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ingly cogent.' Again, he refers to the wealth of suggestive thought which the student will find in these volumes. What can be better, for example, for a student than to obtain such a statement of Paul's system of doctrine as the author gives under the general heads: Introduction, Flesh and Spirit, Adam and Christ, God and the World, Establishment of Salvation, Way of Salvation, Life in the Spirit, Christian Church, Consummation?

Yet Beyschlag is 'open to criticism at some points.' These points prove to be two: his doctrine of Christ's Person, and his idea of expiatory sacrifice. As to the latter, he holds, like Wendt, that vicarious satisfaction in any shape or form is incredible; but, unlike Wendt, he denies that St. Paul ever taught it. And as to the former, Professor Banks cannot see that Dr. Beyschlag rises one step higher than Schleiermacher's conception of Christ as the ideal Man.

Dr. Beyschlag's conception of the Person of Christ is the one great subject in his book over which there is likely to be much searching of hearts. Professor Banks finds nothing higher in his conception than the ideal Man. Others more bluntly called him a Unitarian. Let us listen to Dr. Beyschlag himself. The review in which the objectionable 'Unitarian' was found having been read by him, he at once wrote to his English publishers, and this is a translation of his letter:—

'Notwithstanding the favourable opinion of the *Scotsman* reviewer, in other respects, his statement that my conception of biblical Christianity is virtually what is known in England as Unitarianism, is as objectionable to me as it is to you. On this point I would like to make an explanation, of which you are at liberty to make what public use you please.

'In view of my accentuation of the Monotheism of the Bible and of the true and full humanity of Christ, I can easily understand how a critic, even though favourably disposed, should regard the fundamental view of my *New Testament Theology* as Unitarian. Nevertheless this is a serious misunderstanding.

'The Christology which I find in the New Testament is virtually that of Schleiermacher, whom no one in Germany has ever classed as a Unitarian or Socinian. Unitarianism places an impassable *gulf* between God and man, whilst I see in Christ the perfect *union* of the two: the incarnation of God. I do not, indeed, reach this conclusion in accordance with the usual orthodox scheme, which makes a second person of the Godhead unite Himself with an impersonal human nature, and thus produces a Being who is half God and half man, or is really a second God in an apparently human form. Like Schleiermacher, I begin with the certain and historical facts concerning Christ, namely, His *humanity*; and conceive Him as the typical and ideal man. He is so, however, only in virtue of the absolute indwelling of God in Him, for only the man who is absolutely one with God is the ideal man. And therefore I regard Christ, in contradistinction to all His brethren, as that true and perfect man "in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily" (Col. i. 19, ii. 9). This Christology presupposes a Trinity of God, and one that is not merely oecomenical, but also ontological. For it is an essential part of God's *nature*, that he can at once remain eternally *above* us as God the Father, enter into humanity in Christ, and make His abode in the heart as Holy Spirit. That, of course, is not a Trinity of "Persons"—an idea which was opposed even by St. Augustine, and which in accordance with the modern idea of personality directly leads to three Gods—but a threefold mode of being of the One God, three *modi*, three *relationes subsistentes*. In thus conceiving God, I am, like Schleiermacher, a Modalistic Trinitarian, but not a Unitarian.

'My *New Testament Theology*, however, was not the place in which to speak of this conception of the Trinity, as the New Testament has no formal doctrine on the subject, but only the elements of such a doctrine, and these I have pointed out in their proper place (see for example, vol. ii. p. 88f.).

'This explanation should be sufficient to clear up any misunderstanding on this point on the part of those who are versed in the subject.

'DR. WILLIBALD BEYSCHLAG.'

Hebrew Prophecy and Modern Criticism.

BY THE REV. F. H. WOODS, B.D., LATE FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD.

VI.

"Jahweh, who shall sojourn in Thy tabernacle? who shall dwell in Thy holy hill? He that walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart."—Ps. xv. 1, 2.

I SPOKE in my last paper of the material blessings that were comprised in the great hope of the Jews. In the present I wish to speak of its more definitely religious and spiritual aspect. This broad distinction is not very satisfactory, because, according to the prophets' way of looking at it, the hope was on all its sides religious. I mean that

they realised intensely what we too often, from a want of their strong faith, hardly realise at all, that the material world was in its truest and fullest sense God's world, and were equally convinced that the Jews were in a very special way God's people. If, then, the nation was to be glorious and prosperous in the future, this was quite the natural result

of God's love to His people, and of their faith and trust in Him. And yet the material and religious aspects of the promise are separable in thought, and, so long as we do not lose sight of the religious idea which lay at the root of the whole, it is convenient for the purpose of discussion to separate them. It is convenient also to make a further distinction between what can never be separated in fact without serious loss—the external and formal side of religion on the one hand, and the inward and spiritual on the other.

I. To begin with the former. The prophets' ideal of religious worship was, roughly speaking, a development of existing forms, rather than a new departure. One of its most prominent features is the absolute destruction of idols. This is represented either as the voluntary act of the people, or the direct or indirect work of their enemies, or again, as a thing done by God Himself. Thus Isaiah speaks of the people as so overpowered by 'the terror of Jahweh,' and 'the glory of His majesty, when He ariseth to shake mightily the earth,' that they cast away their 'idols of silver, and idols of gold . . . to the moles and to the bats.'¹ Another prophet makes the destruction of idols the condition on which alone Jacob could expect to receive forgiveness of sins: 'Therefore by this shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged; and this is all the fruit of taking away his sin; when he maketh all the stones of the altar as chalkstones that are beaten in sunder, so that the Asherim and the sun-images shall rise no more.'² Hosea gives a sarcastic description of the grief of the Israelites, people and priests alike, when their golden calf should be sent off as a tribute to the Assyrian king: 'The inhabitants of Samaria shall be in terror for the calves of Beth-aven: for the people thereof shall mourn over it, and the priests thereof that rejoiced over it, for the glory thereof, because it is departed from it. It also shall be carried into Assyria for a present to King Jareb: Ephraim shall receive shame, and Israel shall be ashamed of his own counsel.'³ Zephaniah speaks in a similar vein of Jahweh as famishing all the gods of the earth.⁴ That is to say, they are to die of starvation, because they have no longer any worshipper to give them food.

This predicted destruction of idols seems generally intended to include that of symbolical representations used in the worship of Jahweh where

such still existed. Hosea's prophecy of the fate of the calves has already been quoted. Micah again expressly foretells the destruction of pillars or obelisks.⁵ These though, like the calves, in all probability a heathen form of symbolism, had, it seems, been introduced into the worship of Jahweh. This is shown, as has been frequently pointed out, from Isa. xix. 19, which forms a remarkable exception to the usual denunciation of such objects. For he there speaks of a pillar to Jahweh, not only as a thing conceivable, but as a natural and proper symbol of worship. Hosea, too, seems to speak of a pillar as part of the ordinary paraphernalia of worship, of which the people would be deprived for a time as a punishment.⁶ These facts tend to show that in the prophetic ideals of religious worship there is a gradual growth, and that the several prophets did not advance very far beyond the religious ideas of the time in which they lived.

This becomes still more evident when we consider a second great feature of the future worship—its centralisation. The idea which presented itself most frequently to the prophet's mind was that Jerusalem would be the centre for the religious worship of the world, and this, generally at least, combined with the thought of the distinct inferiority of the nations. But the earlier prophets have nothing to say of such a centralisation. There is not a hint of it in Hosea and Amos. For in the last great prophecy of Amos⁷ the tabernacle of David, whose breaches are to be restored, is not the Temple of Jerusalem, which had certainly no direct connexion with David, but the Davidic monarchy, which had been rent asunder by the political schism of Jeroboam. Nor does it form part of the religion of the future as Isaiah conceived it. The ancient prophecy which he quotes in chap. ii. 2-4 speaks, it is true, of the mountain of Jahweh's house as established in the top of the mountains, and all nations as flowing unto it. But the object of the gathering of the nations is not the ceremonial worship of Jahweh, but the learning of His law: 'And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of Jahweh, to the house of the God of Jacob; and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of Jahweh from Jerusalem.'

Isaiah himself has, perhaps, a somewhat similar thought in chap. xi., where he concludes the well-

¹ Isa. ii. 19, 20; comp. xxx. 22.

² Isa. xxvii. 9.

³ Hos. x. 5, 6.

⁴ Zeph. ii. 11.

⁵ Mic. v. 13.

⁶ Hos. iii. 4.

⁷ Chap. ix. 11-15.

known symbolical picture of harmony and peace with the words, 'They shall not hurt nor destroy in all My holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of Jahweh, as the waters cover the sea.'¹ This might mean that the spiritual harmony which proceeds out of Mount Zion should spread itself over the earth. But it is at least quite as likely that the word *הארץ* here does not mean the world, but, according to its most frequent usage, the land of Palestine, and that 'My holy mountain' does not mean Mount Zion, but the high land generally. So that both expressions are practically synonymous for Palestine. Thus we should get the natural thought that peace and harmony would reign everywhere in the country, because the knowledge of the Lord would be universal. In any case there is nothing to point to Jerusalem as a centre of worship. On the contrary, in a passage already referred to,² Isaiah foretells a time when sanctuaries to Jahweh should be established in Egypt.

It is when we come to the prophets of the Exile, and more especially to those of the Restoration, that we find the oft-repeated thought of the nations coming up to Jerusalem to do homage to the God of Israel, and to offer their gifts in His sanctuary. Some prophecies of this import I had occasion to mention in my last paper. It will be sufficient now to add one significant passage from the prophet Haggai: 'For thus saith Jahweh of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come: and I will fill this house with glory, saith Jahweh of hosts. The silver is Mine, and the gold is Mine, saith Jahweh of hosts. The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, saith Jahweh of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith Jahweh of hosts.'³

But out of this thought of a central sanctuary at Jerusalem, or perhaps we should say parallel with it, we can trace the development of a new thought which after all is very similar to that which we have already noticed in Isa. ii., viz. that this religious centre should send out its influence in all directions, till at last the whole world should become one great sanctuary of God. Some such idea is symbolised by Ezekiel in the vision of the waters which issued from under the threshold of

the house, and fertilised the arid regions of the East.⁴ Zephaniah speaks of men as worshipping God 'every one from his place, even all the isles of the nations.'⁵ Finally, in Malachi, we find the fullest development of the thought: 'From the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same. My name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto My name, and a pure offering: for My name is great among the Gentiles, saith Jahweh of hosts.'⁶ Indeed, there is a hint in this passage of a decentralisation of a still more serious kind. The priests at Jerusalem were dishonouring God by a contempt for the holy ritual. The Gentiles would not dare to act in this way, for among them Jahweh's name was still terrible. If the priests could not offer a more reverent service, better shut the temple doors, and offer no more sacrifice: 'Oh that there were one among you that would shut the doors, that ye might not kindle fire on Mine altar in vain! I have no pleasure in you, saith Jahweh of hosts, neither will I accept an offering at your hand.'⁷

As to the form of worship, it was to be a repetition, or in all probability an expansion, of what had already been in use. It was to have its priests (Jer. xxxi. 14) and its Levites (Jer. xxxiii. 21), its festivals (Zech. xiv. 19), its tithes (Mal. iii. 10), and sacrifices (Isa. lvi. 7). The first passage in Jeremiah here referred to is specially remarkable. He has just been describing in the loftiest strain the happy future in store for the people, in which they would not sorrow any more at all; and yet he is careful to tell us that God would 'sate the souls of the priests with fatness.' Ezekiel is even more explicit: 'For in Mine holy mountain, in the mountain of the height of Israel, saith the Lord Jahweh, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them, serve Me in the land: there will I accept them, and there will I require your offerings, and the firstfruits of your oblations, with all your holy things.'⁸ We may go even further than this, and say that in all probability the fullest development of Jewish ritual, such as we find it in the Book of Leviticus, was directly due in a great measure to the ceremonial ideals sketched out by Ezekiel in the last portion of his book, chaps. xl.-xlviii.

On the other hand, we find in the prophets frequent protests against mere formalism, and

¹ Chap. xi. 9. ² Chap. xix. 19-22. ³ Hag. ii. 6-9.

⁴ Ezek. xlvi. 1-12.

⁵ Zeph. ii. 11.

⁶ Mal. i. 11.

⁷ Mal. i. 10.

⁸ Ezek. xx. 40.

even hints that certain outward forms of religion were neither absolutely necessary, nor intended to be of permanent obligation. Thus Jeremiah speaks of a time when 'they shall say no more, The ark of the covenant of Jahweh: neither shall it come to mind: neither shall they remember it; neither shall they visit it; neither shall it be made any more.'¹ There can be little doubt that Jeremiah here puts the ark for the whole system of ritual worship of which it was the centre. The passage reminds us of the indignant protest of the same prophet against those who said, 'The temple of Jahweh, the temple of Jahweh, the temple of Jahweh, are these.'² Again, Jeremiah prepares the way for St. Paul's teaching concerning the true circumcision of the heart: 'Circumcise yourselves to Jahweh, and take away the foreskins of your heart, ye men of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem: lest My fury go forth like fire, and burn that none can quench it, because of the evils of your doings.'³ The Deutero-Isaiah speaks of the great World-Temple of God, and declares that sacrifices without contrition of heart are no better than idolatry and murder: 'Thus saith Jahweh, The heaven is My throne, and the earth is My footstool: what manner of house will ye build unto Me? and what place shall be My rest? For all these things hath Mine hand made, and so all these things came to be, saith Jahweh: but to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and that trembleth at My word. He that killeth an ox is as he that slayeth a man; he that sacrificeth a lamb, as he that breaketh a dog's neck; he that offereth an oblation, as he that offereth swine's blood; he that burneth frankincense, as he that blesseth an idol.'⁴ In another passage he speaks of the whole nation as priests.⁵ Somewhat similarly the writer of the last chapters of Zechariah, directly after he has said that all nations would be compelled to come up year by year to keep the Feast of Tabernacles, says that in that day the bells of the horses would be as holy as the high priest's dress, and every pot in Jerusalem as holy as the bowls used in the sacred ritual.⁶

How, then, are we to explain this inconsistency in the utterances of the Jewish prophets, sometimes speaking as though the sacrificial system would be permanent, and even of greater import-

ance than heretofore, at other times as about to be abolished in the great future, or as so transformed that the people would become a universal priesthood in a universal temple? If such a passage as the last quoted stood alone, we might answer the question, by saying that the observance of the Feast of Tabernacles is merely a symbolical figure for the unity of the nations in one religion, emanating from Jerusalem. But in most of the passages quoted there is not the least reason to suppose that any but the literal meaning is intended. The true solution seems to be that while the prophets, generally speaking, contemplated as a fact the continuance of the sacrificial system, they wished to emphasise the infinitely greater importance of the spiritual side of religion.

We now pass on to consider the other great religious institution of the Jews—the prophets. Here again we find the same apparent inconsistency. Isaiah foretells more than once that, in the great future, the religious teachers of the people are no longer to be dishonoured and disregarded. In chap. xxix. he compares the condition of prophecy, as it then was, to a sealed book, which some cannot read, because it is sealed; and others because they are unlearned; but foretells a time when the teaching would have such a penetrating force, that even the deaf would hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind see out of obscurity.⁷ A similar promise is less emphatically made in the following chapter: 'And though Jahweh give you the bread of adversity, and the water of affliction, yet shall not thy teachers be hidden any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers: and thine ears shall hear a word behind thee, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left.'⁸ Jeremiah, too, promises that God will provide shepherds according to His own heart, who will feed the people with knowledge and understanding.⁹ On the other hand, we find the writer of Zech. xiii. foretelling a time when the prophetic office will be utterly in disrepute: 'And it shall come to pass in that day, saith Jahweh of hosts, that . . . I will cause the prophets and the unclean spirit to pass out of the land. And it shall come to pass that, when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and his mother that begat him shall say unto him, Thou shalt not

¹ Jer. iii. 16.² Jer. vii. 4.³ Jer. iv. 4.⁴ Isa. lxvi. 1-3.⁵ Isa. lxi. 6.⁶ Zech. xiv. 20, 21.⁷ Isa. xxix. 11, 12, and 18.⁸ Isa. xxx. 20, 21.⁹ Jer. iii. 15; see also xxxiii. 4.

live; for thou speakest lies in the name of Jahweh: and his father and his mother that begat him shall thrust him through when he prophesieth. And it shall come to pass in that day, that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision, when he prophesieth; neither shall they wear a hairy mantle to deceive: but he shall say, I am no prophet, I am a tiller of the ground; for I have been made a bondman from my youth. And one shall say unto him, What are these wounds between thine arms? Then he shall answer, Those with which I was wounded in the house of my friends.¹ That is to say, rather than have his self-mutilations recognised as the marks of a prophet, he would pretend to have been the victim of some drunken brawl. It may be objected that the writer here has in his mind the false prophets. This is true in a certain sense. But there can be little doubt that at this time the term 'false prophets' would have included, at least in the view of such a writer as Jeremiah (who was probably a contemporary of this prophet), the great class of official prophets, the members of those prophetic guilds which had certainly existed from the time of Elijah and Elisha. This order had become so corrupt and full of hypocrisy, that in the time to come people would rise up in rebellion against it, and both the office and the name would disappear.²

And so the way is prepared for the higher thought, that just as the people were to be all priests; so they were to be all prophets. We have a familiar example of this in the promise of the New Covenant given by Jeremiah: 'This is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jahweh: I will put My law in their inward parts, and in their hearts will I write it; and I will be their God, and they shall be My people: and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall all know Me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith Jahweh.'³ But the thought is most developed in the great prophecy of Joel: 'And it shall come to pass afterward, that I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon

the handmaids in those days will I pour out My spirit.'⁴ This indwelling of the Spirit is also a favourite thought of Ezekiel: 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put My spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them.'⁵ It is a significant fact that to these two ritualistic prophets we owe some of the most spiritual teaching of the Old Testament. It is surely a shallow opinion that holds that the letter must necessarily exclude the spirit. If it be asked what the prophets meant by the Spirit of God in such passages, we must answer, 'At the very least it must have meant a power divine in its origin, giving man a keener insight into things spiritual and a nobler sense of duty.' Inspiration in this sense was to be, in the great future, the possession, not of a single body of teachers, but of the whole community.

II. And so we have already passed to the second branch of our subject—the inward and spiritual teaching of the prophets. To give even a complete outline of this teaching within reasonable limits is clearly impossible. All that I shall attempt, beyond what I have already said, is to point out a few of those great religious themes which bear most directly on the subject. Among the religious privileges and duties of the great future most dwelt upon are the forgiveness of sins (*e.g.* Mic. vii. 18, 19), purity of life (*e.g.* Isa. iv. 3, 4), prayer (*e.g.* Zech. xiii. 9), faith in Jahweh; and following upon these what we should call the *moral* qualities of truth and righteousness, but which were, to the mind of the prophets, as much part of their religion as the others. What words can express more exquisitely the strength and beauty of faith than these?—'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on Thee: because he trusteth in Thee. Trust ye in Jahweh for ever: for in Jahweh is an everlasting rock.'⁶

The virtue on which the prophets lay the greatest stress is righteousness, and that for the very reason that injustice and oppression had been the besetting sin of the Jewish nation. Thus in Isa. xxxiii. 14-17, the sinners in Zion, terrified at God's judgment on the Assyrians, ask: 'Who

¹ Zech. xiii. 2-6.

² Comp. Jer. xxiii. 33-40.

³ Jer. xxxi. 33, 34.

⁴ Joel ii. 28, 29.

⁵ Ezek. xxxvi. 26, 27.

⁶ Isa. xxvi. 3, 4.

among us shall dwell with the devouring fire? who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?' The answer given is, 'He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil; he shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks: his bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure. Thine eyes shall see the King in His beauty: they shall behold a far-stretching land.' I need hardly call to mind the similar language of the fifteenth psalm, which I have quoted at the beginning of this paper.¹ Zechariah again thus speaks of the flying roll (by which is signified God's curse): 'It shall enter into the house of the thief, and into the house of him that sweareth falsely by My name: and it shall abide in the midst of his house, and shall consume it with the timber thereof and the stones thereof.'² Lastly, Isaiah foretells the destruction of those 'that watch for iniquity, that make a man an offender in a cause, and lay a snare for him that reproveth in the gate, and turn aside the just with a thing of nought.'³

Of still greater importance is the change of view respecting man's relation to God. I need not do more than mention the thought of the nearness of God to His people in the great future, as I shall have occasion to speak of it more fully in a following paper. What I would now call attention to is the sense of God's fatherhood, and of His unbounded love, which was to mark the new religious era. This thought is very prominent in the great prophecy of the Deutero-Isaiah. Let me illustrate it by a passage, which speaks with an eloquence unparalleled perhaps in Old Testament literature: 'Seek ye Jahweh while He may be found, call ye upon Him while He is near: let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto Jahweh, and He will have mercy upon him: and

to our God, for He will abundantly pardon. For My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, saith Jahweh. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts.'⁴ And in chap. lxiii. the prophet shows how this new sense of God's love explains all the difficulties of God's dealings with His people in the past. He had loved them as children from the very first: 'In His love and in His pity, He redeemed them; and He bare them, and carried them all the days of old. But they rebelled, and grieved His Holy Spirit: therefore He was turned to be their enemy, and Himself fought against them.'⁵ But for all that He could never be anything else but a Father, and so the people could appeal once again to His love: 'Look down from heaven, and behold from the habitation of Thy holiness and of Thy glory: where is Thy zeal and Thy mighty acts? the yearning of Thy bowels and Thy compassions are restrained toward me. For Thou art our Father, though Abraham knoweth us not, and Israel doth not acknowledge us: Thou, Jahweh, art our Father; our Redeemer from everlasting is Thy name.'⁶

It is just in such, to us commonplace, religious ideas that the great value of the prophets lies, not only intrinsically, but for the Christian apologist. We are so familiar with thoughts like these in the New Testament, and in religious literature of all kinds, that we expect them, as a matter of course, in all the books of the Bible. When we find them in the prophets we are not surprised, and we often fail to realise how far advanced the prophets must have been beyond the ideas and feelings of their own times. The wonder is that they were able to anticipate so much of the religion of Christianity. And yet it is no wonder to him who not only holds it as a pious opinion, but sees in the prophets, by his own study of their books, that they were moved by the Holy Spirit to prepare the way for the teaching of Christ.

¹ Comp. also Zeph. iii. 13.

² Zech. v. 4.

³ Isa. xxix. 20, 21

⁴ Isa. lv. 6-9.

⁵ Isa. lxiii. 9, 10.

⁶ Isa. lxiii. 15, 16.