poem reveals the recognition of the sun as that upon which all life is dependent and that every part of existence is touched by his rays of fecundity.

The Epic of Gilgamesh

The greatest of the heroes in Sumerian myth is the god-man, Gilgamesh.[132] Coming from the Early Dynastic II

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[131] Kramer, History Begins at Sumer, pp. 210-211.

[132] S.H. Hooke, op. cit., pp. 49-56; Kramer, The Sumerians, pp. 45ff.; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 370ff. Fragments of this story have turned up as far away as Boghazkoy in Anatolia. Many are of a Hittite version, and also a Hurrian version existed; O.R. Gurney, The Hittites (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 179-180. In this longest and greatest Akkadian work (behind it are at least four separate Sumerian stories, Saggs, op. cit., pp. 370-

period (2700-2500 B.C.), the epic reveals those features characteristic of this period.[133] Of Gilgamesh it is said:

> All his toil he engraved on a stone stela.
> Of ramparted Uruk the wall he built,
> Of hallowed Eanna, the pure sanctuary.
> Behold its outer wall, whose cornice is like copper,
> Peer at the inner wall, which none can equal!
> Seize upon the threshold, which is from of old!
> Draw near to Eanna, the dwelling of Ishtar,
> Which no future king, no man, can equal.
> Go up and walk on the walls of Uruk,
> Inspect the base terrace, examine the brickwork:
> Is not its brickwork of burnt brick?
> Did not the Seven [sages] lay its foundations?[134]

Though Gilgamesh is being praised and glorified as the great builder of the city, Uruk, a situation develops which causes the nobles of the city to complain to the gods about their leader.

> Two-thirds of him is god, [one-third of him is human].
> The form of his body [...]
> (mutilated or missing)
> [...] like a wild ox lofty [...];
> The onslaught of his weapons verily has no equal.
> By the drum are aroused [his] companions.
> The nobles of Uruk are gloo[my] in [their chamb]ers:
> "Gilgamesh leaves not the son to [his] father;
> [Day] and [night] is unbridled his arro[gance].
> [Is this Gilga]mesh, [the shepherd of ramparted]
> Uruk?
> Is this [our] shepherd, [bold, stately, wise]?
> [Gilgamesh] leaves not [the maid to her mother],

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380) Gilgamesh, following the god Dumuzi, ruled over Uruk; this is according to The Sumerian King List, ANET, p. 266.

[133] Walled cities and fortifications distinguished Early Dynastic I (Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 42ff.), and thus we note that Gilgamesh was a builder of the wall of Erech; ANET, Tablet I (i) lines 8-12, p. 73.

[134] Gilgamesh is therefore glorified in his building activities. He is in fact made to be united with the "Sages" -those who brought civilization to mankind; ANET, p. 73.

The warrior's daughter, [the noble's spouse]!"
The [gods hearkened] to their plaint,
The gods of heaven Uruk's lord [they ...]:
"Did not [Aruru] bring forth this strong
    wild ox?
[The onslaught of his weapons] verily has no equal.
By the drum are aroused his [companions].
Gilgamesh leaves not the son to his father;
    Day and night [is unbridled his arrogance].
Is this the shepherd of [ramparted] Uruk?
Is this their [...] shepherd,
Bold, stately, (and) wise? ...
Gilgamesh leaves not the maid to [her mother],
The warrior's daughter, the noble's spouse!"
When [Anu] had heard out their plaint,
The great Aruru they called:
    "Thou, Aruru, didst create [the man];
Create now his double;
    His stormy heart let him match.
Let them contend, that Uruk may have peace!"[135]

From this complaint, the gods fashioned Enkidu, a wild creature for the purpose of being the double of Gilgamesh in order to bring him under control and establish "peace" again in Uruk.

It is revealed here that Gilgamesh is acting in a tyrannical manner over his people of Uruk. In his oppression of the city, the son was taken from his father and the maiden from her mother. The question of his actions reveals him to be acting in a way most unlike that of a shepherd! "Is this our shepherd?" Obviously the use of the shepherd image here would imply that they thought of their leader as a kind and helpful companion - one that should be bringing peace to the city.[136] However, with Gilgamesh a serious

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[135] ANET, pp. 73-74.

[136] See E.A. Speiser, op. cit., p. 68, where he discusses the need for wisdom in government: "The king, as a faithful shepherd, must strive to maintain the existing equilibrium at all costs."

question had arisen as to his qualities and capabilities. Implied also are the qualifications which should characterize the ruler of the city - such qualities are expressed in the words: "Bold, stately, and wise." Yet Gilgamesh is questioned as to his ability to lead the people. All this seems inherent in the ideas which are meant to be conveyed by the use of the shepherd symbol in this context. The use of this motif obviously signified something to the people. As a shepherd, the leader should be compassionate for his subjects. Since Gilgamesh was not conducting himself as a good shepherd, the people wondered if he indeed could be their shepherd. The three adjectives, "bold," "stately," and "wise" show further the concept held by the people as to what the ruler should be and what is implied by the use of the shepherd figure.

The Shepherd Gudea

If the reign of Naram-Sin[137] brought the high point of the Sargonic dynasty, then that of his successor and son, Sharkalisharri, brought the collapse of this once powerful dynasty.[138] The Gutian period followed, and brought a time

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[137] Naram-Sin was the third successor and grandson of Sargon of Agade (2291-2255 B.C.).

[138] Naram-Sin styled himself as "King of the Four Quarters" whereas Sharkalisharri is simply, "King of Agade." Naram-Sin had extended trade relations as far away as India in the east, and to the Kurdish hills (Lullu) in the north. He accomplished a central administration, and wares flowed into Agade from many sources; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 108-109; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 68-70; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 62-68.

of upheaval to the country.[139] About 2164 B.C., the city of Lagash[140] comes to the fore as a leading power in Sumer. The rulers of Lagash were called simply by the "traditional, modest" title, "ensi."[141] The best known of these rulers of Lagash was Gudea (ca. 2144-2124 B.C.). His rule was marked by an era of peace and the attempt to institute great trade relations with surrounding cities and countries. As Edzard informs us: "In other words, the map of his commercial network exactly superimposes itself on that of the Akkadian Empire - only instead of soldiers, diplomats and traders carried his name abroad."[142]

Relative to the beneficent rule of Gudea, it is said of him that he is the "right-installed (authorized) shepherd Gudea, of the days, who leads them with a good religious hand."[143]

The reign of Gudea demonstrated that one who occupied the position of ensi was able to bring about a prosperous economy and was probably just as secure militarily.[144]

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[139]This period started about 2250 B.C. and lasted till about 2120 B.C.; Saggs, op. cit., p. 71; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 66-68; Edzard, op. cit., p. 120.

[140]Lagash was not the real capital but Girsu (the modern Tell); Edzard, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

[141]Edzard, op. cit., p. 122. Edzard points out that these kings were less ambitious, less hot-blooded than their great predecessors.

[142]Ibid., p. 123.

[143]Cylinder A 11, 5; F. Thureau-Dangin, Sumerischen und Akkadischen Königsinschriften (Leipzig: J.C. Hindrichs' sche Buchhandlung, 1907), p. 101.

[144]Many public works were carried out - cities were

The clay cylinders coming from Gudea's time have helped illustrate this period as one of peace and useful pursuits. These facts tend to reflect that behind the use of the shepherd symbol was the idea of a kind and peaceful ruler.

"Shepherd," A Common Designation

Other kings of the period of Gudea and kings for many years to come are regularly known by the designation "shepherd." From Susa, a certain Addahusu is mentioned in the king lists: "Addahusu, Shepherd of the people from Susa, a beloved servant of Susinaks."[145] And again, simply, "Addahusu, shepherd of Susinaks."[146] From Tello is a certain Nigkalla who is called, "Shepherd of the fat rams."[147] Gimilsin is the "beloved of Nannar, the king whom Enlil in his heart voted for to be the shepherd of the land and the four directions of the world, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four directions of the world."[148] From the Gimilsin Temple and the palace at Tell Asmar is a building inscription which reads as follows: "To the divine Gimilsin, mentioned by name of Anu, beloved of Enlil, the king whom Enlil thought of in his holy heart for the shep-

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under the power of this dynasty, canals for irrigation and drainage were dug, and yet, there is never a mention of war; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 123-124.

[145] Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 183.

[146] Ibid.

[147] Ibid., p. 197.

[148] Ibid., p. 203.

herdship of the country and the four quarters, mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, his god."[149]

Some of the kings of Isin are known under the image. Urninib is "the high shepherd of Nippur, the shepherd of Ur."[150] Pursin (1923-1896 B.C.) is "the shepherd who has made the heart of the people happy, the mighty builder of Ur."[151]

During the reign of Lipit-Ishtar (1934-1924 B.C.) a time of peace prevailed in the land.[152] It is this king who is well-known for his law code, which was written originally in Sumerian, and later influenced the Eshnunna and Hammurabi law codes.[153] He speaks of freeing slaves, and this would indicate that Lipit-Ishtar was involved in some kind of social reform.[154] In connection with the known background of his reign of peace, it is interesting to note his description in the king list: "Lipit-Ishtar, the humble shepherd of Nippur, the right-installed builder (cul-

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[149]Henri Frankfort, Seton Lloyd, and Thorkild Jacobsen, The Gimilson Temple and The Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1940), p. 134.

[150]Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 205.

[151]Ibid.

[152]C.J. Gadd, "Babylonia 2120-1800 B.C.," The Cambridge Ancient History, I, fasc. 28 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965), p. 41.

[153]Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[154]Saggs, op. cit., p. 79; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 91-92; Edzard, op. cit., p. 205.

tivator) or Ur."[155]

The description of Arad-Sin (Warad-Sin, 1834-1823 B. C.) follows a similar formula to the above when it is said that he is: "the mighty man, who is a righteous shepherd, Enlil has established him, he is the one concerned (worried) over Ur, the king of Larsa."[156] For a second time the praises of Arad-Sin are sung when he is called: "The mighty man, the worrier for Ur, king of Larsa, king of Sumer and Akkad, the shepherd of righteousness who brings to pass the laws."[157]

Arad-Sin's brother was Rim-Sin (1822-1763 B.C.) the king who was able to exert strong influence upon his own kingdom and eventually to put an end to the Isin dynasty.[158] This important military event made him the sole ruler of middle and south Babylonia.[159] This victory probably initiated the following words of praise in which the shepherd image occurs. Rim-Sin is the "hero" and the "shepherd of the whole land of Nippur who brings to pass the laws from Eridu, the builder and worrier of Ur."[160]

The royal titles all seem to be quite similar. Very

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[155]Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 205.

[156]Ibid., p. 213.

[157]Ibid., p. 215.

[158]Edzard, op. cit., p. 200.

[159]Saggs, op. cit., p. 81

[160]Thureau-Dangin, op. cit., p. 217.

often, the symbol of the shepherd is used to designate the Mesopotamian kings and it is apparent that the term ranked high in the thought of the people. The context which uses the motif, and the historical circumstances surrounding its use, tend to illustrate the image as indicative of what an actual shepherd should be in his care and concern for the flock under his control.

Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur[161]

The mighty empire and dynasty of Sargon collapsed in the days of Sharkalisharri due to internal strife and dissension, as well as through the various foreign invasions of the Elamites, the Lullubi, the Hurrians, and especially the Gutians. For the moment, this intrusion eclipsed the flow of Sumerian civilization.[162] Finally, Utu-hegal (of Lagash) about a hundred years later, was able to conquer the Gutians and thereby initiate the first phase of what is known as the "Neo-Sumerian Renaissance," a time also distinguished and known as the Ur III dynasty.[163] This king's son was probably the notable king, Ur-Nammu, who established his name in history by carrying out extensive building

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[161]Samuel N. Kramer, Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940).

[162]After the destruction of Akkad, a time known as the Gutian period followed - from about 2200?-2100 B.C.; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 118-120; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

[163]Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 77.

activities,[164] invented the first law code known in history,[165] and was known as "the 'shepherd' of his people, genuinely interested in justice for all, and in this respect a model for many subsequent kings."[166]

The years of Ur III were years of glory unequaled - a period rightly called "a model of continuity, stability and unity unmatched in the early history of Mesopotamia."[167]

Within a century of its beginning however, Ur III was disintegrating, and once more the ebb and flow of Sumerian civilization was being enacted on the plain between the rivers.[168] The last king of the dynasty was Ibbi-Sin (2027-2003 B.C.). With the defection of Ishbi-Irra,[169] a commander of Ibbi-Sin's northern troops, the king of Ur was left without protection in central and northern Babylonia.

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[164]This king built the great ziggurat at Ur which remains to this day; Ibid., p. 78; C.J. Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, pp. 5-7; H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort & Bernard Ashmole, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

[165]Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 80; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 137-138.

[166]Ibid.

[167]Edzard, op. cit., p. 157.

[168]The Ur III dynasty was probably having economic problems in the form of inflation, and a growing bureaucracy within the government; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 87; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 158-159; it was an "era of vicissitude," Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, p. 22.

[169]Ishbi-Irra established a royal residence in Isin and thereby began a new dynasty of rulers from this city-which previous to his time was of little prominence; Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, p. 38; Edzard, op. cit., p. 161.

Out of the east and north (Zagros Mountain area) hordes of Elamites came to smite to the end the once proud and powerful Ur dynasty.[170] "Never again was Ur to play an important part in history, and Ibbi-Sin became the typical figure of an ill-starred king, remembered only for his captivity and death in a strange land."[171]

A more abased condition than that described in the record left concerning the sack of Ur is difficult to imagine. The city is bemoaned because of the utter desolation[172] that has come from the Subarians and the Elamites.[173] Appearing as a predominant figure amid the miserable and forsaken predicament of Ur is the shepherd and sheep motif. From the use that is made and the number of times the symbol occurs, it is easy to see that the prominence of the motif makes it central to the over-all lament.

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[170] Edzard, op. cit., pp. 160-161; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 87-88; C.J. Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, p. 24; Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 173-186.

[171] Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, p. 24; Edzard, op. cit., p. 160.

[172] Edzard reminds us that here we have "a Sumerian poem in eleven stanzas that still has the power to move us after 4000 years," p. 160.

[173] Jacobsen discusses the kingship of Mesopotamia and how it was a guarantee for the people. He points out that its function was to provide "the orderly, lawful pattern of life. Its function in the world was to give protection against enemies external and internal, to ensure the reign of justice and righteousness in human affairs," Before Philosophy, p. 213. A decision had thus been made by the gods concerning Ur's future. Ningal, goddess of Ur, describes the fall of the city under the figure of a storm which was lashed against Ur by Enlil, ibid., pp. 211-212.

At the very beginning of the poem the sanctuary cities of Sumer are referred to under the symbol of a "stable" and a "sheepfold." The first 38 lines continue the same wailing lament over the temples. For example, the first 10 lines are as follows:

> He has abandoned hi[s]stable, his sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind;
> The wi[ld o]x has abandoned his stable, his sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind.
> The lord of all the lands has abandoned (his stable), his sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind;
> Enlil has abandoned...Nippur, his sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind.
> His wife Ninlil has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind;
> Ninlil has abandoned their house Ki[ur], her sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind.
> The qu[ee]n of Kesh has [ab]andoned (her stable), her sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind;
> Ninmah has [aba]ndoned their house Kesh, her sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind.
> She who is of Isin has abandoned (her stable), her sheepfold (has been delivered) to the wind;
> Ninisinna has a[ban]doned the shrine Egalmah, her sh[ee]pfold (has been delivered) to the wind.[174]

Though the word "shepherd" does not occur in these particular lines, the word "sheepfold" implies the image itself which occurs explicitly later on. Thus, for 22 more lines those places under the hegemony of the Ur III dynasty are presented in a similar way, leaving no doubt in the reader's mind that the kingdom is forsaken and desolate of her gods.[175]

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[174] ANET, p. 455.

[175] For the Mesopotamian, the gods held everything together via the higher assembly. Jacobsen discusses how this "had far-reaching consequences for Mesopotamian history and for the ways in which historical events were viewed

The poem expresses the strong feelings of sorrow and remorse of Ur's goddess, Ningal, as she witnesses the relentless fury of Enlil unleashed against the city.[176] Regarding Ur, the goddess says:

> As for the house which used to be the place where was soothed the spirit of the black-headed people,
> Instead of its feasts wrath (and) distress verily multiply.
> Because of its affliction, in my house, the favorable place,
> My attacked righteous house upon which no eye had been cast,
> With heavy spirit, laments that are bitter,
> Laments that are bitter, have been brought.
> My house founded by the righteous,
> Like a garden hut, verily on its side has caved in.
> The Ekishnugal, my royal house,
> The righteous house, my house which has been given over to tears,
> Whose building, falsely, whose perishing, truly,
> Had been set for me as its lot and share,
> Like a tent, the house where the crops have been ...,
> Like the house where the crops have been ..., to wind and rain verily has been exposed.
> Ur, my all-surpassing chamber,
> My smitten house (and) city which have been torn down,
> Like the sheepfold of a shepherd verily has been torn down;
> My possessions which had accumulated in the city verily have been dissipated.[177]

So ends the second song of the lamentation, with Ur viewed as a desolate and forsaken sheepfold, rounding out the idea which is expressed in the opening words of the

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and interpreted," Before Philosophy, p. 210; see also Speiser's article on "The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East," op. cit., pp. 44-45; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 215-221.

[176] See Jacobsen's translation and comments, Before Philosophy, pp. 211-213; Kramer, The Sumerians, p. 259.

[177] ANET, p. 457.

first song concerning the abandoned stable and sheepfold.

The former days of Ur's relative peace, quiet, and happiness are pictured at various places in the song. For example, line 116 breathes a sigh of remembrance for those times of untroubled peace: "As for the house which used to be the place where was soothed the spirit of the black-headed people." However, its present condition belies such tranquility where the spirit might be "soothed." In spite of the pleadings of Ningal, the council of the gods "direct" the "utter destruction" of her city.[178] The antiphon of the fifth song describes Ur's abject and servile predicament[179] until:

> Its lady like a flying bird departed from her city;
> Ningal like a flying bird departed from her city.[180]

The source of the overthrow and devastation is then reported:

> The Subarians and the Elamites, the destroyers, made of it thirty shekels.
> The righteous house they break up with the pickaxe; the people groan.
> The city they make into ruins; the people groan.
> Its lady cries: "Alas for my city," cries: "Alas for my house";
> Ningal cries: "Alas for my city," cries: "Alas for my house.
> As for me, the woman, my city has been destroyed, my house too has been destroyed;
> O Nanna, Ur has been destroyed, its people have been dispersed."[181]

Thus closes the fifth song. The opening of the sixth song

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[178] ANET, p. 458, line 162.

[179] ANET, p. 459, lines 210-237.

[180] Ibid., lines 238-239.

[181] Ibid., lines 244-250.

begins with these words;

> In her stable, in her sheepfold the lady utters bitter words:
> "The city is being destroyed by the storm."[182]

The theme of a "stable" and "sheepfold" is continued and elaborated upon. After describing the throwing down of the outer city and the inner city,[183] the shepherd motif once again makes its appearance:

> My city like an innocent ewe has not been ... ed, gone is its trustworthy shepherd;
> Ur like an innocent ewe has not been ... ed, gone is its shepherd boy.
> My ox in its stable has not been ... ed, gone is its herdsman;
> My sheep in its fold has not been ... ed, gone is its shepherd boy.[184]

Ningal, eyes "flooded with tears" and bitterly weeping continues:

> Woe is me, in place of my city a strange city is being built;
> I, Ningal - in place of my house a strange house is being erected.
> Woe is me, I am one whose house is a stable torn down, I am one whose cows have been dispersed;
> I, Ningal - like an unworthy shepherd the weapon has fallen on (my) ewes.
> Woe is me, I am one who has been exiled from the city, I am one who has found no rest;
> I, Ningal - I am one who has been exiled from the house, I am one who has found no dwelling place.[185]

An interesting aspect of the shepherd motif in the lament is to be noted in the above words. Here, Ningal compares

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[182] Ibid., lines 251-252a.

[183] Ibid., lines 261ff.

[184] Ibid., lines 264-267.

[185] Ibid., p. 461, lines 302-307.

herself to an "unworthy shepherd." This tends to look back to the previous place where the city, compared to "an innocent ewe," is now bereft of its "trustworthy shepherd."[186]

The poet pleads that the storm (Enlil) not be allowed to continue the devastation in the remainder of the work. It seems that the idea introduced in the opening lines of the poem are again reflected in the following:

> Alas, all the storms together have flooded the land.
> The great storm of heaven, the ever roaring storm,
> The afflicting storm which sated the land,
> The storm which destroyed cities, the storm which destroyed houses;
> The storm which destroyed stables, the storm which destroyed sheepfolds;
> Which stretched out (its) hand over the holy rites,
> Which placed a defiling hand on the weighty counsel,
> The storm which cut off all that is good from the land,
> The storm which held the black-headed people in its ban.[187]

The "sheepfolds" mentioned here may have reference to the houses in the preceding line. These houses are perhaps the temple complexes wherein the "holy rites" are carried out, which ceremonies are mentioned in the following line.

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[186] Several elements occur in this lament and the Old Testament Book of Zechariah which are very similar. The general feature of destruction at the hands of an enemy is the background for the shepherd figure in both; the people compared to a flock; the leader(s) pictured as a shepherd; the significant feature of the leader/shepherd in both places being regarded as a "worthless shepherd"; the price of "thirty shekels" which signifies ignominious worth; and finally, the leaders (i.e., the gods, Ningal, and Zechariah) are presented as suffering with the doomed city. On the latter point, relative to the concern of gods for society and the cities of ancient Mesopotamia, see Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, p. 211; Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 163-170.

[187] ANET, p. 462.

The lamentation brings to attention most vividly the terms "sheepfold," "trustworthy shepherd," "shepherd boy," "herdsman," and "unworthy shepherd." It is clear that the theme presents the gods, and in this case especially the goddess Ningal, as having a position of responsibility and trust which was given to them by the "assembly." The image of the "shepherd" was an important figure to the Mesopotamian as he sought to verbalize his most pressing needs and problems, and in this case, it was the doom and destruction of his beloved Ur.

Use of the Image by Ibiqadad II

Ibiqadad II was one of the rulers of Eshnunna and is dated about 1840 B.C. His reign preceded the years of Eshnunna's greatest glory under the kings, Naram-Sin, Dadusha, and Ibalpiel II, which kings lead up to the beginning of the reign of Hammurabi.[188] But when Hammurabi came on the scene, Eshnunna fell quickly under his powerful hand.[189] From all indications, Ibiqadad II possessed great strength and capability as a king. He controlled important trade routes in the middle Euphrates region, pushing westward to Rapiqum on the River. For our purposes, the baked bricks that were used in the successive palaces of these kings of Eshnunna have yielded up more information on the popular

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[188] Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 28, p. 42.

[189] Ibid.

use of the shepherd image by the rulers of ancient Sumer. Not since Ilshu-iliya (ca. 2000 B.C.) had a king of Eshnunna elevated himself to the position of a divine being as Ibiqadad apparently had done.[190] The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace at Tell Asmar building inscriptions show the elevated position of the king. A part of building inscription no. 13 is as follows:

> The divine Ibiqadad,
> mighty king,
> king who enlarges
> Eshnunna,
> shepherd of
> the black-headed (people),
> beloved of Tishpak,
> son of Ibalpiel.[191]

It is notable that along with the declaration of the king's divinity, the symbol of the shepherd finds its place. Apparently, the shepherd concept is on a par with the concept of deity.

The Code of Hammurabi

The commanding figure of Hammurabi of Babylon held an enduring presence over all of Mesopotamia.[192] His military and diplomatic abilities enabled Mesopotamia to be welded into a unity, even though short-lived by comparison

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[190] Edzard, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

[191] Henri Frankfort et al., The Gimilsin Temple and the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar, p. 138.

[192] Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 100; C.G. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of His Dynasty," The Cambridge Ancient History, II, Ch. 5, fasc. 35 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1965), pp. 3-11; Edzard, op. cit., pp. 212-213; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 85-88.

with other periods of Sumerian glory.[193] Contact with distant countries supplied Babylonia with needed items such as silver and copper from Anatolia, tin from beyond Assyria, and timber from the Syrian mountains.[194] It was a time of caravaneers - bringing a synthesis of ideas, culture, and trade relations.[195] Yet, the cultural constants which always characterized Mesopotamian society, remained. Similar in significance to the old Sargonic period, Hammurabi's Babylonia also proved to be one of Mesopotamia's greatest ages.[196]

An abiding contribution of Hammurabi is his famous Law Code.[197] Its patent pre-occupation with the concerns

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[193]The empire of Hammurabi was similar to that of the Third Dynasty of Ur "in terms of space. In terms of time, it was far more limited," Edzard, op. cit., p. 205. A significant change was the relaxing of the tight bureacracy and centralized government characteristic of the time of Ur III. Better trading and the rising economy provided greater wealth during these years, Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 35, p. 20.

[194]Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 35, pp. 19-21.

[195]Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 93-97; Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 35, p. 20.

[196]Gadd admonishes caution in an over-elaboration of the greatness of Hammurabi and his period (op. cit., p. 4), but nevertheless would give us this perspective: "While it may be true that the revelations of more recent years have somewhat dimmed earlier conceptions of the 'golden age' of Hammurabi it remains clear that his reign and time were marked by much higher material prosperity than its troublous political circumstances might seem to promise," op. cit., p. 45; also pp. 8, 11. Gadd also observes that Hammurabi's unique distinction is greatly enhanced by his individual and unique personality - known and spoken about by "outsiders," pp. 16-17.

[197]This law code is not without comparison to earlier

for "justice" and "fairness" are displayed in the code as it legislates to Babylonian society.[198] In the Prologue, Hammurabi declares:

> I established law and justice in the language of the land,
> thereby promoting the welfare of the people.[199]

How near to fact the Code reflects the actual social conditions is open to question, nevertheless, contracts and letters of the period provide for an evaluation which supports Hammurabi's assertion.[200]

The rationale given in the Prologue must imply something of the circumstances and goals which prompted the

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law codes such as the laws of Eshnunna and those of Lipit-Ishtar of Isin. Gadd thus relates: "His achievement is still without peer, but no longer without comparison and challenge. The existence of Sumerian laws had long been known by survival of examples - these were attributed to Lipit-Ishtar of Isin, and a part of his actual text has now been recovered, having prologue, corpus, and epilogue in the complete form of Hammurabi's 'code'. Still more closely comparable, are the laws of Eshnunna. These were written in Akkadian scarcely distinguishable from the phraseology of Hammurabi, and they were issued with a short preamble, and probably an epilogue, if the text were preserved," Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 35, p. 14; see also Edzard, op. cit., pp. 215-221.

[198] Gadd, op. cit., fasc. 35, pp. 14-15. The Code deals with civil, criminal, and administrative law yet without separating them distinctly; Edzard, op. cit., p. 218.

[199] ANET, p. 165.

[200] See Gadd's discussion of how family and social life, "as always at the heights of civilization, was so much under the influence of women that the position of these may be considered as a most significant factor," pp. 31-34. See also Edzard's comments about Hammurabi's "passion for a just administration, for petitions and complaints of every kind were laid before the king directly, often initiating a strict investigation of the facts," op. cit., p. 214.

Code itself. Within this Prologue the shepherd image is used along with other terms of accolade. Recognizing early in the Prologue his appointment by the gods, the responsibility of Hammurabi is declared. As he has been named by the gods "to promote the welfare of the people" his business is therefore:

> to cause justice to prevail in the land,
> to destroy the wicked and the evil,
> that the strong might not oppress the weak,
> to rise like the sun over the black-headed (people),
> and to light up the land.[201]

Immediately following these words the shepherd figure is applied to the king.

> Hammurabi, the shepherd, called by Enlil, am I;
> the one who makes affluence and plenty abound;
> who provides in abundance all sorts of things for Nippur-Duranki;
> the devout patron of Ekur;
> the efficient king, who restored Eridu to its place.[202]

It is probable that the use of the shepherd image in this part is to amplify the significance of a rule that is considered to be good and beneficent to the people of the land.

In a world which knew the needs of the herd and flock, the figure of a careful, compassionate, and dutiful shepherd must have carried the inherent ideas which found a fitting expression for relating a king's rulership over his subjects. It is worthwhile to note in the above, the

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[201] ANET, p. 164.

[202] ANET, p. 164.

postulate which is apparently implied in the very use and thought behind the work of shepherding. He is one who "makes affluence and plenty abound." This is a situation which is the highest order to which a society might aspire. The shepherd also "provides in abundance all sorts of things" for the temple cult, Nippur-Duranki. The thought of the shepherd as one who makes for the provisions of the people continues at a later place in the Prologue where Hammurabi is styled with the following descriptions:

> the devout prince, who brightens up the face of Tishpak;
> the provider of splendid banquets for Ninazu;
> the savior of his people from distress,
> who establishes in security their portion in the midst of Babylon;
> the shepherd of the people, whose deeds are pleasing to Ishtar;
> who installed Ishtar in Eulmash in the midst of Akkad square;
> who makes law prevail; who guides the people aright;
> who returned to Ashur its kindly protecting genius;
> who silences the growlers;
> the king, who made the name of Inanna glorious in Nineveh in Emishmish;
> the devout one, who prays fervently to the great gods;
> the descendant of Sumu-la-el;
> the powerful son and heir of Sin-muballit.[203]

These words, ideas, and expressions surrounding the use of the term "shepherd" are telling as to the meaning which the figure is meant to signify. Being a provider, he is also a "savior" in times of difficulty, giving to the inhabitants of the land "security." As a shepherd he "guides the people aright."

The Epilogue of the Code picks up the thought of the

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[203] ANET, p. 165.

Prologue and continues the emphasis of the governmental principles of justice. Its beginning words are as follows:

> The laws of justice, which Hammurabi, the efficient king, set up,
> and by which he caused the land to take the right way and have good government.
>
> I, Hammurabi, the perfect king,
> was not careless (or) neglectful of the black-headed (people),
> whom Enlil had presented to me,
> (and) whose shepherding Marduk had committed to me;
> I sought out peaceful regions for them;
> I overcame grievous difficulties;
> I caused light to rise on them.
> With the mighty weapon which Zababa and Inanna entrusted to me,
> with the insight that Enki allotted to me,
> with the ability that Marduk gave me,
> I rooted out the enemy above and below;
> I made an end of war;
> I promoted the welfare of the land;
> I made the peoples rest in friendly habitations;
> I did not let them have anyone to terrorize them.
> The great gods called me,
> so I became the beneficent shepherd whose scepter is righteous;
> my benign shadow is spread over my city.
> In my bosom I carried the peoples of the land of Sumer and Akkad;
> they prospered under my protection;
> I always governed them in peace;
> I sheltered them in my wisdom.
> In order that the strong might not oppress the weak,
> that justice might be dealt the orphan (and) the widow,
> in Babylon, the city whose head Anum and Enlil raised aloft,
> in Esagilla, the temple whose foundations stand firm like heaven and earth,
> I wrote my precious words on my stela,
> and in the presence of the statue of me, the king of justice,
> I set (it) up in order to administer the law of the land,
> to prescribe the ordinances of the land,
> to give justice to the oppressed.[204]

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[204] ANET, pp. 177-178.

Both the Prologue and Epilogue bring into sharp relief that the purpose behind the Law Code was to establish a just course for society to follow. Hammurabi defines the scope of his responsibility as a ruler and what the future kings should strive for as they held the scepter over Babylon. The king is not to be "careless or neglectful." He would provide "peaceful regions" for them, and overcome their difficulties, giving them victory over the enemy, and promoting "welfare" for the land. Hammurabi claims he had "made the peoples rest in friendly habitations," being a "beneficent shepherd," ruling with a scepter which "is righteous." Under Hammurabi's shepherdship, the land prospers under his "protection," living in "peace," with "justice" being the mainstay of the society. Those kings to follow after Hammurabi are admonished as follows:

> In the days to come, for all time,
> let the king who appears in the land observe
> the words of justice which I wrote on my stela;
> let him not alter the law of the land which I enacted,
> the ordinances of the land which I prescribed;
> let him not rescind my statutes!
> If that man has intelligence
> and is able to guide his land aright,
> let him heed the words which I wrote on my stela,
> and may this stela show him the road (and) the way,
> the law of the land which I enacted,
> the ordinances of the land which I prescribed;
> and let him guide aright his black-headed (people)!
> Let him root out the wicked and the evil from his land;
> let him promote the welfare of his people!
>
> I, Hammurabi, am the king of justice,
> to whom Shamash committed law.
> My words are choice; my deeds have no equal;
> it is only to the fool that they are empty;
> to the wise they stand forth as an object of wonder.
> If that man heeded my words which I wrote on my stela,
> and did not rescind my law,
> has not distorted my words,

> did not alter my statutes,
> may Shamash make that man reign
> as long as I, the king of justice;
> may he shepherd his people in justice![205]

The displeasure of the "mighty Anum" is called down upon anyone of the "ruling class" who fails to heed the words on his "stela." His action would be to

> deprive him of the glory of sovereignty,
> may he break his scepter, may he curse his fate![206]

A strong sense of responsibility is revealed in this work. The need of governing in justice is paramount and nefarious conduct on the part of rulers is to be met with the most serious consequences. The figure of the shepherd as used by Hammurabi demonstrates how the term is used to express what an ideal reign might be. All the concepts that could be attributed to the intrinsic worth of the king's ability to govern are greatly illumined by the thought of a shepherd caring for his flock.

The Shamash Hymn

The role of the sun was always preeminent in the thinking and religion of ancient Near Eastern man. The daily presence and the seasonal nature of the sun gave to it an important role in the seasonal festivals reflected in numerous texts.[207]

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[205] ANET, p. 178.

[206] ANET, p. 179.

[207] Gaster, Thespis, p. 47. Professor Gaster discusses how festivals "are often made to coincide with the solstice or equinox"; see also p. 301.

The cult of the sun-god did not reach the level of importance as did the cult of Re[208] in Egypt, but Shamash did play an important part as "the guardian of justice."[209] Often, the sun is the "one" to whom prayers and incantations are directed.[210] Hammurabi received his code of laws from Shamash[211] and therefore we observe that justice coincides with the making of laws for society.

> Utu-Shamash, in his daily course across the heavens, dispelled all darkness and could see all the works of man: thus, by being the 'one from whom no secrets are hid' he was the god of justice, and it was he who is portrayed on the stele of Hammurabi as symbolically handing over the just laws to that king. As the god of justice Shamash is commonly represented with the rod and ring, denoting straightness and completeness, that is, right and justice.[212]

Frankfort also comments relative to Shamash as a god of justice: "The regularity of the sun's movements suggested (besides victory and order and immortality as rebirths without end) the thought of inflexible justice and an ubiquitous judge. Thus its behavior acquired an ethical quality."[213] The government was established and conducted

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[208] In Egypt, Re was "the Lord of Egypt, the King of the Two Lands," see Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 148; Ancient Egyptian Religion, p. 16.

[209] Hooke, op. cit., p. 70; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 293-294; 302; 313; 335; 373-375; 400-402; 435; 438.

[210] Ibid., p. 63.

[211] Ibid., p. 147.

[212] Saggs, op. cit., p. 318; see also Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 26, 35.

[213] Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, p. 157.

by the king, but he ruled by the "mystical powers of the universe" since everything was subject to these "primeval forces" in the thought of ancient Near Eastern man. When the king's actions did not conform with his responsibilities, he came under "divine censure." The legislation of power from a god (e.g., Shamash) to a king (e.g., Hammurabi) imposed upon the king the duty to rule with justice.[214] The accountability of the king was beyond himself, and resided in the "broad democratic basis" of the "assembly" to which all earth-phenomena were subject.[215]

The Shamash Hymn (or Hymn to the Sun-God) is a composition from the seventh century B.C.,[216] and is considered to be the most beautiful of all cuneiform hymns. The hymn strongly emphasizes the integrity and impartiality of Shamash over all classes of people. It is no wonder that the hymn was so widely accepted and celebrated among the struggling masses of Mesopotamian society.

Appropriately enough, the shepherd image is introduced in the hymn, and is applied to the god, Shamash. This figure must have been quite relevant to the supererogation

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[214] Ibid., pp. 251-261; W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 210; ANET, p. 387.

[215] Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 157-170.

[216] This hymn to Shamash must have been quite popular in the region since a number of manuscripts have come to light - at least five copies have come from the libary of Ashurbanipal, 668-633 B.C. Even though popular and extensive in Mesopotamia, its history is obscure.

of the deity as a god of justice. The following is a portion of the hymn which contains the idea of Shamash as a shepherd. It occurs in the midst of words of great acclaim and laudation. It is significant to note that Shamash is presented as the great protector - a deliverer of all men of all classes.

> O shining one, who opens the darkness, who ...,
> Who intensifies the noonday heat ... the grain fields.
> The mighty mountains are covered with thy brightness.
> Thy brilliance fills the extent of the land.
> (When thou art risen over the mountains thou dost scan the earth.
> Thou are holding the ends of the earth suspended from the midst of heaven.
> The people of the world, all of them, thou dost watch over.
> Whatever Ea, the counselor-king, has willed to create, thou art guarding altogether.
> Those endowed with life, thou likewise dost tend;
> Thou indeed art their shepherd both above and below.
> Faithfully thou dost continue to pass through the heavens;
> The broad earth thou dost visit daily.
> ... the sea, the mountains, the earth, and the heavens.
> Like a ... steadfastly thou goest every day.
> The lower region, belonging to the prince Kubu (and) the Anunnaki, thou dost guard;
> The upper world, consisting of all inhabited places, thou dost lead aright.
> Shepherd of the lower world, guardian of the upper,
> Guide, light of everything, O Shamash, art thou.[217]

The appealing nature of the shepherd symbol is demonstrated very adequately in this hymn. The general situation of the people of the ancient Near East was that of an agrarian background. We assume therefore that this fact made the relationship between a shepherd and the god of justice, Shamash, especially significant. The elements of faithful-

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[217] ANET, pp. 387-388; Lambert, op. cit., pp. 127-128; Gaster, Thespis, p. 228.

ness, care, watchfulness, concern, and kindness, are attributes which appear in the hymn. The shepherd concept as applied to this god must have been based upon its affinity with the experiences that were well known to the people of the ancient Near East.

The Poem of the Righteous Sufferer[218]

Marduk, praised as "the lord of all wisdom," is the ultimate hero of this poem. The story concerns itself with the observable unjustness in the world and expresses the incommensurate nature of the divine will relative to human ethics and values.

The story is that of a nobleman of high standing and authority who is plotted against and forsaken by all his colleagues and friends. Even the pantheon of gods forsakes him in his distress. The poem is thus the "Job motif" of how the good life and one's righteousness is no guarantee of health and happiness. In fact, the sinner may prove to have a better life - as Job forcefully attempts to make this point.[219] The poem centers on the suffering of the righteous

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[218]E.A. Speiser, op. cit., pp. 68-69; Speiser discusses the three major recensions which reveal the Righteous Sufferer Motif - the three, which date from different periods (first millennium, end of second millennium, and Old Babylonian), demonstrate that "the problem of unjust suffering was ever alive in Mesopotamia," p. 69. The poem is clear and concise about an old problem; see S. Langdon, Babylonian Wisdom (London: Luzac & Co., 1923), pp. 27-32, 77; R.T. Williams, "Notes on some Akkadian Wisdom Texts," JCS (1952), pp. 4-7; Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz, p. 46.

[219]Job 12:6; ch. 24.

and whether there is any value in living.

The nobleman of the story implies in his complaint about his sickness that it is his god, Marduk, who is causing all his difficulties. On the other hand, it is Marduk who is seen as eventually restoring the suffering aristocrat back to a position of distinction and esteem. Thus, Ludlul echoes the same bewilderment and uncertainty which is expressed in the Book of Job. For this reason, the poem has often been called "The Babylonian Job." Such a designation is based upon the previous knowledge of the second tablet of the poem. The other tablets have contributed to a wider understanding of the over-all emphasis of the work. The main theme is on Marduk's action of restoring the fallen nobleman and not on the purpose of probing the reason for suffering as we find in the Biblical Job. W.G. Lambert comments as follows: "Quantitatively the greater part of the text is taken up with showing how Marduk restores his ruined servant, and only a small part with trying to probe the reason for the suffering of the righteous."[220] Jacobsen states that "our poem is an encouragement to trust and hope."[221]

The bereft condition of the nobleman terminates toward the close of Tablet III and the sequel turns to the praise

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[220] W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 27.

[221] Jacobsen, Before Philosophy, p. 231.

of Marduk, his "redeemer." Tablet IV (?) appears to be a continuation of this praise to Marduk for rescuing him from destruction.

Though the following lines of the poem are broken, we are still able to demonstrate the further adaptability of the shepherd symbol to the relationship of the Babylonian citizen with his god, in this case, Marduk.

> Mortals, as many as there are, give praise to Marduk!
> [. .]. . . . . , who give utterance,
> [. . . . . .][. . . . . .] may he rule all the peoples,
> [. . . . . .] shepherd of dwellings.[222]

Jacobsen sees the second millennium as a period when the individual became more sensitive to his personal misfortunes and that his vexations of life were being voiced in a way which was hitherto unknown. This "new development," according to Jacobsen, is a time which he comments on as follows: "There is here the beginnings of a searching of the heart; the insight gained in the preceding millennium that the divine stands for, and upholds, a moral law, is now bearing fruit in a realization of individual human responsibility, but also of innate human inability to live up to that responsibility."[223] He regards this period as the time when "Mesopotamian religious thought reaches perhaps its finest insights."[224] If this is true, as Jacobsen seeks to demonstrate,

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[222]Lambert, op. cit., p. 161.

[223]Jacobsen, "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns," Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Dec., 1963), p. 483; Toward the Image of Tammuz, pp. 39-47.

[224]Ibid.

then we would say, in reference to this study, that the shepherd image seems to be present in much of the material that relates to important ideas, concepts and developments in the ancient Near East.

Ritual to be Followed by the Kalu-Priest
when Covering the Temple Kettle-Drum

To the ancient Mesopotamian, the task of replacing the head on the temple kettle-drum involved an important religious ritual. Its purpose was that of honoring the gods for whom the temple containing the kettle-drum existed. Different classes of priests fulfilled various functions in the temple. The Kalu was an exorcist whose chief duty seems to have been mainly that of using musical instruments to bring peace to a tormented sufferer.[225]

The selection, slaying, and preparation of the animal's hide for the drum was not a simple matter as the text demonstrates. Magical incantations whispered into the bull's ear accompanied the elaborate ritual service. The gods of the land of Mesopotamia were in attendance as witnesses to this important task of replacing the head on the drum. Relevant to this study of the shepherd theme are portions of the incantations from text D of this ritual ceremony. The text mentions the god, Mullil, as a "shepherd," though a shepherd in a state of inactivity, allowing his city to be given up

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[225]Saggs, op. cit., pp. 331, 348; Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 262-264; 271-274; S. Langdon, Babylonian Magic (London: Williams & Norgate, 1914); Leonard W. King Babylonian Magic & Sorcery (London: Luzac & Co., 1896).

to some foe.

> He who is lying down, the lord who is lying down,
> how long will he remain lying down?
> The great Mountain, the father, Mullil, who is lying
> down, how long (will he remain lying
> down)?
> The Shepherd who decrees the destinies, who is lying
> down, how long?[226]

Mullil appears to have been a deity that was viewed as holding the fate of the people in his hands. Though now, he is an indifferent "shepherd."

> The god Mullil, who has given his city away - together
> (the foe) devoured it.[227]

He is designated "shepherd" in the function of being able to "decree the destinies." Here the image is stressing "rule" and "authority."

The following quotation is also from the same text and refers to the god, Enlil:

> Faithful Shepherd, faithful Shepherd,
> God Enlil, faithful Shepherd,
> Master of all countries, faithful Shepherd,
> Lord of all the Igigi deities, faithful Shepherd,
> Lord of the ..., faithful Shepherd,
> The lord who drew the outline of his land, who ...
> his land,
> The lord who drew the outline of his land,...,
> You gave the accumulated possessions to the
> enemy
> [You gave] the stored treasure [to the enemy],
> [The enemy dwelt] in a clean house,
> The enemy dwelt in a clean house,
> [The stranger lay] in a clean bedroom.[228]

Enlil's role, like that of Mullil, is also as a ruling, controlling protector of "all countries." He has however,

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[226] ANET, p. 337.

[227] ANET, p. 337.

[228] Ibid.

given the people into the hand of their enemy. It is the hope of the Kalu-Priest to break the spell and appease Enlil by the ritual he is performing.

This text demonstrates the gods as being thought of by the people as shepherds and as such in control of all destinies.

A Dialogue About Human Misery

This cuneiform acrostic poem was written no earlier than the seventh century B.C. The poem itself however, may be several centuries older than the extant tablets. Sometimes called "The Babylonian Ecclesiastes," the work relates the perplexing and enigmatic problems of life. Reminding one of the question of Job about life and the "lucky sinner," the writer calls himself a "wise and imploring slave." The back and forth dialogue presents the problems which confront man, seemingly contradicting any kind of apparent moral order. The writer is crying out in his misery for "help and encouragement," which, he says, up to that time he "had not experienced for an instant."

Concluding his imploring lament, he asks for the concern of the god Ninurta, the goddess Ishtar, and another which he calls, "the shepherd."

> A wise and imploring slave am I,
> Help and encouragement I have not experienced for an instant.
> I walked quietly through the squares of my city,
> My voice was never loud, my speech was low;
> I did not raise my head, I looked (down) at the ground.
> Like a slave I was not glorified in the assembly of [my peers].
> May the god Ninurta, who ..., supply help!

> May the goddess Ishtar, who ..., have mercy upon me!
> May the shepherd, the sun of the people, [have mercy].[229]

The shepherd mentioned is perhaps a reference to the king. It is obvious that whoever the term represents, the idea of the shepherd stands again as one who is regarded on the very highest level, and as possessing those powers which can hopefully be summoned to the aid of the stricken sufferer.

A Vision of the Nether World

This text from the seventh century B.C. has a political background as it tells of a prince who arrogantly desires a view into the "lower" world. The prince is granted his wish and enters the forbidden realms; finally escaping with his life, he comes to lead a just and humble political career.

As a certain Assyrian prince by the name of Kumma was sleeping, he is ushered by means of a night vision into the place of dread and terror. He witnesses strange looking creatures, and while in the presence of fifteen gods, prays to them. Before the royal throne of "valiant Nergal" the prince receives the sentence of death for daring to enter the realm of his wife, the Queen of the Nether World. As Nergal drew near to kill the prince, his counselor, Ishum, intercedes on behalf of his life. The prince is thereby spared and told the following:

> [For]get and forsake me not, and I will not impose the death sentence; (yet) as the command of Shamash, shall distress, oppression, and disorders

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[229] ANET, p. 440.

> [...] shall together blow thee down; because of their fierce uproar sleep shall not engulf thee.
> This [spirit of the dead] , whom [thou] hast seen in the nether world, is that of the exalted shepherd to whom my father, [...] , the king of the gods, granted all that was in his heart;
> [It is that of him] who all the lands from east to west fattened like ... as he ruled over all;
> [Of him to whom] Ashur, in view of his priesthood, [...] the celebration of the holy New-Year's-Festival-in-the-Plain, in the Garden of Plenty, the image of Lebanon,[...] forever
> [Decr]eed, and whose body Yabru, Humba, and Naprushu protected whose seed they preserved, whose army (and) camp they rescued, so that in battle no charioteer came near him.[230]

Who this "exalted shepherd" is in the text is difficult to establish. The context seems to point to Nergal as the likely candidate for the designation. Regardless of this problem, the fact is clear that the shepherd image is put to use by the writer of this story. The appearance of the figure, even in such a place of dread and terror, continues to illustrate the consciousness of the people to the work of a shepherd and so they often employed the idea as a universal symbol. The idea of the shepherd as one who is wholly a kind and beneficent character is not implied here. The thought that is presented is that of a powerful and authoritative ruler.

A Royal Title of the Assyrian Kings

Assyria was originally an independent city state which rose to some prominence after the fall of the Ur III dynasty (ca. 2000 B.C.). The centuries following the dynasty of Puzur-Assur II, (beginning about 1850 B.C.) thrust

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[230] ANET, p. 110.

Assyria into five hundred years of domination by various kings of Babylonia.[231]

The end of the Bronze Age (ca. 1200 B.C.) witnessed not only the diffusion of iron metallurgy,[232] but also many shifts in political and military power, as well as the migrations of diverse ethnic groups.[233] Thus, in a short time, "the Near East took on a wholly new aspect, and new protagonists were to rule its destinies in the Iron Age."[234]

Assyria's rise to power began in these years. From its obscurity during the centuries when other kings held it in check, the city on the Tigris would eventually, through military might, extend itself to become a monolithic world power. The difficulties and upheavals which characterized the close of the Bronze Age slowed the Assyrians for only a brief time, and in fact contributed to the Assyrians evolving "a military machine of unequaled efficiency."[235]

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[231]Assyria was originally a part of the kingdom of Naram-Sin of Eshnunna, then under the control of Shamshi-Adad of Terqa, and finally, subjugated by the Hurrian state of Mitanni; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 113-115; Saggs, op. cit., pp. 83-95.

[232]The Hittites were the first to use terrestrial iron. The mountains of Anatolia were rich in minerals and this provided the people a means of developing the techniques of iron smelting. When Hittite domination was broken about 1200 B.C., the usefulness of iron was quickly recognized and learned by other nations; O.R. Gurney, op. cit., pp. 82-84.

[233]This was the time of the fall of Troy, perhaps the most important factor in the migrations of the "Sea Peoples" who profoundly affected the Near East; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., pp. 117-120.

[234]Ibid., p. 120.

[235]Ibid., p. 125.

The shepherd image appears early in the writings of the kings of this period and continues throughout the subsequent centuries of Assyrian supremacy. The concept of a king being viewed as a shepherd over his people was used at least as far back as the thirteenth century B.C. when Shalmaneser I (ca. 1280 B.C.) employed the term at the time of rebuilding the temple of Eharsagkurkurra.

> Shalmaneser, prefect of Bel, priest of Assur, the holy, viceroy of the gods, favorite prince of Ishtar, who restores (purifies) the cult and the freewill offerings, who increases the bloody sacrifices and the offerings for all the gods; founder of splendid cities, builder of Eharsagkurkurra, the abode of the gods, the mountain of the lands; awe-inspiring despot (v., chief priest, prefect of Anu and Bel), shepherd of all peoples, whose deeds (lit., ways) increase the good for Assur; . . .[236]

A few years later, Tukulti-Urta I (1244-1208 B.C.) founded the suburb of Assur called Kar-Tukulti-Urta (Quay of Tukulti-Urta). From one of the memorial slabs of the suburb comes the following inscription:

> Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four regions (of the world), favorite of Assur and Shamash, am I. The honored prince, the king favored of Enlil, who rules his land in safety with his peaceful scepter (lit., in the peace of his scepter); high priest, called Anu, who by the power of his might has subjugated princes (and) all kings; rightful ruler (lit., true shepherd), who rejoices the heart of Ea, . . .[237]

From the same inscription, Tukulti-Urti I relates his victory over the Babylonians which was probably the

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[236]Daniel D. Lukenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), p. 38.

[237]Ibid., p. 56.

greatest event in his rule. After naming those whom he had conquered, he says:

> The tribute of their lands and the abundance of their mountains they brought before me. The prince, recipient of their gifts (bribes), the shepherd, their guardian, and the leader, who guides them aright, am I.[238]

This inscription brings to attention the actual elements connected with the work of a shepherd and is compared to the work of the king as a "guardian," "leader," and one who "guides them aright."

On one of the prism inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I (1115-1077 B.C.), is an invocation addressed to the gods Assur, Enlil, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Urta, and Ishtar. Of them it is said:

> Ye great gods, ye rulers of heaven and earth, whose onward rush is battle and destruction, who have enlarged the kingdom of Tiglath-pileser, the beloved prince, the desire of your hearts, the exalted shepherd, whom in your faithful hearts ye have chosen, and whom ye have crowned with a lofty diadem, and did solemnly appoint to be king over the land of Enlil; to him have ye granted majesty, glory, and power, and ye have decreed that his rule should be mighty, and that his priestly seed should have a place in Eharsagkurkurra forever.[239]

Another portion of this prism relates the titles and achievements of this same king.

> Tiglath-pileser, the mighty king, king of the universe, who is without rival, king of the four quarters (of the world), king of all princes, lord of lords, shepherd (?), king of kings, exalted priest, on whom a shining scepter was bestowed through the command of Shamash, by which he has come to rule the nations, the

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[238] Ibid., p. 58.

[239] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

> subjects of Enlil, all of them; the rightful ruler (true shepherd), who (v., whose name) has been proclaimed over (all) princes; the exalted leader (?).[240]

From the pavement slabs at Nimrud come inscriptions relating some of the campaigns of Assur-nasir-pal I. Preceding the historic sections is an invocation of Urta, followed by titles and eulogies of the king. Concerning himself, Assur-nasir-pal says he is:

> Without rival among the princes of the four quarters (of the world), the wonderful shepherd, who fears not opposition, the mighty flood who has no conqueror, the king who has brought into subjection those that were not submissive to him, the mighty hero who treads on the neck of his foe, who tramples all enemies under foot, who shatters the might of the haughty.[241]

In another place in this inscription, he says of himself that he is: "the king of all princes, the lord of lords, the shepherd(?), the king of kings, the exalted priest, the chosen of the hero Urta, . . ."[242] Again in these annals, he calls himself:

> The wonderful shepherd, who fears not the battle; the mighty flood who has none to oppose; the king who has brought to subjection those that were not subject unto him, has brought under his sway the totality of all men; the mighty hero, who has trampled on the neck of his foes, who has trodden down all enemies; . . .[243]

On one occasion, Assur-nasir-pal made a military expedition to the Mediterranean. The record of this adventure was inscribed on colossi at Cala (Nimrud). In one

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[240] Ibid., p. 73.

[241] Ibid., p. 139.

[242] Ibid., p. 140

[243] Ibid., p. 169.

place he again calls himself "the wonderful shepherd."[244] He also calls himself "the king of glory, the shepherd (and) protector of the (four) quarters (of the world), the king, . . ."[245]

A monolith stele from Nimrud reveals some of the chief events of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V (823-810 B.C.). In characteristic style he follows the line of the kings before him as he heaps up praise to himself:

> Shamshi-Adad, the mighty king, the king of the universe, without a rival, guardian (shepherd) of the sanctuaries, scepter-bearer of sacred places, ruler of all lands, . . .[246]

An officer of Adad-Nirari III (805-782 B.C.) erected a stele in honor of the king. He wrote: "Adad-nirari, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king without a rival, the wonderful shepherd."[247]

A tablet from Assur reveals a letter written by Sargon II (721-705 B.C.) to the god Assur. While describing one of his campaigns he says:

> I, Sargon, king of the four regions (of the world), ruler (shepherd) of Assyria, guardian of the samni of Bel-Marduk, who carefully observes the law of Shamash, of the stock (seed) of Assur, the city of learning, quick of wit, who waits reverently upon the word of the great gods, . . .[248]

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[244] Ibid., p. 187.

[245] Ibid., p. 188.

[246] Ibid., p. 254.

[247] Ibid., p. 261.

[248] Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, II, p. 80.

From the first campaign records against Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon, Sennacherib (705-687 B.C.) appears under the image of a shepherd:

> Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, king without a rival; prayerful shepherd (ruler), worshipper of the great gods; guardian of the right, lover of justice, who lends support, who comes to the aid of the needy, who turns (his thoughts) to pious deeds; . . .[249]

From the "Bellino Cylinder" are further descriptions of Sennacherib's battles with the king of Babylon. "Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the king without a rival; the pious ruler (shepherd), fearing the great gods; . . ."[250] On a bull inscription the shepherd image is used again by this king:

> Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world); favorite of the great gods; wise sovereign, provident prince, shepherd of the peoples, ruler of wide-spread nations, am I.[251]

Esarhaddon (660-669 B.C.) used the shepherd image when he was rebuilding the city of Babylon after its destruction by his father Sennacherib. In reference to his divinely given position, he calls himself "the Sun of all peoples, the protecting shadow of ..... the trustworthy(?) shepherd, who 'shepherds' the black-headed (race of men); . . ."[252]

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[249]Daniel D. Luckenbill, The Annals of Sennacherib (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 48.

[250]Ibid., p. 55.

[251]Ibid., p. 117.

[252]Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia, II, p. 258.

Finally, Assurbanipal (668-626 B.C.) made use of the shepherd image and has left it to us on a brick inscription written to one of Assyria's gods.

> For Enlil, lord of the lands, his lord, Assurbanipal, the obedient ruler (shepherd), the powerful king, king of the four regions (of the world), has rebuilt the brick (work) of Ekur, his beloved temple.[253]

The Assyrians surely favored the use of the shepherd as a title for their rulers. This may have been due to a desire to trace the ancestry of the Assyrian kings back to the earliest periods of Assur's history.[254] This would have served the purpose of bridging the gap between the rulers and "shepherds" of those early years, and the intervening centuries of Assyrian eclipse.

Summary

There are concepts which stand out in bold relief relative to the use of the shepherd symbol in Mesopotamia. We have found in this survey that the image, following the contour of Mesopotamian history, reflects in almost every instance certain ideas which might be considered inherent attributes of a "successful" and "good" government. Words often accompany the use of the metaphor which suggest what the symbol itself must have signified to the mind of the ancient Mesopotamian. Words like "care," "provision," "kindness," "security," etc., are clearly intended to be

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[253] Ibid., p. 405.

[254] The Assyrians attempted to establish a kingly line all the way back to Naram-Sin of Eshnunna; Hallo & Simpson, op. cit., p. 115.

value judgments and observations upon the rule of a god or monarch who might be titled, "shepherd."

Similar to the Egyptian concept of maat, Mesopotamian thought is also characterized by a strong sense of justice in government and social life. This feature is forcefully demonstrated in both countries by the passion of each to use the shepherd symbol when illustating abstract ideas of life within the social realm.

The task of deducing the various attributes implied in the shepherd symbol from Mesopotamian examples is less complex than when dealing with the Egyptian expression of governmental ideals. The reason for this lies in the contrasting views of the kingship by these two peoples. In Egypt, there was much more of the theological element present in the idea of the king as a shepherd and his theoretical worth as a shepherd. For here, the king, in the minds of the people had the quality of "the god" residing within him. He was in fact, god ruling over the land. In Mesopotamia, the king emerges without the implications that he is some kind of deity. Therefore, the concept of the shepherd image was not necessarily intertwined, if at all, in their religious thinking as it was in the land of Egypt.

Mesopotamian literature reveals a number of attributes that are connected directly with the use of the shepherd image as used in different places. Substantial uniformity exists between the various examples given. An overall appraisal would indicate that there are symbolic constants which continue throughout the use that is made of the shepherd

image. In the case of the god Enlil, we see that as a shepherd he "decrees the fates" of men. The sun-god Shamash also directs "all the affairs of men" and is called the "shepherd of that beneath, keeper of that above." Mullil, another god, is referred to as "the Shepherd who decrees the destinies." The "Sumerian Job" story speaks of the god as a "valiant and righteous shepherd." Ibiqadad II is said to be "beloved," which is parallel to a line which refers to him as "shepherd." In Ludlul bel nemeqi, Marduk is called the "shepherd of all dwellings." Gilgamesh as a shepherd is supposed to be: "strong," "stately," and "wise." In the Creation Epic, Marduk is the "faithful shepherd." From the Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur, the implication is that the gods as shepherds were protectors of cities and sanctuaries. They occupied positions of trust. When Ur fell to her enemies, it is said that "its trustworthy shepherd" was gone. The god of the underworld, Nergal, is designated as "the exalted shepherd" - represented as having power and authority. In the dialogue about human misery, the writer appeals to one called a "shepherd" to have "mercy" upon him. In the use of the shepherd image by the Assyrian kings, the words "exalted," "rightful" (true), "wonderful," and "prayerful," are used as adjectives of the word shepherd. The words "protector" and "guardian" are also used in connection with the idea of those in positions of power and authority being called, "shepherd."

We note therefore from all this, that the shepherd image could be employed to bring across a wide range of

ideas. The ideas of responsibility and care are inherent in the figure. The picture of a shepherd maintaining control and care over his flock was obviously a core concept which could be metaphorically utilized to great advantage. In a land where the shepherd and his flock were a common sight, it is not surprising that a picture should arise with rich meaning and find adequate application to those who ruled in high and responsible places.

Greece

The achievements of the ancient Greeks are remarkable. They created a tide of culture and thought which swept across the western world. Ultimately, they were to influence the basic institutions of many, later nations. Their vigorous mentality spread in every direction of the compass.[255] Eventually, even the East came under their spell. Efforts at colonization established settlements in the Levant, north of Ras Shamra as early as 750 B.C.[256] Travelling north, up the Dardanelles, they established the cities of Chalcedon and Byzantium.[257] They also pointed their ships in the direction of Egypt. They enjoyed a close relationship with Egypt, but here, the Greeks were more impressed by the Egyptians than the other way around. Intrigued by their antiquity, they

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[255] A.R. Burn, The Pelican History of Greece (Penguin Books, 1971), pp. 83-88.

[256] Ibid., p. 89; Greek pottery remains have been found at Hamath, which was invaded by Sargon II in 720 B.C.

[257] Ibid., p. 92.

stood in awe before the people of Pharaoh.

The Greeks were consciously aware of the rights and well being of the individual. Thus, in spite of their many tribal differences, they strove to improve the community.[258] Their goal was to make the life of every person as complete and enjoyable as possible.

Greek history is important because of what they were and what they did. It has brought to the world a unique literature, philosophy, and art. From the earliest period, to the waning days when the shadow of Rome fell on the land, the Greeks continue to interest us - and to them we now turn, to observe some examples of their use of the shepherd symbol.

Homer

The work of Homer, in both the Iliad and the Odyssey, reveals a frequent use of the shepherd image. This fact illustrates the early use of the symbol in the formative period of the Greeks.[259] It is clear from this literature that its use was common, since the poet handily applies the figure in a way which shows that it had already acquired an accepted and customary usage.

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[258] H.D.F. Kitto, The Greeks (Penguin Books, 1957), pp. 64-79.

[259] The Epic period of Greek literature extends down to about 700 B.C. Homer's work (and also that of Hesiod) is based upon the ideals of the Heroic age of gods and men. This literature flowered at the time of the beginning of the Greek nation, and is perhaps a portrayal of Greek colonization through invasion and conquest in the Aegean world. The strategic location of Troy would represent an important factor to the sea-going Greeks. Its position on the eastern

In Book II it is interesting to note that Agamemnon is said to have taken an "ancestral sceptre" in his hand. The instrument denotes a symbol of rank and authority throughout the Iliad. Within this context, which relates the speech of Agamemnon, is a further example of the relevance of the scepter, and also the first instance of the shepherd symbol in Homer. It is also to be noticed that the way the symbol is used here is representative of its usage throughout the work.

Nestor, "king of sandy Pylos," and "master of persuasive speech" succeeds in convincing the Greeks to go in battle against the city of Troy.

> He spake, and led the way forth from the council, and the other sceptred kings rose up thereat and obeyed

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shores of the Aegean commanded control of vessels plying their trade to ports of call to and beyond the Hellespont. A Greek victory in this region would be quite advantageous. "The annihilation of Troy assured Greek domination of the Aegean Sea. But it brought as well a dark period to the whole area as the barbaric invaders settled down to develop slowly a culture of their own, eventually more glorious than the one they had destroyed. These Dark Ages of Greece are usually dated from the last of the invasions (c. 1104 B.C.), which brought the coarse, warlike Dorian Greeks into the Peloponnese and founded the military caste of Sparta. The four centuries that followed are the cloudiest in Greek history, though they did produce Homer in the eighty century and Hesiod in the seventh. This was the hazy period when the Aegean world was gradually become Greek"; Robert Warnock and George K. Anderson, The Ancient Foundations (Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1950), pp. 97-98; H.D.F. Kitto bestows on Homer the honor of a complete chapter in his book; The Greeks (Penguin Books, 1957), ch. 4, pp. 44-64. On the influence of the Iliad and the Odyssey see also: A.R. Burn, The Pelican History of Greece (Penguin Books, 1965), pp. 70-75; H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort and Bernard Ashmole, The Ancient World (New York: A Mentor Book, 1967), pp. 143, 174.

> the shepherd of the host; and the people the while were hastening on.[260]

In this place, Nestor is the one spoken of as the "shepherd of the host" (ποιμένι λαῶν). The use of the symbol in this context suggests that it contains a military significance. This appears to be the nature of its use throughout the Iliad and the Odyssey. No other meaning is apparent. It simply stands as one who is a commander over others. It is important to stress that numerous individuals are so designated, and in each place, there is the abiding implication that the shepherd was one who held a superior and commanding position. The term is never applied exclusively to any one person, thus precluding its application to others. Even in the context under consideration, the kings who were gathered in the assembly retain an authority due their position. The implication of their high rank is seen in the fact that they are called "sceptered kings" (σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες).[261] The image of shepherding is again to the fore in this context when Agamemnon comes before the assembled kings.

> Then among them lord Agamemnon uprose, bearing in his hands the scepter which Hephaestus had wrought with toil. Hephaestus gave it to king Zeus, son of Cronos, and Zeus gave it to the messenger Argeiphontes; and Hermes, the lord, gave it to Pelops, driver of horses, and Pelops in turn gave it to Atreus, shepherd of the host; and Atreus at his death left it to Thyestes,

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[260]Homer, Iliad II, 78-83.

[261]The significance of the scepter has been noticed in both Egypt and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, Osiris is always seen to possess the shepherd's crook as an emblem of authority. Subsequent kings of Egypt likewise are often depicted with this instrument. The same feature is witnessed in Mesopotamia. Some of the earliest rulers in the King List were in fact,

> rich in flocks, and Thyestes again left it to Agamemnon to bear, that so he might be lord of many isles and of all Argos.[262]

The scepter mentioned here is obviously regarded as an important instrument as it makes its way from the divine realms to its ultimate recipient, Agamemnon. Again, we would stress that the scepter represents a badge of authority. The scepter was given to Agamemnon that he might be the "lord of many isles and of all Argos." In this context, Atreus is called "shepherd of the host," and then, at his death a certain Thyestes, one who was "rich in flocks" receives the scepter. Thyestes was either a literal shepherd, or, symbolically, the "flocks" represent the people which he ruled. At any rate, the imagery of the shepherd, and that of the flock, along with the significance of the shepherd's staff, or scepter, is well established in this place. When Agamemnon would further address the assembly about the forthcoming battle, we find that he does so, leaning upon the scepter.[263]

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shepherds. The later generations looked back to the early days with honor and respect for these early shepherds. Now, we see in the Iliad, that the scepter is also depicted as an instrument of authority. This is not to say that it was a shepherd's crook like the Egyptian symbol, but could be in fact derived from the instrument which was used for herding animals. It is to be noted that the scepter occurs in the same context where the shepherd image is found. It may be that the symbols complement each other. The scepter therefore, may be a descendant of the shepherd's crook, or stick, which he used for tending his flock. This might be the case in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece.

[262]Homer, Iliad II, 100-108.

[263]Homer, Iliad II, 109.

The imagery of a sheepfold is used when Homer speaks of the warrior Diomedes attacking the enemy on the field of battle:

> Now verily did fury thrice so great lay hold upon him, even as upon a lion that a shepherd in the field, guarding his fleecy sheep, hath wounded as he leapt over the wall of the sheep-fold, but hath not vanquished; his might hath he roused, but thereafter maketh no more defence, but slinketh amid the farm buildings, and the flock all unprotected is driven in rout, and the sheep are strewn in heaps, each hard by each, but the lion in his fury leapeth forth from the high fold; even in such fury did mighty Diomedes mingle with the Trojans.[264]

Here, Diomedes is the lion, and the Trojans the sheep. One of those killed in the battle was the Trojan, Hypeiron, "shepherd of the host." Hypeiron would thus be the shepherd mentioned in the above passage.

We find thus far that the shepherd and sheep image is used in several ways but the phrase "shepherd of the host" has a singular application in each instance. It always has reference to a chief or commander of military forces. It is important to note that in Book XI, the surgeon Machaon is called "shepherd of the host" also. This raises the question as to whether he is so called because he is a surgeon, or because he is primarily a commander. We find that Nestor is mentioned in the context, but only Machaon receives the title, "shepherd of the host." He is called "shepherd" the second time when addressed by Patroclus. Perhaps Machaon is to be regarded as a kind of Surgeon-General of the army. He obviously occupies a unique position and is called

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[264]Homer, Iliad V, 135-143.

a "shepherd" because of this fact.[265]

The image is further demonstrated in a little different manner when the Achaean warrior Idomeneus and the Trojan Aeneas, meet to do battle. When Aeneas calls his comrades to fight by his side it is thus said of them,

> That with himself were leaders of the Trojans; and after them followed the host, as sheep follow after the ram to water from the place of feeding, and the shepherd joyeth in his heart; even so the heart of Aeneas was glad in his breast, when he saw the throng of the host that followed after him.[266]

The image of the shepherd is presented here, but also we see the extended picture of the sheep as they are following a ram to the water. The shepherd is joyful over the response. Aeneas is the shepherd spoken of in this place.

Others who are called by this familiar Homeric phrase are: Thrasymedes, Nestor's son; Hector, leader of the Trojans; Bienor, a warrior slain by Agamemnon; Eurypylos, a Greek warrior; Achilles; and Mentor, in the Odyssey. The same familiar phrase is found in the Odyssey with Agamemnon and Nestor especially being identified as "shepherd of the host."

The use of the shepherd motif in Homer is abundant. The question that remains is: What is intended by the phrase "shepherd of the host"? Xenophon raised the same question.

> Once Socrates happened to meet a man who had been elected general and said, "Why do you think Homer called Agamemnon 'the shepherd of the people'? Isn't

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[265]Homer, Iliad XI, 505-598.

[266]Homer, Iliad XIII, 487-495.

> it because a shepherd must see to it that his sheep are safe and have food, and that the object for which they are raised is obtained; while a general too must see to it that his soldiers are safe and have supplies, and that the goal for which they are in the army will be attained? Now, they serve in the army so as to overcome the enemy and become more prosperous. Why did he praise Agamemnon with these words, 'Both a good king and a sturdy warrior'? Isn't it because he would be a 'sturdy warrior,' not because he fights well by himself against the enemy, but rather because he arouses bravery throughout all the camp? Wouldn't he be a 'good king,' not because he takes good care only of his own livelihood, but because he brings prosperity to the men over whom he is king? A king is chosen not to take good care of himself, but so that the men who chose him may prosper. All serve in the army so as to get the best possible life, and they choose generals for the purpose of leading them to this goal. Therefore, the general must accomplish this for those who have elected him general. It is not easy to find anything finer than this goal, or anything more disgraceful than its opposite." In examining what the qualities of a good leader are, Socrates reduced leadership to the ability to bring prosperity to one's followers.[267]

The king is presented as a shepherd because he is able to lead his troops successfully. He is able to arouse within them the bravery to fight. The phrase is applicable because of the king's ability to direct the life of his subjects. Having their interests in mind, he can therefore lead them to success and prosperity.

Regarding the significance of the phrase we draw attention to a certain Apisaon who was killed in the battle over the body of slain Patroclus. He is called "shepherd of the host," and an interesting comment follows the description of this warrior. It is said of him:

> Apisaon that was come from out of deep-soiled Paeonia, and next to Asteropaeus was preeminent above them all

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[267] Xenophon, Memorabilia II, 1-4.

in fight.[268]

Perhaps this description of the fallen Trojan warrior Apisaon provides a clue to the meaning of the oft used phrase ποιμένα λαῶν. The idea intended by the image might indicate one who is outstanding in his accomplishments as a soldier or leader. He was one who thus ranked "preeminent" in some way, as did Machaon, a surgeon in the military forces.

Aeschylus

The shepherd image is used by Aeschylus in an interesting and different way in the work, Agamemnon. During the voyage home across the sea, a powerful storm batters the ship and threatens to destroy it. As the vessel is hurled about by the wind and rain, the figure of a shepherd is introduced in the description. It is said that the ship is lashed round by "the whirling gust of an evil shepherd" (ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβος).[269] Commentators are not agreed as to whom or what the "evil shepherd" has reference. Some think that it may be a figure which is applied to the helmsman of the ship.[270] However, this view is not convincing. The context implies that the phrase refers to the wild and raging storm. The word στρόβος means a "twisting and whirling around," therefore referring to the way the "evil shepherd" is threatening the ship.

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[268] Iliad, XVII 348-351.

[269] Aeschylus, Agamemnon 657.

[270] Aeschylus, Agamemnon, ed. Eduard Fraenkel, II (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 324.

It is significant that the use of the shepherd image must have been familiar enough in the minds of the ancient Greeks that its use could be found in such surroundings as a ship in distress on the high seas. Being an "evil shepherd," the wind is perhaps being contrasted to the idea of the wind as a "good shepherd," which would gently blow the ship to its destination.

Agamemnon is not the only place which witnesses to Aeschylus' use of the shepherd symbol. In the other place, The Suppliant Maidens, the subject of ships and the sea is also at hand. In a description about the difficulties which attend the anchoring of ships, the captains are spoken of as being "shepherds of ships" (ναῶν ποιμένες).[271] It is because of the similarity of the subject matter that some think the "evil shepherd" mentioned in Agamemnon is a reference to the helmsman, or captain of the ship. It is unnecessary to make this comparison. What is proved by the use of the figure in these two places, where both have to do with a nautical subject, is the familiarity of the author with the work of a shepherd. The literal work of a herdsman would be applicable in a symbolic sense in numerous situations of life. The sea was no exception and thus we see its unique adaptability.

Euripides

A ruler, Theseus, is mentioned in Euripides' work,

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[271] Aeschylus, The Suppliant Maidens 767.

Suppliants. Theseus ruled over Athens, and it is thus said of him:

> A young and valiant shepherd, for lack of whom
> To lead their hosts, have many cities fallen.[272]

The use that is made of the symbol in this place reminds us of the way in which Homer used the figure when speaking of a leader or king. At another place in this work, a battle scene is described. Here, "chariot-lords" are engaged in battle. The chariot-lords are, ποιμένες δ' ὄχων, i.e., "shepherds of chariots."[273]

In his play about Helen, Euripides presents the chorus as it is singing in joy about the return of Helen to her beloved Troy from the distant shores of Egypt. During the joyous hymning about the return, the migrations of birds are referred to for purpose of illustration. The comparison is to Helen's journey home. It is quite notable that the leader of the flock of birds is the shepherd which is being symbolized in this passage.

> Oh through the welkin on pinions to fleet
> Where from Libya far-soaring
> The cranes by their armies flee fast from the sleet
> And the storm-waters pouring,
> By their shepherd, their chief many-wintered, on-led,
> At his whistle swift-wheeling,
> As o'er plains whereon never the rain-drops were shed,
> Yet where vineyards are purple, where harvests are red,
> His clarion is pealing: -
> O winged ones, who, blent with the cloud-spirits' race,
> With necks far-stretching fly on,
> 'Neath the Pleiades plunge through abysses of space,

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[272]Euripides, Suppliants 191.

[273]Ibid., 674.

'Neath the night-king Orion:

Crying the tidings, down heaven's steep glide,
To Eurotas descending, -
Cry "Atreides hath brought low Ilium's pride,
And homeward is wending!"[274]

This reference demonstrates a very unique way in which the shepherd image is used.

Each time the phrase is used it signifies a corps commander or leader of military forces. We conclude that the phrase is used in a technical sense and applies to certain individuals who had achieved some measure of rank due to their ability as men of war. The figure does not suggest in any instance the beneficent qualities which appear in almost every use of the image in both Egypt and Mesopotamia.

Plato

The gods had been kind to Plato. He was born into a distinguished family and possessed all those natural attributes which constituted the ideal Greek. For ten years he sat at the feet of the notable Socrates. But bitter and tumultuous times came to Athens. Political wars sprang up among the Greeks, and eventually, Athens itself fell under Spartan hegemony (404 B.C.). During these years of war and unrest, the political structure of Athens crumbled. The foment of the times (including the execution of Socrates) caused Plato to become disillusioned with politics.[275] Out

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[274] Euripides, Helen 1479-1494.

[275] A.R. Burn, op. cit., pp. 280-321; H.D.F. Kitto, op. cit., pp. 136-169; Warnock and Anderson, op. cit., pp. 91-93, 258-259.

of this background, Plato went on to formulate and perfect his ideals. His philosophy was based upon knowledge, and the greatest knowledge to him, would result ultimately, in "goodness." His philosophy was thus ethical in its nature. Plato was interested in man, and he believed that man could be perfected through the right application of education.[276]

Plato's creation of the Republic, his most monumental work, was written from this basic thesis. He envisioned an ideal state, ruled by an ideal king. He believed that such a state could be realized if the philosopher were to become the king. The following sentence aptly states Plato's attempt to develop his views:

> In describing this Utopia, Plato allows his vivid fancy and fertile imagination to have full play, and the progress of the discussion unfolds before a bewildering succession of suggestions, recommendations, and hypotheses.[277]

In the dialectics of the Republic, Plato dwells at great length upon the definitions of justice. In Book I, the question is raised about the inherent nature of a ruler, whether he rules for his own advantage, or for the interest and well being of his subjects.[278] Thrasymachus presents the problem by using an analogy to a shepherd and flock. His purpose is to elaborate upon the selfish nature of a ruler. He maintains that he rules from a self-seeking motive - being

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[276]Cf. Plato, Statesman.

[277]La Rue Van Hook, Greek Life and Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923), p. 237.

[278]Plato, Republic I, 342, Eff.

in fact, a hireling, and living for his own egoistic ends. In his reply to Socrates' ideal state and its just and good rulership, Thrasymachus chides him, accusing Socrates of not knowing the "difference between the shepherd and the sheep." Socrates responds by asking his reason for such an assertion. Thrasymachus answers as follows:

> Because you think that the shepherd and the neat-herds are considering the good of the sheep and the cattle and fatten and tend them with anything else in view than the good of their masters and themselves; and by the same token you seem to suppose that the rulers in our cities, I mean the real rulers, differ at all in their thoughts of the governed from a man's attitude towards his sheep or that they think of anything else night and day than the sources of their own profit. And you are so far out concerning the just and justice and the unjust and injustice that you don't know that justice and the just are literally the other fellow's good - the advantage of the stronger and the ruler, but a detriment that is all his own of the subject who obeys and serves; while injustice is the contrary and rules those who are simple in every sense of the word and just, and they being thus ruled do what is for his advantage who is the stronger and make him happy by serving him, but themselves by no manner of means. And you must look at the matter, my simple-minded Socrates, in this way: that the just man always comes out at a disadvantage in his relation with the unjust.[279]

When Socrates replies to Thrasymachus, he answers his reasonings by continuing with the shepherd and flock analogy. In doing so, he subtly infers that a ruler, who is a shepherd, is in fact only concerned with that which is good for his subjects.[280] The thought of rulers being compared to shepherds is found early, and is implied often in the

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[279] Plato, Republic I, 343ff.

[280] Plato, Republic I, 345.

development of Plato's views. This passage seems to set the pattern for a continued use of such imagery in later arguments.

In a dialogue between Socrates and Glaucon, Plato puts into the mouth of the Great Gadfly arguments which are concerned with the development and maintenance of the state, always a matter of importance for government. In one place in Book III, as Socrates is speaking of the office of a guardian, he mentions the soldiers who will serve the ruler.

> But let us arm these sons of earth and conduct them under the leadership of their rulers. And when they have arrived they must look out for the fairest site in the city for their encampment, a position from which they could best hold down rebellion against the laws from within and repel aggression from without as a wolf against the fold.[281]

The shepherd and flock symbol is implied here, and explicitly stated is the imagery of dangerous animals which might precariously attack and destroy the sheep. The idea of the "guardians"[282] which are mentioned in the Republic are probably to be equated with those who are symbolically represented as shepherds. Relative to the above passage, the argument continues about how the soldiers are going to be housed for the summer and winter months. There was obviously a necessity to care for them or else they might turn against the "flock." Symbolically, the soldiers are being compared to the dogs of shepherds, which are utilized to help in the task of caring for the sheep. Socrates is ready

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[281] Plato, Republic III, 415D,E.

[282] Φύλακες.

to speak to the problem. He says:

> It is surely the most monstrous and shameful thing in the world for shepherds to breed the dogs who are to help them with their flocks in such wise and of such a nature that from indiscipline or hunger or some other evil condition the dogs themselves shall attack the sheep and injure them and be likened to wolves instead of dogs.[283]

The similitude which is used here is further amplified by Glaucon as he harks back to the former discussion about those who are the rulers and helpers in a city. He says:

> Your similitude is perfect, and it confirms our former statements that the helpers are as it were dogs subject to the rulers who are as it were the shepherds of the city.[284]

Therefore, it is established that in the Republic, Plato makes use of the shepherd image. In doing so, he attempts to fix the point about the responsibility of a ruler for the well being of his subjects, the flock.

Plato's Statesman further employs the shepherd image. Since Plato is concerned with the art of government, he presented the ruler of a people as one who must be possessed with great skill and talent. Being a ruler was nothing less than "royal art" (βασιλικὴ τέχνη).

There is a great gulf between the idealistic state which is presented in the Republic, and the world which Plato wrote about in the Statesman. The philosopher had become disgusted with politics. He witnessed the frailty of man to govern - the distance was great indeed between the

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[283] Plato, Republic III, 416A.

[284] Plato, Republic IV, 440D, "shepherds of the city" (ποιμένων πόλεως).

ideal and the real. In fact, what Plato does in the Statesman is to reject the premises which he set forth in the early part of the Republic. Plato's ideal period was a time when "Guardians" ruled over mankind just as shepherds had charge over their flocks. But in the time spoken about in the Statesman, the problems of rule were far different. The big question here is over the king's function and the definition of statesmanship.[285]

The Statesman begins with introductory niceties between the participants in the dialogue. Quickly, an Eleatic stranger begins to present and explore the definitions of the statesman. The issue is raised in the first attempt at a definition about whether a human leader is to be likened to a "herdsman," or "shepherd." The point is brought out however, that the leader is really just running along with the human herd, in no way different from the masses.[286] The stranger clarifies the problem by questioning any definition of the statesman which puts him in a different category from others who function similarly to him:

> How then can the definition of the king reached in our discussion show up as correct and flawless in the light of these new facts? We are claiming that he alone is

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[285] Plato's Statesman, Martin Ostwald (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1957), pp. viii-xxii; I.M. Crombie, An Examination of Plato's Doctrines (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962), pp. 162-165; Leonard Whibley, A Companion to Greek Studies (New York: Hafner Pub. Co., 1968), p. 204; William C. Green, The Achievement of Greece (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1966), pp. 178-181; Van Hook, op. cit., pp. 234-243

[286] Plato, Statesman 266-267.

> herdsman and keeper of the human flock, but we are merely singling him out as such from a host of competitors.[287]

He finally says that the statesman must have a "complete description" lest he and Socrates fail to define his work, and in the end, "bring disgrace" on the argument.[288]

The stranger says that they must "begin all over again from another starting point and travel by another road."[289] It is at this point, that the "myth" is introduced forthe purpose of showing that the earth has gone through a cosmic change. Plato's use of the myth contrasts the former age of Kronos with the present age of Zeus. The former had been a pristine and "Golden Age," a time in which even the world rotated in the opposite direction. During this time, god himself had complete and absolute control:

> Listen then. There is an era in which the god himself assists the universe on its way and helps it in its rotation. There is also an era in which he releases his control.[290]

As the myth is elaborated, many unnatural and unusual events are revealed to have been the norm for that period. The activity of the supreme god in that time is expressed more fully as the myth continues to unfold.

> In that era, the god was supreme governor in charge of the actual rotation of the universe as a whole, but divine also and in like manner was the government of

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[287] Ibid., 268c.

[288] Ibid.

[289] Ibid., 268d.

[290] Ibid., 269c.

> its several regions; for these were all portioned out to be provinces under the rule of gods. Over every herd of living creatures throughout all their kinds was set a divine daemon to be its shepherd. Each of them was in every way sufficient for his flock, so that savagery was nowhere to be found nor preying of creature on creature, nor did war rage nor any strife whatsoever. There were numberless consequences of this divine ordering of the world, but we must leave them all aside save those concerning man, for we must go on to explain the tradition that man's life was spontaneous. A god was their shepherd and had charge of them even as men now have charge of the other creatures inferior to them - for men are closer to the divine than they. When this god was shepherd there were no political constitutions and no personal possession of wives and children.[291]

After mentioning other matters, he concludes, "This is the story, Socrates, of the life of men under the government of Kronos."[292]

This ideal state however, was now past, and the inquiry must continue as to what represented a leader in the present world order. The myth raises the objection of comparing the present ruler with those rulers of the past who might truly be designated as "shepherds" and "guardians" over the human race. The objective of the Statesman is to illustrate that the best government must have a good and wise leader, one who serves only for the interest of the people he governs. Such a ruler would be capable of such an administration because he possessed the "art" necessary for the work. This statesman is so skilled in the science of governing that laws are unnecessary - however, laws had to intervene until such a leader could be found to fill the high office.

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[291] Ibid., 271d,e.

[292] Ibid., 272b.

The thrust of Plato's use of the shepherd symbol, implies that a shepherd-king over the world of men represented the ideal arrangement. It was a government which would bring peace and harmony to mankind. Without this, however, justice was miscarried, and anarchy and chaos abounded in the world. The prominent idea that seems to be associated with the shepherd image in Plato is that it represents society at its best.

Art Objects and the Shepherd Image

A number of art objects (mostly vases) surveyed in the Greek Department of the University of Pennsylvania Museum reveal many vases with paintings depicting men carrying scepters or staffs of various designs. Some look very similar to a shepherd's crook, others simply as a stick, and some appear with distinct art motifs.

Considering the number of references to such instruments in Homer, and the fact that they sometimes occur in passages which also contain the shepherd symbol, we observe that there could be a direct connection between the two.

The staff or scepter of a king or leader may have originated with the actual instrument which was used to aid in the control of animals. In due time, it was transferred into an emblem of power and authority for the "shepherd" who rules the "flock" of mankind.

As already indicated, the Greeks admired the Egyptians, and this element is evident in Greek art taken from Egyptian

wall painting.[293] An East Greek situla found at Memphis, Egypt, comes from the seventh century B.C. This deep jar with two handles depicts a man carrying a staff and an oiljug, between panels decorated with palmettes. On the back are represented two bulls.[294]

Another object from the seventh century (625-600 B.C.) is a Corinthian amphora which shows a seated figure holding a scepter. Before him appear to be visitors. One visitor holds a spear, shield, and a scepter which rests on the ground.[295]

An Attic, red-figured kylix (530-470 B.C.) presents a group of youths. There are ten in all and each is holding a scepter or staff. One of the individuals stands beside a horse.[296] A red-figured amphora (of the group of Polygnotos, ca. 450-430 B.C.)[297] shows Hector, fully armed, saying farewell to Priam and Hecuba. Another warrior waits to accompany him to battle and holds in his hand a staff.[298] An Attic, red-figured amphora (430 B.C.) depicts a bearded elder holding a staff. On the other side is a warrior with a spear, and on

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[293] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort and B. Ashmole, op. cit., pp. 132-141.

[294] University Museum.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Ibid.

[297] H.A. Groenewegen-Frankfort and B. Ashmole, op. cit., pp. 157, 181-182.

[298] University Museum.

the bottom a group of men are seen with one holding a staff.[299] An Attic, red-figured miniature skyphos (400 B.C.), reveals a standing youth and a seated, nude male figure with a staff or scepter - perhaps to be regarded as Dionysos.[300]

Art books are replete with pictures showing examples of the scepter and staff motif in ancient Greece. Generally, those individuals who appear in such scenes are rulers, kings, or those who are in authoritative positions.[301] A bronze statue is also known from 530-520 B.C. It shows Hermes carrying a ram (Hermes Kriophoros). This god is known as the god of flocks and herds. An object which was held in the right hand is missing. It is, no doubt, the place where once stood Hermes' staff, the kerykeion.[302]

Pastoral Literature

Known for its rustic and rural character, pastoral poetry may be classified as a form of shepherd imagery. The bucolic idylls, beginning with Theocritus, may suggest a

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[299] Ibid.

[300] Ibid.

[301] For some excellent examples, see the following: Francois Chamoux, The Pallas Book of Greek Art, II (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1966), pp. 56-57; Christine M. Havelock, Hellenistic Art (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, 1968), Plates 168-170; A.D. Trendall, Greek Vases (Christchurch, N.Z.: University of Cantebury, 1971), p. 62, Plate XXIV; Barbara Philippaki, The Attic Stamnos (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1967), this book shows vases with scepters depicted in numerous scenes.

[302] E. Homann-Wedeking, Archaic Greece, trans. J.R. Foster (London: Methuen, 1968), pp. 143-146, Plate 146.

specific treatment of the symbol which is unlike any noted thus far.[303]

Typical of true pastoral literature is a milieu designed to make the reader conscious of the world of nature. The landscape[304] of the pastoral is pleasant: sunlit, hilly, and verdant, a scene that always captures the interest of those who are caught up in the complexities of life. This may suggest the basic reason behind the invention and enlargement of pastoral poetry.

The pastoral life thus became a vehicle to mediate a message. When complicated city life began to crowd and frustrate the mind of the Greek, he then began to hark back to the peaceful life of the country. D.E.W. Wormell points out that, "pastoral itself is inspired and ultimately sus-

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[303]"Theocritus," A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, ed. William Smith (3 Vols.; New York: AMS Press, Inc., 1967), III, pp. 1031-1035; Albin Lesky, A History of Greek Literature, trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), pp. 718-728; The Idylls of Theocritus with the Fragments of Bion and Moschus, trans. J.H. Hallard (London: G. Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1924), pp. 1-3; The Idylls of Theocritus, ed. with notes by R.J. Cholmeley (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1911), pp. 58-60; The Greek Bucolic Poets, trans. and notes by A.S.F. Gow (Cambridge: University Press, 1953). Only ten of Theocritus' idylls are classified as strictly pastoral. It is not certain to what extent this author may have used the scenes of rustic life symbolically; Robert Coleman, "Pastoral Poetry," Greek and Latin Literature, ed. John Higginbotham (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1969), pp. 100-121.

[304]On the ingredients of pastoral literature see Robert Coleman, op. cit., pp. 103ff; Martin P. Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), especially the first chapter on "The Countryside."

tained by one of the deepest and most satisfying of human emotions, the sense of man's age-old kinship and harmony with the soil he tills and the beasts he tends."[305] Thus it is a sentimental attempt to look beyond the present to the peaceful scenes of hill and glen.

> The Pastoral represents a protest by urban man against certain distasteful aspects of his environment; it may be an excessive sophistication of intellectual activity, a preoccupation with industry and commerce or the hatreds and jealousies of political and military intrigues. Believing that the development of civilization had corrupted human life, man longed to escape, now and again in the imagination, to an idealized world of simple shepherds, happy in the innocence and freedom of pastoral life and love.[306]

Although the Greek delighted in the polis, believing that only here life could be lived on its highest level, we can still imagine him in his leisure moments reflecting on the ideal life of the country - a nostalgic adventure to an "idyllic landscape unmarred by war or violence or struggle, clouded only by the unhappinesses which human relationships bring, by the lover's jealousy of his rival, and by the distant darkness of death."[307] Behind pastoral poetry is the poet's desire to escape the present world. He wants to journey to the hillside and mountain brook and retreat from the real world about him. He is intrigued by "going back to

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[305] D.E.W. Wormell "The Originality of the Eclogues," Virgil, ed. D.R. Dudley (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1969), p. 4.

[306] Coleman, op. cit., p. 101; see also Gow, op. cit., pp. xvi-xix.

[307] Wormell, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

nature" and thereby resisting the many allurements of the city.

Heroes of the poetry are herdsmen and shepherds like Daphnis, an ancient and archetypal shepherd, Thyrsis, Corydon, Tityrus, Lycidas, and Amyntas.[308] Behind the façade of these shepherd characters and accompanying stories of summer days and pastoral delights is perhaps a timeless present in which the poet subtly attempts to understand life's meaning. The shepherds are shepherds in name only. The shepherd image is not employed in the obvious sense as noted in the literature of Egypt and Mesopotamia. But pastoral life as presented by Theocritus is shown for the purpose of contrasting the simple with the complex. As the material was cultivated by later writers, it finally came to have many allegorical applications in the bucolics of Virgil. Relative to Virgil's use of the pastoral, Michael Putnam expands the point we are developing:

> His shepherds are no symbols of youth and innocence, dwelling in a paradise in danger of being lost to that epitome of vice and crime, the city. Rather "pastoral," for Virgil, has significance on a still deeper level: it means, at least during this decade in his career, the life of the imagination and the poet's concerned search for freedom to order experience. The landscape and its inhabitants are a realization in tangible form of the poetic mind at work. The shepherds are his voices. Their debates are his thoughts on poetry and life in the process of formulation.[309]

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[308]"Daphnis," A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology, p. 939; "Daphnis," Paulys Realencyclopadie Der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft, ed. Georg Wissowa (Stuttgart: Alfred Druckenmuller Verlag, 1901), 2140-2147.

[309]Michael Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art-Studies in the Eclogues (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 8,9; Wormell, op. cit., pp. 1-26; Virgil Bucolics, ed. C.J. Jerram (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887), pp. 5-18.

Supporting this approach to the material, Coleman adds: "Thus transformed into a vehicle for the treatment of profound issues in contemporary life, the Pastoral became a model of the universality of poetry itself, and the poet's power to create myths which impose meaning and value on the brute experience of life."[310]

If these considerations are an accurate appraisal of the purpose behind bucolic literature, then the question arises as to why these authors chose to use the pastoral life as a model. Though many symbols might be drawn from the experiences of life and nature, perhaps none is more readily adaptable to certain situations in man's life than that of the shepherd and sheep relationship. The pastoral economy was a significant factor in the ancient world.[311] That which was familiar and natural could easily be transferred as a symbolic message. Therefore, the bucolic poets used the symbol because it was present and could be accommodated to the ideas they wished to express. Another element was perhaps the fact that a kind of primitivism is suggested by the shepherd life. The delights which were implied by a life outdoors, away from the commercial, social, and political troubles of the city, must have had a strong appeal. Since

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[310] Coleman, op. cit., p. 121.

[311] The pastoral economy was more prominent in some areas than in others. The Sicilian background of the literature of Theocritus gave his literature an unaffected picture of common life. Virgil, however, was imitative and synthetic in attempting to present shepherd life.

pastoral life was regarded as fundamentally quiet and tranquil the poet could bring such an ingredient to the fore by relating the pastoral life. For here, yoked to nature, a sense of security could be felt. The basic necessities of life such as food and clothing were readily available. Being outdoors, the shepherd shared in nature's bounty: the sky and clouds, wind and rain, grass and flowers - all nature joined to furnish illusions of a pure and simple life lived by the shepherd. All was idealized, but these factors gave poets the material with which to grant the city dweller escape to another "way of life," another "world," It was a kind of Epicureanism, wherein inner peace and detachment might soothe the troubled mind.[312]

There are vivid contrasts to be noted between the Greek use of the shepherd and flock (or herd) symbolism and that which is demonstrated from the Egyptian and Mesopotamian sources. The use made of the pastoral theme in the bucolic poets points to the image as being a representation of relative ease and happiness, a tranquil existence for the shepherd. The material from Egypt and Mesopotamia does not use the symbol in any such sense. It is rather used in the framework of illustrating serious responsibility for the shepherd. The shepherd was to maintain vigilance and care over the helpless flock. The emphasis was on his duty - a duty which binds him to perform the task adequately and responsibly.

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[312]Coleman, op. cit., p. 105.

Any shirking from his duty carried with it the direst consequences. But in the bucolic literature of the Greeks, the theme revolves around the life style of the shepherd. The ideal life is at the fore and not the shepherd's responsibilities, duties, disposition: whether he is kind, or evil, or responsible. The pastoral is used as imagery for the purpose of inducing an escape from a difficult and trying world. Bucolic literature is really a "detachment motif." The basic ingredient behind this material is thus in sharp contrast with the material surveyed from Egypt and Mesopotamia. In the latter countries, the emphasis was on the type of rule which the shepherd was administering. In Greece it was on the kind of life the shepherd was living. Or, it is seen in a non-bucolic figure as in Homer.

Summary

The literary and material remains which have been investigated demonstrate the extensive use that was made of the shepherd figure in Greece. It is evident that here, as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, there existed a predisposition to make use of a very fluid symbol. From the earliest days of Homer to the latest days of the Greeks, the scene of a shepherd overseeing his flock served as a great vehicle to illustrate many events and circumstances in Greek life and society. Whether picturing a military commander, or a concerned king, or the raging sea, the image must have been metaphorically as current and conventional to the people as were the real

shepherds and flocks upon the hills. There is a noticeable contrast between the literature of the Greeks and that of Egypt and Mesopotamia in the use that is made of the symbol. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, the concept of kindness turns up quite often as an attribute of the shepherd. This factor does not occur in the Greek material.

CHAPTER II

SHEPHERD SYMBOLISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

The origins of the shepherd image in Biblical literature may in part be attributable to the earliest days of Israelite history and religion. The desert period has increasingly gained attention in recent years as a possible source for some of Israel's later ideas and institutions. Frank M. Cross Jr. has adequately demonstrated that the institution of the Tabernacle may be pushed back to the desert era which he views as a "creative" period in the life of Israel.[1]

Israel's background was one of nomadic and semi-nomadic existence. Numerous references in some of the earliest Biblical material refer to them as having flocks and herds. The whole period reflects the work and customs of nomadic groups.[2]

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[1]Frank M. Cross Jr., "The Priestly Tabernacle," Old Testament Issues, ed. Samuel Sandmel (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968), pp. 39-67; see also, Gerhard von Rad's "The Tent and the Ark," The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays, trans. E.W. Trueman Dicken (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1966), pp. 103-124. von Rad shows a possible connection between Egyptian patterns and the ark. He asks the question: "Did the tribes already possess the ark when they came out of the desert?" p. 114.

[2]John W. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal in the Old Testament," JBL, XLII (1923), pp. 158-163; Otto Eissfeldt,

The prophets often harked back to the time of the desert in order to remind Israel of the days of "pure faith," unstained by the present days of apostasy (e.g., Hos. 9:10; Jer. 2:2). The use of the shepherd motif at various times in Israel's history may in part have sprung from a desire to reminisce about early nomadic life. Even though Israelite tradition was greatly influenced by Babylonian sources, the significance of the desert period must not be overlooked as the possible fountain for certain concepts and expressions. The shepherd motif may fall in this category. Whatever may have been the historical facts of Israel's formation out of the vast movements of people, later Biblical writers drew freely from the well of early nomadic existence. Perhaps in these earliest times of Israel's development, the concepts of Yahweh as a shepherd found their origin.

The existence of certain clans in Egypt may also have added significance to the origin of the Old Testament shepherd theme. We know that the pharaoh was often thought of as a "good shepherd." These ideas were extant in Egypt from very early times. Osiris himself is connected to the shepherd symbolism. His origins are probably to be found in the Delta region. Further, regarding the "good shepherd" motif, archaeological evidence has revealed the motif from Egypt's prehistoric period. These findings predate all other known

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The Old Testament An Introduction, trans. Peter R. Ackroyd (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1972), p. 195.

representations of a shepherd (in one case there is a shepherdess) carrying an animal across the shoulders.[3]

During the sojourn in Egypt, the Hebrews are said to have dwelt in the land of Goshen with their flocks and herds (Gen. 45:10: 47:1 50:8; Ex. 10:9, 24; 12:32, 38). This area of Egypt continues to be occupied by modern nomads. The point to be made is that the Hebrews are presented as entering Goshen as shepherds, and finally leaving there as shepherds. The traces of a nomadic existence with flocks and herds are abundant in the early Biblical material.[4] Thus, the question arises as to whether the religious development of Israel can be properly assessed without considering possible nomadic elements within the material. The survival of words, phrases, and ideas point to a nomadic milieu.[5]

The shepherd image may have arisen in Israel simply through a natural development since the people were a pastoral and agrarian society during the Biblical period.[6] The work

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[3]Valentine Müller, "The Prehistory of the 'Good Shepherd,'" JNES, III (Jan.-Oct., 1944), pp. 87-89.

[4]L.B. Paton, "Israel's Conquest of Canaan," JBL, XXXII (1913), pp. 25-29; Roland de Vaux, Ancient Israel, trans. John McHugh (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc., 1961), pp. 1-4; W.F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Garden City: Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 93-100; Edmond Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, trans. Arthur W. Heathcote and Philip J. Allcock (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1955), pp. 183-193.

[5]Müller, op. cit., pp. 167-177.

[6]Yohanan Aharoni, The Land of the Bible a Historical Geography, trans. A.F. Rainey (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1967), pp. 13-18.

would have been an obvious source from which a writer or prophet could glean images for his message.

Genesis

The earliest examples of the shepherd image in Biblical literature are found in the narrative portions of Genesis (Gen. 48:15; 49:24). This material might be classified as part of the literature which emphasizes the people, or group. It is thus a saga of the tribe. Though individuals are often mentioned, and their life experiences are elaborated upon, it is the group which is ultimately important. Eissfeldt thus comments: "Genesis has no sagas of heroes or leaders."[7] As wanderers, the Hebrews were subject to numerous rulers of Canaan: seeking from them permission to bury their dead (Gen. 23), the right to pasture their flocks and herds (Gen. 26; 33), and finally upon entering Egypt, requesting a place to live and graze their flocks (Gen. 47). They were continually cast in the role of subordinates.[8]

The emphasis upon a real hero or leader figure begins with Moses.[9] But the Book of Genesis knows only God as a "shepherd" in the symbolic sense. Therefore, in the earliest strands of the Pentateuch, it is God who represents the leader of the Hebrews. Only later do figures arise who assume a chief position and are therefore referred to by the

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[7]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 41

[8]Ibid.

[9]Ibid., p. 42.

epithet "shepherd." This factor would indicate that a possible development took place from the time when God alone was thought of as the shepherd to the time when human leaders might also be thus designated.

Perhaps in the earliest memory of the people, Yahweh alone was thought of under the symbol of a shepherd. During the years of nomadic existence the idea of Yahweh as a shepherd may have been formulated.[10] The mood of Gen. 47 expresses a feeling of uprootedness. When Israel was about to die, he appeals to Joseph: "Do not bury me in Egypt, but let me lie with my fathers; carry me out of Egypt and bury me in their burying place" (vv. 29, 30). As Israel speaks from his deathbed, he blesses Joseph, introducing for the first time in the Bible the figure of a shepherd applied to God.

> The God before whom my fathers Abraham and Isaac walked, the God who has been my shepherd all my life long to this day, . . ." (Gen. 48:15).

The prevailing spirit of the context suggests a sentiment of not belonging. It is somewhat the feeling that is expressed by the Deuteronomic writer: "A wandering Aramean was my father" (Deut. 26:5; the New Testament retains this element: cf. Acts 7; Heb. 11:8-22). Therefore, we note a wandering, nomadic feature in this context. The shepherd image is introduced in the midst of it, and this fact raises the question as to whether there is a conscious effort made to present Yahweh as the leader of the wandering Hebrews!

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[10] Frankfort, Kingship and the Gods, pp. 337-341.

The second, and only other occurrence of God being called by the title "shepherd" in Genesis is in a strand of scripture dating back to the earliest period of Israel's history. When Jacob speaks of the fate and future of Joseph, he says that it is the "Mighty One of Jacob" who is "the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel."[11] Eissfeldt attributed the source of this material to an "L" narrative.[12] E.A. Speiser considers some of the allusions as based on material which might precede Israel's settlement in Canaan and adds that "in no instance is there the slightest indication of a setting later than the end of the second millennium."[13] Gen. 49 reflects some "primitive original elements."[14] Therefore, the factors implied by this material suggest an early origin for the shepherd image among the Hebrews.

The idea of God as a protecting shepherd was a concept which a pastoral people would appreciate. When Jacob spoke to Joseph, the picture the writer seeks to project is a reflection upon Jacob's life of wandering, poverty and distress. But Jacob is saying to Joseph that God had watched

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[11]Gen. 49:24.

[12]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 192-195; 228-229; see John Skinner's explanation of this passage, "Genesis," I.C.C. (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1969), p. 531.

[13]E.A. Speiser, "Genesis," The Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 371.

[14]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 195; M. Noth sees Gen. 49:3-27 as a collection of poetical sayings which perhaps comes from the time of David, but based on material which is older, The Old Testament World, trans. V.I. Gruhn (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966), pp. 66-67.

over him and that he would also be Joseph's shepherd. We are witnessing in this place some early aspects of Israelite faith and religion. Borne out of a desert background, Yahweh as their shepherd and guide is reflecting their own experiences as shepherds and wanderers.

The title "shepherd" is applied to God only a few times in the Old Testament. It is noteworthy that two of these references are found in some of the oldest sections of Biblical material. This fact tends to place the origins of the shepherd motif near or in the nomadic period of the Hebrews and echoes the desire of the people to see in their God a special leader.

Just as the shepherd image found a fitting meaning among the nations as a portraiture of the guiding hand of the gods or of a king, so it also found a place in the thinking and literature of the Hebrews. The image occurs early and was a concept that remained with them throughout the period recorded in the Old Testament and was greatly intensified with meaning by the time of the exilic and postexilic prophets.

Exodus 15:13

The Song of Moses (Exod. 15) appears to contain elements which would suggest the shepherd motif. In the description of Yahweh's deliverance of Israel, attributed to him are the words:

> "Thou hast led in thy steadfast
> love the people whom thou
> hast redeemed,

> thou has guided them by thy
> strength to thy holy abode (15:13).

The phrase, "Thou hast led in thy love the people" uses the word נחית "thou hast led" and this word occurs in Ps. 23:3, "he guides me" (ינחיני). Also, the phrase "thou hast guided them," uses the verb נהלת which is again, a word occurring in Ps. 23:2b, "he leads me" (ינהלני). These considerations coupled with the following statement which is made in the verse seem to imply a shepherd who is bringing his flock to a special pasture. The words: אל-נוה קדשך ("thy holy abode") might be rendered "to thy holy pasture," since נוה means a pasture or fold for cattle as well as dwelling or habitation.

Another point which adds to the idea that this may be an occurrence of the shepherd motif is found in v. 17:

> Thou wilt bring them in, and
> plant them on thy own
> mountain,
> the place, O Lord, which thou
> hast made for thy abode,
> the sanctuary, O Lord, which
> thy hands have established.

The verb, תבאמו ("Thou wilt bring them in") might be an idiomatic expression for the work of leading a flock of sheep, as exhibited by the passage in Num. 27:16, 17. The significance of the passage reflects God as the shepherd of the flock of Israel. He is leading them home from captivity and will finally plant them in his own pasture. There is a mixture of metaphors in the passage. But certain terms suggesting the shepherd theme should not be overlooked. These ideas could be introduced into a strand of ancient tradition because the work was familiar enough to be a vital and expres-

sive symbol illustrating the history and religion of the people. Note also in v. 17 the Heb., בהר נחלתך("the mountain of your inheritance"). The word נחל is found in several other passages which contain the shepherd motif (e.g., Ps. 28:9; Mic. 7:14).

Numbers 27:16, 17

This passage reflects a different period than that found in the Genesis references. It is notable that we see here a radical departure from the picture presented in the older material which portrays Yahweh as the "shepherd" of the tribe. In those places he appears as the exclusive leader of the group. A definite theology of Yahweh as the shepherd might be suspected by the terminology and peculiar circumstances surrounding the use of the symbol in Gen. 48 and 49. However, the passage in Numbers has departed from an exclusive application of the symbol to God, to its application now upon the human leaders of Israel. The shepherd image has been expanded. That development must have come between the earliest days of Hebrew wanderers and the period of the monarchy. The picture presented in this context is similar in thought to other occurrences of the shepherd and flock motif (e.g., 1 Kings 22:17 and 2 Chron. 18:16). Therefore, we expect the material originated in the time of the kings of Israel preceding the Deuteronomic material of chapters 31-34, since that portion of the book is a continuation of the subject begun in Numb. 27.

Moses is nowhere alluded to as a "shepherd," but as

he is about to turn the leadership of Israel over to a successor, he is shown appealing to God on behalf of the good of the congregation that they have one who is implied to be a "shepherd." But, it is important to note that no one is actually called by the title "shepherd." It is only being implied that the leader is such a figure. As a matter of fact, the term is never applied to a ruling monarch in Israel. This point will be noted later. Moses presents the imagery as follows:

> Let the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation, who may go out before them, and who may come in before them, and who may lead them out, and who may bring them in; that the congregation of the Lord be not as sheep which have no shepherd.

It is assumed in this place that the people, without a leader, would become hopelessly scattered and lost. This being true, then the question arises about the Genesis picture that God is the "shepherd." Are we to assume that the idea of God as the <u>only</u> shepherd is paling in its significance? Perhaps the military situation had brought to the fore the necessity of a man of action - one who was similar to the shepherd-kings of the nations round about!

It is significant that the Lord, "the God of the spirits of all flesh" is to be the author of the appointment. The office is thus legitimatized by God's sanction. Leadership was not hereditary but considered to be under the "charismatic" direction of God. The spirit of God in this case was on Joshua (v, 18).

The phrase alluding to the leader "who will go out

before them and who will come in before them" is idiomatic, expressing the presiding and directing activities of the one chosen to act as their "shepherd." This phrase is known in a military context (1 Sam. 18:13), and this may be the meaning that is intended here also. It could have a broad application to the conduct of everyday life though the idea of military operations is perhaps the true significance of the idiom. The purpose for the appointment is to ensure stability and unity for the congregation. The context reveals that a people without a leader is assumed to be in a tragic condition (i.e., as a flock of sheep without a shepherd). The proper leader kept the people together. He was one called upon to have an important part in the lives of the community, standing in a position of trust and confidence. The work of being this leader ("shepherd") was passed to Joshua who was "full of the spirit of wisdom" (Deut. 34:9).

The important points which stand out in this use of the shepherd motif are: God is the author of the appointment; a man is called upon as a leader and it is implied that he might be thought of as a shepherd; certain terms and phrases suggest a military and political background for the image; the idea of the leader as a protector for the flock is present; and finally, the ideas expressed here seem to have been familiar, thus suggesting an already established idea among the people.

2 Samuel 5:2

A passage which comes close to actually calling a king

by the title "shepherd" is the one before us.

> In times past, when Saul was king over us, it was you that led out and brought in Israel; and the Lord said to you, "You shall feed (shepherd) my people Israel, and you shall be a prince (leader) over Israel.

Even though some translations place a construction on this passage which implies that David is being called a "shepherd" (e.g., A.S.V. and R.S.V.), we question the correctness of such a rendering. The translations that use the word "shepherd" would make the verb תרעה (a Kal fut. of רעה), into a noun. The verb suggests the idea of "feeding," or "shepherding" the people. However, it does not establish the term "shepherd" as a title for the king. This observation does not deny the strong shepherd symbolism which is present in this passage, but it does curb an attempt to make the term into a royal title at this early date. The parallel phrase "and you shall be a prince (נגיד) over Israel" lends strength to the idea of the king as a shepherd and is probably intended to expand that very thought. We wonder if the source material[15] is reflecting a time when there was a chariness for an all-out use of the term as a royal title. This might have been due to the questionable status of the king (cf., 1 Sam. 8). It is also to be noted that the appointment of David to "feed" the people and be their "leader" is a divine appointment (cf. Num. 27).

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[15]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 272, 273, 537.

1 Kings 22:17 and 2 Chron. 18:16

A part of Micaiah ben Imlah's vision experience[16] of the impending catastrophe to befall Israel (1 Kings 22:17-22; 2 Chron. 18:16-22), reminds one of the previous passage in Num. 27.

> I saw all Israel scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd; and the Lord said, "These have no master; let each return to his home in peace."

The situation that Moses prayed might not happen, is now presented by Micaiah as an imminent disaster which will affect both the nations and its king. The phrase "as sheep that have no shepherd," is the same as that which occurs in Num. 27. The fixing of an exact date for this narrative is very difficult. This particular literary type where an individual speaks of a visionary experience in the first person is very old and precedes even the writing prophets. But the dating of this particular narrative which is embedded in the Book of Kings might be attributable to the time of Ahab.[17] At any rate, we are dealing with an expression which was apparently familiar during the time of the kings of Israel. The similarities of thought which lie behind these passages in Numbers, Kings, and Chronicles, suggest a common background and milieu. We are thus noting an expression and symbolic reference which evidently developed sometime in the period of the kings of Israel.

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[16]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 54, 148.

[17]Ibid., pp. 286, 290-296.

We note again the interesting fact that the king is not actually called a "shepherd" in the context. It is implied that he is a shepherd and that Israel represents his flock, yet the allusion is completely metaphorical. It is curious also that the phrase which follows the pronouncement that Israel would be "scattered upon the mountains, as sheep that have no shepherd," is a phrase which employs a different term than that expressed by the metaphor. We would expect the phrase, "We have no shepherd," but the writer uses the negative expression: "We have no master" (אדנים). In view of the fact that no king is ever called directly by the term "shepherd," we are made to question whether this writer purposefully avoided calling the king by the title "shepherd." "Master" is a term commonly used to speak of kings and other notables in the Old Testament. And in this place, it is used as a substitute for the term "shepherd" which would be natural and appropriate to the subject and metaphor which is being used so forcefully by the prophet.

Another point that is significant is the purely military sense in which the shepherd image is used. Nothing abides in the passage which reminds one of the care and responsibility which is displayed in many of the Old Testament shepherd passages. The use of the symbol here is very similar to that (ποιμὴν λαῶν) which occurs in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey - with no further expression of feeling or intent than the mere comparison of a king of men with a herdsman of animals.

Present though, is the element that leaves no doubt about the necessity of having a leader. For without a king, it is implied that chaos would come to the nation. When the shepherd is smitten, the sheep are scattered.

Psalm 23

The vivid metaphor of a shepherd guiding his flock now takes on the significance of shepherd guiding a single sheep. Generally, inherent in the image of a shepherd is also that of the flock. Yet no flock is present in this psalm - only the individual who is looking to his God in quiet confidence. This psalm, which is so familiar today, was perhaps presenting an idea which was not so familiar when originally composed. The shepherd and sheep metaphors of the Biblical material mainly concentrate on the community as the flock (e.g., Jer. and Ezek.). But this factor has now receded in favor of a God described with the most protective and beneficent qualities for an individual worshiper. Great loyalty and devotion is attributed to the shepherd - a picture of a "Good Shepherd." Since we have already seen the symbolism of the shepherd playing many roles from Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece, we are now witnessing one which is quite unique in comparison with the others. The figure of the shepherd is proving to be a flexible one.

The dating of the psalm is unknown, and the range of speculation is from the time of David to the Maccabean period. Perhaps because of its emphasis upon the individual, we are to assign the composition to the postexilic period when the

person, rather than Israel as a community, was gaining attention. Whatever the case may be for its composition, a strong sense of God's presence is conveyed in the psalm.

1 The Lord is my shepherd, I
shall not want;
2 he makes me lie down in green
pastures
He leads me beside still waters;
3 he restores my soul.
He leads me in paths of
righteousness
for his name's sake.
4 Even though I walk through the
valley of the shadow of
death,
I fear no evil;
for thou art with me;
thy rod and thy staff,
they comfort me.
5 Thou preparest a table before me
in the presence of my enemies;
thou anointest my head with oil,
my cup overflows.
6 Surely goodness and mercy
shall follow me
all the days of my life;
and I shall dwell in the house of
the Lord
for ever.

The beauty and familiarity of this psalm does not keep it from certain perplexing difficulties. Scholars are still not agreed on certain key points about the unity and figurative significance of the work. Some see Ps. 23 as having two main parts: God as a shepherd (vv. 1-4); God as a host (vv. 5-6); while others see three main parts, adding the figure of God as a guide (v. 4).[18]

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[18]E.g., see: E.G. Briggs, "The Book of Psalms," I.C.C. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906); W.O.E. Oesterley, The Psalms (London: SPCK, 1962); W.R. Taylor, "Psalms," The Interpreter's Bible, IV; Mitchell Dahood, "Psalms I," The Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1965).

The view advanced here considers the psalm a unity of thought with the single theme of a shepherd guiding a sheep continuing throughout all six verses. The only difficulty which seems to stand in the way of this interpretation is the statement: "Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of my enemies; thou anointest my head with oil, my cup overflows" (v. 5). Admittedly, these words do not fit the theme of the prior verses which have to do with the guidance and protection of a shepherd for the sheep.

The usual method of treating this verse is to ascribe to God the role of acting as host, spreading out before the individual a lavish banquet table, anointing his head with precious oil, and filling his cup to full measure.[19] A.I. Merrill (going even further than Mowinckel with the importance of the cultus) suggests that the person is the king involved in the coronation ritual in the Temple at Jerusalem.[20] Mitchell Dahood has his own treatment of the verse (relating it to the Ras Shamra tablets).[21]

The difficulty presented by the presence of a table in a shepherd context was dealt with by E.G. Power.[22] He

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[19]Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 183-184.

[20]A.I. Merrill, "Psalm XXIII And The Jerusalem Tradition," VT, XV (July 1965), pp. 354-360.

[21]Dahood, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

[22]E.G. Power, "The Shepherd's Two Rods in Modern Palestine and in Some Passages of the Old Testament," Biblica 9 (1928), 434-442; J. Morgenstern, "Psalm 23," JBL LXV (1946), pp. 15-17.

suggests that the words are a continuation of the idea begun in verse one. He deals with the subject by noting that the נ in שלחן ("table") is the result of dittography with the נ of the following word, נגד ("in the presence of"), and therefore by simply removing the נ the word no longer means "table," but becomes שלח , "a weapon, spear, or javelin." The idea of the verse would then be: "You hold a spear before me in the presence of my enemies." The word ערך ("prepare") is used in other contexts where implements of war are being discussed. For example, Jer. 46:3 says: "Make ready (ערכו) buckler and shield, and draw near to battle" (cf. Joel 2:5). The statement about the two rods also refers to implements used by shepherds (v. 4). The rod (שבט) and staff (משענת) begin a series of statements about the shepherd's equipment which aid in caring for sheep. Verse 4 expresses the psalmist's confidence when he must descend into a dark ravine, that all is well, since the rod and staff of God give him protection. Verse 5 continues the picture of protection from enemies, as he speaks of the spear readied against possible attack from wild animals. The word ערך adds plausibility to this argument since it is often found in context with military terms - indicating the idea of preparation for battle if need be. The psalmist therefore feels secure under the protection of the shepherd - confident he will guard him from all harm.

Merrill argues that such an interpretation requires a

"radical emendation to present a unified picture."[23] We would hardly call the removal of one letter which was the result of duplication in an ancient text, "radical"! Admitting that the rod and staff are usually associated with the shepherd, Merrill argues that the terms do not support the idea of this passage being a reference to the instruments of a shepherd.

> It is true that the שבט is twice related to the shepherd in other passages (Lev. 27:32; Micah 7:14). However the משענת is never so associated. It is the support of the sick or old (Ex. 21:19; Zech. 8:4), the staff of an angel (Judg. 6:21) or prophet (2 Kgs. 4:29, 31) or is related to Pharaoh or Egypt (2 Kgs. 18:21; Isa. 36:6; Ezek. 29:6). In Num. 21:18, the "Song of the Well", it is related to the nobles (נדיבים) and paralled with מחקק, which elsewhere is a royal staff (cf. Gen. 49:10; Ps. 60:9; 108:9; Dt. 33:21). With the recognition of שבת as the tribal standard, "thy rod and thy staff" hardly support the traditional picture of the pastoral scene with shepherd and flock, but are the royal symbols of majesty and power. Even Ezek. 37: 16ff which is used to argue for the two rods of the shepherd (Morgenstern, JBL LXV (1946), 16f) (a passage which does not contain either of these two terms) is decidedly permeated with royal motifs.[24]

Merrill's argument is unfounded if the use of the staff carried by kings originated with the shepherd's instrument. If at some time in antiquity the shepherd's equipment was transferred symbolically to kings, leaders, and other officials, it is perfectly understandable why the terms would occur in such passages as cited, and therefore, as he says appear "permeated with royal motifs." The question remains as to how they originally developed into "royal motifs"?

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[23]Merrill, op. cit., p. 354.

[24]Ibid., pp. 358-359.

There seems to be a connection between the implements used by ancient shepherds and herdsmen for tending and controlling their animals and the scepter which came to be a badge of authority in the hands of a king. It is easy to understand how these natural "tools of the trade" became symbolic for the herdsmen and shepherds of mankind. It would have been an easy transferral to make in a world conscious of the symbolic. If this is not a reasonable suggestion for the origin of the royal scepter, which became a symbol of authority for kings and others in high places, then we wonder how and why the symbol did originate. The concurrent ideas of the work of a shepherd and his instruments, such as sticks and staves, is well attested in numerous references. Inductively we conclude that the idea of the king wielding his scepter as an emblem of power was derived from the work of a shepherd. This seems to be true in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece.

The psalmist adds another metaphor which can also be a reference to a shepherd taking care of his flock: "Thou anointest my head with oil." This would be a natural sequence of the previous verses, Due to any wounds the sheep might suffer, the shepherd was ready to comfort the animal with oil, a substance known from ancient times as medicinal and helpful.[25]

Similarly, the statement: "My cup overflows," can be interpreted as a reference to the place in which water was

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[25]Whiting, op. cit., p. 753.

kept for the sheep. All these suggestions are reasonable and natural. That the shepherd must have comforted the sheep with some type of medicine, and that he kept water available is logical, and in complete agreement with the context. Therefore, with this interpretation the unity of the psalm remains unbroken, and the symbolism of the shepherd is maintained throughout.

Psalm 28:9

The concluding lines of this psalm, which is a plea to Yahweh for help and deliverance from enemies (פעלי און), contain the shepherd symbol. The speaker may be the king, perhaps speaking on behalf of the congregation of Israel. While the first part (vv. 1-5) is concerned with the problem of imminent danger, the second half (vv. 6-9) breaks forth in a hymn of thanksgiving.

> O save thy people, and bless thy
> heritage;
> be thou their shepherd, and
> carry them for ever.

We note again the occurrence of the word, נחל ("inheritance," "heritage"; cf. Exod. 15:17). The next statement: "be thou their shepherd, and carry them for ever," shows the shepherd motif in a very sentimental form. It is important to take note of the phrase "and carry them for ever" which is intended to express the concern of a "good shepherd" who would carry the helpless lambs (cf. Hermes Kriophorus). The extent of this concern would be "for ever" (עד-העולם), an idea which is also expressed at the close of Ps. 121, and

similar to the close of Ps. 23.

Psalm 31:4, 5

This psalm does not use the word "shepherd" but the terminology leaves no doubt that the symbolism of a shepherd leading his flock is present. It is interesting that such a symbol could be used at various places without explicitly stating the word shepherd, or flock. This indicates that the work of shepherding was so well known that it could be used as a symbol any place where such a figure was appropriate.

The psalm is an appeal to Yahweh for deliverance. As he pours out his prayer for help, among the words used are:

> Yea, thou art my rock and my
> fortress;
> for thy name's sake lead me and
> guide me,
> take me out of the net which is
> hidden for me,
> for thou art my refuge (vv. 4, 5).

Immediately one is reminded of the phrase in Ps. 23:3 where the psalmist states that Yahweh guides him "for his name's sake." Here, the same phrase occurs, with the only difference being the pronominal suffix (למען שמך). Important also are the words "lead" and "guide" (נחה and נהל) which are found in Ps. 23. Added to this is the use of the verb יצא, when the psalmist appeals to God to "Bring me forth out of the net that they have hidden for me." The use of יצא in several contexts relating shepherd activity leads to the conclusion that the author is interweaving the well-known shepherding work into his plaint for rescue.

Psalm 44:11, 12, 23, 24

God is pictured in this psalm as giving Israel over into the hands of its enemies. They are symbolized as "sheep to be eaten" and hence "scattered" among the nations (v. 11). Shepherd and sheep imagery is revealing a wide range of usage. The sheep are being given over to butchers (i.e., the nations). They are regarded as worthless "demanding no high price" (v. 13). Verse 23 is a kind of inevitable conclusion which is the result of God's inaction: "Nay, but for thy sake are we killed all the day; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter." The following line which is a cry for Yahweh to awake himself suggests similar circumstances where sleeping shepherds permit the desecration and destruction of the flock (Isa. 56:10, 11; Nahum 3:18; Jer. 44:27; Ps. 121). Therefore, Yahweh may be being considered as a "sleeping shepherd" who is allowing the sheep to be taken off to their destruction (i.e., Israel is being destroyed by the nations).

Verses 19-21 show terms which might actually be harking to the ideas of Ps. 23:3, 4. In these verses the psalmist asserts that there had been no deviation from following the path of the covenant.

> Our heart has not turned
> back,
> nor have our steps departed
> from thy way,
> that thou shouldst have broken
> us in the place of jackals
> and covered us with deep
> darkness.
> If we had forgotten the name of
> our God,
> or spread forth our hands to a
> strange god.

Yet, in spite of this devotion, the psalmist claims that God had covered them with "deep darkness" or the "shadow of death" (צלמות). It was from such a circumstance that the psalmist of Ps. 23 had stated that he was being protected! But here, that protection has vanished. Could it be that the psalmist is wondering if God is acting as a sleeping, slumbering shepherd, unmindful and uncaring about the welfare of the flock, Israel. The element of the "name of God" (v. 21) is also present in Ps. 23.

If this psalm is a variation on the theme of God as a "Good Shepherd" (e.g., Ps. 23), it is quite a contrast to the scene of a sheep, or a flock living in quiet faith and confidence. In this psalm, the doubt of God's concern is strongly asserted by the writer. The psalm borders on the theology expressed by Job and his friends, i.e., a claim of their own righteousness, and seeing in God's actions injustice. Therefore, there is a "tongue-in-cheek" espousal of God's previous dealing with Israel (vv. 1-9), but the present circumstances mitigate against that time of his concern in the past (vv. 10ff.). The psalmist maintains Israel's faithfulness throughout (see vv. 18-21).

The passage approaches accusing God of being like a hireling shepherd. This illustrates a real divergence from the usual picture which the Old Testament presents of God as a "Good Shepherd."

Psalm 49:15

An uncommon use is made of the shepherd image in this

psalm. Death is personified[26] and to him is applied the title, "shepherd." The psalm is expressive of the same problem found in the Book of Job - pondering the apparent contradiction between the doctrine of the justice of God and the facts of everyday existence. The psalmist grapples with the problem of being wronged by the rich - those who are secure and powerful in this life. Yet ultimately, he concludes, the rich too must go down to Sheol. In this wisdom psalm[27] the writer pictures death as a shepherd driving his flock of sheep into Sheol.

> Like sheep they are appointed for
> Sheol;
> Death shall be their shepherd;
> straight to the grave they descend,
> and their form shall waste
> away;
> Sheol shall be their home.

It seems from the foregoing that the rich are the only ones being considered as having been appointed to Sheol. Strangely however, the following verse implies that the psalmist is also included in the lot of those going into the nether world: "But God will ransom my soul from the power[28] of Sheol" (v. 16). He considers himself as having the means of escaping the clutches of the shepherd, Death.[29]

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[26]Compare Hos. 13:14 where Death is also personified.

[27]R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom in the Old Testament (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1971), pp. 195-197.

[28]It is better to use the translation "hand" rather than "power" as do most translations since Death is personified. Cf. Ugaritic texts, see Dahood, op. cit., pp. 300-302.

[29]Theodor H. Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 758-759, 847.

The shepherd symbol proves to be a flexible image. No place else in the Old Testament is death presented by this symbol. The term generally connotes one who is responsible, a leader who is concerned about his subjects. Death as a shepherd, in this place, is a destroyer, leading the sheep to a place where "their form shall waste away."

The use of the shepherd image in the way demonstrated here may indicate another transition of the symbol. Whereas the oldest Biblical material seems to speak only of God as the shepherd, the literature of the postexilic period has revealed a broader application of the symbol. Wisdom literature shows a spiritual and religious development in Israelite "Wisdom" circles. This psalm may illustrate such an influence.[30]

Perhaps the only element that remains in this use of the image is that of authority. There is obviously no thought of the shepherd as a kind and beneficent leader. It is a despicable picture which is intended by this use of the shepherd figure. Probably written in the same period as Qoheleth, the term "shepherd" could be used for any situation where the figure would apply. For example, compare Eccl. 12:11 which speaks of the shepherd in the sense of a teacher.

Psalm 74:1

This psalm, describing a cataclysm that had befallen the congregation of Israel, could be dated variously from the

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[30]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 127.

destruction by the Babylonians in 586 B.C. down to the Syrian invasion in 167 B.C. Morgenstern suggests the date 485 when the temple was defiled and devastated by the Edomites.[31] References to the "meeting places" (vv. 4, 8) might suggest "synagogues." The reference to the lack of a prophet (v. 9): "We do not see our signs; there is no longer any prophet, and there is none among us who knows how long" sounds similar to the situation described in 1 Maccabees. "Thus there was great distress in Israel, such as had not been since the time that the prophets ceased to appear among them" (9:27; cf. 4:46; 14:41). These considerations strengthen the view that the psalm was composed in Maccabean times. However, an accurate dating is impossible. Its composition probably took place on some historic occasion in the exilic or postexilic period. Yet the psalm contains elements which point to ancient times (e.g., vv. 12-17).[32]

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[31]Julian Morgenstern, "Isaiah 63:7-14," HUCA, XXIII (1950-1951), pp. 196-197

[32]Theodor H. Gaster, Thespis, pp. 137-149; see Professor Gaster's discussion of the widespread myth about god fighting a dragon. Relative to the Hebrew version he says: "Without exception, the passages in question are of exilic or post-exilic date - the product of a general archaeological revival which swept the whole of the Near East in the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. and, more specifically, of an attempt to recapture the allegiance of the returning and assimilated Jewish exiles by representing their ancestral religion in terms of 'heathen' mythologies with which they had become acquainted. The conquering hero is, of course, Yahweh, in accordance with the propagandistic tendency of attributing the exploits of pagan deities to Israel's own god" (p. 142); on Ps. 74:12-17 and its relation to the Seasonal Pattern see pp. 449-450.

As the psalmist appeals to God for help against the enemy, he introduces the subject by harking to the days of old when God had been their "Good Shepherd."

> O God, why dost thou cast
> us off for ever?
> Why does thy anger smoke
> against the sheep of thy
> pasture?

The psalmist is unable to understand why the events he has experienced are possible. Israel has become like the "flock of slaughter" described in Zech. 11:7 and a similar situation described in Ps. 44. Verse 2 is probably parallel in its ideas with verse 1.

> Remember thy congregation,
> which thou hast gotten of old,
> which thou hast redeemed to be
> the tribe of thy heritage!
> Remember Mount Zion, where
> thou hast dwelt.

The reference to the "congregation" looks back to the times of wandering in the wilderness, i.e., "the congregation of the Lord" (Num. 27:16, 17). Dahood suggests that the term עדתך, literally "your assembly," denotes "your flock," which metaphorically amplifies verse 1.[33] For evidence of the term עדת signifying a flock or herd, see Ps. 22:17.[34]

The significance of the image here implies that the writer expected that God, as a shepherd, would care for and be responsible for the flock of Israel. It is significant also that a predilection for using this imagery existed when

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[33]Dahood, op. cit., II, p. 200.

[34]Dahood, op. cit., I, p. 140.

looking back to Israel's early history. The writer sees a great contrast between the election of Israel and the present situation. Therefore, he introduced the shepherd image in order to use an expressive sentiment with which to go before the Lord, the Shepherd of Israel.

Psalm 77:20

The author of this psalm is in great distress over a day of trouble, either for himself, or representatively for Israel.[35] A psalm of mixed type, its concluding verses (vv. 17-21) appear to contain a poem which might be considered ancient. Dating the psalm is difficult; it may be an archaic work from the tenth century.[36] The last verses (17-21) suggest that the psalm is a national lament.

The writer ends the lament with a final appeal to Yahweh, apparently hoping to remind him how he had led Israel victoriously through the Red Sea and conducted him safely through the wilderness.

> Thou didst lead thy people like
> a flock
> by the hand of Moses and
> Aaron.

Nothing new about the concept of God as Israel's shepherd is added by this passage. But the mention of Moses and Aaron along with the leadership of God is significant because it suggests the idea of subordinates who are responsible for God's

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[35]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 111-112; Dahood, op. cit., II, p. 224. Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

[36]Dahood, op. cit., II, p. 224.

flock. It sounds as if they are shepherds over the flock, though this is not explicitly stated. The flock is led "by the hand" (ביד) of Moses and Aaron. Compare this with Ps. 49:16, where it is said that God redeems the soul from the "hand of Sheol" (מיד שאול), i.e., from the grasp of the shepherd, Death. The question of when Moses and Aaron were originally thought of as "shepherds" or "undershepherds" over Israel is impossible to affirm from this passage. Even if the last section of the psalm is as old as some think (tenth century), this does not rule out the possibility that the verse was added at a much later time.[37] We would suspect that the idea of human leaders being designated as "shepherds" was a concept that developed during the time when the nation had grown to the point when a human leader must be chosen to look after the "affairs of state." The writer thus looked back to an ideal time of God's leadership - yet he led by human representatives, i.e., by the hand of Moses and Aaron[38] (cf. Num. 27:16, 17).

Psalm 78:52-55, 70-72

The didactic character of Ps. 78 with its special terminology suggests that it be classified as a wisdom psalm

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[37]Oesterley thinks the last verse is an addition, op. cit., p. 355.

[38]Num. 33:1 relates the same idea: "These are the stages of the people of Israel, when they went forth out of the land of Egypt by their hosts under the leadership of Moses and Aaron"; "under the leadership" is literally "by the hand (ביד) of Moses and Aaron."

as in the case of Ps. 49.[39]

The theme of God's gracious control over Israel in the wilderness is found in numerous psalms and Biblical references. It is significant that the shepherd image shows up from time to time in these contexts. There seems to have been a preference for using the figure in this connection. Probably because of the unique features of the wilderness period, and the special place they felt they had with God as their leader, they came to regard him as a kind and beneficent guide, despite their rebellions. He was one who would lead them out of any difficulty which they had to face. Now, in the later days of Israel's history, when national problems, wars, destructions of various kinds came upon them, they would refer back to that period when they felt that God gave them preferential treatment as their shepherd.

The psalm is a complete presentation of Israel's history from the Exodus to the days of David and the building of the Temple at Jerusalem. The postexilic writer introduces God as the shepherd of Israel:

52 Then he led forth his people like
sheep,
and guided them in the wilderness
like a flock.
53 He led them in safety, so that they
were not afraid;
but the sea overwhelmed their
enemies.
54 And brought them to his holy
land,
to the mountain which his right
hand had won.
55 He drove out nations before

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[39]Scott, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

them;
he apportioned them for a
possession
and settled the tribes of Israel
in their tents.

Again, we see a psalmist presenting God as a shepherd. There is a benevolent significance, but perhaps a kingly attribute is not to be overlooked. God stands here as a powerful leader who brings his people to safety, drives out the nations before them in order to make room for his own flock. It appears that at this point, God is more of a military figure than a compassionate and kind shepherd such as presented in Ps. 23. Though the idea of compassion is in this psalm (v. 38), it is not used in connection with the shepherd and sheep figure which occurs later.

Further, political significance is seen in the concluding lines which present David as having been appointed "shepherd" over Israel. Justification of Judah and the lineage of Davidic kingship is certainly to the fore in this psalm. David's boyhood work as a shepherd provided the writer with an excellent parallel to David's work as king. It provided a natural metaphor which every one would understand. God took David from being the shepherd over his father's sheep to being the shepherd over Yahweh's sheep. The appointment of David as the leader and shepherd was a divine appointment. His position as the king of Israel was therefore legitimatized as in the instances of Num. 27:16, 17 and 2 Sam. 5:2. There no doubt existed a strong Jerusalem tradition which emphasized the leadership of Judah and the blood line of David. The

rejection of Israel and the divine choice going to David is a striking conclusion to this propagandistic psalm.

The shepherd image definitely shows a political emphasis. This is evident in the presentation of Judah and Zion as God's preference in contrast to northern sanctuaries. The idea of divine appointment of the Davidic line developed in the years of the monarchy and the convictions grew into a firm persuasion that David was the direct undershepherd for the Lord. He took over the sheepfold of Jacob and with integrity of heart guided them in the right way. The psalmist's reference is back to the selection of David (1 Sam. 16: 11) and to God's declaration (2 Sam. 7:8): "I took you from the pasture, from following the sheep, that you should be prince over my people."

Psalm 80:1

This psalm was probably composed during the last days of the northern kingdom.[40] The psalmist's cry of distress makes use of perhaps the oldest image which suggests a divine protector of the people - God as the shepherd of Israel.

> Give ear, O Shepherd of
> Israel,
> thou who leadest Joseph like a
> flock!
> Thou who art enthroned upon
> the cherubim, shine forth
> before Ephraim and Benjamin
> and Manasseh!
> Stir up thy might,
> and come to save us!

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[40]Eissfeldt regards this as an early psalm, op. cit., pp. 113, 447; Dahood, op. cit., II, p. 255; Oesterley, op. cit., p. 366.

The representation of God by two very different and widely separated figures reminds one of the way the pharaoh of Egypt was often presented. As he was held in awe and great splendor, yet called by the title shepherd, so Yahweh is also depicted.

It might be significant that the cry to God to "restore" Israel uses the word three times (vv. 4, 8, 20): "Restore us, O God of hosts; let thy face shine, that we may be saved!" The word is the same as that which is used in the classic shepherd psalm, Ps. 23.

Psalm 95:7

Nothing new is added by this passage which resembles the image expressed elsewhere in the Psalms. It is demonstrating again the apparent widespread feeling in Israel which views themselves as the flock of God. There seems to be presented here a strong feeling of being God's exclusive flock.

> For he is our God,
> and we are the people of his
> pasture,
> and the sheep of his hand.

The psalm is divided into two parts, the first being a hymn of praise (vv. 1-7), and the second a reflection on the unfaithfulness of Israel in the wilderness (vv. 9-11). Verse 7, the concluding verse of the hymn of praise expresses a thought which resembles the concluding verse to a similar hymn of praise in Ps. 77. The similarity is even more pronounced when considering the idiom which calls Israel "the flock of his hand" (צאן ידו). In Ps. 77:21, God leads Israel

"by the hand of Moses and Aaron" (ביד-משה ואהרן).[41]

The dating of the psalm is probably similar to that of Ps. 77. The spiritual state of the people (vv. 8-11) might reflect the situation found in Hag. 2; Mal. 2; 3; and Isa. 57-59; therefore a psalm to be dated sometime in the fifth century.[42]

Psalm 100:3

Liturgical in nature, this psalm is similar to Ps. 95, and from all appearances, to be dated in the postexilic period.[43] It is thought by some that the work is a summary of the creed of Judaism in the postexilic community.[44] If this is true, it is interesting to note the appearance of the shepherd motif within this "creed." The figure was perhaps a concept which had become endeared to Israel throughout the long years since their desert beginnings. Perhaps it always retained in the minds of the people reminiscences of those early days of God's leadership in the wilderness. The psalm was no doubt used countless times by Jewish worshipers in the cult at Jerusalem. Thus the figure of God as a shepherd was concept which appeared constantly before the

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[41]Cf. the picture of Death as a shepherd and his "hand" which delivered his victims to Sheol (Ps. 49:15, 16).

[42]Oesterley, op. cit., p. 420.

[43]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 106-107; Oesterley, op. cit., pp. 430-431.

[44]W.R. Taylor, "Psalms," The Interpreter's Bible, IV, pp. 532-533; Artur Weiser, The Psalms (Philadelphia: The Westminister Press, 1962), p. 646.

people.

> Know that the Lord is God!
> It is he that made us, and we
> are his;
> we are his people, and the sheep
> of his pasture.

The psalm sounds somewhat universal in scope: "Shout unto the Lord, all the earth" (v. 1), and some scholars point out that this psalm belongs with those expressing a universalism and that Yahweh is now presented as the shepherd of all the earth.[45] If there is any hint of Yahweh being presented as the shepherd of all men, it would be a distinct application of the symbol, one which has not occurred before. There may have been some suggestion of this by the author, but we suspect the psalmist was thinking mainly of Israel.

Therefore to Israel, the thought of God as a shepherd was an old theme, intimate and sentimental, always reminding the people that they were God's own special flock, "the sheep of his pasture." To the Jew, the idea was always a tender figure of God's dominion over the community.

Psalm 107:41

This psalm refers to a group of worshipers with varied backgrounds, now assembled to offer thanksgiving. Probably to be dated in the fourth century, we have what Eissfeldt calls "at one and the same time an individual and a collective

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[45]For example, see E.B. Briggs, "The Book of Psalms," I.C.C. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906); W.E. Barnes, The Psalms, II (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company Inc., n.d.), pp. 471-472.

song of thanksgiving."[46] Four different groups of wanderers from many lands are represented as they offer their individual songs of praise. Yet, at the close, they all join together to extol Yahweh (vv. 33-43). The imagery of the flock is mentioned in v. 41. The figure would imply that Yahweh is the shepherd of the families who are mentioned. Regarding what God has done for the people the song contains these lines relative to the shepherd motif:

> but he raises up the needy out of affliction,
> and makes their families like flocks.

The importance of this passage demonstrates again the disposition of the people to employ the figure of a flock to conceptualize a feeling of relationship between them and God. It was thus a predominant theme in their minds which found expression in numerous circumstances. In this context God is seen as favoring those who are diminished and brought to low estate. He raises them above princes, making their families into "flocks." The picture of God as a shepherd over their families would be quite expressive for those who lived disparate and insecure lives relative to others in society. For exiles and wanderers, the image found exceptional meaning.

The word צלמות ("shadow of death") occurs twice in this psalm (vv. 10, 14). The word is found only four times in the Book of Psalms: occurring in Ps. 23:4, which is a

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[46]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 120.

shepherd psalm; Ps. 44:20, which is a psalm reflecting a similar theme as Ps. 107. The context reveals persecutions through which the people of Israel were at times subjected. In all four instances where the word צלמות is used, some form of the shepherd motif is also to be found.

Psalm 119:176

This longest of the Psalms contains one brief reference to shepherd and sheep imagery. This reference comes in the last verse:

> I have gone astray like a lost
> sheep; seek thy servant,
> for I do not forget thy
> commandments.

This psalm is a wisdom poem and is to be included with those songs which have the praise of wisdom as their content; except here, wisdom is replaced by piety to the law or the fear of Yahweh.

A feeling of "lostness" is apparent in the final statement - "I have gone astray like a lost sheep." The writer is using the well-established and conventional symbol of expression of scattered and straying sheep. There is a suggestion that the psalmist may have had in mind the circumstances described in Ezek. 34, where the prophet says that the sheep were scattered because there was "no shepherd," and the result: "My sheep wandered through all the mountains, and upon every high hill; yea, upon all the face of the earth were my sheep scattered, and there was none that did search or seek" (34:5,6).

The term that is used for "wandered" in Ezek. 34:6 is שגה, and it is this term which appears four different times throughout Ps. 119 (vv. 10, 21, 67, 118).

However, a different term occurs in the final verse of Ps. 119 which expresses the straying sheep motif. The word תעה ("to go astray") is used here. Yet there is no doubt that this verse is symbolic of a sheep with no shepherd as its guide. At the same time, the thoughts expressed in Ezek. 36:6 are expressive of the same idea when he refers to the sheep which have wandered away and with no one to care for them. Therefore, since Ps. 119 uses the term שגה ("stray") in the four places mentioned, which is a word that corresponds with the references in Ezek., there is the possibility that the writer had in mind the straying sheep motif when he interspersed the term throughout Psalm 119. His final conclusion to the psalm leads him to say: "I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant, for I do not forget thy commandments." The identical situation is found in Isa. 53:6 where the writer says: "All we like sheep have gone astray." The word is the same as that found in Ps. 119:167.

We have therefore, a complex of material which probably belongs to the same general period. Ps. 119 is perhaps echoing the time and general disturbance expressed by Ezek. and the years following the exile. There may be a relevance with Eccl. 12:11-13 where the writer (who is of the wisdom school) places great stress on the Law (12:13). The reference to the Shepherd in 12:11 seems to point toward God as the one

who can direct them in the right path of following the Law. This is in keeping with the main thrust of Ps. 119.

Psalm 121

At first glance, Ps. 121 does not appear to contain any reference or allusion to the shepherd motif. It is not treated as such by the commentaries. However, there is strong evidence which supports the conclusion that this psalm is a shepherd psalm, or at least contains ideas which are closely aligned with shepherd symbolism. W.E. Barnes says: "This Psalmist is a Pastor and this Psalm is a piece of Pastoralis."[47] Beyond this remark he makes no further comment. J. Morgenstern calls it a "fitting companion-piece of that pearl of all the Psalms, Ps. 23."[48]

1 I lift up my eyes to the
hills.
From whence does my help
come?
2 My help comes from the
Lord,
who made heaven and earth.
3 He will not let your foot be
moved,
he who keeps you will not
slumber.
4 Behold, he who keeps Israel
will neither slumber nor
sleep.

5 The Lord is your keeper;
the Lord is your shade
on your right hand.
6 The sun shall not smite you by
day,
nor the moon by night.

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[47]Barnes, op. cit., I, p. 594.

[48]J. Morgenstern, "Psalm 121," JBL, LVIII (1939), p. 323.

7 The Lord will keep you from all
evil;
he will keep your life.
8 The Lord will keep
your going out and your
coming in
from this time forth and for
evermore.

To my knowledge, no one has advanced the following interpretation. The purpose here will be to demonstrate that this psalm may be a psalm which exhibits shepherd symbolism.

The phrase at the conclusion of the psalm (v. 8) reminds one of the passage in Num. 27:16, 17. The phrase: יהוה ישמר-צאתך ובואך ("the Lord will keep your going out and your coming in") reminds one of the passage in Num. 27:17, which idiomatically expresses the responsibility of the leader of Israel (i.e., the "shepherd"). In Num. 27 the phrase reads: אשר-יצא לפניהם ואשר יבא לפניהם ואשר יוציאם ואשר יביאם ("who will go out before them and who will come in before them and who may lead them out and bring them in"). The ideas expressed by these two passages are the same. Furthermore, the verbs יצא ("go out") and בוא ("come in"), which are used in both places, suggest that a relationship might possibly exist between the two passages.

It is also significant that Ps. 121:8 uses the term שמר ("to keep" or "to guard"). Yahweh is the one pictured as being in control of the "going out" and the "coming in" of the individual. The fact that this idiom is expressing the function and responsibility of the "shepherd" in Num. 27, shows that the work of the "shepherd" and the "guard" is identical, since the same idiom is used to express responsi-

bility in both passages. The only real difference between the two places is that in Num. the shepherd (leader) is directing the affairs of the congregation, while in Ps. 121, Yahweh is directing the life of the individual. The word שמר might refer to the watchful care of a shepherd over his flock. The term is used this way in Jer. 31:10:

> "Hear the word of the Lord, O nations, and declare it in the coastlands afar off; say, 'He who scattered Israel will gather him, and will keep(שמר) him as a shepherd keeps his flock.'"

The word שמר is used for the shepherd who keeps Israel. Therefore the word might be a parallel term for "shepherd" in Ps. 121. It is interesting to note that some form of the word שמר occurs no less than six times in eight verses of the psalm (vv. 3, 4, 5, 7, 8).

Added to these considerations are the similarities which exist between Ps. 121 and Ps. 23, the classic Shepherd Psalm. Both psalms open with a statement pertaining to the psalmists' source of help. The question asked in Ps. 121; "From whence does my help come?" and the answer: "My help comes from the Lord," is similar to the opening line in Ps. 23: "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want."

The reason the psalmist of 121 is seeking help from Yahweh may be because he looks to the mountains and sees in them a source of danger. For this reason he turns to God who alone can help him face the hostile environment. The psalmist may be an individual Jew contemplating the difficulties of the exile and finding in Yahweh his help for deliverance. This possibility is strengthened by a passage in Isaiah (49:

8, 9, 10) which uses similar ideas about the return of the captives to Palestine. Interestingly, the passage contains the shepherd and sheep motif.

> They shall feed along the
> ways,
> on all bare heights shall be their
> pasture;
> they shall not hunger or thirst,
> neither scorching wind nor sun
> shall smite them,
> for he who has pity on them will
> lead them,
> and by springs of water will
> guide them.
> And I will make all my
> mountains a way,
> and my highways shall be
> raised up (Isa. 49:8-11).

Several places in Isaiah reveal the motif of the lowered mountains and the raised low places. The building of the highway is to aid the captives as they return home and accompanying the building of this highway a pastoral motif sometimes occurs (e.g., Isa. 35:5-10; 40:1-11; 49:8-13). The ideas expressed in Isa. 49:8-11 are very similar to the circumstances which are presented in Ps. 121. Whereas the mountains present a problem, they will be lowered by God's agency. The heat of the sun will not harm the exiles, for God will give them protection (a "shade" in Ps. 121). A careful comparison of these two passages reveals a common theme about God's watchful care of his subjects. The symbols are identical. And finally, Isaiah definitely contains the shepherd motif. God is represented as leading his flock to a pasture. No obstacle is too great for him to accomplish his purpose. Therefore, if the theme of Ps. 121 and Isa. 49 is

identical in several of the various elements, then it is also possible that the shepherd motif is present in Ps. 121. Thus the problem of the mountains mentioned in v. 1 is solved by the power and guiding hand of Yahweh, as the psalmist is quick to assert.

The writer continues to express his confidence by saying: "Your foot will not be moved" (v. 3). This seems to suggest a certainty of direction - a fixed and sure course which cannot be deterred. Ps. 23:3 has a similar idea: "He guides me in straight paths." Thus the idea of protection by a leader, as an individual makes his way through perilous places is assured. The next line adds: "He who keeps you will not slumber." This statement is noteworthy because the word "slumber" (נום) is a word used only a few times in the Bible. Three times it is used in contexts involving leaders. Isa. 5:27 speaks of sleepless invaders entering Israel and Isa. 56:11 uses the word in a direct reference to the leaders of Israel. These leaders are said to be: "dreaming, lying down," and "loving to slumber." In Nahum's doom song of Assyria, the prophet concludes: "Your shepherds are asleep, O King of Assyria; your nobles slumber, Your people are scattered on the mountains with none to gather them" (3:18). Ps. 121 is expressing a contrast with this kind of nonvigilant care. God is presented by the writer as one who: "keeps" the individual; "keeps Israel"; and "will neither slumber nor sleep." The writer may have been thinking similarly to Isaiah and Nahum, yet wanting to present Yahweh as a sleepless

and vigilant shepherd - a contrast with these pictures of irresponsible leadership.

The statement in v. 5: "The Lord is your keeper" (שמרך) reminds one of the opening line in Ps. 23: "The Lord is my shepherd"(רעי). The comparison is striking, especially when considering the term שמר ("keeper" or "guard") as a possible parallel with the word רעה ("shepherd") (e.g., Jer. 31:10). The reference to the Lord as providing "shade" (protection) from the heat of the day and the forces of the night, might find its counterpart in Ps. 23:2, where God's leadership brings the sheep to "green pastures" and "still waters," i.e., to a place of peace and quiet. The idea of God's leading into sheltered places is a familiar theme in the Psalms. The prayer of the psalmist in 143:10: "Teach me to do Thy will, For Thou art my God; Let Thy good spirit, Lead me in an even land," reminds one of the places in Isaiah which mention God as leveling the mountains and making a level and propitious way for the exiles to travel (cf. the points already made about the relation between Isa. 49 and Ps. 121). Therefore, we have noted that in both Pss. 121 and 23, God's leadership and protection is at the fore. Not only this, but the statement, "The Lord will keep you from all evil" (רע), is similar to the declaration "I will fear no evil" (רע) in Ps. 23:4. Also, the positive statement, "He shall keep your soul" (נפש) reminds one of "He restores my soul" (נפש) in Ps. 23:3. Both places exhibit the element of protection from the forces of evil as well as make a positive declaration that

the soul will be sustained.

Finally, the concluding statement of each psalmist, as he expresses the enduring nature of God's protection, further demonstrates the similarity between the two psalms. In Ps. 121 Yahweh "keeps" the individual in his "going out" and "coming in" (i.e., in all the activities of life) "from this time forth and for evermore." Our other psalmist says: "Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; And I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever."

The parallels between Ps. 121 and Ps. 23 are not sequential, but the terminology, ideas, and elements present in both seem to be more than coincidental.

Amos

The prophets of the eighth century B.C. used the shepherd symbol, but not in the extensive and abundant sense which is found during, and after, the time of the prophet Jeremiah.

The prophets, Amos and Hosea, make only scanty reference to shepherd symbolism, and it is questionable to what extent these references can be regarded as typical of the shepherd motif which occurs in Old Testament material.

The fact that Amos did not employ the figure strikes one with surprise, since the prophet was a "shepherd" (1:1; 7:14), having firsthand knowledge of the work. For him to have drawn from his experience would have been natural, but

for some reason, this "shepherd" did not use the metaphor. Even though prophets from a later date find in the work a lively metaphor to illustrate Israel's relationship with God, why Amos did not use the figure is a question which perhaps cannot be answered. Could familiarity with his shepherd work be a factor in its absence from his literary and prophetic work? It seems unlikely that ideas of God as shepherd and Israel as his flock were unknown to Amos or were ideas not extant in Israel during his lifetime.

Some reference to his shepherd life, however, is not completely absent, for Amos uses a comparison to illustrate Israel's destruction, and in this, he reflects his own knowledge about the tragedy which can befall sheep.

> Thus says the Lord: "As the shepherd rescues from the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear, so shall the people of Israel who dwell in Samaria be rescued, with the corner of a couch and part of a bed"(3:12).

This passage can only be considered as a simile, and does not fall into the category of the metaphorical significance given in other places. His bitter irony is expressing the extreme degree which Israel will suffer. Nothing more is apparent from the figure.

It is significant that the lion is the destroying agent against the sheep (cf. vv. 4, 8, 12). The creature is often used symbolically, and is sometimes paired with sheep in contexts dealing with destruction (cf. Jer. 49:19-21; 50: 17; 50:44-46), and peace (Isa. 11:6). From the lessons of the harsh wilderness, Amos harked back to his experiences

for this point.

Amos' defence to Amaziah: "I am no prophet, nor a prophet's son, but I am a herdsman, and a dresser of sycamore trees, and the Lord took me from following the flock, and the Lord said to me, 'Go, prophesy to my people Israel'" (7:14, 15), would have provided a unique setting in which Amos might have used the shepherd symbol. It is to be noted that Amos was called "from following the flock" to the work of prophesying for God. This is reminiscent of David's call from the flocks of Jesse to the work of shepherding God's flock, Israel. Whether there is any kind of juxtaposition of ideas which imply more than the words actually say, is pure speculation. Whether Amos is to be regarded as a "spiritual shepherd" to Israel remains an interesting possibility. Therefore, in the middle of the eighth century, a prophet who had every reason to use the shepherd symbol, refrained from so doing, unless more is to be inferred from Amos 7:14.

Hosea

Hosea uses many poetic descriptions which deal with apostate Israel and Judah (e.g., 2:8; 6:4; 7:4-8; 8:7; 8:9; 10:4, 11, 12; 11:4; 13:3, 5). As he denounced Israel's idolatry, the prophet speaks of God as a shepherd, and Israel as a lamb.

> Like a stubborn heifer,
> Israel is stubborn;
> can the Lord now feed (ירעה) them
> like a lamb in a broad
> pasture? (4:16).

This passage does not fit the typical shepherd motif category which has been noticed elsewhere. The reference here is a simile. There is nothing to suggest any concept on the part of Hosea which sees Yahweh as the shepherd of Israel. God is not being called a shepherd but a simple question is asked as to whether God should be Israel's shepherd. Since Hosea was quite poetic, being an astute observer of his environment, we assume that he used the familiar pastoral scene to make a strong point against Israel's idol worship.[49]

Micah

Relative to its length, shepherd imagery is used extensively in the Book of Micah. The problem which immediately presents itself is that of the dating of those sections using the symbol. Is the figure predominantly the creation of the prophet, or are we to look elsewhere for the origin of the figure and the concepts which surround it? The wide divergence of opinion regarding the authorship and time of origin of certain sections make it difficult to assess properly the significance of the shepherd symbol in the book. Paul Haupt has maintained that the last four chapters belong to the Maccabean period.[50] It is within this block (chs. 4 and 5) that the shepherd image plays its largest role. On the

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[49]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 386, 391.

[50]Paul Haupt, The Book of Micah (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1910), pp. 14-15. Cf. G. Ewald, Commentary on the Prophets of the Old Testament, II, trans. J.F. Smith (London: Williams & Norgate, 1876), pp. 291-294.

other hand, Margaret B. Crook can see evidence of ninth-century elements in these chapters (i.e., 4 and 5).[51] Chapters one through three are generally accepted as being from Micah, but, beyond this, scholars are not certain or in agreement.[52] The reason for rejecting the two chapters in which the shepherd image occurs as being genuine is based on the "thought-world" of those passages. The implications of a new world order, a Golden Age, are concepts which mitigate against a preexilic dating of this material. However, the ideas which were nurtured in the exilic and postexilic period are ideas which can be traced to the preexilic period. The difficulty of this problem is felt by Eissfeldt: "We must therefore affirm, though with due caution, that iv, 1-v, 8, are probably not genuine."[53] It is not necessary to conclude that Mic. 4-5 belong to the exilic or postexilic period. The final judgment on the dating of this material will be reserved for the summary of the Old Testament treatment of the shepherd motif. The conclusion will therefore be based on a comparison of passages using the motif which occur in material of a relatively known date. However, this criterion of dating, based only on the use of the shepherd motif, is recognized as being but a part of the factors which must be considered. But as far as the scope of this work is concerned, it must be on

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[51]Margaret B. Crook, "Did Amos and Micah Know Isaiah 9:2-7 and 11:1-9?" JBL LXXIII (1954), pp. 144-151.

[52]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 410-411.

[53]Ibid.

that basis that a judgment is made.

In a verse dealing with the reuniting of scattered Israel, God is implied as a shepherd gathering his flock:

> I will surely gather all of you, O
> Jacob,
> I will gather the remnant of
> Israel;
> I will set them together
> like sheep in a fold,
> like a flock in its pasture,
> a noisy multitude of men (2:12).

This verse belongs to the same category of thought presented in chs. 4-5. Whether it belongs to the corpus of chs. 1-3, or represents one of the nongenuine passages, is part of the problem already referred to in the preceding paragraph.[54] R.E. Wolfe sees it as an interpolation, "inserted to nullify Micah's biting utterances," and written about 540 B.C.[55] The dating of this verse can be determined more accurately when taken in concurrence with the conclusions reached about chs. 4-5.

The sentiment of the verse looks to an ideal period when the twelve tribes would be united as in the days of Israel's first kings. The concept of one flock under the direction and control of one shepherd, God, is the hope of the writer.

As previously mentioned, chs. 4-5 are generally viewed as expressing ideas which belong to the time of the exile, or

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[54]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 409-410.

[55]R.E. Wolfe, "Micah," The Interpreter's Bible, Vol. 6, p. 915.

later. Most scholarship is on this side of the spectrum.[56] Margaret Crook writes an interesting article which examines the ideas presented in Amos 5:14-20, 8:7-10, Isa. 9:7, Mic. 3:5-8, and Isa. 11:1-9. She sees in these passages a ceremony surrounding the coronation of a new king. For example, in Amos, the passage describes to a certain extent the conditions which should exist prior to the coming reign of the new king (5:14-15). A rule of justice and righteousness would inaugurate a Golden Age. Isa. 9:7 has the same emphasis - a time of "peace without end." But Amos 8:7-10 is a reversal of these circumstances, which witnesses the crashing of the whole cultus, because the basis of rule (i.e., justice and righteousness) was ignored. The author of this article sees Mic. 3:1-8 as being cast in the same mold: the heads of state are under a severe indictment for their injustice and despicable rule. She then sees Isa. 11:2-5 as a similar, if not the same situation as found in Mic. 3:1. But a failure is expressed in the verses following Mic. 3:1 of the ideal rule in Isa. 11:1-9. The heads of state in Mic. 3:1ff. have become "wild beasts uncontrolled; and with none to champion the cause of justice Micah takes upon himself this role (3:8). Therefore, Micah's role is reflected by Isa. 11:2, a context (11:1-9) which he may have been viewing as he spoke these words. Though Amos is difficult to tie in with these passages, Miss Crook nevertheless concludes that we are deal-

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[56] Ibid., p. 921.

ing with concepts that were already common in the middle of the eighth century.[57]

If Margaret Crook is right with this ingenius observation, then we perhaps have a basis for the material which follows chs. 4-5. The whole context may present a complex of thought which is interrelated and echoing very old ideas.

In another article, the same author discusses the material in Mic., chs. 4-5, and its relation to Isa. 9:2-7 (H. 9:1-6) and 11:1-9. She equates Mic. 5:1-6 (H. 4:14-5:5) with the same circumstances that are reflected by Isa. 9:2-7 and 11:1-9. This collection of material looks to the period of Athaliah (2 Kings 11:1ff.) and the revolution which led to the installation of the young king, Joash.[58] Again we must stress, if she is correct in her observations about the occasion and date for these pericopes, then such factors have a direct bearing on the dating of the shepherd motif in Micah. If Mic. 5:1-6, along with Isa. 11:1-9, are from the ninth century, then the shepherd symbol must be viewed as a figure extant and somewhat well-developed in that time.

The blocks of material in these two chapters (4 and 5) are embedded with numerous difficulties. Mic. 4:6-13 (H. 4:6-14) contains the shepherd motif. Verses 6-8 express a continuation of the idea of God as a shepherd mentioned in

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[57]Crook, op. cit.

[58]Margaret B. Crook, "The Promise in Micah 5," JBL, LXX (Dec., 1951), pp. 313-320. See also by the same author, "A Suggested Occasion for Isaiah 9:2-7 and 11:1-9," JBL, LXVIII (Sept., 1949), pp. 213-223.

2:12:

> 6 In that day, says the Lord,
> I will assemble the lame
> and gather those who have been
> driven away,
> and those whom I have
> afflicted;
> 7 and the lame I will make the
> remnant;
> and those who were cast off, a
> strong nation;
> and the Lord will reign over them
> in Mount Zion
> from this time forth and for
> evermore.
>
> 8 And you, O tower of the flock,
> hill of the daughter of Zion,
> to you shall it come,
> the former dominion shall
> come,
> the kingdom of the daughter of
> Jerusalem (4:6-8).

Here is the idea of a scattered flock. If the material comes from the exilic period, it is possible that the writer has Isa. 40 in mind, since the same concepts are presented in that place. The people are viewed in a very lamentable condition. This same type condition is spoken of by Ezekiel (cf. 34:4, 10, 16, 22). The material from Isa. 40 and Ezek. 34 could be marshalled as evidence that we have a similar genre of literature which emanates from the same circumstances and the same period. God's rule is to be from Mount Zion (v. 7; cf. Isa. 40:9); it is a permanent rule and to be tended from God's watchtower (v. 8). There are ideas present here which are quite similar to Isa. 40, but it is also to be noted that the concepts of Isa. 11:1-9 are likewise relevant.

Mic. 5:1-6 (H. 4:14-5:5) centers on a new ruler to arise from Ephrathah:

1 Now you are walled about
with a wall;
siege is laid against us;
with a rod they strike upon the
cheek
the ruler of Israel.

2 But you, O Bethlehem
Ephrathah,
who are little to be among the
clans of Judah,
from you shall come forth for me
one who is to be ruler in Israel,
whose origin is from of old,
from ancient days.
3 Therefore he shall give them up
until the time
when she who is in travail has
brought forth;
then the rest of his brethren shall
return
to the people of Israel (5:1-3).

The emphasis in the passage is on the survival of the royal house of David. A child is to arise, "whose origin is from of old, from ancient days." This shows the "mythological" atmosphere which surrounds the remote days of Israelite kingship. The fact that David was a shepherd, and from him sprang the legitimate kingly line, is an important consideration in several passages presenting shepherd and sheep imagery. David is implied in the singling out of his place of origin, Bethlehem Ephrathah, and he is now becoming the ideal abstraction of the good and perfect leader, the "good shepherd" over Israel. Verse one is difficult, seeming to be out of place in the context. However, the reference to the "rod" (שבט) might be significant. As the enemies of Israel are shown persecuting the ruler by striking him with the instrument, the contrast to such a situation is found in the verses which

immediately follow. Therefore, the rod may refer to a shepherd's staff, used in the hands of the enemy for punishment. But God is to raise up his own shepherd who will tend Israel in kindness and bring about peace. This passage and the reference to the "rod" should be compared with the "rod" mentioned in Isa. 11:4, a passage which is perhaps based upon the shepherd motif.[59]

The work of the new ruler is to feed his flock:

> And he shall stand and feed his
> flock in the strength of the
> Lord,
> in the majesty of the name of
> the Lord his God.
> And they shall dwell secure, for
> now he shall be great
> to the ends of the earth (v. 4).

The idea is that the king will "stand and feed in the strength of the Lord," the phrase, "his flock," not being in the MT. His source of rule is connected directly to God's rule - the earthly representative expressing the attributes of justice and righteousness which characterize God. The ruler will therefore, bring peace (v. 5):

> And this shall be peace,
> when the Assyrian comes into
> our land
> and treads upon our soil,
> that we will raise against him
> seven shepherds,
> and eight princes of men.

The idea of peace is often present in contexts which relate the shepherd motif. The reference to the "Assyrian" may refer to either that nation or figuratively to "Babylon,"[60] or, as

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[59]Crook, "The Promise in Micah 5."

[60]<u>Ibid</u>., p. 318.

Wolfe and others would have it, to Seleucid kings.[61] The "seven shepherds and eight princes" statement is probably not intended to be specific, but is rather symbolically referring to the lineage of kings springing from a Davidic background.[62]

The passage thus far, relates the reign of a just king, who will bring peace to the land. However, the context is replete with military overtones. The ruler will stand in the "strength" and "majesty" of Yahweh as he feeds the flock. He is a protector against the "Assyrian." Verse 6 expands the context further as it tells about the rule of the shepherds and princes:

> they shall rule the land of Assyria
> with the sword,
> and the land of Nimrod with
> the drawn sword,
> and they shall deliver us from the
> Assyrian
> when he comes into out land
> and treads within our border.

A sign of strength is shown in this presentation of the shepherd motif. The shepherd symbol is quite often associated with such contexts and circumstances.

Mic. 5:8 is a verse which is seemingly out of place in this context. The image has drastically changed to Israel being represented as a lion on its way to the kill:

> And the remnant of Jacob shall be
> among the nations,
> in the midst of many peoples,
> like a lion among the beasts of the

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[61] Wolfe, op. cit., p. 933.

[62] Cf., for example, "The Legend of King Keret," B, ii, 24-25, ANET, p. 146.

forest,
like a young lion among the
flocks of sheep,
which, when it goes through,
treads down
and tears in pieces, and there is
none to deliver.

In Jer. 50:17 Israel is the sheep hunted by lions. God is portrayed as a lion going against Edom and Babylon (Jer. 49: 19-21 and 50:44-46). In this place, the remnant of Jacob becomes the devouring and destroying force which moves against the nations.

The final use of shepherd symbolism in Micah comes in 7:14, when the writer appeals to God to tend his people:

Shepherd thy people with thy
staff,
the flock of thy inheritance,
who dwell alone in a forest
in the midst of a garden
land;
let them feed in Bashan and
Gilead
as in the days of old.

God is asked to shepherd the people with his "staff" (שבט), the instrument which appears as the primary aid in the work of shepherding (cf. Ps. 23:4). Compare this passage with Mic. 5:1 (H. 4:14), where the same term is used as an instrument of punishment. The idea of God's inheritance (נחל) is another thought complex which occurs several times in association with the shepherd motif (cf. Exod. 15:17; Pss. 28:9; 74:2). The verse is similar in thought to Pss. 28:9; 74:2; 78:52-55, 70-72; 80:1; 95:7; 100:3; Isa. 49:8-10; therefore to be regarded as exilic, expressing the future hope of restoration. The forested, garden lands of Bashan and Gilead suggest an

idyllic pastoral scene reminiscent of Israel's former days of glory and peace.

Isaiah

The use of the shepherd symbol and its implications are naturally tied in with the dating of the sections in which it occurs. As noted in Micah, the dating of various passages, based upon content, is often quite difficult. It so happens that the occurrence of the shepherd motif is many times found in those places which exhibit serious problems for dating. The existence of the shepherd symbol might possibly be a workable criterion for determining the date of certain passages. But a sound basis for judging when the shepherd image became a usable and popular metaphor is not yet forthcoming.

We suspect that allusions are made to the shepherd motif in Isa. 9:3 and 10:24. The first passage reads:

> For the yoke of his burden
> and the staff for his shoulder,
> the rod of his oppressor,
> thou hast broken as on the day
> of Midian (H. 9:3).

This assumption is based on the use of the two terms which are associated with the shepherd: the "staff" (מטה) and "rod" (שבט). The second says:

> Therefore thus says the Lord, the Lord of hosts: "O my people, who dwell in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrians when they smite with the rod and lift up their staff against you as the Egyptians did (10:24).

The two words again occur in this context. What is more significant about these passages is the subject matter and the context in which they are found. The references in

9:3 precede the announcement of an infant prince to be born in Israel. His rule will bring peace (v. 6), and its nature will be justice and righteousness (v. 6). As noted in the section on Micah, Margaret Crook assigns this passage (Isa. 9 :1-9) and Mic. 5:1-6 (H. 4:14-5:5) to a common collection, all of them referring to the same situation. She also considers Amos 5:14, 8:4-10, and the Golden Age of ch. 9.[63] The point which emerges from this is that a collection of passages, each of which may relate to the others, has embedded within them the shepherd motif. This conclusion is derived from the fact that the symbol is clearly the subject of Mic. 5:1-6. It also may be implied in Isa. 11:1-9, a passage to be noticed shortly.

Therefore, Isa. 9:3 and 10:24 stand in a group of verses which has to do with kings and rulers. Those who would oppose and smite Israel will ultimately be destroyed, and over Israel will arise a righteous ruler who will deliver them and bring to them peace. The "rod" and "staff" are thus symbols of the authority which resides in the world rulers, i.e., in those who are known throughout the ancient Near East by the title, "shepherd."

Isa. 11:1-9 stands in contrast to 10:5-15, 24-34 (words which are directed at Assyria). As Assyria is hewn away, a shoot springs from Jesse. It is to be noted that the origin

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[63]Crook, op. cit.; H.L. Ginsberg sees Isaiah as the author of Isa. 11:1-10, "Gleanings in First Isaiah," Mordecai M. Kaplan Jubilee Volume (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1953), pp. 249-250.

of kingship is being stressed. Jesse's household, from which came the "shepherd" David, is clearly implied (cf. Mic. 5:1-6). A further attribute of legitimacy is expressed by the phrase:

> And the spirit of the Lord shall
> rest upon him,
> the spirit of wisdom and
> understanding,
> the spirit of counsel and might,
> the spirit of knowledge and the
> fear of the Lord (v. 2).

This "charismatic" factor represented a stamp of authority. Compare Joshua's appointment (Num. 27:16-18), and David, as "a man after God's heart" (איש כלבבו; 1 Sam. 13:14). The rule of this king is one of justice (vv. 3-5).[64] He will "smite the earth with the rod(שבט) of his mouth" (v. 14). The rod is representative of authority, and perhaps to be thought of as the shepherd's staff. The king wields it in power over the nations (cf. 9:3 and 10:24), while at the same time, ruling his people in justice.

The pastoral scene of vv. 6-9 suggests a time of absolute peace and harmony. There will be no assailing beasts - no violators on the hillside (v. 9). The peaceful conditions permit a little child to lead the animals (v. 6). Present here, are the circumstances of a Golden Age. Such ideas became preeminent and exciting expectations in exilic and postexilic times. It is quite possible that such ideas were present in the eighth century. The Golden Age concept has

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[64]See Isa. 32 which has similar elements with this passage.

been characteristic of many peoples and societies from the most ancient times.[65]

The evidence seems to bear out a close relationship between the ideas of the Golden Age and the use of shepherd and sheep symbolism. Regardless of the exact time of the flourishing of such ideas, the shepherd motif is an associative facet of the hopes and expectations of that happy time.

The motif looms large in Biblical material, especially when the concepts of justice and peace in the land are being presented. This was true in the Book of Micah, and the motif expands to a much larger degree in the Book of Isaiah. Its presence in Biblical literature (though not always explicit) establishes it as an important symbol to illustrate the future era when Israelite society would reach an ideal state.

The shepherd theme runs through the strata of much prophetic material. It is often equated with an era of peace, such as suggested in Isa. 11:1-9 and Mic. 5:1-6. When the image is used in a negative sense, it centers upon the subject of the failure of rulers to be true shepherds.

The picture of the shepherd is thus, one of care and responsibility. The Hebrew concepts of the rule of the

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[65] S.N. Kramer, The Sumerians, p. 262; see also, T.H. Gaster, Festivals of the Jewish Year (New York: William Sloane Associates, Publishers, 1968), pp. 8, 9; Millar Burrows, "Ancient Israel," The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. R.C. Dentan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 122; Morton S. Enslin, Christian Beginnings (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1956), pp. 138-143; G.F. Moore, Judaism, II (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 323-376.

shepherd are much the same as that which was expected of the Egyptian monarch. The reign of the king must be accompanied by a just and righteous administration for the people. Anything less than this was a dismal failure. Compare, for example, Ipu-wer's words to the pharaoh,[66] and and see also, Jeremiah's scathing attack on Judah's last kings, where he reminds them (especially Jehoiakim) that kingship is not judged by splendid palaces and competition in "cedar" (Jer. 22).

A brief simile is used in Isa. 13:14 which describes the condition of the Babylonians when the day of Yahweh breaks upon them: "And like a hunted gazelle, or like sheep with none to gather them, . . . and every man will flee to his own land." The passage comes from the time of the exile, probably a few years before the devastation brought by the Medes. Its significance lies in the similarity which the passage has with the concept of "sheep without a shepherd" - an idea which was common as well as quite illustrative of a people which has been invaded and conquered by an enemy.

The "staff" and "scepter" of wicked rulers are mentioned in 14:5. The words are: מטה and שבט. Nothing is indicative of shepherd symbolism here. The observation is made to demonstrate again their symbolic nature of rule and authority (cf. v. 6). Since rulers were thought of quite extensively as "shepherds" in the ancient world, the scepters

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[66] ANET, pp. 442-443.

and staves of the kings may have derived from the instrument used by shepherds.

A simile drawn from shepherd life occurs in a writing attributed to King Hezekiah. After his recovery, he recounts the dismal outlook which had been his (38:12): "My dwelling is plucked up and removed from me like a shepherd's tent." The significance of this statement lies in the fact that during the telling of a critical situation, a facet of shepherd life is brought to attention. This illustrates that the habits of shepherds were well-known, presenting ready examples from which one might draw comparisons (cf. Jer. 43:12, where a shepherd cleans his cloak). The king thus saw in his approaching death a similarity to the striking of a shepherd's tent.

One of the prevailing symbols of Second Isaiah[67] is that of the shepherd leading his flock. Along with the motif of the shepherd is that of the straying sheep. Sometimes God is presented as the shepherd of the lost sheep, Israel. The image is also attributable to rulers and authorities in much the same way as it is used in the Book of Jeremiah.

An extensive treatment of shepherd symbolism begins in

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[67]The dating of this section may begin around 550 B.C. This is especially applicable to chs. 40-55. Chs. 56-66 ("Trito-Isaiah") is perhaps to be dated about the last third of the sixth century B.C.; Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 332-346; R.B.Y. Scott, "Isaiah," The Interpreter's Bible, 5, pp. 383-385; John L. McKenzie, "Second Isaiah," The Anchor Bible, 20, pp. LVI-LXXI.

the opening chapter of Second Isaiah. The first line sets the tone for the entire book:[68] "Comfort, comfort my people, says your God" (40:1). This section (40:1-11), closes with a picture of God as Israel's shepherd. It is important to note that the theme of return from captivity is often characterized by several features, one of which is the shepherd image. For example, Isa. 49:9-13, refers to "springs of water," "highways," "mountains," along with a pastoral scene. The picture which is painted in Isa. 11 contains these elements also. Note also, the similarities of Isa. 40:1-11 with Jer. 31:8-14, where God is the redeeming shepherd. Identical thoughts are further demonstrated when we note that Jer. 31:10 is an announcement to the nations that God is going to shepherd his people and bring them back: "Hear the word of the Lord, O nations, and declare it in the coastlands afar off." This proclamation to the "coastlands" (איים) is similar to the style used in Second Isaiah about the return (41:1; 49:1; cf. also ch. 35; 41:18-20; 42:16; 43:1-7; 44:1-8; 48:20-22). The idea of God as a shepherd is a thought deeply embedded in the overall theme of Israel's return from captivity.[69] The writer sums up his declaration of "comfort" by

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[68]Though Isa. 40-66 contains disparate sections and fragments, attributed to numerous authors, the theme is consistent enough to permit a general observation of the use the writers made of the shepherd motif.

[69]It will be observed in the Chapter on the New Testament that the First Epistle of Peter indicates a pattern of thought which is similar to Isa. 40:1-11. The author may in fact have used this passage as an outline to write his letter.

saying:

> He will feed his flock like a
> shepherd,
> he will gather the lambs in his
> arms,
> he will carry them in his bosom,
> and gently lead those that are
> with young (40:11).

This passage views God as a caring and compassionate shepherd - a "Good Shepherd" picture, permeated with tenderness, and perhaps in this respect, surpassing Ps. 23. God's activity extends to carrying in his bosom those animals which cannot keep up. Being mindful of the sheep which have young, he does not overdrive them (cf. Gen. 33:13).

The victories of Cyrus do not go unnoticed by the writer of Second Isaiah 40-55. The power of Babylon is fast waning and a hope is kindled in the heart of the exiles. Cyrus will be God's special servant. He says of him: "He is my shepherd, and he shall fulfil all my purpose" (Isa. 44:28). According to the Cyrus Cylinder, Cyrus was a worshiper of Marduk, and it was through Marduk's decree that he released the captives.[70] The writer of this passage sees Cyrus as an instrument in the hands of Yahweh.

This passage is unique because no other Gentile is referred to as a servant of Yahweh using the title, "shepherd." The context implies that Cyrus was endowed with those qualities which were required in order to serve God. The reference in 45:1 shows that Cyrus was "anointed." This

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[70] ANET, pp. 315-316.

expression may be intended to reflect the same thought of a "servant of Yahweh" as one who was endowed with God's spirit (cf. 42:1; 11:2).

Isa. 49 opens with an address to the far "coastlands" (איים). This compares with the announcement in 41:1, which precedes a number of statements referring to the victories of Cyrus (vv. 2-7, 25).[71] The same expression is found in Jer. 31:10, a context in which the shepherd motif occurs. Isa. 49:9c-10 alludes to a shepherd leading his flock - a description of the exiles on their way back to their homeland.

> They shall feed along the
> ways,
> on all bare heights shall be their
> pasture;
> they shall not hunger or thirst,
> neither scorching wind nor sun
> shall smite them,
> for he who has pity on them will
> lead them,
> and by springs of water will
> guide them.

These lines are similar to Isa. 40:11. God is again likened to a shepherd leading the flock to home and safety. Nothing is wanting for the sheep - there is sufficient supply for every need. Perhaps this figure removed the fear of the difficult task of crossing the barren wastes that would lead them back to their homeland. The protection from the scorching wind and sun is like the situation described in Ps. 121:

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[71]The servant of Isa. 42:1-4 may be a reference to Cyrus. The servant would be endowed with God's spirit and rule in justice and righteousness (cf. Isa. 11:2-5; Mic. 3:8; 5:1-6; Jer. 23:1-8; Ezek. 34:23-24).

5, 6. The reference to "springs of water" suggests the motif of a peaceful and quiet pasture (cf. Pss. 1:3; 5:9; 23:2, 3; Mic. 7:14).[72]

The suffering servant of the Lord poem (52:13-53:12) contains the straying sheep motif:

> All we like sheep have gone
> astray
> we have turned every one to
> his own way;
> and the Lord has laid on him
> the iniquity of us all (53:6).

This motif is used in other passages from Isaiah (e.g., chs. 40 and 49), but this reference projects another side of the picture. Whereas the reason often given for Israel's lost and scattered condition is the failure of the leaders (i.e., the shepherds) to act responsibly for the flock, the finger of guilt now points at the people themselves. Jeremiah especially condemned the leaders for "scattering" the flock (cf. Jer. 10:21; 23:1-2; 50:6-8). Ezekiel is also adamant about the guilt of Israel's leaders (cf. Ezek. 34). But the intention of the writer in this place is to show clearly that the sheep had distanced themselves from God. There is no blame leveled against others (i.e., their kings, rulers, priests, or prophets). Their condition of lostness is presented as traceable to their own guilt. The image of the straying sheep has now taken on a confessional aspect. It has become personal. Thus the symbol of sheep turning away

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[72]T.K. Cheyne, The Mines of Isaiah Re-Explored (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1912), pp. 148-154.

from their shepherd (God) represents a stage of development toward personal guilt as felt by the individual. The idea of sheep without a shepherd was always a concept which served to illustrate a people or nation in deep trouble. It is now used to illustrate a people which had turned aside from following their "shepherd." They confessed: "We have turned every one to his own way." The thought presented in this verse is like Ps. 119:176, where the psalmist confesses: "I have gone astray like a lost sheep; seek thy servant" (cf. the word תעה, "to go astray" in Isa. 53:6 and Ps. 119:176). The writer then returns to the subject of the suffering servant, upon whom the weight of guilt will fall. He is thus compared to an animal (lamb and sheep) striken for the transgression of the people (vv. 6-8).[73]

An interesting relation may exist between Isa. 1:5-6 and 53:5-6. A creature is spoken about in 1:5-6 which is in an extremely sickened condition. Whether this individual refers to an animal or a human is difficult to decide. We know from 1:3 that Isaiah has just compared Israel to animals which had knowledge of their rightful masters. But he accuses Israel of not knowing God. When Isaiah begins his discussion of the sickened individual of vv. 5-6, we might easily conclude that he still has in mind something to do with animals.

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[73] See Theodor H. Gaster's discussion of the background of the "scapegoat" institution; Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament (Harper and Row, Publishers, 1969), pp. 580-582; J.G. Frazer, "The Scapegoat," The Golden Bough, VI (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1966).

But this is highly conjectural; thus we would make no strong assertion of this point. However, the writer of Isa. 53 may have had this material in mind when he presented the picture of the suffering servant. He may have seen in the chastisement of a scapegoat figure an answer for the condition of sickness which exists in Isa. 1:2-7. This possibility is augmented by the fact that the sick individual of 1:5-6 has, as one of his wounds, "stripes," or "bruises" (חבר). The writer of Isa. 53:5 uses this same term (a term used few times in the Bible) when he refers to the mediatorial method by which Israel is healed: "And with his stripes we are healed"! From this point the writer continues to illustrate the guilt of Israel by saying: "All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one to his own way; and the Lord has laid on him the iniquity of us all" (v. 6). The answer to the problem of the sick individual (Isa. 1:5-6; the "stripes" and other wounds) is now given when the suffering servant receives "stripes" whereby the straying sheep might be returned to health (cf. Ps. 38:6). His chastisement brought wholeness (שלום).

Isa. 56:9-11 exhibits clear shepherd imagery. However, we must first note the verses immediately preceding this group (56:6-8), which concern the coming of "foreigners" to God's holy mountain, and see if the symbol might be intended there also. Scholars divide these two sections (i.e., 56:1-8 and 56:9-57:1-2). McKenzie says: "There is no obvious connection between this poem" (referring to 56:9-12) "and

56:1-8."[74]

We suggest that the editor may have related the two sections because shepherd imagery is present in both clusters. In 56:6-8, ideas are present which are similar to Isa. 11:9: 49:9-14; Exod. 15:13, 17, where God is shown bringing Israel to his holy mountain (pasture?). Verse eight uses language which might imply a shepherd who is gathering together his flock. It is especially important to note that the writer of the Gospel of John refers to this verse in the classic "one flock, one shepherd" pericope of John 10.

The editor may have attached Isa. 56:9ff. to these verses in order to focus attention on the present corruption of worship which existed because of Israel's irresponsible leadership. Therefore the writer says:

> All you beasts of the field, come
> to devour -
> all you beasts in the forest.
> His watchmen are blind,
> they are all without knowledge;
> they are all dumb dogs,
> they cannot bark;
> dreaming, lying down,
> loving to slumber.
> The dogs have a mighty appetite;
> they never have enough.
> The shepherds also have no
> understanding;
> they have turned to their
> own way,
> each to his own gain, one and
> all (56:9-11).

Similar to Jer. 12:9, the wild beasts (the nations) are invited to invade and devour Israel. This appears to be a

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[74]McKenzie, op. cit., p. 154; see Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 343.

divine judgment, and therefore, in this respect is again like Jer. 12:7-13, where the devastation was the result of Yahweh's sword which "devours from one end of the land to the other" (v. 12). The writer seems to included all segments of Israel's leadership when he refers to the "watchmen" and "shepherds." The former probably describes the religious leaders (prophets and priests), while the term "shepherds" is used in the usual sense of the political leaders.[75] The description of these leaders is one which shows them acting in a way which is directly opposite of that which should characterize their office. The idea of slumbering leaders (shepherds) is mentioned by Nahum when he describes Assyria's downfall (3:18).

Pastoral imagery in Isa. 60 is open to question, but the possibility that the figure is subtly implied will be examined.

The chapter is highly symbolic and thus filled with many metaphors. The context is concerned with the return of Israel from captivity. The nations are presented as aiding Israel in this return. Verse one is like Isa. 40:5, a context which gives hope to the captives, and mentions God as a shepherd leading Israel home (v. 11). Verse three expresses the fulfilment of those prophecies of Isa. 2:2-3 and Mic. 4:1-2 (cf. Mic. 4-5 which relates the shepherd motif). Verse five

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[75]Even though Scott thinks a glossator inserted the term "shepherds," the context and its similarity with other passages indicate for this passage a shepherd motif; Scott, op. cit., p. 663; see Cheyne, op. cit., p. 165.

seems to echo the situation in Hag. 2:6-9 about the rebuilding of the second temple in 515 B.C. and how the wealth of the nations will be poured into Jerusalem. Animals are mentioned in verses 6-7, a passage which may reflect pastoral symbolism. These verses will be returned to in a moment. Verse ten speaks of foreigners who will minister to Israel. In verse 13 the members of the botanical world will also make their contribution to Jerusalem. Verse 14 sounds like the city of Ezek. 48, and the final picture presented in vv. 19ff. symbolize the days of restoration and peace.

In returning to the problem of pastoral imagery, verse 7 is usually interpreted to mean that the flocks and rams from distant places will come to Jerusalem as sacrificial victims.[76] A strong point for this view is the statement that they will come to the "altar," the place identified with animal sacrifice. However, the total context of Isa. 60, a context already sated with symbolism, may speak for another interpretation of these lines (i.e., v. 7). Verse 4 mentions the gathering of people who will advance toward Jerusalem. The city has become the center of attraction for all, including nations and kings (cf. v. 3). Verse 6 speaks of camels which are laden with gold and frankincense, indicative of the wealth which will come to Israel. The flocks of verse 7 are also to be gathered to Jerusalem:

All the flocks of Kedar shall be

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[76] McKenzie, op. cit., p. 177; Scott, op. cit., p. 701.

gathered to you,
the rams of Nebaioth shall
minister to you;
they shall come up with
acceptance on my altar,
and I will glorify my glorious
house.

This might refer to people, an idea which would not be unusual for a context so full of symbols. The idea of people gathering harmonizes with the same thought in verse 4. The rams of Nebaioth (אירי נביות) are to minister to Jerusalem. This is a strange way of speaking about animals which are to be slaughtered. We note that the term (איל) might refer to chiefs or kings. Therefore, the idea may be symbolic of foreign dignitaries which will aid in the rebuilding of Jerusalem. This is in complete harmony with the context. The reference to the altar may simply be an expression illustrating the holy city. The writer may also be playing on the idea of foreign peoples (flocks) and rulers (rams) assisting Jerusalem, the site of sacrificial offering to Yahweh.

The reference to the rams coming to "minister" to Jerusalem is a phrase exactly like a phrase in verse 10, where it is said that "kings" shall be ministers to the people of Israel. These phrases and ideas are also identical to Isa. 56:6, where foreigners minister to Yahweh.

Because of the highly symbolic cast of the entire passage, there is no need to make this verse literal. Just because terms like flock, ram, or altar are used, the cult, with its bloody sacrifices, is not necessarily implied. Since symbolism has a place in interpretation, it need not be

sacrificed on the altar of literalism.

In the midst of language describing the rebellion of Israel against a God who had had confidence in them the people recall the past:

> Then he[77] remembered the days of
> old,
> of Moses his servant,[78]
> Where is he who brought up out
> of the sea
> the shepherds of his flock?
> Where is he who put in the
> midst of them
> his holy Spirit (63:11).

In a period of distress and defeat[79] Israel now looked back to the memorable event at the Red Sea. The shepherd image is present in the context with God as the shepherd of "his flock" being implied. But others are referred to by the designation also. The question arises as to whom the term "shepherds" is to be applied. The KJV reads "shepherd" as does the LXX. This would suggest that Moses is the shepherd of God's flock. The idea of the people in general being called "shepherds" does not seem consistent with the overall picture of shepherd imagery. Taking the term as a plural (with the MT) is not inconsistent, and seems clearly to be the intent of the writer

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[77]"He" refers to Israel; see McKenzie's conjectural emendation, op. cit., p. 188.

[78]See MT, "his people," and trans. in KJV; see discussion by Scott, op. cit., pp. 733-734, and the reasons for preferring the RSV rendering, "his servant."

[79]McKenzie calls the passage "A Psalm of Lamentation" (i.e., 63:7-64:11) and thinks it was based on the disaster of 587 B.C., pp. 188, 192. J. Morgenstern has a thoroughgoing treatment of this passage in HUCA XXIII, (1950-1951), pp. 185-202. He cuts the unit off at v. 14. He calls 63:7-14 "a

since there was already a tradition of a plurality of leaders during the Exodus. As already noted in Ps. 77:21, there is a reference to Moses and Aaron as the leaders of God's flock (cf. Mic. 6:4, where Miriam is included as one of the leaders). We note that Yahweh leads his flock by the hand of those whom he has appointed. The element of the undershepherd is present in this passage. Those who were given the responsibility of leadership were no less than representatives of God, and were to conduct themselves in accord with this commission.[80]

Isa. 65:8-25 is a section expressing the future of

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psalmodic composition" in fact, a "fragment of a psalm" (p. 197). He sees Ps. 106 as a psalm which envisages the same circumstances as this passage. In dating the material, he assigns it to the same period referred to in Obadiah, Joel 4:2-8, Ps. 44:10-15, 74:1-10, 79, 83:1-10 and other psalms and prophetic material (p. 198). Morgenstern suggests the date, 485 B.C. (p. 200). He also notes the important phrase, "for his name's sake," a statement with deep significance. The idea lying behind the words suggests that Yahweh must not be regarded as an impotent deity; therefore he must restore and care for Israel. This will prove him to be a great and powerful deity. Since Israel did not deserve him, he must therefore purge and purify the people. Thus the writer is presenting a message of vast hope. Morgenstern says of this hope: "It was conceived and proclaimed by the prophet Ezekiel in his reaction to the conditions of the Babylonian exile (p. 202). He points out further how this doctrine flourished in Jewish circles (p. 202). Isa. 63:7-14 reveals God's deliverance for Israel, thus bringing "luster to His name and establishes it, of course, among the foreign nations, even among Israel's most ruthless conquerors and oppressors" (p. 203). He sees Ps. 106 and Isa. 63:7-14 as later than Ezekiel and directly dependent upon this doctrine of "for His name's sake," first enunciated by him (pp. 202-203).

[80]Cf. Heb. 13:7, 17, 20, where the writer is looking back to the passage in Isaiah for his point about leadership in the the Church. The New Testament reveals a consistent pattern of basing numerous concepts on Old Testament material.

Israel. Verse 10 partly describes the peace to come:

> Sharon shall become a pasture for
> flocks,
> and the Valley of Achor a place
> for herds to lie down,
> for my people who have sought
> me.

Is the reference to "flocks" and "herds" in this passage to be viewed symbolically? If so, it is a figure which suggests peace and tranquility. Such an idea is consistent with the pastoral scene of Isa. 11:1-10, a passage which closely resembles this one. For example, compare 65:25: "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, the lion shall eat straw like the ox; and dust shall be the serpent's food. They shall not hurt or destroy in all my holy mountain, says the Lord." The elements are, therefore, identical. Thus, the pasture scene of this chapter (vv. 10, 25) may represent another part of the genre of thought which symbolically implies the subduing of those forces which disrupt society. In the holy mountain man is under the control of God, the shepherd.

Jeremiah

In the days of Jeremiah, the shepherd image was being used in several different ways, but the predominant idea connected with the figure is its political significance. The application of the symbol was broad enough to include political figures of varying rank and authority. The numerous occurrences which Jeremiah makes of the figure, as it is applied to the ruling nobility, demonstrates that it was a well-established and regular portrait for the ruling house.

Jeremiah uses the symbol early in his ministry, when he refers to those he designates "shepherds," along with other leaders of Israel:

> The priests did not say, 'Where is the Lord?'
> Those who handle the law did not know me;
> the shepherds transgressed against me;
> the prophets prophesied by Ba'al,
> and went after things that do not profit (2:8).

The "shepherds" refer to the ruling house of Israel. They are listed along with the spiritual leaders - perhaps a reflection of the royal ideology connected to the king and his relationship with God (cf. 1 Sam. 10:1; 16:12; 2 Sam. 7:14; Ps. 2:7; Ps. 89:26; Ps. 45). Since the rulers were under a divine charge, they are now implicated as transgressors of the law of God and guilty of betraying a trust.

The second use which the prophet makes of the figure also continues the political sense. As God is pictured pleading with Israel to return to him, he says:

> And I will give you shepherds after my own heart, who will feed you with knowledge and understanding (3:15).

The prospect of reestablishment for "faithless Israel" (vv. 11-15) is being presented as the prophet announces the type of government which will be set up. The ruling authorities seem to be those about whom the prophet speaks and not the religious leaders. The word, כלבי ("after my own heart"), should be compared with 1 Sam. 13:14 which refers to David who met the same standard. Just as he was a person "after

God's heart," so also the ruling monarchs of the future will be of this stature. The idea of a Davidic throne is further expanded in Jer. 23. The presentation of David's person and rule became an ideal abstraction, representing paradigmatically a symbol for legitimate kingship. The true king was one whose heart was filled with the law of God, his rule, a projection of the Davidic Dynasty.[81] A dream and great goal of the prophets was to have an ideal king ruling over Israel. This dream has been felt by peoples and societies from the most ancient times down to the present. The king-image in Israel was linked to this thought. Even though failure and disillusionment were often characteristic of Israel's monarchy, the longing for the ideal ruler never waned. It is significant that the shepherd image is often portrayed in circumstances where the ripest thoughts of ideal kingship are being presented.

The shepherds mentioned in 3:15 are to feed Israel with "knowledge and understanding" (דעה והשכיל). This apparently is intended to imply a contrast with the rulers who had brought Israel to ruin. It harks back to the days

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[81]For a discussion of this subject, see: Erwin R. Goodenough, "Kingship in Early Israel," JBL, XLVIII (1929), pp. 169-205. Goodenough says: "The essence of the royal office was that the king was the νόμος ἔμψυχος, the incarnation of the spirit of Yahveh's legalism. The true king's heart, as the late gnomic writer said, 'is in the hand of Yahveh as the watercourses. He turneth it whithersoever he will' (Prov. 21:1). He was inspired by Yahveh's wisdom, his life was drawn from the Stream, he was exalted as long as he kept in this relationship of mediator of the Stream to men, and debased when he failed to do so" (pp. 203-204).

of illegitimate kingship: "They made kings, but not through me. They set up princes, but without my knowledge" (Hos. 8: 4). The previous type of kingship would be no more - the promised "shepherds" of the future would be like David, after God's own heart (cf. Hos. 3:5; Ezek. 34:23). Therefore, the rule of these shepherds would mean prosperity for the returned people of Israel (vv. 16-18). The concept of a Davidic Dynasty, and the ideas which are connected with the shepherd motif, are often developed side by side, and at times converge, as in this passage.

A strictly military application is made of the image in Jer. 6:3:

> Shepherds with their flocks shall
> come against her;
> they shall pitch their tents
> around her,
> they shall pasture, each in his
> place.

The allusion which is made here is back to 6:1, and the evil which "looms out of the north." The word "shepherds" refers to the commanders and chiefs of the invading army. The word "flocks" represents the soldiers. It is interesting that the symbol of shepherd and flock in this place takes on a deep, military hue. This passage uses the image in exactly the same way which is characteristic of the image in Homer's Iliad and Odyssey.

The Book of Jeremiah demonstrates the flexibility which is attached to the shepherd and flock symbol. However, the usual treatment which the prophet makes of the figure has

to do with political personages. In and of itself, the image does not carry with it the kindly, beneficent, and sentimental qualities which have so often been associated with the figure.

The imagery of a political nature is further manifest in 10:21:

> For the shepherds are stupid,
> and do not inquire of the Lord;
> therefore they have not
> prospered,
> and all their flock is scattered.

The calamity which had fallen on the flock is here traced directly back to the rulers - the political powers. The reason behind their failure to keep the flock intact is their own stupidity, the consequence of refusing to "inquire of the Lord." The prophet may consciously be drawing a contrast between these irresponsible rulers, and those which he mentioned in 3:15, who "feed" or "shepherd" the people with "knowledge" (ידע) and "understanding" (שכל). However, in this place, the shepherds have not "prospered" (השכילו). The word שכל implies wisdom, and the results of wisdom, as well as the idea of posperity. The rulers whom Jeremiah is attacking had ruled perfidiously, and thus, the flock was scattered. Their rule was one which brought negative consequences - failure, because they had refused to counsel with the Lord. There was no doubt in the mind of Jeremiah that the success of the ruling household was dependent on seeking wisdom and guidance from Yahweh.

The next occurrence of shepherd imagery comes in a unit of material (chs. 11-13), which relates Jeremiah's

perplexity about his countrymen wanting to kill him; his response to their evil ways; and finally, the invading enemy which devastates the land.[82]

As Jeremiah speaks of those who seek his life, he uses what was probably a common figure of expression:

> But I was like a gentle lamb
> led to the slaughter.
> I did not know it was against
> me
> they devised schemes, saying,
> "Let us destroy the tree with its
> fruit,
> let us cut him off from the land
> of the living,
> that his name be remembered
> no more" (11:19).

The phrases: "lamb led to the slaughter" and "cut off from the land of the living" are similar to Isa. 53:7-8. The author of Second Isaiah may have been thinking of Jeremiah's statement. Because they seek his life, Jeremiah asks God to show him "vengeance" upon these enemies. His complaint is expressed further in chapter 12, where he questions God concerning an age-old problem: "Why does the way of the wicked prosper? Why do all who are treacherous thrive?" (v. 1).

Poetically, Jeremiah compares the wicked to the plants of the field:

> 2 Thou plantest them, and they
> take root;
> they grow and bring forth
> fruit;
> thou art near in their mouth
> and far from their heart.

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[82]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 360-361.

> 3 But thou, O Lord, knowest me;
> thou seest me, and triest my
> mind toward thee.
> Pull them out like sheep for the
> slaughter,
> and set them apart for the day of
> slaughter (12:2-3).

Curiously, the prophet has combined the metaphor of the field, which began in verse 2, with a metaphor of sheep going to slaughter. It seems strange that he would combine the idea of dragging sheep out of the flock with the thought of tearing plants out of the ground. This raises the possibility that there was something in common between field and sheep which would permit bringing the figures together in such a way. The picture of "planting" the people of Israel is present in Exod. 15:17. The word which is used there is the same word which is found in this context (נטע, v. 2). Exod. 15:13 is a possible allusion to God as a shepherd who is leading and guiding Israel. He brings them to his mountain of inheritance where he <u>plants</u> them. If Israel is regarded as a flock finally brought home, the idea of planting could also signify that God has brought them to a pasture. Jeremiah may be consciously bringing the ideas of field and sheep together. The purpose is to present a pastoral motif - always exemplary of a good and peaceful life (e.g., Greek pastoral literature; cf. Jer. 12:5, 12).

Jeremiah is now pleading with God that he "tear out" (נתק) those who are distressing the land. This tearing out, or uprooting (cf. Ezek. 17:9), looks back to verse 2, where God is said to have "planted them." In the same breath the

prophet compares them to sheep headed for slaughter. If this material represents a consistent unit, then Jeremiah may be looking back to himself as one like a sheep led to the slaughter, but is now praying that the same calamity they seek for him might fall on their own heads.

As the passage continues, the house of Judah is seen devastated and forsaken - the result of her enemies who have tramped across the land (12:7-13). In this section, "shepherds" have made the land a wilderness:

> Many shepherds have destroyed
> my vineyeard,
> they have trampled down my
> portion,
> they have made my pleasant
> portion
> a desolate wilderness (12:10).

Here, the word "shepherds" is used again in a clearly military sense. Their presence has brought destruction. If the term "shepherd" signifies kindness and peace in many references of literature, in this place the very opposite is intended. They have spoiled the land to the point that "no flesh has peace" (v. 12). Jeremiah may be linking together the circumstances which grew out of the imagery of himself as a sheep for slaughter. He comes from that point to the general conditions in Israel and the disaster which is about to befall them. Being threatened by his own countrymen, he sees them in fact torn from the land and slaughtered like sheep - and this will happen at the hands of the Babylonian shepherds. The elements found in this passage, which are usually associated with a life of peace and well-being; viz., sheep, plants, vineyards,

and shepherds, are all focused upon to present a bleek and dark picture of the impending captivity.

There is a possible continuation of the subject in 13: 17 where the prophet refers to the scattered flock of Yahweh:

> But if you will not listen,
> my soul will weep in secret for
> your pride;
> my eyes will weep bitterly and
> run down with tears,
> because the Lord's flock has
> been taken captive.

This is the first instance in Jeremiah of Yahweh being implied as Israel's shepherd. Another short piece occurs in this context which is probably an address to the king of Israel:

> "Lift up your eyes and see
> those who come from the north.
> Where is the flock that was given
> you,
> your beautiful flock?" (13:20).

The independent nature[83] of these sections make it impossible to know which king Jeremiah has in mind (Jehoiakin? cf. 2 Kings 24:8; Jer. 22; Zedekiah? cf. Jer. 21). At any rate, there is a consistency of thought running through these chapters (11-13) which is concerned with the Babylonian invasion and the imminent captivity. It appears that verse 20 is part of an address made to either Jehoiakin or Zedekiah at some point in this critical period. The symbolism in this place shows another use of the shepherd in a political sense. Implied in the questioning about the flock is the idea of trust - for the flock was given to the king. He was an under-

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[83]John Bright, "Jeremiah," The Anchor Bible, 21 (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1965), p. 95; Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 357.

shepherd for Yahweh (cf. v. 17). There is also the possibility that the flock represents the king's army. This would give sense to the prophet's question: "Lift up your eyes and see those who come from the north." Jeremiah would therefore be asking about the army, the "flock," which might stave off further invasion.

A wail over Jerusalem is presented in Jer. 22:20-23. The city is personified as a woman who is told to go cry aloud from three high mountains. Coming between the oracles about Jehoiakim and Jehoiakin, the woman is shown crying that all her "lovers are destroyed" (v. 20). An announcement comes in verse 22 which shows the shepherd image used in two different ways:

> The wind shall shepherd all you
> shepherds,
> and your lovers shall go into
> captivity;
> then you will be ashamed and
> confounded
> because of all your wickedness.

The passage shows the symbol used in a unique sense. In a play on words, the "wind" (רוח) is spoken of as a "shepherd" of Jerusalem's "shepherds" (cf. Jer. 13:24; Isa. 27:8; Job 27:21). But, who are Jerusalem's shepherds? Do they refer to foreign allies or Judah's own monarchy? The use of the word "lovers" was a common figure for foreign powers (cf. Jer. 4:30; Lam. 1:19; Ezek. 16). Therefore the word "lovers" refers to the allied powers while the word "shepherds" is used in the same sense as Jer. 10:21, i.e., to Judah's rulers.[84]

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[84] Bright, op. cit., p. 142.

The passage is saying that neither their allies nor their rulers can help them, the shepherd, "Wind," will sweep all away![85] The symbol has thus found two applications in the same line: representing the destroying force which has come against Jerusalem, the wind; and used as a reference to Judah's rulers which the wind is about to overcome.

The rulers of Israel are severely denounced in Jer. 23:1-2 - specifically, the words are probably aimed at King Zedekiah and his royal officials.[86]

> "Woe to the shepherds who destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture!" says the Lord. Therefore thus says the Lord, the God of Israel, concerning the shepherds who care for my people: "You have scattered my flock, and have driven them away, and you have not attended to them. Behold, I will attend to you for your evil doings, says the Lord."

The rulers are to be deposed because of their failure to care for the sheep. The image of the shepherd is here stressing the aspect of responsibility. The royal house was in reality caring for a flock which God had placed under their control, but ultimately, they were responsible to him and had to answer for their misdeeds when they failed to tend the flock. There is a word play on the term פקד, in verse 2. Because the shepherds had not "attended" the flock, then God declares that he will "attend to them." Their failure to care for the flock may look back to the extravagances of King Jehoiakim (22:13-18) where Jeremiah scathingly asks: "Do you think you are a

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[85] Cf. Aeschylus, Agamemnon 657, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβος.

[86] Bright, op. cit., pp. 144-146.

king because you compete in cedar?" (v. 15). The point which stands out, relative to the king's work as a shepherd, is the factor of concern for the welfare of the flock which God has placed under them. To fail in this, regardless of the pomp which is inherent in the office, is to fail completely the purpose of the office. The result is a "driven" and "scattered flock," for which, the king is directly responsible.

The promise of return from captivity is predicted in verses 3-4. God is the one pictured as gathering and leading his people back to the fold. He then appoints new shepherds whose rule will be responsible, with care for each individual sheep.

> Then will I gather the remnant of my flock out of all the countries where I have driven them, and I will bring them back to their fold, and they shall be fruitful and multiply. I will set shepherds over them, and they shall fear no more, nor be dismayed, neither shall any be missing, says the Lord (23:3-4).

God is acting in the role of a "Good Shepherd," leading the people back, and he will in turn appoint "good shepherds" over them. It is strange that God claims the responsibility for the dispersion of the flock. He says that he was the one who had driven them away! In the preceding woe upon the shepherds, this charge is made against them, for which, they are severely condemned. This is similar to the situation in ch. 12 where the "shepherds" had entered the vineyard of God and destroyed it (12:10-12); yet, it was the "sword of the Lord" which had devoured the land (12:12b)! In some sense, there seems to be a relation between the actions of the king and the actions of God. Human agents reflect God's actions - whether it be for

good or ill. In the same way, the return from captivity would be the actions of God operating through a human vehicle (e.g., Cyrus, Isa. 44:28-45:1).

The next section of the pericope continues the shepherd motif:

> "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will raise up for David a righteous Branch, and he shall reign as king and deal wisely, and shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In his days Judah will be saved, and Israel will dwell securely. And this is the name by which he will be called: 'The Lord is our righteousness'" (23:5-6).

The name of this new king: "The Lord is our righteousness" is probably a play of words on the name of King Zedekiah, which means: "Yahweh is my righteousness." The "righteous Branch" is a reference to an ideal king. Yet, the reference to a singular figure is not to be construed as meaning one, specific personage who will fill this office permanently. The idea of the "Branch" grows into messianic proportions at a later date, but here, the point the prophet is elaborating ties back to the preceding verses. The righteous Branch raised up to David represents the continuation of an ideal dynasty, maintained and administered wisely by the ruling monarch. All the "shepherds" are a part of the "righteous Branch." The result of such rule will be in sharp contrast to the former rule known under such kings as were ruling in the last days before the captivity. The new order will bring salvation and security for Judah and Israel.[87]

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[87]For excellent discussions on the place of David in the thinking of Biblical writers see: A. Kuenen, The Prophets

The shepherd image and its connection with David started, when, as a lad, he worked in the fields tending his father's sheep. From this work, he became the shepherd of the larger flock of Israel. To this story, later writers often hark, and continue to draw pictures which will serve to implement their individual messages.

The idea of God as a shepherd leading his people back to security and restoration is continued:

> "Therefore, behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when men shall no longer say, 'As the Lord lives who brought up the people of Israel out of the land of Egypt,' but 'As the Lord lives who brought up and led the descendants of the house of Israel out of the north country and out of all the countries where he had driven them.' Then they shall dwell in their own land (23: 7-8).

The comparison which is made here with the time God led Israel out of Egypt, strengthens the argument that Exod. 15:13-17 is reflecting shepherd imagery. The same subject is present in this passage which is tied directly with the shepherd motif.

The theme of destruction for the nations is reflected under shepherd and flock imagery in 25:34-38:

> 34 "Wail, you shepherds, and cry,
> and roll in ashes, you lords of
> the flock,
> for the days of your slaughter and
> dispersion have come,
> and you shall fall like choice

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and Prophecy in Israel, trans. A. Milroy (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1877), pp. 202-224; S. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, trans. G.W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954); J. Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), pp. 392-400; E.R. Goodenough, "Kingship in Early Israel," JBL, XLVIII (1929), pp. 169-205.

rams.[88]
35 No refuge will remain for the
shepherds,
nor escape for the lords of the
flock.
36 Hark, the cry of the shepherds,
and the wail of the lords of the
flock!
For the Lord is despoiling their
pasture,
37 and the peaceful folds are
devastated,
because of the fierce anger of
the Lord.
38 Like a lion he has left his covert,
for their land has become a
waste
because of the sword of the
oppressor,
and because of his fierce
anger."

The passage represents the broadest, single application of the shepherd motif to be found in the Bible. Nations are to fall (v. 32): "Thus says the Lord of hosts: Behold, evil is going forth from nation to nation, and a great tempest is stirring from the farthest parts of the earth!" The nations are enumerated (vv. 17-26); thus the shepherds refer to kings, princes, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the king of Babylon - none is left out of this wide-sweeping proclamation - they must all drink the cup of God's wrath (v. 15; cf. this figure in other prophetic passages: Jer. 49:12; 51:7; Isa. 51:17, 22; Ezek. 23:31ff., Hab. 2:15; Ps. 60:5; Ps. 75:9). The judgment

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[88]The text is difficult. The variant reading (MT): "And I will break you in pieces, and ye shall fall like a precious vessel" is perhaps preferable to LXX, "like choice rams." The use of bringing two symbols together in such a way is not unusual nor does it disturb the sense (cf. 12:1-12). See Jechoniah compared to a "despised, broken pot, a vessel" (Jer. 22:28).

begins with Judah (v. 18) and ends with Babylon (v. 26). The "tempest (סער) which is stirring" (v. 32), which refers to the impending doom on the nations, reminds one of the similar notion of Jer. 22:22 where "The wind" (רוח) is to "shepherd" the "shepherds" (i.e., Judah's rulers), and all Judah's "lovers" are to go into captivity. There may be a direct relation between these two places, which both speak of the same subject, and where both use shepherd imagery. Three times, the word "sword" (חרב), occurs in Jer. 25 (vv. 27, 29, 31); it is a sword which Yahweh sends, thus, the "sword of the Lord" which ravages from one end of the land to the other (cf. Jer. 12:12). It is notable that this "sword of Yahweh" occurs in two contexts which contain the shepherd motif and the subject of destruction. These similarities show a consistency of presentation in Jeremiah on certain subjects, and also strengthens the unity of these passages.

In Jer. 31:10, there is a return to the idea of Yahweh as a shepherd, who, though having scattered the flock, will now gather them:

> "Hear the word of the Lord, O
> nations,
> and declare it in the coastlands
> afar off;
> say, 'He who scattered Israel will
> gather him,
> and will keep him as a
> shepherd keeps his flock.'"

Just as the image of the shepherd found many applications to illustrate political and military personal, it was a particularly useful and dear symbol to illustrate Israel's return to

its own land. This passage occurs in a section of the Book of Jeremiah which is called "The Book of Consolation" (chs. 30-33). The motif of being led to a peaceful environment is found in numerous Biblical texts (cf. Pss. 1:3; 5:9; 23:3, 4; 36:9, 10; Isa. 41:18; 43:20; 48:21; 49:21; etc.). It occurs in Jer. 31:10, the verse preceding the announcement that God will lead Israel back from captivity and "keep them as a shepherd keeps his flock." He says: "I will make them walk by brooks of water, in a straight path in which they shall not stumble." The idea here is thus similar to the words in Ps. 23:2 which confidently declare: "He leads me beside still waters." Comparisons of this nature establish a facet of the shepherd image which suggests an idyllic, pastoral scene - and such is the context of Jer. 30-33. There seems to be an affinity for using certain ideas and words when the shepherd image appears. Whether this is conscious on the part of the writer is a speculative question. But the similarities are present. For example, the verse following Jer. 31:10 says that the Lord has "ransomed Jacob, and has redeemed him from the hand that is too strong for him" (v. 11). The idea being, of course, that a power too great to escape, holds Israel in abeyance. When comparing this passage and the concepts presented here with Ps. 49, we find that the ideas of redemption and ransom are present there also. But in that place, Death is the shepherd, not God, who holds his subjects under his dominion. However, the psalmist says: "God will ransom my soul from the hand of Sheol (v. 15; cf. vv. 7-9).

In Jer. 31:11, a similar problem exists: Jacob is in the clutches of one who is too strong for him to conquer. But the assurance comes when it is stated that Jacob is "ransomed" and "redeemed from the hand" of such a power. The ideas of redemption are found in Ps. 77:16, 20, where, the shepherds Moses and Aaron lead the people "by the hand." The ideas and words are very much alike in these places. We assume that relationships exist between all these passages. Writers, prophets, and editors must have used the cross-currents of thought to fit their own immediate circumstance or event.

A reading of Jer. 33:12-13 does not immediately suggest any kind of shepherd symbolism, but rather, literal statements about the restored fortunes of Israel. However, due to the extensive use of the symbol in Jeremiah, and the verses following vv. 12-13, we conclude that the words are intended to be more symbolic than literal.

> "Thus says the Lord of hosts: In this place which is waste, without man or beast, and in all of its cities, there shall again be habitations of shepherds resting their flocks. In the cities of the hill country, in the cities of the Shephelah, and in the cities of the Negeb, in the land of Benjamin, the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, flocks shall again pass under the hands of the one who counts them, says the Lord."

It is notable that the word "cities" is used so often. The emphasis seems to be on main centers of population. If literal shepherds are intended, it appears strange that such emphasis would be made - therefore, the shepherds may be political figures within the cities of Judah. However, the

strongest evidence for this actually being symbolic of political leaders, hinges on the verses immediately following:

> "Behold, the days are coming, says the Lord, when I will fulfil the promise I made to the house of Israel and the house of Judah. In those days and at that time I will cause a righteous Branch to spring forth for David; and he shall execute justice and righteousness in the land. In those days Judah will be saved and Jerusalem will dwell securely. And this is the name by which it will be called: 'The Lord is our righteousness'" (33:14-16).

A comparison of this context with Jer. 23:1-8 will reveal a marked similarity between the two. Chapter 23 is without doubt using shepherd symbolism in the verses preceding the discussion of the "righteous Branch" to be raised up to David. This passage (Jer. 33:12-26) is dealing with the same subject.[89] Therefore, we conclude that the author was using these words to reflect the same general picture, and this implies that Jer. 33:12-13 is shepherd imagery about the restoration of political order in the land. It is also significant to note the idea of the flocks passing "under the hands" (על-ידי) of him that counts them (v. 13). This feature of the control and care of sheep being expressed in some connection with the use of the hands has been observed elsewhere in this study (cf. Jer. 31:11; Pss. 49:15; 77:21).

In Jer. 43:12, the prophet uses a simile as he speaks of Egypt's final ruin. The words are probably among the very last recorded words which Jeremiah uttered.[90]

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[89]For scholars who view these verses as literal, see: J. Philip Hyatt, "The Book of Jeremiah," The Interpreter's Bible, V, pp. 1050-1051; Bright, op. cit., pp. 296, 298.

[90]Bright, op. cit., pp. 264-266.

> He shall kindle a fire in the temples of the gods of Egypt; and he shall burn them and carry them away captive; and he shall clean the land of Egypt, as a shepherd cleans his cloak of vermin; and he shall go away from there in peace.[91]

It is appropriate that the prophet's work should end with a final allusion to some part of shepherd life. His fondness for using shepherd symbolism is well demonstrated in the book. Jeremiah was apparently well acquainted with every aspect of the work and habits of shepherds, as evidenced from this passage.

In Jer. 49:19-21 and 50:44-46, God is compared to a resolute lion attacking a strong sheepfold. In the former, the reference is to Edom, while the latter is concerned with Babylon.

> Behold, like a lion coming up from the jungle of the Jordan against a strong sheepfold, I will suddenly make them run away from her; and I will appoint over her whomever I choose. For who is like me? Who will summon me? What shepherd can stand before me? Therefore hear the plan which the Lord has made against Edom and the purposes which he has formed against the inhabitants of Teman: Even the little ones of the flock shall be dragged away; surely their fold shall be appalled at their fate (50:44-46).

In this vivid portrayal of a swiftly moving lion attacking a strong sheepfold, the shepherds are unable to defend the flock. A shepherd could usually ward off any preying beast that might threaten the flock. David experienced the attack of a lion and a bear but was able to slay them both

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[91]This translation is based on the LXX which translates עטה by φθειρίζω: Hyatt, op. cit., p. 1096. The MT says: He shall fold up (עטה) the land of Egypt as a shepherd folds up his garment."

(1 Sam. 17:34-37). But in this case, it is God that comes against the flock, and Jeremiah is stressing that none can frighten him away. The condition here is like that described by Amos when a "shepherd rescues from the mouth of the lion two legs, or a piece of an ear" (Amos 3:12). It is appropriate that Edom is compared to a "strong sheepfold" since they imagined themselves as very secure in their rock fortresses (cf. the Book of Obadiah). The symbolism presented here is similar to Homer's description of Diomedes attacking the Trojan flock, where Diomedes is likened to a lion strewing about the sheep of the enemy fold.[92]

In both Jer. 49:19-21 and 50:44-46 (of which one is probably adapted from the other), the shepherds again appear as military and political leaders. Implied also is the element of protection which the shepherd was to maintain for the flock.

Among the short poems concerning the eventual overthrow of Babylon (chs. 50-51), are several uses of shepherd and sheep imagery (50:6-8, 17, 44-45; 51:23, 40). These poems were probably composed by various circles of authors during the captivity - perhaps down to about 550 B.C.[93] The extensive use which Jeremiah had made of the shepherd image did not escape the notice of these authors. They employed the figure in a way typical of the prophet.

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[92]Homer, Iliad V, 135-143.

[93]Bright, op. cit., pp. 359-360.

In Jer. 50:6-8, Israel is likened to a lost flock of sheep:

> "My people have been lost sheep; their shepherds have led them astray, turning them away on the mountains; from mountain to hill they have gone, they have forgotten their fold. All who found them have devoured them, and their enemies have said, 'We are not guilty, for they have sinned against the Lord, their true habitation, the Lord, the hope of their fathers.'"

Strikingly similar to the circumstances recounted in Ezek. 34, the shepherds are directly responsible for the condition which has befallen the flock of Israel. Instead of leading them "in paths of righteousness," they had turned the sheep toward the mountains. Alone and helpless, the sheep had fallen prey to their many enemies, having forgotten the way to their true resting ground (habitation), which was the Lord. The mountains and hills on which they had been wandering may be an allusion to idol worship performed on the high places,[94] or may simply be a general poetic description of Israel's condition in captivity (cf. Ps. 121:1).[95] Since their wandering had ultimately brought them to captivity in Babylon, verse 8 announces a call to flee the land:

> "Flee from the midst of Babylon, and go out of the land of the Chaldeans, and be as he-goats before the flock."

This verse shows another facet of shepherd and sheep imagery - that of the "he-goat," the bellwether which goes before the

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[94] Elmer A. Leslie, Jeremiah (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954), p. 296.

[95] See J. Morgenstern's discussion of the "mountains"; "Psalm 121," JBL, LVIII (1939), pp. 311-318.

flock. Goats are bolder than sheep and possess more leadership ability. Zechariah refers to rulers as "he-goats" (10:3) and Daniel describes a world ruler from the west as a "he-goat" (Dan. 8:5). Israel is thus symbolized as it leads the nations back from captivity.

Further comments on Israel's condition by the writers in captivity occur in 50:17:

> "Israel is a hunted sheep driven away by lions. First the king of Assyria devoured him, and now at last Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon has gnawed his bones."

The metaphor presents Israel as a hunted sheep. the word "sheep" (שה), means "one of a flock," but the word "scattered" (פזר), implies that the whole flock of Israel is considered, thus Bright translates: "A scattered flock is Israel, Chased by lions."[96] However, the picture of a single sheep which has been hunted up and down the land would appropriately fit the context also. Whereas in Jer. 49:19 and 50:44, God is the lion who stalks the nations, here, the nations are considered to be lions. The idea of lions craving and devouring sheep is ancient.[97]

The promise of God to restore (שוב) "Israel to his pasture" is notable because it reminds one of the phrase of confidence in Ps. 23:3: "He restores my soul." Isa. 49:6 also speaks of Israel being restored, in a context which goes

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[96]Bright, op. cit., pp. 341, 354.

[97]The following phrase occurs in the Ugaritic material: "The appetites of lions by nature crave for sheep"; Gaster, Thespis, p. 204; see note, p. 205.

on to tell of Israel feeding on a pasture land with God leading and guiding them by springs of water (49:9ff.).

Ezekiel

The shepherd motif reaches one of its highest peaks in Ezek. 34. No other passage in the Old Testament makes such a lengthy and obvious use of the metaphor. This fact raises a question about why the symbol is absent in the rest of the book (with the exception of 37:24).

The genuineness of this passage is questioned by Eissfeldt because of its insertion in the midst of dated narrative speeches.[98] If Ezekiel wrote this section, it is significant that he made such a long presentation of shepherd imagery while avoiding the subject in the rest of his prophecies. Perhaps the reason for using the motif as he did is due to the nature of the message. Before, Ezekiel threatened the people; now he promises them. He is therefore compelled to use a symbol which meant much to Israel. It was a symbol expressive of compassion and care. No other figure was possibly as suggestive of God's protection and concern as that of the shepherd. This is especially true if the image is considered to be old. It therefore had the weight of tradition as well as being an obviously welcome picture of what God would do for Israel in the future.

In Ezek. 34 the prophet moves from the bad situation in which the rulers are described as irresponsible shepherds

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[98]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 378.

(1-10) to the picture of God himself taking over as shepherd (11-22). Final salvation and peace comes to them when "David" begins his rule (23-31). The prophet may have chosen this theme in order to make his point about the restoration of Israel and establishment of the Golden Age. The fact of its absence in the rest of the book might only indicate that no occasion called for its use. Perhaps the prophet planned to use the symbol in such a singular instance for the purpose of adding weight to his message of consolation.

In the first ten verses the words of the prophet are against the "shepherds of Israel." They are severely and pictorially condemned for their evil rule. It is difficult to know exactly what rulers are intended. They may be those last kings of Judah against whom Jeremiah made his broadside attack (Jer. 22:13-17; cf. Hos. 1:4; 7:7). It is also possible that Ezekiel is making a general observation on all the kings of Israel. In 1 Sam. 8:10-22 Samuel describes the harsh rule which would characterize life under an earthly monarch. From the prophetic point of view the years of the kings were often attended by oppressive and unjust dominion. The outcome was therefore destruction and captivity for Yahweh's people. Ezekiel might be reflecting back on the whole spectrum of kingship in Israel: its original inception in the days of Samuel was dubiously conceived, and Samuel himself uttered warnings about the institution. The last kings of Judah represented the final chapter of a system doomed from the start (cf. Hos. 8:4).

This passage more than any other in the Bible rebukes kingship based on domination and oppression. At the same time it reveals how the prophets viewed kingship. A strong theological stamp is evident. The prophet chose the shepherd motif through which to illustrate the results of selfish and irresponsible kingship. He also presented the outcome of God's intervention when he would establish a Golden Age under one shepherd, the ideal ruler.

Verses 2-3 present the leaders as ruling for sheer selfishness and greed. The consequences of their personal ambitions resulted in complete failure of government. Verse 4 implies that their primary duties involved seeing after the people. The prophet summarizes their lack of concern: they had not strengthened, healed, bound up, sought, or brought back the sickened and scattered flock. The verse illustrates the standard by which the prophets measured a good rule (cf. Jer. 22:13-17; Isa. 1:10-17; Amos 4:1-3; 5:10-24; 6:1-7; Mic. 3:1-3; etc.). The reign of these shepherds was harsh, the opposite of what was expected of them. The prophet says: "With force (בחזקה) and harshness (בפרך) you have ruled them" (v. 4). He is emphasizing that their control of government was one of crushing oppression and he may have intended to echo the days of Egyptian bondage: "So they made the people of Israel serve with rigor (בפרך), and made their lives bitter with hard service, in mortar and brick, and in all kinds of work in the field; in all their work they made them serve with rigor (בפרך)" (Exod. 1:13-14). The commandment con-

cerning a slave is: "You shall not rule over him with harshness (בפרך), but shall fear your God" (Lev. 25:43). Therefore the people were made to suffer by their own rulers as if under the heel of a cruel foreign power. Ezekiel is pursuing the theme of legitimate rule and may also be giving a commentary on the history of Israelite kingship.

Bad rule meant a scattered flock. The sheep were exposed to dangerous wild beasts, probably symbolic of the foreign powers which devastated Israel. Verse 6 states that they "wandered" through the mountains and hills. This verse is similar to Jer. 50:6, where the sheep were left to roam the mountains and hills alone. The picture represents a place of fear and danger, probably a reference to the whole situation of going into captivity. A further implication of the tragedy is in the line which says that no one searched for the sheep. Therefore the situation postulated in Num. 27:16, 17 had arrived.

In verses 7-10 the accusation against the shepherds is deepened. But hope is introduced since God promises to intervene and rescue the sheep. There is probably a play on the word דרש in verses 8 and 10. In verse 8 the shepherd did not seek God's sheep: "My shepherds have not searched for my sheep" (ולא-דרשו רעי את-צאני). In verse 10 the statement of God against the shepherds points out further their failure to lead: "And I will require my sheep at their hand" (ודרשתי את-צאני מידם). The wordplay continues into verse 11: "For thus says the Lord God: Behold, I, I myself will search

(דרשתי) for my sheep."

The term "hand" has been noticed in Pss. 49:16; 77:21; 95:7, referring idiomatically to a shepherd tending sheep. It appears to be a natural idiom because the caring for sheep would require one literally to use his hands in performing the task. There is a close analogy to the work of feeding being used here. The procedure of using the hands in caring for sheep seems to be the origin of this idiom at least as far as the shepherd image is concerned. Therefore, God declares that he will deliver the sheep from the control of the voracious shepherds who had used and exploited them. Their failure to feed and care for the flock led to its destruction.

Verse 11 shows God's personal search for his sheep. Note especially the use of "My sheep" which appears throughout the chapter. The implication is that God had never relinquished his role as the shepherd of Israel. He had appointed undershepherds who were responsible for the keeping of the flock. These underlings would probably include all the ruling aristocracy as well as religious leaders. This raises a question concerning kingship in Israel. It is often asserted that Israel's king stood above all others in absolute power and authority. The implication of this passage, as well as other passages displaying the shepherd motif (cf. Jer. 2:8; 10:21; 23:1-2), suggests that the responsibilities of state were established on a broader administrative base than simply that of a supreme monarch.

In verses 13-14 God promises to bring Israel out from

the peoples and gather them into their own land. It is important to observe the use of יצא, בוא, and קבץ, terms which have been noticed in other passages containing the shepherd motif. The term "gather" is used similarly as in Isaiah (cf. 40:11b; 56:8; 60:7). The people are to be brought into a peaceful pasture. This follows the theme of many Old Testament passages relating a paradisiacal motif, some of which contain the shepherd motif (cf. Pss. 1:3; 18:19, 20; 23:2; Exod. 15: 13, 17; Isa. 11:1-10; 32:16, 17; 35:7; 49:10).

Verses 15-16 again express God's intense search for the sheep who have been oppressed. Note God's personal supervision: "I myself will be the shepherd of my sheep," and I will make them lie down, says the Lord God." He then announces a judgment on those of the flock who were apparently the rich oppressors in society. God claims that he will do what the shepherds failed to do (cf. v. 16 with v. 4) and judge the fat and the strong. There is a question whether it should be read "will watch over" (with LXX, Syriac, and Vulg.). This judgment reveals how the stronger members of the flock ran roughshod over the weaker members (vv. 17-21). These poor and weak represent the righteous in the community.

When God announces the coming salvation of the flock, he says it will be accomplished through an earthly representative (vv. 23-24). His position will be as the "one shepherd" over Israel: he is called the "servant" of God; his name is "David"; and he is to be "prince" (נשיא) among the people. The writer probably looks back to 2 Sam. 3:18 where God said

of David: "By the hand of my servant David I will save my people Israel from the hand of the Philistines, and from the hand of all their enemies." Note the use of the term "hand" in this passage (cf. with Ezek. 34:10). Ps. 89:4 is similar to Ezek. 34:23-25: "I have made a covenant with my chosen one, I have sworn to David, my servant"; and 89:20-22: "I have found David, my servant; with my holy oil I have anointed him; so that my hand shall ever abide with him, my arm also shall strengthen him." Note that God's hand strengthens his servant David.

These verses of Ezekiel are similar to Mic. 4:6; 5:1ff. Micah speaks of the ruler from "Bethlehem Ephrathah" and how "he shall stand, and shall feed his flock in the strength of the Lord" (5:1, 3). Micah says that "peace" (שלום) will come as a result (5:4). Ezekiel says that during the time of "David" he would "make a covenant of peace" (ברית שלום). The rule of this "one shepherd" promises protection and security. In order to illustrate further such a kingdom the prophet presents a pastoral scene in the remaining verses (vv. 26-31). The whole context of vv. 26-31 echoes passages which we have already noticed (Exod. 15; Isa. 9; 11; 49). An idyllic pastoral scene is a common occurrence in numerous Biblical passages (cf. Pss. 23:1-3; 36:7-9; 37:11; Isa. 11:1-10; 40-66 passim; Amos 9:11-15). There are many passages which represent a peaceful scene, and these are probably connected to the ancient idea of a shepherd tending his sheep and bringing them to a peaceful pasture.

Note the idiom of the "hand" in v. 27 and how God has delivered the people (sheep) "out of the hand" of the enemy. In the last verse (31) the writer specifically identifies the sheep. Though the symbolism has been clear throughout the entire passage, the author now sees fit to write what God says about the flock: "And you are my sheep, the sheep of my pasture." The MT has "the sheep of my pasture, are men." (צאני צאן מרעיתי אדם). This is the first time that the shepherd and sheep metaphor is commented on in the Old Testament. This is explained as a possible gloss by a "theologically-minded scribe."[99]

This long passage of Ezek. 34 is a kind of culmination of the use of the shepherd image in the Old Testament. The treatise reveals how the prophet viewed God's dealings with men. It suggests that God rules through human agents. The shepherd motif became an especially significant way of symbolizing the failure of government as well as a way to illustrate its reinstitution under ideal conditions. David is used as a paradigm of comparison. The centuries had built up a tradition about David as an ideal king. When a prophet wished to create a picture of tranquility and peace, what better way could he choose than to look to the ancient shepherd boy of Bethlehem, the one after God's heart, who became the shepherd of Israel.

In Ezek. 37:24 David is referred to by the same figures

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[99]Herbert G. May, "Ezekiel," The Interpreter's Bible, 6, p. 256.

of speech as he is in Ezek. 34. After the return of Israel from exile (a state likened to death, 37:1-14) God speaks of Israel: "My servant David shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd. They shall follow my ordinances and be careful to observe my statutes" (37:24). The only exception found here to the language used in ch. 34 is that David is called "king" (מלך) instead of "prince" (נשיא). David is called both "king" and "prince" in Ezek. 37:24-25.

The total context is similar to Ezek. 34. The "dwelling place" of God (v. 27) and the "sanctuary" of God (v. 28) are mentioned in ch. 37, whereas in ch. 34 the idea of a "plantation" (v. 29) or pasture scene seems more to be the emphasis. The "covenant of peace" is the same in both passages.

The pericope in which this verse (37:24) occurs must be examined, and the question asked: Is further shepherd and sheep imagery to be inferred in the passage? The following points are ventured as possible references to the shepherd motif.

After the vision of dry bones (vv. 1-14) comes the announcement of God of the return from captivity (vv. 13-28). This announcement is made through symbolic action. God directs Ezekiel to take two sticks upon which he is to write a message. He is then to join the two sticks together and they will become one stick (עץ אחד; vv. 15-18). The interpretation of this action by Ezekiel is to be explained as symbolic of God's restoration of Israel (vv. 19-22).

This unifying action on the part of God is illustrated by the two sticks becoming one and then being held in God's hand (v. 20). Further explanation is made when God declares:

> Thus says the Lord God: Behold, I will take the people of Israel from the nations among which they have gone, and will gather them from all sides, and bring them to their own land (v. 21).

God says he will "gather" the people and "bring them to their own land." The word "gather" (קבץ) and "bring in" (בוא) have been noted elsewhere as words sometimes used in shepherd passages (cf. Num. 27:16, 17; Exod. 15:17; Isa. 56:7, 8; Ps. 18:20; etc.).

In verse 22 the theme of oneness is again elaborated: "And I will make them one nation in the land, upon the mountains of Israel; and one king shall be king over them all; and they shall be no longer divided into two kingdoms." There is the possibility that this context is presenting God as a shepherd leading Israel back to their own land. The sticks represent the people who will be united, and God says concerning the sticks that he will "make them one stick, that they may be one in my hand" (v. 19).

Do the two sticks become a shepherd's staff in God's hand? Is the passage illustrating God's power and authority to gather the people and unite them as one? Is there perhaps a play on the idea of the word "tribe" (שבט; v. 19), a term which means also a "shepherd's staff"?

It is said that after God gathers them that he will make them "one nation in the land" and "one king" will rule them. This alludes to the following verses and especially

v. 24 about the one shepherd, "David." The passage might relate to Zech. 11:4-17 where two staffs are mentioned in a shepherd context.

Nahum 3:18

At the close of Nahum's doom song against Assyria, the prophet dramatizes the condition of Nineveh's rulers and princes:

> Your shepherds are asleep,
> O king of Assyria;
> your nobles slumber.
> Your people are scattered on the
> mountains
> with none to gather them.

With the shepherds of Assyria dead,[100] the flock is scattered on the mountains. The scattering is complete and no shepherd will arise to gather this lost flock together.[101] The shepherd motif is vividly used by the prophet to portray the collapse of an empire - a people who have been brought to discord and helplessness. Perhaps the prophet used the term because he was aware that the Assyrian kings often referred to themselves as shepherds.[102] Nahum may therefore be using the symbol in an ironic way, since the kings thought of themselves as mighty and powerful kings, using the term "shepherd" in contexts intended to bring luster to their position.

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[100]Sleeping and slumbering probably refers to death; cf. Ps. 76:6.

[101]When the flock was bereft of its shepherd, chaos and confusion resulted; cf. Num. 27:16, 17.

[102]See section on the Assyrian kings.

Zechariah

Zechariah represents the closing chapter of shepherd symbolism in Old Testament material. With the exception of some of the psalms, it probably contains the latest examples of the motif before the pseudepigraphic and apocryphal literature.

As is well-known, chs. 9-14 contain many difficulties for would-be interpreters, not the least of which is the question of date and occasion. Some of the material could possibly range in time of origin from the eighth century to the Maccabean period.[103] The lack of unity between the various collections, as well as the nature of the contents themselves, makes this section as indefinite as the writers who first produced the material. Even though variously dated, Zech. 9-14 is probably best assigned to about 300 B.C., the time of Greek domination.

Regarding one of the passages which will be noted shortly, Eissfeldt calls it an "obscure shepherd parable" (i. e., 11:4-17).[104] The idea of obscurity could in fact be applied to each of the places where the figure is presented. It is true that shepherd imagery is used extensively in the last six chapters, but its exegetical value, based on a consistent theme of presentation, is dubious, if not impossible.[105]

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[103]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 436.

[104]Ibid., p. 440.

[105]R.C. Dentan, "Zechariah," The Interpreter's Bible, 6, pp. 1089-1091.

If all the material in Zech. 9-14 is to be dated about 300 B.C., then we have literature which adequately demonstrates the use of the shepherd image by the latest writers of the Old Testament. The time is one therefore when there was a bridging of the gap between prophecy (as it was classically presented by the Old Testament prophets) and the coming of a new type literature known as "apocalyptic."[106] Therefore, regardless of the many things which are unknown about these chapters, it is clear that the shepherd motif continues to hold an interest for these writers. As a matter of fact, the concept does not slope off, but the stage is being set for a later and more developed application of the figure in New Testament literature.

In 9:11-17, a fragment possibly reflecting the time of Greek rule (ca. 300 B.C.), the figure is used in the same way which is often demonstrated in other Old Testament passages:

> On that day the Lord their God
> will save them
> for they are the flock of his
> people;
> for like jewels of a crown
> they shall shine on his land (v. 16).

God as the shepherd of the people is implied here. The thought of his shepherd rule over Israel was apparently a thought greatly loved by the people. It never seems to have lost its

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[106] D.S. Russell, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964), pp. 73-74, 183; H.H. Rowley, The Relevance Of Apocalyptic (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946), pp. 12-14.

vitality and force of expression. It is traceable from the earliest days of Israel, and there seems to be no time when the symbol was not a favored theme. This passage reveals that the people had faith that God would protect them from their enemies, a function often associated with the symbol.

In 10:2, the image of sheep with no shepherd is presented. Here, the people are told of the root of their desolation. Since they had chosen to follow the teraphim[107] and had forsaken God, they were left in loneliness and darkness.

> For the teraphim utter nonsense,
> and the diviners see lies;
> the dreamers tell false dreams,
> and give empty consolation,
> Therefore the people wander like
> sheep;
> they are afflicted for want of a
> shepherd.

It is clear that their condition was attributable to the lack of a shepherd to protect them. The shepherds in this place imply the leaders of Israel. The passage echoes the circumstances described by Micaiah ben Imlah (1 Kings 22:17), and sounds similar to the condition described by Ezekiel (34:5, 6). The writer of this material may have consciously chosen such an expression in order to identify his utterance with the prophets of old. This section of Zechariah (10:1-2) is a passage which sounds of ancient ways and customs.[108]

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[107] E.A. Speiser, "Genesis," The Anchor Bible (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1964), p. 245; Theodor H. Gaster, Myth, Legend, and Custom in the Old Testament, pp. 200-201.

[108] Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 437; Dentan, op. cit., pp. 1098-1099.

Another segment which continues the use of the symbol comes in 10:3-12. The language of these verses sounds as if they might have been written in the period before the fall of the northern kingdom. However, since the material is quite pictorial, the historical events could be pinned to the same period as 9:13-17, i.e., the years beginning the time of Greek domination (ca. 300 B.C.). The announcement of wrath against the shepherds (10:3) would therefore possibly be a reference to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rulers.

> "My anger is hot against the
> shepherds,
> and I will punish the leaders,
> for the Lord of hosts cares for his
> flock, the house of Judah,
> and will make them like his
> proud steed in battle (10:3).

The flock of Israel will be raised up against the shepherds and leaders (he-goats). It is interesting that the timid sheep will be transformed into war-horses trimmed for battle. The context shows a battle scene, in which, the flock is going to be victorious. The passage is open to various interpretations about how to identify the shepherds and leaders. Do they represent foreign rulers, or do they refer to Israel's leaders (similar to Ezek. 34)? A possible solution to this problem may be found in verse 11, where there is a reference to the "scepter" (שבט) of Egypt. This point about the scepter may look back to the beginning of the section, i.e., verse 3, where the doom of the shepherds and leaders is announced. If the word "scepter" (שבט) is to be associated with the instrument carried by a shepherd (i.e., the crook or staff),

then the problem of who the "shepherds" and "leaders" are of verse 3 is solved. The "shepherds" and "he-goats" refer to foreign rulers, later identified in verse 11, when it says: "The pride of Assyria shall be laid low, and the scepter of Egypt shall depart." The two phrases, "pride of Assyria" and "scepter of Egypt" suggest the power and status of the two nations. The fact that the term "scepter" appears in a context which is introduced by a reference to "shepherds" indicates that there is a connection between the two. This point further suggests that the scepter of kings was derived from the shepherd's crook or staff, an instrument which came to symbolize leadership, power, and control.

Another group of highly figurative words comes in 11: 1-3, a section which is perhaps a continuation of 10:3-12. If there is a connection, then the reference to the shepherds is another symbolic announcement to foreign powers:

> Hark, the wail of the shepherds,
> for their glory is despoiled!
> Hark, the roar of the lions,
> for the jungle of the Jordan is
> laid waste! (v. 3).

The fact that the shepherds and lions are mentioned in parallel with each other implies a similarity of attributes. Since the lion was powerful - almost invincible in strength - the same idea is possibly to be attached to the symbol of a shepherd.

The material in 11:7-17 represents what Eissfeldt calls an "obscure shepherd parable." It is an enigmatic and puzzling section which lends itself to many and varied interpretations.

Eissfeldt thus says: "But as a result of its parabolic language, the allusions which it contains are capable of many interpretations and may be applied to very different events and personages."[109]

The prophet is called upon to "Feed the flock of slaughter" (v. 4). The prophet is symbolically representing God as the shepherd over Israel. The picture which seems to be primary in this parable is that of God as shepherd over his flock. But because of their rebellion he is compelled to reject them, and give them into the hands of foreigners. Their own shepherds (the rulers) care nothing for the flock (v. 5). Thus it is declared that the people will be delivered into the hand of their enemies (v. 6). In verse 7 the prophet states his obedience to the word of the Lord and feeds the "flock of slaughter" and the "poor of the flock." Two staffs are used to tend the sheep. The name of the one is "Graciousness" (נעם), and the other "Bands" (חבלים). The intent of these two staffs is probably indicative of two types of rule: "graciousness" for the obedient flock, and "binders" for those who are rebellious. The "three shepherds" of verse 8 represents a vexing problem for commentators. Feigin sees them as helpmates of the shepherd, an idea based on Babylonian legal texts.[110] Dentan thinks the passage is probably an

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[109]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 438; see Dentan, op. cit., pp. 1102-1103; David Baron, The Visions & Prophecies of Zechariah (London: Hebrew Christian Testimony to Israel, 1951), pp. 379-418; Samuel Feigin, "Some Notes on Zechariah 11:4-17," JBL, XLIV (1925), pp. 203-213.

[110]Feigin, op. cit., pp. 206-207.

interpolation.[111] The answer to the problem is full of speculation. The candidates range from Moses, Aaron, and Miriam to Galba, Otho, and Vitellius.[112] It is possible that the three shepherds represent the three classes of leaders in Israel, i.e., the civil, priestly, and prophetical groups. This idea is perhaps consistent with Jer. 2:8.[113] The three shepherds are then destroyed (v. 8), the prophet rejects his role as shepherd, and chaos is said to be the result (v. 9). The breaking of the staff "Graciousness" further indicates that the prophet stands in God's place and personally dramatizes God's displeasure (v. 10). In verse 12 the prophet receives wages for his work. The "thirty pieces of silver" is probably an ironic statement which refers to the price paid for a slave (Exod. 21:32).[114] The money is cast into the treasury (v. 13) and the final act of delivering the nation to destruction is made when the prophet breaks the second staff (v. 14).

The next section presents the prophet as taking the implements of a worthless shepherd (v. 15). He is described as a ruthless and cruel shepherd, unconcerned for the sheep of his charge (vv. 15, 16). Finally, the worthless shepherd is pictured as being cut off from his tyrannical rule (v. 17).

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[111]Dentan, op. cit., p. 1104.

[112]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 438.

[113]Baron, op. cit., pp. 396-397.

[114]Cf. Feigin's interpretation, op. cit., p. 209.

The shepherd motif is used in Zech. 13:7 and refers to the shepherd as one who is God's fellow.

> Awake, O sword, against my
> shepherd,
> against the man who stands
> next to me,
> says the Lord of hosts.
> Strike the shepherd, that the
> sheep may be scattered;
> I will turn my hand against the
> little ones.

This verse (along with vv. 8 and 9) is disconnected from the context. It is questionable whether it should be considered a continuation of the shepherd parable of chapter 11. The sword used against the shepherd could be a reference to judicial power (cf. Exod. 5:21; 2 Sam. 12:9; Ps. 17:13), or it could be considered the means used to disperse and ultimately purify the flock. Dentan says: "The setting is eschatological and the picture is that of 'the messianic woes,' the 'wars and rumors of wars' which, in the dramatic scheme of late Jewish eschatology, would precede the last days (Mark 13:7-8)."[115]

The scattering of the shepherdless flock keeps to the traditional idea of that which occurs when people have no one to lead them. It is not possible to identify the shepherd who is referred to in this verse. He is one who "stands next to" God. This shows that he was to be identified as God's representative. This idea is consistent with the king's position as a ruler over the people of Yahweh as presented

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[115] Dentan, op. cit., pp. 1109-1110.

throughout the Old Testament.

The use of the shepherd image in Zechariah is abundant, but fraught with many difficulties. The various uses by the writers of this material show a decidedly vigorous attempt at presenting the symbol in the tradition of the more ancient Biblical literature. Even though this material is late, it continues the picture of God as Israel's shepherd. It also demonstrates that rulers and prophets were considered shepherds of the people, which again is a consistent theme of the Old Testament.

Ecclesiastes 12:11

This verse is in the colophon (12:9-11) of the book. The section is considered to be an addition to Qoheleth's work.[116] Eissfeldt feels that the verses are to be ascribed to the compiler and not to a later hand.[117]

A reference is made in v. 11 to an individual called the "one Shepherd." He is one who possesses the words of wisdom:

> The sayings of the wise are like goads, and like nails firmly fixed are the collected sayings which are given by one Shepherd.

It remains a question as to whom the "one Shepherd" refers to in this place. Since God is often considered to be the "Shepherd" of Israel, the "fountainhead of wisdom," then he

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[116] R.B.Y. Scott, The Way of Wisdom, pp. 18, 172, 176, 188; O.S. Rankin, "Ecclesiastes," The Interpreter's Bible, 5, p. 87.

[117] Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 493, 499.

is generally considered to be the "Shepherd" in this passage.[118] Eissfeldt thinks the reference is to the king since Qoheleth[119] was anxious to "emphasize with regard to the king that he was wise." Therefore he is concluding his work by praising the king and drawing attention to his creativity and teaching ability.[120]

It is significant that the shepherd image is used in a context having to do with education. As usual, the figure is suggesting the idea of care and guidance. But its emphasis is on following the instruction of the "shepherd." Scott mentions that "Proverbs, Qoheleth, and Sirach are the three wisdom books most evidently associated with schools or academies for the education of young men."[121] The book was probably written in the third century by a wise man who looked to Solomon as Israel's shepherd who could teach men "true wisdom."

Summary

The use of the shepherd image is extensive in the Old Testament. Its origin may have sprung from the desert period,

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[118]Rankin, op. cit., G.A. Barton, "Ecclesiastes," I.C.C.

[119]Eissfeldt says that the compiler makes Qoheleth speak in the first person and also in the third person. Thus in 12: 9-11 he is speaking in the third person; p. 493.

[120]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 493.

[121]Scott, op. cit., p. 52. A modern writer speaks of a Qashqai teacher who "shepherds children of the tribes through the hills and valleys of learning," William Graves, "Iran Desert Miracle," National Geographic Magazine, Vol. 147, No. 1 (January, 1975), pp. 34-35. See also Judah Goldin, "The End of Ecclesiastes: Literal Exegesis and Its Transformation," Biblical Motifs, ed. A. Altmann (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 135-158.

a time when God alone was considered Israel's shepherd. This concept could have derived from the life-style of wandering about. It is possible that the symbol is related to Egyptian society through contacts which early Hebrew groups had with that civilization. The image may have arisen because a pastoral society abstracted the image from a natural observance.

The earliest Old Testament material presents Yahweh as a shepherd. In these places God is considered the protector of his people. It is significant that God is rarely called a "shepherd" in the literature, but the implication that he is Israel's shepherd is abundant. The leaders of Israel are also likened to shepherds leading the flock. They were responsible for keeping the flock intact. To fail in their responsibility led inevitably to the scattering of the flock. Such lack of watchfulness was considered a heinous crime. The development of the ruler as a shepherd may have originated during the time when a king was appointed over Israel. It is also significant that no Israelite king is ever actually addressed as "shepherd" in the sense that the term is a title. However, the foreign king Cyrus is called by this title.

The symbol is found in numerous psalms. Sometimes the figure is only implied. We assume that the symbol was so familiar that certain terms and idioms were enough to suggest to the ancient reader that shepherd and sheep symbolism were indicated. This is also true in the prophets. They used the idea to illustrate God as Israel's shepherd who would lead the people to pleasant pastures. The motif was both familiar

and important; it undergirds large sections of prophetic material (e.g., Isa. 40-66). When Jeremiah delivered his oracles against Israel and the nations he often employed the shepherd image. Even though his work spanned a number of years the motif was a favored symbol to illustrate Israel's devastation as well as the coming days of restoration. Jeremiah uses the term in a military sense. Perhaps he employed the idea in this way because of a consciousness that the kings and military leaders of the nations were called by the title. Jeremiah was no doubt aware of the popular use of the image outside Israel. Perhaps this is the reason his use of the image is predominated by military situations, almost Homeric in significance.

It seems that the period immediately preceding, during, and after the exile shows more affinity for the symbol than any other. The psalms which use the shepherd image are probably to be dated during that time.

Other minor uses are made of the shepherd image. A great teacher is spoken of as a shepherd by the writer of the last section in Qoheleth. Zechariah acts in the capacity of a shepherd, and also there are allusions to a coming king and shepherd of the Davidic line. Death is also a shepherd!

It is significant that the Old Testament has a strong emphasis on the idea of undershepherds. Though the term is not used, the concept is present. Those who acted as God's undershepherds were acting on his behalf. They were responsible to him and were to conduct themselves in proper manner

as shepherds over his flock.

It is interesting to note that in the Old Testament the use of the term shepherd is not accompanied by such modifying words as observed in the Mesopotamian material. In the Old Testament it is simply "shepherd," "good shepherd," or "evil shepherd(s)." We assume that it was understood that numerous attributes were connected to this concept of a shepherd tending his sheep. He was either good, having those qualities needed to care properly for the sheep, or he was evil, utterly failing to keep the flock safe and intact.

Since the work of shepherding was so much a part of the ancient world, its use as a literary device was popular, extensive, and especially significant for the people. We have observed those places which clearly express the motif. We have also studied several passages where the image seems to be implied. Some of these places are not easily recognized as belonging in the category of pastoral imagery. Consequently, they are not treated as such by the commentators. The widespread use of the image gives credence to seeing its presence in passages which are similar to those of known shepherd imagery.

CHAPTER III

SHEPHERD SYMBOLISM IN THE APOCRYPHA AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

The shepherd image in the intertestamental literature amounts to a continuation of the ideas presented in the Old Testament. The figure is represented but not as extensively as in the canonical material. The period which created this literature reveals a dissatisfaction with the present and a longing for future fulfilment. The years which saw the return from captivity eventually brought new difficulties as foreign powers continued to thrust themselves into the land of Palestine. Israel's consciousness of divine election gave them a stubborn resistance against the intruders[1] and overwhelming disasters did not result in their forfeiture of faith.[2] "As a little state constantly endangered by her more powerful neighbors, Israel's fate was hardly commensurate with her confidence that the supreme God of the whole world was actu-

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[1]Emil Schürer, A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus, trans. N.N. Glatzer (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), pp. 13-120; Enslin, op. cit., pp. 3-37; Solomon Zeitlin, The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State, I (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1968), pp. xiii-172; Robert C. Dentan, The Apocrypha, Bridge of the Testaments (Greenwich: 1954), pp. 22-35.

[2]H. Wheeler Robinson, The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament (London: G. Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1913, p. 184.

ally King in a peculiar sense of Israel alone."[3] They inherited hope and expectation from the prophecy of the Old Testament[4] and to this various groups added their own imagination and view of history.[5]

Generally, the authors who used the shepherd image followed the pattern of the Old Testament.

Sirach 18:13

From the pen of Jesus the son of Sirach,[6] about 170 B.C., the shepherd figure is used to illustrate God's disciplinary measures over the human race. A universal theology is suggested in this place.[7]

> The compassion of man is for his
> neighbor,
> but the compassion of the Lord
> is for all living beings.
> He rebukes and trains and teaches
> them,
> and turns them back, as a
> shepherd his flock.

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[3]Enslin, op. cit., p. 138.

[4]Moore, op. cit., p. 324; Rowley, op. cit., pp. 13-23; Russell, op. cit., pp. 73-103.

[5]See Enslin on "The Make-up of Judaism," op. cit., pp. 111-128; on the divisions within Judaism see Zeitlin, op. cit., pp. 175-201; "The Essenes and Messianic Expectations," JQR, XLV (Oct., 1954), pp. 83-119; "The Sicarii and Masada," JQR, LVII (April, 1967), pp. 251-270; "Are Judaism and Christianity Fossil Religions?" JQR, XLVII (Oct., 1956), pp. 187-195; see Russell on "The Milieu of Apocalyptic," op. cit., pp. 15-35.

[6]Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 596-598; R.H. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, I (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1913), pp. 268ff.

[7]Charles, op. cit., p. 304.

The passage suggests that the work of shepherding involves discipline and training. In contrast with man's concerns we note that God is concerned with "all living beings."[8] Therefore he is compared to a shepherd who rebukes, trains, teaches, and turns them back from the wrong way.[9]

In most places the shepherd image carries the basic implication of protection. But here there is more intended by the figure than that of just watching out for the safety of the flock. The shepherd is also responsible for teaching them. When they need rebuking, he rebukes them; when they need instruction, he supplies this need; when they are going in the wrong direction he turns them back to the right path.

Ideas which are very near to those presented by ben Sirach are found in Eccl. 12:11, though God is not necessarily the teacher or shepherd mentioned in that place. The passage is somewhat reminiscent of Ps. 23. In verse 14 the author amplifies the idea of God's compassion and how the "wise" individual would accept his discipline:

> He has compassion on those who
> accept his discipline
> and who are eager for his
> judgments (18:14).

1 Enoch 89:1-90:42

Written by many authors and touching upon numerous

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[8]Scott, The Way of Wisdom, p. 207.

[9]Gerhard Von Rad, Wisdom In Israel (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), p. 200.

religious subjects,[10] the Book of Enoch uses shepherd and sheep symbolism in the section belonging to "the dream visions" (chs. 83-90). This section was probably composed during the Maccabean period.[11] In the second dream vision of Enoch (chs. 85-90) the history of the world along with Israel's history is cast under animal imagery.[12] After the death of Noah (represented as a white bull, 89:9) there arose "different genera: lions, tigers, wolves, dogs, hyenas, wild eagles, and ravens" (89:10). A "white bull" arises among them (Abraham) who bore a "wild ass" (Ishmael) and a "white bull" (Isaac). To that bull was born a "black wild boar" (Esau) and a "white sheep" (Jacob). Thus, in this lineage of animals a sheep makes its appearance and this sheep begat twelve sheep. What might be called "excessive symbolism" continues through the remainder of this section.

When these sheep were grown, they gave up one of their number (Joseph) to the asses (Midianites) and they in turn gave him up to the wolves (Egyptians, v. 13). The story continues, relating the bondage in Egypt: "but those sheep began to cry aloud on account of their little ones, and to

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[10]Charles, op. cit., II, pp. 163-164; 177-185; G.F. Moore, op. cit., pp. 300-308; Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 620; Russell, op. cit., pp. 51-53; Rowley, op. cit., pp. 54-60; Zeitlin, op. cit., II, pp. 347-349; C.C. Torrey, The Apocryphal Literature (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), pp. 110-114.

[11]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 619; Russell, op. cit., p. 53; Rowley, op. cit., p. 54.

[12]G. Von Rad, The Wisdom of Israel, pp. 44, 271, 272.

complain unto their Lord" (v. 16). Finally, a sheep (Moses) escapes from the wolves and flees to the wild asses. The sheep are pictured as crying, lamenting, and beseeching the Lord because of their affliction. With all their might they did this "till that Lord of the sheep descended at the voice of the sheep from a lofty abode, and came to them and pastured them" (v. 17). Thus we contact the Old Testament idea of Israel as a flock of sheep which belongs to God. God calls upon the sheep (Moses) who had escaped from the wolves to come and deliver the sheep (Israelites) from the wolves (Egyptians). Another sheep joins him (Aaron). It is significant that Moses and Aaron are presented as sheep leading the people and not as shepherds which could easily be assumed from Ps. 77:20. It seems that the emphasis is upon God continuing as the shepherd of Israel. Moses is a leader, but only in the sense of a sheep. After the sheep come to the wilderness of Sinai, God is still presented as the Lord of the sheep. The writer says: "And I saw the Lord of the sheep pasturing them and giving them water and grass" (v. 20). He also says that he saw "that sheep" (Moses) "leading them."

An interesting variation occurs in v. 36: "And I saw in this vision till that sheep became a man and built a house for the Lord of the sheep, and placed all the sheep in that house." The fact that the sheep (Moses) is transformed into a man for the purpose of building the tabernacle is different. In the midst of symbolism to the extreme, the author saw fit to change the picture of Moses as a sheep to Moses as a man.

It is very curious why he made this transition to literalism. Perhaps the writer could not harmonize the idea of a sheep building a tent, therefore he caused the sheep to undergo a transformation. The writer eventually brings the sheep to a "stream of water" (the Jordan) and comments about Moses: "Then that sheep, their leader which had become a man, withdrew from them and fell asleep, and all the sheep sought it and cried over it with a great crying" (v. 39).

The history of Israel continues, vividly portrayed under the figure of a flock of sheep being led by one or more sheep. Caleb and Joshua are the sheep which arise to lead the flock of Israel after the death of Moses (v. 39). During the period of the Judges and after, the flock is harassed by dogs, foxes, and wild boars (v. 39). These are the Philistines (vv. 46, 47), the Ammonites (v. 55), the Edomites (vv. 12, 43, 49, 66). Then God raised up a ram (Saul) to lead the sheep. This new leader as a "ram" is depicted as powerful and able to defend the sheep against their enemies. He begins to mistreat the sheep however (v. 44). In this context Samuel is likened to a sheep whose "eyes were opened" as he saw the behavior of Saul. A second ram arises (David) before whom the ravenous animals flee. It is said of David and his successors:

> And that ram begat many sheep and fell asleep; and a little sheep became a ram in its stead, and became prince and leader of those sheep (v. 48b).

The sheep of the Lord are pictured as growing many and fat. Eventually they "erred and went many ways," and

forsook their house, and the Lord of the sheep called some from amongst the sheep and sent them to the sheep, but the sheep began to slay them (v. 51; the slain are the prophets). As a result, God is pictured as inviting the nations to slaughter the sheep (vv. 54-58).

Following these events the wrath of God is presented in a vengeful light. As Enoch appeals to him on behalf of the sheep it is said: "But He remained un oved, though He saw it, and rejoiced that they were devoured and swallowed and robbed, and left them to be devoured in the hand of all the beasts"[13] (v. 58).

After this it is said of the Lord:

> And He called seventy shepherds, and cast those sheep to them that they might pasture them, and He spake to the shepherds and their companions: "Let each individual of you pasture the sheep henceforward, and everything that I shall command you that do ye (v. 59).

Shepherds are now introduced in the context. They are told to destroy certain duly numbered sheep out of the flock (v. 60), though the shepherds would actually be guilty of destroying more than God had commanded (v. 61). This destruction was to be carefully noted by the Lord, and if the shepherds disobeyed Him it would be a testimony against them for their own undoing (v. 63).

A problem arises concerning the identification of the shepherds in this passage. Charles calls it "the most

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[13]Cf. with Jer. 12:7-17 where the enemies had laid desolate the land and the people of Israel. The passage says: "The sword of the Lord devours from one end of the land to the other; no flesh has peace."

vexed question in Enoch."[14] Charles confidently affirms however: "They are certainly angels."[15] He says they cannot be men because: they are summoned before God (89:59) for their commission; they are appointed to protect the sheep (89:75); Jews, Gentiles, and their kings are symbolized by animals. Therefore, he concludes that they must be angels, since they cannot be men. He believes that God withdrew from being Shepherd over Israel since they had apostatized. God therefore committed the care of Israel to these seventy shepherds.

Charles also thinks the figure "seventy" is an extension of the seventy years of captivity mentioned by Jeremiah. However, the shepherds might represent the Gentile kings who devastated Israel. Symbolically, they could be viewed as going into God's presence for their commission. We find this to be the case when God sends a messenger among the nations to announce to them that Edom is doomed for destruction (Obad. 1). Charles' view about the identification of the shepherds is open to question. His suggestion about the figure "seventy" seems to be a correct assumption. The shepherds might represent the reign of the nations over Israel during the years of her captivity.

After the destruction of many sheep, a certain individual records in a book the actions of the shepherds. The book

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[14]Charles, op. cit., p. 255; R.H. Charles, The Book of Enoch (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), p. 200.

[15]Ibid. Other scholars such as G.F. Moore take the same position, op. cit., p. 300.

is brought to the Lord: "And the book was read before the Lord of the sheep, and He took the book from his hand and read it and sealed it and laid it down" (v. 71; cf. Dan. 12:4; Rev. 22:10).

A second period of destruction is described which encompasses the period from the time of Cyrus to that of Alexander (vv. 72-77). During this time the sheep are led to great slaughter by the shepherds:

> And as touching all this the eyes of those sheep were blinded so that they saw not, and (the eyes of) their shepherds likewise; and they delivered them in large numbers to their shepherds for destruction, and they trampled the sheep with their feet and devoured them (v. 74).[16]

The next division (90:1-5) narrates the time from Alexander to the Syrian domination in Palestine. The sheep are attacked by all kinds of animals and are devoured. After this is the timespan down to the days of the Maccabean revolt (vv. 6-12). The final attack comes upon the Jews and the last of the seventy shepherds are presented in these verses as destroying much more than their predecessors (90:13-17). The verse which follows states:

> And I saw till the Lord of the sheep came unto them and took in His hand the staff of His wrath, and smote the earth, and the earth clave asunder, and all the beasts and all the birds of the heaven fell from among those sheep, and were swallowed up in the earth and it covered them (v. 18).

Here God is shown with a "staff of His wrath" which is perhaps a reference to the shepherd's staff.

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[16]Cf. Jer. 12:7-17; Charles, op. cit., pp. 202-203; Moore, op. cit., p. 300.

The judgment of God falls on the seventy shepherds (vv. 20-27). Their fate is that of being "cast into a fiery abyss" where they burned (cf. Rev. 20:7-15; 21:8). The sheep who were blinded by these shepherds are also found guilty and cast into the abyss with the shepherds. The writer says: "And I saw those sheep burning and their bones burning" (v. 27).

The remaining section presents the shepherd and sheep motif as a picture of the expected Golden Age when the sheep will be "all white" and their wool will be "abundant and clean" (v. 32).[17] From the flock comes a white bull with large horns. Identification of the white bull is problematic. The flock is transformed and a time of peace apparently follows.[18]

There is no problem identifying the sheep in this passage. But a conclusive evaluation of the shepherds is very difficult. Charles may be correct in viewing them as angelic beings who are given the charge of seeing after the sheep of the Lord. They may refer to the kings of the nations who came against the sheep of Israel. It is clear however that the shepherd image held a prominent place in the mind of this author. God is presented as the shepherd of his people Israel, which is a concept rooted far into Israel's past, patterned after the Old Testament. If the seventy shepherds are in fact to be identified as angels, then we now have

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[17]Cf. Isa. 1:18.

[18]See Charles C. Torrey, "The Messiah Son of Ephraim," JBL, LXVI (Sept., 1947), pp. 266-268.

another use of the shepherd image.

Judith 11:19

In this Pharisaic novel of the second century B.C.,[19] the shepherd image occurs from a different perspective. While the heroine of the book, Judith, subtly deceives her enemy and the enemy of the Jews, Holofernes, she compares his coming victory over the Israelites to a shepherd leading a flock of sheep which have no shepherd. She says to him:

> Then I will lead you through the middle of Judea, till you come to Jerusalem; and I will set your throne in the midst of it; and you will lead them like sheep that have no shepherd, and not a dog will so much as open its mouth to you (11:19).

The events leading up to these words of Judith reveal that Holofernes was at the time laying siege to Judith's own city of Bethulia. Because the Babylonian general had cut off the water supply and their food was low, the outlook for survival appeared hopeless. Judith's strategy was to assure Holofernes that when the people became hungry enough they would eat of the forbidden animals and the tithes which were dedicated to God. Consequently, this would bring about God's displeasure and he would forsake his people. The city would thus be left easy prey for the Babylonian general and his army (11:11-15).

The attack of Bethulia would be a rout for the general; like going against a flock that had no shepherd to protect it. Holofernes was assured of taking the city without even a dog

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[19] Eissfeldt, op. cit., pp. 586-587; Charles, op. cit., I, pp. 242-247; C.C. Torrey, op. cit., pp. 88-93.

barking in opposition.

The circumstances surrounding this use of the symbol suggest that God was the shepherd of the city. Because the people disobeyed the law, Judith fled the city, realizing that God would no longer be its protector. Because of the absence of the shepherd, Holofernes was assured of an easy victory.

It is clear that the shepherd image is used in the sense of protection. Without a shepherd there would be no safety for the city and an enemy would have no difficulty taking it captive. This is similar in thought to the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur." A city without a shepherd was open to attack and destruction. The shepherd motif as used here is tantamount to the concept of safety and protection.

Psalm of Solomon 17:40

This psalm expresses what Eissfeldt calls an "intense Messianic hope."[20] A king of the Davidic line is presented, and within this context the shepherd image is used. Referring to the expected ruler the author says:

> His hope (will be) in the Lord: who then can prevail against him? (He will be) mighty in his works, and strong in the fear of God. (He will be) shepherding the flock of the Lord faithfully and righteously, and will suffer none among them to stumble in their pasture. He will lead them all aright, and there will be no pride among them that any among them should be oppressed (vv. 44-46).

In the verses preceding these words, the Israelites are spoken

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[20]Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 613.

of as having "wandered in deserts that their lives might be saved from harm" (v. 19). This refers to their dispersion and might indeed suggest the wandering sheep motif. It is said of them that: "Over the whole earth were they scattered by lawless men" (v. 20). This scattered condition came about because "there was none among them that wrought righteousness and justice; From the chief of them to the least (of them) all were sinful; The king was a transgressor, and the judge disobedient, and the people sinful" (vv. 21-22). The writer pleads for a deliverer:

> Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them their king,
> the son of David,
> At the time in the which Thou seest, O God, that
> he may reign over Israel Thy servant.
> And gird him with strength, that he may shatter
> unrighteous rulers,
> And that he may purge Jerusalem from nations that
> trample (her) down to destruction.
> Wisely, righteously he shall thrust out sinners from
> the inheritance,
> He shall destroy the pride of the sinner as a
> potter's vessel.
> With a rod of iron he shall break in pieces all
> their substance,
> He shall destroy the godless nations with the
> word of his mouth (vv. 23-24).

The nations are pictured as having come against Jerusalem, trampling it down. This is similar in thought with Jer. 12: 7-17. Ps. Sol. 2:2 uses the same expression: "Alien nations ascended Thine altar, They trampled (it) proudly with their sandals." The Davidic king is presented as ruling in power over the nations. The association of David with the shepherd image is common in the Old Testament. It may be that the idea of his rule with "a rod of iron" echoes shepherd symbolism.

It is interesting to note that the Old Testament Ps. 2:9 reads "You shall rule them with a rod of iron" and the LXX renders it "You shall shepherd them with a rod of iron" (ποιμανεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ). Even though we have not identified Ps. 2 as containing shepherd symbolism the fact that the shepherd image occurs in Ps. Sol. 17:44-46 along with a passage using language similar to that of Ps. 2:9 suggests a possible correspondence of thought. Verse 28 also indicates the shepherd motif: "And he shall gather together a holy people, whom he shall lead in righteousness, And he shall judge the tribes of the people that has been sanctified by the Lord his God." The king's rule will be characterized by "righteousness" (vv. 31, 34). Verse 42 reminds one of Isa. 11:2: "And (relying) upon his God, throughout his days he will not stumble; For God will make him mighty by means of (His) holy spirit, And wise by means of the spirit of understanding, with strength and righteousness."

The entire psalm uses ideas which have been derived from Old Testament material, and in fact, from places which are themselves suggestive of shepherd symbolism.

Fragments of a Zadokite Work 16:1-3

The Covenanters of Damascus[21] made use of the shepherd image in the laws concerning life in the camps. In Text B, 9:2-3 the writer quotes from Zech. 13:7, the perplexing passage about the "smitten shepherd." The verses which follow

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[21]Enslin, op. cit., pp. 124-126.

are concerned with a coming deliverer. It is relevant to note the appearance of the scepter in this context which has introduced the shepherd theme from Zech. 13. The writer quotes from Num. 24:17: "And the star is he who studied the Law, who came to Damascus, as it is written, 'There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel.' The sceptre is the prince of all the congregation" (9:8-9, Text A).[22] In verse 10, Text B, another quotation is made from Zechariah: "And 'they that give heed unto Him are the poor of the flock'" (from MT Zech. 11:11).

In ch. 16 certain duties are enjoined on the Censor of the camp. Among them is his obligation to have mercy upon all the people "as a father upon his children," and shall forgive all that have sinned (vv. 1-12). In regard to these directions it is also said that he is to act as a shepherd:

> As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation.

Here the shepherd image reflects a definite concept of compassion and kindness by the leader regarding the guilt of the people. According to the context the Censor had great responsibility over the camp. Those who entered its precincts did so only by his word (v. 6). Even though he held a preeminent position, with much power residing in his word, he is commanded by the Lord to have mercy on the people and act toward them as a shepherd with his flock. The passage is

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[22]See Charles' comments, II, pp. 815-816.

quite expressive of compassion. As their shepherd he was to loosen the knots and aid those who were oppressed and crushed spiritually (cf. Deut. 28:33; Dan. 5:12). There may be a relationship between this passage and Isa. 58:6:

> Is not this the fast that I choose:
> to loose the bonds of wickedness,
> to undo the thongs of the yoke,
> to let the oppressed go free,
> and to break every yoke?

The context shows that the religious leader acted as a shepherd and was expected to respond to the needs of the people.

2 Baruch 77:13, 15, 16

The writer of this apocalypse expresses what Charles calls "almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem."[23] Though written during the time of Roman occupation, the events were made to resemble the calamity which befell Israel in the days of Jeremiah. Thus, for literary purposes the writer uses the name "Baruch" (cf. Jer. 32:12; 36:4). It is not surprising to find the author of the apocalypse using the shepherd image in a way similar to its use in the Book of Jeremiah.

In ch. 77 Baruch recalls the reason for Israel's

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[23]Charles, op. cit., p. 470. F.C. Burkitt says: "This is the last message of the great series of Jewish Apocalypses. As Daniel shews us what was the spirit that nerved the pious Hasidim to resist Antiochus, so Baruch lets us see in what frame of mind it was possible for the Rabbis under Johanan ben Zakkai and his successors to sit down and adapt the religion and the hopes of Israel to the times of the long dominion of the Gentiles" Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, Schweich Lectures 1913 (London: British Academy, 1914), p. 42.

captivity:

> And because your brethren transgressed the commandments of the Most High, He brought vengeance upon you and upon them, and He spared not the former, And the latter also He gave into captivity: And He left not a residue of them, But behold! ye are here with me (vv. 4-5).

Some of Baruch's hope and theology[24] shows through in this passage. He expresses God's mercy toward the people (vv. 6-10). The people reply by asking Baruch to write to the people in Babylon. They are made to speak of the shepherds who have vanished:

> For the shepherds of Israel have perished,
> And the lamps which gave light are extinguished,
> And the fountains have withheld their stream
> whence we used to drink (v. 13).

Here is a commingling of symbols, but the main point is stressing the departure of the Law from the midst of Israel. The ideas expressed may reflect the thought of 59:2: "For at that time the lamp of the eternal law shone on all those who sat in darkness, . . .";[25] but the lamps are now said to have gone out. The result:

> And we are left in the darkness,
> And amid the trees of the forest,
> And thirst of the wilderness.

These words end the confession of the people. Following this, Baruch expands upon their words:

> And I answered and said unto them:

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[24]See R.H. Charles, The Apocalypse of Baruch (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1896), pp. lxix-lxxiii; lxxix-lxxxiv; William J. Deane, Pseudepigrapha (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891), pp. 140-162; H.H. Rowley, op. cit., pp. 103-108.

[25]Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, II, pp. 477ff.

> 'Shepherds and lamps and fountains come
> from the law:
> And though we depart, yet the law abideth.
> If therefore ye have respect to the law,
> And are intent upon wisdom, A lamp will not
> be wanting,
> And a shepherd will not fail And a foun-
> tain will not dry up (vv. 15-16).

Triumph is promised the people if they will "have respect to the law." The promise is extended to those are left in the land and to those who are in exile. Baruch is issuing a strong message of hope to the downtrodden Israelites.

There is an important place given to the concept of the shepherd in this passage. In some sense he is bound up with the concept of the law. "Shepherds and lamps and fountains come from the law" (v. 15). It is difficult to determine whether the "shepherds" refers to prophets, priests, or kings. It is clear that the captivity of the people was attributable to the loss of their guides. This was the situation described in the Book of Jeremiah (cf. 2:8; 10:21; 23:1-5; 50:6). It seems that when the "shepherds" disappeared then the lamps went out and the fountains dried up. If the passage refers to those who are entrusted with teaching the law, then we can assume that the priests and the prophets are the "shepherds" under consideration. This would be comparable to the circumstances during the time of the prophet Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 6:13-15). On the other hand, it would also be applicable to the situation of Jerusalem with respect to the city's kings during the Babylonian invasion (Jer. 22:24-30). In the Apocalypse (10:18) the priests are mentioned as casting their keys to the sanctuary into the

height of heaven, indicating the end of their position as God's mediators. Charles says: "The priesthood are found false stewards and resign charge of the temple."[26]

In ch. 84:3 the righteous men and holy prophets are spoken of as having fallen asleep:

> But now the righteous have been gathered
> And the prophets have fallen asleep,
> And we also have gone forth from the land,
> And Zion has been taken from us,
> And we have nothing now save the Mighty
> One and His law.

Who the shepherds represent in 2 Baruch 77 is difficult to determine. We know that they were considered to be important to the well-being of Israel. They were essential for the preservation of the law. The evils that had come to Israel were, in the mind of the author of this apocalypse, traceable to the loss of their shepherds.

2 Esdras

The apocalyptic book of 2 Esdras refers to a coming shepherd in its introductory section (chs. 1-2). These chapters were added by a Christian author and the occurrence of the shepherd symbol reflects New Testament thought and the theology Christians held toward Israel.[27]

After making a number of promises based on the New Testament, the author presents Ezra who has received a command from the Lord on Mt. Horeb, to go to Israel and to speak to them about their condition. However, they reject Ezra and

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[26] Ibid., p. 486.

[27] Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 625; Torrey, op. cit., pp. 116-123.

God's command. Upon this refusal the following is spoken to the nation:

> Therefore I say to you, O nations that hear and understand, "Await your shepherd; he will give you everlasting rest, because he who will come at the end of the age is close at hand (2:34).

Being of Christian authorship, the passage shows a messianic connotation; the writer was perhaps thinking of the statement in John 10:16 were Jesus speaks of "other sheep" who are not of the fold of Israel.

The next reference of a shepherd is a simile coming in the first vision. The seer is bewailing the fate that had fallen upon Israel. He is unable to understand why they had suffered more than their enemies. In his vision he beholds the signs of the end of the age. On the second night after this experience a certain Phaltiel, a chief of the people, questions Esdras wanting to know where he had been: "Or do you not know that Israel has been entrusted to you in the land of their exile?" (5:17). The next statement of Phaltiel introduces the shepherd image:

> Rise therefore and eat some bread, so that you may not forsake us, like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of cruel wolves.

Esdras is compared to a shepherd of Israel. For a leader to forsake a position of responsibility was a catastrophe easily likened to a shepherd that leaves his flock to be devoured ultimately by ravenous beasts. The people understood the necessity for a shepherd to provide safety and protection. They found in this fact of everyday life an applicable figure

of the need of a people for a leader and protector.

Summary

The shepherd image in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphic material is a continuation of the ideas presented in the Old Testament. A few new elements appear but the main core of the concept is retained.

God is presented as the shepherd of Israel in the same sense as in the Old Testament. The leaders, too, are spoken of as shepherds and to them is given the responsibility of protecting and caring for the people. Prophets and priests are probably to be thought of as shepherds in 2 Baruch. From the pen of Jesus ben Sirach comes the extended idea of a shepherd as one who is an educator. He "rebukes," "trains," and "disciplines" those whom he shepherds. Compassion and kindness are implied in the activity of the shepherd by the Zadokite fragments. The Book of Enoch may use the image in reference to angelic beings.

The material helps bridge the gap between the Old and New Testaments. It demonstrates the continuing relevance of the pastoral world upon literary creativity. The image which so graphically portrayed the relationship between leaders and their subjects never lost its appeal. The literature between the Testaments represents another step in the ongoing use of one of the most favored symbols in the ancient Near East.

CHAPTER IV

SHEPHERD SYMBOLISM IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Introduction

The appearance of shepherd and sheep symbolism in the New Testament is not surprising since New Testament authors relied heavily on the Old Testament and intertestamental material for much of their polemic. The flexibility of the symbol, coupled with the tragic events of Israelite history,[1] provided the early Christian community a metaphor with which they might elaborate the ministry of Jesus. He thus "came to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He was viewed as the One who would gather the dispersed and harassed, and eventually was not only seen as the shepherd of the offspring of Israël but indeed, of the whole world.

The question of how Jesus viewed his work is not within the scope of this study. Whether he saw himself as the Great Shepherd is a question which belongs in the category of thought about whether he saw himself as the messiah, or the son of man.[2] We are only assured that the early church sought

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[1]See Schurer, op. cit.; S. Zeitlin, The Rise and Fall of the Judaean State, II, pp. 301-334.

[2]For a thoroughgoing treatment of the "historical Jesus" see M.S. Enslin, The Prophet From Nazareth (New York: Schocken Books, 1968). Note the preface to the 1968 Edition;

to answer the question of Jesus' identity. The question became: "Who, then, was he?"[3]

Not only was the shepherd image used with respect to Jesus and his ministry but the early church was sometimes characterized as a flock. The leaders of the new movement were considered to be shepherds who occupied the office of oversight and pastoral care.

The appearance of the shepherd motif in the New Testament is built from ideas inherent in the Old Testament. It is notable that this very ancient symbol continues to have vitality. Its significance is found throughout the religious history of the people of the ancient Near East. Perhaps there is no other symbol which has endured for so many millennia, and even to the present is to be found in the hymns and literature of the modern world.

Mark

Preceding the narrative of the feeding of the five thousand Jesus is pictured with compassion for the masses.

> As he landed he saw a great throng, and he had compassion on them, because they were like sheep without

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also Christian Beginnings, pp. 154-168, 172; see Robert M. Grant, A Historical Introduction to the New Testament (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1963), especially the section "What Jesus Taught About Himself," pp. 341-349; Frederick C. Grant, An Introduction To New Testament Thought (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), pp. 241-245. See Martin Dibelius on Formgeschichte, From Tradition to Gospel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969).

[3]Enslin, The Prophet From Nazareth, pp. 2f.

a shepherd; and he began to teach them many things (6:34). The idea of "compassion" is striking in this passage. The writer joins the shepherd image with the concept of kindness. This factor is implied in numerous contexts in the Old Testament and ancient Near Eastern material but is generally not signaled out as a definite attribute of the shepherd. There seems to be no doubt that the author is making a conscious attempt at presenting Jesus in such light. The parallel passages in Matt. 14:14 and Lk. 9:11 do not mention the image but do stress the healing activity of Jesus.

Even though Jesus is weary and seeks to go to a "lonely place," the crowds interfere with his plans. The element of his concern and sorrow is brought to the fore in the passage. It is difficult to determine whether he was thinking in terms of the Old Testament usage, i.e., they were as a nation without a national leader, or whether the idea of gentle concern is all that is to be inferred.[4] The use of the phrase "he had compassion on them" must be considered a specific attempt to present Jesus as one who was touched with pity for the people. His compassion leads him to "teach" the people. An educational facet is connected to the idea of his compassion. Their untaught condition necessitated that Jesus act in the role of shepherd. The passage is intended to establish a

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[4]T.W. Manson, The Servant-Messiah A Study of the Public Ministry of Jesus (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1961), p. 70. Manson regards the idea of a national leader as the main concept. See Professor Enslin's remarks about the differences in the emotional factor between Mk. and Matt., Christian Beginnings, pp. 394-395. On the above point Matt. does retain the idea of compassion in 9:35.

basis for the preaching of the expected kingdom. Perhaps the statement echoes the apocalyptic element which was the main thrust of Jesus' teaching. He felt he had to teach the masses and ready them for the dawning of the new era.

The passage is evidently an allusion to Num. 27:16, 17 and Ezek. 34:5. It may be more than coincidental that each of the three passages is set within a kind of wilderness background. In Numbers, the circumstances led to the appointment of Joshua as a leader so that Israel be not "as sheep without a shepherd," thus giving them leadership through the difficulties of securing the land of Canaan (27:12ff.). In Ezek. the sheep are pictured as scattered and wandering over the mountains with none to search for them (34:1-10), but God finally rescues them and sets over them his servant David, his purpose being to "make them a covenant of peace and banish wild beasts from the land, so that they may dwell securely in the wilderness and sleep in the woods" (34:25). These points are further augmented by the fact that God was the one who would appoint Joshua over Israel (Num. 27:16-18). David was God's servant whom he appointed for the work of shepherding Israel (Ezek. 34:23-24). These observations suggest that the story of the feeding of the five thousand and the statement preceding it about the crowds being as sheep with no shepherd looks back to the ancient use of the symbol, and consciously connecting the ministry of Jesus with the great leaders, Joshua and David.

The context indicates that the people are leaderless.

They are therefore brought together "by companies upon the green grass" (6:39), and the multitude ate until all were satisfied (vv. 41-44). The reference to the "green grass" might be a thought which suggests an idyllic pasture. In Ezek. it is said that David would "feed them and be their shepherd" (34:23).

Earlier in the chapter Jesus goes about laying hands on the sick and healing them. This part of his work was associated with teaching (6:6). It is curious to note that the twelve are sent out with rigid prohibitions (vv. 7-9), but an exception to the items they may take with them is "a staff" (v. 8). In both Matt. (10:10) and Lk. (9:3) the staff is forbidden.[5] The question is here raised as to whether the staff is intended to convey a symbolic meaning. Does it suggest their work as shepherds over downtrodden and disparate people? Note vv. 12-13: "So they went out and preached that men should repent. And they cast out many demons, and anointed with oil many that were sick and healed them." This reminds one of the circumstances described in Ezek. 34:4 where the sheep are sick and not healed. Here the apostles are going out to minister to Israel. Are they going as shepherds? Was the staff (ῥάβδον) a symbol of their work? The mission of Jesus is presented as one which is to rescue the helpless. Compare this fact with Ezek. 34:15-16 where God is described

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[5]Vincent Taylor regards Matt. and Lk. as more original since they are more stringent; The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: St. Martin's Press-Macmillan, 1972), p. 304.

with the same mission. Neither Matthew nor Luke retain the passage about the crowd as sheep without a shepherd. They also forbid the taking of a staff on the mission to the masses. Perhaps the writers missed the significance of the reference about the staff in Mark's context - or for some reason saw fit not to include it. The point about the staff being a reference to a shepherd's staff is conjectural, but the nature of the context of Mk. 6 and its allusions to Num. 27 and Ezek. 34 make this observation plausible.

The only other reference to the symbol in Mark's Gospel comes in one of the passion sayings (14:27-28). Jesus is presented as aware of the portending doom about to fall on him and the subsequent scattering of his disciples:

> And Jesus said to them, "you will all fall away; for it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep will be scattered.' But after I am raised up, I will go before you to Galilee."

It is better to view the word σκανδαλίσθήσεσθε in the sense of "will be scandalized." His death brought a scandal because the Son of God died! The use made of Zech. 13:7 indicates that the passage was probably a part of the testimonia to the death of Jesus. "His passion lay deep in the Providence of God."[6] The offended group of disciples would be gathered again in Galilee (v. 28). This seems to suggest an extension of the shepherd idea of v. 27. J. Jeremias points out that προάγειν is a technical term for the shepherd's work. If this

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[6]See Vincent Taylor, Jesus and His Sacrifice (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1951), p. 255.

is true, then v. 28 continues the symbolism of v. 27.[7] Taylor asks:

> Is the meaning that, while the little flock will be scattered in consequence of the smiting of the shepherd, after His Resurrection Jesus, the Shepherd, will reconstitute His community and lead them to Galilee?[8]

He points out however, the ambiguity of προάξω.[9] W. Tooley examines the issue of "how firmly embedded" the shepherd image is in the teaching of Jesus.[10] He views Mk. 14:28 and 16:7 ("Go tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee") as belonging to the same theme found in the pericope of John 20-21. He does not agree that 14:28 extends the shepherd idea of v. 27:

> It seems, therefore, that for Mark the promise of Christ's appearance in Galilee is the final proof that the Lord of the Church is not a disembodied spirit but is the Jesus whom men knew, now clothed with new power and authority. It is not that Jesus will lead the disciples into Galilee but that he will meet them there so that together they will reveal the power of the kingdom. Both in xvi 7 and xiv 28 προάγειν needs to be interpreted as 'go somewhere earlier than someone' and there is no need to associate v. 28 with xiv 27.[11]

This problem is fraught with difficulties. But the fact that Peter says: Καὶ εἰ πάντες σκανδαλισθήσονται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐγώ

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[7]Joachim Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, trans. S.H. Hooke (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1963), p. 121n.

[8]Taylor, The Gospel of Mark, p. 549.

[9]Ibid.

[10]Wilfred Tooley, "The Shepherd and Sheep Image in the Teaching of Jesus," NT, VIII (March, 1964), fasc. 1, pp. 15-25.

[11]Ibid., p. 18; see also Professor Enslin's remarks, Christian Beginnings, p. 170.

(v. 29) indicates a connection with v. 27. Verse 28 may symbolize that Jesus will lead the way to a new beginning for the work of the Kingdom. Even though the sheep will be scattered and scandalized his purpose will not end in defeat. The words are perhaps general terms which indicate that Jesus will take the first steps in the new work that lies ahead. Even though he is in Galilee ahead of the others he is the shepherd who has launched out in front of the flock which will follow later (i.e., the Twelve).

The feature of Jesus as a shepherd who dies stands out in this context. This occurs nowhere else in the Synoptists. A main feature of the work of Jesus is presented by his act of dying. This is never an element of the shepherd in the Old Testament or other ancient Near Eastern material. The pastoral reference in Isa. 53:6 is similar in thought but not identical. Thus the dying shepherd becomes an essential theme of the gospel narration.

Matthew

The picture of the disciples as a flock appears in 7:15: "Beware of false prophets, who come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly are ravenous wolves." The emphasis is on the problem of those who seek to destroy the sheep. The idea of Jesus as their shepherd is possibly at a distance but is not necessary for the point which the writer is making.

The context of Matt. 9:35-36 appears different from Mk. 6:34 but the motif is similar. The emphasis on teaching appears in both places.

> And Jesus went about all the cities and villages, teaching in their synagogues and preaching the Gospel of the kingdom, and healing every disease and every infirmity. When he saw the crowds, he had compassion for them, because they were harassed and helpless, like sheep without a shepherd.

The teaching and preaching was to prepare the people for the Last Day. The passage concludes ch. 9 and introduces ch. 10. The writer wove together the work of teaching and healing with the image of sheep without a shepherd. Following this he proceeds to introduce the disciples who will go forward with the mission.[12] The passage is drawn from Mark's references[13] but the distant sources are probably Num. 27:16, 17, 1 Kings 22: 17, and Ezek. 34:5. The author used the image which was first introduced in Mark and saw fit to elaborate on its significance. After picking the "Twelve," Jesus charged them:

> "Go nowhere among the Gentiles, and enter no town of the Samaritans, but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel. And preach as you go, saying, 'The kingdom of heaven is at hand.' Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse lepers, cast out demons. You received without pay, give without pay" (10:5-8).

It seems that the apostles are now regarded as shepherds. Their work is to rescue the lost sheep of Israel. Underlying these words is possibly a stinging criticism of the Jewish leaders (cf. 23:13). The author is probably echoing the circumstances of Ezek. 34 where the shepherds had failed to tend the flock; resulting in their general sickness and confusion. Although

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[12] W.F. Albright and C.S. Mann, "Matthew," The Anchor Bible (1971), p. 115; Enslin, Christian Beginnings, pp. 396-397.

[13] Enslin, Christian Beginnings, pp. 389-502.

Matt. is generally a universalist, the passage indicates a ministry directed toward "the lost sheep of the house of Israel."[14] Matt. 15:24 must be considered in conjunction with 10:6 where Jesus says: "I was sent only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Jeremias says that this statement is traceable to an early Aramaic tradition; that Jesus "expressly rejected the idea that he was also sent to the Gentiles."[15] The genitive οἴκου Ἰσραήλ may either be a partitive or an explanatory genitive. It is probably to be understood as explanatory, indicating that Jesus' mission was to the whole of Israel. It is possible that Ezek. 34:23 underlies this feeling of mission:[16] "And I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them: he shall feed them and be their shepherd." This background is in keeping with the pericope in Mk. 6:34 and the subsequent feeding of the five thousand (6:35-44).

The term ἀπεστάλην (Matt. 15:24) might indicate a reflection on the commission of God which is based on the words of Ezek. 34:23, words which finally conclude: "And they shall know that I, the Lord their God, am with them and that they, the house of Israel, are my people, says the Lord God. And you are my sheep, the sheep of my pasture, and I am your

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[14]See Tooley, op. cit., pp. 20-21; Enslin, Christian Beginnings, p. 399; J. Jeremias, Jesus' Promise to the Nations, trans. S.H. Hooke (London: SCM Press Ltd., 1967), pp. 20-21.

[15]Jeremias, Promise to the Nations, p. 26.

[16]Ibid.

God, says the Lord God" (34:30-31).[17] Therefore, undergirding this part of the tradition of Jesus' life is an attempt to equate his ministry with the expectations presented in the prophets. He views the "lost sheep of the house of Israel" with pity, not blame. He seeks them with a "pastoral" concern. The commission implies that the work of Jesus was directed solely to Israel. The expected end time is inferred in Matt. 10:23: "When they persecute you in one town, flee to the next; for truly, I say to you, you will not have gone through all the towns of Israel, before the Son of man comes." Therefore Matthew is not universal in some places.

The occurrence of Jesus' activity of healing along with the use of the shepherd motif implies that Ezek. 34 is in view in these passages. The Twelve whom Jesus sent out were restricted from taking with them certain items. We have already noted in Mark an exception; they were allowed to carry a staff. In Matt. they are forbidden this instrument along with all the others listed (Matt. 10:1-10). There may have been an ancient tradition which was retained in Mark's account that the staff represented a shepherd's crook. Matthew may have dismissed this factor and presented Jesus as forbidding all the objects, signifying a severe, austere, self-denying existence. The fact that they combine benevolent activities with their preaching of the kingdom shows a correspondence with the thought of Ezek. 34.

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[17] See Jeremias, Jesus' Promise to the Nations, pp. 26-28.

The image of the disciples as shepherds going to "heal" Israel is soon changed. In 10:16 they become sheep: "Behold, I send you out as sheep in the midst of wolves; so be wise as serpents and innocent as doves." The motif proves to be flexible. Whereas the masses were before thought of as sheep, now those who are sent to them are as sheep being sent into the midst of wolves. Their mission is important and emphatic: Ἰδού, ἐγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς. The reason for representing the apostles as sheep may suggest that Jesus is to be thought of in the role of a shepherd. Are the sheep perhaps to be thought of as bell-wethers?

Behind the simple illustration of the lost sheep (18: 10-14) lies a deeper intent. That which gave impetus to the writing is probably to be found in Ezek. 34. Jesus is inferred to be the shepherd who seeks the lost sheep:

> As a shepherd seeks out his flock when some of his sheep have been scattered abroad, so will I seek out my sheep; and I will rescue them from all places where they have been scattered on a day of clouds and thick darkness (Ezek. 34:12).

It appears increasingly necessary to regard many of the stories and parables in the Gospels as signifying a deeper meaning, containing much testimonial matter from the Old Testament.[18] Hunt says:

> Thus, the parable of the lost sheep and the shepherd passages in Jno. x. appeal to the sense of beauty of the modern Christian largely because he, perhaps unconsciously, connects them with Ps. xxiii. But this

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[18] B.P.W. Stather Hunt, Primitive Gospel Sources (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951), pp. 177-179.

> is not the point of the writers at all, for these passages are founded upon Ez. xxxiv. 20-23 (cf. Zec. xi. 3ff.), and the writer of the Fourth Gospel puts into the mouth of our Lord the claim that He is that good Shepherd prophesied in that chapter, and that all others are those shepherds which the prophet so unsparingly denounced.[19]

Matt. 25:31-33 uses shepherd terminology with regard to judgment. The nations are like a scattered flock and gathered before the throne of the Son of man.

> "When the Son of man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, then he will sit on his glorious throne. Before him will be gathered all the nations, and he will separate them one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will place the sheep at his right hand, but the goats at the left."

Tooley points out the apocalyptic nature of this passage and does not regard it as having relevance to the over-all use of shepherd imagery.[20] Jeremias suggests that the verb συνάγεσθαι is here an eschatological technical term as demonstrated from Test. Ben. 9:2. He points out that συνάγειν is drawn from the shepherd's usage.[21] John 10:16 uses the simple ἄγειν when referring to the gathering of the nations. Thus Jeremias concludes:

> The ἀγαγεῖν (John 10.16) of the 'other sheep' takes the place through Jesus' calling them; they hear his voice and come streaming into the sheep-fold - 'and there shall be one flock and one shepherd'. In Matt. 25.32, John 10. 16 and 11.51 f. we have the same picture: the scattered Gentile flock is brought to Zion by God's shepherd and united with the flock of God's people.[22]

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[19] Ibid., pp. 177-178.

[20] Tooley, op. cit., p. 22.

[21] Jeremias, Promise to the Nations, pp. 63-64.

[22] Ibid., p. 65.

John 11:51f. reflects the same ideas: The comment on the purpose of Jesus' life is:

> He did not say this of his own accord, but being high priest that year he prophesied that Jesus should die for the nation, and not for the nation only, but to gather into one the children of God who are scattered abroad (Jn. 11:51-52).

Jesus purpose is clearly stated: he would gather (συναγάγη) those who were scattered (τὰ διεσκορπισμένα). The eschatological gathering of all the nations is a primary feature of the shepherd image in Matt. 25 and the Gospel of John.[23] The remarks made in Matt. 8:11 have relevance to the eschatological ingathering of the nations. The gentile centurion's faith establishes a pretext for commenting on the universal nature of the coming era: "I tell you, many will come from the east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, . . ." This statement is probably based on Isa. 49. The prophet speaks of God's purpose: "I will give you as a light to the nations, that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth" (v. 6). This context in Isa. continues these thoughts with allusions to pastoral imagery (vv. 9-11). Concerning the pastured flock and those who will be involved in the gathering Isaiah says: "Lo, these shall come from afar, and lo, these from the north and from the west, and these from the land of Syene" (v. 12). Isaiah suggests a far-reaching restoration.

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[23]See Test. of Benj. 9:2 where such a gathering is indicated. Charles remarks: "The Testaments are strongly tinged with universalism" (Vol. II, p. 358).

It therefore appears that much of Matthew's comment about universalism is structured along the lines mentioned in the prophetic utterances. To be sure, there had originally been a limit on Jesus' commission (cf. Matt. 10:5ff.). He restricted his personal mission to the house of Israel, a cause launched on the conviction that the Golden Age was about to dawn.[24] But the main thought of Matthew's Gospel presents Jesus and his apostles on a more extensive ministry. Its closing words are: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, . . ." (28:19). It is clear that the gentiles are to have a share in the future kingdom. The image of the shepherd is one which was used to describe Jesus' initial mission to Israel and finally to illustrate the gathering of the nations to share in the eschatological kingdom. Matthew "knew how to write a Catholic gospel, expressing the emancipated spirit of the growing church."[25]

Matt. 26:30-32 with its Markan parallel (14:26-28) expresses the emotional impact which Zech. 9-14 made on the early Christians.

> Then Jesus said to them, "You will all fall away because of me this night; for it is written, 'I will strike the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock will be scattered.'"

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[24]Enslin, The Prophet From Nazareth, pp. 159-166; Jeremias, Jesus' Promise to the Nations, pp. 25-39; Erich Dinckler, "Earliest Christianity," The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. Robert Dentan (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 171-180, 191-197.

[25]Enslin, Christian Beginnings, p. 399.

Though Zech. 9-14 has no consistent theme, C.H. Dodd says that "it can be understood as setting forth a whole eschatological programme, many elements of which have been taken up in the New Testament."[26] The apocalyptic concerns of the prophet were blended into events surrounding the ministry and passion of Jesus. The stricken shepherd of Zech. 13:7 provided the disciples with an objective pattern. This pericope is joined with others for the purpose of providing a source of testimony. In Zech. 9:9 a king was to come to Zion: "triumphant and victorious is he, humble and riding on an ass, on a colt the foal of an ass" (cf. Matt. 21:5). The "blood of the covenant" in 9:11 finds parallels in Matt. 26:28 and Mk. 14:24, though the primary source is probably Exod. 24:8. In 10:10 the "people wander like sheep" and "are afflicted for want of a shepherd" (cf. Matt. 9:36-10:6). The shepherd passage of 11:4-17 is perplexing, but we find here ideas which are used in the gospels, e.g., the thirty pieces of silver and its relevance to the treachery of Judas (cf. Matt. 27:9; see Jer. 32:6-9). These factors lead Dodd to conclude that Matthew used the passage of Zech. because it was recognized as a source of testimonies.[27] The collection of disparate materials in Zech. provided a pattern to which the disciples of Jesus could relate. The most common element in the total picture is that of the shepherd. This image was perhaps one of the most

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[26] C.H. Dodd, According to the Scriptures (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1953), p. 64.

[27] Ibid.

significant for giving the early church a beginning place to preach a crucified Lord.[28]

Luke

One of the prominent features of the birth narratives of Jesus is that of the shepherds of the field who were told of the child in the manger - an announcement that made them the first to hear the glad tidings (Lk. 2:8-20).

This story is generally passed over with little comment except for exploring why the shepherds were chosen to be the first witnesses to hear the message of salvation. It seems that Luke is not simply manufacturing a story about the birth but is skillfully blending in Old Testament material for the purpose of making a sharp polemic about the significance of Jesus' birth. This episode is probably designed to suggest that the birth of Jesus is to be identified with the shepherd and king of Israel, David. The combination of events is striking. Bethlehem is the home of David and apparently his birthplace. When God spoke to Samuel he said: "How long will you grieve over Saul, seeing I have rejected him from being king over Israel? Fill your horn with oil, and go; I will send you to Jesse the Bethlehemite, for I have provided for myself a king among his sons (1 Sam. 16:1). When Samuel finds the shepherd boy David, God commands that he anoint him king

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[28]Tooley warns that the shepherd/flock metaphor is not as strongly embedded in the synoptic tradition as is generally asserted. See his conclusion, op. cit., pp. 23-25. He adds, however, that this must not detract from its significance.

(1 Sam. 16:12). When he is anointed "the Spirit of the Lord came mightily upon David from that day forward" (16:13). The prophets spoke of the expected David who would be the shepherd of Israel in the future (Ezek. 34:23-24; Jer. 23:1-8). Micah had located "Bethlehem Ephratha" as the birthplace of the ruler who "shall stand and feed his flock in the strength of the Lord, . . ." (Mic. 5:2ff.).

Luke's presentation of the life of Jesus is to show that in him is found the long-expected deliverer. He therefore brings in the story of the shepherds to signify this connection:

> And in that region there were shepherds out in the field keeping watch over their flock by night. And an angel of the Lord appeared to them, and the glory of the Lord shown around them, and they were filled with fear. And the angel said to them, "Be not afraid; for behold, I bring you good news of a great joy which will come to all the people; for to you is born this day in the city of David a Savior, who is Christ the Lord (Lk. 2:8-11).

Luke is the only Gospel which brings in the narrative of the shepherds. He weaves the story in, illustrating a connection between David and Jesus. The entire passage appears infused with the shepherd motif. While recognizing the possibility of a mythological milieu[29] of this narrative it seems more reasonable to look to the Old Testament as "the immediate quarry"

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[29]S.H. Hooke comments about the narrative: "Luke has invested the historical circumstance with a mythological colouring which is intended to bring into strong relief the divine purpose directing the events, and to show that the pattern of divine activity in redemption, outlined in the Old Testament in those cult myths which we have been studying, has now reached its climax, op. cit., pp. 168-169.

of the passage. In an article about the birth stories Professor Enslin comments:

> Thus in this city of flocks, the city of David, who himself a shepherd was keeping the sheep at the moment Samuel came searching for him, it is not strange that shepherds should have been watching their flocks on the night when David's son, the Messiah, came to birth, and should have hastened with the angelic chorus ringing in their ears to pay homage.[30]

It is important to note also the announcement which the heavenly host made to the shepherds (Lk. 2:14).

> "Glory to God in the highest,
> and on earth peace among men
> with whom he is pleased!"

The whole narrative about the shepherds might revolve around this central message. The phrase καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς εἰρήνη is reminiscent of the concept of peace presented in Ezek. 34:25. The prophet is recording God's announcement that the coming of David would result in a "covenant of peace" (ברית שלום). Following these words a pasture scene is presented. Luke may have used this passage in Ezek. to formulate his message about the birth of the second David. Another point which might have some bearing on this concept of peace is that found in Isa. 9: 6-7 which relates an infant prince. He is called אבי-עד שר-שלום. His government would be characterized by "peace" and established on the "throne of David" (9:7). If these observations are correct, we are witnessing another example of Luke's skill in presenting Jesus of Nazareth.

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[30]Morton S. Enslin, "The Christian Stories of the Nativity," JBL (Sept., 1940), p. 335.

A second shepherd saying occurs in Lk. 12:32:

> "Fear not, little flock, for it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

This passage is considered as detached from the context, but its presence at the same time suggests a tradition of the shepherd image among the disciples. The eschatological nature of the statement brings it in line with other passages containing this theme (e.g., Matt. 25). Tooley points out vv. 31 and 33 follow each other naturally and v. 32 has been inserted on the catchword βασιλεία.[31] The passage is considered old because of the Aramaic wordplay on "flock" (ποίμνιον) and "good pleasure" (εὐδόκησεν).[32]

The context of the parable concerning the lost sheep in Lk. 15:3-10 is different from Matt. 18:12-14. It was mentioned that the text in Matt. may have been influenced by Ezek. 34. This application of certain prophetic passages and their application to the ministry of Jesus, especially in the parables, is not without difficulty. As Jeremias has labored to show the deeper meanings that lie in the parables,[33] Amos Wilder on the other hand makes this warning:

But the impact of the parables lay in their immediate

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[31]Tooley, op. cit., p. 22

[32]See Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 126. Black demonstrates several examples of wordplay in Lk. 2:8-14 and 12:32 (pp. 125-126). It is interesting that these are the only two places in Luke that reveal shepherd symbolism.

[33]Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus.

> realistic authenticity. In the parable of the Lost Sheep the shepherd is an actual shepherd and not a flash-back to God as the Shepherd of Israel or to the hoped-for Messiah who will shepherd Israel. To press these images in this way is to pull the stories out of shape and weaken their thrust.[34]

The use made of the parable of the lost sheep in Lk. 15 is directed against Jesus' critics (vv. 1-2). This might suggest that Ezek. 34 does in fact lie in the background since the prophet was severely condemning the faithless shepherds who had forsaken Israel. The love of God is at the front but it is difficult to determine how much the words of Ezek. 34 and the shepherd motif have influenced this parable.

The line concluding the pericope about Zacchaeus' salvation states: "For the Son of man came to seek and to save the lost" (Lk. 19:10). It may be hasty to list this as reflecting the figure of Jesus as a shepherd seeking his flock Israel. However, if Ezek. 34 is a passage which has wielded great influence over the Gospel authors, this suggestion becomes important. In Ezek. 34:16 God says to Israel: "I will seek that which was lost" (את-האבדת אבקש). Perhaps the statement about the "Son of man" coming "to seek and save the lost" (ζητῆσαι καὶ σῶσαι τὸ ἀπολωλός) is intended to be a reflection on the words of Ezek. If this is true then the passage relates to Matt. 15:24, 10:6, and Mk. 14:27.

Another Lukan passage which might suggest the figure is 11:23:

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[34] Amos N. Wilder, The Language of the Gospel (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 81.

> He who is not with me is against me, and he who does not gather with me scatters.

The question is whether the passage is another instance of looking back to Ezek. 34. Compare σκορπίζω in Jn. 10:12.

It may at first appear strange to include Lk. 10:29-37 (The Parable of the Good Samaritan) in a study of shepherd symbolism. The reason for doing so is because some have suggested that the parable is in fact a shepherd parable.[35] This possiblity will be explored.

The allegorical interpretation of the parables has been known since the time of the Church Fathers. Most modern scholars have shunned the possibility that they might be interpreted in such a symbolic sense. However, Birger Gerhardsson has raised a question about the real nature of this parable. He argues that the Fathers were closer to the first century and therefore in a better position to know the true sense of the material. He admits that they went too far in their "florid allegorising."[36] He nevertheless says that they cannot be ignored. In reference to Origen:

> The most satisfactory assumption therefore is that Origen's allegorical explanation of our parable was able to link itself to an earlier christological interpretation, so that it was not regarded as something radically new but as a rich spiritual development of the current exposition.
> Be that as it may; the fact before us is that the patristic exegetes from a time as far back as the sources take us (the second half of the second century) are

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[35]Birger Gerhardsson, "The Good Samaritan-The Good Shepherd?" Coniectanea Neotestamenica XVI (1958), pp. 3-31.

[36]Ibid., p. 18.

united in expounding this parable Christologically.[37] These considerations lead Gerhardsson to explore the issue deeper. Since Jeremias views the parables as a method whereby Jesus spoke of his mission,[38] Gerhardsson operates on the principle that we have in Lk. 10 a parable which is using the shepherd imagery of the Old Testament for the purpose of veiling the ministry of Jesus. R.W. Funk uses Gerhardsson as an example of how his methodology regarding this parable supplies us with a better insight into Jesus' use of the Old Testament[39] (or, the author's use). Most of the following will be a summary of Gerhardsson's treatment of the subject.

The parable is not concerned with the injured man but rather with the three who came upon him - the priest, Levite, and Samaritan. The main question before any one dealing with this parable is: What is it that Jesus intended to make clear by the parable? Gerhardsson says:

> Jeremias has shown that the majority of the parables of Jesus were spoken with a marked polemical intention and were originally directed against the religious leaders of the Jews, particularly the Pharisees and their scribes. With many of the parables Jesus meant to justify his actions and his message and at the same time to combat the teaching and practice of the rabbis.
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> It is obvious that the parable of the Good Samaritan censures the religious leaders of the people, not so much the scribes as the priests. Perhaps however this polemical

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[37] Ibid., p. 4.

[38] Jeremias, The Parables of Jesus, pp. 121ff.

[39] Robert W. Funk, Language, Hermeneutic, and Word of God The Problem of Language in the New Testament and Contemporary Theology (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1966), pp. 206-208.

> note is much more central than is usually assumed; for it seems as if Jesus was not only accusing them of an uncharitable attitude but also was questioning their right to be the shepherds of Israel.[40]

Gerhardsson sees the shepherd motif as central in the parable. It is like Matt. 9:36: "But when he saw the multitudes he was moved with compassion for them because they were harassed and cast down as sheep not having a shepherd." The motif of the shepherd is often found in the teaching of Jesus, its most developed pericope being John 10:1-10. Noting the frequency and the centrality of the motif in the New Testament and especially in John 10, he concludes that the parable is referring to the ancient symbol of the royal messiah. He sees Ezek. 34 as representing one of the main passages which constitutes a basis for the New Testament polemic. In Ezek. the "son of man" prophecies against the רעי ישראל (vv. 2 and 8). They are reproached for failing to care for the flock (vv. 4 ff.). God will finally intervene and raise up a Davidic king (vv. 11, 16, 23). Gerhardsson shows that there is a vacillation between what God will do himself and what he will do through the Davidic shepherd. He sees Jn. 10:1-16 as a <u>messianic midrash</u> on Ezek. 34. "In every case it is beyond doubt that this passage lies behind Jn. 10 and that therefore Jesus was familiar with it."[41]

He points out how the good Samaritan parable is similar to Ezek. 34 and other Old Testament shepherd texts. His

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[40]Gerhardsson, <u>op. cit.</u>, pp. 10-11.

[41]<u>Ibid.</u>, p. 13.

argument about the parable and its correspondence with Ezek. 34 goes as follows. The flock of Ezek. 34 is scattered and helpless because of Israel's shepherds. However, God will ultimately correct this situation at the coming of David. In Lk. 10 a man has fallen prey to robbers on the mountainous road between Jerusalem and Jericho. Whereas the priest and Levite passed him by, the Samaritan cared for him. Gerhardsson sees the similarities as scarcely accidental.[42]

The question of the parable is: Who should be the true shepherd of the people of God? The answer: Since the leaders had failed, the son of man has come to be the true shepherd! The injured man therefore represents Israel; the priest and Levite are the rulers and the Samaritan is the true רעה ישראל, the messiah, Jesus.[43] Gerhardsson claims it is not unreasonable to view Israel in such a symbolic way (cf. Isa. 1:6).

But the question arises: Why is Jesus compared to a Samaritan? Jn. 8:48 seems to reveal a tradition which indicates that his adversaries regarded him in this way.

> The context of this passage in Jn. 8 is precisely a conflict about the authority of Jesus. It would not be surprising if he fastened upon this name, making use of the derogatory ring it would have in Jewish ears, to describe himself as the scorned, mysterious, unknown and unrecognized Son of Man.[44]

The author also shows how Patristic exegesis suggests that the

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[42] Ibid., p. 14.

[43] Ibid., pp. 14-15.

[44] Ibid., p. 15.

name Samaritan means custos, watchman.[45]

> The Semitic word behind σαμαρίτης is שמרוני which is a derivative of the verb שמר; it is therefore the associations of this word that we must investigate. The known verb שמר means both "watch over', "guard", "lead" (a flock, a people etc.) and "keep", "observe" (the law etc.). Used intransitively it can mean "to be a shepherd" (e.g. Hos 12:12). Not the least interesting is that the present participle active שמר, the verb form sounding most like the name Samaritan שמרוני does not only mean custos in the general sense of watchman but also occasionally in the special sense of shepherd (e.g. 1 Sam 17:20). And like the other term for shepherd, שמר רעה is often used as designation of God and of his Anointed.[46]

Another interesting observation which Gerhardsson makes regards the word σπλαγχνίζεσθαι.

> This word has a particular usage in the New Testament literature and in the Apostolic fathers-it always has God or Christ as its its subject. Only two seeming exceptions can be found but one of these is in Hermas, Sim. VI, 3, 2 where the word is used of a divine being, an angel in the form of a shepherd (!) and the other is in our parable, used of the Samaritan. Here is further sign that the Samaritan stands not for an ordinary human but for Christ.[47]

Finally, the question comes down to who the real subject is: Is it Jesus? Gerhardsson works on the assumption that the terms רעי (shepherd) and רע (neighbor), being similar, suggest that the parable was originally a true shepherd parable. He says:

> It is not too rash to suggest that this parable did not originally deal with who is the true neighbor, רע (רעה) but who is the true shepherd רעה.[48]

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[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid., p. 17.

[47] Ibid., p. 18.

[48] Ibid., p. 20.

Gerhardsson presents an appealing argument. The position depends to a certain extent on seeing in the parables a meaning which lies deeper than the words. Such an understanding might be assumed from the statement in Matthew:

> The the disciples came and said to him, "Why do you speak to them in parables?" And he answered them, "To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it has not been given. . . . This is why I speak to them in parables, because seeing they do not see, and hearing they do not hear, nor do they understand" (13:10-13).

These words from Matt. seem to imply that the parables were considered to be veiled mysteries. If, according to the arguments of Jeremias, they are reflecting the ministry and mission of Jesus, an understanding other than the superficial should be sought. The presentation made by Gerhardsson appears quite reasonable and well thought out and perhaps provides another example of the shepherd motif.

John

The author of this Gospel seeks to present Jesus as a supernatural and exalted figure.[49] This feature is demonstrated throughout the book and the presentation of shepherd symbolism in ch. 10 shows a part of the developing thought about Jesus in the early church. The author never seeks to obscure any viewpoint about the divine nature of Jesus. Whatever may be found here representing actual historical remnants out of the Synoptists have been heightened into broad theological motifs. The simple touches of Mark and the more elaborate

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[49]Enslin, Christian Beginnings, p. 438.

comments of Matt. and Lk. have, by the time of John, developed into a blueprint of Christian belief.

The most developed shepherd and flock imagery of the New Testament appears in Jn. 10:1-18, 22-39. Its appearance in a context which apparently begins in ch. 7 indicates that an interpretation of the passage must be taken in view of the total picture.

The ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν (10:1) does not begin a new section but resumes the material concerning the blind man which was introduced in ch. 9.[50] The two narratives of Jn. 9:1-41 and 10:1-21, 22-39 form a connecting unit. The two short discourses about the shepherd in ch. 10 (i.e., vv. 1-21 and 22-39) are not to be considered as separate but as a development of the same theme. The statements of vv. 1-5 lead to a misunderstanding (v. 6). In vv. 7-18 Jesus' comments are followed by a division among the Jews along with bitter opposition to Jesus (vv. 19-21). The same pattern is found in vv. 22-39. In v. 31 the Jews seek to stone Jesus and in v. 39 they try to arrest him. These general observations show that it is a united pericope in import and structure. Dodd points out how the dialogue is threaded by the word ἔργον (vv. 25, 32, 33, 37, 38; cf. 9:4).[51] The rejection of Jesus by his

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[50]C.H. Dodd, The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1953), p. 356.

[51]Ibid.

hearers, the Jews,[52] resembles chs. 7 and 8.

In the episode of the blind man the author has established a rationale for entering upon the theme of John 10. The words ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν (v. 1) is a transition formula from dialogue to monologue (cf. 3:11; 5:19; 12:24).[53] The healing of the blind man has established Jesus' authority and triumph over darkness (cf. 7:16; 8:12; 9:5).[54] Therefore Jesus can say: "For judgment I came into this world, that those who do not see may see, and that those who see may become blind" (9:39). The result of the episode is "Some of the Pharisees near him heard this, and they said to him, 'Are we also blind?'" (v. 40). The opportunity is set for Jesus to reply: "If you were blind, you would have no guilt; but now that you say, 'We see,' your guilt remains" (v. 41).

These words appear to prepare the way for what follows in ch. 10. The Pharisees of Israel were guilty because they failed to provide proper direction for the people. This was a guilt they refused to acknowledge. Upon this premise the author can lead into the shepherd theme about the right kind of leadership. A comparison of ch. 10 with certain aspects of the story of the blind man gives evidence for this understanding. In 10:21 Jesus is presented as the one who can "open the

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[52]See Enslin on the use of "Jews" in John, Christian Beginnings, pp. 440-441.

[53]Dodd, op. cit., p. 356.

[54]Ibid., p. 357.

eyes of the blind." This compares with 9:32-33 where the blind man comments on the miracle. Other resemblances stand between 10:11, 15, 17 where Jesus mentions his impending death and the Father's love. In 8:28 Jesus' "lifting up" is the subject, but all things are done through the Father's authority. The over-all context of chs. 7-10 shows that the opponents of Jesus could not stop him (cf. 7:44; 8:20, 59; 10: 31-39).

The issue which stands out in this section concerns the leadership of Israel. In 10:1 the transition from a discussion with the Pharisees to a monologue about true leadership begins:

> "Truly, truly, I say to you, he who does not enter the sheepfold by the door but climbs in by another way, that man is a thief and a robber; but he who enters by the door is the shepherd of the sheep (10:1-2).

While some go far afield to find a background for this pericope, it seems that Ezek. 34 must have been the main source.[55] The prophet's words open with an attack against the leaders of Israel because they had neglected the sheep. They were false shepherds, untrustworthy, and had betrayed their position of leadership (34:1-6). God is pictured as taking action against them and going out to search for the sheep himself (vv. 7-16). A judgment follows wherein the sheep, rams, and he-goats are brought to account (vv. 17-19). God is the

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[55] A.J. Simonis, Die Hirtenrede im Johannes-Evangelium: Versuch Einer Analyse von Johannes 10,1-18 nach Entstehung, Hintergrund und Inhalt (Rom: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1967), pp. 66-67.

judge who establishes over the sheep "one shepherd" his "servant David" who will "feed them and be their shepherd" (vv. 20-24). After this, a peaceful, pastoral scene is depicted (vv. 25-31). The comparison of circumstances between Jn. 10 and Ezek. 34 presents the possibility that the author is skillfully weaving into his story of the Christ the concepts of the prophet. The robber and thief who climbs into the sheepfold by "another way" might point to any who claims leadership except through legitimate channels. He may be thereby accusing the Pharisees and other leaders of ruling without authority and proper concern for the people. The leaders were severely accused in Ezek. 34:3: "You eat the fat, you clothe yourselves with the wool, you slaughter the fatlings; but you do not feed the sheep." Such leaders were guilty of scattering and destroying the sheep. The question of the moment in Jn. 10 is: Who is the true ruler? John's polemic is dealing with the subject of who has the right to rule. By using the image of the shepherd, the writer presents Jesus as the one who has come through the rightful line of Davidic descent (cf. Ezek. 34:23-31). There seems to be no good reason for denying the source of the passage to Ezekiel.[56]

The gatekeeper mentioned in v. 3 implies that the sheepfold may have been used by more than one flock. The

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[56]Rudolf Bultmann, The Gospel of John, trans. G.R. Beasley-Murray (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971), pp. 358-391; Raymond E. Brown, "The Gospel According to John," The Anchor Bible, pp. 389ff.

important point is that the true shepherd is recognized. The sheep know him and respond to his voice. This is interesting in light of the previous narrative about the blind man. He was unwilling to follow the Pharisees (9:24-27) and because of this he was cast out (9:34). Thus the leaders of Israel may be the "strangers" spoken of in the context of ch. 10. On the other hand Jesus represented the shepherd that the people recognized and followed. It is significant that Old Testament concepts are brought into sharper relief in these verses. The shepherd "leads them out" (ἐξάγει αὐτά), a figure based on the ideas found in Num. 27:16, 17 and Ezek. 34:13. The sheep are "brought out" (ἐκβάλλειν), perhaps indicating their helplessness and need to be pushed out the gate.[57] The shepherd goes before them and they follow (vv. 3-4). Therefore the writer is carefully structuring the passage along the lines of the Old Testament concept of the shepherd taking responsibility for the sheep. The writer is identifying Jesus' role with the true purpose of a leader of people. He seems to be contrasting Jesus' concern for Israel with the feigned care which the present leaders were exhibiting.

In vv. 7 and 9 the image changes and Jesus is compared to "the gate of the sheep." It is emphatic: ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ θύρα τῶν προβάτων. The modern shepherd still serves as a "gate" by sleeping across the entrance of the fold. There are two ways whereby Jesus may be viewed as the "gate" in this pas-

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[57]Brown, op. cit., pp. 385, 392.

sage. We should note that it appears that v. 8 and vv. 9-10 represent the two different explanations. In v. 8 there is a relationship back to vv. 1-3, i.e., Jesus is the right door through whom the shepherd may enter in to the sheep. In vv. 9-10 is the suggestion that Jesus is the true passageway to salvation, i.e., he is the "gate" for the sheep. It seems that the writer intends to imply both these ideas by his presentation of Jesus as a "gate."[58] The "thieves and robbers" in v. 8 probably looks back to the Pharisees who were characterized as false shepherds. By using this imagery the writer could call attention to the bad rule which had dominated Israel since Maccabean times. It might be significant for this context that Mk. 10:42-45 is similar in purpose:

> And Jesus called them to him and said to them, "You know that those who are supposed to rule over the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great men exercise authority over them. But it shall not be so among you; but whoever would be great among you must be your servant, and whoever would be first among you must be slave of all. For the Son of man also came not to be served but to serve, and to give his life as a ransom for many.

These words bear a striking resemblance to the intent of Jn. 10. It is a mark of the New Testament that numerous references restrict the office of a ruler. The church leaders in 1 Pet. 5 are warned not to "lord it over the flock." Whereas John often presents Jesus as a lordly and exalted figure, his picture of Jesus as a shepherd displays a conscious effort to portray him as kind and compassionate, always caring for the good of the sheep. However, it would be a mistake to

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[58] Ibid., pp. 391-393.

view the shepherd Jesus as the modern stained-glass version. Behind the image is the concept which is predominant in the Old Testament of one who is trustworthy and responsible. It perhaps would not be going too far afield to suggest that the idea of a leader, almost in a military sense, is pictured by the symbol. The eschatological nature of the ministry of Jesus might recommend this interpretation. The idea is bound to the Old Testament concept of the ruler as a representative of Yahweh. It was this aspect which the leaders of Israel grievously neglected time and time again as the Old Testament indicates. It is this same issue which the author of John is raising in this narrative of Jesus as the "good Shepherd."

Jesus' quality of leadership is presented by his willingness to forfeit his life: Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός· ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων (v. 11). Brown suggests that perhaps "noble shepherd" would fit the idea in this verse and "model shepherd" would be more exact in v. 14.[59] The Greek καλός signifies "beautiful" in the sense of choice or select - Jesus was therefore the ideal shepherd. His willingness to die is presented as a measure of his noble leadership. On the other hand the usurper or hireling is not concerned about the well-being of the flock and will not risk anything for its good. His shafts are again apparently aimed at the false leaders of Israel (cf. v.

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[59] Ibid., p. 14.

12). The author identifies the mission and death of Jesus with his role as a shepherd. This is probably intended to look back to the Davidic shepherd of Ezek. 34. By this method the author has given the crucified Lord the position which had been long ago prophecied. There may also be an allusion to the servant of Yahweh who gave his life as a ransom (Isa. 53). The smitten shepherd of Zech. 13:7 may also have been in view (cf. Matt. 27:31; Mk. 14:27). It is significant that David risks his life for the sheep when he goes against wild beasts (1 Sam. 17:34-35). It must be noted that the picture of a shepherd who dies for his flock is a New Testament development. No shepherd is ever presented as dying for his flock in the Old Testament. However, the Old Testament stands behind the development of the Johannine concepts.

The question of whether the "good shepherd" image in the New Testament is derived from other sources than the Old Testament is raised by the depictions of Hermes Kriophorus. The Hermes cult[60] with its accompanying image of the ram-

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[60]Known from Homeric times and located in Arcadia, the pasture-ground of Greece, Hermes was worshiped as the lord of the herds. He led the animals to quiet places, sometimes bearing the tired lamb or ram on his shoulders, assisting the flocks with the shepherds's crook, the kerykion. The pastoral conception was not the only function of Hermes. He was conceived in a chthonic sense as one of the earth deities of vegetation and the underworld. He was called Phalos at Kyllene depicting the aspect of fertility. His activity extended to protecting travellers who would in turn pay homage by casting stones upon a heap (herma). These memorial stones are ancient and were Ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, a name applied to Roman milestones. See Lewis R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States, V (Chica-

bearer might be suggested as a possible ancestor of the picture of Jesus as the good shepherd. Such a correspondence is by no means proven. That later Christian art portraying Jesus as the good shepherd, bearing a lamb on his shoulders, was derived from the pagan proto-type is perhaps a correct assumption. However, it seems far more reasonable to view the New Testament image of the good shepherd in the light of the Old Testament background. There is no need to seek other sources when the correspondences with the Hebrew material is so obvious and parallel references are so similar. It is important to note that the concept of the good shepherd has a prehistory in Egypt as demonstrated by V. Müller.[61] If the Book of John was written on Egyptian soil, it might be possible that Egyptian culture and background exerted some influence on the concept. However, it seems safe to assume that the primary source of influence was the Old Testament.

The reference to the hireling who was "not a shepherd"

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go: Aegean Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 10-63, Plate X; Martin P. Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), pp. 8-10; C. Kerenyi, The Gods of the Greeks (London: Thames and Hudson, 1951), pp. 162-173; Gilbert Murray, Five States of Greek Religion (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1951), pp. 54-56; A.W. Lawrence, Classical Sculpture (London: Jonathan Cape, 1929), p. 77; Robert Eisler, Orphisch-Dionysisch Myteriengedanken in der Christlichen Antike (Leipzig -Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1925), pp. 386-388; Georg Wissowa, Paulys Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft (Neue Bearbeitung) pp. 763-766; E.R. Goodenough, Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period 8 (Bollingen Series, Pantheon Books, 1958), pp. 77-85; E.A. Gardner, A Handbook of Greek Sculpture (London: Macmillan and Co., 1915), pp. 195-196; Pausanias, Boeotia 9, 4-10, 4.

[61] Müller, op. cit.

indicates that a primary difference in the two is that of concern for the sheep (v. 12). When danger comes, the hireling flees away, caring nothing for the well-being of the sheep. This is a picture similar to that presented in 2 Esdras 5:17 where Phaltiel pleads that Esdras not forsake his people "like a shepherd who leaves his flock in the power of cruel wolves." His courage to face danger and willingness to die marked him out as a true shepherd.

The idea of the good shepherd dying for his sheep is relevant to the way Jesus is presented in the passion narrative of John. Jesus is not simply passively dying at the hands of unjust men but is rather shown in the role of dying actively for men. It was a cup which the Father had given him to drink (18:11). When Pilate asked about his kingship, Jesus replies: "For this I was born, and for this I have come into the world, to bear witness to the truth" (18:37), and when Pilate spoke of his own authority to release or crucify Jesus he was reminded: "You would have no power over me unless it had been given you from above" (19:11). All had therefore happened according to a divine purpose: "For these things took place that the scripture might be fulfilled" (19:36). From the beginning of the Gospel this theme is preeminent.

The author has cleared the way for speaking of the entrance of the Gentiles into the fold: "And I have other sheep, that are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock,

one shepherd" (10:16). These words further identify Jesus with the messianic David of Ezek. 34 where it is said: "And I will set up over them one shepherd, my servant David, and he shall feed them: he shall feed them and be their shepherd" (v. 23). There seems to be another passage which lies behind these words, and in fact behind the whole pericope of the shepherd in Jn. 10. It appears that the language of Isa. 56:8 is a likely source for a part of the ideas in Jn. 10:16. The verse says: "Thus says the Lord God, who gathers the outcasts of Israel, I will gather yet others to him besides those already gathered." It is unclear who it is that the "others" refers to: whether others of the dispersed of Israel, or those who are not of Israel, the Gentiles. At any rate the author of John may have used this verse to indicate the prophecy of the coming in of the nations to the kingdom of God. This observation is significant because Isa. 56:8 is followed by a reference to the shepherds of Israel who had miserably failed in their care of the nation (vv. 10-11). It seems that this passage from Isa. 56 was also one of the "shepherd passages" which the author of Jn. drew from as he presented his record of the good shepherd, Jesus.

The section in Jn. 10:19-21 illustrates the division among the Jews over the claims of Jesus (cf. 7:43; 9:16). This hostility continues into the material composing 10:22-39. The Jews seek to know the answer to Jesus' identity: "How long will you keep us in suspense? If you are the Christ, tell us plainly" (v. 24). This inquiry is not answered, the

reason being because they did not believe, and the reason for this was because they were not his sheep (v. 26). In 10: 1-21 the Pharisees are probably the thieves, robbers, and hirelings who do nothing but harm the sheep. But the figure changes in v. 26 and they are considered sheep who do not belong to Jesus. The sheep who belong to Jesus are considered safe from all attacks. Note, that none can wrest them away: καὶ οὐχ ἁρπάσει τις αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς χειρός μου (10:28). This compares with the expressions used several times in the Old Testament which concern using the hands in caring for sheep (cf. Pss. 49:16; 77:20; Num. 33:1). Ps. 95:7 speaks of God's flock: "For he is our God, and we are the people of his pasture, and the sheep of his hand." This Ps. is very near in thought to the passage in Jn. 10:28-29 (cf. Isa. 43: 13). A point of theology is expressed in v. 30: "I and the Father are one." This may be a reflection on Ezek. 34 and the purpose of God in establishing the Davidic shepherd over Israel. He is perhaps expressing the view that now, in Jesus, this purpose is fulfilled, a plan in keeping with the ancient prophecies.

The only other shepherd symbolism in the Gospel occurs in ch. 21. The Book might be considered complete without this chapter, but there are certain affinities to be found between it and other parts of the Gospel. These appear in the unit concerning pastoral imagery (15-19). In the dialogue between Jesus and Peter. Jesus is reported as instructing Peter to care for the disciples. Three times Peter is

told: "Tend my sheep" ("lambs," v. 15). The apparent significance of this passage perhaps echoes the ascending position of Peter in the early church. The question: "Simon, son of John, do you love[62] me more than these?" indicates a challenge to Peter to take upon himself the responsibility of guiding the disciples of Jesus.

In Matt. 16:19 Peter is indicated as the one who receives the "keys" of authority (cf. Isa. 22:22). In Lk. 24:34 Jesus had first appeared to Simon, and before that Peter had been called on to strengthen the brethren (Lk. 22:32). Paul makes mention of the resurrection scene and says that Jesus had appeared to Cephas (1 Cor. 15:5). The picture which is presented of the relationship of Peter with Jesus indicates that early Christians and the writers of the New Testament books saw him as having been granted a special place of authority. Jn. 21 indicates that the tradition was strong that Peter was regarded as responsible for the leadership of the church when John was written (ca. A.D. 100?). The answer of Peter to the question of Jesus does not correspond to the question. Whereas Jesus uses the word ἀγαπᾷς, Peter says: "Yes, Lord; you know that I love you" (φιλῶ). This perhaps indicates a "modest reserve"[63] and is therefore

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[62]Dodd points out the relevance of this unit with other passages: "The emphasis on ἀγάπη as the link between Christ and his disciples, and the idea of the flock, recall earlier passages," op. cit., p. 431.

[63]Bultmann, op. cit., p. 711.

another indication of the developing authority of Peter. At the same time it may show that he is reluctantly accepting the position given him. The command of Jesus to him is therefore: "Feed my lambs" (v. 15).[64]

The investigatory nature of Jesus' inquiry about the apostle's love seems to point to the subject of Peter's loyalty. It is perhaps a reflection back on the three denials of Peter. Jesus challenges him three times - even to the apostle's grief. If loyalty is the prime idea, then this carries over to the matter of Peter being a watchful shepherd who will, in the future, feed the sheep of God with all diligence. Peter therefore appears to have occupied a central place amongst the members of the early church. It is important to stress that Mark's Gospel contains no sayings which suggest the centrality of Petrine authority. Later days gave advent to this tradition. Statements have been worked into the other Gospels but Mark's simple reference is: "But go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you to Galilee; there you will see him, as he told you (Mk. 16: 7). If this phrase in Mark does in fact reflect shepherd imagery (cf. also Mk. 14:26-29 where Peter is told that he will fall away) then the pericope of Jn. 21 might be a further development of the idea, the emphasis being on the reinstatement of Peter to position, giving to him the "shepherd's staff"

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[64]On the terms βόσκω and ποιμαίνω see Richard C. Trench, Synonyms of the New Testament (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1963), pp. 84-86.

of authority.

The idea of ecclesiastical position and succession of office expressed by shepherd symbolism would be in keeping with the Old Testament, which presented God as the Shepherd of Israel but under him were those who ruled as undershepherds over the flock. The judgment of the early church on this issue is a question which church history has answered. In the days of the developing church the currents of thought and theology were swift and ran in many directions.[65] The traces of literary comments using shepherd and flock symbolism assure us that the figure continued to be a favorite means of expression.

Hebrews 13:20

There is only one brief reference to the shepherd symbol in the epistle "to the Hebrews." In his benediction of 13:20-21, the author looked back to Isa. 63:11 for the purpose of referring to Jesus as a shepherd. By using that passage he only alluded to the words of Isaiah.[66] In speaking of Jesus as the "great shepherd," the author compares the work of redemption under him with that of Moses who brought Israel out of Egypt.

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[65]See Enslin, Christian Beginnings, chs. 12-13, pp. 169-200; Ethelbert Stauffer, New Testament Theology, trans. John Marsh (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955), especially ch. 5.

[66]Cf. differences between MT and LXX. The author of Heb. 13:20 uses the singular "shepherd" of the LXX instead of the plural of the MT.

The passage might suggest a liturgical formula used by the church. This would indicate that Jesus was thought of as the great shepherd and deliverer of the new Israel, the Christian community.

By referring to Jesus as "the Great Shepherd of the sheep" (τὸν ποιμένα τῶν προβάτων τὸν μέγαν) the author is consistent with chs. 1-12 which present Jesus under several titles.[67] The title of "High Priest" is the one which appears most frequently. In 2:17 Jesus is shown as a compassionate high priest:

> Therefore he had to be made like his brethren in every respect, so that he might become a merciful and faithful high priest in the service of God, to make expiation for the sins of the people.

His role as a sympathetic high priest is further illustrated in 4:15:

> For we have not a high priest who is unable to sympathize with our weaknesses, but one who in every respect has been tempted as we are, yet without sinning.

Since Jesus is being shown in relation to the high priesthood, his mission and concern is brought into sharper relief. By the time of this writing the church viewed him as the redeeming saviour (cf. Heb. 5:1-10; 6:20; 7:23-28; 8:1-13; 9:11-14; 10:11-12). Filson points out that ch. 13 does not use the title "high priest" in reference to Jesus but the

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[67]The titles are: Jesus, Christ, Jesus Christ, The Son, High Priest, Lord, Apostle, God, and Shepherd. See Floyd V. Filson's challenging monograph, 'Yesterday' A Study of Hebrews in the Light of Chapter 13 (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1967), cf. pp. 35-43 on the titles of Jesus.

idea is nevertheless implied. He says:

> Now we read in 13:12 that 'Jesus . . . suffered outside the gate' of Jerusalem, just as in the Levitical ceremony on the Day of Atonement the bodies of animals whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest are burned outside the camp. So we are justified in concluding that the author has in mind here as in the earlier chapters the total role of Jesus as the great high priest.[68]

The question is now raised as to the importance of these observations to the shepherd symbol in Heb. 13:20. The writer of the book shows that Jesus "suffered outside the gate in order to sanctify the people through his own blood" (13:12). In 13:20 the "blood" is joined with the idea of an "eternal covenant" (ἐν αἵματι διαθήκης αἰωνίου). The "eternal covenant" is probably an allusion to Zech. 9:11:

> As for you also because of the
> blood of my covenant with
> you,
> I will set your captives free
> from the waterless pit.

The covenant mentioned by Zech. refers to the covenant established on Sinai (Exod. 19:5, 6) and ratified by blood (Exod. 25:5-8). These events were identified with the work of Jesus (Heb. 9:11-26). The author of Hebrews has organized this material in order to show that "our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep" occupies this position because of the blood which he offered. The author is showing that it is his blood which has ratified the "eternal covenant." This idea is in keeping with the general purpose of the book. The writer is looking upon Jesus as the one in whom the history

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[68] Ibid., p. 41.

of redemption is completed (cf. Heb. 11:1-3, 40). He is uniting the idea of God's purpose with the raising of Jesus from the dead, and pointing out to the reader that this is the implication of the "eternal covenant."

Zech. 9 might have further bearing on these ideas because the context of that chapter continues with the subject of God's dealings with Israel. In v. 16 the prophet says:

> On that day the Lord their God
> will save them
> for they are the flock of his
> people.

It is probably no coincidence that the author of Heb. 13 speaks of Jesus as the "great shepherd of the sheep."

It is clear that Jesus is connected with the idea of the "blood of the covenant" mentioned in the Old Testament. The interesting point is that he is not called the "great high priest" in this passage, but instead the shepherd figure is used. He probably does this because Jesus was firmly established in the minds of the early Christians as the Davidic shepherd foretold by the prophets. Therefore it is significant that the term "eternal" is used in reference to the covenant. This idea is apparently taken from Ezek. 37:26:

> I will make a covenant of peace with them; it shall be an everlasting covenant with them; and I will bless them and multiply them, and will set my sanctuary in the midst of them for evermore.

The words appear in context with words that promise the coming of "one shepherd" who is God's servant, David:

> My servant David shall be king over them; and they shall all have one shepherd. They shall follow my ordinances

and be careful to observe my statutes (Ezek. 37:24).

The author of Heb. 13 seems to be bringing several shepherd passages to mind, expecting the reader to make the necessary connection with the source material. G. Buchanan comments about the letter in general saying:

> The readers and the author were evidently so well versed in scripture that the author could allude to a word or passage of scripture and the readers could be expected to understand the whole context related to the reference.[69]

The opening words of Heb. 13:20 which speak of God as the "God of peace" is probably also taken from Ezek. 37:26.

It appears that the author has introduced Jesus as a "great shepherd" when the ideas which he has been dealing with would have been served better by continuing the thought of Jesus as a high priest. The thought about the blood and the covenant are cultic ideas. But he chooses the shepherd symbol. It is significant that in the Fragments of a Zadokite Work the Censor of the camp was to have mercy upon the people "as a father upon his children" (16:1-13). He was to forgive them their sins and act as a shepherd on their behalf: "As a shepherd with his flock he shall loose all the bonds of their knots . . . oppressed and crushed in his congregation" (16:3). This resembles the context of the epistle to the Hebrews which presents Jesus as the high priest and finally ends with this note about Jesus as the "great shepherd of the sheep."

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[69]George W. Buchanan, "To the Hebrews," The Anchor Bible, pp. 226-227.

Another factor might have some bearing on the use of the shepherd figure in this chapter. The writer is addressing the members of the congregation. In his admonitions he speaks about their leaders (vv. 7, 17, 24). In v. 17 their work is described as he tells the members to be subject to them:

> Obey your leaders and submit to them; for they are keeping watch over your souls, even as men who will have to give account.

Their role as "leaders" (ἡγουμένοι, a middle part. of the v. ἡγέομαι meaning "to lead, guide") might suggest that they are considered shepherds over the church. The same word is used in The Shepherd, Vis. II. 2.6, III. 9.7 in reference to church leaders. The phrase, "they are keeping watch for your souls" (αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἀγρυπνοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν) is very similar to the statement about Jesus as the "Shepherd and guardian of your souls" (ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν) in 1 Pet. 2:25. This suggests that there might be a correspondence between the two passages. The author is clearly expressing the "pastoral concern" which leaders should have over their subjects as he instructs the people. The idea of the leaders of the church as shepherds might be implied in these references (i.e., Heb. 13:7, 17, 24). If this is true, then the reference to Jesus as the "great shepherd of the sheep," an appointment which the author says is according to "the blood of an eternal covenant," would give the work and responsibility of the leaders of the group strong validity.

There are ideas present in these verses which resemble the instructions given to the elders in 1 Pet. 5:1-4. The

author of Heb. 13, in keeping with the pattern of chs. 1-12, fashioned his ideas from references and circumstances with which the audience was well acquainted. The shepherd image was probably well developed and understood as it related to Jesus, the great shepherd, and to the leaders who were the undershepherds over his flock.

1 Peter

It appears to be no accident that several important sections in 1 Pet. bear striking resemblance to the period and difficulties expressed by Second Isaiah. The author was perhaps challenged by the similarity of circumstances. Just as the prophet wrote to encourage and give hope to the exiles, the author of this letter sets his hand to the same task.

The Christians of whom he wrote were having to suffer for their faith (1 Pet. 1:6, 7; 4:12-19; 5:8, 9).[70] He writes "the exiles of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia" (1:1). The reference to "Babylon" (5:13) is probably symbolic for Rome, which carries further significance for the relationship of the book with Second Isaiah.

The author's sources certainly included Isa., especially 40:1-11. Just as Isa. 40 begins with a summons of comfort for the exiles in Babylon, so also the letter of 1 Pet. begins with an announcement of comfort. The author of the epistle may have used the basic ideas in Isa. 40:1-11 on

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[70]Enslin, Christian Beginnings, p. 325.

which to base his entire work.

The thought of Christians receiving their "salvation" is tied in with prophetic utterance (1:9-12). The "sufferings of Christ" is probably a reflection on Isa. 53 (cf. the reference to the "lamb," 1:19). The message which accounts for the salvation of the Christian community is said to be the "living and abiding word of God" (1:23). The author links his message with Isaiah's when he quotes the wailing cry of man's fading glory (1:24; Isa. 40:6-8). The emphasis in both contexts is on the durability of the word of God - it "abides forever." It is to this word that the hearers are told to place their hope. Isaiah speaks of the message going forth from a high mountain. Whereas Zion and Jerusalem herald forth the "glad tidings" (40:9), the author of 1 Pet. says, referring to the message of Christ: "That word is the good news which was preached to you" (1:25). It is clear that the author is thinking back to the problems of the ancient exilic community and is using the ideas and language of that period to illustrate the present crisis. Reference to the exile is probably in the background of the call in 2:11-12: "Beloved, I beseech you as aliens and exiles to abstain from the passions of the flesh that wage war against your soul. Maintain good conduct among the Gentiles, . . ."[71] An exilic motif appears to be present throughout the letter;

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[71] We are not to conclude that the Christians were Jewish. The words are probably used in a symbolic sense; see Enslin, Christian Beginnings, pp. 322-323.

compressing many ideas expressed in Isa. 40-66.

The relevance of these comments to the shepherd image is to be seen in the fact that the pericope of Isa. 40:1-11 ends with the promise of a redeeming hand which will save Israel:

> He will feed his flock like a shepherd,
> he will gather the lambs in his arms,
> he will carry them in his bosom,
> and gently lead those that are with young.

The author of 1 Pet. moves toward a point which is similar in thought to Isa.:

> For you were straying like sheep, but have now returned to the Shepherd and Guardian of your souls (2:25).

The straying sheep motif is a thought which was familiar to the people of Israel, especially in connection with the exile. As straying sheep, Christians are compared with ancient Israel. Their redemption through Christ is patterned on the established shepherd motif of the Old Testament.

The author's use of the phrase: "the Shepherd and Guardian of your souls" (τὸν ποιμένα καὶ ἐπίσκοπον τῶν ψυχῶν ὑμῶν) indicates an additional idea to the symbol. The use of the word "guardian" in connection with Jesus as a shepherd is not used elsewhere. The concept is used similarly in Acts 20:28 where the overseers of the church are mentioned. The term may signify the shepherd's constant care over the sheep.[72]

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[72]Robert Gundry,"'Verba Christi' in I Peter," NTS, 13 (July, 1967), p. 341.

Jesus as the one who provides and watches over his disciples is an idea which relates to the Gospel of John and other New Testament passages.[73] The concept of the dying shepherd seems to be implied in this context (2:21-24).[74] The thought of Jesus as the "Guardian of souls" might relate to 1:9 where the subject is the "salvation of souls." It is from this point that the author proceeds to speak of the utterances of the prophets. The author is drawing these ideas together into a tightly knit piece of theological work. Underlying the thought is that of God who rescues Israel. The image is transferred to Jesus who is the Shepherd and Guardian of Christians. The words of Isa. 40:1-11 and 1 Pet. have a very similar theme. The reference to Jesus as the shepherd in 2:25 is parallel to the expression of confidence found in Isa. 40:11. As God was the shepherd in the Old Testament, Christ is made to occupy this position in the New.

The subject of leaders and their "pastoral" function in the church is presented in 1 Pet. 5:1-3. If they perform the task adequately, they are promised a future reward from the "Great Shepherd" (5:4).

The location of this passage, coming at the end of the book, is similar to other books which also speak of the work

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[73]Ernest Best, "I Peter and the Gospel Tradition," NTS, 16 (Jan., 1970), pp. 96-99.

[74]Compare the similarities of 1 Pet. 2:21-24 with Isa. 53:4-6. For a work on this subject see Edwyn Hoskyns and Noel Davey, The Riddle of the New Testament (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1957), pp. 57-58.

of church leaders in the final chapter (cf. 1 Cor. 16:15, 16; 1 Thes. 5:12-15; Heb. 13:7, 17). The thought is consistent with the purpose expressed in the book about keeping the people intact. They were being encouraged not to be overcome with persecution. Though it has been said that 1 Pet. 5 "betrays no reminiscence of the Old Testament,"[75] it is possible that the author is still thinking of the context of Isa. 40:1-11, thus summing up his letter of encouragement by reminding them of the shepherd who rescues them.

The verses in 5:2-4 may imply an instruction motif which early Christian leaders had to learn in order to guide the church. The warning against "lording it over" (κατακυριεύοντες) the flock might hark back to the reference Jesus made about the Gentiles who "lord it over" (κατακυριεύουσιν) their subjects (Mk. 10:42; cf. Matt. 20:25; Lk. 22:25). The composite verb with the prepositional prefix (κατακυριεύω) in 1 Pet., Mk., and Matt. and Luke's κυριεύουσιν are all expressing the same idea about leadership.[76] There seems to be a connection between the statements in 1 Pet. 5:1-4 and the Gospel tradition.

Another point which arises on the relation of this passage with the Gospels, is its parallels with Jn. 21:15-23. In both places Peter is the common figure. Shepherd and sheep symbolism is used in both contexts (referring to church lead-

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[75]Gundry, op. cit., p. 342.

[76]John H. Elliott, "Ministry and Church Order," CBQ, XXXII (July, 1970), p. 372-375.

ership). In 1 Pet. 5:5 there is a reference to being clothed with humility, which seems to be an extension of the points about leadership in vv. 1-4. It is notable that in Jn. 21:18 Peter will be clothed by another when he is old. The concept of discipleship in Jn. 21:19-23 and the directions about following Christ in 1 Pet. 2:21-25 are similar. These factors seem to show, though perhaps subtly, a relationship with the Gospels (i.e., Mk. 10:42; Matt. 20:25; Lk. 22:25; Jn. 21:15-23). Instructions about discipleship, leadership, and the need for humility when given a position of authority is a common characteristic feature. There is evidence of a Petrine tradition showing him as a prominent figure in the thinking of the early church. In this tradition the symbol of the shepherd appears central.

There seems to be a direct relationship between "elder" (πρεσβύτερος), "guardian" (ἐπίσκοπος), and the use of the term "shepherd." The use of the term "elder" in 1 Pet. 5:1 is apparently to be regarded as an official designation. The context shows that the term is to be equated with the term shepherd. Their responsibility was to "tend the flock of God" (5:2). In 1 Tim. 3:2 the leader of the church is called a "guardian" ("bishop," "overseer") while in 1 Tim. 4:14 the "eldership" has power to "lay on hands." Those who are presiding elders (προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι) are to be respected (1 Tim. 5:17). When Paul visits the Ephesian "elders" (Acts 20:17) we find that in his sermon he admonishes them by using shepherd imagery:

> Take heed to yourselves and to all the flock, in which the Holy Spirit has made you guardians, to feed the church of the Lord which he obtained with his own blood. I know that after my departure fierce wolves will come in among you, not sparing the flock (Acts 20: 28-29).

In this context the "elders" are given the work of caring for the "flock," a responsibility placed on them by the "Holy Spirit" (ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶσ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπουϛ).[77] As elders they were regarded as shepherds and as shepherds they had the oversight (ἐπίσκοποϛ). The figure is carried on when they are told to "feed the church." The church as the flock is therefore intended to be sustained by the responsible oversight (guardianship) of the elders. This illustrates that the official body of authority in the early church was a group of men who were considered to be shepherds. These ideas seem to be implied in 1 Pet. also. We have noted that 1 Pet. 2:25 brings the words "shepherd" and "guardian" together. These words (ποιμήν and ἐπίσκοποϛ) appear to be almost synonymous in meaning. The "elders" were thought of in an official sense and this term was probably considered as synonymous with the ideas implied by the word shepherd (cf. Acts 11:30; 14:23; 15:2, 4, 6, 22, 23; 16:4; 20:17, Ti. 1:5). In James 5:14 the elders possessed the means of restoring a sick man.[78]

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[77] Reference to the involvement of the "spirit" in choosing a shepherd has been noted before (cf. Num. 27:16, 17; Isa. 11:1-11).

[78] I am not certain to what extent, if any, this passage may imply shepherd symbolism. The Book of James is saturated with symbolism and allusion. It contains many

The elders in 1 Pet. 5:1 are told to care for the flock:

> Tend the flock of God that is your charge, not by constraint but willingly, not for shameful gain but eagerly, not as domineering over those in your charge but being examples to the flock (5:2-3).

The passage seems to be formulated from the ideas about suffering mentioned in 4:12-19. This would make the passage correspond with the arrangement in ch. 2 which speaks of the suffering of Christians, concluding with an appeal to look to their Shepherd (cf. 2:11-25). In 5:1 there is the reference to the "sufferings of Christ" (cf. 1:11). From this point the author instructs the leaders about their own attitude toward the work of shepherding the flock of God. The thought of the church as a flock is in keeping with the Old Testament picture of Israel as the "flock of God."

As Jesus was the "good shepherd" in Jn. 10, he is now called the "chief shepherd" (ἀρχιποίμην):

> And when the chief Shepherd is manifested you will obtain the unfading crown of glory (5:4).

We again stress that the ideas of Isa. 40:1-11 seem to be threaded into this epistle, and at certain points it surfaces. As Jesus is called the "Shepherd and Guardian" in 2:25, he is here the "chief Shepherd," a title that is used nowhere else in the New Testament. This epithet probably indicates that

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ideas which are based on the Old Testament. If the position of elders was strongly equated with the idea that they were shepherds, then the reference to "anointing the head with oil" might reflect the work of a shepherd when caring for a sick sheep (cf. Ps. 23).

the disciples felt a need to distinguish him in the ranks of leadership. Since the church leaders were known as shepherds, the position for the Lord was that of a supreme shepherd. The use of this term in itself implies the concept of under-shepherds, a thought not unlike the structure of leadership and authority known in the Old Testament.

It is to this superior Shepherd that the early Christian leaders are called on to pattern their work. The years of the developing church brought about the necessity of a ministry which could encourage and guide the disciples. It was established on the lines of Old Testament thinking; the crucified Lord was the chief Shepherd who was keeping watch over all, and the leaders were his earthly watchmen.

Revelation

In the midst of its apocalypticism the Book of Revelation presents Jesus first as a "lamb," and then as a shepherd:

> "For the Lamb in the midst of the
> throne will be their
> shepherd,
> and he will guide them to
> springs of living water;
> and God will wipe away every
> tear from their eyes" (7:17).

The presentation of Jesus as a lamb is shown in 5:6. The mention of the Lord of the church under this figure implies his sacrifice, but at the same time his ruling function is also embraced since he is described as a shepherd. Note that in 5:5 he is a "Lion" at the same time that he is a "Lamb." The picture of the shepherd leading his flock to

springs of water is no doubt based on the pastoral symbolism of the Old Testament (e.g., Pss. 23:2; 68:52-55). The context signifies that despotic forces will be overthrown and they will be ruled by a kind shepherd.

Further allusions to shepherd rule are revealed in the statements of 2:27 and 19:15. The latter verse says:

> From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations, and he will rule them with a rod of iron; he will tread the wine press of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty.

These words appear in context with verses from Isa. 63 which show God's vengeance. The writer of Revelation is presenting the same circumstances, showing that Jesus will overcome the nations "and shall rule them with a rod of iron" (καὶ αὐτὸς ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ). The word "shall rule" suggests shepherd rule or control. The passage is presenting Jesus in the role of a military victor. In this position he rules the nations with a strong staff of iron. Since the nations are presented as beasts in the book (e.g., ch. 13), we wonder if there is a connection between Jesus' rule over these nations and a passage like Jer. 50:7. The prophet shows how Israel is a hunted sheep, chased by lions. However, God is also shown as a lion who stalks the nations and overcomes them (cf. Jer. 49:19 and 50:44).

These points seem to support the idea that Jesus was viewed as an eschatological ruler, a military figure who wields a staff of power over the nations of men.

The Shepherd of Hermas

A work from the early part of the second century will be considered in order to demonstrate the continuing use of shepherd symbolism. The importance of The Shepherd of Hermas for this study is obvious. The title was given to the work because of a shepherd who appears to Hermas for the purpose of instructing him on the subject of repentance and a righteous life. Whereas other religious books of that period were dealing with the internal workings of the church, this book concentrates on morality. It is a creed on living the Christian life.[83]

The shepherd who comes to Hermas is a mediator or revealer of a divine message. This is significant because it introduces a new feature into the work of a shepherd. The material which has already been studied never develops the idea of a shepherd in this way. The object of the book demonstrates that the reason the shepherd appears to Hermas is in order that he might be led to the right understanding about the Christian life. In fact, the shepherd becomes Hermas' own personal guardian: "I have been sent by the most reverend angel to dwell with you the rest of the days of your life" (Vis. V.2). Throughout the book it becomes clear that the writer is making a great effort to direct the soul to God. This thought is prominent in every section of the book. The emphasis is upon the need of repentance and

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[83]James Donaldson, The Apostolic Fathers (London: Macmillan & Co., 1874), p. 339.

obedience to the divine word. In Vis. I.3.2 the author says that the continual pounding of God's word will correct the evil doer: "For as the smith, by hammering his work, overcomes the task which he desires, so also the daily righteous word overcomes all wickedness."

Even though the book presents Hermas as a severe moralist, it also aims at proclaiming special grace to those Christians who had sinned,[84] thus countering the austere teaching of Hebrews on this subject (cf. Heb. 6:6; 10:26-31; 12:17). He says: "But after fifteen days, when I had fasted and prayed greatly to the Lord, the knowledge of the writing was revealed to me. . . . all the sins which they have formerly committed shall be forgiven to all the saints who have sinned up to this day"(Vis.2.1-4). Thus the compassion of God is presented throughout the book: "But those who denied him formerly have obtained forgiveness through his great mercy" (πολυσπλαγχνίαν ἵλεως, Vis. II.2.8; cf. Sim. VI.3.2). In Sim. IX.33.1 is another statement which helps sum up the intent of the book: "All these things which have been written above, I, the shepherd, the angel of repentance, have declared and spoken to the servants of God." In the final parable of the book "the angel" expresses the reason for sending the shepherd to Hermas:

> "I have handed you over," said he, "and your house to this shepherd, that you may be protected by him" (Sim. X.1.2).

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[84]See J. Armitage Robinson, Barnabas, Hermas and the Didache (London: The Macmillan Co., 1920).

The protection which is given Hermas and his house is tied in with the commandments:

> "If then," said he, "you wish to be protected from all vexation and all cruelty, and to have success in every good work and word, and every virtue of righteousness, walk in his commandments, which he gave you, and you will be able to overcome all wickedness" (Sim. X.1.2).

It appears evident therefore that the main concept behind the shepherd figure in Hermas is that of a guiding and directing influence. Not only was he revealing mercy but he showed the way to righteousness and future protection. Perhaps this is the most satisfactory answer to the problem of why such a figure is used to reveal the message.

C. Taylor relates the book to the Gospel of John. Regarding the shepherd image and the significance of some of the terms he attempts to show that the term for "door" in Sim. IX.12.1 is a reference to the "door" in John 10:2, 9. He thinks Hermas was generally alluding to John's Gospel. For example, regarding the differences of the spelling of the word for "door" in the two books, he says:

> On the whole, the change of word counts for little in Hermas; the real question being whether a connexion can be made out between the contexts of door and gate in the Fourth Gospel and the Shepherd respectively.[85]

There are possibly other correspondences between The Shepherd and New Testament material. In Sim. VI, the shepherd takes Hermas into the country and shows him "shepherds of the sheep" (VI.1.5). One of them, though a shepherd of retribution, is called a "great shepherd"(VI.2.5). These are

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[85] C. Taylor, The Witness of Hermas to the Fourth Gospel (London: Cambridge University Press, 1892), p. 108.

ideas which find similar language in Heb. 13:20. Whether the thoughts are definitely related is questionable. In Sim. IX.31.1-6 church leaders are apparently spoken to:

> But I say to you all, as many as have received the seal, keep simplicity and bear no malice, and do not remain in your guilt, or in remembrance of the bitterness of offences. Be of one spirit and put away these evil schisms, and take them away from yourselves that the lord of the sheep may rejoice over them. But he will rejoice if all be found whole; but if he find some of them fallen away, what shall they answer to the Master of the flock? That they have fallen away because of the sheep? They will not be believed, for it is incredible that a shepherd should be harmed by the sheep, and they will rather be punished for their lie. And I am the shepherd, and am very exceedingly bound to give account for you.

Taylor says that these words "may be accounted for as an adaptation of sayings of the Good Shepherd to the schisms of unworthy overseers."[86] These points may suggest that the reason the book is written with the emphasis on a shepherd is because it is directed at the leaders of the church. In the land of Arcadia, the tenth mountain is said to have trees "sheltering some sheep" (IX.27.1). Some "believers" are described as follows:

> Bishops and hospitable men who at all times received the servants of God into their houses gladly and without hypocrisy; and the bishops ever ceaselessly sheltered the destitute and the widows by their ministration, and ever behaved with holiness (IX.27.2).

It may be that the author of The Shepherd of Hermas gives the principal work of revelation to a shepherd because he wants clearly to define the ministry and work of the shepherds of the church (cf. Eph. 4:11; 1 Pet. 5:1-4). The fact that he dwells at times upon the officiary of the church might suggest

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[86] Ibid., pp. 109-110.

the reason for using the shepherd to mediate God's will.[87]

Another factor might be significant for helping determine why the writer places the emphasis on the shepherd and his message of repentance. In Sim. IX we learn that Hermas is taken into Arcadia (1.4). It is maintained by J. Harris and J. Robinson that Hermas was originally a Greek slave and a native of Arcadia. Therefore, in his vision (Sim. IX), he is in fact reproducing a description of his old home. He describes the plain of Orchomenus with its circle of hills which provides him the scenery for the parable. We have noted elsewhere that Arcadia is the "great pasture-ground of Greece."[88] It was the cradle of the cult of Hermes, the lord of herds and flocks. If in fact Hermas is a native of Arcadia, he might have employed the figure of the shepherd because it was a work with which he was intimately familiar. His own background, united with the ideas of the Biblical material, might have been brought together in his thinking when he wrote his book. Added to these possibilities is the fact that the leaders of the church were viewed as shepherds. All these factors may have contributed to his creation of a shepherd as a principal figure of revelation.

It has been suggested that the author drew mainly

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[87]See Lage Pernveden's work on this subject, The Concept of the Church in The Shepherd of Hermas (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1966); Edgar J. Goodspeed, A History of Early Christian Literature (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), pp. 33-34.

[88]Farnell, op. cit.

from Hermetic Literature.[89] This conjecture does not seem likely since the religious nature of his message is harmonious with ideas found in the Bible. He would have been familiar with the concepts of Jesus as a shepherd and guardian of souls. He was certainly aware of the responsibility which church leaders had over their congregations. Hermas' concern was of a practical nature, dealing with the sins of man and the right direction back to God.

Summary

The shepherd image in the New Testament is taken directly from Old Testament and intertestamental material. The concepts and ideas which predominated concerning the shepherd as a leader were maintained by the disciples of Jesus. To be sure, the image was used to describe Jesus as the Christ, the king of Davidic lineage. This presentation begins even with the birth narratives. Whether Jesus ever actually applied the title "shepherd" to himself is open to question. When he entered his ministry, the field was fertile, the expectations were widespread that a deliverer would come to lead Israel from the heavy bondage of Roman rule.

It is probably a safe conjecture that Jesus saw his ministry as one in which he was "going to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." His mission was to proclaim the approaching kingdom, the Golden Age of apocalyptic hope. He apparently attacked the leaders of Israel, accusing them of being false shepherds, untrue to their charge. After his

death, and during the years which saw the church develop into a new movement, Jesus was identified as the second David, the Good Shepherd of Israel, and indeed, of the whole world.

There are innumerable details in Jesus' life which defy an understandable pattern. But his disciples and the members of the Christian community had no difficulty looking back to the prophecies and interpreting them in view of the ministry of Jesus. It is not surprising that the New Testament continues the imagery of a shepherd guiding and directing his sheep. The ideas of redemption which are often connected with the shepherd symbol become an important feature for the work of Jesus as the Good Shepherd. In the New Testament the shepherd who lays down his life for the sheep becomes associated with the redemptive work of Jesus.

Ezek. 34 appears to have been very productive as the source of much New Testament thought about the shepherd symbol. Just as it represents a high point of shepherd symbolism in the Old Testament, it stands directly behind the motives and thought which developed in the New Testament. Both Testaments stress just government and administration; the purpose of the ruling class was to bring peace and happiness to those whom they ruled.

There is an eschatological aspect connected with the shepherd symbol in the New Testament which is based on Zech. 9-14. The believers of the Christian community saw these chapters as a prophecy pointing to the life, ministry, and passion of their crucified Lord. Ideas like "Strike the

Shepherd, that the sheep may be scattered" (Mk. 14:27; Matt. 26:31) were especially significant. They saw in the prophet a concise pattern which set forth for them the circumstances surrounding Jesus' life and death. This context in Zech. must have made a pronounced emotional impact on the disciples when they saw their leader arrested and the apostles scattered like helpless sheep. Even though the material in Zech. is disparate, it nevertheless appears to be the core around which the presentation of Jesus as a dying shepherd was developed. The material was taken and interpreted to fit the events of Jesus' ministry. The end of the days would see the "Son of man seated upon his throne" with the nations before him like a great flock of sheep and goats (Matt. 25). It is possible that several places in Rev. reflect the idea of shepherd rule. In Rev. 2:27 is the thought of "ruling with a rod of iron," probably echoing the control of a military shepherd (cf. Ps. 2:8, 9; Rev. 19:15).

The early church used the image of the shepherd to describe the work of its leaders. Based on the view that Jesus was the great Shepherd and Guardian of souls, those who were leaders of the Christian community were also expected to pattern their life and work after that of their chief Shepherd.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study we have demonstrated that shepherd and flock imagery is elastic, applied in numerous ways by the writers of ancient literature. The appearance of the shepherd in the field with his flock became one of the most important symbols in the mind of ancient Near Eastern man.

The earliest records reveal that the image was used to picture the gods who ruled over the affairs and destinies of men. The image also depicted the rule of a king over his subjects. It seems that the general presentation of the symbol is intended to convey the thought of "ideal kingship." Numerous times the figure appears in contexts which reveal the subject of justice and the right kind of rule.

The material from ancient Egypt suggests the presence of shepherd imagery in connection with the pharaoh. Behind his rule, the distant figure of Osiris seems to be indicated. Among the objects associated with this early Egyptian god is the shepherd's crook. The king of Egypt was to be a responsible ruler, obligated to maintain the principle of maat. The evidence shows that the shepherd's crook was used as a badge of authority. Literature and royal inscriptions from Egypt indicate that the pharaoh was viewed as a shepherd for

the well-being of the land. Since the crook is found early and continues throughout Egyptian history, the image must have been very important. The shepherd image in Egypt implies a close and intimate connection between the pharaoh and his subjects. The motif was used to convey the most important concepts associated with Egyptian kingship.

The Mesopotamian concept is not greatly different from that of Egypt. Though kingship was viewed from a different perspective, the use of the shepherd image indicates that here also the concept of a just and righteous government was intended. As in Egypt, the use of the shepherd symbol occurs over and over in contexts which are dealing with the subject of justice and fairness for the people. It is apparent that the figure ranked high as one of the titles for the Mesopotamian kings. Its occurrence generally signified prosperity and military security. In Mesopotamia the king was not like the elevated deity figure of Egypt. His rule was granted to him by higher powers, but, like the king of Egypt, he was expected to govern in justice. He stood as a representative of the gods and subject to their laws. His function was to be a shepherd to the people, guiding, counseling, and protecting them through their difficulties. Justice and fairness always seem to be inherent in the symbol. The idea of kindness is never far away. The gods of ancient Mesopotamia are sometimes presented as shepherds. The god Enlil is one who "decrees the fates" of men. Shamash directs "all the affairs" of men and an "exalted shepherd" rules the under-

world (Nergal?). The goddess Ningal is greatly distressed over the fall of her beloved Ur. The Mesopotamian material shows a broad application of the metaphor, but the picture of responsibility and concern seems to be the predominant concept behind the image.

The literature from ancient Greece also demonstrates the presence of the symbol. It should be stressed, however, that its emphasis is different from that of the lands to the east. Homer makes extensive use of the image, but it is shown to be a military metaphor. The "shepherd of the host" was a designation of individuals in the army of the Greeks, as well as those in the Trojan camp. The evidence indicates that the symbol was popular and readily understood by the people. It seems to have been used generally in a technical sense. The symbol is conspicuously devoid of the aspect of kindness or compassion which is often implied in the material from Egypt and Mesopotamia. Other minor references in Greece apply the symbol to a whirling, twisting wind, to captains of ships, and to chariot drivers. Plato's Golden Age is ruled by a great shepherd who directs the government of the universe. Plato's argument implies that the rule of a shepherd-king represents the ideal administration. In this respect the shepherd image is close to the thought represented in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The pastoral literature, however, emphasizes the delights to be found in the field. The prevailing theme seems to be the tranquil existence of the shepherd himself, rather than the responsi-

bility and concern of the shepherd for his flock.

The shepherd image in the Old Testament is apparently based on the thoughts which have been derived from the ancient Near East. The period when Israel first began to use the symbol remains obscure. The evidence seems to establish its origin in the nomadic period. It seems that God was the first to be viewed as a shepherd, and that at a later date kings were designated as shepherds though they were not actually called by the title "shepherd." It appears that some of the earliest material of the Old Testament makes use of the shepherd motif. Therefore, we conclude that the symbol in Israel originated at a very early date; perhaps it is one of the earliest symbols in Biblical literature. It is significant that this early material applies the image only to God. Further study should be made to determine what relationship, if any, exists between the beginning of kingship in Israel and the application of the shepherd symbol to kings.

The psalms of the Old Testament exhibit several references to the metaphor. We feel that there are perhaps more idioms and concepts which relate to this image. In this study certain words and ideas have been noted which seem to imply shepherd imagery. The ideas of "leading," and "guiding," "going out" and "coming in," might imply the shepherd in passages which do not explicitly demonstrate its presence. The picture of a peaceful glen or valley often accompanies shepherd symbolism. There are other passages which show this

same scene without direct reference to the shepherd. The shepherd motif appears to have been a very important concept to the people; this being true, certain ideas could be used and the people would understand that this figure was behind the words. Further investigation could be made in this area to possibly determine a more extensive use of the metaphor. We have noted a divergent interpretation for Ps. 121, suggesting that the psalm might in fact be a shepherd psalm. There are several points of correspondence between this psalm and the classic shepherd psalm, Ps. 23. This point needs to be explored further.

The Book of Jeremiah uses the symbol extensively and it is significant that the figure is generally used in a highly military sense. The figure refers to commanders and chiefs of armies, reminding one of the way Homer employs the figure. On the other hand, the book presents a shepherd who is an ideal ruler when it foretells of a Davidic king. Jeremiah uses the symbol to refer to anyone in a position of power. It is significant that the broadest single application of shepherd imagery is found in Jer. 25 when numerous kings are referred to as shepherds.

A high point of shepherd symbolism is found in Ezek. 34. The main issue which stands out in this context is that of the need for a just and righteous rule. Oppression of the people is strongly condemned. This appears as an abiding feature of the shepherd motif. Ezekiel's picture of the future, Davidic, ideal ruler, is in contrast to those who

were presently ruling the flock. The prophet strongly condemns those who are in places of power, accusing them of promoting their own selfish aims at the expense of the people. The passage in Ezekiel, like so much of the material from the ancient Near East illustrates, that the primary thought behind the shepherd symbol is that of ruling for the benefit of the people. Their welfare was to take precedence over all other functions of government; it was in fact the function of government. Though the image has various minor uses and applications, it is apparent that the need for responsibility and concern is the largest single application. The passage in Ezek. 34 is one of the strongest rebukes against tyranny and oppressive rule to be found. It is highly significant that the shepherd motif represents the thought on which this polemic is made. The ideas of Ezek. 34 are deeply embedded in the New Testament. This indicates that the passage made a lasting impression on the readers of this material. The shepherd image was apparently used because it was a thought which could best illustrate the subject of legitimate and concerned leadership; it was also a symbol which might be used to show how bad leadership resulted in an oppressed and chaotic society. David becomes the ideal shepherd and leader. From his own experience as a shepherd, he was taken from the sheep to lead the people of Israel. The figure of David is alluded to several times. in contexts which suggest this metaphor.

There seems to have been more fondness for the image

immediately preceding, and during the exile. This would indicate that the theme became most significant to the people at a time of distress and crisis. The figure of straying sheep is found in much of the Old Testament material. There seem to be numerous words and idioms which suggest that behind the scattered people of Israel is the shepherd and sheep metaphor.

The material written "between the Testaments" uses the image similarly to the Old Testament. It is important to note that the picture of peace is still an emphasis of the shepherd image. It is significant that"Baruch" was a "good disciple" of Jeremiah. He used the image like the prophet of the seventh century, applying the figure to leaders. In some way the shepherd is bound up with the concept of the Law in Baruch's message.

New Testament writers used the Old Testament for their development and presentation of the shepherd motif. They saw in their crucified leader a fulfilment of Old Testament passages which depict an ideal ruler, the Davidic shepherd. The New Testament present Jesus as a dying shepherd. A close examination of the use of the image in some passages relating to Jesus' death, demonstrates that the shepherd image and his redemptive work are closely associated. This is a feature of the New Testament usage of the symbol which is not observable in other places.

New Testament writers did not overlook the block of material in Ezek. 34. The ideas in this chapter seem to

recur time and again when the New Testament authors allude to the metaphor. It appears that Ezek. 34 is a far more important source for New Testament development than has perhaps been realized. It seems that the famous shepherd passage in John 10 is based on the ideas of the prophet.

Even the birth narratives suggest the shepherd motif. The fact that shepherds in a field outside Bethlehem were the first to hear the "good news," suggests that we must look deeper than the superficial words of the story. Luke's great literary ability is evidenced by the way he relates the birth of Jesus, the shepherd, the son of David. The announcement to the shepherds of "Peace on earth . . ." is bound up with the picture of peace often presented in Old Testament passages which are connected with the shepherd motif.

The emphasis of the New Testament is like that of the Old when stressing the need for rulership based on justice. The right kind of rule is never oppressive but is always for the good of the flock. This feature underlies much of the New Testament polemic about the work of shepherds.

It seems that the author of 1 Pet. might have patterned his letter after the pericope of Isa. 40:1-11. He certainly employed the idea of the good shepherd metaphor and wove it into his message to the exiles of the first century.

The New Testament instructs the leaders of the church

to direct the flock with responsibility. The developing church thought in terms very similar to the ideas expressed in the Old Testament of the Great Shepherd (God), undershepherds (leaders, rulers) and the flock (Israel). The church also was a flock with its Great shepherd (Christ) and undershepherds (the leaders).

An area which needs to be explored is the relationship between the Hebrew terms for "tribe" and "staff." The leader who ruled over a group of people held a staff, indicating control and power. Was the Hebrew term for "tribe" based on this concept? Another factor in connection with this is the relation of the shepherd's crook to the scepter carried by kings. We have shown in this study that there are numerous examples from Egypt and Mesopotamia where the shepherd's crook was a badge of the king's authority. There are several Bible references which tend to illustrate this point also. The Homeric material also reveals that Agamemnon's staff is referred to in certain contexts where he is called the "shepherd of the host." Some argue that the king's scepter was derived from a military weapon, i.e., a lance or spear. It seems more reasonable to conclude that since shepherds and their flocks probably preceeded military figures, the shepherd's crook was the instrument which became identified as a symbol of authority.

Further study could be made into this subject to trace out the remnants of shepherd symbolism in the hymns and literature which have been written since the close of

the Biblical period.

One thing is certain: the shepherd and flock symbol is constantly in evidence and retains its vitality to the end. The major point which the symbol stresses is that of responsibility. It has many supporting elements but this is the main concept. The shepherd symbol became a strong polemic for emphasizing a just and righteous government, whether for a nation, or an individual. It is perhaps the most enduring symbol which man has created. It has proved to be a great vehicle of thought, contributing to man's quest to know himself and to find his place in the scheme of things.

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APPENDIX I

In his work on the Dead Sea Psalms Scroll,[1] J.A. Sanders compares the Greek text of Ps. 151 with the earlier Hebrew version. Some of his comments center on the pastoral setting which is depicted by the psalm. He says:

> One cannot escape a picture of a shepherd out in the field surrounded by his flock in a pastoral setting: the flock and plants attend to the music as David plays to the glory of God. It is the well-known theme of the good shepherd so often portrayed in early Jewish and Christian art in which David or the Davidic Christ has replaced Orpheus, the original shepherd musician of Greek mythology.[2]

This raises the question as to whether Orphic elements are implied by certain thoughts in this psalm (viz., vv. 2b-4). Sanders suggests the following:

> Well-meaning Jews would say to understanding Greeks and Romans, "You see, David is our Orpheus - a shepherd, a musician, and one who praised God in every virtue of soul." They used current vocabulary to speak of their great king of antiquity.[3]

At the same time, Sanders admits that "the allusion in our psalm is so timid as to be disappointing. Scientifically speaking, we must admit that the evidence of an Orphic

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[1]J.A. Sanders, The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967).

[2]Ibid., p. 98.

[3]Ibid.

allusion in verses 2b and 3 is at best tenuous."[4]

This is all a very mooted question. However, it would seem more suitable to look to the rich shepherd symbolism of the Hebrew literature as the primal influence instead of going afield to the Orphic sources of Greek antiquity.

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[4]Ibid., p. 99.

APPENDIX II

Subsequent investigation of shepherd symbolism in the Bible has made note of a work by Morris S. Seale.[1] His book has relevance to the possible origin of the symbol in the nomadic period. The author suggests that the Hebrews began as a nomadic people, seeing in this beginning elements which were to influence their later life and literature. He goes so far as to say that the recognition of this fact will aid in translating the Old Testament. Though noting that many scholars have referred to nomadism (e.g., W. Eichrodt, M. Noth, W.F. Albright, J.W. Flight, R. de Vaux), he feels that relative to its importance the subject has practically been ignored.

Though Seale does not make specific reference to the subject of shepherd symbolism[2] in the Old Testament, his work nevertheless lends evidence to the view that the desert period wielded its influence in establishing Yahweh as Israel's Shepherd-God.

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[1]Morris S. Seale, The Desert Bible (New York: St. Martin's, 1974).

[2]Cf. pp. 79ff.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament. Edited by J.B. Pritchard.
ASV	American Standard Version
BDB	Brown, Driver, Briggs.
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTS	New Testament Studies
RSV	Revised Standard Version