**I. Seeds of Universalism in the Tanakh**

**1. Zechariah 14:12–21**

**יב** וְזֹאת תִּהְיֶה הַמַּגֵּפָה, אֲשֶׁר יִגֹּף יְהוָה אֶת-כָּל-הָעַמִּים, אֲשֶׁר צָבְאוּ, עַל-יְרוּשָׁלִָם; הָמֵק בְּשָׂרוֹ, וְהוּא עֹמֵד עַל-רַגְלָיו, וְעֵינָיו תִּמַּקְנָה בְחֹרֵיהֶן, וּלְשׁוֹנוֹ תִּמַּק בְּפִיהֶם.  **יג** וְהָיָה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, תִּהְיֶה מְהוּמַת-יְהוָה רַבָּה בָּהֶם; וְהֶחֱזִיקוּ, אִישׁ יַד רֵעֵהוּ, וְעָלְתָה יָדוֹ, עַל-יַד רֵעֵהוּ.  **יד** וְגַם-יְהוּדָה--תִּלָּחֵם, בִּירוּשָׁלִָם; וְאֻסַּף חֵיל כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם סָבִיב, זָהָב וָכֶסֶף וּבְגָדִים--לָרֹב מְאֹד.  **טו** וְכֵן תִּהְיֶה מַגֵּפַת הַסּוּס, הַפֶּרֶד הַגָּמָל וְהַחֲמוֹר, וְכָל-הַבְּהֵמָה, אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה בַּמַּחֲנוֹת הָהֵמָּה--כַּמַּגֵּפָה, הַזֹּאת.  **טז** וְהָיָה, כָּל-הַנּוֹתָר מִכָּל-הַגּוֹיִם, הַבָּאִים, עַל-יְרוּשָׁלִָם; וְעָלוּ מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְשָׁנָה, לְהִשְׁתַּחֲו�ת לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, וְלָחֹג, אֶת-חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת.  **יז** וְהָיָה אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יַעֲלֶה מֵאֵת מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאָרֶץ, אֶל-יְרוּשָׁלִַם, לְהִשְׁתַּחֲו�ת, לְמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת--וְלֹא עֲלֵיהֶם, יִהְיֶה הַגָּשֶׁם.  **יח** וְאִם-מִשְׁפַּחַת מִצְרַיִם לֹא-תַעֲלֶה וְלֹא בָאָה, וְלֹא עֲלֵיהֶם; תִּהְיֶה הַמַּגֵּפָה, אֲשֶׁר יִגֹּף יְהוָה אֶת-הַגּוֹיִם, אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲלוּ, לָחֹג אֶת-חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת.  **יט** זֹאת תִּהְיֶה, חַטַּאת מִצְרָיִם; וְחַטַּאת, כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם, אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲלוּ, לָחֹג אֶת-חַג הַסֻּכּוֹת.  **כ** בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא, יִהְיֶה עַל-מְצִלּוֹת הַסּוּס, קֹדֶשׁ, לַיהוָה; וְהָיָה הַסִּירוֹת בְּבֵית יְהוָה, כַּמִּזְרָקִים לִפְנֵי הַמִּזְבֵּחַ.  **כא** וְהָיָה כָּל-סִיר בִּירוּשָׁלִַם וּבִיהוּדָה, קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה צְבָאוֹת, וּבָאוּ כָּל-הַזֹּבְחִים, וְלָקְחוּ מֵהֶם וּבִשְּׁלוּ בָהֶם; וְלֹא-יִהְיֶה כְנַעֲנִי עוֹד בְּבֵית-יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא.  {ש}

This shall be the plague with which the Lord will strike all the peoples that wage war against Jerusalem: their flesh shall rot while they are still on their feet; their eyes shall rot in their sockets, and their tongues shall rot in their mouths. 13On that day a great panic from the Lord shall fall on them, so that each will seize the hand of a neighbour, and the hand of one will be raised against the hand of the other; 14even Judah will fight at Jerusalem. And the wealth of all the surrounding nations shall be collected—gold, silver, and garments in great abundance. 15And a plague like this plague shall fall on the horses, the mules, the camels, the donkeys, and whatever animals may be in those camps.

Then all who survive of the nations that have come against Jerusalem shall go up year by year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the festival of booths. 17If any of the families of the earth do not go up to Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, there will be no rain upon them. 18And if the family of Egypt do not go up and present themselves, then on them shall come the plague that the Lord inflicts on the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths. 19Such shall be the punishment of Egypt and the punishment of all the nations that do not go up to keep the festival of booths.

On that day there shall be inscribed on the bells of the horses, ‘Holy to the Lord.’ And the cooking-pots in the house of the Lord shall be as holy as the bowls in front of the altar; 21and every cooking-pot in Jerusalem and Judah shall be sacred to the Lord of hosts, so that all who sacrifice may come and use them to boil the flesh of the sacrifice. And there shall no longer be traders in the house of the Lord of hosts on that day.

**2. Isaiah 56:6–8**

 **ו** וּבְנֵי הַנֵּכָר, הַנִּלְוִים עַל-יְהוָה לְשָׁרְתוֹ, וּלְאַהֲבָה אֶת-שֵׁם יְהוָה, לִהְיוֹת לוֹ לַעֲבָדִים--כָּל-שֹׁמֵר שַׁבָּת מֵחַלְּלוֹ, וּמַחֲזִיקִים בִּבְרִיתִי.  **ז** וַהֲבִיאוֹתִים אֶל-הַר קָדְשִׁי, וְשִׂמַּחְתִּים בְּבֵית תְּפִלָּתִי--עוֹלֹתֵיהֶם וְזִבְחֵיהֶם לְרָצוֹן, עַל-מִזְבְּחִי:  כִּי בֵיתִי, בֵּית-תְּפִלָּה יִקָּרֵא לְכָל-הָעַמִּים.  **ח** נְאֻם אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה, מְקַבֵּץ נִדְחֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל:  עוֹד אֲקַבֵּץ עָלָיו, לְנִקְבָּצָיו.

And the foreigners who join themselves to the Lord, to minister to him, to love the name of the Lord, and to be his servants, all who keep the Sabbath, and do not profane it, and hold fast to my covenant – these I will bring to my holy mountain, and make them joyful in my house of prayer; their burnt-offerings and their sacrifices will be accepted on my altar; for my house shall be called a house of prayer for all people. Thus says the Lord God, who gathers outcasts of Israel, I will gather others to them besides those already gathered.

**3. Isaiah 66:18–23**

 **יח** וְאָנֹכִי, מַעֲשֵׂיהֶם וּמַחְשְׁבֹתֵיהֶם--בָּאָה, לְקַבֵּץ אֶת-כָּל-הַגּוֹיִם וְהַלְּשֹׁנוֹת; וּבָאוּ, וְרָאוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדִי.  **יט** וְשַׂמְתִּי בָהֶם אוֹת, וְשִׁלַּחְתִּי מֵהֶם פְּלֵיטִים אֶל-הַגּוֹיִם תַּרְשִׁישׁ פּוּל וְלוּד מֹשְׁכֵי קֶשֶׁת--תֻּבַל וְיָוָן:  הָאִיִּים הָרְחֹקִים, אֲשֶׁר לֹא-שָׁמְעוּ אֶת-שִׁמְעִי וְלֹא-רָאוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדִי--וְהִגִּידוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדִי, בַּגּוֹיִם.  **כ** וְהֵבִיאוּ אֶת-כָּל-אֲחֵיכֶם מִכָּל-הַגּוֹיִם מִנְחָה לַיהוָה בַּסּוּסִים וּבָרֶכֶב וּבַצַּבִּים וּבַפְּרָדִים וּבַכִּרְכָּרוֹת, עַל הַר קָדְשִׁי יְרוּשָׁלִַם--אָמַר יְהוָה:  כַּאֲשֶׁר יָבִיאוּ בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-הַמִּנְחָה בִּכְלִי טָהוֹר, בֵּית יְהוָה.  **כא** וְגַם-מֵהֶם אֶקַּח לַכֹּהֲנִים לַלְוִיִּם, אָמַר יְהוָה.  **כב** כִּי כַאֲשֶׁר הַשָּׁמַיִם הַחֲדָשִׁים וְהָאָרֶץ הַחֲדָשָׁה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה, עֹמְדִים לְפָנַי--נְאֻם-יְהוָה:  כֵּן יַעֲמֹד זַרְעֲכֶם, וְשִׁמְכֶם.  **כג** וְהָיָה, מִדֵּי-חֹדֶשׁ בְּחָדְשׁוֹ, וּמִדֵּי שַׁבָּת, בְּשַׁבַּתּוֹ; יָבוֹא כָל-בָּשָׂר לְהִשְׁתַּחֲוות לְפָנַי, אָמַר יְהוָה

For I know their works and their thoughts, and I am coming to gather all nations and tongues; and they shall come and shall see my glory, and I will set a sign among them. From them I will send survivors to the nations, to Tarshish, Put, and Lud—which draw the bow—to Tubal and Javan, to the coastlands far away that have not heard of my fame or seen my glory; and they shall declare my glory among the nations. They shall bring all your kindred from all the nations as an offering to the Lord, on horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and on mules, and on dromedaries, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, says the Lord, just as the Israelites bring a grain-offering in a clean vessel to the house of the Lord.And I will also take some of them as priests and as Levites, says the Lord. For as the new heavens and the new earth, which I will make, shall remain before me, says the Lord, so shall your descendants and your name remain. From new moon to new moon, and from sabbath to sabbath, all flesh shall come to worship before me, says the Lord.

**II. From Distant Future to Present Tense**

**1. Psalms: 145:18, 96:7–13:**

Psalms 96:7-13

**ז**  הָבוּ לַיהוָה, מִשְׁפְּחוֹת עַמִּים;    הָבוּ לַיהוָה, כָּבוֹד וָעֹז.
**ח**  הָבוּ לַיהוָה, כְּבוֹד שְׁמוֹ;    שְׂאוּ-מִנְחָה, וּבֹאוּ לְחַצְרוֹתָיו.
**ט**  הִשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַיהוָה, בְּהַדְרַת-קֹדֶשׁ;    חִילוּ מִפָּנָיו, כָּל-הָאָרֶץ.
**י**  אִמְרוּ בַגּוֹיִם, יְהוָה מָלָךְ--    אַף-תִּכּוֹן תֵּבֵל, בַּל-תִּמּוֹט;
יָדִין עַמִּים,    בְּמֵישָׁרִים.
**יא**  יִשְׂמְחוּ הַשָּׁמַיִם, וְתָגֵל הָאָרֶץ;    יִרְעַם הַיָּם, וּמְלֹאוֹ.
**יב**  יַעֲלֹז שָׂדַי, וְכָל-אֲשֶׁר-בּוֹ;    אָז יְרַנְּנוּ, כָּל-עֲצֵי-יָעַר.
**יג**  לִפְנֵי יְהוָה, כִּי בָא--    כִּי בָא, לִשְׁפֹּט הָאָרֶץ:
יִשְׁפֹּט-תֵּבֵל בְּצֶדֶק;    וְעַמִּים, בֶּאֱמוּנָתוֹ.

Ascribe to the Lord, O Families of the peoples/ascribe to the Lord glory and strength/Ascribe to the Lord the glory of His name, bring tribute and enter His courts. Bow down the Lord majestic in holiness; tremble in His presence, all the earth! Declare among the nations, “The Lord is king!” the world stands firm; it cannot be shaken; He judges the people with equity. Let the heavens rejoice and the earth exult; let the sea and all within it thunder, the fields and everything in them exult; then shall all the trees of the forest shout for joy at the presence of the Lord, for He is coming, for He is coming to rule the earth; He will rule the world justly, and its people in faithfulness.

**2. Daniel: 4:34–37 (cf. Dan 6:25-27, 7:13-14)**

 **לא** וְלִקְצָת יוֹמַיָּא אֲנָה נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר עַיְנַי לִשְׁמַיָּא נִטְלֵת, וּמַנְדְּעִי עֲלַי יְתוּב, ולעליא (וּלְעִלָּאָה) בָּרְכֵת, וּלְחַי עָלְמָא שַׁבְּחֵת וְהַדְּרֵת:  דִּי שָׁלְטָנֵהּ שָׁלְטָן עָלַם, וּמַלְכוּתֵהּ עִם-דָּר וְדָר.  **לב** וְכָל-דארי (דָּיְרֵי) אַרְעָא, כְּלָה חֲשִׁיבִין, וּכְמִצְבְּיֵהּ עָבֵד בְּחֵיל שְׁמַיָּא, ודארי (וְדָיְרֵי) אַרְעָא; וְלָא אִיתַי דִּי-יְמַחֵא בִידֵהּ, וְיֵאמַר לֵהּ מָה עֲבַדְתְּ.  **לג** בֵּהּ-זִמְנָא מַנְדְּעִי יְתוּב עֲלַי, וְלִיקַר מַלְכוּתִי הַדְרִי וְזִיוִי יְתוּב עֲלַי, וְלִי, הַדָּבְרַי וְרַבְרְבָנַי יְבַעוֹן; וְעַל-מַלְכוּתִי הָתְקְנַת, וּרְבוּ יַתִּירָה הוּסְפַת לִי.  **לד** כְּעַן אֲנָה נְבֻכַדְנֶצַּר, מְשַׁבַּח וּמְרוֹמֵם וּמְהַדַּר לְמֶלֶךְ שְׁמַיָּא, דִּי כָל-מַעֲבָדוֹהִי קְשֹׁט, וְאֹרְחָתֵהּ דִּין; וְדִי מַהְלְכִין בְּגֵוָה, יָכִל לְהַשְׁפָּלָה

I, Nebuchadnezzar, lifted my eyes to heaven, and my reason returned to me. I blessed the Most High, and praised and honored the one who lives forever. For his sovereignty is an everlasting sovereignty, and his kingdom endures from generation to generation. All the inhabitants of the earth are accounted as nothing, and he does what he wills with the host of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth. There is no one who can stay his hand or say to him, “What are you doing?”

**III. Models of Jewish-Gentile Relationships in Second Temple Literature**

**Distant Future:**

**1. Tobit** 14:7:

But God will again have mercy on them: God will bring them back to the land of Israel. They will rebuild the Temple, although not like the first one, until the era when the appointed times shall be completed. Afterward all of them will return from their exile and will rebuild Jerusalem in her splendor. And the Temple will be rebuilt within her, just as the prophets of Israel spoke concerning her. Then the nations in the entire world will turn towards God and will worship God in sincerity. They will abandon their idols, which have deceitfully led them into error, and in righteousness they will bless the eternal God. And all the nations will bless the Lord. And his people will give thanks to God, and the Lord will exalt his people. All who love the Lord God in truth and righteousness will rejoice, showing mercy to our kinsmen.

**Immediate Present:**

* With nations keeping their distinctive aspects: Aristeas, Philo of Alexandria
* Without distinctive aspects; nations assimilate into Israel: Joseph and Aseneth
* Without distinctive aspects: no separate covenantal community: Radical Allegorizers, Pseudo Phocylides

**2.** **The Letter of Aristeas** 16-19:

These people worship God the overseer and creator of all, whom all men worship including ourselves, O King except that we have a different name. Their name for him is Zeus and Jove… Sosibius and some of those present thus said, “It is worthy of your magnanimity to offer the release of these men as a thank offering to the Most High God. You are highly honored by the Lord of all, and have been glorified beyond your ancestors, so if you make even the greatest thank offerings, it befits you.”

**3. Philo of Alexandria**

 *Spec. Leg.* 2.167: 167: It amazes me that some dare to charge the nation with an anti-social stance, a nation which has made such an extensive use of fellowship and goodwill toward all people everywhere that they offer up prayers and feasts and first fruits on behalf of the common race of human beings and serve the really self-existent God both on behalf of themselves and of others who have run from the services which they should have rendered. (168) These are the things they do for the entire race of human beings.

**4**. **Joseph and Aseneth** 15:6-8:

And your name shall no longer be called Aseneth, but your name shall be City of Refuge, because in you many nations will take refuge with the Lord God, the Most High, and under your wings many peoples trusting in the Lord God will be sheltered, and behind your walls will be guarded those who attach themselves to the Most High God in the name of Repentance. For Repentance is in the heavens, an exceedingly beautiful and good daughter of the Most High. And she herself entreats the Most High God for you at all times and for all who repent in the name of the Most High God, because he is (the) father of Repentance. And she herself is guardian of all virgins, and loves you very much, and is beseeching the Most High for you at all times and for all who repent she prepared a place of rest in the heavens.

**5**. **Philo**, *Migration of Abraham,* 87-95: The “Radical Allegorizers”

There are some who, regarding laws in their literal sense in the light of symbols of matters belonging to the intellect, are overpunctilious about the latter, while treating the former with easy-going neglect. Such men I for my part should blame for handling the matter in too easy and off-hand a manner: they ought to have given careful attention to both aims, to a more full and exact investigation of what is not seen and in what is seen to be stewards without reproach…It is quite true that the Seventh Day is meant to teach the power of the Unoriginate and the non-action of created beings. But let us not for this reason abrogate the laws laid down for its observance, and light fires or till the ground or carry loads or institute proceedings in court or act as jurors or demand the restoration of deposits or recover loans, or do all else that we are permitted to do as well on days that are not festival seasons. It is true also that the Feastis a symbol of gladness of soul and of thankfulness to God, but we should not for this reason turn our backs on the general gatherings of the year’s seasons. It is true that receiving circumcision does indeed portray the excision of pleasure and all passions, and the putting away of the impious conceit, under which the mind supposed that it was capable of begetting by its own power: but let us not on this account repeal the law laid down for circumcising. Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shewn us by the inner meaning of things. Nay, we should look on all these outward observances as resembling the body, and their inner meanings as resembling the soul. It follows that, exactly as we have to take thought for the body, because it is the abode of the soul, so we must pay heed to the letter of the laws.

**6.** **The Sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides**

 **30:** Let all of life be in common, and all things be in agreement.

**84-85:** One should not take from a nest all the birds together, but leave the mother bird behind, in order to get young from her again. [see Deut 22:6f.]

**100-115:**  Do not dig up the grave of the deceased, nor expose to the sun what may not be seen, lest you stir up the divine anger. It is not good to dissolve the human frame; for we hope that the remains of the departed will soon come to the light (again) out of the earth; and afterward they will become gods. For the souls remain unharmed among the deceased…for we have a body out of earth, and when afterward we are resolved again into earth we are but dust, and then the air has received our spirit….We humans live not a long time but for a season. But (our) soul is immortal and lives ageless forever.

**140:** But if a beast of (your) enemy falls on the way, help it to rise. [see Ex. 23:25]

**7**. **The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs**

**T. Zebulon 6:4-6**: Now, my children, I tell you to keep the Lord’s commands; show mercy to your neighbor, have compassion on all, not only to human beings but to dumb animals…Being compassionate, I gave some of my catch to every stranger. If anyone were a traveler, or sick, or aged, I cooked the fish, prepared it well, and offered to each person according to his need, being either convivial or consoling. Therefore the Lord made my catch to be an abundance of fish; for whoever shares with his neighbor receives multifold from the Lord.

**8.**  **The Third Sibylline Oracle**

**244-247**: Always a prosperous man among the people gives a share of the harvest to those who have nothing, but are poor, fulfilling the word of the great God, the hymn of the law, for the Heavenly One gave the earth in common to all.

**550-572**: Revere the name of the one who has begotten all, and do not forget it. It is a thousand years and five hundred more since the overbearing kings of the Greeks reigned, who began the first exile for mortals, setting up many idols of the dead gods. On account of them you have been taught vain thinking. But when the wrath of the great God comes upon you, then indeed you will recognize the face of the great God. All the souls of men will groan mightily and stretch out their hands straight to broad heaven and begin to call on the great king as protector and seek who will be a deliverer from great wrath. But come and learn this and place it in your heart, how many woes there will be as the years circle on. Greece, also, by offering the holocausts of oxen and loud-bellowing bulls, which she has sacrificed, at the Temple of the great God, will escape the din of war and panic and pestilence and will again escape the yoke of slavery. But the race of impious men will survive up to this point: whenever this fated day comes to pass. You will certainly not sacrifice to God until everything happens.

**9**. **The Testament of Abraham**

**10:1-3:** And the Archangel Michael went down and took Abraham on a chariot of cherubim and lifted him up in to the air of heaven and led him onto the cloud…and on the carriage Abraham soared over the entire inhabited world. And Abraham beheld the world as it was that day: Some were plowing, others leading wagons; in one place they were pasturing (flocks), elsewhere abiding (with their flocks) in the fields, while dancing and sporting and playing the zither…