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principle of truth. It was the self-sacrificing life and death of the Son of God that was the cause of the discomfiture of the demons and the downfall of their leader. You have it implied in the joyous report of the Seventy: 'Lord, even the demons are subject unto us *in thy name*.' Our Lord, in His reply, expresses the fact that even now He could see the beginning of the coming victory and the pledge of the final triumph.

ACUTE observers especially heed the ramifications of lightning flashes. As a flash 'falls' it ramifies, the intense single line of force scattering itself into several weaker lines. Is there not in this natural phenomenon some suggestion of

our Lord's own words, 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation'?

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The Inner Life of Jeremiah.

BY PROFESSOR THE REV. GEORGE G. FINDLAY, D.D., HEADINGLEY.

II.

IV.

JOSIAH'S death in battle at Megiddo pricked the bubble of the national religiousness, that had depended on the glamour of the king's influence and the material prosperity of his reign. Calamity recalled Jeremiah to his mission. 'In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, came this word of Jehovah,' bidding his prophet 'stand in the court of Jehovah's house, and speak unto all the cities of Judah which come to worship' (26¹⁻⁹ 7¹⁻⁸). He attacks the popular religion in its tenderest point—*its false reliance on the temple*, which he threatens with a ruin resembling that which befell the old sanctuary of Shiloh. To the ears of 'the priests and the prophets' such words were blasphemy. Still, there was enough sound feeling in 'the princes and all the people' to save Jeremiah from the death to which the religious authorities would have hurried him; he was defended by the example of Micah of Moresheth. The scene of 26¹⁰⁻¹⁹ was prophetic of the trials of Jesus and His martyr Stephen on the same ground.

The conflict thus commencing, which Jeremiah had to sustain single-handed, was no longer waged, like the earlier conflict he shared with Zephaniah, against the open apostasy of Judah; it was a more difficult and deeper contention—that of the religion of the spirit against the religion of the letter. He had to expose a shallow and affected conversion;

he sets himself to denounce the false Jehovism, which built on the outward possession of the Temple and the Law, which had the name of God and the cant of piety in its mouth and entrenched itself within the forms of the covenant, armed with the weapons of fanaticism and self-righteousness. Chaps. 7-10¹ belong to this time of the early years of Jehoiakim; so, probably, most of the matter of chaps. 14-20, which are undated, and which we identify with the 'many like words' added by Jeremiah in dictating to Baruch the second edition of the roll of prophecy given to the flames by Jehoiakim in his fifth year.

The episode of 11¹⁸⁻¹² may be more naturally referred to an earlier point in Jeremiah's course; but the personal passages of (a) 8¹⁸⁻⁹, (b) 15^{10, 11, 15-21}, (c) 17¹⁵⁻¹⁸, (d) 18¹⁸⁻²³, and (e) 20, fall within this middle period, and disclose the inner strife which then engaged the prophet's soul. We will consider these paragraphs in order; they touch the quick of Jeremiah's spiritual history.

I.

Follows upon 8⁴⁻¹⁷: the prophet has accused his people of 'backsliding' (v.⁵), of knowing not 'Jehovah's ordinance' (v.⁷); and its teachers of

¹ Exception should be made of 9²³⁻¹⁰—a section which manifestly interrupts the context. The discourse of 10¹⁻¹⁶ is clearly post-Jeremianic, bearing the stamp of the Deutero-Isaiah's style. Chap. 9^{23, 24} and 26^{20, 26} we may take to be Jeremianic fragments misplaced.

pervverting Scripture (v.⁸), of 'healing lightly' the people's 'hurt,' and 'saying Peace, when there is none' and when 'dismay' comes instead of 'healing' (vv.¹¹⁻¹⁵) — 'the harvest is passed,' cries the prophet, 'the summer is ended' (v.²⁰): this description suits no time so well as the turn in the national fortunes brought about by Josiah's death, when the little army of Judah was destroyed and the land laid open to the spoiler (9¹⁷⁻²¹ 10¹⁷⁻²¹), when the kingdom fell at a stroke under the dominion of Egypt and the people rushed back into idolatry and open sin (7⁹ 8^{2, 16, 19}). 'The hurt of the daughter of my people' (8^{11, 21} 9¹)—an expression peculiar to this discourse—refers to the irreparable wound, for which 'Gilead' supplies 'no balm' and 'no physician' (8²²), that was inflicted on Judah by the battle of Megiddo, and the loss of the national freedom recovered under Josiah. Hence the memorable outcry: 'Oh that my head were waters and mine eyes a fount of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people!' (9¹, Heb. 8²³). Even this disaster was not irreparable, had it fallen upon a loyal people; but it only revealed the baseness of the Judæan nature and the hollowness of the social fabric. In the same breath the prophet exclaims: 'Oh that I could find a wanderer's lodging-place in the wilderness, that I might leave my people and go from them! For they are all adulterers, a congregation of traitors' (9²⁻⁶, Heb. 9¹⁻⁵). Pity and loathing, love clinging to the sinner and scorn revolting from his sin, have never found more moving expression nor fought more desperately within any breast. Jeremiah is in the mood of Elijah, when that hero-prophet fled before Jezebel under the despair that seized him in the reaction following his glorious success at Carmel. The disappointment gathering silently in his soul since the first days of Josiah's covenant, when the spring of a new life seemed to be coming over the land, now breaks out irrepressibly. The summer and harvest of that spring-time have passed, leaving emptiness behind!

II.

The outbreak of chap. 15^{10ff.} followed at no long interval upon the lamentations of chaps. 8 and 9. Chaps. 14 and 15 hang closely together, and the whole discourse is introduced as 'the word of Jehovah that came to Jeremiah concerning the drought.' The close correspondence of 14¹⁷⁻¹⁹ with 8^{15, 21-9}¹, together with the allusion to the 'bereav-

ing of children' and the 'multiplying of widows' in 15⁷⁻⁹, points to the disaster of 608 as recent when this prophecy was uttered. Defeat in battle and foreign subjection had been followed by failure of rain; while the popular prophets were saying, 'Ye shall not see the sword, neither shall ye see famine,' this double misery has befallen the people and their prophets (14¹³⁻¹⁸). Jeremiah attempts intercession for 'Judah' and 'Zion' in the prayer of 14¹⁹⁻²²; but Jehovah is inexorable. 'Though Moses and Samuel stood before Me,' He replies, 'yet My favour could not be toward this people' (15¹). The same interdict seems to be referred to in 7¹⁶, as pronounced in Jehoiakim's first year; it is introduced a few verses earlier in this very context, after a touching supplication (14⁷⁻¹²). 'Four' ways stand open to the Judæans; they are all ways to destruction! (15²⁻⁴). To this appalling oracle, that mocks their wretchedness, the hearers retort with curses; and the prophet cries out, in v.¹⁰:

'Woe is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me,—
A man of strife and a man of contention to the
whole land!

I have been no lender, nor borrower of money,¹
That all of them should curse me!²

It is torture to this gentle, affectionate man to pour curses on his people, and to hear their curses on himself. Reproach is breaking his heart. The prophet protests that his one desire is for his country's good;² then with a quick revulsion he turns to God, calling for vengeance on his maligners, since he bears all for Jehovah's sake. He is cut off from human happiness; no joy exists for him but in the vindication of Jehovah's word; yet that word brings to its bearer only confusion and chagrin! (vv.¹⁵⁻¹⁸).

This singular passage of Jeremiah's betrays the *amour propre* up to this time lurking in his nature; he was not yet 'made perfect in love.' His fellows' revilings raise a storm in his breast. Under the

¹ The *money-lender* is the standing object of hatred in the East. In the last line the Hebrew text seems to need a slight correction.

² V.¹¹, as it stands in the Received Text, is most obscure. Cornill's emendation of the verse gives it an appropriate and powerful sense: 'An "Amen, Jehovah," to their execrations (i.e. "May Jehovah fulfil them!"), if I have not interceded with Thee at the time of calamity and want, seeking good for mine enemy!' Cf. Ps 7²⁻⁵; and for the 'Amen,' Jer 28⁶. Vv.^{13, 14} are completely out of place, and seem to be a strayed fragment from some speech of threatening addressed to Judah. V.¹² is hopelessly obscure.

sting, he imprecates on them in one breath the very punishment that he deprecated in the last! The revengeful temper the prophet had showed toward his Anathoth neighbours ('Let me see Thy vengeance on them,' 11²⁰) is as yet unpurged. The hope of 'seeing one's desire upon one's enemies' was, in fact, a commonplace of Israelite piety (see Ps 54⁷ 59¹⁰ 112⁸ 118⁷); it is no wonder that Jeremiah had still to rise above it. For the present, God answers His servant by the simple assurance that he shall be fortified and shielded in the battle to be waged with the people's sins (vv. 20-21; cf. Mic 3⁸).

III.

Chap. 17 is made up of a string of passages of various character, without historical setting or links of connexion—vv. 1-4 being a typical Jeremianic doom-oracle; vv. 5-13 running in an abstract sententious vein, rare in Jeremiah, but not foreign to him; while vv. 19-27 are a homily on Sabbath-keeping, with several peculiar linguistic idioms, which has its only prophetic parallel in Is 56² and 58¹³ (see also Ezk 20¹²⁻²¹, Neh 13¹⁵⁻²¹), and is regarded by critics as an interpolation coming from Nehemiah's time.¹ In the midst of this heterogeneous matter the heart-cry of 17¹⁴⁻¹⁸ rings out with startling effect. It marks another paroxysm in Jeremiah's agony, of like nature to that just described and occurring not much later in time.

For a long while now our prophet has been set down for an unpatriotic Israelite, an ill-wisher to his country—a 'Pro-Boer,' shall we say, or something worse? The trouble of the drought in the first year of Jehoiakim has passed over; the country has settled down under the mild suzerainty of Pharaoh Necho into comparative

¹ Cornill goes too far when he says, in his forcible way, commenting on 17^{19B}: 'This passage runs diametrically counter to all that we know of Jeremiah and his theology. That Jeremiah, who preaches more decidedly than any one else the worthlessness of outward ceremonial activity, insisting that Jehovah regards only the heart, and who nowhere else makes the slightest reference to the Sabbath, should have attached such glowing promises to the formal observance of the Sabbath-command . . . and should have made the continued existence of Judah and Jerusalem dependent on this condition, is simply unthinkable.' Such critics ride to death, in the case both of Isaiah and Jeremiah, the antipathy of the prophets to legalism. The Fourth Commandment was surely ancient in Israel; it formed one of the bonds of the old covenant with Jehovah. Why should not Jeremiah, on occasion, have made its keeping a test of the heart-loyalty he desiderates?

comfort. Jeremiah is taunted, perhaps in reply to the oracle of 17¹⁻⁴, with the failure of his terrifying threats: 'Behold, they say unto me, Where is the word of Jehovah? let it come now!' (v. 15; cf. Is 5¹⁹, 2 P 3⁴). The doom predicted in Josiah's early days had never fallen; the thunder-clouds then gathered on Judah's horizon only to disperse, ushering in a day of sunshine. The fall of Josiah, with the subsequent train of misfortunes, had proved less disastrous than was foretold. Twice over the destruction of the city and the exile of the people announced by Jeremiah had been averted: men will not be frightened by him any more! His horrifying visions spring from a malignant heart; and the *wish* for the people's hurt had surely been father to the thought of it! Thus accused, Jeremiah makes sad protest to Jehovah, in v. 16:

As for me, I have not pressed after Thee with prayers for evil;²

And the woful day I have not longed for,—Thou knowest it!

The issue of my lips has been before Thee!

Yet one feels that the imprecations of 11²⁰ and 15¹⁵ gave colour to the charge laid at the prophet's door; in this very place he invokes once more God's wrath on his slanderers, calling for 'double destruction' upon them (v. 18)! Vv. 16, 18 contradict each other so sharply, that Cornill denies on this ground the authenticity of the latter verse—at any rate, of its last clause; but the contradiction lies in Jeremiah's temperament: his heart is torn between pity and indignation; had he been asked, he might have justified himself by saying that he invoked vengeance on his tormentors and the mockers of God's word, not on his people at large, against whom notwithstanding he is compelled to launch Jehovah's terrors.

IV.

The collision of chap. 18¹⁸⁻²³ is a repetition, in still more serious form, of those of chaps. 11. 15. and 17. Jeremiah sees the higher forces of the nation arrayed against him—'the law' of 'the priest,' 'the council' of 'the wise man' (the spokesman of the proverbial *Chokmah*), and 'the word' of 'the prophet': the three parties prepare a joint

² We follow the pointing of the Hebrew adopted by several critics, after the Syriac Version and Aquila; *mē-rāah*, 'because of [in order to seek] evil,' instead of *mē-rō'eh*, 'from being a shepherd' (R.V.).

impeachment (v.¹⁸); they are bent, it seems, on his murder (v.²³)—it is now war to the knife between Jeremiah and the religious leaders of Israel. The prophet can do nothing but lodge his complaint with Jehovah, who has failed thus far to vindicate His champion: he appeals to the Heart-searcher, bidding God 'remember how I stood before Thee to speak good for them, to turn away Thy fury from them' (v.²⁰)! That he should be, so persistently and so plausibly, charged with ill-will toward his country, vexed the prophet beyond bearing. He pours on his conspiring accusers, on 'priest' and 'wise man' and 'prophet' alike, the blistering curses with which chap. 18 ends.

v.

'Come, and let us devise devices against Jeremiah,' the priests and prophets had been saying (18¹⁶): his arrest by 'Pashchur ben-Immer the priest,' who 'beat' him and 'put him in the stocks,' was the outcome, probably, of this consultation. The tale of this outrage is told in 20¹⁻⁶, where the circumstances attending it are related and Jeremiah's sentence on the perpetrator. This narrative leads up to and explains chap. 20⁷⁻¹⁸,² which is amongst the most extraordinary episodes in Scripture.

The war we have been tracing, between Jeremiah's shrinking yet passionate soul and the stern compulsion of Jehovah's will, reaches here its decisive encounter. The prophet has now to taste, beyond 'smiting with the tongue,' the indignity of stripes and public contumely—a punishment to him worse than death. He is made a gazing-stock at the temple gates, exposed as a common railer and enemy of the peace to all Jerusalem. Next day, Pashchur let Jeremiah out of the stocks; but from this time forward he was inhibited from preaching in the temple court, the only place where the people in assembly could be reached. His

¹ Duhm, followed by Cornill, excises vv.¹¹⁻¹³—or, at least, vv.^{12, 13}—as being out of keeping with Jeremiah's desperate plight, and introduced by a later hand to relieve the gloom of the passage. He regards v.¹² as borrowed from 11²⁰, and v.¹³ as coming from the Psalter. But why should not Jeremiah, like other saints, have sung psalms in prison? These violent surges and alternations of feeling, the passage from defiance to despair, are psychologically true and characteristic of the nervous temperament in such situations. It is one of the commonest errors of critics to reduce their authors to a false consistency, to ignore the fluctuations of mood and changes of posture inevitable in high-strung, vehement natures, such as those of the prophets commonly were.

adversaries had succeeded, as they thought, in making the troublesome prophet ridiculous and impotent.

This climax of insolent wrong drives Jeremiah past all his patience; and his hot heart vents itself in a volcanic outburst, charged with the grief and suffering of twenty years past. He turns first to Pashchur, whom he brands with the new name of *Magor-missabib* (*Terror-round-about*), for an omen of his fate (vv.³⁻⁶). Then he accosts Jehovah, whom he taxes with having used His strength to deceive a weak man and send him on a fool's errand: 'Thou hast befooled me, O, Jehovah, and I have been befooled!' The doom he has been ordered to announce for so many years has never come, and Jehovah's messenger gets laughter and blows for his pains (vv.⁷⁻⁸). Fain would he be silent: then Jehovah's word is made 'as a burning fire in his bones'; he must out with it,—only to meet the scornful unbelief and malicious plotting of those dearest to him. So he is tossed to and fro, between the terrible yet unfulfilled word of Jehovah and the contempt of the people. God affrights him with His judgments—forcing him to utter them, and then deserting him; men treat him as half-mad and half-malignant. The hapless prophet is baited and wronged on all sides; he can bear no more!—and after a moment's reversion to the mood of taunting defiance toward his persecutors (vv.^{12, 13}), Jeremiah breaks out into the awful cry, which in modern times might have translated itself into suicide:

'Cursed is the day wherein I was born!'²

Wherefore came I forth from the womb to see trouble
and misery,
And that my days should end in shame!' (vv.¹⁴⁻¹⁸)

Jeremiah has now touched bottom, as one may say; he has reached the nadir of his despair. With the consciousness he had of his supernatural call, of the fact that he was 'consecrated before he came out from the womb' and 'appointed a prophet unto the nations,' the imprecation of 20¹⁴⁻¹⁸

² Hitzig and some others would separate vv.¹⁴⁻¹⁸ from the foregoing, regarding them as the product of Jeremiah's later sufferings in the final agony of the siege under Zedekiah. But the crisis of his inner struggle came long before this.

Probably Duhm is right when he emends the text of v.¹⁵, so as to refer the execrations of vv.^{16, 17} to the prophet's *birthday* (cf. Job 3^{3, 10}), not to *the bearer of the tidings* of his birth.

is nothing short of a repudiation of his mission and of the teachings of his life. God has played with him and made a fool of him: so Jeremiah, for the moment, believed and said; and so it is 'written for our admonition.' We detected at the beginning the source of Jeremiah's discontent, the cause of his wild anger against his persecutors and his reproachings of God, in the man's self-love; he was touched with the spirit that made Jonah sulk under his gourd and clamour for death on its perishing, because Nineveh still stood after he had proclaimed its ruin. But who will condemn the prophet for his whirling speech? It was a kind of Calvary to which he was brought; all we can say is, that when 'led like a lamb to the slaughter' (see 11¹⁹), Jeremiah could not rival 'the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world.' The forerunner fell short of the Perfect Example, 'who did no sin, who, when He was

reviled, reviled not again; when He suffered, threatened not.'

The LORD who knoweth our frame, would not take His overwrought servant at his word. Jeremiah was spared to 'endure to the end,' that he might 'be saved.' His recording of the train of his inward revolts and fightings against God is evidence that he had risen above them and the bitterness had passed from his soul; he became a wholly chastened man, purged of the old leaven and with the law written deep in his heart, ready, without murmuring, to do Jehovah's will and able to say, 'Though He slay me, I will trust in Him.' In this calmer frame and with the fever of his spirit spent, Jeremiah was prepared for the crisis of the year 605-604, and for the new phase upon which Israel's destiny entered in its collision with Babylon. Chap. 20 describes Jeremiah's Gethsemane.

Recent Foreign Theology.

A New Book by Harnack.¹

THE second part of the contributions by Adolf Harnack, the Berlin theologian, to his 'Introduction' to the New Testament has just appeared, and again bears a highly scientific character. In the first part the hypothesis that Luke the physician is the author of the third Gospel bearing his name and of the Acts of the Apostles was treated; in fact it was an investigation in order to establish early Christian tradition. The latest publication of the renowned scholar has a still more special critical interest; its purpose is to determine the extent and contents of the second source behind the Gospels according to Matthew and Luke, which Harnack denominates with the letter Q, and to determine its real value and its relationship to the Gospel according to Mark. It may be briefly remarked that theologians are fairly agreed that, of our four Gospels of the New Testament, the shortest (the Gospel according to Mark) is at the same time the oldest. In this Gospel by Mark there is said to be a primary Mark, which preserves

¹ *Sprüche und Reden Jesu: Die zweite Quelle des Matthäus und Lukas.* Von Adolf Harnack. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

the missionary addresses delivered by Peter; but behind the first and third Gospels an old collection of Sayings (the so-called Logia) are said to lie, which have formed the foundation particularly of Matthew's Gospel. Papias has spoken, about the middle of the second century, in a well-known passage, of both sources of the Gospels. The primary Mark alone does not suffice to settle the Synoptic problem ('synoptic' on account of the similar manner in which the person and teaching of the Nazarene is represented). The origin of the text is turned to with growing interest. The number and extent of the portions which are common to Matthew and Luke, apart from those common to Mark, is considerable. One therefore arrives at the conclusion that neither can Luke have extracted from Matthew, nor Matthew from Luke, but that a common source, or several, must have been available to them both.

Harnack accepts heartily only one such second source besides the primary Mark, namely, the source Q, which his latest researches confirm. This recent study is connected with his own earlier works, as well as with the publications of Wellhausen and Wernle (Basle) on the subject; and the author