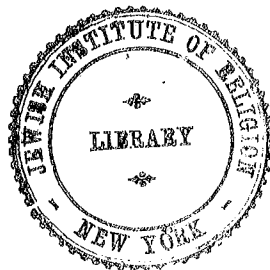


A STUDY OF THE PERSONALITY
of
JEREMIAH THE PROPHET

by
PHILIP S. BERNSTEIN



Jerusalem

March 9, 1926.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I.	Early Influences	page 1
II.	The Call	5
III.	Popular Religion and the Foe from the North	12
IV.	Josiah's Reform and After	23
V.	The Chaldeans	38
VI.	The Inner Life of Jeremiah	53
VII.	Personal Religion	62
VIII.	Finale	70
	Bibliography	75

ooo

EARLY INFLUENCES

It is the purpose of this thesis to study sympathetically the personality of Jeremiah, the prophet, as revealed in the book called by his name; personality being conceived as "distinctive character". In this first chapter will be considered the early influences that helped to mould his personality.

Jeremiah's high strung nature was keenly sensitive to all external influences. He came of a home in which Yahweh was worshipped with genuine piety. It is quite likely that he was a descendent of the unfortunate priest, Abiathar, whom Solomon rusticated (I Kings 2/26). Perhaps his father was merely a local priest of Yahweh. The boy's name, Yirmyah, Yahweh shoots or hurls, and the father's, Hilkiah, Yahweh my portion are tokens of the family's loyalty to the God of their people. Cornill rightly points out that the prophet's deeply rooted and harmoniously developed piety was unquestionably the result of parental training. His knowledge of the nation's past and his horror of the local cultus must have been imbibed through the atmosphere of a pious home. Jeremiah's spirituality, we may be sure, came not full grown but was in large measure the result of tender nourishment in his home.

Anathoth, (modern Anata), was a little village less than four miles northeast of Jerusalem. In it Jeremiah was born and spent his most impressionable years. It was in Benjamin. Ethnographically Benjamin belonged to Israel. This explains the prophet's undying affection for the Rachel Tribes and his longing for the home-bringing of their exiled children. (3/12F, 31/4-6, 9, 15-20). Anathoth lies on a broad hill, the first of the rocky shelves by which the central range of Palestine

declines ~~thru~~^{through} wilderness and desert to the valley of the Jordan. Anathoth seems to face the East, for to the West there is a range of higher hills which separate the village from Jerusalem, but to the East one can see in the clear atmosphere of Palestine a distance of forty or fifty miles. One's eye travels over the hills of Benjamin which slope down to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, to the mountains of Ruben, and farther South to the hills of Moab which are blue against the sky. The fields of the village seem to fade into the bleak and arid East. A visitor to modern Anata does not find it difficult to understand how the wild and desolate landscape found its way into the soul of Jeremiah. There were (+) "the hot desert winds, the village herds stray^{ing} into the wilderness, the waste and crumbling hills shimmering in the heat, the open heavens and the far line of the Gilead highlands, the hungry wolves from the waste and lions from the jungles of the Jordan." These are reflected in the prophet's personality as verses 2/23, 24 4/11, 5/6, 8/7, 22 would indicate.

Jeremiah was always a lonely man. Probably from childhood he was different from his fellows. Yahweh had marked him even before the womb (1/5). He was not a normal person. It is likely that his companions never understood him and always regarded him as queer. He was thrown back upon himself. One can picture him a solitary figure even in youth, walking away from the games of his comrades. A few minute's walk in any direction took him out of the village and into the silent hills.

(+) George Adam Smith "Jeremiah", page 68.

Long did he sit brooding, communing with the world about him. Other prophets too saw the outer world and used examples from it to illustrate their teachings. ~~What~~ But in another's words, (+) "we find in Jeremiah's poetry traces of closer sympathy with the life of nature than in any other prophet." There are superb pictures, metaphors, imagery drawn from the world about him. In another chapter will be found illustrations of nature's influence on the prophet's poetry. Here it is important to point out that the life of nature which his quiet eyes saw was the greatest of these early influences on his personality. For it brought him to God. He sensed a divine order in nature and came to see all life as the "living visible garment of the Eternal." In the instinct of the migratory bird he sees the human soul winging its way to God. (8/7). In the eternal snow on the mountain he sees the unfailing source of Israel's true religion (18/14). Like Job he disliked the sea. God's iron hand is seen in the limits placed upon its tossing (5/22). In the striking picture of the travellers lost in darkness on the mountain he sees humans without the light of God. Anathoth is little over an hour's walk from Jerusalem. Traffic between the two was daily and close. The thought and life of the larger city were undoubtedly reflected in its smaller sister. Now, in Jeremiah's childhood Menasseh and, for a short time, Amon ruled. II Kings 21 testifies to the evils of their reign, to the heathen abominations which they re-installed. Yahweh was not forsaken but foreign deities were placed by His side. The Canaanite Baalim, givers of fertility, were worshipped with renewed vigour. Under Assyrian suzerainty many of

the heathen practices were adopted. Pure Yahweh worship as advocated by the great spirits of Israel was put aside. Jeremiah was still quite young when Menasseh died but Josiah was only eight, and many years elapsed before the reforms for which his reign was noted came to pass. Throughout his youth, then, Jeremiah witnessed these abominations in Anathoth and probably in Jerusalem. His soul was ~~xxxx~~ filled with a loathing for them so profound that he gave himself unreservedly to Yahweh and pledged his life to their destruction.

Anathoth was, as Isaiah had predicted (10/28-32), on the main line of invasion from the North, - by way of Aiath, Migron, Michmash, the Pass, Geba, Ramah, Gibeah of Saul, Laish, and "poor Anathoth" herself. In Jeremiah's youth news came of the appearance in the North of vast hordes of ferocious Scythians. They were ruthless, spared no one, and left ruin wherever they went. Great powers were helpless before them. Fear of these Northern tribes entered the prophet's soul. He believed that they were Yahweh's agents and that the Lord was shaping events leading up to the destruction of His people. This, as we shall see, changed the course of his life.

II. THE CALL

Jeremiah received his call, according to the book's testimony (1/2), in the thirteenth year of the reign of Josiah, King of Judah, or in 626 B.C.E. The call was of the nature of a moral decision following an intense inner struggle. Jeremiah was not an ecstatic prophet. His were not the frenzied visions of a professional prophet. He was aware of what he was saying when he was saying it. Further, his utterances came after much thought.

It is this writer's opinion that when Jeremiah says "the Lord said" he means "the Lord thought and conveyed his thought to me". Biblical Hebrew represents the process of thinking in this dramatic way. It is ordinarily expressed by forms of the verb אמר . In Exodus 3/3 when Moses has seen the burning bush that was not consumed, the writer continues

$\text{וַיֹּאמֶר מֹשֶׁה אֶל־יְהוָה וְאָנֹכִי נֹכַח הַבֹּשֶׁת וְהָאֵשׁ עֹמֶד עָלַי וְאַתָּה יְהוָה$

"and Moses said, 'I will now turn aside and see this great sight!'. Moses could not have spoken these words to another since he was alone. Nor is it likely that he was talking to himself. The text obviously means that Moses decided or thought he would turn aside. The verb אמר is used to express this meaning. Hence, the Lord's charge to Jeremiah in 1/4-9 must be regarded as the prophet's apprehension of His mind or will.

Jeremiah is more self-revealing than the other prophets because he tells us of his inner struggles. There is present in his consciousness a duality. God and man wrestle within him as in Christian teaching they do in St. Paul. He feels impelled to be a prophet; and that impulse ~~he~~ ^{be} lies comes from God. He is reluctant and afraid; this is himself. He meets argument with argument, suggestion with counter-suggestion, and resolution with irresolution. Man is weaker and God wins. "O Lord,

אמר in these instances
means אמר

Thou didst induce me and I was induced; Thou art stronger than I." (20/7).

How does the prophet know the mind or will of God? As a mother knows her child's, through sympathy and understanding. "I dwell in the high and holy place with Him that is of a contrite and humble spirit." (Isaiah 57/15). "To him will I look that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." (66/2). Jeremiah was lofty and humble in mind and spirit, and it was given him to commune with His God.

The verses which tell of his call indicate certain salient features of his personality. He becomes conscious at first of his personal predestination for the prophetic office (1/5). (+) This idea, as Prof. A.B. Davidson states it in his article on Jeremiah in Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible, "may cover much belonging to the past, the ~~gandy~~ Godly house out of which he came with his traditions, many movements in his own mind little attended to at the time but remembered now, and the nation's whole history of which he was the child." Jeremiah, then, was not called on suddenly to be a prophet. The idea was not injected into his mind of a sudden from without. It was a consumation of the fellowship which, in his early days, he had begun to establish with the Divine Spirit. He sees the experiences of his youth and the signs of the times as elements in his preparation for the prophetic office. He understands that his own deeply rooted religious personality has been endowed to him for a great purpose.

The prophet's response (1/6) reveals him shrinking, afraid, self-conscious, introspective. "Ah, Lord God! behold, I cannot speak; for I am a mere lad." He pleads, not like Moses, a lack of eloquence,

(+) The idea of individual predestination was not original with Jeremiah; it is to be found also in Judges 13/5.

but his youth. (+) Inexperienced in the ways of man, he fears them. God's rebuke in verse 8, "be not afraid of them" indicates that timidity and fear cause the prophet to hesitate. Jeremiah probably knew of the bitter experiences of his predecessors. Perhaps he had already learned that his neighbours would resent ~~fiercely~~ attacks on established customs and superstition. Keeping in mind that God's rebuke was spoken by the prophet to himself (of course, under divine influence) we have conclusive proof of his timidity at this stage of his life. Not to a strong, self-reliant man should Yahweh have found it necessary to promise strength and support (1/8, 18, 19). He was weak, probably a physical coward. His strength gradually came to him from Yahweh. Only in later days did he measure up to the full stature of his mission.

Yahweh takes hold of the prophet's spirit (1/7F); He fills him with the divine word. Jeremiah is over-powered. He is no longer himself; he is the prophet, the interpreter of God's will, the speaker of His word. From this time forth the words the prophet speaks are not his own. He is under a compulsion that he cannot resist (20/7) even if he would. The moment of Jeremiah's call is not one alone of self discovery, but is also, and even more important, one of self-surrender, a yielding of himself to the Being who created and chose him. Wordsworth best describes such moments, -

(+) While ¹⁸נַעַר may denote any age from infancy to the verge of middle life, its meaning in the context is extreme youth. Thus the Septuagint, rendering according to the spirit, has "too young". Skinner points out "considering that Jeremiah was unmarried, that his renunciation of married life was a consequence of his vocation (16/1) and that early marriages are the rule among Orientals, it is quite probable that he was under twenty when the call came to him."

"I made no vows, but vows
Were then made for me; bond unknown to me
Was given that I should be, else sinning greatly,
A dedicated spirit."

It is not unlikely that Jeremiah should be appointed a prophet "over the nations." Mention of this mission is to be found in verses 1/5, 1/10, 18/7F, 27/2F, which are regarded generally as Jeremianic in origin, and, implicitly in the oracles against the nations in Chapters 46 through 51. (+) It is impossible to agree with Duhm that Jeremiah was

(+) Schwalley in Stade's "Zeitschrift" for 1888, thoroughly attacked the authenticity of these chapters. Stade, Wellhausen, Duhm, agreed with him. Other scholars, Kuenen, Giesebrecht, Erbt, Cornill, Driver, agree that there is a considerable Jeremianic element in them, though though they differ as to the verses. It has generally been agreed since Budde's paper in the "Jahrbücher" für Deutsche Theologie, 1878, that the oracle against Babylon in Chapters 50 and 51/1-58 is not authentic. Its dependence on other, later writings, its obviously late historical perspective, its bitterness against the Chaldeans whom Jeremiah considered as God's agents of chastisement, point to a later writer. With regard to Chapters 46-49 it may be urged in favour of their genuineness (A) that Jeremiah was conscious of being a prophet to the nations (1/5, 1/10, 18/7F, 27/2F) and (B) that he is commanded to write his prophecies "against all the nations" (36/2) and ^(c) that he is aware that former prophets prophesied against many countries and great kingdoms (28/8). Arguments against their genuineness are (A) that the conception of Yahweh as a capricious, vengeful, Deity is unlike Jeremiah, and (B) that lengthy oracles against peoples, which with the exception of Egypt, had no significance to him or his time, are hardly probable from him, and (C)

a simple (Einfachen) country prophet whose activities and aims never went beyond his own people and who was hardly at all concerned with others. One who has lived through the last ten years knows that a man who would set himself up to be a prophet to France must have a message for England and Germany as well. For good or ill the lives of these nations have been inextricably woven together. Ancient Judah, too, had been caught up in the current of universal politics. It had dealt in many ways with the small States surrounding it, but more important were its relations with Egypt and Assyria. The growing power of Babylon was destined to make that country an important factor in Jewish history. Among them all tiny Judah was as a buffer State. It had suffered repeated invasions. Its capital was a hot-bed of intrigue. Egyptian and Assyrian factions struggled for control of Judean politics even though Assyria was suzerain of Judah.

How natural then for Jeremiah, who was a student of his times to conceive his message as going beyond Judah's borders! Amos and Isaiah before him had uttered oracles concerning the nations. He knew this, and said to Hananiah "the prophets that have been before me and before thee of old prophesied against many countries and against great kingdoms, of war, of evil, and of pestilence." Jeremiah's three contemporaries, Zephaniah, Nahum, and Habakkuk all dealt with the foreign powers of their day. Why should his mission not have been as wide as theirs? In the parable of the potter (for which there is no date) he

that many verses are reminiscent of other prophets, - 48/29-38 like Isaiah 15, 16; 49/7F like Obadiah's prophecy on Edom, and 46/26B suspiciously like Ezekiel. In the light of these arguments it seems evident that Chapters 46-49 contain a nucleus of genuine elements which have been greatly expanded by later editors.

declares God's power to mould or remould any nation. (Chapter 18).

Baruch, writing on Jeremiah's early ministry, says that he spoke concerning all nations (Chapter 36).

To Isaiah the Lord appeared in awful majesty and splendor. He was unapproachable, and a seraph is delegated to consecrate the prophet. In Ezekiel's call there is the weird, bizarre, ever characteristic of him. Jeremiah's call is simple, direct. He meets God on life's common way, and receives the commission from His own hands. He is neither conscious of personal guilt nor suddenly eager for the charge. The call is not the beginning but the consummation of a genuine religious experience.

Two visions follow the call (some maintain that they are part of it). Both are allegorical explanations of natural phenomena, the rod of an almond tree, and a boiling pot blown upon from the north. It is well to mark that Jeremiah usually sees God in the natural, the common place, in every day things. Some have claimed (+) that the ^{sight} ~~sight~~ of the tree is a parable of God's working in nature, that the almond tree ~~tree~~ which is the first to wake after the winter's sleep is a harbinger of the new life, the spring time which Yahweh is preparing for His people. This is unlikely, first because the prophet's outlook is colored by his certainty of a terrible invasion from the North, and also because ~~tree~~ does not mean to wake from sleep but to be continually wakeful. This is no more than a conscious word play, the use of a word picture to illustrate a lesson, a recognised "trick" of preachers to fix attention on their message, and it may have been, as well, the accepted method of teaching

(+) Peake - Century Bible, Vol.I Page 9.

III. POPULAR RELIGION AND THE FOE FROM THE NORTH

Chapters 2 to 6 explain the prophet's expectation of evil from the North. They deal with the sin of the people and their imminent destruction by a foe from the North. For a proper understanding of these chapters it is necessary to describe briefly the popular religion which Jeremiah condemned as pagan at the very outset of his ministry, - "and I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness who have forsaken me and have burned sacrifice unto other Gods and worshipped the works of their own hands" (1/16).

The unreformed religion of Palestine from the days of the union of Canaanites and Israelites into one nation may best be characterised as nature worship. (+) In the high places of the land the reproductive powers of nature were worshipped. The old repellent Canaanite ritual had been incorporated into the cultus of Israel. Yahweh gradually became the God of Fertility. קדש and קדש, sacred prostitute were to be found at every altar. (II Kings 23/7, Hosea 4/10-14 Deut. 23/17-18). "Wherever there was a standing stone, אבן, or a sacred tree or pole, אשכול, there it was possible to commit in the name of religion what would otherwise be stigmatised as fornication." (++) The sex instinct was

(+) There undoubtedly were some who adhered strictly to the original Israelite faith. This is quite likely in the case of the Rechabites who repudiated agriculture and took no part in the agricultural feasts and remained a sect apart until the destruction of Judah (35/7).

(++) Prof. R. H. Kenneth "The Book of Deuteronomy". Prof. Kennett also believes that the serpent (or seraph) worship which abounded was in some places identical with phallic worship.

in the schools of this time. (+) The second figure, that of the boiling pot blown upon from the North, is the prophet's first reference to the evil from the North. This will be considered in the following chapter.

(+) Amos employs a similar illustration in 8/1, 2. seeing a basket of "summer fruit" $\gamma\alpha\pi$ he is told that the "end" $\gamma\pi\pi$ is come upon Israel.

..

III. POPULAR RELIGION AND THE FOE FROM THE NORTH

Chapters 2 to 6 explain the prophet's expectation of evil from the North. They deal with the sin of the people and their imminent destruction by a foe from the North. For a proper understanding of these chapters it is necessary to describe briefly the popular religion which Jeremiah condemned as pagan at the very outset of his ministry, - "and I will utter my judgments against them touching all their wickedness who have forsaken me and have burned sacrifice unto other Gods and worshipped the works of their own hands" (1/16).

The unreformed religion of Palestine from the days of the union of Canaanites and Israelites into one nation may best be characterised as nature worship. (+) In the high places of the land the reproductive powers of nature were worshipped. The old repellent Canaanite ritual had been incorporated into the cultus of Israel. Yahweh gradually became the God of Fertility. קדש and קדש, sacred prostitute were to be found at every altar. (II Kings 23/7, Hosea 4/10-14 Deut. 23/17-18). "Wherever there was a standing stone, אבן, or a sacred tree or pole, אשכול, there it was possible to commit in the name of religion what would otherwise be stigmatised as fornication." (++) The sex instinct was

(+) There undoubtedly were some who adhered strictly to the original Israelite faith. This is quite likely in the case of the Rechabites who repudiated agriculture and took no part in the agricultural feasts and remained a sect apart until the destruction of Judah (35/7).

(++) Prof. R. H. Kenneth "The Book of Deuteronomy". Prof. Kennett also believes that the serpent (or seraph) worship which abounded was in some places identical with phallic worship.

deified. Sex powers were put under the protection of God by fleshly intercourse with sacred prostitutes and thus through sympathetic magic the reproductive powers of nature were stimulated. Images of men, as well as serpents and bulls, were to be found in the Temple (Ezekiel 16/17). Close contact with Babylon and Assyria had led to the worship of the heavenly bodies (II Kings 23/5-11, Deut. 17/3, Jeremiah 7/17F, 45/16F). (+)

But most objectionable of all their religious practices was the sacrifice of the first-born. (++) The custom was of Phoenician or Canaanite origin, and there was a recrudescence of it not very long before the time of Jeremiah. It is first mentioned concerning King Ahaz (II Kings 16/3 and II Chronicles 23/3). The victims, infants of a week, were killed and then made over to the God by fire. The excavators at Gezer found in the ancient sanctuary remains of several infants, declared by expert medical authority to have been no more than seven days old at the time of their death.

All these corruptions, it is well to remember, did not displace Yahweh worship but were incorporated in it or existed by its side. W. Robertson Smith in "The Prophets of Israel" Page 39, states that in the earlier days there was "one religion for times of patriotic exaltation and another for daily life." These coalesced.

- (+) This seems to have become a prominent feature of the popular worship at this time. We do not know whether it was imported from Babylon and Assyria, or whether it was originally Canaanite and experienced a recrudescence ^{upon} ~~in~~ contact with these nations.
- (++) Exodus 22/29 which is of the same document as Genesis 22, Exodus 34/19 which is partly contradicted by verse 20; (this is generally regarded as a later insertion) Deut. 12/31, 18/10, Jeremiah 7/31, 19/5, 32/25, Ezekiel 16/20F, 36, 20/26, 31, 23/37, 39, Micah 6/6-8.

The worship of Yahweh as the Baal of the land was observed with Canaanite practices. In times of national prosperity the purer Israelitish religion was neglected or subordinated. But when dark clouds loomed on the horizon prophets arose to preach repentance for this was the most propitious time for the purer religion.

The prophecies that we are to consider were spoken by Jeremiah during the five years between his call and Josiah's reformation, 626-621 B.C.E. They present a great variety of difficulties and inconsistencies due in part to the careless manipulating of texts by later editors and due, also, to their not having been consigned to writing by the prophet until the fourth year of Jehoiakim's reign, 604 (36/2).

No prophet can passionately denounce his peoples' sins without revealing what manner of man he is. In passing judgment on the popular religion and morality, Jeremiah has given us a description of the religious and moral aspects of his personality in his early days. He is himself so deeply conscious of the true Yahweh that he finds in his heart nothing but anger, contempt, and a little pity for those who worship neither a real God nor with their real selves. "They followed after vanity and became vain." To Jeremiah true religion was a yoke, a moral discipline. Since Yahweh was righteous and pure there was no place for evil and uncleanness in His service. So he condemns unsparingly them that had broken their yoke and burst their bands (2/20). (+)The word of the Lord was a scoff to them; they had no delight in it (6/10). The

(+) Most scholars have adopted, after the Septuagint and Vulgate, thou hast broken and burst since this alone renders the passage intelligible. The text, as it stands, offers no reason for referring here to God's having broken the Egyptian yoke.

People maintain that they have not forsaken Yahweh and gone after Baalim (2/23) and that Yahweh was not ^{dis}xx/pleased, for they were prosperous (2/35). But it was their conception of God that was at fault, and the manner of giving this conception expression. "It is an evil and a bitter thing that thou hast forsaken the Lord, thy God." (2/19). Plough up the fallow ground, circumcise your hearts, forsake not a fount of living waters, for broken cisterns that can hold no water, - this is the prophet's answer.

Jeremiah's constant allusions to whoring indicate what modern psychology might call a "complex" on the subject. (+) He evidently loathed sensuality. One is reminded of Dr. Felix Adler's early ministry, which, as he tells us in "An Ethical Philosophy of Life", was dominated in great part by his absolute hatred for sexual impurity. There are fourteen references to whoring in Chapters 2, 3 and 5 of the Book of Jeremiah. (++) In most passages it is a figurative description of the prevalent mode of worship, "for upon every high hill and under every green tree thou didst bow thyself, playing the harlot". (2/20). In others the prophet is depicting actual events, "when I had fed them to the full they committed adultery and assembled themselves in bands at the harlot's houses. They were as fed horses in the morning; every one neighed after his neighbor's wife." (5/7/8). Jeremiah clearly saw that the religion

- (+) Major J.W. Povah, possibly a reputable psychologist but at best a cursory student of the Bible refers to Jeremiah in "the New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets" Page 152 as "decidedly a potential psycho neurotic, with a strong tendency to regression."
- (++) 2/20, 24, 25, 3/1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 20, 5/7, 8.

which sanctioned prostitution was undermining family life and national morality. He believed that only by putting aside their impurity and propensity to evil could they become worshippers of Yahweh in spirit and truth. For He delights, Jeremiah tells us, only in loving kindness, justice, and righteousness in the earth.

The prophet's sensitive spirit seems to writhe in the presence of all forms of evil. Especially does he recoil from treachery and deceit. All the people are found by him to be corrupt. There is not an honest man in Jerusalem (5/1). Every last person lies, cheats, steals, or deals treacherously. The city is likened to a well always containing wickedness (6/7). Cries for "help" are constantly heard in her midst. Poor and needy are oppressed. The official representatives of Yahweh are false. Jeremiah is as much shocked by the peoples' love of deceit and callousness to sin as by the evils themselves. "Astonishment and horror has come to pass in the land; the prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule at their hands, and my people love to have it so." (5/30; 31/7. (+) So habituated to evil are the people of Jerusalem that this condition is regarded as perfectly normal. Jeremiah, with a soul sensitive to ethical and spiritual values, is excited to amazement and horror. His is "the torture of a sensitive human spirit in the presence of moral evil."

c Like Hosea, with whose writings Jeremiah was undoubtedly familiar, he considers the corrupt national life as unfaithfulness to Yahweh. She who had been His young beloved bride (2/2) had turned adulteress and given herself to strangers (2/20, 25, 3/1, etc.). It is quite likely that the prophet knew less of the origin

(+) At a somewhat later period this exquisite poem portrays a further reaction, "Oh that I had in the wilderness a wayfarer's lodge; that I might leave my people and go from them! for they are all adulterers, and assembly of treacherous men." (9/2-8).

and early history of his people then does a modern historian. For he apparently does not know of the pentateuchal documents that treat of Israel's backsliding in the wilderness (Exodus 32 Deut.19/2F). Else he could not have looked back on the past as ideal. However, not only is the prophet wanting in historical perspective, but also he is hardly just to his contemporaries for they were in large part of Canaanite descent. It was natural and inevitable that they should cling to some of the ways of their fathers. They were not so^{much} fiddle as he claimed, but obstinate. Also, when peoples merge a syncretism of cultures is inevitable. The duty of one devoted to the higher of the cultures is to educate; to wean people from their customs and superstitions. But Jeremiah in these early days, with the hot passion of a youthful prophet, unsparingly condemns his whole people. He fairly screams at their vices. For invaders were on the horizon. In typically Hebrew fashion (+) he saw in the impending disaster a sign of Yahweh's displeasure.

"The foe (++) whom Jeremiah had in mind when he originally delivered the prophecy (4/5 - 6/20) was in all probability the Scythians who actually overran Western Asia at about 625 B.C. and advanced through Palestine as far as Ascalon, intending to invade Egypt." A passage of Herodotus (+++) tells of the defeat of the

(+) The Book of Job is the magnificent exception in the Bible.

(++) Driver "translation of the Book of Jeremiah" page 21.

(+++) Book I, Chapter 103F.

Medes by the Scythians who then "became masters of all Asia." This is probably an exxageration ^{as} ~~and~~ is his statement that they ruled Asia for 28 years. But that they did invade Asia at this time is accepted by most scholars. "Everything (+) was over thrown by their licentiousness and neglect; for besides the usual tribute, they ~~rode~~ ^{rode} around the country and plundered them of all their possessions." Their terrible irruption has been described in this fashion (++) "pouring through the passes of the Caucasus, horde after horde of Scythians blackened the rich plains of the South. On they came like a flight of locusts, countless, irresistible, finding the land before them a garden, and leaving it behind them a howling wilderness. Neither age nor sex would be spared. The crops would be consumed, the herds swept off or destroyed, the villages and homesteads burned, the whole country made a scene of desolation."

Jeremiah's description of the foe from the North is better suited to the primeval and ferocious Scythians than to Babylon or Assyria. And if there appears to be a confusion in the prophet's mind as to some of the details, such as the mention of chariots, (4/3) and siege operations (6/3F) which were employed by the organised armies of Babylon, it is well to remember that these prophecies were not written until the year 604, when they were re-uttered to meet a new situation, the imminent Chaldean invasion (+++);

(+) Herodotus.

(++) Rawlinson "Ancient Monarchies" Volume II, page 513.

(+++) Babylon under Nabo-polassar conquered Assyria about 607, and under Nebuchadnezzar routed the Egyptian armies at Charchemish in 605, and was thus enabled to turn its attention to Jerusalem.

The verses describing the invasion from the North revealed Jeremiah as a lyric poet of high order. Abrupt, short, - breath'd, they are as vivid and moving as any poetry in the Bible. Dr. Hans Schmidt (+) refers to certain passages (4/19-21) as "among the best descriptions of a vision in all literature." The question arises whether this realism is entirely the product of a powerful imagination or whether actual experiences are being described. It does not seem likely that poetic fancy alone could conceive as graphically as Jeremiah does in Chapter 4 the terror and confusion of the people (5-8), the swift approach of the enemy (13), the terrified messengers from the north (15), the blast of the trumpet (19), the crash of ruin (20). On the other hand there is no evidence of an invasion of Jerusalem before these verses were written. Probably the answer lies between the two. News travels swiftly in the Orient. While marching towards Egypt the Scythians as was their wont probably ravaged sections of northern Palestine. Embellished reports of bloodshed and destruction quickly reached Jerusalem. With these accounts dinning in his ears Jeremiah may have projected his vision of the invasion of Judah.

He had the poet's genius for cramming a tremendous picture into a line or two of verse. Notable examples are his vision of the utter desolation of the earth (4/23-26), his soul's anguish at the alarm of war (4/19-21), the travail of his people (4/31), the wild heifer inflamed with desire (2/24), the many pictures of adultery

THE END OF THE WORLD

(+) "Die Grossen Propheten und Ihre Zeit", Page 205.

and of the invading nation. (+) These early poems all reflect deeply stirred emotions. They are not in the least contemplative or philosophical. Like his later writings they are unquestionably sincere and free from anything perfunctory or artificial. The majority of these fragmentary poems are written in Jeremiah's

(+) Verse 10 in Chapter 25 is a most significant illustration of his genuine poetic instinct. "And I shall cause to perish from them the voice of mirth and the voice of gladness, the voice of the bridegroom and the voice of the bride, the sound of the millstones and the light of the candle." The first part of the verse is to be found also in 7/34, 16/19, 33/11; but the last four words (in the Hebrew) would serve to stamp the picture indelibly on the mind of an Oriental. For the absence of rejoicing and wedding feasts might not indicate utter desolation; rather that a great sorrow is brooding over the people. But in times of the most abject grief the urgent physical needs must be supplied. Corn must be ground; the lamp must be lit as darkness closes in. The traveller in the Orient hears at a distance the grinding in the morning and knows that human beings are near by. And the humblest shack is not without its lamp. Darkness without a glimmer of light and deathly stillness of an early morning are sure signs that the land is desolate. Only a poetic genius could paint so striking a picture in four words.

favorite metre, the Qina rhythm (+). Duhm maintains that this metre is the testing rod for their genuineness. Since there are frequent lapses from it he finds only sixty short poems (and the prose letter to the exiles) of Jeremianic origin. For many of these irregularities later editors and, possibly, Baruch may be held responsible. But it is also likely that not a few are written exactly as they were uttered by the prophet. That so high-pitched a personality should limit himself exclusively to one form of writing is not easy to believe. The earlier prophets, to the best of our knowledge, used both prose and verse. Jeremiah, the most intense of all, could never have conveyed to his people the tremendous message with which he was charged, within a single form of folk-song. Cornill takes a saner view when he maintains that "there prevails a certain freedom in the metrical structure of the individual lines due to the fact that for the prophet verse making (Dichten) was not an end in itself." A reader of Chapters 1-6 has his attention drawn involuntarily to the frame-work of the prophecies. But as one reads on in the book the poetry, always of high order (where genuine) seems less significant; the man and his message brush aside all other considerations. Jeremiah's development is reflected in this reaction. For his talent as a poet came to him early in life. But in the course of years as he drew himself nearer to God, and came to understand better the human heart as well as world movements, he became a prophet, Israel's greatest.

(+) So-called, originally by Budde, because it was the metre in which dirges over the dead and, later, elegies over national misfortunes were uttered. In Hastings dictionary of the Bible Volume III page 5, Budde lays down the following law for elegies, "these were uniformly composed in verses of two members,

THE END OF THE WORLD

the length of the first of which stands to that of the second in the proportion of 3:2, giving rise to a peculiar limping rhythm in which the second member, as it were, dies away and expires."

oo

IV. JOSIAH'S REFORM AND AFTER

The Scythians were turned back by Psammetichus of Egypt (+) and fade forever out of the history of Judah. The grave peril, even though averted, caused both people and king to take stock. Certain popular institutions were weighed in the balance and found wanting. In the year 621 Josiah inaugurated his great reform. There is very little evidence touching the underlying causes of this movement. But that it took root in the popular will is clear from the lack of opposition and from the assent of "all the people" to Josiah's covenant (II Kings 23/4). In the crisis just passed there had been much searching of heart. The destruction of Israel for its sins had nearly been repeated in Judah. The message of the prophets, especially Hosea, had been ignored in the Northern Kingdom; Samaria was reduced, the people exiled. That fate, it was probably thought, might yet be the portion of Judah if the worship of Yahweh were not purified.

The prophetic reforming party took advantage of this frame of mind, as Wellhausen indicates (++) not so much because its logic was appealing, but because it presented an opportunity to put their reforms into practice. Their chief aim was to cleanse the popular worship of those elements which were repulsive to Yahweh

(+) Either by gifts as Herodotus states, or by a show of arms, which is more likely.

(++) "Prolegomena to History of Israel" Page 26.

and degrading to the worshipper. Not abolition but reform was its goal. The high places and the abominations practiced in them were to be eliminated. They desired, however, to centralise worship so that the cultus in proper hands might be kept clean. "Then, too, the Yehovah of Hebron was only too easily regarded as distinct from the Yehovah of Bethshemesh or of Bethel, and so a strictly monarchical conception of God naturally led to the conclusion that the place of His dwelling and worship should also only be one." (+) The powerful Zadokite priesthood willingly cooperated (++) partly because they shared many of the ideas of the prophetic party and also because the proposed reforms would increase their power and revenue.

The support of public opinion, it is believed, made it possible for Josiah to go about his reform so vigorously and thoroughly. Native Israelites could easily have been induced, in the face of a national catastrophe, to look upon the Bamoth of Canaanite origin as responsible for Yahweh's wrath. It is also likely that the teachings of Hosea, Amos, Micah, and possibly Jeremiah had begun, at least, to take root in the popular mind. It is difficult to conceive of religious prostitution and the sacrifice of children permanently commending themselves to the

(+) Wellhausen Page 26.

(++) It was Hilkiah the High Priest who called attention to the discovered book which gave impetus to the movement. In the book of Jeremiah is mirrored the close relations between the prophetic group and the priests. (2/8, 5/31, etc. Cf. Lamentations 2/20).

Some

see Ch. 29/3, 29

conscience^{out} of a people/ of whose life struggles evolved the morally minded Hebrew prophets. The great mass of right-minded men were dissatisfied with existing conditions. (+)

The immediate cause of the reform was the finding of a book of law in the Temple by Hilkiah. He turned it over to Shaphan, the scribe, who read it to Josiah. The King was profoundly moved. After receiving the blessing of Huldah he called together an assembly of the men of Jerusalem and all Judah. The book was read and a solemn oath taken to live by its teachings. Then Josiah strenuously set about the work of reform.

What book was found in the Temple? It is impossible to answer with any degree of certainty. Scholars have generally assumed that it was Deuteronomy, or at least the legislative kernel of that book, Chapters 12-26. Their arguments are based chiefly on the close agreement between its enactments and the actual reforms of Josiah. Its description of the apostate condition of Judah corresponds with what we know of that land in the years preceding the reforms, and its commands appear to have been carried out by the King. Others have maintained that Deuteronomy was written in the Sixth Century and embodies the results of Josiah's reform, that it crystallizes and gives legal form to the

(+) It is always dangerous to inject modern psychology into the framework of ancient life. But it hardly seems likely that the fathers, brothers, fiancées, and husbands of the higher classes would look with much favor on the periodic visits of their beloved women to the professional male prostitutes of the sanctuaries.

changes which Josiah had inaugurated. Its affinity with the Book of Jeremiah (+) is due, they maintain, not to its influence on the prophet but to its having been influenced by him. How can the writer's injunction to all Israel (1/1, 5/1, 11/24, 12/5, 14 etc. 18/1) be explained in view of the fact that Josiah had jurisdiction only over Judah. (++) Those who favor a late date for Deuteronomy maintain that its advocates might have aimed to enhance its prestige by making Josiah act in accordance with it. If in later times this book did become the law, any account of the reform would be colored by the writer's conception of what a pious king should do. (+++)

What the definite facts are it is impossible to state. Nor is

(+) / Driver in his "Introduction to the International Commentary on Deuteronomy", page XCIII gives an incomplete list of 86 phrases and clauses which are found in both books.

(++) The fundamental principles of higher criticism are taken for granted in this thesis; hence the possibility of Mosaic authorship is not being considered since Deuteronomy presupposes conditions with which Moses could not have been familiar. "A continuous Mosaic tradition," Driver states, caused it to be attributed to the great law-giver.

(+++)

It is well to note that the general assumption that Jeremiah's "this covenant" in Chapter 11 refers to Deuteronomy, is not borne out by the language of that book. The original Deuteronomy nowhere gives itself out as a covenant made in the days of Moses (except in 28/69 which appears to be the frame-work of a later edition of the book). It considers itself an address by Moses at the end of the desert sojourn, in which he expounds certain laws that have been revealed to him on the mount.

Already
24th 3

further discussion necessary in a study of Jeremiah's personality so long as the veracity of II Kings 22/8F is accepted. There is no good reason for doubting that a book of the law was found and was made by Josiah the basis of his reform in 621. Whether the whole or part of Deuteronomy, whether some hitherto unknown chapters of a canonical prophet or the writings of an obscure member of the prophetic party, we cannot say. But that it was the working programme for a significant movement in the national life is a fact. The precepts in this book that troubled Josiah (and hence concern us) were to cleanse the Temple of all forms of idol worship, to defile and destroy all local altars and high places, to abolish the closely associated practices of religious prostitution and the sacrifice of the first-born, and to limit all sacrifice to the Temple in Jerusalem.

c These Josiah proceeded to carry out with characteristic vigor (II Kings 23). First the Temple was cleansed from every trace of idoltry. The houses of the prostitutes were destroyed. The high places near Jerusalem, and in all the cities of Judah, were broken down. Topheth in the valley of Hinnom was defiled, and the child sacrifices to Moloch^{it} were suppressed, as was also the worship of the heavenly luminaries. The idols which Solomon had erected for his Zidonian, Moabite, and Ammonite subjects were defiled; Not a high place nor sacred stone from Geba to Beersheba was left standing. Nor did the sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom escape his zeal. The altar at Bethel and the high places built by Jereboam were broken down, burned, ground under foot. Human bones were burnt on the altar to polute^{it}. The priests of the high places of the city of Samaria were slain.

Josiah's purpose was to purify the worship of Yahweh and not to abolish sacrifice. With this in mind we can better understand what has been called "Josiah's compromise". The local sanctuaries in which the autonomous Levite priesthood officiated were not easily controllable by the King. If an order had gone out from Jerusalem that certain practices were to be discarded an attempt might be made to obey. But so deeply rooted were these practices that inevitably the law would be violated either flagrantly or surreptitiously. The one certain way of removing the evils was to destroy the sanctuaries. But the Temple in Jerusalem was an annex to the Palace. The King had virtually complete jurisdiction over it. Both he and the reforming party that was urging him on could make certain that no corruptions were introduced into its ritual. Also, although there is no definite evidence, it is quite likely from what we know of his character that Josiah would have been pleased if sacrifices were abolished altogether. But such a move, he realised, would arouse bitter opposition in Jerusalem as it did in the country districts. Judah at the time consisted of one large city and quite a few small villages. (+) The hostility of the latter could be aroused without very serious consequences. But the King depended for his support on the people of Jerusalem, the nobles, the priests, the soldiers, the merchants. His problem was to go as far as possible with reform without alienating

- Liders*
more!
- (*) During Josiah's reign 45 or 46, as an inscription of Sennacherib states, "strong cities" of Judah were taken by the Assyrians. What remained was indeed a "tiny kingdom".

them. (+) Josiah was not a prophet but a practical reformer, who preferred half a loaf to none.

It has been necessary to discuss the historical situation at length because Jeremiah's references to it are scant and fragmentary. Students of this period find it difficult to believe that the prophet spoke only a few words concerning this important development in religious history and wonder at the same time why its chroniclers write nothing about Israel's most advanced religious teacher. Probably in the former case some verses were overlooked by Jeremiah as he dictated to Baruch, or were misplaced by later generations. Perhaps in the second case he is not mentioned because, as a young unknown prophet, he did not in any way affect the reform for good or ill. But, for five years he had been preaching messages of so startling a nature that he should have been known in Anathoth and Jerusalem, to which he was not a stranger (See Chapter 5). A more likely reason for omitting his name was his opposition to certain important phases of the movement.

Not that Jeremiah was always hostile to the reform. Chapter 11, verses 1-8 indicate that he ardently espoused some covenant. Once again, however, we are in the realm of uncertainty. This covenant may have been conceived personally by Jeremiah out of his own religious experience and may have been directed against

(+) Even so, Josiah was forced to taste ~~the~~ defeat. The powerfully entrenched Zadokite priesthood refused absolutely to permit their country colleagues to participate in the Temple service as had been decreed. See II Kings 23/9, Deut. 16/8-8, Ezekiel 44/9-15.

7. the then popular covenant of Exodus 34, which was concerned not with ethical righteousness but with ritual correctness. As such it might have been the acorn out of which sprang the mighty oak of Chapter 31. (+) But the more acceptable hypothesis is that it was his first utterance concerning the book of Torah or instruction which was the basis of Josiah's reform. Since he was well aware of the corruptions and abominations in the land, how natural was it for him to welcome with open arms a concerted movement on the part of the King, priests, prophets, and the population in general, to exterminate idoltry, religious prostitution and child sacrifice! These were the very evils against which he had been preaching. Some scholars have maintained that these verses indicate so great a sympathy with the covenant that ^{under} he even/took a preaching tour throughout the land. (++) to win people to it. This is unlike Jeremiah for there were articles in the covenant with which he could not agree. And he was not the sort of person to take the lecture platform for a covenant, and

(+) Jeremiah's N.C. will be discussed in Chapter VII of this thesis.

(++) Prof. A. B. Davidson in his article on Jeremiah in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible says on page 570, "the expression 'cities of Judah and streets of Jerusalem' is not to be pressed to employ a circuit of the cities anymore than of the streets. When Jeremiah spoke anywhere he spoke in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem for his words went out to all the land (26/2), just as when he spoke in Tahpanhes he addressed the dwellers in Pathros or upper Egypt (44/15 etc.). The phrase 'cities of Judah and streets of Jerusalem' means the country and the capitol (7/34, 11/13 Cf. 4/5)".

to extol one-half and denounce or keep silent about the other. Also, there was neither need nor precedent for a campaign of propaganda. Josiah's orders were law. His officers went about the business of destruction without consulting the wishes of the local population.

At the inception of the reform, then, Jeremiah probably favored it. His opposition begins when he first sees its effects. Wellhausen (+) indicates the reason for the failure of the movement to measure up to the hopes of its projectors. "Prophecy died when its precepts attained to the force of laws; the prophetic ideas lost their purity when they became practical. Whatever may have been contemplated only provisional regulations actually admitted of being carried out, and these only in cooperation with the king and priests and with due regard to the capacity of the masses. The final outcome of the reformation was principally that the cultus of Yahweh was limited to Jerusalem and abolished everywhere else; such was the popular and the practical form of prophetic monotheism." A hasty, superimposed reform naturally did not get at the root of the evil which was in the human heart. "Its defects soon became apparent," says Skinner, "its superficiality, its inability to cope with prevalent immorality and the surviving tendencies to polytheism and superstition." A form of idolatry persisted; for baalim were substituted the Temple and the ark of the covenant. Instead of the love of God and obedience to His will for which Jeremiah had hoped, there came to be a superstitious reverence for the Temple, which was

(+) Article on "Israel" in Encyclopedia Brittenica.

regarded as indestructible (+). All manner of unrighteousness was tolerated so long as the prescribed obligations to the Temple were observed. The Temple Court was thronged day by day with worshippers whose lives, we may judge, fell short of their profession.

What satisfied practical reformers who were looking for tangible results, was not enough for Jeremiah who would have been content with nothing less than a complete change of heart. With clear perception he had watched the deadening effect of the recent developments on the religious life of the people. He heard men justify these new superstitions by falsely manipulating injunctions of the law, and he cries out against this new self-righteousness (8/8), "how can you say 'we are wise and the law of the Lord is with us!'" For he knew that true spirituality had nothing to do with a formal observance of religious ordinances. The only authority he recognised was the "inner voice", the injunctions laid by God on the human heart. He had found God instinctively and thereby was led to believe that all men could. For there was potentially, at least, in every heart an instinctive yearning for Him as sure and unerring as the instinct of the migratory birds (8/7). But the men of Judah had sunk into the mire of a false religion and refused to rise above it (8/4). They were like the people about whom Tchekov complains, "why do we tire so soon? and when we fall, how is it that we never try to rise again?" Despite their pious profession they were rushing along in their

(+) Possibly an outcome of Isaiah's teaching, - Is. 28/16.

against
Context / course of evil like a battle horse (8/6), never repenting nor
even conscious of wrong doing. But the God whom they professed to worship delights only in truth, justice, righteousness, kindness, and cannot possibly be pleased with the service of those who do not delight in them as well.

Jeremiah indicates that the reform has only touched the surface; the heart has not been moved. "Treas^herous Judah hath not returned to me with her whole heart but feignedly, saith the Lord" (3/10). "Your reform is not enough", cries Jeremiah, "circumcise your hearts, ye men of Judah!" (4/4) (+) The people must break with the evil associations of their past. The soil must be cleared of all vile weeds, lest they choke the seed ~~the~~ and prevent it from ripening and bearing fruit." Break up your fallow ground, sow not among thorns!"

It will help us to understand the murderous hostility of the men of Anathoth if we keep in mind the position of sacrifice in the common life (++) and Jeremiah's attitude toward it. The media of worship had grown out of ordinary life and were in intimate connection with it. Sacrifice was a meal and brought together for certain occasions a group of people. The return each year of vintage, corn harvest, and sheep shearing, the arrival of a guest, the ratification of an agreement, embarking on a journey, or

(+) He has not fallen as yet to the utterly pessimistic view of 13/23, that a heart habituated to evil can no more do good than the black man change his skin or the leper his spots.

(++) See Wellhausen's splendid discussion in "Prolegomena"

Page 76F.

warlike expedition were the occasion for gathering to eat and drink in the presence of Yahweh, and to pray. It was part of the common life and there was no divorce between sacred and secular. To the Hebrew such religious worship was both natural and pleasant. We can picture, then, the bitterness and wrath of the village folk as they heard the officers⁺ of Josiah proclaim that sacrifices were to be offered only at the Temple and saw them demolish the local sanctuary. The men of Anathoth were furious at Jeremiah not because he supported the reform, as some claim, (+) but because he was preaching that it had not gone far enough, that all sacrifice should have been eliminated.

On this issue he disagreed fundamentally with the reformers. For the reform had served to accentuate the inherent failings of the institution of sacrifice. Originally, as has been indicated, it throbbed with life. But the new law, by limiting its observance to the Temple of Jerusalem and eliminating the meal associated with it, had, one might say, separated the religious from the secular. Sacrifice lost vigorous, lively characteristics and became purely a medium of worship. "The soul was fled; the shell remained upon the shaping out of which every energy was now concentrated. A manifoldness of rites took the place of individualizing occasions; technique was the main thing, and strict fidelity to rubric." (++)

Behind Jeremiah was a prophetic tradition of opposition

(+) Peake, Century Bible, Volume I, page 182.

(++) Wellhausen, opus cit. Page 78.

to sacrifice; -

Amos, "I hate, I despise your feast days, and I will not relish your solemn assemblies. Though you offer me burnt offerings, and your meat offerings, I will not accept them; neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts" (6/21-22).

Hosea, "For I desire mercy and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings" (6/6).

Micah, "Wherewith shall I come before the Lord and bow myself before the most high? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams or with ten thousand rivers of oil? .-. He hath shown thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, - but to do justly and love mercy and walk humbly before thy God." (6/6-8). (+)

Isaiah, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifice unto me? Saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt offerings of rams and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats Who hath required this at thy hands? ///. Bring no more vain oblations, burnt offering is an abomination unto me .. Your appointed feasts, my soul hateth." (1/11-14).

Jeremiah, the most intensely God-conscious of them all, was a worthy heir to this tradition and handed it on to his followers

(+) It has been claimed that this is from the pen of another. There is general agreement, however, that it was written before the end of the reign of Menasseh.

the loftier for having lodging in his personality. With pointed sarcasm he says, "add your burnt offerings unto your sacrifices and eat ye flesh." (7/21). The different types of sacrifice (+) may be lumped together so far as Yahweh is concerned, and the flesh offered to him might just as well be eaten. In the following verse Jeremiah indicates that he repudiates any document that has been produced to prove that sacrifice originated at the Divine behest. Apparently some such claim was being made, for verses 22-23 take the form of a denial or contradiction of some assertion, "for I spake not unto your fathers nor commanded them ... concerning burnt offerings or sacrifices; but this did I command them saying, 'hearken unto my voice ... and walk in the way I command you'". The prophet knew instinctively that Yahweh could not be propitiated by sacrifices "what hath my beloved to do in my house? She has practiced evil devices. Shall fat pieces (++) and holy flesh cause thine evil to pass from thee? Then mightest thou rejoice." (11/15). Sacrifice, Jeremiah saw, was non-essential, and entered not at all into genuine relations between God and man. It was no more acceptable to God now that it had been limited to the one altar in Jerusalem. If anything it was less so. For of all the elements that had gone into the making up of the institution of sacrifice, only its intrinsically false principle had been retained and glorified. Jeremiah's life, even more than his teaching, was the negation of this principle. For God was nearest the

(+) עֹלֹתִים which were entirely devoted to Yahweh, and זֶבַחִים
^h which were eaten by the worshippers in a sacred feast.

(++) After Giesebrecht, Duhm, Erbt.

spiritually minded and, in the prophet's words, to Him burnt offerings were not acceptable nor sacrifices pleasing. (6/20).

A more mature estimate of the effects of the reform comes to light in the seventh chapter, a condensed report of which, probably by Baruch, is found in (26/4-6). At the outset of Jehoiakim's reign, Jeremiah is again charged to speak his mind on the popular religion. There is no information concerning the trend of events in the last decade of Josiah's reign. But at its close the prophet scores the new evils that have arisen and indicates that there has been a recrudescence of the old. It has been too much to expect of a hasty, superimposed religious reform, that it should tear up deeply-rooted evils. These remained on but were covered with a veneer of punctilious Temple worship. People continued to lie, steal, commit adultery, swear falsely, oppress the helpless, shed innocent blood, and, because they had not risen even to the reformers' conception of Yahweh, in their hearts to worship unreal Gods. And more, they came to the Temple regularly, offered up a prayer or a sacrifice, and considered themselves pious and righteous. On these counts Jeremiah convicts them in this address, of hypocrisy and sham. They simply refuse to understand the character of God, that He is just and righteous, and requires justice and righteousness. To Jeremiah religion meant fellowship with a moral Deity. Hence he protests most strongly against this separation of religion and morality? Then follows the prophet's verdict. Because this religion is false and the hearts of the men of Judah are steeped in it, God will destroy its visible symbol, the Temple, as he had Shiloh, and will cast out its worshippers as the seed of Ephraim.

V. THE CHALDEANS

In the year 608 Josiah marched to meet Pharaoh Necco and was slain.(+) The people passed by his eldest son, Eliakim, and chose the younger, Jehoahaz, also called Shallum. After a reign of only three months he was summoned to Riblah, deposed by Egypt, and carried captive to that country, never to return. In a passage revealing the great tenderness and pity of which Jeremiah was capable he mourns for the unfortunate King, "weep ye not for the dead (Josiah), neither bemoan them, but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more nor see his native country." (22/20). Eliakim, probably because of his pro-Egyptian sympathies, was raised to the Throne and his name changed to Jehoakim. It was at the beginning of his reign that the prophet delivered his great Temple address, a summary of which is to be found at the conclusion of the preceeding chapter. Jeremiah had watched the movement of the nations and again saw the finger of God pointing towards the North. Assyria, unable to withstand the Scythians, was crumbling and Babylon with the assistance of the Mèdes threatened to assume control of the affairs of Western Asia. With this political situation in the background and with the corrupt moral and religious conditions of the land before his eyes, Jeremiah stood in the courtyard of the Temple and prophesied the destruction of Judah

(+) The account of his death in the Book of Kings is so meagre as to lead to the suspicion that he was not killed in battle, but was put to death by the Egyptian monarch, perhaps for refusing to take the oath of allegiance.

for its sins. Only a man with a divinely inspired message could have possessed the courage to speak in this manner. For the penalty for announcing the destruction of the Temple and the city could be death, as the editor naively reminds us it was in the case of Uriah of Kiriath-Jearim (26/20F). Jeremiah is seized and charges are preferred against him by the priests and the prophets. The princes and the crowd present act as judges. The prophet's plea is simple, moving, beautiful and reflects his inherent nobility and greatness of spirit. After repeating in a few short sentences the essence of the address and re-affirming its divine inspiration, he continues, "but as for me, ~~the whole~~ behold I am in your hand; do with me as is good and right in your eyes. Only know ye for certain that if ye put me to death ye shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves and upon this city and upon the inhabitants thereof; for of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears." (26/14-15). He is acquitted.

(5/4) The Medes and Chaldeans captured Ninevah and broke up the Assyrian Empire. Nabo-Polassar, ruler of Babylon, then sent an army under the command of his son, Nebuchadnezzar, against the Egyptians who had secured a stronghold on the Euphrates, and succeeded in utterly routing them at Carchemish in 605. Undoubtedly reports of the defeat of Assyria and Egypt were received in Jerusalem with great joy. For now it was believed that Judah again would be an independent power. Jeremiah, however, was not deceived. He saw in the now mighty power of Babylon the new "foe from the North." Jehoiakim apparently had set out to emulate the reign of Menasseh. Within three or four years the superficiality of the reform had become evident. There was a wholesale return under the new King's inspiration to those evils which his father had striven

manfully, if not always wisely, to destroy. Under these circumstances Jeremiah was called on to bring up to date and publish abroad his earlier utterances which were applicably to the new situation. He dictated these to Baruch, the scribe, and charged him to read them in the Temple on a fast day. This was done and created so profound an impression that it was read before the King's ministers as well and finally reached the ears of Jehoiakim. The King tore the scroll into bits and cast them into the fire. Jeremiah, who had gone into hiding at the ministers' suggestion, had Baruch re-write the prophecies and added besides unto them many like words." (36/32). The prophet declared unequivocally at this time that Babylon would destroy Judah, put Jehoiakim to death, and that none would be left to sit upon the throne of David.

After the battle of Carchemish Nebuchadnezzar drove the Egyptians out of Syria and compelled Jehoiakim to acknowledge his suzerainty. He was recalled to Babylon by the death of his father, but for three years the King of Judah continued to pay tribute to them. We can well imagine the ~~Eastern~~ factions and intrigues of these years, the alternating of hope and despair. It was Judah's great misfortune to have as its ruler in this critical period a foolhardy, incapable, extravagant King. By heavily taxing his subjects, forcing labor, and withholding wages, he built a spacious and lavishly decorated palace. Jeremiah, always infuriated by injustice, stormed against this project (22/13-17). Nothing of good could come to a man who built his house with wrongs. Much cedar does not make a good King. Then Jeremiah pays generous tribute to the character of the man with whose religious reforms

it had been necessary for him to take issue." "Did not thy father eat and drink, and do judgment and justice; then it was well with him. He judged the cause of the poor and the needy; then it was well. Was not this to know me? Saith the Lord." (22/15-16).

national The influential classes of Jerusalem, inflamed by a religious fanaticism and a mad passion for liberty, urged the King to rebel.

About the year 599, the same year in which Ethbaal II of Phoenicia withdrew his allegiance to Nebudchadnezzar, Jehoiakim withheld his annual tribute. Without doubt Jeremiah opposed this move. For he saw, as the short-sighted patriots did not, that Judah could not defy the power of Babylon with impunity. Pressing matters at home and his seige of Tyre made it difficult for Nebuchadnezzar to move against his rebellious vassel at once. Instead he secured the assistance of the smaller nations surrounding Judah, who made repeated attacks on its country districts. Subsequently the Babylonian monarch was free to send his army to Jerusalem. ~~Ramfar~~ Before the attack had begun Jehoiakim died. He was succeeded by Jehoiakin (also called Coniah) his son, who after a reign of three months surrendered the city to the Babylonians. Nebuchadnazzar spared his life and took him to Babylon together with his mother (Nehushta), his wives and his children. Most of the nobles, trained soldiers, and artisans to the number of ten thousand were exiled with him. His younger brother, Mattaniah, was placed on the throne and his name changed to Zedekiah "Yahweh is righteousness". He was of a gentle, unwarlike, guidable character, qualities which Nebuchadnazzar thought would be guarantess of peace and submission. However, in order to be certain of Zedekiah as a vassal, the Babylonian conqueror entered into a solomn treaty with

him and bound him by an oath of fealty.

For a time it appeared as though all would be well with Judah; its international troubles had been settled, and all the energies of the nation could now be devoted to its internal problems. The newly created nobility would not have it so. They appeared to have been seized with a mad passion for the freedom of Judah. Zedekiah, even if he desired, did not have the strength of character to uphold them. Pressure was brought to bear on the King by Egypt, which was uncomfortable with a Babylonian vassal so near at hand, by the other small nations near Judah that had been conquered by Nebuchadnezzar, and by the banished Judaeans who cherished the hope that in this way they might regain their freedom and return to their native land. (+) In the fourth year of Zedekiah's reign ambassadors from Edom, Moab, Ammon, Tyre, and Sidon assembled in Jerusalem to plan a revolt against Nebuchadnezzar. It is likely that the accession of Psammetichus II to the throne of Egypt was connected in some way with this movement. Zedekiah's attitude is not known, (++) but the revolt came to naught.

Very little in the Book of Jeremiah can be attributed definitely to the first decade of the reign of Zedekiah. One incident of importance, the prophet's ~~and~~ encounter with Hananiah

(+) Jeremiah's advice to the exiles will be discussed in another connection; See Chapter VII.

(++) If the statement in Jer. 51/59 is true, that Zedekiah went to Babylon in this year, there is good ground for believing that Nebuchadnezzar had heard of the plan and had summoned his vassal for an explanation.

Comp.
c. 29, 30

did occur in this period. Chapter 27 tells us that in the fourth year of the reign of Zedekiah (+) Jeremiah with a yoke about his neck met Hananiah "in the presence of the priests and all the people." Hananiah predicted the breaking of the yoke of Babylon and the return of all the exiles within two years. Jeremiah's "amen! the Lord do so!" indicates his very genuine concern for the people whose doom he found it necessary to predict. He not only contradicts the prophecy of the other but as he finds his prophetic certainty incommunicable to his antagonist and audience, appeals to precedent. This is an argument seldom employed by Jeremiah. Apparently experience had taught him some of the ways of the preacher. An utterly impracticable idealist might simply have re-affirmed the conviction of his own heart and let it go at that. The fact that the prophet/s of old were on his side (++) or were on the other, for that matter, neither added to nor detracted from the conviction which his God-consciousness had given him. Jeremiah had learned the value of an appeal to precedent. Hananiah then broke the yoke on Jeremiah's neck and prophesies in the name of the Lord that thus would the yoke of Babylon be broken within two years. If our text is correct

(+) Probably the same year as the contemplated revolt of the small nations.

(++) Isaiah certainly was not with his doctrine of the indestructability of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah then went his way, (+) but was later sent by Yahweh to say that unbreakable yokes of iron would be substituted for those of wood, and to tell Hananiah that he would die within a year for prophesying falsely. Within two months he was dead. (++)

In 589 (+++) Zedekiah rebelled. We do not know the immediate causes of the revolt; however, it is safe to assert that the princes and the nobles forced it on the weak-willed King. He appears to have been as clay in their hands, "for the King is not he that can do anything against you." (38/5). Nebuchadnezzar, it appears, moved against his rebellious vassal at once. And the narrative in the Book of Jeremiah is resumed in Chapters 21 and 34 with the siege weighing heavily on the mind of the King.

Jeremiah's position at this time was a terrible one. He had lived to see his woeful prophecies fulfilled and it was now necessary for him to minister to his country in its dying agonies.

THE END OF THE WORLD

- (+) Cornill, Battenwieser and others maintain that this clause is an interpolation and grew out of the misunderstood 7177 of verse 13.
- (++) It is stretching a point to maintain with Cheyney, "The Two Religions of Israel", page 58, that "this might be a case of second sight." This position cannot be held consistently in view of the great margin of unfulfilled predictions, especially that of the first northern invasion.
- (+++) Pharaoh Hophra succeeded Psammetichus as King of Egypt in the same year.

In the words of Lord Macaulay, "it is difficult to conceive any situation more painful than that of a great man, condemned to watch the lingering agony of an exhausted country, to tend it during the alternate fits of stupefaction and raving which precede its dissolution, and to see the symptoms of vitality disappear one by one, till nothing is left, but coldness, darkness, and corruption." The imminence of the evil strengthened Jeremiah in his original conviction that for its sins Judah must be destroyed. Nebuchadnezzar was the servant of God. Resistance was in vain. It is likely that Jeremiah knew of the immense resources of the Babylonian Empire, and of the prowess of its great armies, that he had studied the character of Nebuchadnezzar and knew that the true interests of Judah would not suffer through submission to him. In his observation of political events, Jeremiah has always been clear-sighted and free from the passionate illusions of his country-men. But this enlightened political judgment was the outgrowth of his deep prophetic certainty that it was the purpose of Yahweh to destroy Judah.

In the early days of the siege, Zedekiah sent a delegate to consult Jeremiah concerning the outcome of the war. (+) The prophet's answer is unequivocal, - defence is futile for the Lord is fighting on the side of the Babylonians. Many will be killed, many will die of pestilence and in the end Zedekiah, his retinue, and the remainder of the people will be delivered to Nebuchadnezzar, (++)

(+) The prophet apparently enjoyed the respect and, in a sense, the friendship of the king.

(++) This is the more correct form of the name generally known to us as Nebuchadnezzar. The Babylonian name is Nabukudurri-Sur.

who will put them to death. The message to the King was followed by the advice to the people for which Jeremiah had been criticised severely in his time and in ours. "Thus saith the Lord; behold, I set before you the way of life and the way of death. He that sitteth in this city shall die by the sword, and by the famine, and by the pestilence; but that he goeth out and falleth away to the Chaldeans that besiege you, he shall live and his life shall be unto him for a prey." (21/8-9). To a man of loyalties there is something revolting in this counsel; not because it involves disloyalty to the Government in time of war - there are principles that have a prior claim to our loyalty, and no prophet would be worthy of the name who did not set his divine commands above those of the temporal Government - but because it required deserting fellow countrymen and possibly families in order to save one's own life. If the prophet had advised the ruling party or the people at large to surrender since Yahweh had doomed them to defeat, he could not justly be condemned even if the hands of the city's defenders were weakened thereby. But to urge individuals to desert ~~xxx~~ their own brethren, incidentally facilitating the destruction of their comrades in arms, is counsel that can hardly be justified.

J. does
not
advise
his
individual
countrymen
- he
merely
forfeits
incidental
happenings

And yet it is not fair to condemn catagorically this act of Jeremiah's. The ruling party, had ~~it~~ not taken his advice and were preparing to resist to the very end. The prophet clearly foresaw that end and was certain that when it came there would be untold deaths, suffering, destruction. His aim was not to weaken the defence but to save lives. His motive cannot be condemned even though his judgment may be questioned. One, therefore, cannot agree with Duhm that the prophet would have deserved death if he had

given such advice. It is the opinion of that scholar that these verses are spurious since Jeremiah indignantly denied that he was falling away to the Chaldeans (37/14). But in this instance he was denying an untrue statement about his own conduct and was not repudiating the principle of 21/9. He did not follow his own advice for his duty was plainly in the doomed city among the people to whom he had ministered for forty years and whom he dearly loved in his strange way. "The captain may urge the passengers and then the sailors to abandon the sinking ship; his own place is on board until the last man has left. Jeremiah knew that the ship of state was foundering, but he had a loftier duty than to save his own life."

(+)

As if in answer to a prayer Egypt sent an army so formidable as to compel Nebuchadhezzer to raise the siege. This was the occasion for great rejoicing in Jerusalem, and it was believed now that Judah might secure its independence. Jeremiah, however, was not deceived. He correctly predicted that the Egyptian army would be forced to retire and that the Chaldeans would return and take the city. So unshaken was his prophetic conviction that he said at this time, "for thou ye had smitten the whole army of the Chaldeans that fight against you, and there remained but wounded men among them, yet should they rise up every man in his tent, and burn this city with fire." (37/10).

Before the approach of the army of Pharaoh Hophra, Zedekiah had induced his people to liberate their Hebrew slaves. The purpose of the act may have been to gain the favour of Yahweh or to increase the number of the city's defenders. At the departure of the besiegers these Hebrews were immediately re-enslaved. Jeremiah was infuriated not only because it was a social wrong, but because their acts involved the violation of a religious oath, of a promise

to Yahweh. The prophet's remorseless imagination pictured their punishment, that all who have transgressed would be given to the sword and their dead bodies thrown "for meat unto the fowls of the heaven and to the beasts of the earth." (34/20).

The ire of the princes had been aroused by this and other utterances of the prophet. One day as he was starting to walk to Anathoth to arrange his affairs there, he was arrested by Irijah, a Captain of the Guard, on the pretext that he was "falling away to the Chaldeans." The princes regarded this as a splendid opportunity to silence the man who had given them so much cause for concern, and imprisoned him in the dungeon beneath the house of Jonathan, the Scribe. Shortly thereafter the King sent for Jeremiah and asked him if there were word from the Lord. In the prophet's answer (37/17-20) there is a remarkable exhibition of courage and affrontery. He wanted the King to transfer him to the house of the guard for he feared that he would die in the pit. Nevertheless, at the very outset of their conversation the prophet states unqualifiedly that Zedekiah will be delivered into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar. Then the prophet questions the justice of his imprisonment and points out that events have borne out his predictions and not those of the prophets who had predicted peace. The King grants the prophet's request and removes him to the court of the Guard where he receives a loaf of bread daily.

While Jeremiah was imprisoned he had the premonition, based undoubtedly on known conditions, that his cousin Hanamel would come to sell the land of which the right of inheritance was the prophet's. When Hanamel did come Jeremiah knew it to be the word of

God and purchased the field with the usual formalities. He then gave the deed to Baruch and charged him to preserve it in an earthen vessel. This is the first indication of a genuine optimism in the prophet's outlook, that he saw through the present dark days to a bright future, when "houses and fields and vineyards should again be bought in this land." (32/15).

The Chaldeans returned and again Jerusalem was besieged. Some of the princes who had heard Jeremiah urge the people to surrender came before the King and insisted that the prophet be put to death since he was undermining the national defence. Zedekiah gave his consent, admitting incidentally that he was powerless against them. Jeremiah was thrown into a dungeon and sank into the mire. Ebed-Melech, the Ethiopian eunuch, learned^{ed} of his plight and begged the King for permission to draw up the prophet out of the mire "before he die." The request was granted and Jeremiah was drawn up by cords. Soon after, probably on the same day, the prophet was called in for a final interview with the King. Jeremiah was made to promise that he would hide nothing and in turn demanded of the King that he be not put to death if his words were displeasing. Then, for the last time, Zedekiah was told that if he surrendered he would live and the city would stand; if not, - to expect the worst. Zedekiah replied that he feared the taunts of the Jews who had deserted to the Chaldeans. Drawing on his own experience for illustrations the prophet pointed out the less pleasant fate in store. The King closed the interview with an injunction to secrecy and told him that if the princes were to ask him what he had said to Zedekiah, to say only that he had begged not to be returned to the pit beneath the house of Jonathan. The princes did come to him and Jeremiah answered them as the King had commanded. This plain

falsehood has led many commentators to ~~produce~~^{profuse} apologies for the prophet, and others to a denial of the authenticity of the narrative. There is much to be said for those who like Steuernagel, Battenwieser, Skinner, maintain that 38/14-27 is but another, later, and unhistorical version of the interview related in 37/17-21. In the first place the King has directed Jeremiah to tell the princes that he petitions the King not to be sent back to the dungeon. Now, before he was rescued from the mire, he actually did make such a request (37/20). After his rescue he did not, nor is there any indication of a desire on the part of the King or princes to return him to the dungeon. Further, there is the King's insistence that Jeremiah should not withhold anything from him, as though the prophet was accustomed not to speak his mind. Also, in this interview, Jeremiah refuses to speak until he is assured under oath that he will not be killed nor delivered to the princes. This is very unlike the Jeremiah who never feared to speak the truth and who, in the obviously authentic interview, said immediately and with crushing directness that Zedekiah should be given over to the Chaldeans. There is likewise a suggestion of the absurd in the prophet's picture of the taunts of the King's women on the day of Jerusalem's destruction. Such conduct in the face of so terrible a calamity is hardly conceivable.

On the other hand it is possible that Jeremiah's changed point of view is genuine and is to be explained by his terror at the thought of being thrown again into the mire where he had been so close to death. There is also the naïveté and frankness in the telling that oftentimes stamp such narratives as authentic. Since there is no certain evidence that the story is false and since there is a strong possibility that it is true, we may well consider Jeremiah's evasion. A falsehood is implicit in his answer

to the princes since he intimated that his request to be transferred was the entire content of his conversation with the King. The ancient oriental mind looked upon lying in another light (+) for it recognised two types of sins, one against the personality of Yahweh and the other material, physical wrong to man. The violation of the moral personality of man was not considered a sin as it is today. (++) In modern times the soul of man is the subject of religion and the center of all ethical interests but to Jeremiah, some say, (+++) the well-being of his people was more important and truth (for its own sake) was subsidiary. To have answered truthfully would have meant to betray the King and the highest interests of the people. Yet he cannot be completely exonerated; he had thundered too often against treachery and deceit (5/2, 5/31, 7/9, 7/28, 8/10, 9/3-9, etc.). In 5/3 he wonders that the truth-loving eyes of Yahweh can endure the sight of so much falsehood. The prophet is conscious of his short-comings and in 15/19 feels that Yahweh says to him, "if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth." After these, the prophet had not the

(+) See that of Abraham in Genesis 20/1F and of Yahweh in I Kings 22/22F.

(++) One who has had occasion to deal with modern Orientals, especially Arabs, knows of the very slight value that is placed on honesty in the relations of man with man.

(+++) See the lucid and penetrating discussion by Duhm, "Das Buch Jeremia" page 308.

moral right to lie. To be true to the highest in him, the prophet should have spurned the King's request. It is difficult to understand how the prophet's answer could have affected the welfare of the people. On his reply to the King depended not his people's but his own well-being. Jeremiah was an old man; he had been weakened by the privation he had been forced to endure, and was mortally afraid of being thrown again into the pit. Under such circumstances his compromise was pardonable even if it was not right.

On the ninth of Tamuz, 586, Jerusalem fell. Many of its defenders had been killed in the war, many more had died of hunger and pestilence, and those who remained were too weak to resist a terrific onslaught on the northern wall. A breach was made and the ~~defenders~~ attackers poured into the city, dealing out death and destruction. Zedekiah fled but was captured in the "plains of Jericho" and brought to Nebuchadnezzar at Riblah, where his sons were put to death before his eyes, and he was blinded and led in chains to Babylon. On the tenth of Ab Jerusalem was destroyed.

ooo

Is "truth" identical with "reality"?

VI. THE INNER LIFE OF JEREMIAH

Professor A.B. Davidson has finely observed (+) "The Book of Jeremiah does not so much teach religious truths as present a religious personality." That religious personality is revealed to us not so much in the biographic portions of the book as in the prophet's reactions to his experiences. These reactions are contained chiefly in what are known as his "confessions", as well as in scattered passages throughout the book. The confessions followed experiences of persecution, but did not deal with the persecution per se, but with the workings of the prophet's soul as it reacted to his experiences. In the form of monologue and more often colloquy with God, they lay bare the prophet's inner life, his hopes, fears, doubts, temptations, struggles, trials.

We shall now consider the confessions in detail, following the order in which they are found in the book. 11/18-23, which has as its background the plots against Jeremiah by the men of Anathoth, was probably delivered during the latter years of the reign of Josiah, after the King had inaugurated his reform. Jeremiah is conscious of his personal integrity and refers his case back to Yahweh, "O Lord of Hosts, that judgest righteously, that triest the reins and the heart, I shall see thy vengeance on them; for unto thee have I revealed my cause." (11/20). A plea like this can spring only from a soul to whom God is near, as well as omniscient and omnipotent. There is an insistence that God does know the prophet's righteousness, his moral sincerity. We will see in other passages that Jeremiah is aware of the evil that lurks

THE END OF THE WORLD

(+) Opus cit. Page 576.

in all human hearts, and jealously examines his own motives. This is known to us as the operation of conscience. To him it was the eye of Yahweh, searching to the very depth of the heart in order to judge righteously. He had learned by this time not to expect justice from men; but from the God who had sent him on his awful mission he was certain that justice must come.

At the very outset of his ministry he had known that he would meet bitter opposition, and God had promised him the fortitude to endure it. But he had been persecuted so fiercely as to cause him to utter terrible imprecations against his foes. Commentators have tried to clear him of the responsibility for these passages and have maintained that they are the work of later editors. But they are too constant a feature of his writings to be disposed of in this manner. In all of the confessions there are vengeful cries, - "I shall see thy vengeance on them. ... I will punish them; the young men shall die by the sword, ... there will be no remnant of them." (11/20; 22, 23). "Pull them out like sheep^v for the slaughter." (12/3). "Avenge me of my persecutors." (15/15). "Let them be ashamed that persecute me ... and break them with a double blow." (17/18). "forgive not their iniquity ... make them stumble before Thee; deal Thou with them in the time of Thy anger." (18/23). "therefore my persecutors shall stumble ... and they shall be greatly ashamed with an everlasting dishonor." (20/11).

Buttenwieser maintains (+) that these cries are not for personal vengeance, but come from a man who knows God's will and is prophetically certain that his enemies, being God's enemies, will be punished. It is true that Jeremiah does consider himself very

(+) Opus cit. Page 118.

16 much at one with God and does believe that they are God's enemies who oppose the message that God has given him to speak. In another [what?] [this would be an immense conceit; but it was the inevitable and even justifiable position of a man to whom God was as a burning fire within him. Yet the personal note in these imprecations must not be overlooked. His curses follow attacks on himself, they are directed against his persecutors and not the enemies of God. He was ready to admit that he was "a man of quarrel and strife to the whole land." (15/10). It was an element in his personality. When he was cursed, he cursed back. When Pashur put him in the stocks, [of his p²d- phary?] Jeremiah called him "magor missayiv" and said he would be a terror to himself and all his friends, and that he should behold their death. (20/3-4). His unfriendly relations with Jehoiakim made him predict that the King would be buried with the burial of an ass. (22/18). Of Shemaiah he said, "he shall not have a man to dwell among this people." (29/24-32) When Hananiah contradicted him, Jeremiah foretold that he would be dead within a year. [blith] Commentators with a Christian bias are justified in stating that Jeremiah's limitations are traceable to an incomplete possession by the spirit of love.

The confession embodied in 12/1-3, 5, 6 is Jeremiah's ^vformulation of the problem of retribution, probably its earliest expression in Hebrew literature. With him it was a very personal problem and not a speculative one. The enemies of God, those who took His name but were inwardly estranged from Him, prospered. And he, Jeremiah, who had given himself to God, was the victim of their persecution. Why was it so? The answer that his conscience gives him is to silence his questionings. There is a rebuke implied in this, - no such idle talk should come from a man entrusted

with a divine mission! The problem itself is avoided as thou^{gh} it were irrelevant or unimportant. The prophet is asked how he dares to complain when he has encountered only minor difficulties. What will he do in the face of serious obstacles?

The next confession, 15/10; 15-21, springs out of a long and bitter experience. He has earned for himself the enmity of his fellow men. But he does not know why this should be. He is certain that nothing in his personal relations with them is responsible; he has had no financial dealings with them. "Yet, everyone curses me." (15/10). There could be no more striking description of the hatred he had aroused than these words. In ancient times it was believed that a sinister power inhered in a curse. This belief is well expressed in Satapatha Brahmana XV 9, 4, 11 "Robbed of his power, robbed of the blessings of all, his good deeds, he must depart from this world who has been cursed by a Brahman." (+) This is a notion, as Prof. Battenwieser points out, common to most of the ancient Oriental peoples. To be cursed by duly qualified persons meant to bring destruction upon the person upon whom it was invoked. When Balak, the King of Moab, wanted to smite the Israelites he called on Balaam to curse them, "for I know that he whom thou blessest is blessed, and he whom thou cursest is cursed." (Numbers 22/6)

Jeremiah's introspective mind turned inward, trying to find the cause of this ill-will within himself. Is it, as in the passage we are considering, that there has been something wrong in his personal dealings? Or has he gone beyond the message entrusted to him and been "urgent for evil, or desired the day of woe?" (17/16)

(+) Quoted by Battenwieser, opus cit. page 96.

Are not his intercessions for the people (18/20) sufficient testimony to his good will? Why was it, then, that he who shrank so from calumny was the object of curses? Why was his soul, by nature gentle, tender, exquisitely fitted for love, the recipient of nothing but hatred? Was he, Jeremiah, to blame? Further, he has done everything for Yahweh; for Him he has renounced all the joys of life. Why, then, is his pain perpetual and his wound incurable? And thereupon, with the courage of a man who completely belongs to God, he throws his question up to the face of God; - Art Thou responsible? Yes, art Thou unto me as a deceitful (stream), as waters that are not sure?

c Yahweh does not directly answer the prophet's questions. He does answer the prophet's questioning, - with a rebuke. The very fact of his questioning God's purpose and God's ways indicates the presence within him of something common. If he would stand before God he must separate the precious from this alloy. Only by unshrinking and uncomplaining obedience may he be God's mouth-piece. When it is borne in mind that this colloquy took place within the prophet's mind, one agrees with Prof. Battenwieser (+) that "psychologically considered this confession must be accounted one of the most wonderful pieces of self-analysis that we have in any literature."

The confession 17/9F, 14/18 is also markedly introspective. "The heart is deceitful above all things, and it is very sick: who can know it?" This is not a general observations on the deceitfulness of the human heart, but is rather a personal confession of the evil he has seen in his own heart. We do not know

(+) Opus cit. Page 102.

the exact nature of that evil. There is the suggestion in verses 15 and 16 that the taunts of his enemies had filled his heart with thoughts of vengeance and hatred. We find in these verses the same defensive insistence that God must know that he does not want the day of evil to come. (+) In verse 10 is the divine response; - man does not understand the mystery of his being but God knows the innermost places of the heart and rewards a man according to his deserts. Man, therefore, cannot be self-reliant for he is utterly dependent on God and his salvation lies in placing His trust in Him. The prophet therefore prays in verse 14 that the great Healer who knows the illness of his heart and who alone can cure it, shall heal him and save him.

The fragment 18/18-20 is the next confession. It is interesting chiefly for the concluding sentence of verse 20, "remember how I stood before Thee to speak good for them, to turn away Thy fury from them." Jeremiah took on himself a task different from that of his predecessors. He stood, as they did, between his people and his God. But they were content, as Cornill states, (++) to be mere preachers of punishment and repentence. "Jeremiah, however, inspite of their unworthiness, holds his fellow country men lovingly in his heart and endeavours to arrest the arm of God already uplifted to deal on them the destructive blow." Jeremiah, together with Hosea, introduced into prophecy the opposition between

(+) The imprecation in verse 18 probably does not belong in this confession since it contradicts verse 16 too sharply, especially since in this very confession he is praying for deliverance from the evil in his heart.

(++) "Prophets of Israel" Page 95.

conscience and feeling, or between the mandate of God and the impulse of the heart. His human affections reacted against his prophetic convictions as in 4/10, "Then I said: ah! Lord God! surely Thou hast deceived this people and Jerusalem, saying, Ye shall have peace, whereas the sword reacheth unto the soul." Perhaps the highest expression of this inner conflict is a verse in which it is reflected back into the mind of God, "is Ephraim my dear son? is he a darling child? for as often as I speak against him I remember him still: therefore my heart is troubled for him; I will surely have mercy upon him, saith, the Lord."

There is little question but that Jeremiah loved his people. It was a strange love, not warm and human as of man for man. For he continually preached destruction, and a man who loves his brother would not hasten his destruction. His love was of the kind attributed to Yahweh. It partook more of the nature of a deep concern than of a human love. This concern led the prophet not only to intercede with God in their behalf, but, even in the last years of the Kingdom, when he was certain that doom was inevitable, to urge the people against his better judgment to change their ways and thus, perhaps move God to hold back the blow. In neither case was his message of avail. The people not only failed to heed him, not persecuted him for his efforts. From Yahweh came a stern rebuke, "pray not thou for this people, neither lift up a cry nor prayer on their behalf; and do not intercede with me for I will not hear thee." (7/16) (+) From time to time, as indicated in 18/20, his heart cried out for the impossible. But then his conscience told him that the divine justice was inexorable and that he must acquiesce.

(+) See also 11/14 and 14/11.

It is the opinion of many that for a description of the irresistible force of divine inspiration, there is no equal in all literature to confession 20/7-11. Jeremiah had been persuaded against his will to become a prophet. Then he had found the burden almost unbearable. His reward for speaking the word of God was ridicule and abuse. Driven to despair, he determined never again to speak in God's name. In vain! For, "if I say I will not make mention of him, nor speak anymore in His name, then there is in my heart as it were a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I am weary with forebearance, and I cannot contain." (20/9) Jeremiah is aware that the word he utters is not his own; he would gladly leave it unsaid. But he cannot resist the divine compulsion. There is no question in his mind as to the divine inspiration of his message, "Thou hast enthralled me, and I am enthralled; Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed."

Confession 20/14-18 differs from the others in that there is in it no indication of the prophet's faith. It is utterly devoid of hope, and unlike anything else, which the prophet wrote. He curses with fierce and terrible curses the day wherein he was born and the man who brought the news to his father that a man-child was born unto him. "Wherefore came I forth out of the womb to see labor and sorrow, that my days should be consumed with shame." This confession tells us better than any description of actual events how terribly he was persecuted by his contemporaries and how keenly he felt the bitterness of his lot. It was written in a fit of despondency from which, no doubt, the prophet soon emerged with faith unshaken.

There is enshrined in the confessions Jeremiah's experience of personal religion which Wellhausen has said is the sphere of the prophet's greatness. This subject will be treated in the following chapter.

•••••

VII. PERSONAL RELIGION

Immediate So far as the *T*effects of his preaching were concerned, Jeremiah had been a failure. His country men were either indifferent or hostile? After a time the question was forced on him, - why, then, continue to speak in the name of Yahweh? The prophet answers by finding a divine purpose in his failure. He is Yahweh's instrument for testing the nation~~x~~ and for exposing the falseness and unreality of its religion. In 6/9F he compares himself to a grapegleaner who passes his hand over a vine branch and finds it barren, "To whom shall I speak and testify that they may hear? Behold their ear is uncircumcized, and they cannot hearken: behold the word of the Lord is become unto them a reproach; they have no delight in it." At the end of some period~~x~~ in his ministry, the prophet takes stock and comments on the results, "I have made thee an assayer (and a fortress) among my people; that thou mayest know and try their way. They are all grievous revolvers, going about with slanders; they are brass and iron: they all ~~of them~~ deal corruptly. The bellows are blown; the lead is consumed of the fire; in vain do they smelt and smelt, the wicked are not plucked away, Rejected silver, call them for the Lord has rejected them." (6/27-30) (+)

(+) Driver's note is instructive. In refining the silver was mixed with the lead, and the mass, fused in the furnace, had a current of air turned upon it; the lead oxidising, acted as a flux carrying off the alloy or dross. But in Israel's case the dross is too closely mixed with the silver, so that the bellows blow and the lead is oxidised, the dross not drawn and the silver remains impure.

Individuals and institutions had been found worthless for God's ends. There was no saving remnant, except himself. He was the only man who really knew Yahweh. For to know Yahweh meant to be at one with Him, to have a sympathetic understanding of His purpose and His ways. Jeremiah's conception of the mind of God is well summed up in these verses, - "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, nor the strong man glory in his might, let not the rich man glory in his wealth. But let him that will glory, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I ~~am~~ Yahweh, ~~who~~ ~~worketh~~ kindness, justice, righteousness in the earth; for ~~in~~ these things I delight, saith the Lord." (9/23-24) (+) In the prophet's eulogy of Josiah there is a similar suggestion, "He judged the cause of the poor and the needy; then was it well. Was not this to know me? Saith the Lord." (22/16).

It appears, then, that to Jeremiah the basis of religion was not in laws or institutions or even outward acts of righteousness, but in the individual human heart, which to the Hebrew mind included the reason and the moral sense. (4/3-4) But before the prophet had reached this advanced view it had been necessary for him to see the inherent shortcomings in the national religion. Originally he had looked upon Israel as a moral and religious entity; its religion and its ethics were national. It is quite likely that he considered

(+) Some, notably Duhm and Schmidt, have denied the Jeremianic authorship of this passage. It is true that the verses are out of place in their present context, but their affinity with other, transparently genuine verses, 8/9, 7/5, 7/6, 22/13-16 stamps them as writings of the prophet.

Josiah's reformation as an act of national repentance, and in the beginning approved of it as such. It was only when he began test the effects of the national religion on mens's lives that he knew it was a failure. He contrasts it with the steadfastness and fidelity of the heathen religions (2/11) and of the Rechabites to their tribal laws. He condemns the virgin of Israel for her foul deeds. (18/13F). When he saw that outward conformity and a heart of evil could go together according to the national dispensation, he turned to the heart and conceived of religion as a relationship between the human soul and God. This was his supreme religious achievement, and probably the supreme achievement of the religion of Israel. For it changed the very conception of religion, substituting a new covenant for the old, "Behold, the day is come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new covenant with the House of Israel and with the House of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt; for as much as they broke my covenant, although I was a Lord over them. But this is the covenant that I will make with the House of Israel after those days; I will put my law in their inward parts, and in their heart 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 neighbor 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 the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity and their sin will I remember no more." (31/31-34)

Duhm and others have maintained that these verses are from the pen of a later scribe, zealous for the law. And yet, proof of their genuineness is not hard to find. That proof is to be found, as Skinner has pointed out, chiefly "in the affinities of thought

between the teaching of Jeremiah, and the circle of ideas to which the covenant belongs." In the first place Jeremiah does think in terms of a covenant as verses 11/1-8 22/8-9, 14/21, 34/13, 32/40, 33/20, 21, 25 testify. The phrase, "I will be their God and they shall be my people", which is the specific formula of the covenant, occurs in 7/23, 11/4, 24/7, 30/22, 31/1, 32/38. Also, the idea of God's taking Israel from Egypt to Canaan which is found in these verses, is found also in 7/7, 17/4, 24/10, 25/5, 3/18, 12/14, 16/15, 30/3, 32/22, 35/15. "Once more, the obligation of obedience, listening to the words or Torah of Yahweh as a condition of well-being, is frequently emphasized in the book, and has at least an affinity with the idea of the covenant." (+) The ideas and phrases of the covenant occur so often in the unquestionably genuine writings of the prophet that there is no justification for considering them the work of a later legalist because of an external resemblance to the Deuteronomic style. The main argument levelled against its genuineness by Duhm is that there is nothing essentially new in it. If it were a new Torah to be written on the heart, he maintains, the passage would be of extreme importance and would stand in direct contrast to the Deuteronomic conception of religion. But, only a new covenant is being given; the law as it is, is now to be taken to heart by the people. It does not promise a new kind of religion, but an inward conformity of the people with the old. "If one is not dazzled by the expressions 'new covenant', 'write on the heart', the passage says no more about the individual

(+) J. Skinner. "Prophecy and Religion" Page 324.

than what Deuteronomy already regarded as possible (30/11F) and desirable (6/6-8) that each should be familiar with the law and loyally obey it."

But this covenant of Jeremiah's did change the character of religion. The old covenant was for him (Chapter 7) that made at Sinai, the essence of which, as Cornill has demonstrated, is the Decalogue. God's demands under the old dispensation were the acceptance of the Decalogue and the performance of its commands. Jeremiah found that this old covenant, which took the form of an agreement with the nation, had failed. For men who had fulfilled all its requirements failed to know God. The law was not at fault and he was not essentially concerned with substituting a new moral and religious code. He wanted to establish a direct relationship between God and the human heart; he wanted to give a new sanction, nay, a new inner prompting to conformity with God's laws. He did not want the law to be something outside the individual, but to become a part of his inner being. There was then a great difference between the old dispensation and the new; the emphasis of one was on an external law, the new stressed the inner moral sense. If it be asked why Jeremiah whose efforts were directed toward drawing men away from everything external, should set his conception in the frame of a covenant the answer is that this was the accepted form of the relations between Yahweh and Israel. It was the form of a relationship in which God in the heart was the content. Jeremiah was dealing with the community of Israel; he was bringing to that community a new relationship with God, one that should supercede the old relationship which was the Sinaitic covenant. It is perfectly natural that he should call this a new covenant.

in fact, and is an excellent home in
comp. and other, and a good one.

Some have maintained that by addressing himself exclusively to the community of Israel, Jeremiah failed to rise above the national principle in religion. This is only partly true; it is true that it did not occur to Jeremiah to address himself to mankind in general. Two isolated oracles, 16/19-20 and 12/14-17 show that a conversion of the heathen world was within the range of his vision. But he was not essentially interested in such a conversion. Possibly he saw that the time for this had not come or, as is more likely, his religious interests did not go beyond the sphere of his own people. The sphere of religion, to Jeremiah, remained the nation. But, and this they failed to see who say that he did not rise above the national principle, the unit of religion was no longer the nation but the individual soul. On the surface religion remained national but in reality all national restrictions fell away in a religion addressed to the individual heart. For religion thus became to all men what it was to Jeremiah, the response of the heart to the voice of God within. Whether Jeremiah ^{saw} ~~sought~~ it or not, his teaching breaks down the barriers of nationality. For his religion was really independent of race or country. Peake has well said (+) that it was not in the last analysis "a relationship between God and the Israelites, but between God and man."

Jeremiah had known the power of prayer. Again and again he had directed petitions to God for healing, help, vindication, vengeance. He had opened his heart to God, laying everything before him "in the sure confidence that he is heard and understood."

(+) Opus cit. Page 47.

Through such prayers he had come to know God and to receive the help that his soul needed. Such prayers, in an important sense, were their own answer. Through prayer he had discovered the fundamental principle of true piety, that religion in its essence is a communion of the individual with God.

Comp 29/16/11!!
transl. misses the point
Having had this experience of personal religion he was able to tell the exiles in Babylon (See Chapter 29) that God was (as) near to them (as to their brethren in Jerusalem). The fact that they were many hundreds of miles from the Temple did not alter their closeness to God. But it was necessary for them to pray in the way that Jeremiah had learned to pray, "and ye shall call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your heart." (29/12-13). (2) see Targ

Not sound wordly judgment alone, but also the insight that accompanied an intimate knowledge of God moved the prophet to advise the exiles to build homes, raise families, and adjust themselves to Babylonian life. True religion could exist anywhere and did exist wherever men sought God with all their hearts. This is a concrete expression of the truth postulated by Jeremiah in the new covenant.

There is possibly a limitation implied in the new covenant, but it is one born of the very greatness of that teaching. Its requirements, as Jeremiah conceived them, were almost too high for the ordinary human being. There is little doubt but that in his time there were Israelites who knew and served God in their way. Yet Jeremiah condemned them all because none knew God as he did. In other words he made his unique religious experience the condition of a genuinely spiritual life. He hardly realised that as his

contemporaries' experience of Yahweh was reflected through their personalities, his was colored by his personality, and that he was a prophetic genius, the greatest of his race? It was inevitable that his contemporaries, and most men, should not only refuse to accept his standards, but should fail utterly to understand them. Jeremiah, however, was no pragmatist and would have maintained that this testified to the temporary shortcomings of mankind and not to any failing in his covenant. It had been inspired by God (he felt) and its rejection by man did not prove it wrong. Perhaps this added further testimony to its greatness.

o o o o

VIII. FINALE

Within a short time after the destruction of Jerusalem Nebuchadnezzar appointed Gedaliah, son of Ahikam, as Governor over the small remnant that had been permitted to remain in Judea. Gedaliah was an honorable, trustful, peace-loving man, one who could be relied on to observe agreements and promises. His capital was established at Mizpah, modern Neby-Samwil, a village five miles northwest of Jerusalem. In near-by Ramah the prisoners were gathered by Nebuzaradan in preparation for the long journey to Babylon.

There is a suggestion in Chapters 39 and 40 of two different narratives of the prophet's release. The more likely is that Gedaliah had drawn the attention of Nebuchadnezzar's representative to Jeremiah's previous effort to keep Judah faithful to Babylon. It is probable that policy more than respect for the prophet's character induced Nebuzaradan to invite him to remain with Gedaliah, if he would. We know too little of the facts to be able to pass judgment on the prophet's motives for remaining. As has been suggested his decision may have been that of a tired old man who preferred to spend his last years on his native soil. But that is unlike Jeremiah. The more acceptable hypothesis is that he considered it his duty to remain. For, all the evils which he had thundered against for forty years had been destroyed with the fall of Jerusalem. Chastened by a great sorrow the people who remained were amenable to reason, and there was good cause to believe that a community genuinely devoted to God might be formed of them. We know from 32/6-15 (which was written, it would seem, after the destruction of Jerusalem) that Jeremiah did hope for the establishment of a God-knowing community in or

near Jerusalem. Likewise, in 42/10-12 he gives Yahweh's blessing on this group, if only they will remain in the land. Not duty alone, but possibly bright hopes for the future, induced him to share the lot of those who remained with Gedaliah.

To Mizpah now came all those who had been in hiding. The Governor's advice to them was moderate and wise, "fear not to serve the Chaldeans; dwell in the land and serve the King of Babylon, and it shall be well with you.gather ye wine and summer fruits and oil, and put them in your vessels, and dwell in your cities that ye hath taken." (40/9-10). The remnant, it appears, set to work at once and were rewarded by a good crop. But this period of peace was destined not to last long. Baalis, King of Amman, who for reasons of his own did not desire to see the growth and the development of a Judean colony under Babylonian protection, spurred on Ishmael, son of Nethaniah, to a heinous crime. Prompted by jealousy or ambition or blind patriotism this descendant of the House of David cunningly plotted the murder of the Governor. Johanan, son of Kareah, warned the intended victim, but in vain. The high-minded Gedaliah refused to believe evil of Ishmael, and dined with him in Mizpah, and was slain. Ishmael slew also seventy ~~xx~~ pilgrims who were on their way to Gedaliah, and then fled. He was pursued by Johanan, but managed to escape.

One can well imagine Jeremiah's consternation as he learned of the assassination of his patron and saw all his hopes shattered. His faith was too deeply rooted, however, for him to give way utterly to despair. The word of the Lord still reposed in him. It appeared advisable to the "remnant" to flee to Egypt

in order to escape Nebuchadnezzar's vengeance. Anxious to receive Yahweh's direction they petitioned Jeremiah for word from the Lord and promised to do as they were bidden. The prophet had no immediate answer ready for them but promised to give them Yahweh's reply to his prayer as soon as he had received it. This incident is instructive for the insight it gives us into the workings of the prophetic consciousness of Jeremiah. Whatever practical advice the prophet may have been ready to give at this time was withheld, and ten days were spent in prayer and meditation. He seemed to have experienced an inner conflict which resolved itself into a desire to distinguish between his own judgment and the will of God. He was not willing to announce the desires of his heart as divine revelation. As throughout his entire career he found it necessary to separate the objective from the subjective in the thoughts of his soul. Finally the word came and Jeremiah spoke it. They were to remain for the Lord was still with them and would see to it that Nebuchadnezzar should be merciful. But if they should go to Egypt destruction would pursue them and there they would die. Once again his word is rejected, and as before, not because it in itself is false but because it is not the word of the Lord. "Thou speakest falsely; the Lord our God hath not sent thee to say, 'ye shall not go into Egypt to sojourn there.'" (43/2) Without more ado the leaders and all the people made their way towards Egypt, and Jeremiah and Baruch went along.

One would imagine that on their arrival in Egypt, the aged Jeremiah, having tried in vain to advise the fugitives for their best interests, would have refrained from further prophesying. But his spirit was unbroken. Enough of God's fiery word was in him to cause him to set before his compatriots at Tahpanhes one of

those symbols that had been characteristic of his prophesying. He laid great stones in the entry of the House of Pharaoh and declared that Nebuchadnezzar would plant his throne and spread his tapestries upon them when he came to smite Egypt. He would assume that land as easily as a shepherd dons his garment, and after breaking the obelisks of its god and burn their temples he would safely depart from it.

The last scene in the known life of Jeremiah seems to set the seal of failure on his work. The people have resumed the worship of the Queen of Heaven (Ishtar, represented by the planet Venus). They did not repudiate Yahweh but recognised other deities as legitimate objects of worship. Jeremiah remonstrated with them, pointing to the destruction of Judah as a consequence of idol worship. But unbelief and superstition were too deeply rooted in their souls, and they answer the prophet by insolently defying him. They say that evil had come upon them not because they had previously worshipped the Queen of Heaven, but because they had left off worshipping her. Jeremiah then knew for certain that it was hopeless to try to reform this people and with bitter irony handed them over to their fate. They would perish and with them the last vestige of this false Yahweh religion in Egypt. Concerning this last incident George Adam Smith well says of Jeremiah (+), "these are the last words we have from him and up to the last he is still himself, broken hearted indeed and disappointed in the ultimate remnant of his people, but still himself

(+) Opus cit. Page 316.

in his honesty, steadfastness to the truth, and his courage; still himself in his irony, his deliberateness, and his confident appeal to the future for the vindication of his word."

We do not know how Jeremiah died or where. Jewish writers have said that he was later carried by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylon and died there. Christian tradition has it that he was stoned to death in Egypt. The circumstances of his passing remain unknown but history has honored him with a splendid tomb. It has made him the brightest star in the constellation of the Hebrew prophets, and rightly so. For he not only separated the essential truths of religion from their embodiment in outworn institutions, but by the example of the most deeply spiritual life known to man, he contributed to humanity some of its most precious and enduring values.

oooo

BIBLIOGRAPHY

John Skinner	"Prophecy and Religion"
R.H. Kennett	"Deuteronomy"
W.Robertson Smith	"The Prophets of Israel" (+)
P.S.P.Handcock	"Archaeology of the Holy Land"
Cornill	"Prophets of Israel"
Major J.W.Powah	"The New Psychology and the Hebrew Prophets"
W.Robertson Smith	"The Religion of the Semites" (+)
George Adam Smith	"Jeremiah"
S.R.Driver	"Translation of the Book of Jeremiah"
F.J.Foakes Jackson	"Biblical History of the Hebrew"
Streane	"Cambridge Bible"
T.K.Ch B Byne	"Jeremiah-His Life and Times"
Julius Wellhausen	"Prolegomena to the History of Israel" (+)
Duhm	"Das Buch Jeremia" (+)
Moses Battenwieser	"The Prophets of Israel"
Isaac Landman	"Stories of the Prophets"
H.Graetz	"History of the Jews" Volume I (+)
Peake	"Century Bible" Volumes I and II
John Skinner	"Ezekiel" in Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible
Julius Wellhausen	"Israel" in Encyclopedia Britannica
A.B.Davidson	"Jeremiah" in Hasting's Dictionary of the Bible

{+} indicates that these were read only in part.