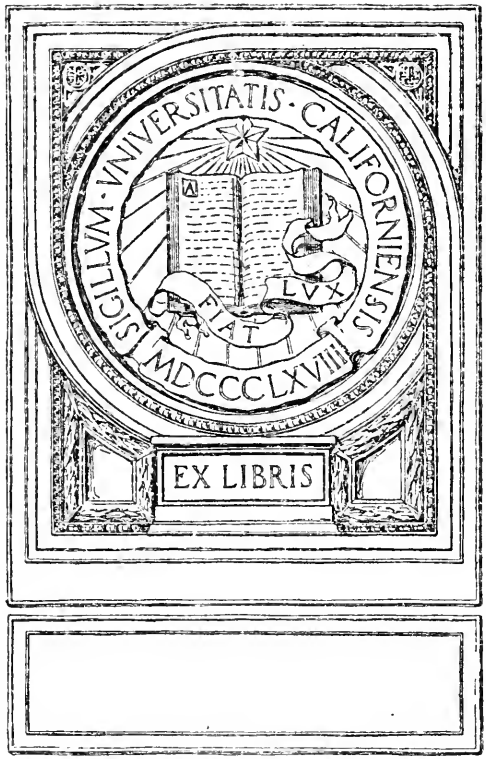
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THE IDEALS OF THE PROPHETS

THE IDEALS OF THE PROPHETS

SERMONS

BY THE LATE

S. R. DRIVER, D.D.
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW AND
CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

TOGETHER WITH

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS PUBLISHED WRITINGS

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PREFACE

BEFORE his death on the 26th of February 1914, Dr. Driver left instructions that a volume of his sermons should be published, and even chose a certain number for the purpose. Four of these, Nos. ix., xi., xix., xx., have appeared in print already; they are reprinted here by the courtesy of the Editors and Publishers of *The Expository Times* and of *The Interpreter*. Dr. Driver's own selection has been considerably enlarged with a view to forming a group, both representative of his ordinary teaching and connected together by a certain unity of subject and treatment. It is evident that he took a special delight in preaching about the ideals of the Old Testament prophets; accordingly most of these sermons will be found to bear upon this topic. All of them were delivered in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, of which he was a Canon in virtue of his office as Regius Professor of Hebrew; he was never connected with any other church; so that the present volume will serve, in some degree, as a memorial of his thirty-two years' ministry there, from 1882 to 1914.

In his preaching, Dr. Driver's aim was to help people to understand the Bible, and especially the Old Testa-

ment; his sermons, therefore, were mainly exegetical, packed with careful information, and noteworthy for an unerring perception of the essential things. What he taught in the lecture-room and in his published writings, he taught also in the pulpit. It has been largely owing to his extraordinary industry and knowledge that English readers have had an opportunity of learning what the Old Testament contains and means; he was anxious that the Cathedral congregation should learn this too. Hence his constant effort to remove traditional misunderstandings, and to show how the Bible may become intelligible, and speak with a living voice to the men and women of to-day.

One point in particular Dr. Driver frequently discusses in these sermons—the fulfilment of prophecy. He would lead us to take a larger, less mechanical, view of the subject than is still widely held; he would have us see that, in this larger sense, the ideals of the prophets were adopted by Christ, and demand Christian conditions for their full accomplishment. How deep was his conviction of the ultimate goal of prophecy, how unfaltering his faith in the great Christian verities, appears in every sermon of this collection. He has shown throughout his ministry that a modern Biblical scholar, one of the foremost champions of the new learning, a master in the science of language and criticism, could at the same time handle the sacred text with the reverence traditional among English people, and with his whole heart remain true to the Christian Faith, and fulfil his service as a loyal son of the Church.

Perhaps Dr. Driver's sermons will appeal more to the reader than they did to the listener. Owing to his rapid delivery and a certain indistinctness of utterance it was not always easy to follow him. Moreover, he never held any pastoral charge; he lived all his life in college, with the unworldliness and simplicity of a true scholar; and it was his lot to preach to an educated audience in a University city. He recognized what he could do and what he could not do; he made no attempt to speak about matters that lay outside his experience. But what he had to give he gave, and always of his best. He took great pains with his sermons, as with everything he did; never an exaggerated phrase, nor an ill-considered, shallow judgment is to be found in his work anywhere. Those who wish to understand something of what the prophets of Israel taught and hoped for will find what they want in these sermons, conveyed in the clear, straightforward style which was characteristic of the preacher.

A bibliography of Dr. Driver's publications, compiled by his son Mr. Godfrey R. Driver, scholar of New College, has been added in the belief that it will be found serviceable to students. It is a fine record of a life's work. As we scan the familiar titles, many of us will realize afresh how much we owe to one whom we have long regarded as master and guide, a debt which we can only hope to repay by following his example of industry, of single-minded devotion to the truth, of loyalty to the Christian Faith.

G. A. C.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
July 1914.

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I

THE CALL TO CONVERSION

"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well."—ISAIAH i. 16, 17.

IN the opening chapter of the Book of Isaiah we listen to the great arraignment, as it has been called, in which the prophet reproaches the nation with its unworthy discharge of the claims due from it, with its declension from the high ideal set before it, with its ostentatious observance of the ceremonial of religion by which it sought to excuse itself for the sins of selfishness and violence so rife within; we hear the earnest invitation to repentance addressed to it, the gracious terms of pardon, if the offer is responded to, the judgment in store, if it maintains its present course unchecked.

Isaiah's endeavour is to awaken in his nation its slumbering spiritual susceptibilities, to arouse it by the offer of pardon, and to bring it back to simpleness and sincerity of life. His aim is to produce what would now be called a great social and religious reform—a reform, however, consisting not merely in the removal of palpable

anomalies, but having its root in a complete change of heart in the individual. This is what in other parts of the Bible is called a turning back, or returning to God, and, also in the New Testament, a change of mind. The heart of the natural man is perverse, it will go its own way, which is seldom the right way: it must be educated by teaching, by the example of one's elders, into the right way, until, by the grace of God co-operating with it, it *turns back* from its own way, and *turns to* God. By a Latinism, the proper sense of which is sometimes misunderstood, this turning to God is called by the technical term *conversion*, that is, a thorough or complete turning. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that the change which we call conversion always occurs in exactly the same way; the way in which it takes place varies with the character and antecedents of the individual: it may be the immediate result of a particular influence or impression brought to bear upon a person, and then it is sudden and readily observable; but in other cases, especially in the case of those who from their childhood have been brought under the right influences, it is gradual, and there is no particular moment at which a person so trained is conscious of the change having come over him. But, whether it is to be accomplished gradually or suddenly, the *turning from* sin and worldliness and *turning to God* is the necessary antecedent of a holy life. And this is what the prophets, addressing their selfish or worldly contemporaries, often say: as Hosea (xiv. 1 f.), "O Israel, *return* unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast stumbled through thy iniquity.

Take with you words, and *return* unto the Lord; and say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously." Jeremiah speaks similarly (xviii. 11, xxxv. 15): "Return ye now every one from his evil way, and amend your ways and your doings." And in the Acts it is said of various converts that they "*turned* unto the Lord" (ix. 35).

The other word expressing a similar idea is the one commonly rendered *repentance*, but meaning properly, at least in the New Testament, *change of mind*. This is the word used by John the Baptist, when he first preached the baptism of *repentance*—of *change of mind*—unto remission of sins, and when he came forward to announce the coming of Christ: "Repent ye—or, *change your mind*—for the kingdom of heaven is at hand"; "bring forth fruits worthy of repentance," or again, of "change of mind." And St. Paul, describing before King Agrippa what he did after his conversion, uses both words together, telling him how he went to both Jews and Gentiles bidding them to *change their mind* and *turn* to God, and do works worthy of their *change of mind* (Acts xxvi. 20).

The prophet, in the words of the text, thus strikes one of the keynotes of Advent—repentance, or change of mind, a complete breaking with the past: "Put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil"; and the adoption of a new manner of life for the future: "Wash you, make you clean; learn to do well; seek judgment, set right the oppressor, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow."

The same thought is set before us by St. Paul in phraseology suggested by the Christian dispensation, in the passage from his Epistle to the Romans which the Church reads on this first Sunday in Advent.

The two faults which Isaiah selects specially for censure are formality in religion and the abuse of position on the part of those enjoying power or authority. The Jews were always prone to believe that, if they performed regularly the external offices of religion, their duty towards God was sufficiently discharged, and moral obligations might be disregarded. Moral deficiencies, with at least many of them, were a matter of indifference, provided the formal routine of festival-keeping and sacrifice was properly observed: it was this, they persuaded themselves, which received God's favour, and it was something far easier to observe than the restraints of morality. This strange delusion was deeply rooted in Israel's heart, and all the great prophets take occasion to attack it. Hosea, in a well-known passage, writes: "I desire kindness rather than sacrifice, and the knowledge of God more than burnt-offerings" (vi. 6). And Isaiah here indignantly declares that God has no delight in the sacrifices and pilgrimages and formal trampling the courts of His temple on the part of men whose hands are full of blood; He will hide His eyes from them, and however much they multiply prayers, He will not hear them: "Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before my eyes; cease to do evil: learn to do well." Isaiah's words contain a lesson for our own times, and apply to others

besides those whose hands are literally "full of blood"; regularity in church-going is no cloak and no excuse for dishonesty, or hardheartedness, or envy, or jealousy, or evil-speaking, or enmity, or other similar faults, such as, it is to be feared, are still not unknown among those who observe regularly the outward offices of religion.

The other fault which Isaiah especially attacked is the abuse of position on the part of those enjoying power or authority. Corrupt rulers, unjust officials, the maladministration of justice, the abuse of power and wealth on the part of those a little better off than their neighbours, leading to the oppression in various forms of the poor and the unprotected, are and always have been a crying evil in the East; the legislation of the Pentateuch sought in vain to guard against them; and the prophets are constantly inveighing against them. Corrupt judges and rulers are unheard of in our country at the present day; but dishonesty, in one form or another so prevalent now in trade, extortion, attempts to defraud and take other advantages of the poor, and the crying abuse of what are known as "sweated industries," take among ourselves quite the same place as the oppression of the fatherless and the widow, the violent seizing of other men's lands, and the withholding their right from the poor, which are so vehemently denounced by the prophets. Jerusalem, we must also remember, as chapter iii. shows, was in Isaiah's time what would now be called a fashionable capital; and where wealth and

fashion reign supreme they are nearly always accompanied by selfishness, inhumanity, and oppression. Isaiah deplores the deterioration of society in Judah from its more glorious past. "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water; thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; every one loveth bribes, and followeth after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them." So he foretells the nemesis which will overtake the too careless nation. "Ah, I will ease me of mine adversaries, and avenge me of my enemies; and I will turn mine hand against thee, and smelt away as in a furnace thy dross, and take away all thy alloy. Zion shall be redeemed by judgment, and those that turn of her by righteousness (that is, by the righteousness of God, as declared in judgment). But transgressors and sinners shall be destroyed together, and they that forsake the Lord shall be consumed." The prophet announces the coming judgment, and the need of true amendment of life for those who wish to escape the final consequences of their sin; only those in Zion who *turn* to God in penitence will be delivered when the day of judgment breaks. The judgment comes in many ways: it falls upon nations, it falls upon corrupt governments, it falls upon individuals.

The declarations of Isaiah were never fulfilled precisely as he anticipated. Many of those whom Isaiah had in mind escaped, we may be sure, all temporal retribution whatever; and when a judgment did fall upon Jerusalem, it never, we may be equally sure, picked out

the wicked and spared the righteous. But Isaiah expresses an eternal truth in the form in which he and his contemporaries apprehended it: he declares the retribution which, in the natural course of God's procedures, or by the natural operation of the laws by which human society is regulated, very commonly falls upon those who defy the cardinal principles of morality or religion. In the age of the prophets nothing was known about either rewards or punishments in a future life. These only entered into the sphere of revelation at a much later stage of its history. In the light of the New Testament we are entitled to extend what Isaiah says to embrace the hereafter. Isaiah is thinking of the nation, which, as a whole, and especially in the persons of its upper and responsible classes, he regarded as corrupt; he himself no doubt has thus in his mind a great national catastrophe such as has often in history brought to its end an immoral rule. But retribution for sin may fall also upon individuals; it may, when it comes, surprise us unawares; it may take the form of some temporal penalty; it may fall upon us in the hour of death, or in the day of final judgment.

The season of Advent may thus become a time of looking forward to, and preparation for, not only our annual commemoration of the first coming of Christ, but also for His second coming. Let us then take to heart the lesson that the prophet would have us learn; let us, to use the imagery of St. Paul in the Epistle for to-day and of the Collect, awake betimes out of sleep: let us cast off the works of darkness and put

upon us the armour of light by which we may ward off the assaults of the Evil One, and be able to fight as Christ's soldiers, in the kingdom of light into which we have been translated, that so, when the time comes, we may be fit to appear in the presence of our Lord.

II

VISION AND CRISIS

"Behold, a king shall reign in righteousness, and princes shall rule in judgment. And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land."—ISAIAH xxxii. 1, 2.

DURING the season of Advent the first lessons in our services, on both Sundays and week-days, are selected regularly from the Book of Isaiah. The selection is an appropriate one; for in no part of the Old Testament are the thoughts which we associate with the coming of Christ set forth with greater clearness and finer imaginative power than in the prophecies grouped together in the book which bears Isaiah's name. On the first Sunday in Advent, in the two impressive chapters with which this volume opens, we hear the prophet, in dignified and stately periods, arraigning his people for their sins, and declaring the judgment which in consequence is doomed to break upon them; on the second Sunday we listen to the parable of the vineyard, which sets forth how imperfectly the people of Judah had responded to the efforts and intentions of their Divine Lord, and hear the woes

which the indignant prophet hurls against the sins of his countrymen; while in the afternoon, as if by contrast, we gaze with wonder upon the picture which he draws of the gracious person and blissful rule of Israel's ideal King; on the third Sunday and this we have presented to us other delineations of the brighter future which the prophet, as he looks out beyond the troubles of the present, discerns beyond (chs. xxv., xxvi., xxx. 1–26, xxxii.).

The chapter from which these words are taken was written during the campaign of Sennacherib against Jerusalem, which so nearly ended in the capture of the city and the ruin of Judah. It was a time when, as was natural, the temper of the people was sorely tried; the hosts of Assyria were rapidly approaching to wreak, as it seemed, the same fate upon Jerusalem as had just been dealt out to the cities of Phœnicia. The danger to Judah was thus real, and the alarm, we may be sure, was correspondingly great. It was Isaiah's call to console and encourage his people with the assurance that the purpose of the Assyrians would fail, that disaster was awaiting them, and that God would interpose in His people's extremity and relieve it. And in doing this his eye glances now and again at the future, which he pictures as beginning when the troubles of the present are past. The overthrow of the Assyrians is to him an epoch, or turning-point, in the history of his people; when that has taken place the defects and shortcomings which he deplored will be at an end; the people, no longer imperilled

by foes without, or oppressed by wrong and injustice within, will be purged and regenerated; a golden age will at once begin, when Israel's ideal character as a holy and godlike nation will be realized in actual fact.

And so he depicts an age in which "a king will reign in righteousness, and princes rule in judgment." The princes and judges of Isaiah's day, as we know from the terms in which he alludes to them in his own book, had often abused their office: they consulted only their own advantage or aggrandizement, they thought little of the social and moral well-being of their people; the poor and the unprotected seldom got their rights. In the future which the prophet contemplates, all this will be changed; king and princes will be the devoted guardians of justice, none will look to them in vain for wrongs to be redressed and innocence vindicated. The most indispensable condition of a happy people, the integrity and disinterestedness of its government and ruling classes, will thus be satisfied. "And a man shall be as an hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." The figures are drawn from those extremes of climate which are more noticeable in Eastern countries than in our own —the violent rains in winter, threatening to drench and sweep away all before them; the blazing heat of noon in summer, scorching vegetation, and compelling the exhausted traveller to desist from his journey and betake himself, if he can, to the refreshment of a stream or the shelter of a rock by the wayside.

By a "man" is meant here any citizen, especially one enjoying some position or influence; and such a one, instead of taking advantage of his position, as both Isaiah and Micah tell us the nobles of Judah did, to oppress his less fortunate neighbours, to encroach upon their lands, to use their services without proper payment, to aggrandize himself at their expense, will be what his position demands that he should be, the willing and effectual protector of the poor. All classes, king, princes, individual citizens, will be pervaded by an increased sense of public responsibility and of the claims which society has upon them, and public duty. "And the eyes of them that see shall not be closed; and the ears of them that hear shall attend." Those who have the faculties of intellectual and moral perception will then use them; they will not be blinded by nterest or prejudice; they will be quick to realize what the times require, and to discern the duties which occasion may lay upon them. "And the heart of the hasty shall understand so as to know, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be quick to speak plainly" —premature and superficial judgments will be replaced by discrimination and sound knowledge; vacillation will give way before the prompt and clear assertion of principle. The prophet pictures a moral transformation as effected in his nation; the defects and faults of the present will be removed; a healthy, prompt, and sound moral judgment will take the place of the imperfect and corrupt principles of action which too often asserted themselves in the society which he knew.

In illustration, Isaiah takes the conventional abuse of certain moral terms, exposes it, and declares that it shall cease. "The churl will no longer be called noble, nor the knave said to be gentle"—or, as we might say now, a gentleman. What kind of person the prophet means by a churl is apparent from the next verse, where his character is unfolded in his actions: "For the churl speaketh churlishness, and his heart worketh iniquity, to practise profaneness, to utter error as against the LORD, to make empty the soul of the hungry, and to cause the drink of the thirsty to fail." This and other passages in which the word is used show that it denotes a person who is blind to the claims which either God or man has upon him, one who is absorbed in a sense of self, rough and arrogant in his manner, impious towards God, selfish, hard-hearted, and indifferent towards men. Such a character is so unlovely that it is difficult to picture fully what it is; but in Isaiah's time it seems to have been viewed with no disapproval or surprise.

One would fain believe that the character was unknown now in a Christian country; but a rough and aggressive self-assertiveness, not less than, especially in some strata of society, a selfish and avaricious disregard of the just claims of others, is still to be met with among us. Are there none among us to whom the indignant words spoken by the same prophet on another occasion might not be addressed: "The spoil of the poor is in your houses; what mean ye that ye crush my people, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord, the LORD

of hosts"? And the knave, too, was looked upon as a respectable, gentlemanly man: the knave whose instruments, or tools, as the prophet goes on to explain, were evil, and who "devised wicked devices to destroy the poor with lying words"—that is, who sought by false allegations to circumvent the unfortunate and to defraud him of his right. Isaiah may have had mainly in view that crying evil in the East, the corrupt administration of justice. That happily is unknown in this country, but the same motive may operate in different ways; and we do, for instance, hear sometimes of men apparently respectable, and even holding good positions in society, who are in reality unprincipled speculators or adventurers, and who in various ways, for their own selfish ends, take advantage of those poorer than themselves, and bring ruin upon the helpless and the unprotected. That is no longer to be: the moral sense being quickened, men and actions will be called by their right names; neither the irreligious and illiberal churl nor the unprincipled schemer will any longer impose upon the world, or enjoy a reputation which is not his due. "But the liberal, or noble, man devises noble things, and in noble things doth he persist"—his aims and plans are honourable, and he persists in them; he does not turn aside from them, and his thoughts are ever directed towards giving them effect.

The prophet's ideal then includes, as has been said, both character and the capacity to discriminate character. First, the prophet claims *character*—consistent and high-minded regard of duty, especially in those

holding public or influential positions; secondly, he claims the capacity to *discriminate character*: men are both to be exemplary themselves, and to appreciate what is exemplary in others; they are not to be deceived by a plausible exterior; the conventional abuse of language is to cease; things are to be called by their true names; dishonesty is not to be excused by calling it the practice of the trade; faults are not to be condoned because they are committed by men holding a high place in society. Honourable terms are not to be applied, in flattery or falsehood, to persons unworthy of them.

Isaiah no doubt pictured his ideal fulfilled much sooner than was actually to be the case; he pictured the moral transformation of life and society taking place as soon as the Assyrian danger was past, and Israel could again breathe freely. Like the other prophets, he did not realize the complexity of human nature or the force of evil habit upon it; he did not perceive how gradual all moral change must be; he did not comprehend what centuries must elapse, and what new and varied influences must be brought to bear upon human nature, before the conditions of a perfect social state could be even approximately satisfied. This prophecy does not stand alone; there are many similar to it in Isaiah, and some also in other prophets. I will only quote two: "And it shall come to pass that he that is left in Zion, and he that remaineth in Jerusalem, shall be called holy"—every one who survives the coming disaster will realize the ideal character of Israel,

and be holy. And again: "Then judgment shall dwell in the wilderness, and righteousness shall abide in the fruitful field: and the work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and confidence for ever" (Is. iv. 3, xxxii. 17). Righteousness, that is, will dwell throughout the land; and its effect will be a secure and contented people; no sin will be there to mar the national felicity.

It was thus Isaiah's fixed and firm conviction that such a golden age was destined, in God's good time, to arrive; and we, who live under the Christian dispensation, can at least testify to the benefits which have accrued to mankind through the life and work of Christ. The spiritual and moral illumination possessed by the Jews, with the many practical consequences resulting from it, are now no longer confined to a single nation; they have become, through the work of Christ and the agency of His apostles, the inheritance of the entire world. Were it not for the influences exerted by Christianity upon the history of Europe, first upon the Latin and afterwards upon the Teutonic races, how different would the position be in which we ourselves should stand at the present moment! The civilization of modern times, though it has its dark spots—they are sometimes, alas! very dark—nevertheless bear conspicuous evidence of the invigorating and ennobling influences which radiate from the birth of Christ in the manger at Bethlehem. But the perfect age, of which the prophets had visions, is still far distant. The constitution of human nature is such that a moral revolution on a large scale cannot

be accomplished, like a political revolution, in a moment, by an external force: it can only be brought about by the slow and gradual co-operation of individuals exerted in the particular sphere in which they each live. The kingdom of heaven cannot come upon us suddenly from without: it can only be realized gradually by the minds and hearts of men co-operating with the spirit of God in bringing it about. The advent of Christ, and the consequences resulting from it, supply the primary condition for the fulfilment of the prophet's vision. The new motives and the new influences which Christ, by founding His Church, brought to bear upon its members, constitute the power through which human life must be regenerated, and society, as a whole, purified and reformed.

What then we, as individuals, have to ask ourselves is, How far are we setting before us the prophet's ideal? How far are we exerting ourselves to act up to it? How far are we applying the advantages of our Christian position for the purpose of realizing it? Do we fulfil our duties towards the society in which we move? Are we, as individual citizens, a "shelter" against wrong and evil which may come down upon our neighbours? We may be a shelter and a source of refreshment in many ways. We may help to relieve our neighbours' physical wants. We may help them to fight against untoward circumstances, and prevent them from succumbing in the struggle for life. We may educate their moral and spiritual nature. We may diffuse wholesome principles of life and action, we may elevate

their standard of duty, we may win their hearts by our personal influence and example. We may help to educate public opinion, and to rouse it to the duty of doing something, for instance, to ameliorate the conditions under which, especially in our large cities, many of our poor live; to check the exaction from them of hard and ill-paid labour, and to suppress that nefarious traffic in the souls of the innocent of which we have heard lately. No one method can be laid down which will suit all cases: though the principle is the same, it may be indefinitely varied in its application. The power and the value of personal influence and personal character is what Isaiah emphasizes; and our duty is to consider whether we are making the most of this, and availing ourselves, as fully as we are able to do, of the opportunities which our position places in our way.

But further, we must not be deficient in moral insight and moral courage. "The eyes of them that see shall not be closed, and the ears of them that hear shall attend." Our moral sense must be on the alert. We must be quick to discern the duties that we have to meet, and moral principles must be asserted with clearness and decision. The odious characters whom the prophet so unsparingly exposes must be recognized at their true worth; they must not impose upon our good nature or our politeness; they must be dealt with as they deserve. Isaiah names types of character: of the particular examples which he selects we may have no experience, but there are others of the same

kind. The principle which he demands is that merely conventional standards should be abandoned; society should not be ruled indiscriminately, harmfully as well as harmlessly, by fashion or custom; men should be recognized at their true value, and treated accordingly. Society is sometimes too apt to condone faults, and even vices, if they can shelter themselves under the cloak of respectability, or if wealth, or success, or custom blind men to their real nature. But moral insight and moral courage must assert themselves; nobility of character will so come gradually to preponderate, and the standards of society, where they are defective, will be elevated and ennobled.

Such are some of the thoughts suggested by Isaiah's picture of the golden future: personal character, personal influence, personal exertion, directed, in however humble a degree, towards the realization of a great ideal. By the blessing of God and the sustaining grace of His Holy Spirit may we keep this high ideal before our eyes, and may we be enabled, each one of us, to contribute something towards this end!

III

CRISIS AND DELIVERANCE

"And the remnant that is escaped of the house of Judah shall again take root downward, and bear fruit upward."—ISAIAH xxxvii. 31.

IN the year which preceded the invasion of Sennacherib, and while the kingdom of Judah remained tributary to Assyria, a strong party in Jerusalem was aiming at a revolt, and trusting in the help of Egypt to effect their purpose. Isaiah foresaw the disastrous consequences which such a course would entail, and endeavoured to dissuade his people from persisting in it. His warnings were, however, uttered in vain; and the 30th and 31st chapters of his book allude to the embassies which nevertheless were being sent, once and again, to complete the alliance with Egypt. Hezekiah, it seems, held out for some time; but at length he was no longer able to resist the wishes of the statesmen and people in Judah; and in the following year, seven hundred and one years before Christ, the decisive step was taken. As we learn from the contemporary Assyrian inscriptions recently discovered, this step was not taken by the people of Judah alone; many of the cities of Phœnicia

and the Philistines joined with them in what was, in fact, a concocted plan of revolt. Sennacherib tells us himself of the measures which he immediately took to punish his rebellious subjects. First, he led his army to Phœnicia, and reduced Sidon and the other revolting cities there. Then he turned southwards, marching with his army all along the seacoast of Palestine into the country of the Philistines, and subdued the Philistine cities of Ashkelon and Ekron, the troops from Egypt sent to assist the Ekronites being defeated and obliged to retire. It was probably just when Sennacherib's army was starting on its march to the south that the great prophecy contained in Isaiah's 10th chapter was delivered. The news of Sennacherib's movements would, we may be sure, be received in Jerusalem with anxiety; nor would the alarm be diminished when it became known what successes he was gaining in Phœnicia; and when the report arrived that his vast army was preparing to move southwards, the politicians who a year previously had derided Isaiah's forebodings must have begun to have their misgivings. Isaiah, though he disapproved of the step which had been taken, and which was the direct cause of the present danger, nevertheless does not abandon his country in its trouble, or leave it to despair; his words are buoyant with encouragement and hope. Certainly he does not conceal from his countrymen that the suffering and anxiety entailed by their mistaken step cannot be averted; but the ultimate issue is painted by him more brightly than ever. The Assyrian, proud though

he be of his strength, is embarking upon an enterprise which is doomed to failure; and Isaiah uses the grandest imagery to describe his fall. He pictures the Assyrian battalions as the trees of a huge forest, which, however, are destroyed by a sudden conflagration, so that at the end of a single day a child may count them.

"Therefore shall the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, send upon his fat ones leanness; and underneath his glory shall be kindled a burning like the burning of fire. And the Light of Israel shall be for a fire, and his Holy One for a flame; and it shall burn and devour his thorns and briers in one day. And the remnant of the trees of his forest shall be few, that a child shall write them" (x. 16–19).

But Judah, though it escapes, will not escape unharmed; it will be a time of trial for all; many will suffer and perish in the catastrophe, but those who do escape will have their characters purified, and will on longer rely upon false helps.

"In that day, the remnant of Israel, and they that are escaped out of the house of Jacob, shall no more again stay upon him that smote him; but shall stay upon Jehovah, the Holy One of Israel, in truth. A remnant shall return, even the remnant of Jacob, unto the mighty God. For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of them shall return: a consumption is determined, overflowing with righteousness" (x. 20–22)—that is, an exterminating judgment, giving effect with a torrent's force to God's righteous

purpose and sweeping all away except a "remnant," is decreed to be enacted upon the earth.

"Therefore, O my people, be not afraid of the Assyrian though he smite thee with the rod, and lift up the staff against thee after the manner of Egypt. . . . Behold, the Lord, Jehovah of hosts, shall lop the bough with terror: and the high ones of stature shall be hewn down, and the haughty shall be humbled. And he shall cut down the thickets of the forest with iron, and Lebanon shall fall by a mighty one" (x. 24, 33 f.).

This promise of the failure of Assyria must have been helpful in restoring confidence in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, Sennacherib still pressed forward, and after his successes against the Philistine cities, proceeded to attack Judah. The narrative in the Book of Isaiah begins with the statement that "he came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them" (xxxvi. 1). His own inscription speaks still more explicitly: "Forty-six of his strong cities, fortresses, and smaller towns of their border without number, I besieged and took; 200,000 people, small and great, male and female, and cattle without number, I carried off as spoil. Hezekiah himself, as a bird in a cage, in Jerusalem his royal city, I shut up. His cities which I had plundered, from his domain I cut off, and gave to the Philistine kings of Ashdod, Ekron, and Gaza. I diminished his territory." The description indicates with sufficient plainness the desperate condition to which Jerusalem and Judah were reduced: the country overrun by the Assyrian soldiers, the capital blockaded, numerous cities and villages

captured, men and cattle carried off as captives, parts of the territory handed over to their Philistine foes. The description, it is true, is confined to the outlines of events; but we can supplement it with details suggested by allusions in the prophecies of Isaiah or otherwise probable under the circumstances. We may think of the confusion within the city: all ordinary occupations, whether of business or amusement, at a standstill, fugitives hurrying in for shelter, soldiers and their leaders returning with nothing glorious to report; others at work repairing the fortifications, levelling the houses and trees outside which could give shelter to the besiegers, storing up water within the city in the event of a siege; and then in the distance, clouds of smoke and flame day after day rising up, telling of some city or village destroyed by the invaders. As Isaiah says in another part of his book: "Your country is desolate, and your cities burned with fire; your land, strangers are devouring it in your presence, and it is desolate like the overthrow of strangers" (i. 7). Probably to this period belongs the 22nd chapter of Isaiah, telling of an assault made upon the capital—the valleys near Jerusalem filled with chariots, horsemen outside the gates, Elam bearing the quiver, and Kir uncovering the shield—a day, as the people calls it, of discomfiture and treading down and confusion from the Lord, Jehovah of hosts (xxii. 5–7).

In all this famine and distress what was to be done? Hezekiah had but one course open to him; he could but submit. He sent to the Assyrian king at Lachish,

about thirty-five miles south-west of Jerusalem, the message: "I have offended; return from me: that which thou puttest upon me I will bear" (2 Kings xviii. 14). The offer was accepted; an immense amount of gold and silver was exacted; and, naturally, now Hezekiah deemed himself secure. But something—we do not know what—occurred to arouse Sennacherib's suspicion, or to make him dissatisfied with the engagement he had concluded, and he sent again demanding the unconditional surrender of Jerusalem.

Endeavours were made to conciliate him and obtain more favourable terms; but Hezekiah's envoys sent to Lachish returned, saying that their efforts had been unsuccessful. The Assyrian king remained unmoved. The dismay in Jerusalem must now have been indescribable, and the fall of the city could have seemed to be only a question of time. Again Isaiah comes forward with the messages of assurance and hope contained in his 33rd chapter. "Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest barbarously, and they dealt not barbarously with thee! when thou hast ceased to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou hast made an end to deal barbarously, they shall deal barbarously with thee"—a just retribution will overtake thee; the fate thou preparedst for others will recoil upon thyself. A moment later the prophet's inspired vision sees the enemy in flight—"At the noise of the tumult the peoples are fled; at the lifting up of thyself the nations are scattered. And your spoil shall be gathered as the caterpillar gathereth: as locusts

leap shall they leap upon it" (xxxiii. 3 f.). He draws in passing a pitiable picture of the state to which Judah has been reduced: "Behold, their valiant ones cry without; the ambassadors of peace"—the envoys retiring from Lachish—"weep bitterly."

"The highways lie waste, the wayfaring man ceaseth: he hath broken the covenant, he hath despised the cities, he regardeth not man,"—alluding to the perfidy of the Assyrians, and their high-handed treatment of whatever and whoever came in their way. The country itself sympathizes with the sufferings of its inhabitants: "The land mourneth and languisheth: Lebanon is ashamed and withereth away: Sharon is like a desert. Now will I arise, saith Jehovah; now will I lift up myself; now will I be exalted. Ye shall conceive chaff, ye shall bring forth stubble: your breath is a fire that shall devour you" (xxxiii. 7 ff.).

And he passes on to contemplate the time when the anxieties of the present will be all past:

"Thou shalt not see the fierce people, the people of a deep speech that thou canst not perceive; of a stammering tongue, that thou canst not understand." Zion will then be at rest, secure from all pain or harm. "Look upon Zion, the city of our sacred feasts: thine eyes shall see Jerusalem a quiet habitation, a tent that shall not be removed, the stakes whereof shall never be plucked up, neither shall any of the cords thereof be broken. . . . And the inhabitant shall not say in that day, I am sick: the people that dwell therein shall be forgiven their iniquity" (*ibid.* vv. 19–24).

The deliverance, however, was not at hand yet. Sennacherib sends the Rabshakeh from Lachish, accompanied by a great army, to demand the surrender of Jerusalem. This officer was a clever, fluent diplomatist, able to make the best use of the situation, and to appeal forcibly to popular feeling and prejudice. His aim is partly to intimidate the people, partly by delusive promises to make them dissatisfied with Hezekiah and rise up against him. And there are certainly elements of truth in his arguments. With his first words he touches the sore point in Judah's policy, her trust in Egypt. "Lo, thou trustest in the staff of this broken reed, on Egypt; whereon if a man lean, it will go into his hand, and pierce it: so is Pharaoh king of Egypt to all that trust in him." His estimate of the help to be derived from Egypt (xxxvi. 6) does not differ from the estimate of Isaiah himself. He proceeds to undermine the religious confidence of the people. Hezekiah had abolished many of the local sanctuaries, where the rites were often contaminated by heathen practices, and directed all men to worship in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Rabshakeh knew that many Jews would look upon this disestablishment of religion as likely to incur Jehovah's displeasure, and turn Him against them; so he takes advantage of their feeling and says: "If thou say unto me, We trust in Jehovah our God: is not this he, whose high places and altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall worship before this altar?" (*ibid*

ver. 7). Jehovah, he argues, would not defend worshippers who had thus treated His sanctuaries, and forbidden people to worship Him as they had long been accustomed to do. Then he puts forward, with perfect truth, the military strength of Assyria, and the comparative feebleness of that of Judah. "How canst thou turn away the face of one captain of the least of my master's servants?" "I will give thee two thousand horses if thou, for thy part, canst set riders upon them" (*ibid.* vv. 8, 9). And then there follows the tempting promise, designed to induce the people to abandon their own king and trust to Sennacherib: "Make a treaty with me, and come out to me; and eat every one of his vine, and every one of his fig-tree, and drink every one the water of his own cistern: until I come and take you away to a land like your own land, a land of corn and must, a land of bread-corn and vineyards" (*ibid.* vv. 16, 17). No other nation had successfully resisted the Assyrians; only twenty years before Samaria had been taken by them, and its inhabitants sent into exile; can Jerusalem hope to escape? The alarm both of Hezekiah and his ministers is great; but the king's faith does not desert him, and he sends to Isaiah to crave his intercession for "the remnant that is left." The remnant that is left. The expression seems to fall from the narrator by chance; but it acquires significance in the light of the history, which shows what great losses in captives or in slain the Jews had experienced. Isaiah answers with unabated confidence; Hezekiah has no ground

for alarm: "I will put a spirit in him"—that is, an unexplained impulse will seize him—"and he shall hear a rumour"—some alarming tidings—"and return to his own land" (xxxvii. 7). Encouraged thus by Isaiah, the people resist the Rabshakeh's appeals alike to their hopes and to their fears. He returns to Sennacherib with the reply that his mission had proved unsuccessful. But Sennacherib was still uneasy: a report of movements on the part of the Egyptians had reached him, and he sends a second, more peremptory message to Hezekiah, declaring that his trust in God is ill-founded, and again pointing to the inability of any nation or fortress to resist Assyria. Hezekiah spreads the taunting, defiant letter before the Lord, and entreats His help in prayer.

The crisis was indeed a real one. The reiterated demand for the surrender of Jerusalem could only mean that, if not complied with, Sennacherib would himself advance against the city, and bring to bear upon it those formidable engines of attack which made the name of Assyria dreaded in antiquity. The boast of Sennacherib was a true one: one city after another had fallen before him; Jerusalem was stripped of her allies; since no help was to be expected from Egypt, her territory was at the mercy of the enemy: must not resistance have seemed desperate, and were not the chances incalculably against her escape? To the human eye the fate of the city must have seemed sealed. And we, who look back upon the crisis in the light of history, can see what a momentous one it was, and

how much more turned upon it than the welfare of a single nation. If the Jews had now, like the ten tribes of Samaria twenty years before, been scattered among the heathen, what would have been the future of their religion? What would have become of the teaching of the prophets? How could the Christ have come in the flesh? Would there have been such a thing as Christianity? The issue was indeed critical: it was fraught with momentous consequences for the entire world.

Yet Isaiah never wavered. His faith remained unshaken, his prevision was clear and true. From the first he had seen distinctly. In the Ariel prophecy of a year previously he had said: "The multitude of the terrible ones shall be as chaff that passeth away: yea, it shall be in an instant suddenly" (xxix. 5); and often since he had repeated, under different imagery, the same thought. Though the people were in terror, the messengers of peace "weeping bitterly," the king and his counsellors helpless, every prospect of relief cut off, his confidence never forsook him: the more closely the toils seemed drawn about Jerusalem, the more boldly he announced his nation's deliverance, the brighter were his visions of its future glory. And so now in the supreme hour of his country's danger he comes forward with the fine prophecy in which the virgin stronghold of Jerusalem is represented as disdainfully mocking her proud assailant in his defeat, and watching derisively his retreating footsteps. "The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee, and laughed thee to scorn; the

daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head after thee" (xxxvii. 22). The Assyrian had boasted that he could lead his army where he would, over mountain chains, through thick forests, across barren deserts; he had indeed laid waste many cities and subdued many nations, but that was because he had been an instrument, though an unconscious one, in the hands of Providence. His aims were, however, selfish ones; they were those of a despot who sought only the aggrandizement of his empire, and had no desire to benefit or criticize humanity; and now when he essayed to destroy Israel and thwart the growth of all true religion upon earth, he could no longer hope to succeed: "Therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips"—like some wild animal ignominiously captured—"and turn thee back by the way by which thou camest." "By the way that he came, by the same shall he return, and into this city he shall not come, saith the Lord" (xxxvii. 29, 34). It was perhaps the most dramatic moment in Israel's history. The life or death of the nation was trembling in the balance. On one side stood all human probabilities, all that human eye could foresee or human skill calculate; on the other, the unwavering promise of Isaiah. Which would the event justify? The conflict of hopes and fears must have been intense, the suspense while it lasted more agonizing than can be imagined. We do not know particulars; we do not know how the tidings reached the city, or with what revulsions of feeling it was received; all that the narrative says is that "the

angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men" ; and that Sennacherib, king of Assyria, departed, and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh (*ibid.* ver. 37). It was Isaiah's promise which the event justified. No doubt the immediate cause of the disaster was a pestilence, attributed, as in the case of the pestilence in David's time, to the operation of an angel. Sennacherib's army was not struck down outside the walls of Jerusalem, for there is reason to suppose that it was on its way into Egypt; and the pestilence was produced probably by the unhealthy miasmas of the Serbonian bog—a huge swamp on the borders of Egypt — the malaria from which has been known also in more recent times to engender, more than once, a desolating plague.

Thus, under Providence, Jerusalem was saved; and the benefits accruing to the world, from Israel's completion of its destined course of history, were preserved. It is one of the signal occasions in which we can trace, acting by invisible and mysterious means, the hand of God in history. The "remnant of the house of Judah," which had all but perished, and which to human eye seemed to be lost, was again able "to take root downward, and bear fruit upward." If Jerusalem had then been surrendered or captured, all that had been gained by the work of Isaiah and other prophets would have been lost to Israel and the world. The spiritual religion of which Isaiah was the exponent was not yet capable of existing apart from the nationality in which it was born; and hence the preservation of

the Hebrew State was of paramount importance for the conservation of the true knowledge of God. Outside the narrow field of Jewish literature, a faint and distorted echo of the retreat of Sennacherib is all that is to be heard ; in the victorious progress of the Assyrian monarchy it barely produced a momentary interruption ; Sennacherib's inscriptions tell us how he resumed his campaigns, in other directions, the very next year. And yet, as has been said, "the event has had more influence on the life of subsequent generations than all the conquests of Assyrian kings ; for it assured the permanent vitality of that religion which was the cradle of Christianity" ;[1] and so it is that, though 2600 years have since rolled by, we listen year by year to the tragic story of Judah's great deliverance, and are grateful to the Providence which so shaped the course of history that, as Isaiah said, a remnant should escape, and hand on to future generations the love of the living God.

[1] W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 356.

IV

A PROBLEM OF FAITH

"Behold, his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him: but the just shall live by his faithfulness."—HABAKKUK ii. 4.

THE prophet Habakkuk lived in anxious and troubled times. The political and other difficulties were beginning which where destined within less than twenty years to bring the kingdom of Judah to its close, and cause the exile of its inhabitants to Babylonia. On the one hand, the social condition of Judah was anything but what it should be. In spite of the reform carried through by Josiah about twenty years previously, the mass of the people, as we learn from allusions in Jeremiah, had speedily fallen back; though there were, indeed, still faithful souls left, lawlessness, injustice, dishonesty and oppression were only too conspicuous in the nation at large, and idolatry was widely and openly practised. Jehoiakim the king was a selfish and tyrannical ruler. The nobles were ready enough to follow his example; so that, by the time when Habakkuk wrote, the old evils of Manasseh's reign began to break out again. On the other hand, political dangers threatened. The age was one in which the

empires of Egypt on the west and the Chaldæans on the east were contending for supremacy, and Judah, which lay between them, was one of the countries for which they both disputed. Jehoiakim owed his throne to Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt; but Jehoiakim had only been reigning for four years when the power of Egypt was utterly shattered by a great defeat which it sustained, at Carchemish on the Euphrates, by the Chaldæans under Nebuchadnezzar. Jeremiah at once perceived the crucial significance of this victory; he saw that it was the design of Providence that Nebuchadnezzar should acquire supremacy over the whole world, so far as it was then known; and counselled his people accordingly to accept the inevitable, and acquiesce in a position of dependence upon the Chaldæans. Already rumours respecting this nation of warriors, their ferocious character, their insatiable lust of conquest, their irresistible prowess, had reached Jerusalem. It was clear that before long they would seek to include Judah in their empire; timely submission might avert further disaster; resistance to their demands would be fatal.

To Habakkuk the outlook suggested perplexity and questionings. There seemed to him to be a conflict of principles which he could not fully understand. These questionings are set forth in his first chapter, and the passage which I have taken as my text is the answer to them. The book opens in the form of a dialogue between the prophet and his God. Habakkuk contemplates with dismay the reign of lawlessness

around him in Judah. Long and earnestly has he pleaded with God to interpose: "O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear? I cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save," but no answer has come; evil rears its head unchecked and unremedied; iniquity, violence, plundering, strife, contention, universal paralysis of law and order are what everywhere prevails: "Therefore law is benumbed, and judgment doth never go forth; the wicked doth compass about the righteous; judgment goeth forth perverted." These are the sights he is compelled to witness day by day around him in Judah. Will Jehovah never interfere?

The answer comes from the mouth of Jehovah Himself. Even now the nations may look on and wonder; for He is about to work a work so unparalleled, so incredible, that men would not believe it though it were told them. Even now He is raising up the Chaldæan as the instrument of His judgment—a fierce and restless nation; which marches through the length and breadth of the earth in an unchequered career of conquest; which inspires terror into all who hear of it; whose sole law is its own imperious will; whose horses are swifter than leopards and fiercer than wolves; who mock at any effort to avert their progress; who scoff at kings, and princes are a derision unto them; who deride every stronghold, for they heap up dust into mounds against it, and take it. On they sweep like some violent wind, demolishing one obstacle after another which stands in their way; intoxicated by success they deify their own power, and his might becometh his god. Such is the

alarming and terrible power which is to be Jehovah's instrument of judgment against Judah.

But this answer only raises a fresh perplexity in the prophet's mind. How can the pure and holy God employ such instruments as His agents, and how can He surrender not Israel only, but the nations of the world, to the mercy of a tyrant who acknowledges no law but his own will, and no god but his own might? Is this Jehovah's government of the world? Such a judgment seems to be only the triumph of violence on a larger scale. The wrong-doing of the Chaldæan is more unbearable than the evil it was meant to punish. The prophet therefore remonstrates with God, the righteous Ruler of the world, and urges the cruelties and inhumanities of the Chaldæans: "O thou that art of purer eyes than to behold evil, and that canst not look on perverseness, wherefore lookest thou upon them that deal treacherously, and holdest thy peace when the wicked swalloweth up them that is more righteous than he; and hast made men as the fishes of the sea, as the creeping things, which have no ruler over them?" And then comparing the Chaldæan to a fisherman, Habakkuk draws a picture of the manner in which he drags men and nations indiscriminately into his power, exulting inhumanly over their helplessness, and caring only for the number of victims he can secure. Is this, asks the prophet, to endure for ever? and can the righteous God, whose very nature it is to abhor iniquity, look on in silence upon this success of inhumanity and wrong? Such is the difficulty which he feels. The second

chapter states the answer to it. He places himself in imagination upon his prophetic watch-tower, and waits expectantly for an answer that may satisfy his complaint. "I will stand upon my watch, and set me upon the tower, and will look forth to see what he will speak with me, and what I shall answer concerning my complaint." The language is figurative. He compares himself to a watchman looking out from his watch-tower into the distance, like the watchman, for instance, who looked out to tell David news of his son Absalom; so he awaits the answer or message from heaven. The answer comes in a brief, emphatic, pregnant oracle, which on account of its importance he is to engrave upon a tablet in characters that all may read; its truth may not, indeed, appear at once, but it will be verified ultimately; for "it hasteth towards the end," that is, towards the appointed time which will unfold its meaning. The vision is this, "Behold, his soul is puffed up, it is not upright in him: but the righteous shall live by his faithfulness."

The first clause describes the Chaldæan. His nature is inflated, presumptuous, insincere; it is essentially false and unreal; and therefore—as one must complete the sense by inference from the second clause—it possesses no principle of permanence; it will prove in the end his ruin. The word rendered *upright* is more literally *smooth* or *even*, and it is intended to point a contrast to the preceding *puffed up* or *swollen*. But the two senses of the word are present to the writer; the soul of the Chaldæan is neither smooth, calm

and even, nor is it upright. The righteous, on the contrary,—that is, Israel according to its calling, realized at the time in the character of those godly men who even in the darkest days represented it,—will live by his faithfulness. The firmness, trustworthiness, honesty and integrity of the true Israelite will prove for him a principle of permanence, carrying him in safety through the troubles and convulsions which are to shake the world. The word rendered faithfulness means properly steadiness or firmness, then *trustworthiness* in character and conduct, especially honesty, truthfulness. For instance, in the Second Book of Kings (xii. 6), when workmen were employed in repairing the Temple, and money was given to the foremen to pay them, it is said no account was demanded of them, for they dealt *in faithfulness* or honesty; and Jeremiah, speaking of false and deceitful men, says they are grown strong in the land, but not for faithfulness (ix. 2). An honest character has, it is implied, the principle of permanence in it; it will live and be preserved amid disasters in which others perish; the Chaldæan, whose soul is not even or upright within him, will perish. Thus the different characters of the Chaldæan and the righteous carry in them their different destinies. The Chaldæan may triumph for a time, but his end is destruction. And so, after dwelling a little more fully on his ambitious aims, the prophet develops his doom in the shape of five woes, which with dramatic vividness and propriety are supposed to be pronounced upon him by the nations whom he has oppressed—woes pronounced upon his insatiable

lust of conquest, his rapacity and self-aggrandizement, his oppression of the people to build and adorn his own cities, his barbarous humiliation of prostrate nations and their rulers, his irrational idolatries.

"The righteous shall live by his faithfulness." It is a word of consolation and encouragement in a time of trouble and disaster. The anxious Israelite may be reassured; an honest and upright life will be always his security. The general thought is the same as that of Isaiah, who, in answer to the question, "Who can dwell with perpetual burnings?" who can endure proximity to fiery trials and troubles, ready at any moment to break out? replies, "He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly; he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from looking upon evil; he shall dwell on high: his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; his bread shall be given him; his water shall be sure (xxxiii. 14 ff.)." The man who leads an innocent and upright life, who scorns injustice and repels temptations to evil, may feel a moral security which, even in times of danger and distress, may make him superior to all apprehensions. That is the general thought of Habakkuk's oracle. But it is evident it does not *solve* the difficulty which the prophet felt, or which others after him have felt, in the anomalies which the moral government of the world present. The Chaldæan might indeed, in virtue of his nature, be doomed ultimately to perish; but his empire

survived and flourished for seventy years; and meanwhile Habakkuk's compatriots, so far from abiding in peace and security, were besieged and blockaded in their city and ultimately carried into exile, amid sufferings and hardships which can be imagined, and which are alluded to not indistinctly by writers of the time. It is enough if the prophet can mitigate the difficulty, and give grounds for hope that, though individuals may suffer, the present rule of lawlessness and injustice will at least not continue permanently. It is not a mere material security which the prophet promises; it is rather a moral triumph, which even material disappointment and disaster cannot overthrow, which consists in the testimony of a good conscience, and in the sense that it enjoys the approving verdict of God, and is, spiritually, the recipient of His favour.

In the New Testament the second clause of the text is quoted three times—in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and also in that to the Hebrews—in the sense, "the just shall live by faith." This sense, whether it was intended or not by the LXX. translators, whose version the apostles read, was, at any rate, one which the Greek word used by them permitted; and the text was accordingly adopted by St. Paul in that sense, as one of the bases of his doctrine of justification by faith. As in many other cases, the apostolic writers adopt meanings from the Old Testament suggested by the version with which they and their readers were familiar, even where the version does not represent the exact sense of the original. The word means

not *faith*, the active principle of trustfulness or reliance upon another, but *faithfulness*, the more passive principle of trustworthiness, of being oneself firm, steady and reliable in intercourse with others. The apostle, quoting the verse as it is read in the LXX., amplifies and spiritualizes the prophet's words, interpreting them in a sense which does not properly belong to them, but which, as it was suggested, or permitted, by the Greek, fitted them in that form for use in his argument. His doctrine of justification does not depend, however, upon the sense which he thus attaches to the passage, and it is but one among several which are quoted by him; nor is his use of it to be regarded as fixing its primary meaning. It is true, we could easily understand how the idea of steadfastness or faithfulness, when limited to relation towards a particular person, might pass on into that of fidelity or loyalty to him; and how this again might have a further tendency to widen into belief or faith in him; but these possible changes in the meaning of the term are not changes through which it actually passed. The New Testament presents to us what is in reality a *development* of the prophet's thought: we must be on our guard lest such development, though sanctioned and adopted by the apostles, should lead us astray as to the meaning which the word bears in the original context. The righteous shall live, says the prophet, not by his faith but by his faithfulness—by his honesty, his integrity, his trustworthiness, in all his actions, in all his words, and in whatever station of life or office his

lot may be cast. A man of *faithfulness*, says one of the proverbs, aboundeth in blessings. Lying lips, says another proverb, are an abomination to the Lord; but they that do *faithfulness* are His delight. Righteousness and *faithfulness*, in the prophecy of Isaiah, are to form the girdle, the close and constant companion, of the ideal King in his exalted office.[1] Faithfulness, fidelity to an office or trust, is one of those sterling virtues which form the foundation of society. It receives in the Old Testament the stamp of Divine approval. It was sadly lacking in Jerusalem, Jeremiah tells us, in his day. Nevertheless it is the virtue to which the great promise of Habakkuk is attached. "The righteous shall live by his *faithfulness*," he will endure when others fall; he will escape when others, as a consequence of their imperfect moral nature, their insincerity, their selfishness or other faults, are brought to ruin; he will, even if external calamity overtake him, be supported by the inward testimony of his approving conscience, and the conviction that he enjoys God's favourable regard.

[1] Prov. xxviii. 20, xii. 22; Is. xi. 5.

V

THE NEW COVENANT

"But this is the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the LORD; 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."—JEREMIAH xxxi. 33.

THIS prophecy of the New Covenant is one of those great passages in the prophets, perhaps the greatest of all, which stand out from the rest and impress us by the wonderful spirituality of their tone, and by their evangelical character. Though this particular passage is not among those recorded to have been quoted by our Lord, it breathes emphatically His spirit, and is a striking declaration of the great principles of spontaneous personal service on which in His ministry He so frequently insists. To judge from the context in which it occurs, it was uttered originally either on the eve of the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans, or when the destruction had already taken place, and large detachments of the inhabitants were already on the road to exile. And so in the chapter from which the text is taken the prophet's thoughts sometimes go out in sympathy with his suffering and exiled com-

patriots, sometimes dwell in imagination upon a more blissful future when he pictures the exiled people restored to their homes in Palestine: "Again will I build thee, and thou shalt be built, O virgin of Israel: again shalt thou be adorned with thy tabrets, and shalt go forth in the dances of them that make merry. Again shalt thou plant vineyards upon the mountains of Samaria: the planters shall plant, and shall enjoy the fruit thereof." And then, as his thoughts turn to Ramah, a village about five miles north of Jerusalem, and he sees the long train of exiles passing it on their melancholy way, he imagines Rachel, the mother of the two great tribes of Joseph and Benjamin who was buried there, looking out from her tomb and bewailing the loss and banishment of her descendants: "Thus saith the LORD: A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation, and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children; she refuseth to be comforted for her children, because they are not."

But he bids her desist: they will soon return. "Thus saith the LORD: Refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears: for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the LORD; and they shall come again from the land of the enemy." And then there follows a vision of Ephraim repenting, smiting on his thigh in grief over his youthful folly, confessing that he had been self-willed, no better than a calf unaccustomed to the yoke, and acknowledging the justice of the punishment he had received: "Turn thou me, and I shall turn; for thou art the LORD my God." And thus Jehovah,

overhearing his words of contrition, is moved with yearning towards the returning prodigal, and promises to have compassion upon him, and bring both him and Judah back again to their own land.

But what could be the use of restoring Israel, if the disappointments of its previous history were to be repeated? God had of old constituted Israel a people in close fellowship with Himself, but that constitution had failed to secure the expected results; the mass of the people, at any rate, had failed woefully in their allegiance; and God had at length been obliged to cast them off. And so, when the nation is once again restored, Jeremiah pictures the old constitution, or covenant as he calls it, as abolished, and a new one founded to take its place, furnished with conditions which may form a better safeguard against failure: "Behold the days 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. . . . 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 no more teach every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the LORD: for they shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them, saith the LORD: for I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more." In every respect the New Covenant is to be a contrast to the

old. The law written upon tables of stone is to be replaced by the law written in the heart; religion will thus become more internal, spiritual, personal. Real knowledge will be enjoyed. The people may have the law written in material characters and yet not read it, or fail to understand what its significance might be. The law written in the heart will become, so to say, man's second nature, an inseparable part of his intellectual and moral being. Principles, again, will take the place of particular outward ordinances; for a multitude of ceremonial observances, such as formed a great part of the law under the old covenant, and the exact nature of which had often to be learnt by special inquiring of a priest, men will have large principles enshrined in their hearts, such as truth, and justice, and purity, love to God and love to man. Men will no longer need the law as something external to themselves, something prescribed from without, having no necessary hold upon them—their inner nature will be brought into harmony with the will of God, so as to do what is well-pleasing in His eyes of their own spontaneous impulse:—this is what is indicated by the figures which the prophet uses. Jeremiah foretells the advent of an ideal state, in which the sin of the people is forgiven, and its nature transformed by a Divine act of grace; the children of the New Covenant are to be veritable sons of God, no longer subject, as Israel largely was under the old covenant, to law as a command imposed from without, but ruled by impulses to good, acting

upon the heart as a principle operative from within; they will "know the LORD"—know what His demands and requirements are, and as a natural consequence act accordingly.

We see here, in a germinal form, truths taught more distinctly and explicitly in the New Testament. Jeremiah, in fact, anticipates what St. Paul terms a "new creature"—the re-creation by a Divine act of man's inner nature. He does not, of course, describe it from the specifically Christian point of view from which the apostle speaks, but his fundamental thought is the same. And if we reflect upon the picture, we may see what a remarkable and striking one it is. It is the picture of an entire community ruled by God's law, and acting conformably to His will; every member, "from the least of them unto the greatest of them," having a clear and full knowledge of what God demands, and regulating their thoughts and words and deeds accordingly. God is thus theirs, and they are His. He is theirs, the object of their love and reverence; they are His, the objects of His providential care and the recipients of His grace. Sin has no more power over them; the guilt which they may once have committed has been forgiven and will be remembered no more.

The picture drawn by the prophet is, however, an ideal one, and an ideal which has not yet been realized. Human nature has not yet been regenerated on the scale which the prophet here contemplates. On all sides around us we see how imperfectly human nature is subordinated to right. A community living in perfect

devotion to its God has not yet been found upon this earth ; whether it will ever there be found is more than we are able to say. Some indeed there are, a few out of the multitude, who have so "put on the new man" as to realize approximately, and so far as the imperfections of human nature permit, the prophet's ideal. But the ideal is there ; it is a standard by which we may all measure ourselves, a goal which we may all strive to attain. To conform our wills to the will of God, to imitate Christ in our lives, to "know" the Lord, in that full and practical sense of the expression which the prophet has in mind, is as high an aim as we can set ourselves. How often is the prayer, modelled upon the prophet's words, taken upon our lips: "Lord, have mercy upon us, and write all these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee" !

VI

JUDÆA CAPTA

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by? Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me, wherewith the LORD hath afflicted me in the day of his fierce anger."—LAMENTATIONS i. 12.

SUCH are the words in which an Israelite poet, speaking in the name of his nation, gives vent to the intensity of his grief at the calamity which had befallen his people. Jerusalem, the city which David had founded and Solomon had beautified, the city which the memories of four hundred years had endeared to the hearts of the people of Judah, had been captured after a long siege by the Chaldæans: its walls were broken down, its houses desolate, its Temple a ruin. The mass of the nation was either in exile already, or was journeying thither amid privation and distress. How dark to many the future of the nation must have now appeared, it is not difficult to imagine; the hopes which with growing persistency had gathered round Zion must have seemed shattered, and the promises which one prophet after another had announced to her must have appeared as idle

dreams. In the bitter present, the seventy years to which Jeremiah had limited his people's exile, and the prospect that his words would be realized, would seem incalculably remote. How a pious and thoughtful spirit felt at this dark period we learn from this book of Lamentations. An old tradition has assigned the prophet Jeremiah himself as its author; but even should that not be the case, it is the work of a kindred spirit, a companion and disciple, who reflects in the main his line of thought, and shows the same religious feelings. The book consists of five distinct elegies, each constructed with great art, almost every line marked by that broken plaintive rhythm which seems to have been generally chosen by the writers of Hebrew elegy, and each abounding with images which appeal to every reader by their pathos and force. For the author does not merely describe from a distance; he is full of sympathy; and even when he narrates his people's sufferings, he narrates them as something he experienced himself; the long tale of woe is made his own; one sob after another rises from his heart, the plaintive strain brightened now and again by faith and trust. Listen to him as in the first chapter he bids us contemplate Jerusalem, sitting, as a bereaved woman, desolate on the ground:

"How doth she sit solitary, the city that was full of people!
She that was great among the nations is become as a widow!

She that was a princess among the provinces, is become tributary!"

"Hear, I beseech you, all ye peoples, and behold my sorrow:
My virgins and my young men are gone into captivity."

In the second chapter the poet bewails in piteous accents God's rejection of the city of His choice, the city where His tabernacle was pitched and His altar erected, the city which for so many centuries, and through so many storms, He had protected with His mighty arm. But now

"Jehovah hath cast down from heaven to earth the beauty of Israel,
And remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger!
He hath bent his bow like an enemy. . . .
He hath swallowed up Israel;
Swallowed up all her palaces, he hath destroyed his strongholds,
And increased in the daughter of Judah mourning and lamentation . . .
The young and the old lie on the ground in the streets;
My virgins and my young men are fallen by the sword:
Thou hast slain them in the day of thine anger, thou hast not pitied. . . .

What shall I equal to thee, that I may comfort
thee, O virgin daughter of Zion?
For thy breach is great like the sea: who can heal
thee?"

What a picture do these and similar passages give us of the scenes which the poet himself had witnessed, and of the depth to which his own heart was stirred! How graphically do they set before us the agony and despair which must have reigned in Jerusalem, and the humiliation through which the nation then passed, and which (as another prophet expresses it) caused God's name to be contemned among the heathen! But the fullest expression of his mind is in the third chapter, where our poet brings the picture to a focus by setting before us the plaint either of some typical or exceptionally distressed citizen, or of the city regarded imaginatively as an individual; the latter is more probable. Hence he uses graphic and varied imagery for the purpose of showing how poignant and severe the national distress had been; hence also the personal aspect of the suffering is most vividly depicted. The suffering nation is figured as one whom God attacks as a hostile warrior and persecutor, aiming at him the shafts of His bow, penetrating to his inmost parts, and threatening to rend him asunder.

"I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod
of his wrath.
He hath led me and caused me to walk in darkness
and not in light.

Again and again all the day he turneth his hand
against me."

"He hath bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the
arrow.

He hath caused the shafts of his quiver to enter
into my reins."

Israel is mocked of all about him, and has abandoned all hope. But before long the poet's faith asserts itself; and he finds comfort in the thought that there must be some purpose in the affliction from which he and his people suffer, and that therefore the prospect is not utterly dark.

"It is of the LORD'S mercies that we are not
consumed, because his compassions fail not.

They are new every morning: great is thy faithful-
ness,

The LORD is my portion, saith my soul; therefore
will I hope in him."

The only condition which he feels to be still wanting is confession, penitence and amendment:

"Let us search and try our ways, and turn again to
the LORD.

Let us lift up our hearts with our hands unto God
the heavens.

We have transgressed and have rebelled; thou hast
not pardoned."

Need I cite more to show the intensity of his feeling, the depth of his pathos, the liveliness of his faith?

In the text, the thought to which the poet pathetically gives expression is that of sorrow unequalled, yet unheeded. Jerusalem sits alone in her unparalleled grief; and the bitterness of it is intensified by the pitiless disregard of spectators. She sits as it were by the highway, and the crowd passes on, taking no notice. Bedouins of the desert pitch their tents in sight of her ruined towers, and travellers passing north and south see her deserted streets, and yet all gaze unmoved at the spectacle of her grief. Why, indeed, should they be moved? The spectacle of a conquered nation and a pillaged capital was not a rare thing in antiquity; it did not attract either the attention or the sympathy which it would do now. Yet the poet feels deeply his nation's sorrow, and is conscious there is something in it which merits more attentive regard. The trouble of Israel had not come upon them as upon a common nation: they were peculiar in constitution, in privileges, in history. *Never was city more favoured than Jerusalem.* She was the chosen seat of Divine grace. In her Temple stood God's mercy-seat. High privileges of revelation and spiritual blessings descended upon her sons and daughters. The loss of these privileges brought a distress that men who had never enjoyed them could not have felt. *Never was city more loved than Jerusalem.* This city of sacred memories and tender associations was dear to the hearts of her inhabitants; and the overthrow brought a grief proportionate to this love; and *never was city more visited by the Divine wrath.* Here was the secret of her deepest trouble. She was afflicted in

the day of God's fierce anger. And of this her godly sons, such as the poet of the Lamentations, were fully conscious. Their material suffering was embittered by the thought of God's alienation which underlay it and of which it was the expression. And yet their sorrow was unheeded. Their neighbours, as we know from allusions in Ezekiel and elsewhere, even if they did not, like the Edomites, take part with the Chaldæans in their work of destruction, gave vent to malicious exultation, and looked forward to taking speedy possession of the territory of Judah; they had no thought or care for the God of Israel, and the fall of a rival touched no chord of sympathy in their heart.

In old days the Book of Lamentations was regularly read during the services of Holy Week; and some years ago, after it had been for long discontinued in our Church, this custom was revived by the compilers of the lectionary now in use. True, my text cannot be understood as written with reference to our Lord, for the passage as a whole clearly refers to the sad experiences of Jerusalem. But what more suitable at this sacred season than to direct our thoughts not merely to the Passion of our Blessed Lord Himself, but to the sufferings of God's faithful servant of old, which may justly be regarded as an adumbration of His, and are in several respects very parallel? Have we not, in the godly-minded poet bewailing his ruined home, and mourning over the strokes which one after another fell upon his beloved nation, a vision of Christ mourning over the sins of

human nature, contemplating in pity the destruction which they brought upon others, and enduring in silent anguish the sufferings which they mysteriously caused to Himself? Let us briefly consider the comparison under one or two aspects. The prophets who witnessed the fall of the Jewish state found their contemporaries, some addicted to different forms of idolatry, others drawing near to God with the lips only, pointing with pride to their Temple, trusting that to save them, and indifferent to the demands of morality and justice. Those who, like Jeremiah, for instance, laboured to bring them to a better mind, to ameliorate if not to avert the disaster which they saw to be impending, were unheeded by the self-confident nation; they were even persecuted and went in danger of their lives. Christ found similarly His people self-righteous, abandoned to unspiritual service, and, so far as their material prosperity was concerned, confident in their own wisdom and their own counsels for its preservation. How earnestly He strove to move them to repentance the Gospels testify; but few except those who joined the small circle of His own disciples were influenced by Him; and the final and irrevocable sentence passed His lips: "How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye would not! Behold, your house is left unto you desolate." A generation had hardly passed away when His words were fulfilled: Jerusalem underwent her last siege, and was entered by the Romans after undergoing sufferings more bitter

and more intense even than those which wrung from the poet of the Lamentations his cry of woe.

But it is the godly sufferer, the man whom chastenings have subdued and who bears with resignation, that the poet here represents; not those whose persistence in a self-chosen course brings to them destruction. He may sympathize with those who are differently minded, but he speaks himself the language of resignation. "The LORD is righteous; for I have rebelled against his commandment" (i. 18). "I am the man that hath seen affliction by the rod of his wrath" (iii. 1). He acknowledges that there is a cause for the affliction in which he finds himself. God, he says, does not afflict *of His heart*, that is, as we should express it, from caprice, without any definite object or aim, regardless of the circumstances of particular individuals. The sins and errors of the nation have brought punishment upon them; and from this punishment, though personally innocent, he cannot escape. In the poet of the Lamentations and in those like-minded with himself on whose behalf he speaks, we see then the innocent suffering with the guilty, the innocent so associated with the guilty by ties of kindred and other relations that they cannot escape from their punishment. In the Passion of our Lord we have more than this; we see the innocent not suffering *with* the guilty, but suffering *for* them, and taking upon Himself not merely the sins of His own nation, but those of the whole world. In both alike we see how, by a mystery of Providence, the sin of one involves in its bitter consequences others

who are guiltless. And if the sorrows which the poet witnessed pierced him so keenly, elicited from his heart a response so sympathetic and so full that words seem to fail him in the effort to express it, what are we to think of the Passion undergone by the far more sympathetic and sensitive soul of our Blessed Lord? He who not merely endured open contumely at the hands of His own people, but knew and could realize the weight of misery and sin under which mankind were labouring, He must have suffered far more keenly and intensely; nevertheless the picture which the poet has left us of his own deeply moved soul may help us to appreciate the reality and the degree of the agony of our Lord.

It is, as I said, a vision of Christ; it is not the reality. There are expressions which our Lord could not appropriate. The poet does not hesitate to identify himself with his people; he exclaims: "*We* have transgressed and rebelled; thou hast not pardoned" (iii. 42). Christ, in matters of religious importance, stands always opposed to His people, even to His nearest disciples; no words like these could have ever escaped His lips. Both the first and the third chapters end with a prayer for vengeance upon Israel's foes:

"Let all their wickedness come before thee;
And do unto them, as thou has done unto me for all my transgressions."
"Render unto them a recompence, O LORD, according to the work of their hands:

Pursue them in anger, and destroy them from under the heavens of the LORD."

There is here a tinge of vindictiveness, such as could have no place in the character of Christ, and which, had it been there, would have been a moral blemish upon its perfection. Our Lord speaks sometimes in anger, but never in passion; He may pass sentence as a judge, but His words breathe no suspicion of impatience or revenge: the poet of the Lamentations was human in his experiences, human in his susceptibilities and in his emotions. It is a beautiful character which we see reflected in his elegies—a character of manifold sympathy, deeply impressed by the sight of human misery, and inspired by resignation and trust. Let us contemplate it as an image of the more perfect humanity of our Lord; and if, when compared with that, it betrays the touch of human imperfection, let us marvel rather that this is not greater, and ask ourselves whether our own deficiencies may not be graver and more conspicuous; and at this time, more especially, let us contemplate rather his patience and his affliction, and let us see in them a foreshadowing of the sufferings of Christ; and let the picture of humiliation which is set before us in this Book be an emblem of that deeper and unexpressed humiliation, undergone for our sakes by Him.

"Is it nothing to you, all ye that pass by?
Behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow."

Is it nothing to us that Christ, as at this time, bore the cruel insults of His foes, and experienced the sorrows of Gethsemane? Is it nothing to us that we pass by heedlessly on the other side? Were any sorrows so keen and piercing as His? Let us commemorate those sorrows with solemn gratitude; let us follow those details of the Passion on which the Evangelists love to linger; let us endeavour, by God's grace, so to order our lives in the spirit of His fear that we may be made partakers in the blessings which He has secured for us.

VII

THE WORTH OF THE INDIVIDUAL

"What mean ye, that ye use this proverb, saying, The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge? As I live, saith the Lord GOD, ye shall not have occasion any more to use this proverb in Israel. Behold, all souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die."—EZEKIEL xviii. 2-4.

THE prophet Ezekiel lived at a critical period in the history of the Jewish people. The kingdom and dynasty founded by David, after a duration of more than four hundred years, was hastening to its close. Jeremiah had in vain endeavoured to persuade his countrymen that their safety lay in yielding to the inevitable, and accepting the condition of dependence upon the Chaldæans. He could not convince them; they claimed their independence; Jerusalem was in consequence besieged, with the result that Jehoiachin was obliged to surrender: he himself with the principal members of the court, and the élite of Jerusalem generally, were condemned to exile in Babylonia; Zedekiah his uncle was placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar. Among those thus carried into exile was Ezekiel. He lived in a colony of exiled Jews on the river Chebar, in

a distant part of Babylonia; there he prophesied, and there he wrote the book which bears his name. During the four years covered by the first twenty-four chapters his eyes are steadily directed toward Jerusalem; and his principal aim is to convince his hearers that the moral state of its inhabitants is such that its final doom cannot be long deferred; Zedekiah and those remaining with him in the city will join ere long their fellow-countrymen who were in exile already. The issue agrees with his predictions; in 588 B.C. Jerusalem was taken by the troops of Nebuchadnezzar, the city was destroyed, and the rest of its inhabitants taken into exile in Babylonia.

Ezekiel thus lived in an age of transition between the old and the new. He witnessed, and suffered in, the great shock which must always accompany a disruption of ties and associations which have continued undisturbed for centuries. This shock brought with it a change in the manner of looking at moral problems. In the ancient world it often happened that men were not viewed so clearly as individuals as they are now; the idea of their individual rights and position was not so firmly held: they were treated rather as members of the societies of which they formed part; the individual, whether he deserved it or not, was involved in the guilt of the tribe or nation to which he belonged. The son, and even the whole family, of a criminal often suffered with him, though they were entirely innocent of the crime. This point of view was shared also by the Jews. So long as the Jewish

state existed, the principle of solidarity was accepted as a recognized principle of the Divine government of the world. Men suffered for the sins of their ancestors; individuals shared the punishment incurred by the nation as a whole. It was what every one saw taking place about him, and it was accepted as an element of the recognized constitution of things. The principle seemed to be the more clearly established, because the ancient Jews had but a dim and imperfect conception of a future life; and it never occurred to them to suppose that injustice or inequalities here could be redressed or compensated for in a future state hereafter. The lot of men in this present life was practically the final and only lot of which the Jews took cognizance.

The disastrous years which ended in the fall of Jerusalem, and the unprecedented sufferings attending them, gave rise to questionings on this subject which exercised and perplexed many minds. The strokes which had fallen one after another upon the state must be deserved, when the state was considered as a moral person which had sinned all through her history—a point of view which Ezekiel himself adopts in his 16th chapter; but they fell with a crushing weight upon those who had not been partakers in the sins which brought them down. The reflections thus occasioned found expression in a popular proverb, which must have been often heard at the time, for it is quoted by Jeremiah as well as by Ezekiel: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge." The phrase was meant as an arraignment of

the methods of Providence. The doctrine of transmitted guilt was accepted as a fact of experience, but it no longer satisfied men's deeper moral instincts. There was felt to be in it at bottom something incongruous with perfect justice. And so these questionings found expression in the proverb. In the natural sphere, if a man eats sour grapes, his own teeth are blunted or set on edge; the consequences are immediate, and they are transitory. But in the moral sphere, so it was supposed, a man may eat sour grapes all his life and be conscious of no evil consequences whatever; the consequences affect only his children, who have committed no such indiscretion, and are in no way responsible for their father's misdeeds. No doubt this was the predominant idea which the proverb was intended to express; but in different mouths it might express different feelings. By some, for instance, it might be uttered in self-exculpation, in a satisfied, self-righteous tone; by others as an expression of the fatalism and despair which settled down on the minds of men when they realized the full extent of the calamity which had overtaken them, as though they were lying under a hopeless fate inherited from the past, which crushed out individual life and paralysed all personal effort after righteousness.

The prophet meets the state of the people's mind by two great principles, enunciated in the first and second parts of the chapter respectively. In the first he sets the individual's immediate relation to God against the idea that guilt is transmitted from father to children:

"All souls are mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die." In the second he rejects the idea that a man's fate is so determined by his past life as to make a moral change in him impossible: "I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth: wherefore turn yourselves, and live."

"All souls are mine; as the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine: the soul that sinneth, it shall die." *Soul* here does not mean the spiritual or immortal part of man; it denotes merely (as often in Old Testament) an individual person; and the passage means that every individual person stands in immediate relation to God, all belonging to Him alike, the son not less than the father, and thus each is treated by Him independently. According to the point of view which the prophet was combating, the son had no personal independence; he belonged to his father, or, speaking more generally, to the nation or family, and was related to God only as a member of a larger whole, in whose destiny he was involved. "The soul that sinneth, *it* shall die"—it and not another, on account of its sin; it stands to God in a direct relation. Ezekiel then develops, or illustrates, his truth in three instances. First, he takes the case of a man who is righteous, who does that which is lawful and right, who avoids the prevalent sins of the age, who performs the duties of philanthropy, liberality and justice, and who walks generally in the ways which are pleasing to God: such a man shall surely live. By *live* the prophet means something more than mere physical life, and something less than the sense which the word might have in the light of

the New Testament: he means, will live in God's sight, enjoy His favour, and have that favour reflected in his own outward felicity. Secondly, he supposes the righteous man to be the father of a violent son, who sheds blood and does evil; such a son shall not live because of his father's righteousness, he shall die because of his own sin, where *die* again means die spiritually, be deprived of the light of God's favour and of the life which that brings. Thirdly, he supposes this unrighteous man to have a son who, seeing his father's iniquities, takes warning by them and lives righteously; this son shall not die on account of his father's sins, but live because of his own righteousness. The truth that a man is judged by his own actions and not by those of his father, seems to us elementary; but it was not so to the generation which Ezekiel addressed. They saw it, but they did not see it clearly. Ezekiel brings out into the light the element of truth which prompted the proverb which he quotes, while freeing it from the exaggeration in which it is there set forth. There are cases in which not, indeed, the guilt of a man's ancestors, but the consequences of their guilt cling to him, and he cannot shake them off; but not to the extent which the proverb implied. They never wholly overpower the moral independence. Ezekiel lifts the individual out of the mass in which he had as it were been lost, and points out that he is to be dealt with by God independently.

The second great truth which Ezekiel asserts is the moral freedom of the individual to determine his own destiny before God. "I have no pleasure in the death of

him that dieth: wherefore turn yourselves, and live.' As men are not to be implicated in the sins of their people or their forefathers, so the individual is not to lie under the ban of his own past. As before, the prophet chooses illustrations. He takes the two opposite cases of a wicked man turning from his wickedness, and a righteous man turning from his righteousness, and he teaches that the effect of such a change of mind as regards a man's relation to God is absolute: the sinner who turneth from his wickedness and doeth righteousness shall live. The good life subsequent to his conversion is the outward mark of a new state of heart in which the guilt of former transgressions, now repented of, is entirely blotted out. "All his transgressions that he hath committed shall not be remembered in regard to him: in his righteousness that he hath done he shall live." But, conversely, the righteous man who turneth away from his righteousness and doeth evil, shall die in his evil: his act of apostasy effaces the remembrance of the righteous purpose and righteous deeds of the earlier period of his life.

The truth which the prophet thus teaches is the emancipation of the individual, through repentance, from his own past. There was need of such teaching, for Ezekiel's contemporaries gave themselves up to despair; they said (xxxiii. 10): "Our iniquities are upon us, and we waste away in them; how then can we live?" And the answer is the same as that given here: "As I live, saith the Lord GOD, I have no pleasure in the death of the wicked; but that he turn from his way, and live:

turn ye, turn ye from your wicked ways; for why will ye die?" The people's calamities seemed to them to prove the weight of their sins; it came upon them with crushing force; they were unable to rise up under it, and fell into despondency. But Ezekiel seeks to brace them up: he teaches that, in virtue of his immediate personal relation to God, each man has the power to accept the offer of salvation, to break away from his sinful life and to escape the judgment which awaits the impenitent. It is a declaration of the possibility and efficacy of individual repentance; God has no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, but willeth rather that all men repent and live.

Ezekiel thus asserts the independence of the individual against the idea that he is involved in the sins of his people or his forefathers, and also against the idea that he lies under the ban of his own previous life. The immediate relation of every spirit to God, and its moral freedom to break from its own past, emancipates it in both these directions. The prophet does not, indeed, deny that the individual spirit may suffer evil consequences, both from its relation to its people and also from its relation to its former self; but he denies that it shall suffer from them spiritually in the sense in which his contemporaries supposed it to suffer. Each man's moral freedom raises him above these consequences, and brings him as an independent person into direct relation with God, over against others, and even over against his own former self.

The doctrine of this 18th chapter is perhaps the

most characteristic element of Ezekiel's teaching. It is evident that the prophet anticipates questions which have often come to the front in modern times. Moral aptitudes and deficiencies are transmitted by inheritance: do not children suffer by reason of faults or tendencies for which they are not themselves strictly and fully responsible? We cannot entirely sever ourselves from our surroundings: do not men sometimes suffer morally for the neglected education, the evil example, which they owe to their parents? Does it not constantly happen that a man's life is affected for good or evil by influences which descend upon him from his ancestry? Do not people often suffer physically through the social ties which involve them, though personally innocent, in the consequences of the wrong-doing of others? Within the sphere of the individual life, the law of habit would seem to exclude the possibility of complete emancipation from the penalty due to past transgressions. Experience teaches that men's characters are not entirely uninfluenced by the acts of their ancestors, and by the habits of their own past life. Then it cannot be denied that there are cases in which the proverb is true, in which the fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge. But there are two things which we must here bear in mind. In the first place, something depends upon the spirit in which the proverb is used, whether it is meant as an absolute and universal principle of Providence, or whether it is only supposed to be true with limitations and re-

strictions. Ezekiel's contemporaries exaggerated the dependence of the individual upon his antecedents; they made it a power which he could not contend against; and in opposition to them the prophet asserted strongly the contrary truth, without stopping to introduce the qualifications which would have to be introduced in practice. And, secondly, the prophet does not contemplate entirely the existing order of things. The Jewish state was drawing to its close: he felt himself on the threshold of a new epoch, the era of the perfect kingdom of God; and it is in this new era that he pictures the new principle which he enunciates as operating. Like other prophets, he outlines an ideal society, and describes the principles which will prevail in it. The prophets look forward to an ideal world, in which men's characters will be what they ought to be, and in which consequently there will be nothing to hinder men's outward lot corresponding to their inward state, and the righteous enjoying external felicity. The prophets pictured their ideal upon earth, but we can only imagine it as realized completely in another state of existence, or in heaven. Ezekiel wrote, however, in an age when the old order of things and the ideas which belonged to it were passing away; and for the age which should come he proclaimed once for all the doctrine of the independence of the individual soul before God. As against the view which regards the misfortunes of the present as entirely derived from the mistakes of the past, he asserts the truth, which we must all feel to be consonant with justice, that, while

allowance will be made for untoward antecedents and circumstances, every man will be judged by God according to what he does himself, and the use he makes of the opportunities which he enjoys.

The prophet closes with a practical exhortation based on the new truths he has been expounding. Because every one may emancipate himself from his past, and because God will judge every one according to the condition in which he is found, let the house of Israel repent, and turn from its transgressions, lest iniquity be its ruin. The call was designed by the prophet to arouse Israel from its lethargy or its despair: and it is one which is not less urgent and forcible now than it was when it was heard first by the exiles in Babylonia: "Cast away from you all your transgressions whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new heart and a new spirit: for why should ye die, O house of Israel. For I have no pleasure in the death of him that dieth, saith the Lord GOD: wherefore turn yourselves, and live."

VIII

THE BLESSEDNESS OF ZION

"And in this mountain shall the LORD make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined."—ISAIAH XXV. 6.

BOTH on week-days and on Sundays during Advent the first lessons in our services are taken from the Book of Isaiah, the book which beyond all other books of the Old Testament contains prophecies both of coming judgment and of coming salvation. When the book is studied carefully and compared with the history, it soon becomes apparent that it is not throughout the work of a single prophet or of a single age. In some parts—in the greater part, in fact, of chs. i. to xxxix.—the writer is living is Jerusalem; he refers to events happening during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah; and his main object is to bring home to the people their moral shortcomings, to impress upon them the course which, in their political attitude towards Assyria and Egypt, a wise statesmanship would suggest; and to announce the approaching invasion and siege by the Assyrians, and the straits to which Jerusalem will thereby be reduced, until a sudden and surprising

destruction overtakes their foes, after which a glorious period of ideal felicity, of peace and righteousness, under the just rule of a perfect king, will begin for Judah. In the second part of the book (chs. xl. ff.) the people are not in Judah, but in exile in Babylon ; and the prophet, beginning with the familiar words, " Comfort ye, comfort ye, my people," encourages his despondent or indifferent countrymen with promises of speedy deliverance. Cyrus, who lived one and a half centuries after Isaiah, has already begun his career of conquest ; he will soon take Babylon, and release the Jewish exiles ; upon their return to Palestine an ideal age of peace, tranquillity and spiritual blessedness will begin, which is depicted with even more splendid eloquence, and in more gorgeous colours, than the similar visions of felicity which Isaiah himself had pictured as following the overthrow of the Assyrian host.

The 25th chapter belongs to the remarkable prophecy which extends from the 24th to the 27th chapter of the same book. This prophecy has a character of its own. Its historical background, instead of being clearly defined, is indistinct ; and in both style and outlook it differs markedly from those other parts of the book which I have mentioned.

That the prophecy springs out of some definite historical situation is indeed manifest ; but it is neither the Judah of Isaiah's day, nor the Babylon which the exiles were soon to leave ; its features are veiled by the use of imaginative and symbolical language, the precise signification of which frequently eludes our grasp.

The prophecy opens with a vision in ch. xxiv. of a great disaster about to overwhelm the earth: "Behold, the LORD maketh the earth empty, and layeth it bare, and turneth it upside down, and scattereth abroad its inhabitants"; and there follows a description of the coming catastrophe, and of the manner in which it is to involve all ranks and classes of society in a common ruin, and bring to an end every enjoyment of life. For a moment, indeed, the prophet hears in imagination, from exiles in the distant west, the songs of praise hailing the dawn of a brighter day; but he himself cannot share these hopes, for he is conscious that the work of judgment is not yet complete. In the end, however, Israel emerges triumphant, and the reign of its Divine King begins in splendour and majesty: "For the LORD of hosts shall reign in Mount Zion, and before his elders gloriously."

In the 25th chapter the prophet represents the redeemed community of the future expressing in a hymn its thankfulness for its deliverance. God's ancient purposes have been fulfilled; the city which oppressed them—which is not named, and which seems to be an idealized symbol of the world-power opposed to God and His people—has at length been overthrown; and such of the heathen as still survive own Jehovah's might, who has shown Himself a stronghold to the poor and oppressed people of God.

The hymn is followed by a picture of the blessedness of which Zion, at the time imagined, will become the centre. A rich banquet—a figure at once of spiritual

and material enjoyments—will be provided there for *all* nations: "And in this mount shall the LORD of hosts make unto all peoples a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined." The figure of a banquet is the same, we may remember, as that which is used by our Lord in the same connection when He says, in view of the faith in Him shown by the Roman centurion: "And many shall come from the east and from the west, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven" (Matt. viii. 11). Death and sorrow, the prophet continues, will then vex no more: "He hath swallowed up death for ever; and the Lord GOD will wipe away tears from off all faces, and the reproach of his people will he take away from off all the earth."

The picture is one of those which meet us frequently in the prophets, and especially in the prophecies which are now aggregated in the Book of Isaiah, the picture of a future state of ideal happiness upon earth. The sin and sorrow which mar the present are abolished; the power of death limited or even, as here, annihilated; Israel no longer suffering national misfortune or disgrace; the nations of the world no longer the enemies of God and of His truth, but admitted to the same privileges as those enjoyed by His own people Israel, and seeking spiritual life and spiritual sustenance in Zion. We remember, for instance, the picture in the 2nd chapter, or, again, that given at the end of the 19th chapter, where the prophet imagines a highway constructed,

leading from Assyria into Egypt, along which the two peoples of Assyria and Egypt, who in Isaiah's day were sworn foes, journeying to and fro upon it to visit one another, and both joining together in the worship of the God of Israel. And the writer of ch. lvi. declares that the restored Temple is to be a "house of prayer for all peoples." This large catholicity of the prophets' outlook is a remarkable feature: they break through their national exclusivenesss and picture the Gentiles as admitted to the privileges of the chosen people.

In the sequel to our present chapter the redeemed nation of the future praises God for its long-deferred, but now at last accomplished, deliverance. Jerusalem, the idealized Jerusalem of the future, is now strong and secure; the city of its foes is overthrown, and it is henceforth to be the abode of a righteous and loyal people: "Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth faithfulness," which is loyal to its God, "may enter in." Henceforth, moreover, the inequalities of the present will be no more; righteousness will prevail universally, and be rewarded as it deserves; and the course in life of the righteous will be free from trouble and difficulty: "the path of the just is (now) evenness; evenly dost thou level the path of the just." Long, indeed, as the people, in the remarkable retrospect which follows, are represented as saying: Long indeed had they suffered, and looked earnestly for better days; they had hoped to see Jehovah approaching on the path of judgment to deliver them, but they had waited in vain, their own efforts had accomplished nothing, and

wrought no permanent deliverance for the nation; their land was desolated, and they could not repeople it. And so the thought rises in the prophet's mind that Israel's final redemption could be effected only by means of a resurrection: Israel's foes will, indeed, remain for ever in their graves, for "the dead live not, the Shades arise not"; this is the general truth which the prophet expresses; but the buried Israelites will rise again and help to replenish the depopulated land: "Thy dead shall live; the dead bodies of my nation shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of lights; and the earth shall cast forth the Shades."

We have then in these two chapters, clothed in a highly imaginative garb, two great ideals set before us: an ideal of a blissful future, not, indeed, in heaven, but upon earth, in which the power of death, that main hindrance to perfect human felicity, will be abolished, righteousness will be supreme, and the kingdom of God prevail over the forces opposed to it; when also the nations of the earth will sit down at a banquet provided for them by Jehovah in Zion—the figure being a symbol of the spiritual and material blessings which they will then share with the chosen people: and the ideal of a resurrection in which the saints of God will rise and join with their brethren still alive in peopling the desolated land of Judah. This is the form in which these two ideals are presented by the prophet, but we must not suppose that they are destined to be realized as he pictured them. The prophets never

overcame entirely the limitations which their own age and national life imposed upon them; they never, for instance, rose to the idea of a *Church*, with places of worship scattered all over the world. The spiritual metropolis of the future is always the hill of Zion, and the observances of the Jewish religion are always to be maintained; the prophet who writes in the 66th chapter even pictures "all flesh" as coming, every sabbath and every new moon, to worship in Jerusalem. This limitation, however, does not detract from the real catholicity of their ideal; in their anticipations of the ultimate admission of the nations of the world into the kingdom of God, they recognized both the true religious needs of human nature, and also that their own religion contained in germ the principles for satisfying them. The Christian Church, following out the teaching and instruction of our Lord, set itself to do this; the Gentile Churches of ancient Greece and Rome were the firstfruits of their labours; the nations of Christian Europe (including ourselves) followed afterwards; but history tells us how gradual the process of conversion was; and we have but to look around us to see what vast parts of the world are still outside the pale of God's kingdom, and how little even those nations which are nominally Christian realize the perfections of peace and righteousness and spiritual aspiration which are the leading features of the prophets' ideals.

And when we look at the other element in our prophet's hope, that of a resurrection, we cannot but be struck by the immature and imperfect form in which it is

expressed. The prophets of the older dispensation had no knowledge of a future spiritual life in heaven; revelation is progressive; and they only made *advances* towards that doctrine. Sometimes, in their conceptions of the future kingdom of God, they thought of the Israelites living in it as enjoying patriarchal longevity; sometimes as enjoying in it never-ending life (Is. xxv.); sometimes they thought of their dead countrymen as living again, and helping to repeople the wasted land of Judah (ch. xxvi.). But all these pictures were of a glorified life, free from sin and trouble, upon *earth*. It is only in the New Testament that the future life, conceived in these forms by some of the prophets, was completely spiritualized, co-ordinated with the general body of Christian truth, and raised from earth to heaven.

IX

THE IDEALS OF THE PROPHETS

"The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad; and the desert shall rejoice, and blossom as the rose."—ISAIAH XXXV. 1.

THERE can be few who are in the habit of attending a Cathedral service to whom these words are not familiar, and in whom they do not arouse exquisite and delicious memories. Two great tone-poets, who have enriched the devotional music of the Anglican Church with some of its choicest gems, have vied with one another in the effort to express in worthy melody the noble and beautiful prophecy of which this is the opening verse. In dignified and impressive tones they have depicted the sudden change in the aspect of the barren soil; the waters breaking forth in the wilderness, and the streams in the desert; the doubts and fears of the exiled Israelites giving place to buoyancy and joy; the happiness of those privileged to mount triumphantly on the highway leading to their home; the rapture of sacred delight filling their breasts as they enter with singing into Zion, and are conscious that the supreme goal of human happiness has been reached, that sorrow and sighing have fled away, and that the discords

jarring in the present have at last been resolved in the sweet and inexpressible harmony of the future. So long as the human soul remains susceptible to the emotions aroused by music, so long as music retains its magic power of winning entrance to the heart for true and noble thoughts, so long, we may be sure, the names of Wesley and Goss will be inseparably conjoined with the prophecy which now stands as the 35th chapter of the book which bears Isaiah's name.

What, however, may we learn from the prophecy, when we regard it in its context and original significance? It is connected intimately with the 34th chapter, and forms its counterpart and sequel. The prophecy in the 34th chapter is directed against Edom, the near neighbour of Judah, but also its great rival, between whom and Judah there prevailed a spirit of inveterate ill-feeling and jealousy, leading to frequent and bitter hostilities. The day of triumph for Edom came when Jerusalem was entered, and the Temple destroyed, by the Chaldæans under Nebuchadnezzar: Ezekiel and Obadiah [1] alike bear witness to the malicious exultation which the Edomites then expressed: they laid in wait to plunder and intercept the fugitives; they watched eagerly as the victorious Chaldæans broke down the walls; as a Psalmist, writing long after, has not forgotten, they even urged on the work of destruction, saying:

"Down with it, down with it, even to the ground!" [2]

[1] Ezek. xxv. 12–14, xxxv. 5, 10, 12 f.; Obad. 10–14.

[2] Ps cxxxvii. 7 (Prayer-Book Version).

The 34th and 35th chapters of Isaiah form one of those prophecies which, though incorporated in the Book of Isaiah, are not by Isaiah himself. The 34th chapter was written while resentment for this unfeeling behaviour of the Edomites was still keenly felt by the Jews. It consists of a long and impressive denunciation of the judgment impending on Edom : the prophet describes the carnage and destruction of which its country, he imagines, will shortly be the scene ; its mountain stronghold will be laid desolate ; its land will be buried under streams of molten lava ; its castles and fortresses will become the resort of desert creatures, which will haunt its ruins for ever.

To the desolation and abandonment thus anticipated for Edom, the picture in ch. xxxv. forms a striking and finely conceived contrast. For the Israelites, now at last to be delivered from their years of exile in Babylon, the wilderness and the parched land will rejoice, and the desert burst forth into brilliant and abundant flowers. The wilderness meant is the broad arid expanse lying between Babylon and Palestine, which the exiles journeying homewards would naturally have to traverse. Jehovah is returning with His long-exiled nation ; and the way by which He will pass must be worthily prepared for the progress of the Great King ; the desert must be transformed into a paradise for the delectation of His people ; avenues of stately trees must cast their shade about them : "the glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, the majesty of Carmel and Sharon" —those richly forested districts of Palestine—"*they*

shall see the glory of the Lord, the majesty of our God."

"Strengthen ye the weak hands, and confirm the feeble knees. Say to them that are of a fearful heart, Be strong, fear not": let those among the exiles who are fearful and timorous, and who doubt whether their release is near at hand, take courage: "Behold, your God will come with vengeance; *he* will come and save you." Then human infirmities will cease to vex, and nature will co-operate spontaneously in the relief of human needs: "Then shall the lame man leapa s an hart, and the tongue of the dumb sing: for in the wilderness shall waters break out, and streams in the desert," yielding cool and near refreshment for the returning exiles: the glowing sand or mirage, which so often in Eastern countries deludes with false hopes the exhausted traveller, will become a real lake, and the thirsty land will send forth springs of water. "And an highway shall be there, and a way; and it shall be called the Way of Holiness; the unclean shall not pass over it, but it shall be for those: the wayfaring men, yea fools, shall not err therein." The prophet imagines in the desert a raised way leading from Babylon to Zion: only those who are worthy, those who are holy and clean, will be admitted upon it: but it will be so broad and plain that even the simplest, even "fools," will not lose their track upon it, so elevated and well-protected that no dangerous beast will be able to climb up and molest the pilgrims journeying along it: "No lion shall be there, nor shall any ravenous beast go

up thereon, they shall not be found there; but the redeemed shall walk there"—not, of course, the "redeemed" in the Christian sense of the term, but, as the expression is elsewhere explained, those whom Jehovah has redeemed from their long exile in Babylon: "And the ransomed of Jehovah shall return, and come with singing unto Zion; and everlasting joy shall be upon their heads; they shall obtain gladness and joy, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away." The prophecy is thus, in a word, a promise of the glorious return of the Jewish exiles from Babylon, of the bountiful provision to be made for the relief of their temporal wants upon the way, and of the blessedness, spiritual and material, which will attend them when they are settled again in their ancient home.

The prophecy is not the only one in which similar representations are found. The great prophecy of Israel's restoration to Palestine which now forms the last twenty-seven chapters of the Book of Isaiah, and which was written approximately at the same period, abounds in similar passages. The time has come for God's ancient people to be released from its long captivity in Babylon; a crisis fraught with momentous issues for the future is at hand; and in glowing imagery the prophet pictures the progress of the returning nation under the protecting guidance of its God: "Prepare ye in the wilderness the way of Jehovah, make plain in the desert a highway for our God. Every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low: and the glory of Jehovah shall be revealed,

and all flesh shall see it together. . . . I will open rivers on the bare heights, and fountains in the midst of the valleys: I will make the wilderness a pool of water, and the dry land springs of water. I will plant in the wilderness the cedar, the acacia tree, and the myrtle: I will set in the desert the fir tree, the plane, and the cypress together. . . . Go ye forth from Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldæans; with a voice of singing declare it even to the end of the earth: say ye, Jehovah hath redeemed his servant Jacob. And they thirsted not when he led them through the deserts: he caused the waters to flow out of the rock for them: he clave the rock also, and the waters gushed out. . . . I will set thy stones in fair colours, and lay thy foundations with sapphires. . . . And all thy children shall be the disciples of Jehovah; and great shall be the peace of thy children. . . . Thy people also shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever." [1]

These, and such as these, are the gorgeous and brilliant traits with which the prophets of the Exile invest the rapidly approaching future of their nation. How imperfectly those expectations were realized, history tells us. It is true, the Jews were permitted to return to their own country in the first year after Cyrus conquered Babylon; but both the circumstances of the return itself and the state of the restored community were in singular contrast with the glorious anticipations of the prophets. No avenues of umbrageous trees protected by their shade the homeward marching

[1] Is. xl. 3-5, xli. 18-19, xlviii. 20-21, liv. 11, 13, lx. 21.

Israelites; no streams gushed out from the wilderness beneath their feet; when the Temple and city-walls after many hindrances and difficulties were at last rebuilt, the splendour which the second Isaiah had promised to the restored city, the homage and respect of distant nations pressing forward with their offerings, and the expected ideal perfections, which were to be the peculiar privilege of the restored community,[1] were, one and all, conspicuous by their absence. The prophecy of Haggai, and the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, written in large measure by men living within eighty years of the return under Zerubbabel, show sufficiently how meagre were the principal results of the restoration, how depressed and dependent the state of the restored community.

What are we to think of this painful discrepancy between the prophecy and the fulfilment? We must bear in mind the general character of prophecy. The prophets, in the first place, write often as poets: they give play to their imagination; they construct *ideals*. It is true, they also often deliver plain and direct utterances: they rebuke their contemporaries for their vices; they make matter-of-fact statements respecting the duty of man to his neighbour or to God; they declare, in no ambiguous language, the temporal judgments, or temporal deliverances, which they see approaching. But they often intermingle in their discourses, especially in those which deal with the future, a large *ideal* element. The imagination, which has

[1] Is. lx. 3–7, 10–12, 14–16, 18, 21.

been such a powerful factor in the education of our race, and the master-creations of which have in all ages compelled the attention and admiration of mankind, is consecrated to the service of God, and is made the vehicle of the inspiring spirit. And thus, in the pages of the prophets, coming events are idealized: imaginative pictures of a golden age of moral and material blessedness are attached to them: a present crisis is no sooner past than the ultimate goal of human history is conceived to have been reached. Isaiah, when the vexatious tyranny of the Assyrian is past, pictures an immediate revolution in the character and fortunes of his people: he pictures society as at once transformed, freed from all the faults and shortcomings which mar the present; he pictures his nation in the enjoyment of felicity, and of spiritual and moral perfections, secure under the guardianship of its ideal King.[1] The overthrow of the hosts of Assyria is the crucial turning-point in the history of his people; when that is accomplished the golden age begins. And so the prophets of the Exile idealize the coming restoration to Palestine: that with them is the crucial moment of history; and they depict it in more gorgeous colours than even Isaiah had ventured to employ.

How, then, are these prophecies to be interpreted? The prophets, it cannot be doubted, like other men, mean what they say: they believed that the pictures which they drew would be realized as they drew them.

[1] Is. xxix. 17–19, 23, 24, xxx. 19–26, xxxii. 1–8, 16–18, xxxiii. 5, 6, 20–24, xi. 1–9.

The only exceptions are cases in which it may reasonably be supposed that they are using figurative language, as when Isaiah, for example, describes the overthrow of the Assyrian army in imagery which obviously cannot be intended by him to be understood literally.[1] But there are cases in which the prophet's whole conception of the future is such that it cannot reasonably be supposed to have been intended figuratively; and still it contains traits which have not been fulfilled in the past, and are of such a nature that they cannot be fulfilled in the future. I say, cannot be fulfilled in the future, because the historical conditions with which alone these traits could be consistent, and under which alone they could be intelligible, have passed away; and whatever the future course of history may be, can never be reproduced. Tyre was long ago destroyed, and its people have perished, without ever, as Isaiah anticipated, consecrating their gains to the service of the true God.[2] The great nation of Assyria has also passed away: but it never, as the same prophet likewise expected that it would do, shared with Israel its high theocratic privileges, or consorted with Israel and Egypt in the friendly worship of Jehovah.[3] And it is contrary to the most fundamental principles of the Gospel to suppose that Israel should ever become, as the great prophet of the Exile pictured that it would become, the priestly caste, with the Gentiles standing towards it in the subordinate position of laity, or that Jerusalem

[1] *e.g.* Is. x. 16, 17, xxix. 6, xxx. 27, 28, 30, 33.
[2] Is. xxiii. 18. [3] Is. xix. 23–25.

should become the actual and visible religious centre of the world, to be visited, week by week and month by month, by pilgrims from all nations, to observe the Jewish feasts of the sabbath and the new moon.[1] Large parts of Is. xl.–lx. are prophecies of this kind. They plainly describe what the prophet conceives is to follow immediately after the return to Palestine; they cannot reasonably be regarded as intended figuratively; and unquestionably they have not been fulfilled.

Nor can the difficulty be overcome by the exegetical expedient of spiritualizing the imagery of such prophecies so as to make them predictions, in disguise, of Christianity. The language used is too plain to permit that. The Israelites are to be delivered not from the stronghold of sin and Satan, but from Babylon; and their deliverer is not the Saviour of the world, but the Persian monarch, Cyrus. We must take prophecy as we find it: we must not, prior to any inductive study of what the contents and character of the prophecies actually are, assume that every description of the future which they contain must tally necessarily with the event, and be surprised and disappointed if we find that it does not do so; nor must we unduly strain the language for the purpose of bringing the two into agreement. The prophet is much more than a mere foreteller: he is in a far wider sense the interpreter of the thoughts of God, the announcer to man of the Divine will and plan. He is not the less a true prophet because

[1] Is. lxi. 6, lxvi. 23.

the picture of the future which he draws is sometimes a Divine ideal, rather than the reality which history actually brings with it. These prophetic conceptions display astonishing brilliancy and imaginative power. They stand before us, to kindle our admiration, to ennoble our aspirations, to stir our emulation. In no part of the Old Testament is the elevating and ennobling influence of the Spirit more manifest than in the great ideals of the prophets. But they must be read, and interpreted, *as* ideals: the imaginative form in which the prophets' thoughts and aspirations are set forth must be recognized as such, and not regarded as necessarily, in all its details, a prediction of the future. And although such prophecies cannot, without doing violence to words, be understood even as disguised, or figurative, descriptions of the blessings of the Gospel, yet they do embody ideas which are appropriated, and find their fuller realization, in the Gospel: they depict states of ideal blessedness, which, though they are not, and are not intended to be, identical with the blessings conferred by Christianity, may still be regarded as emblems, suited to the ages to which they were addressed, of the blessedness which it is the aim of the Gospel to bring about, partly upon earth, more completely hereafter in heaven. The felicity which the prophet of the Exile imagined would be the immediate consequence of the restoration to Palestine, may be viewed as an ideal setting forth in warm and glowing colours God's purposes of grace towards His faithful people, and the blessedness which He has in store for them, and at the same

time serving as a fore-gleam, or prelude, of that wider and larger salvation, which He offers to all men in Christ. Unto which, in His mercy, may He vouchsafe to bring us, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord !

X

THE FALL OF LUCIFER

"How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!"—ISAIAH xiv. 12.

THE verse is a striking one; and in its flowing rhythm—which it owes to the Genevan translators of 1558—reproduces, undesignedly we may be sure, but not the less happily, the melodious movement of the Homeric hexameter. What does it refer to? It has been strangely misunderstood; but if we look at it in the light of the context, the sense which the prophet attached to it is quite apparent. The 13th chapter of the Book of Isaiah, with most of the 14th, was written very shortly before the close of the long years of exile which, after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Chaldæans in 588, the bulk of the Jews passed in Babylon. Jeremiah had declared that the empire founded by Nebuchadnezzar should not last more than seventy years, and the close of the seventy years was now approaching: a great conqueror was appearing in the far East; and prophets were among the exiles to interpret the future to them, and to announce to them what they might expect. Nebuchadnezzar had died some twenty

years previously; and the ruler of Babylon at the time was Nabonidus, the father of the Belshazzar mentioned in the Book of Daniel. In the further East, Cyrus, heir of a branch of the royal house of Persia, was beginning his career of conquest, in which he first subjugated the Medes and incorporated them in his empire, and then carried his victorious arms all through Asia Minor, to the coast of the Archipelago. The prophets quickly divined that he would be the conqueror of Babylon, and the destined agent of God's providence for the release of the exiled Jews. The author of the great prophecy which begins with Is. xl. names Cyrus as the ruler who would accomplish this: the author of the present prophecy does not mention him by name, but none the less anticipates that his subjects, the Medes, will take triumphant possession of Babylon, and give permission to his compatriots to return to the home of their fathers. And so he begins by imagining poetically a signal to be raised aloft, that the foes of Babylon, in all quarters, may see it and advance to the attack:

"Set ye up an ensign upon the bare mountain,
Lift up the voice to them,
Wave the hand,
That they may enter the gates of nobles"—

that is, the gates of Babylon (xiii. 2). Jehovah's warriors, consecrated for battle, are ready; and already upon the mountains — those, namely, which skirted Babylon on the N.E., the country of the Medes—he hears in spirit the thronging hosts assemble:

"Hark! a multitude in the mountains, as of a great people!
Hark! a tumult of the kingdoms of the nations gathered together!
The LORD of hosts is mustering the host for battle."

And then, after a poetical description of the terrors of the day on which Babylon will fall, he specifies its assailants—the Medes, a people who know no pity and will spare neither young nor old, the capture of the city, the fewness of the survivors—"I will make a man more rare than fine gold, even a man than the gold of Ophir"—the carnage and rapine of which its streets will then become the scene. And so "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldæans' pride, shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah," and become a perpetual desolation. But he continues with the thought that is nearest to his heart, "Jehovah will have compassion on Jacob, and will again choose Israel, and set them in their own land."

And then the prophet provides Israel with an ode of triumph, which he imagines it to sing in the day of its deliverance (xiv. 4 ff.), an ode which has always been justly admired as one of the finest creations of Hebrew poetry.

The tyrant, he exclaims, is stilled; the earth is at peace; only the sound of rejoicing is heard:

"How hath the oppressor ceased! the raging ceased!

The LORD hath broken the staff of the wicked, the
sceptre of rulers;
That smote the peoples in wrath with a continual
stroke,
That ruled the nations in anger, with a rule that
none restrained.
The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they break
forth into ringing cries."

And he adds, with allusion to the custom of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings to beautify their temples and palaces with cedar-wood brought from Lebanon:

"Yea, the fir trees rejoice over thee, and the cedars
of Lebanon, saying,
Since thou hast lain down, no feller is come up
against us."

The prophet next accompanies in thought the shade of the Babylonian king as it journeys to the Underworld, and imagines the ironical greeting that will there meet it from the lips of the other kings still, as on earth, supposed to be invested with the panoply of state:

"Hell from beneath"—that is, not "hell" in our sense of the word, as a place of torment, but "hell" in the sense it always bears in the Old Testament, the Underworld, or to use the Hebrew word, sometimes retained in the RV., Sheol, the vast and dark subterranean cavern, in which the Hebrews believed the departed, good and bad alike, to be gathered:

"Sheol from beneath is disturbed for thee to meet
thee at thy coming:

It rouseth the shades for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth ;
It hath caused to rise up from their thrones all the kings of the nations.
All they shall answer and say unto thee,
Art thou become also weak as we ?
Art thou become like unto us ?
Brought down to Sheol is thy pomp,
The music of thy lyres :
The maggot is spread under thee,
And worms cover thee."

But even this does not depict in its full magnitude the abasement of the Babylonian monarch. In lofty words there follows a description of the end of his pride : he who in his splendour was like the day-star, shining brightly in the early dawn, is hurled to the ground ; he who would have joined the ranks of the gods is cast down to the inmost recesses of the dark underground cavern of Sheol :

" How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning !
How art thou cast down to the ground, who didst lay low the nations !
And yet thou saidst in thy heart,
Heaven will I scale ;
Above the stars of God
Will I set on high my throne ;
I will sit enthroned in the Mount of Assembly "—

the Babylonian Olympus, the meeting-place of the Babylonian gods—

"In the recesses of the North.
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds,
I will make myself like to the Most High.
Yet to Sheol shalt thou be brought down,
To the recesses of the pit."

And then the prophet's thought passes to the battle-field, from the feeble shade in Sheol to the unburied, dishonoured corpse—not interred among the kings in a royal burial-place, but lying unheeded on the battle-field, among the bodies of his own soldiers:

"They that see thee (that is, thy corpse) will look narrowly at thee,
They will consider thee, saying,
Is this the man that made the earth to tremble,
That did shake kingdoms?
That made the world like a wilderness,
That overthrew its cities?
The kings of the nations, all of them, sleep in glory,
Every one in his house.
But thou art cast forth tombless;
Covered over by the slain,
That are thrust through with the sword,
That go down to the stones of the pit,
As a carcase trodden under foot.
For thou hast destroyed thy land,
Thou hast slain thy people;

The seed of evil-doers
Shall never more be named."

We now understand what Lucifer means in my text. The word itself, which comes to us from the Vulgate, signifies simply *Light-bearer*: it denotes here, in accordance with its regular use in Latin, simply the morning star, Venus, as it does in Milton's Nativity Hymn; and the fall of the Babylonian king from his splendour and state is represented poetically as the fall of the bright morning star from the sky. But the verse was strangely misunderstood in former times. Ancient interpreters, who often explained texts very superficially without any regard to the context, were reminded by it of our Lord's words in the Gospel, "I beheld Satan fall like lightning from heaven"—meaning that in the success of His disciples on their mission He saw an earnest of the fall of Satan from his power over the world; and so it was supposed that this verse referred similarly to the fall of Satan, as a rebel angel, from heaven. This interpretation prevailed throughout the Middle Ages, and Lucifer became a title of Satan. It is used by Milton in *Paradise Lost* in this sense, when he speaks o "The palace of great Lucifer . . . which . . . Affecting all equality with God," he built himself, and alludes to the ambition which occasioned his fall from heaven.[1] And the sense is still current among us in the pro-

[1] *Paradise Lost*, v. 760 ff.; "The palace of great Lucifer" is called "The Mountain of the Congregation" in 766; cf. vii. 131, x. 425 f. "city and proud seat Of Lucifer, so by allusion called Of that bright star to Satan paragoned." Cf. Shakespeare, *King Henry VIII.*, III. ii. 371.

verbial expression, "As proud as Lucifer." But the word Lucifer, as denoting the morning star, is practically now unknown in English; it is, moreover, liable to be misunderstood, and to be taken in the more popular sense which has still survived; and so in the RV. *day-star* has been rightly substituted, happily with no change in the music of the verse:

> "How art thou fallen from heaven, O *day-star*, son of the morning!"

The prophecy is one of exultation over the approaching fall of the power which had enthralled the Jews; it hails triumphantly the prospect of their speedy return to Palestine. The prophet dwells with delight on the thought of the mustering foe, their assault upon Babylon, their pitiless slaughter of the population, the perpetual desolation which the city should thenceforth for all ages become. The Jews had, indeed, suffered severely at the hands of the Chaldæans. Nebuchadnezzar, fifty or sixty years before, had besieged and taken Jerusalem, and sent the bulk of the population into exile; and the Book of Lamentations gives a graphic but painful picture of the hardships which men, women and children had undergone in consequence. We can therefore understand the intensity of feeling with which, as the day of release was seen to be near, the prophets spoke. Patriotic spirit, the memory of the past, religious fervour, the vision of immediate freedom and of a new age to be ruled by true, spiritual ideals, gave spurs to their imagination and animation to

their pen. An exiled people could not be expected to view their oppressors otherwise than the Jews did, or to see that there were any redeeming points in their character. Even Nebuchadnezzar, as we now know from the inscriptions, was not only zealous for the welfare of his people, but, according to his lights, extremely religious and reverent; when he enumerates, for instance, with pride his buildings in Babylon, he both begins and ends with a full acknowledgment of his dependence on Marduk, and with prayers for the continuance of his blessing. And Nabonidus, the last king of Babylon, was anything but a despot; he was a quiet, retiring and religious man, who devoted himself mainly to the peaceful work of restoring temples, and whose prayer, more than once, is that both he and his son Belshazzar may be preserved from sin. When, therefore, we read the prophet's description of him, we must not regard it as drawn carefully and impartially by a historian, but as coloured by the circumstances and feelings of the time, and depicting, not Nabonidus personally, but an *ideal* despot, an ideal personification—and as such a very true and just personification—of the aims and ambitions and actions of a typical ruler of the East. But of a beneficent and, according to his lights, a religious despot, we may find a much earlier and more famous example. Two thousand years before the birth of Christ, and some seven hundred years before Moses, a great ruler of Babylonia, Hammurabi, a contemporary of Abraham, framed a code of laws for his people, the influence of which in the

ancient East was very great, and echoes of which seem to be heard even in some of the laws in the Pentateuch. In the preface to this code, Hammurabi states what his object was in promulgating it: he had been called, he says, to cause justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not harm the weak, and to promote the welfare of his people. Better and wiser motives than these could hardly be found for parliamentary legislation of the twentieth century. That the rulers whom I have mentioned did not know the God of Israel was not their fault: the knowledge of Him had not been brought to them. But they are examples of what we frequently meet when we study religions other than our own, that God left Himself not without witness in the world, and that there have ever been in every nation men seeking after God, if haply they might feel after Him, and find Him, though He is not far from each one of us; who, in so far as they found Him, endeavoured to rule both their own lives and the lives of others in accordance with what they deemed to be His purpose. While grateful, therefore, that we ourselves live in a clearer and brighter and purer light, let us do justice to such men, for their appearance is part of the Divinely-constituted order and education of the world.

XI

A LIGHT TO THE GENTILES

"It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth."—ISAIAH xlix. 6.

THESE words are addressed to the ideal "Servant of the Lord," who constitutes such a prominent and striking figure in the second part of the Book of Isaiah. The second part of this book, beginning with ch. xl., consists of a majestic piece of prophetic oratory, addressed originally to the Jewish exiles in Babylon, and intended primarily for their consolation and encouragement. For nearly two generations the majority of the people of Judah had been banished from their native land: they had settled down in a foreign country, which many, it seems, had come to regard as their natural home, and which consequently they were indisposed to leave, even should the opportunity for doing so be presented to them. Others, who still looked with yearnings towards Palestine, conceived that their hopes were doomed to disappointment: in spite of the promises given by Jeremiah, that the rule of the Chaldæans should not continue for more than seventy years,

the Babylonian monarchy still stood secure, and the power that should effect their deliverance appeared for the time as far off as ever. It seemed as though Judah was to dwindle away and disappear in exile, as the ten tribes had dwindled away and disappeared before them. To move and stimulate those who were thus indifferent, to encourage and strengthen those who were despondent, is the principal aim and purpose of these magnificent chapters. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people," are the prophet's opening words; and they form the theme which his whole argument develops. Triumphantly the prophet points to the approach of the deliverer, Cyrus, in the distance: with keen irony he satirizes the splendid idol-gods, which were the pride of the great city; they are impotent, he exclaims, either to shield their city from its foe, or to thwart the purposes of Providence; the promises given by God to His people cannot fail, and ere long the nation will be free. In ch. lxii. the prophet depicts the homeward march of the exiles, the splendour of the restored Jerusalem, the felicity and security and righteousness of its inhabitants. So far, therefore, from Judah being abandoned to pine away and perish in exile, a great and august future is before it.

Of this future one aspect is exhibited in the text. As the prophet surveys the past history of his people, and reflects upon its distinctive character, he thinks of Israel as God's "servant," called by God to do His work, to be His witness upon earth, to be in the person of its prophets and other spiritual teachers the organ

and channel of His revelation. But the servant has not properly fulfilled this work; he has been blind, inattentive, unobservant of God's dealings (xlii. 19, 20): so upon the basis of the actual but imperfect Israel the prophet rises to the conception of the *ideal* Israel, the Israel true to its destiny, latent in the actual Israel, and realized, at least approximately, in its godly members, but at the same time distinct from it. And he personifies this figure so vividly that it assumes in his hands the features and form of an individual, whose feelings and motives and purposes are depicted, and who represents in their perfection the typical excellences of the nation, and may therefore be described in a word as the personified genius of Israel. In virtue of his being Jehovah's "servant," this ideal Israel has a mission. He is to be a prophet, not to the actual Israel only, but to the world—a prophet, faithful and patient in the discharge of his work, in spite of the opposition and contumely and persecution even unto death which he encounters in it (Is. l. 4–9, and lii. 13–liii. 12). And as he is to be a prophet to the world, this ideal Israel, in the chapter from which the text is taken, is dramatically introduced, addressing distant nations; for he has a message which concerns them:

"Listen, O isles, unto me,
And hearken, ye peoples, from afar:
Jehovah hath called me from the womb;
From the bowels of my mother hath he made
mention of my name."

From the beginning of its national history Israel has been called by Jehovah to be His minister and servant.

" And he hath made my mouth a sharp sword,
In the shadow of his hands he hath hid me ;
And he said unto me, Thou art my servant,
Israel, in whom I will be glorified."

He has been guarded carefully and trained for his work, given the sharp tongue to rebuke and correct: he is *Israel*, through whom Jehovah will glorify Himself.

" But I said, I have laboured in vain;
I have spent my strength for nought and vanity ;
Yet surely my judgment is with the LORD,
And my recompence with my God."

For a moment he had felt discouraged by his want of success ; but he was reassured by the thought that his cause was in God's hands, who would render him in due time the reward of his labours.

And now a new and more honourable commission is entrusted to him :

"Thus saith the LORD, that formed me from the womb to be his servant, It is too light a thing that thou shouldest be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob, and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also give thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may be unto the end of the earth." It is not enough for him to have been predestined to effect the restoration of the chosen nation from Babylon ; he is to have a mission to the entire world ; he is to be a

"light of the Gentiles," to bring all mankind to the knowledge of the true God.

In the first place, then, Israel is to restore Israel. What can be the meaning of this? The explanation is no doubt difficult; but we must consider what the prophet says in the light of his entire conception. His meaning seems to be what we should express, in more prosaic language, by saying that Israel's destiny, or the future destined for it by God, was the guarantee of its restoration: but to the prophet this destiny is embodied in the figure of the ideal Israel, which he then sets over against the actual Israel, and views as acting independently on its behalf, and effecting its restoration to Palestine. And this representation, if we desire a prosaic fulfilment of it, does so far correspond to the facts, that while Cyrus actually gave permission to the Jews to return and rebuild the Temple, it was the godly kernel of the nation, who were zealous for the religion of their fathers and at the time were the representatives of the ideal nation, who gave effect to Cyrus's permission and led a large number of the people back. This work, however, of restoring Israel from its exile, great as it was, and important as its consequences were, is in the prophet's view eclipsed by a still greater work which he sees reserved for the "servant." "It is a small thing for thee to be my servant to raise up the tribes of Jacob and to restore the preserved of Israel: I will also make thee a light to the Gentiles, that my salvation may be to the end of the earth." Ideal Israel is thus to be the instrument, not only for

restoring the exiled Israelites to Palestine, but also for extending the knowledge of the true God to the ends of the earth.

The thought of the ultimate extension of Israel's religion to all nations of the world is one which occurs frequently in the prophets. Thus we read in ch. li. 6: "For a law shall go forth from me, and I will make my judgment (that is, my religion)[1] to rest for a light of the peoples." It was the privilege of the chosen people to be for many centuries the guardian and witness of divine truth; but the prophets loved to think of the privileges enjoyed by Israel as extended eventually to the world at large. This was not, indeed, possible for the religion of Israel exactly as it is set before us in the Old Testament. The ceremonial law, with its elaborate sacrificial system, was the outcome of a relatively immature stage of religious belief; and with its strict limitation of all offerings and sacrifices to a single local centre could evidently form no element in a universal religion, intended to embrace nations living in every part of the world. But it was possible for the religion of Israel in its essential features, when its temporary elements had been stripped off, and it had been transformed and spiritualized, and thus adapted to new conditions and a larger sphere. This transformation and adaptation to new and larger surround-

[1] *Mishpāt* ('judgment,' 'ordinance') denotes religion as a system of established ordinances. So xlii. 1–3 (where the edition of the RV. with marginal references glosses the word incorrectly), Jer. v. 4, 5, viii. 7 (RV. rightly 'ordinance'). See the note in my *Jeremiah*, p. 344.

ings was, of course, accomplished by Christianity: the ideal Israel, who fulfilled this part of the prophet's picture, was our Lord Jesus Christ, whose first agents in carrying out this great work were His apostles, especially St. Paul. It was St. Paul who, both by his teaching and by his many missionary journeys among the heathen, was in a special sense the Apostle of the Gentiles. St. Paul showed in particular in his Epistles how the old ceremonial law was abolished by faith in Christ: "In Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision availeth anything, but a new creature"; and writing to the Gentile Churches founded in Asia Minor and Europe, he laid down in detail the principles of the Christian life, as they should be believed and acted upon by converts from all nations alike.

It is interesting to observe how the two chief expressions in the text are alluded to in the New Testament. One allusion is familiar to us. It occurs in the thanksgiving uttered by the aged Simeon, who was looking for the consolation of Israel when he received the infant Jesus into his arms in the Temple (Luke ii. 29-32):

"Master! now releasest thou thy servant,
According to thy word, in peace:
For mine eyes have seen thy salvation,
Which thou hast prepared before the face of all peoples;
A light for revelation to the Gentiles,
And the glory of thy people Israel."

The other allusion is when Paul and Barnabas at Lystra (Acts xiii. 47) justify their turning from the Jews of that place, who rejected their preaching, to the Gentiles, by a quotation of this verse: "For so the Lord hath commanded us, saying:

> I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles,
> That thou shouldest be for salvation unto the end of the earth."

Christ appears thus as the Light of the Gentiles, and His apostles, Paul and Barnabas, as the agents by whom that light should be made to shine. Nor does this passage stand alone in the Acts. St. Paul, once the ardent persecutor of the infant Church, first became conscious of his call to be the apostle to the Gentiles at the time of that memorable occasion in his life, his conversion on the road to Damascus. In the account given by him of this event before Agrippa, he says that in the trance which fell upon him he heard Jesus speaking to him and telling him that He was now sending him to the Gentiles to open their eyes, that they might turn from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God (Acts xxvi. 18); and in Damascus, Ananias, the disciple who, when bidden to visit Saul of Tarsus, objected that he was one of the most virulent persecutors of the Christians, was reassured by the words, "Go thy way; for he is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before the Gentiles and kings, and the children of Israel" (Acts ix. 15).

And so the first part of Is. xlix. is appropriately

chosen as one of the first lessons for the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul. St. Paul was, above all other apostles, the apostle of the Gentiles. He was the principal agent by whom the truths inherited from the fathers, deepened and enlarged and so adapted to Gentile needs, were made known among the great centres of commercial and intellectual activity in Asia Minor and Europe. In the missionary labours of St. Paul the first steps were taken in evangelizing the ends of the earth. The time was ripe for such steps to be taken. It was an age in which Greek and Roman civilization, operating round the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, had broken down many of the old barriers that separated nations: and the Greek language, now familiar to many dwelling in the same parts, formed a vehicle adapted both to the formulation and to the propagation of the new faith. Already Jews had spread widely over many parts of the Greek and Roman world, and helped to prepare the way for the acceptance of the new form which the old religion was now assuming. And St. Paul, by his energy and enterprise, his enthusiasm and his warm spiritual nature, was eminently fitted to win the hearts of many for the faith of Christ; while by his education, his knowledge of Greek and Jew alike, —he was a Jew of Tarsus, and thus well trained in the beliefs and principles of Judaism, and also passed his early years in the busy and varied life of a Greek commercial city—and by his gifts of intellect, he was not less well fitted to expound and develop the principles of the new faith, to show how it sprang legitimately

from Judaism, and at the same time to build up a Christian Church, which would comprehend without distinction men of every nationality, whether Greek or Jew, whether barbarian or Scythian, whether bond or free (Col. iii. 11). St. Paul, in the providence of God, was the creator of Gentile Christianity. It was through his instrumentality that the Church first became Catholic. Let us not forget that the religious blessings and privileges which we, Gentiles, enjoy, were once confined to the Jews; and let the Festival of the Conversion of St. Paul, as it comes round year by year, move us to a grateful recollection of the debt which we owe to the great apostle of the Gentiles.

NOTE.

Dillmann (cf. Peake, *Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament*, p. 48) renders the first clause of Is. xlix. 6: "Too light a thing for thy being my servant (*i.e.* for thy position as my servant) is it to raise up," etc.; and if the passage stood alone, there can be no doubt that it would naturally be so rendered. But what of Ezek. viii. 17, which Dillmann does not refer to? One thing is certain: if the text of Ezek. viii. 17 is correct, RV. of Is. xlix. 6 is perfectly defensible; on the other hand, if RV. of Is. xlix. 6 is not tenable, then the text of Ezek. viii. 17 must be corrected, and *min* omitted before the infinitive *'ăsoth* (cf. 1 Kings xvi. 31). And what also of *min* after *rab* ("enough"), Ex. ix. 28, 1 Kings xii. 28 (by the side of the infin. alone, Deut. i. 6, ii. 3), Ezek. xliv. 6; and after *chalilah* (*ad profanum!* "Far be it"), Gen. xviii. 25, and frequently? It deserves consideration whether in all these cases, though the infin. alone would undoubtedly be the logical subject, as the action denoted by it is only mentioned to be deprecated, the *min* is not illogically introduced to satisfy the feeling that some kind of expression should be given to this fact: if this be the case, the RV. of Is. xlix. 6 may continue to stand.

XII

THE GLORY OF THIS HOUSE

"For thus saith the LORD of hosts: Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts."—HAGGAI ii. 6, 7.

THE last of the Sundays after Trinity has from ancient times been observed as a kind of eve to Advent. In the first lesson for this morning the Church views the close of the Christian year as symbolizing the close of human life; in the passage from Jeremiah appointed for the Epistle, and in the alternative first lessons for this afternoon, it bids us direct our thoughts to the coming of Christ. The prophet Haggai was called upon to prophesy in dull and dispiriting times. Seventeen years had elapsed since the edict of Cyrus had given permission to the exiles in Babylon, after their fifty or sixty years' captivity, to return to their old home and rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem; and a fair proportion, though by no means the whole, had availed themselves of the privilege. Immediately after the return the altar of burnt-offering was erected upon its old site; and shortly afterwards the foundation

of the new Temple was formally laid. But disappointments followed. The half-caste Samaritans asked to be allowed to assist in rebuilding the Temple; and, being refused, became the determined opponents of the Jews, and succeeded in seriously interrupting the progress of the work. Nor was this all. The country itself was not prosperous. The land had lain neglected for many years, and could not at once be brought into proper cultivation; as Haggai himself tells us, there was a succession of bad seasons; the scanty crops were blasted by mildew and beaten down by hail; the people generally were impoverished and disappointed, though a few, indeed, were prosperous enough to dwell in panelled houses. The author of the later chapters of Isaiah, a few years before, had drawn dazzling visions of the restoration: a triumphal progress of the exiles through the desert; Jerusalem resplendent with every glory; the nations of the earth envious of their happiness, and vying with one another in showing them honour and respect. The reality was a bitter disenchantment; the people were disheartened; they concluded that the wrath of God was not removed from them, and that the "time had not yet come for the LORD's house to be built."

This remissness in rebuilding God's house moved the souls of the two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah; and they exerted themselves to induce the people to proceed with the work. Haggai, in his first chapter, spoken in the second year of the Persian king Darius, retorts indignantly the people's words upon themselves:

"Is it time for *you* to dwell in your panelled houses, while this house lieth waste?" and he attributes the bad seasons and other misfortunes from which they had been suffering to their neglect. His words had such effect, that three weeks later Zerubbabel, the governor of Judah, and the high priest Joshua, and many of the leading Jews, felt themselves moved to begin the work.

It was just a month afterwards that the prophecy was spoken which the Church appoints for this evening. They are words of encouragement addressed to the people. Those who could remember the Temple of Solomon before it was pillaged and burnt sixty years before, were no doubt bitterly grieved when they saw its dismantled walls and ruined courts, and wondered whether it could ever be possible to restore them to their former splendour. "Who is left among you that saw this house in its former glory? and how do ye see it now? is it not in your eyes as nothing? Yet take heart, O Zerubbabel; and take heart, O Joshua: for I am with you, and my spirit still abideth among you."

"Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and the desirable things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the LORD of hosts. The silver is mine, and the gold is mine, saith the LORD of hosts. The latter glory of this house shall be greater than the former, and in this place will I give peace, saith the LORD of hosts."

In the AV., with which we are more familiar, we have *the desire of all nations shall come*, the words being supposed to be a personal reference to the future Messiah; but grammar will not permit of this rendering. The verb *come* being plural, *desirable* (or *precious*) *things* means *treasures*; and the verse thus declares that the treasures of the nations, the silver and the gold spoken of in the next verse, will be brought to beautify the Temple, so that it will be even more glorious and splendid than was the Temple of Solomon. The thought is thus exactly that of Is. lx., spoken a few years before, where, pointing to the splendour of the restored Jerusalem, the prophet says: "The abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee. They shall bring gold and frankincense and proclaim the praises of the LORD. And I will beautify the house of my glory." The nations, Haggai says, will offer willingly and abundantly of their treasures; and so the latter glory of the house shall be greater than the former glory—Solomon's walls were no doubt still standing, so the Temple is still regarded as the same—on account, namely, of the splendid gifts which will crowd into it from the whole world.

It is probable that, as was generally the case with the prophets, the incidents of the time suggested the form and imagery of Haggai's prophecy. In the first two years of Darius' reign his empire was in a disturbed state: many important provinces revolted under pretenders, and were with difficulty reduced by him to submission; and as in former days movements among the

nations or approaching political crises, taken in conjunction with their bearing upon Israel, had given the impulse to prophesy, so, it can hardly be doubted, this shaking of nations in the East helped to awaken the spirit of prophecy in Haggai and determine the direction of his thoughts. It was a shaking which, as he wrote, seemed destined to spread, to embrace other nations, and to issue in that overthrow of heathen powers which the older prophets had also looked forward to as preceding the advent of the Messianic age. And so indeed we actually read at the end of the book: "Speak to Zerubbabel, saying, I will shake the heavens and the earth: and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms, and I will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the nations; and I will overthrow the chariots, and those that ride in them; and the horses and their riders shall come down, every one by the sword of his brother. In that day, saith the LORD of hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, my servant, the son of Shealtiel, saith the LORD, and will make thee as a signet: for I have chosen thee, saith the LORD of hosts."

It is clear from these words that what the prophet anticipates is that before long heathen powers will be overthrown, and God's kingdom will be established upon earth. It was imperative, therefore, that the Temple should be prepared for Him without delay: for when this was done the people would no longer have cause to complain that their toil brought them only disappointment: God's blessing would rest upon them. In this shaking of nations which Haggai foretells, some

would offer of their costliest treasures to beautify the restored Temple; nations unfriendly to Jehovah and His people would perish in internecine strife; the Messianic age would begin in Judah, with an honourable place reserved in it for Zerubbabel. He would be a signet in Jehovah's hand; as the signet was given in the East to an important minister as a mark of confidence and authority, he would be, as it were, God's responsible vicegerent upon earth.

As in other cases, we must read and judge the prophecies of the future kingdom of God in the light of the age in which they were written. They are ideals which, in the sense in which they were spoken, often remained unfulfilled. The nations did not press in to the Second Temple as the prophet here anticipated; the kingdoms of the world were not overthrown; the Messianic age did not at once begin, and the governor Zerubbabel held no honourable place in it. Exactly in the same way Isaiah long before, when his country was hard pressed by the invading hosts of Assyria, announced in confident tones not only the failure of their attack (which was fulfilled by the event), but also how this would at once be followed by the regeneration of society, the cessation of all the sin and trouble which vexed Judah in his own day, the advent of a golden age, when no foe would any more threaten without and no evil-doer work mischief within, when a king would reign in righteousness and princes in judgment, and when Judah would be the home of felicity and peace. This vision also was sadly belied by the reality. No such

transformation of society ensued after the failure of Sennacherib's attack, as the prophet had anticipated; no golden age began for the remnant of Judah—it has not begun for it even now. We must read such prophecies as ideals of the goal designed by God for man, visions which, though not realized, present pictures of what human life and society might and ought to be, and of what perhaps at some future time, when Christianity has leavened the hearts and wills of men more completely and more universally than it has done at present, it actually may be. And so in the present prophecy, Haggai, as he looks out into the future, *idealizes* it; he pictures the restored Temple as the future religious centre of the world, nations coming on pilgrimage to it, and delighting to honour it with their gifts; its glory consequently on a greater scale than that of Solomon's Temple, and Judah enjoying a God-given peace. Haggai, in fact, applies to the rebuilding of the Temple what Isaiah had said long before in a well-known passage when picturing the day when the nations of the earth would become worshippers of the God of Israel and make pilgrimages to Zion: "And it shall come to pass in the latter days that the mountain of the LORD'S house shall be established in the top of the mountains and exalted above the hills: and all nations shall flow unto it"—recognizing in it a centre of divine instruction—"for out of Zion shall go forth a law, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem (ii. 2, 3)."

And so we may understand the sense in which the

prophecy is read suitably on the last Sunday before Advent. It is no prophecy, as the false rendering of the Authorized Version suggests, of the coming of a personal Messiah; but it looks forward to the time when what can only become possible through the advent of Christ may be accomplished. It was only when the religion of the prophets was detached from local conditions, such as sacrifice at Jerusalem, and expanded and developed as it was by Christ and His apostles, that it became adapted for the nations of the world. Thus Haggai looks forward to a time when, converted to faith in Him, the nations of the world might, in a figurative sense, honour the Temple of the true God. It was never fulfilled, any more than was Isaiah's prophecy which I have just quoted, in the form in which Haggai pictured its fulfilment; but that was a result of the circumstances under which it was written. Seldom, if ever, did the prophets rise to the idea of a purely spiritual religion; in their most catholic outlook into the future they nearly always pictured religion as bound to the forms of their own dispensation: Zechariah, for instance, pictures the nations of the earth as coming annually to keep the Feast of Tabernacles (xiv. 16 ff.). With a religion spread over the whole world, a local centre at Jerusalem is obviously impossible; and Haggai's prophecy can only be fulfilled in a spiritual sense. The nations may own one religion and one God, but they cannot offer their worship or their gifts at one material temple. Nevertheless, the essential thought of the passage is the overthrow of the kingdom of the world and the honour

paid by the nations to the Temple of the true God. That great vision has been partially fulfilled, but only partially. The kingdoms of the world have as yet become only in part, and even that imperfectly, the kingdom of the Lord and of His Anointed. As in other similar cases, the complete realization of the prophet's ideal lies in the future. May it please God to hasten the time when the ideal becomes a reality, when the nations flock with one accord to worship in His spiritual Temple, and His kingdom is established throughout the earth!

XIII

COMPARATIVE RELIGION

"For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering, saith the LORD of hosts."—MALACHI i. 11.

MALACHI was one of the latest of the prophets; he prophesied about four hundred years before Christ, some ninety years after the Jews had returned from their exile in Babylon to their native country. The Temple had been rebuilt, and public worship in it had been resumed. But a feeling of depression and discontent prevailed among the people. The expectations which earlier prophets had aroused had not been fulfilled. The return from Babylon had not been followed by the glories promised by the Second Isaiah; the completion of the Temple had not, as Haggai and Zechariah had promised, brought in the Messianic age; Jerusalem was still thinly inhabited; bad harvests, troubles from neighbours and general poverty increased the disheartenment. A spirit of carelessness and indifference sprang up among the people, and extended even to the priests. The people were

remiss in the payment of tithe and other sacred dues; marriages with foreign women, and divorce, became alarmingly common. The priests, forgetful of the honour and reverence which are God's due, treated His altar with contempt, offering upon it blemished or imperfect animals, such as their own Persian governor would not think of accepting as a present; they performed the duties of their high office perfunctorily; they were open, it seems, to bribery; they permitted to one what they refused to another; uprightness and impartiality were not, as they should have been, the ruling principles of their lives.[1] Hear how the prophet describes them as speaking:

"Ye say, Behold, what a weariness is it!" (*i.e.* what a trouble the service of the sanctuary is!), "and ye snuff at it" (*i.e.* ye treat it with contempt); "and ye bring that which has been taken by violence, and the lame, and the sick; and ye bring *it* as an offering: should I accept this at your hand? saith the LORD."[2] Better, the prophet exclaims, that the Temple should be closed altogether, than that sacrifices presented in such a spirit should be offered on it! "Oh that there were one among you that would shut the doors, that ye might not kindle fire on mine altar to no purpose!" "I have no pleasure in you, saith the LORD of hosts, neither will I accept an offering from your hand."[3] Then follow the words of the text. Jehovah has no pleasure in Israel's offerings; for while He is

[1] Mal. i. 6–8, 13, 14, ii. 8, 9 end.
[2] Mal. i. 13. [3] Mal. i. 10.

honoured among the Gentiles, Israel dishonours Him. "For from the rising of the sun even unto the going down of the same my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered unto my name, and a pure offering: for my name is great among the Gentiles, saith the LORD of hosts. But ye profane it, in that ye say"—not, indeed, in so many words, but virtually by treating Jehovah's table with irreverence—"The table of the LORD is polluted, and his food is contemptible." The honour shown to Jehovah by the Gentiles is contrasted with the dishonour and irreverence shown towards Him by His own people.

The passage is a remarkable one. The sacrifices of the heathen, with the limitation, we must suppose, that they are offered seriously and earnestly, are represented as offered to Jehovah, and as acceptable to Him. Malachi may have been led to this thought through his acquaintance with the doctrines of the Persian religion, which would be known in Judah at the time, and which were certainly purer and more spiritual than those of heathenism generally. But however that may be, the passage is a tribute to the truer and better side of heathen religion. The heathen do not know God as He revealed Himself to the Jews: still there is such a thing as natural religion; and in so far as heathen nations recognized a being, or even beings, higher than themselves, upon whom they believed themselves to be dependent and to whom they offered tokens of gratitude and reverence and devotion, Jehovah, the only true God, accepts such homage as offered to Himself. And

He accepts the imperfect homage of the Gentiles, if it is the best that with their knowledge and opportunities they are able to give, in preference to the service of His own people, and even of His own ministers, if this is offered only perfunctorily with heedlessness and irreverence. Malachi thus "recognizes in the religious earnestness of the Gentiles a form of devotion which Jehovah is willing to accept."[1] His words even go beyond what is said by St. Peter in the Acts, that "in every nation he that feareth God, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him" (Acts x. 35).

There is another text which deals with the same subject, though from a somewhat different point of view. The writer of Deuteronomy in warning the Israelite against idolatry, bids him take heed "lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon and the stars, even all the host of heaven, thou be drawn away and worship them, and serve them, which the LORD thy God hath divided (*i.e.* allotted) to all the peoples under the whole heaven" (Deut. iv. 19). The God of Israel is supreme; He assigns to every nation its objects of worship; and the veneration of the heavenly bodies—which was widely diffused in antiquity—by the nations other than Israel forms part of His providential order of the world. Natural religion, though it may become depraved, as St. Paul points out (Rom. i. 21 ff.), is a witness to some of the deepest needs and instincts of humanity; in default of a pure and higher faith, the yearnings of mankind after a

[1] Ottley, *The Religion of Israel* (1905), p. 161.

power higher than themselves find in it legitimate satisfaction. We have thus two texts referring to the religious worship of the Gentiles, one representing it as accepted by God and offered to Himself, the other speaking of it as part of God's providential order of the world, and intended by Him to be practised by those nations who lay beyond the range of the higher light possessed by the Chosen People.

I have been led to refer to those texts in view of the approaching Congress for the History of Religions, which is to be held during the coming week in Oxford.[1] A very large number of religions, ancient and modern, established in different parts of the world, are now known; and for many years past students interested in the subject have collected particulars about them, and compared the beliefs and practices current among them. Almost daily we are learning more about the religion of ancient Babylonia, which probably, in some respects, has left its mark upon parts of the Old Testament: we also know much more than we did a century ago about the religions of the ancient Egyptians and other neighbours of the Israelites. The forty-nine volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, published in Oxford during a succession of years under the editorship of the late Prof. Max Müller, acquaint us very fully with the religious beliefs and practices of ancient India, Persia, China, and other Eastern countries: and the investigations of missionaries and travellers in modern times have taught us much about

[1] September 1908.

the religions of the native races of Africa, America, Australia, and of nearly every part of the modern world. Naturally, in many of these religions there is much that is degraded and superstitious and cruel and perverse; but if we look through all this, we shall generally find in them elements of truth, and evidence of the sound and healthy instincts of humanity.

Man is by nature a religious being. Religion is confined to no one time or place. Whatever may have been the case in the infancy of the world, and whatever may be the case with particular tribes even now, the great majority of tribes and races have developed, in a more or less mature form, some system of religious belief. Even though religion should not be a universal characteristic of mankind, there are facts abundantly sufficient to show that it is a genuine instinct of humanity; and that, as men advance in culture and civilization, their religious instincts express themselves, as a rule, the more strongly and the more distinctly. Homer, long ago, did not generalize too boldly when he said, "All men yearn after gods."[1] Man, almost as soon as he can reflect, is conscious that he did not make either himself or the world about him. The contemplation of nature, so vast, so wonderful, so varied, forces upon him the conviction that it must be the work of some being possessing a mind similar to his own, but immeasurably greater and more powerful. At first, perhaps, men deified natural forces or agencies, or they thought of many gods—of gods who, as it were,

[1] *Odyssey*, iii. 48.

took charge of particular departments of nature; but a tendency to attribute all to one supreme, or even one single God, often manifested itself, and the idea of a maker or creator of the world and man was thus arrived at.

Moreover, in virtue of the nature with which he has been endowed, man rises to a sense of right and wrong; he feels that if he does wrong his god is displeased; and he acquires the sense of sin. He makes offerings to his god, to thank him, it may be, for the gifts of spring or harvest, or to propitiate him, if he has reason to dread the god's displeasure; and so the ideas of sacrifice and atonement arise. Religious festivals of different kinds are celebrated, as acts of homage and gratitude, to the powers on which man's happiness depends. Rites of initiation and purification are adopted, witnessing to the idea of a life higher than a merely natural life, and to the need of cleansing after defilement. In some religions also the idea of a communion with the tribal deity appears: the worshippers therefore partake of a common sacrificial meal of which the deity also is supposed to partake; or they eat, for instance, a dough image of their god. They hope thereby to participate in a divine life communicated to them, which they believe will be to them a protection and source of life and strength. There are many religions also in which the idea of an incarnation is found. And I need hardly say how common in all parts of the world is the custom of prayer to the national deity.

The beliefs and practices which I have here rapidly noted, and the number of them might be increased, are

thus more or less common to all the religions of the world. But they are also the ideas which in a purer and higher form belong to Christianity; they thus form connecting links between those religions and our own. The ideas of creation, of sin, of sacrifice, of atonement, of communion, embody central truths of the Christian religion. No doubt they are found generally, in heathen religions, in a crude, grotesque, or perverse form: but they are there; they are the ideas which these heathen nations believe in, and desire, as well as they can do, to express; and in a more elevated and spiritual form they are of the essence of Christianity. Christianity is the highest, and indeed the absolute religion; but other religions share with it common features. Other religions express imperfectly the truths which spring out of the relation in which the human mind, constituted as it is, feels that it stands to the being, or beings, which it recognizes above it; and these are just the truths which find a more spiritual and satisfying recognition in Christianity. We discover, then, features in which Christianity resembles other religions, and features in which it differs from them. But things standing in this relation to one another can be compared. Thus there arises the science of the Comparative Study of Religions, both of other religions among themselves, and also with Christianity. This implies no disparagement to Christianity, which remains the most spiritual and perfect religion that we can imagine.

The existence of beliefs and practices such as these

among so many religions of the world is an important witness to the truth of Christianity. It shows that the instincts of which they are the expression—even though it may be the struggling and imperfect expression—are rooted in human nature, and that they have a real claim to be satisfied; it thus creates a strong presumption that the religion which satisfies them most completely is the highest and the truest. Long ago a Christian Father, Tertullian, who lived about 200 A.D., wrote a treatise called "The witness of the soul by nature Christian," in which he developed this argument; he pointed to the religious beliefs and practices of the Gentiles as testifying to the truth of principles more fully satisfied by Christianity: the soul, he argued, was thus by nature Christian; it accepted already in principle so many truths about God and His relation to the world and man which Christians also held, that it ought consistently to go farther and accept them in the fuller and more reasonable form in which they were presented by Christianity. And in modern times, not many years since (1881), a Bampton Lecturer in this University, the present Bishop of Salisbury, argued similarly, that non-Christian religious systems bore witness to convictions and aspirations on the part of man which were only fully satisfied by the faith of Christ.

There is also another point to which I may refer briefly. Christianity resembles other religions in having had a *history*. Since the times of the apostles, when St. Paul planted infant churches in different

parts of Asia and Europe, it has undergone many remarkable developments : new practices, and sometimes new beliefs, have sprung up in it ; it has divided, and in its reformed branches often subdivided ; in its different parts also great differences, both of doctrine and of organization, have prevailed. More than that, Christianity sprang out of an antecedent religion, the religion of Israel. This also had a history, and in the Old Testament we can trace some of the stages through which it passed. On its ceremonial side, the religion of Israel had links connecting it with the religions of neighbouring peoples : such institutions as sacrifice and purifications and religious pilgrimages and a priesthood, were, for instance, not peculiar to Israel ; they were shared by the Israelites with their neighbours ; there are also frequent examples of rites and usages prescribed in the Pentateuch to which analogies have been found in many different parts of the world. But the Israelites, while they practised such usages, adapted them to the spirit of their own higher religion, and made them the vehicle of its higher teaching, and spiritualized them in a manner to which among other nations there has been no parallel. And so they were qualified to prepare the way for Christianity. The ceremonial observances of the Jewish theocracy were, however, unsuited for a religion in which Gentiles, being in all parts of the world, were to share : St. Paul taught that they were not to be imposed upon Gentile converts ; and the Christian Church discarded them. But the *spiritual* principles of the religion of Israel, including

many finding expression in their institutions—such principles as the belief in One God, sacrifice, atonement, sin, forgiveness—were naturally retained, and became, indeed, part of the very essence of the Christian faith.

The religions of the world, strange as some of their beliefs and practices seem to us to be, must thus have their appointed place in the providential order of the world. Why, indeed, the human mind has been so constituted as to create this extraordinary diversity of religious beliefs, why the higher light granted of old to the people of Israel, and since the advent of Christ to those who have been His followers, was not from the first more widely diffused, is more than we can say: we can see but a part of the entire plan upon which God deals with men; perhaps if we saw the whole, we should see the reasons more clearly. But we cannot doubt that it is a part of His plan for the gradual education of our race. And we must remember that although, when placed side by side with Christianity, the inferiority, and even in some cases the degradation, of other religions becomes obvious, yet when a heathen religion is not brought side by side with Christianity, but is practised by those who have never heard of Christianity and who know nothing better, it is the expression of some of the deepest and truest instincts of the human soul, of its cravings for something higher than itself, of its needs and wants, its gratitude and its contrition, its hopes and fears; and, as Malachi declared, its homage offered honestly and earnestly is accepted by God as if it were offered

to Himself. St. Paul himself, we may remember, said in his speech at Athens that it was God's purpose in planting men in different parts of the earth "that they should seek God, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he is not far from each one of us: for in him we live, and move, and have our being" (Acts xvii. 27, 28). The religions of the Gentiles are thus, in St. Paul's view, the aspirations of the human soul—however imperfect, however faltering, however earth-bound—for God.

Accordingly we welcome the statement of the bishops, assembled lately from different regions of the world at Lambeth, on the subject of non-Christian religions: "Christians must never hesitate to look for what is true and good in them, to recognize that they have had a place in the purpose of the one loving God of all the earth, and to try to lead men by the truths which they know to Him, the Truth, in whom all truths meet." These words breathe the spirit in which the Christian should regard the religions of the world; they breathe also the spirit in which missionary enterprise should be conducted—to lead men on by the truths that they know to the higher truths which as yet they do not know. Let us thank God, who has brought us into the clear and pure light of His Gospel; and let us pray Him to bless the efforts made to bring others into the same light, that so, in His good time, the kingdom of the world may become the kingdom of His Christ.

NOTES.

On Mal. i. 11, see, further, G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets* (in the "Expositor's Bible"), vol. ii., 1906, pp. 347, 359; and the commentary of the present writer in the second volume of the *Minor Prophets*, in the "Century Bible," 1906, p. 304 f. The Authorized Version has "*shall be* great," "*shall be* offered": but (as the italics show) no verb is expressed in the Hebrew; and the context makes it clear that the reference must be to the prophet's own present.

An interesting exposition, from a Christian standpoint, of many typical forms of pagan belief, and comparison of them with corresponding truths of Christianity, will be found in Canon Macculloch's *Comparative Theology* (in the "Churchman's Library"), 1902. See also, especially on the question whether or not all known races have a religion, the address of Mr. E. S. Hartland, President of Section I. ("Religions of the Lower Culture"), at the Oxford Congress.

XIV

A CREED CORRECTED

"And the LORD said, Thou hast had pity on the gourd, for the which thou hast not laboured, neither madest it grow; which came up in a night, and perished in a night: and should not I have pity on Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than sixscore thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?"—JONAH iv. 10 f.

THE main features of the story of Jonah are so well known that I need only recall them in outline. The prophet was commissioned to travel from Palestine to Nineveh to warn the inhabitants of that vast heathen city of approaching judgment; he tried to escape from the uncongenial task, but by a miracle he was preserved to do it. The Ninevites repented; what the prophet dreaded came about; instead of being treated as they deserved, the heathen received pardon, and the prophet a searching rebuke for his prejudice and narrowness of heart.

Jonah is mentioned once besides in the Old Testament, in 2 Kings xiv. 25, but is not brought into any connexion with Nineveh. He is there said to have predicted to Jeroboam II. the successes gained by him in his wars against the Syrians. This fixes the date of the prophet's lifetime to nearly eight hundred years before the

Christian era. The Book of Jonah cannot, however, have been written by Jonah himself, nor can it be as early as this : the style of the writing, and the fact that the Psalm, which in ch. ii. Jonah is stated to have sung, consists largely of quotations from Psalms which belong to a much later age, show that it must have been written long after Jonah's own age. Probably it was not written till after the Israelites returned from their seventy years' captivity in Babylon, nearly four hundred years after the time of Jonah himself. The part of the Book of Jonah with which perhaps many persons are most familiar, and which has often through misunderstanding been made the butt of very needless derision, is not its most important part, and it certainly is not the part on which the author himself lays the greatest stress—the marvellous manner in which the prophet was swallowed, and after three days disgorged alive by the great fish. Partly the strange character of this episode, and partly certain historical difficulties connected with Jonah's mission to Nineveh, such as the rapid repentance of its vast heathen population, which is contrary to all human experience or probability, have led many commentators to question whether the book contains throughout a narrative of events which literally happened, and whether it is not rather of the nature of a parable or allegory, designed to convey, in an impressive and attractive form, certain spiritual lessons. There is much to be said in favour of this view : indeed, if the narrative be read without bias it almost immediately suggests itself.

The narrative is not contemporary, or nearly so,

with the events it purports to describe; the marvel related in it thus lacks, for instance, the attestation which our Lord's miracles possess, the narratives respecting which can be traced back to the age of His immediate disciples and followers. Accordingly, we may agree with most modern commentators in regarding the book as a specimen of that allegorical literature to which the later Jews were very much addicted, and which they adopted for the purpose of bringing home forcibly some moral or spiritual lesson. There are other examples of the same kind of narrative in the Old Testament: notably the Book of Job, which does not contain a history properly so called, but makes use of a tradition respecting Job and his three friends in order to discuss a grave religious problem. This parallel is sufficient to show that we have no right to limit the methods of God's providence, or to argue that He could not teach His people except by means of an actual history. It has, indeed, been sometimes held that our Blessed Lord, by the terms in which He referred to the story of Jonah, intended to refer to it as a matter of history; but it is far from clear that that is the case: He Himself adopted largely the method of moral allegory in His own parables; it was His habit, in other words, to embody spiritual truth in tales that were not literal facts, but were only told to fix spiritual truths in the minds of His hearers; so that He might well have pointed to the deep symbolism of the Old Testament parable, without thereby intending to imply that it was a record of actual fact.

But let us pass to that which is of greater importance in the Book of Jonah, the spiritual teaching which it contains.

The structure of the narrative shows, indeed, that the didactic purpose of the book is the author's chief aim. He introduces just those details that have a bearing upon this; while omitting others which, had his interest been in the history as such, must naturally have been mentioned: for instance, details as to the spot on which Jonah was cast upon the land, particulars as to his journey to Nineveh and the special sins of which the Ninevites were guilty. There is also nothing respecting the after history of either Nineveh or the prophet: the author, having pointed the moral of his story, has no occasion to add more. The narrative rests not improbably, like that of Job, on a traditional basis. Jonah, as we have seen, was an historical person; and traditions may have been current respecting a missionary journey taken by him to Nineveh, and about the manner in which he discharged, or sought to avoid discharging, his prophetic office. Whatever materials the author possessed, they were arranged by him in a literary form, in such a manner as to set forcibly before his readers the truths which he desired them to take to heart.

The book contains more lessons than one. It teaches, for instance, the wonderful power of true repentance and the largeness of God's mercy: the heathen mariners, after acknowledging the power of Jonah's God, are saved; Jonah, after being in appearance wholly lost, when he has sung from a full heart a hymn of praise

to God, and acknowledged Him as the source of his strength, is saved also; the Ninevites, after turning back from their former errors, are saved likewise. Another lesson which the book teaches is this, that it is wrong, as it is also useless, to attempt to evade a duty which has once been imposed upon us by God: the call of duty, though it may lead us through unpleasant, and, as Jonah feared, through disappointing and vexatious consequences, must nevertheless be obeyed. A third truth which the book impresses is the teaching of Jer. xviii. on the conditional nature of prophecy; it shows that even after a Divinely-inspired judgment has been uttered by a prophet, it may yet be possible by repentance to avert it; and if this be done, objections must not be taken that God's word is of none effect. Jeremiah, in the chapter that I have referred to, relates how he was taught a lesson from observing the work of a potter: he watched the potter at work with his wheels; if the vessel he was making was marred, he changed his design, and fashioned it into another, as it seemed to him to be suitable. And then the prophetic application was borne in upon him: "O house of Israel, cannot I do unto you as this potter? saith the LORD. Behold, as the clay in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel. At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to break down, and to destroy it; if that nation, concerning which I have spoken, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what time I shall speak concerning

a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them. Now therefore speak to the inhabitants of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the LORD: Behold, I frame evil against you, and devise a device against you: return ye now every one from his evil way, and amend your ways and your doings." God's declared purpose, whether of judgment or of salvation, is dependent for its execution upon the temper of those to whom it is addressed; by a change on their part they may avert the judgment, as they may also cut themselves off from the promised salvation. The terms of Jonah's warning to the Ninevites are in part borrowed from Jeremiah; and the repentance of the Ninevites and the revocation of the sentence against them, exactly illustrate Jeremiah's teaching. Thus the Book of Jonah may be said to exemplify by a practical illustration Jeremiah's teaching of the conditional nature of prophecy. The truth is, that a threatened punishment may be averted by timely penitence on the part of those who receive the warning.

These lessons do not, however, seem to constitute the chief aim of the book. That aim is rather indicated in the words with which the book closes, and which I have taken as my text. The real design of the narrative seems to have been to teach, in opposition to the narrow exclusive view, which was apt to be popular with the Jews, that God's purposes of grace are not limited to Israel alone, but that they are open to all of every

nation, so soon as they cast aside their life of sin and turn to Him in true penitence. It anticipates the teaching of St. Peter that "to the Gentiles also hath God granted repentance unto life" (Acts xi. 18). The great prophets had often taught the future reception of the heathen into the kingdom of God: Isaiah, for instance, had drawn a picture of all nations flocking to Zion, seeking there the word of the Lord, and owning it as their spiritual metropolis; and another prophet had even declared in far-seeing words that it was Israel's mission to be the instrument of extending salvation to the world. But this teaching of the prophets had not taken root in the heart of the people; and even long afterwards, it was one of the elements in the teaching of Christ and the early apostles which came most strongly into conflict with current prejudices. The predominant theme of the prophets had been the denunciation of judgment, sometimes on Israel itself, but more often on Israel's foes; and the Israelites themselves had suffered so much at the hand of foreign oppressors that they came to look upon the heathen as their natural foes, and were impatient when they saw the judgments against them unfulfilled. Jonah appears here as the representative of the popular Israelite creed. He resists at the outset the commission to preach at Nineveh at all: and when his preaching there has been successful in a manner which he did not anticipate, and the sentence which he had been charged to pronounce is revoked, he gives way to bitter vexation. In the rebuke with which the book

closes, the exclusive spirit of the author's own contemporaries stands condemned. The author holds up before them a mirror, in which they may see reflected their own incapacity to grasp the largeness of God's ways, and their own unwillingness to fulfil the mission with which they are entrusted.

It is remarkable and in agreement with this view of the aim of the book, that the heathen are represented in a more favourable light than the Jew. "The mariners are spared; the prophet is cast forth as guilty. The Ninevites repent, and are forgiven; the prophet is rebuked."

Jonah's character is not, indeed, depicted in a favourable light. He is represented, like the less spiritual of his fellow-countrymen, as wayward, unspiritually-minded, deficient in insight. He does at last what he is commanded to do; but he does it so unwillingly, and with so little perception of a prophet's mission, that he is disappointed with a result at which he ought clearly to have rejoiced; he has Elijah's despondency, without Elijah's excuse. He is even represented as expecting, almost as hoping, to see Nineveh miraculously overthrown: "he made him a booth, and sat under it in the shadow till he might see what would become of the city." When nothing happens, disappointment seizes him: his labour has been in vain; his reputation, he thinks, is gone. He had thanked God for his own preservation: but he is sore displeased that a city containing six hundred thousand inhabitants should be spared. "The proud, hard prophet sits sullen and discontented,

for the strange reason that 'God is more merciful than himself.'" It is consistent with the prophet's character that in ch. iv. he is led indirectly to make the confession from which the main lesson of the book is deduced, by his love of self being painfully touched: for his compassion on the gourd is only elicited by the scorching effect of the sun's rays upon his own person.

The Book of Jonah is thus a didactic narrative, and its importance lies, not in the incidents which it relates, but in the spiritual truths which, in the form of a narrative from life, it sets forth. The book is a remarkable and beautiful one. It is full of large lessons of toleration, of pity, of the impossibility of flying from God, of the compassion and love of God, of the narrowness and pettiness of man, humbled and rebuked by God's exceeding mercy. It is penetrated by the wide catholicity of view which marked the great prophets and leaders of the Jews, and distinguished them so pre-eminently above the mass of their fellow-countrymen. It anticipates the truth which long afterwards was only gradually realized by the nascent Church. May we as we read the book, take to heart the lesson of toleration and mercy which it contains, and the rebuke which it administers to vanity, national prejudice, narrow-mindedness, and pride!

XV

CIVITAS DEI

"Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God."—PSALM lxxxvii. 3.

THE Psalm from which these words are taken, though short, is a pregnant and expressive one. In beautiful and striking imagery it depicts Zion as the metropolis of the universal kingdom of God, and anticipates the day when all nations will be adopted into it as its citizens. It looks forward to the time when the Gentiles shall be no longer "alienated from the commonwealth of Israel," but "fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God." The Psalm is evidently one of the later ones: and the glorious things alluded to are no doubt former prophecies promising the future glory and magnificence of the holy city, and the honour which all nations would then be eager to pay her. The psalmist puts some of these promises into his own words in the next verse, in which he represents God as speaking Himself, declaring that it is His purpose to reconcile Zion's ancient enemies to Himself and incorporate them as her citizens. "I

will make mention of Rahab and Babylon as those that know me." Rahab, signifying properly *boastfulness* or *arrogance*, had been used by Isaiah as a term of opprobrium to designate Egypt (xxx. 7), a power which in his days exercised a disastrous influence upon the statesmen and people of Judah, tempting them to embark upon unwise enterprises, being loud and forward in promises of assistance, but always failing when the moment for action came. Babylon was the great power which held the Jews, firstly in thraldom, afterwards in exile, for more than seventy years. These two nations, the psalmist says, which had shown themselves in the past so baneful and oppressive to Judah, will be counted, in the future which he here anticipates, among them that know, or own, the true God. Still dwelling upon the same thought, the psalmist points to Philistia, Tyre, the Morians, that is, the Moors, a general term used formerly to denote the people of Africa, though here Ethiopia would express the psalmist's meaning more accurately—all being the names of heathen peoples well known to the Jews ; and says that *this one* among them, pointing, as it were, to him, *was born there*, that is, in Zion. Just as Egypt and Babylon will be counted among those who own the God of Israel, so will a native of any of these other countries be counted as a native and citizen of Zion. The two parts of the verse are parallel to and explain one another : the various nations of the earth, represented by those named, will be enrolled spiritually as Zion's children. The psalmist continues, echoing the Divine decree, and dwelling upon the honour which

will accrue to Zion by such an accession of fresh citizens · *And of Zion it shall be said, This and that man was born in her*—this and that man, namely, of the different nations just named : all will be counted as her spiritual children ; *and He, the Most High, shall establish her* under His protection and blessing. She will grow stronger and nobler as each fresh nation joins itself to her. Still with the same thought in his mind, the psalmist next exemplifies it by another figure : *The* LORD *shall reckon when He writeth up*—or registers—*the peoples*, saying, *This man was born there.* It is the figure of a census or enrolment. The nations of the world are supposed to pass in review before the Almighty. He enters them in a book, and particular individuals amongst them are registered as belonging by adoption to the community of Zion. The psalmist's thoughts, it will be noticed, start with the actual and literal city Jerusalem, occupied only by Jews ; but as he advances the literal city changes insensibly into the ideal city, into which great and distant peoples can be received by incorporation. We now see what are the excellent or glorious things of which the text speaks : not merely the fact that Jerusalem above all other cities of Israel was the city which God had loved and chosen as His abode, but that it was the prototype of a wider and greater community of the future, embracing without restriction those who had hitherto been excluded, or but partially admitted to its privileges ; and that this community, perpetuating the features of the ancient Zion, should be established and secured by God. It is a great

and profound thought which the Psalm expresses, the union and brotherhood of nations, not by conquests, but by incorporation into an ideal state. "The poet sees the most inveterate foes of the kingdom of God acknowledging His sovereignty: he sees nations the most bitterly antagonistic to Israel, the most diametrically opposed in character to the true spirit of Israel, the most remote from the influence of Israel, brought into harmony with Israel, and adopted into its commonwealth." [1]

The Psalm is dependent for its central thought upon Isaiah, who in his 2nd chapter gives us a picture of the mountain of the Lord's house, elevated so as to become the spiritual metropolis of the world, and the nations pressing thither, eager to listen to the instruction proceeding from it. In another part of his book he represents to us a highway from Egypt to Assyria, the two nations, in his days irreconcilable foes, passing to and fro in friendly converse upon it, and doing homage with Israel itself to Israel's God (xix. 23). Elsewhere in his book (ch. xxv. 6) we have the picture of a feast instituted by God upon the hill of Zion, in which all nations will share. And elsewhere, "My house shall be called an house of prayer *for all peoples*" (Is. lvi. 7). Very probably passages such as these are what the psalmist alludes to in the text. Certainly, none of these promises have been realized in the form in which they were expressed: the civilization of Assyria, like that of Babylon afterwards, passed away before either

[1] Kirkpatrick, *Psalms* ("Cambridge Bible"), p. 519.

was converted to a knowledge of the true God ; and the Temple hill has not been made the visible and literal centre of a spiritual dominion or meeting-place of all peoples. It is the truths underlying the figures in which they are clothed upon which, if we would understand such prophetic passages aright, we must concentrate our attention. Egypt or Assyria, Tyre or Philistia, are not named for their own sake, but as representative of the heathen world generally : prominent or well-known powers are taken as types of the rest. The prophets often look forward to the admission of the heathen to the privileges of Israel ; the psalmist, following in their steps, finds the true glory of Zion in this adoption of new citizens and their new birth—for as such is the incorporation described—into her community. The city of God, expanded, idealized, glorified, is the theme of his prophetic song. The city contemplated by the psalmist is, however, an earthly one. The prophets, often as they picture for their nation a glorified and blissful future, a future transformed and free from pain and sin, picture it always as upon earth, and indeed as centred at Zion. The city of God was only completely spiritualized and transferred from earth to heaven, in the teaching of Christ and His apostles. The thought of a community united together by spiritual ties alone, bound in allegiance to no visible earthly head, and numbering amongst its members not merely those alive upon earth but also the faithful departed, may be sought in vain in the pages of the Old Testament. The prophets foresaw as a fact that the Gentiles

must in due time share the spiritual privileges of the Jews, though they did not realize in detail the means by which they could be enabled to do so. But when the time for that to be accomplished had arrived, the forms and ideas and truths of the Old Covenant had only to be reapplied : the principles by which the Church was constituted and governed were an extension and re-adaptation of those of the Jewish theocracy. The reality, however, transcended even the far-seeing anticipation of the psalmist. And so the apostle, writing to the people of Philippi, could say, *Our citizenship is in heaven*, and could deduce from the fact a lesson to despise ignoble earthly pleasures, to abandon whatever is unworthy of a heavenly calling, and to await in patience and hope the final manifestation and triumph of Christ their Head.

The City of God ! It is the title of the great work of St. Augustine, which has been described as at once "the funeral oration of ancient society, and the panegyric on the birth of the new." The beginning of the fifth century after Christ was marked by a significant event. Hitherto the power of Rome had steadily maintained itself : for more than six centuries no foreign invader had approached within sight of her walls ; the security of the capital was reputed unassailable ; but now hordes of Goths coming from the north had penetrated Italy, and after two failures had entered the ancient city in triumph. The capture of Rome appalled and shocked the whole empire. The spell of Roman greatness was broken ; the social order, which had been founded in

Paganism, and was even now not entirely dissociated from it, seemed to have reached its end. The Gothic victors, though not orthodox Christians, were still not heathen ; and in the sack of the city, their leader, Alaric, had made provision for the safety of helpless Christians, and some of the largest churches had been set apart as asylums or sanctuaries. This mitigation of the cruelties of warfare impressed Augustine ; he contrasts it with the experiences which were but too common in the ancient world, and eloquently attributes it to the influence of the name of Christ. The conqueror has been checked and held in awe by his respect for Christian brethren and the sanctity of the Christian character. This, however, is but the point from which Augustine's treatise starts : as a whole it is a contrast between the civilization of Paganism, its virtues and its splendour, its vices and its superstition, its devotion to shadows and illusions, which is passing away, and a new social system which may now assume the vacant seat, a system founded by God and ruled by His laws, instinct with noble and holy aspirations, and buoyant with hope both for the present and the hereafter. The claims and history of the one are compared with the claims and history of the other. The doom of Paganism, he concludes, is at length visibly sealed : and the Church of Christ may proceed unimpeded upon her career of triumph and success. The city of God, which in the mind of the psalmist was scarcely distinct from the little hill of Zion, had, in the interval which followed the preaching of Christ, disengaged

itself from local ties. It had expanded, and included amongst its members natives of every known nation: from Syria and Africa, from Germany and Spain, from the throne of the Cæsars to the poorest citizens of the empire, came crowding forward those of whom it might be said, pointing to each in turn, *This one was born there.* A great and vital transformation had passed over society, and although much remained to be accomplished, and the passions of some, or the prejudices of others, required to be subjected to the yoke of Christ, yet as a whole Christian life and belief had laid their grasp upon the world; the change was such a real one, its effects so marked, its permanence so well guaranteed, that the panegyric of the Christian theologian was more than justified. The revolution, for such it was, had taken place which realized step by step the psalmist's prophetic thought; and although the unity of Christian people has been severed, yet we must strive to look beneath the ruptures which mark the surface of Christendom, and discern below them the unbroken circumference of the city of God.

> "And of Zion it shall be said
> This and that man was born in her:
> He, the Most High, shall establish her."

And that the kingdom thus founded may be confirmed, its borders enlarged, its benefits extended, its end consummated, is our daily prayer; as it should also be our daily aim to realize it more effectually, and exhibit it more faithfully in our own persons and lives.

XVI

VEXILLA REGIS

"Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, thy king cometh unto thee: he is just, and having salvation; lowly, and riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the nations: and his dominion shall be from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth."—ZECHARIAH ix. 9 f.

THE occasion and date of this prophecy are both uncertain, but the context speaks with sufficient clearness to make its general meaning plain. In the preceding verses the prophet has been describing the humiliation of the foes of Judah, especially the neighbouring Philistines, and promises that God will encamp about His house to protect it, that no oppressor, no representative of foreign dominion, such as had often been seen in Judah in the past, shall pass through it any more, or exercise authority over it. Then follow the words of the text. Jerusalem, free now from the assault and power of the foreigner, is secure: and the prophet sees its ideal King entering its gates, the weapons of war destroyed, and a reign of peace, which

will embrace far-off nations as well as Judah itself, inaugurated. The king is described as just, and *having salvation.* This latter expression must not be misunderstood: we must not suppose that salvation is used in the spiritual sense which it has in the New Testament. As the margin of the AV. rightly explains, "having salvation" is, literally, *saved*; salvation therefore has here the sense of victory, deliverance, the same sense which the word has when it is said, for instance in 1 Samuel, with allusion to Jonathan's success against the Philistines, "Shall Jonathan die, who hath wrought this great salvation on Israel?" (xiv. 45). Hence, what is really meant by "having salvation" is "saved," delivered and rescued from the perils of war. The king is depicted in one word as just and victorious: he is *just,* both in himself and because he engages in the defence of a righteous cause; he returns *victorious,* and dispenses amongst his people the blessings which he has secured. But no ostentation or idle display marks his progress. He is, on the contrary, *meek,* lowly both in outward state and in soul; like one possessing no rank or position, and, in consequence, of a subdued disposition; though he comes in triumph he does not disown his character, and it is reflected in his actions and demeanour. Moreover, he is described as "riding upon an ass, even upon a colt the foal of an ass." The second clause, by just expressing in different words the substance of the first, gives emphasis and distinctness to the idea which the author desires to convey. The ass in Eastern countries is no inferior animal,

Nevertheless it was not generally associated with royalty; for since the establishment of the monarchy by Solomon the horse had been naturalized in Israel, and was employed both on state occasions and also on military service, the ass being used commonly in ordinary life. Thus the picture drawn by Zechariah would imply condescension and humility unusual on the part of a person of rank, such as a king. More than this, as opposed to the horse, the ass would be an emblem of peace. With the promise of secured peace, but with no ostentatious pomp, then, the victorious king enters his capital. Chariot and horse, the battle-bow, every symbol of war, will disappear, the prophet continues, "and he shall speak peace unto the nations"—pronounce the word of peace that will bring strife to an end. "His dominion shall be from sea to sea"—from the Mediterranean to the unnamed seas in the distant East, "and from the River to the ends of the earth," that is, from the Euphrates as far westwards as the imagination could travel. The limits which Solomon's empire was held to have reached are here extended, and the area thus embraced is assigned as the empire of the ideal ruler of the future.

The prophecy is no doubt dependent in its main features upon Isaiah. The portrait of the ideal King of Israel, whom we usually call by the name *Messiah,* is for the first time in Old Testament distinctly sketched by Isaiah. For when the Old Testament is read carefully, a progress or gradual advance often discloses itself, which it is sometimes important to observe. Earlier

prophets, such as Nathan had, for example, promised the permanence of the line founded by David: "He shall build an house for my name, and I will stablish the throne of his kingdom for ever" (2 Sam. vii. 13); or (as Amos in his last chapter) had looked forward to a restoration in the future of the material empire of Judah to the limits and strength which it had attained under David. But Isaiah draws the definite picture of an individual ruler, and repeats it in its essential parts more than once. Some of his representations show a strong resemblance to part of the description in Zechariah. Thus to quote one of the best known from the 9th chapter: "For thou hast broken the yoke of his burden, and the staff of his shoulder, the rod of his oppressor, as at the day of Midian. For all the armour of the armed man in the tumult, and the garments rolled in blood, shall be even for burning, and for fuel of fire. For a child is born unto us, a son is given unto us; and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name is called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, Everlasting Father, Prince of Peace." Here we have the fall of the oppressor, in this case the Assyrians, who had lately carried into exile the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, in the N. and N.E. of Israel, the destruction of the accoutrements and weapons of war, brought into connexion with the birth of the ideal ruler of David's line, the protector of his country, one of whose titles is that of *Prince of Peace*. Here the justice and equity of his rule are emphasized; in ch. ii., when describing the future consummation of Israel's religion.

the same prophet describes how the word proceeding from Zion will be the signal for the cessation of strife among the peoples of the world (Is. ii. 4). Of such passages as these the text is partly the reassertion, partly the extension. In Zechariah a special feature in the character of the Messiah is dwelt upon: and the work of peace among the nations, which in Isaiah does not appear connected with any particular agent, is here distinctly ascribed to the ideal King.

The evangelists record how, as on this day, our Blessed Lord made His solemn entry into Jerusalem in a manner designed, at least in part, to fulfil the prophecy contained in the text. The time of the end had at length come; the period of our Lord's active ministry upon earth was drawing to its close; and the announcements He had more than once made to His disciples, that the Son of Man must be delivered up into the hands of wicked men and suffer death upon the Cross, were about to be accomplished. For the last time He set His face towards Jerusalem, the city whose children He would so often have gathered together, but they would not! During the days immediately before the Passover, He made His home at Bethany, a village two to three miles east of the city, on the other side of the Mount of Olives, whence, each day He visited Jerusalem, returning to Bethany in the evening. On the night when He first reached Bethany from the country, He stayed, as we learn from St. John's account, in the house of Lazarus and Mary; the Jews who flocked thither in some numbers to see Him,

would carry home with them news of His intention to enter Jerusalem the next day. His entry therefore was expected: and many, including those who had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, assembled to meet and welcome Him, some impelled probably by curiosity or wonder, others expecting that He would perhaps claim His kingdom by a visible miracle. The road from Bethany to Jerusalem still exists, and the natural features are strongly marked; so that even those who have not visited the spot can imagine the scene without great difficulty. The path is a rough but well-defined mountain track, winding over rock and loose stones, with the sloping shoulder of Olivet on the right hand and a declivity on the left. When the traveller reaches the point at which the descent of the Mount of Olives, as St. Luke calls it, begins, the first glimpse is caught of Jerusalem in front, and soon the city appears in full view. It is a striking panorama even now: it must have been yet more so in the days of our Lord. Immediately in front, on the opposite side of the deep Kidron valley, rose the imposing walls, crowned on the south by the Temple buildings which had lately been magnificently decorated and enlarged by Herod; on the north stood out the strong castle of Antonia; while at various points the eye rested on palaces and noble buildings, with a background of gardens and suburbs closing in the view behind. As our Lord, attended by His disciples, began the descent of the Mount of Olives, the throng from the city met Him; an outburst of enthusiasm seized the multitude; they tore down, as they were

wont to do in Palestine on festal occasions, branches of trees—St. John specifies palm-trees—to spread them along His way; they greeted Him, as Jehu was greeted (2 Kings ix. 13) nine centuries before when the messenger of Elisha anointed him, by throwing down their garments in His path. They shouted homage to the Son of David coming into the midst of them, and addressed Hosannas to God on high for the advent of one in whom they recognized their deliverer and king. Whether these uncontrolled demonstrations of joy entirely corresponded with the spirit and wishes of our Lord Himself may be questioned: doubtless He designed to make a solemn entry into Jerusalem, and directed His disciples to take steps to accomplish it; but we may venture to think that a scene of less excitement and stir would have been more in accordance with His own mind. Indeed, according to St. Luke, the sight of the city, bursting upon His view, suggested to Him very different thoughts; it led Him to contemplate the bitter doom that was in store for the city some forty years afterwards. As He drew near, He wept over it, saying, "If thou hadst known in this day the things which belong unto peace! For the days shall come upon thee when thine enemies shall cast up a bank about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall dash thee to the ground, and thy children within thee; and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." But the enthusiasm was there, and He refused to check it: to a suggestion that He should

do so, He replied, "I tell you that if these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out."

It appears probable that our Lord deliberately resolved to enter the city in the manner described, on account of the prophecy of Zechariah. He identified Himself with the royal person seen in vision by the prophet; and as a means of proclaiming it publicly gave literal effect to Zechariah's words. Of the coming passion there is no trace in the prophecy: no dark line appears to cross the future in store for the returning victor; we are impressed only by the tranquil, submissive demeanour as of one who might conceivably have experienced humiliation in the past, but implying nothing as to the future. It is the picture of one who is not proud, not elated by success, not ostentatious. And this is the remarkable feature of the prophecy, the contrasted and, so far as experience goes, we might almost say the contradictory attitudes which it combines. But the prophet caught a glimpse of the character which must belong to Israel's ideal King, whose progress would be no imitation of the dazzling processions of an Eastern monarch, and who would disdain all but a "lowly pomp." And such was the character realized by Christ, who in founding, and founding successfully, His kingdom, passed nevertheless His earthly life, as to-day's Epistle reminds us, in lowliness of mind and outward state, amid adversity and affliction.

Our Lord then identified Himself with Zechariah's ideal King; and there are features in the portrait and the fulfilment which correspond; but there are others

in which the correspondence is not so precise. Zechariah seems to picture the successes of his king as achieved before his entrance into Jerusalem. But the work of our Lord cannot with any propriety be described as completed until after His entry into Jerusalem, until *after*, indeed, His passion and resurrection. It is, however, a misconception of prophecy to treat it as "anticipated history," or history written beforehand. The prophets almost uniformly see the future through the forms of their own social and religious organization; their own times, their own surroundings supply the figures under which they represent it. In Isaiah's day, for example, the Israelites performed annual pilgrimages to Jerusalem: hence, in the prophecy of his 2nd chapter, which I have already quoted, he represents all nations as streaming to Zion in a manner which obviously must not be understood literally: it is the form under which he conceives their acknowledgment of the truth of the religion whose centre was in Zion. The case is analogous here. For over three hundred years the monarchy which David had founded was the pivot of the Jewish constitution: and accordingly one prominent feature in the delineation of the future is the figure of the ideal King who will display the perfection of earthly monarchy, governing Israel with perfect justice and wisdom, and securing for his subjects perfect peace. But in this form, the prophet's predictions were never realized: Christ, it is true, summed up in Himself those perfections, and founded a kingdom; but the kingdom of the prophets is trans-

formed; the glorified earthly kingdom centred in Zion has given place to a spiritual kingdom of Heaven: and the material blessings which the ideal King would secure for the nations owning his sway are replaced by the empire of Christ over the minds of men. Hence it is in accordance with analogy not to find precise correspondence between the details of a particular prophecy and its fulfilment: Zechariah's ideal picture is modelled upon the life and doings of the Israelite king: and in so far as Christ was not such a king literally as David or Solomon were, an agreement in *every* detail is more than we have a right to expect. And, secondly, as indeed almost follows from what has been said, it is in its broader rather than in its minuter features that prophecy is significant. The prophets interpreted to their contemporaries the movements of history; they pointed to the tendencies which underlay the history and institutions of their own people, and showed how these would be more completely and adequately realized in the future. This prophetic goal of Israel's history was made a possibility by the work of Christ; in Him the religion of Israel assumed a form in which it became adapted for the world at large; He founded a kingdom in which under all their broader aspects, if not with minute literality, the visions of the prophets were more than realized.

Upon both grounds, then, a general correspondence between prophecy and fulfilment, embracing character and larger features, but not necessarily extending to details, is all that can, or that need be, claimed. We

may, however, observe an evident fitness in the moment which our Blessed Lord selected for His entry. It was immediately before the completion of His work on earth, and was probably one of the incidents which contributed to bring on the crisis. No earlier period of His life would have been equally suitable. It inaugurated the week of His passion, which was also the week which saw the consummation of His triumph. His entry was thus the first overt act in the final establishment of His kingdom.

There is another point on which the prophecy has been only imperfectly fulfilled. Zechariah promises under his ideal King a reign of peace. Alas! neither Zechariah's vision, nor Isaiah's, of a federation of the world, owning the suzerainty of Israel's God, is yet accomplished. Even of late, have not the rumours of war sounded in our ears? But these visions of the prophets are not in vain. They hold out, primarily to their own nation, but also to mankind in general, an ideal of the goal to which human history should tend, for the guidance and inspiration of all who contemplate it. Moreover, civilization has not in reality been stationary. A *tendency* to peace has been created which scarcely existed at all in the days of Isaiah and Zechariah: annual campaigns on the part of a great nation, such as those engaged in by the Assyrians against neighbouring lands for the mere sake of war, have long ceased; and the conduct of war is ameliorated and civilized as compared with what it was in ancient times. These changes are due largely, if not

exclusively, to the operation of Christian influences and Christian feeling. And thus the word of peace, not absolutely even now without effect, has gone forth to the Gentiles. And although the Israelite monarchy has not been established as Zechariah conceived it, it is true that the spiritual empire which Christ has founded owns its subjects from one sea to another, and from the Euphrates to the world's end. Certainly we might wish that this empire were more perfectly continuous than it is; but we trust and believe that its borders are in process of extension. Transformation of character, change of religion and habits of life on a large scale must be of necessity a slow process; the impediments presented by old customs and associations are difficult to remove; but we may still hope and pray that these tendencies, already more than inchoate, may develop, that so the kingdom, which as on this day Christ openly assumed, may be finally completed and confirmed.

XVII

THE KINGDOM OF THE SAINTS

"I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them; until the ancient of days came, and judgment was given for the saints of the Most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."—DANIEL vii. 21 f.

THE chapter containing this vision is a strange, and to many, perhaps, a perplexing one; is it possible to discover what its real meaning and significance is?

In endeavouring to do this we must start, as in the case of the prophets generally, with the circumstances of the writer's age. The prophets always write primarily for their own contemporaries; if they look out into the future it is from the historical situation in which they are themselves placed; their writings abound with allusions to events passing around them; it is, moreover, these events which largely determine the scope and character of their prophecies. Now the allusions in the Book of Daniel make it plain that it was written much later than the time of Daniel himself; and that it was, in fact, designed for the encouragement and support of the faithful Israelites under the persecu-

tions which they suffered, in the second century before Christ, at the hands of the Syrian king, Antiochus Epiphanes.

English Churchmen are not, perhaps, so familiar as they might be with the First Book of Maccabees; but the early chapters of it give a vivid account of what happened in Jerusalem at the time; and they are followed by the stirring narrative of the loyalty of the Maccabees and the achievements of Judas Maccabæus. Never before had the Israelites suffered so severely for their faith: Antiochus Epiphanes aimed not at the political extinction of the Jewish nation, but at the destruction of their religion; his purpose was to unite all the nations forming his empire in the worship of the gods of Greece. Religious laxity and indifference within joined hands with aggressive heathendom without to bring about the result intended. The course of history had brought the Jews into relations with their Greek neighbours: for a century and a half Judæa had been a dependency of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and now of the Selucidæ at Antioch. About 107 B.C. a Hellenizing party acquired power in Jerusalem, whose aim it was to cast off the distinctive features of the Jewish faith, and adopt the habits and usages of the Greeks. An understanding was formed with Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, a monarch the extravagance of whose character bordered on insanity, a zealous patron of the gods of Greece and Rome. His first assault upon the Jews was made on his return from a campaign in Egypt, when, his cupidity being excited by the wealth of the Temple,

he sacrilegiously entered the Holy Place and robbed it of its costly sacred vessels and other treasures. In four graphic verses the author of the First Book of Maccabees describes the consternation and grief which this conduct of Antiochus occasioned in Jerusalem. But worse was shortly to follow. Two years later, in the year 168 B.C., his troops fell treacherously upon the city on a Sabbath day; they plundered and massacred many of the inhabitants; they established a garrison of Syrian soldiers close beside the Temple, and began a series of persecuting measures, the object of which was the absolute suppression of the Jewish religion. The established worship in the Temple was prohibited; a heathen altar, called the "abomination of desolation," [1] was erected on the altar of burnt-offering, and sacrifice to Zeus offered upon it. Images of heathen deities were set up in the streets and incense burnt to them. books of the law were searched for, and when found were destroyed. Observance of the Jewish ceremonial was made a capital offence. So severe was the persecution that all God-fearing Jews were obliged to flee from Jerusalem. The Temple was deserted, and its precincts presented the appearance of a ruin. For three years this condition of things continued until by the patriotism and fortitude of the Maccabees a stand was made: the troops of Antiochus were defeated by Judas; the sanctuary was purified and rededicated, and worship, after three years' interruption, again inaugurated. To commemorate this recovery the Feast of Dedication, which

[1] 1 Macc. i. 54.

is alluded to in St. John's Gospel, was ever afterwards observed annually for seven days.

These cruel times are alluded to distinctly more than once in the Book of Daniel. In the 8th chapter Antiochus himself is described as the king of fierce countenance, who should stand up against the Prince of princes (that is, God), take away the continual burnt-offering, cast down and trample under foot the place of His sanctuary, and destroy the people of the saints. In the 11th chapter the events of the reign of Antiochus are narrated in greater detail. He exalts himself against the true God, he utters words of marvellous impiety, he violently profanes the sanctuary, he interrupts the regular sacrifices, and sets up the abomination that maketh desolate—the heathen altar mentioned before; many loyal Jews are persecuted and martyred, but the persecution is to last only "for a season"; after three years or a little more, the persecutor will be "broken without hand"—Antiochus died, in fact, suddenly of a mysterious mental disease—and the saints of God will be delivered.

The parallelism which prevails between the different parts of the book, and the fact that the whole culminates in the persecutions of Antiochus and the following deliverance, leave no reasonable doubt that the allusions in the 7th chapter are to the same crucial period of the nation's trials. The ten horns which Daniel there sees on the head of the fourth beast, are the successors of Alexander on the throne of Antiochus; and the little horn which rises up afterwards among them, and which

is expressly stated to signify a king who "speaks words against the Most High, and makes war upon the saints: and who shall think to change the times and the law; and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and half a time,"[1] that is, for three years and a half, can be no other than Antiochus Epiphanes. He is described in the 8th and 11th chapters in precisely similar terms as speaking "marvellous things against the God of gods," as persecuting the people of God, and as striving to abolish the observances of the Jewish law. But here also, as in those other chapters, his arrogance and presumption endure only for a time; when the three and a half years are expired "the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end" (vii. 26); and the judgment is described under singularly majestic imagery. The Almighty, the Ancient of Days, figured as an aged man, "the hair of his head like pure wool," is seated on His throne of flame: countless myriads of celestial attendants minister around Him; a stream of fire, significant of His wrath against sin, issues from before Him; the judgment is set and the books are opened. The beast, whose horn spake proud things, the heathen power of Syria, is slain; his body is destroyed and given to be burned with fire.

After this there comes with the clouds of heaven one like unto a son of man, not as in the AV., *the* Son of man, but a figure in human form, who is brought to the Almighty, and who receives forthwith

[1] Dan. vii. 25; cf. vv. 8, 11.

a dominion embracing all nations, an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed. In effective contrast to the kingdoms of the world, which are symbolized by four beasts, stress is laid on the human appearance of the being who here receives the kingdom; it is no longer the brute force of the ambitious despotisms of antiquity, it is one who retains and exercises the true functions of humanity. In the explanation of the vision which follows in the second part of the chapter,[1] the saints of God correspond to, and seemingly take the place of, the "son of man"; for after the judgment on the impious horn, it is said: "And the kingdom and the dominion, and the greatness of the kingdoms under the whole heaven, shall be given to the people of the saints of the Most High: his kingdom is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him." [2] It thus seems that in the mind of the writer "the one like unto *a* son of man," the figure in human form brought before the Almighty, is a symbolical representation of the idealized Jewish nation.

If the object of the Book of Daniel is to be properly understood, it must be looked at as a whole. We shall then see that it is written throughout with a view to the Jews in the time of Antiochus's persecution. The narratives in the first six chapters have a *didactic* import: they are narratives of a kind which were popular among the later Jews, and of which we have another example in the Book of Jonah; they were written with the view of

[1] Dan. vii. 16–28. [2] Dan. vii. 27; cf. vv. 13, 14.

inculcating, under an attractive literary guise, certain moral and religious lessons, to give examples of religious heroism, and to show, for instance, how God in His providence frustrates the purposes of the proudest of earthly monarchs, while He defends and rewards His servants who in time of danger or temptation cleave to Him faithfully. They are thus adapted to supply motives for the encouragement and models for the imitation of the loyal Israelites, at a time when their constancy was sorely tried, when the worship of foreign deities was commanded and that of the true God proscribed, and when men might well need to be reminded that it was not God's purpose to allow the powers of heathenism to prevail against Him. In the visions occupying the second part of the book, the writer fills in the great historical picture outlined by the colossal image which Nebuchadnezzar in the 2nd chapter is said to have seen in his dream; and he shows that as the course of history, so far as it has hitherto gone, has been in accordance with God's predetermined plan, so it is also part of His plan that the trial of the saints shall not continue indefinitely, but that within three and a half years of the time when it began, it should reach its appointed term, and the great persecutor of the Jews should then meet his doom. God, in other words, was guiding the course of history towards the salvation of His people.

The fundamental thought of the book is thus the triumph of the kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the world. The colossal image described in the 2nd chapter, with head of gold, breast of silver, belly and

thighs of brass, legs of iron, and feet of iron and clay, represents the anti-theocratic power of the world in its splendour and its magnificence, in its degeneracy and its decay; and the stone cut out without hands which falls from heaven and, lighting upon the feet of the image, breaks it to pieces, becoming afterwards itself a mountain which fills the whole earth, symbolizes the kingdom of God, before which all earthly powers are destined to succumb, and which is itself ultimately to embrace the entire world. It is the same triumph of the kingdom of God over the kingdoms of the earth, which with increasing definiteness of detail, and with more special reference to the climax of antagonism reached in the audacious pretensions of Antiochus, that is depicted in the seventh and subsequent chapters of the same book. Upon a divinely controlled succession of sinful world-empires follows at last the universal and eternal kingdom of the people of the Most High; a kingdom which contrasts with all previous kingdoms, as man contrasts with beasts of prey.

This is essentially the same idea, though exhibited under a new form, which is expressed repeatedly by the earlier prophets. They all pictured an age when the trials and disappointments of the present would be no more; when human infirmity and human sin would cease to vex; when Israel, freed from foreign oppression without and purified from unworthy members within, would enjoy spiritual and material prosperity undisturbed; when the nations of the earth, no longer hostile, would be incorporated into the kingdom of God. It was

a grand and a splendid and ennobling ideal which they projected upon the future, and which many of them portrayed in dazzling colours. But the prophets foreshortened the future; they did not realize the length of period which must elapse before corrupt human nature could be so transformed as to constitute a perfect or ideal society. Isaiah and Micah pictured it as beginning immediately after the troubles were past to which their nation was exposed at the hands of the Assyrians; the prophets of the Exile pictured it as beginning with the restoration of Israel to Palestine. Neither of these anticipations corresponded with the event. In each case the sober reality contrasted strangely with the glowing delineations of the prophets. The same foreshortening of the future is observable in the Book of Daniel. If the book, and especially the 11th and 12th chapters, be read attentively, it will be seen that the writer conceived the triumph of his people and the commencement of the Messianic age as succeeding immediately the end of the persecutions of Antiochus, and the downfall of the persecutor. Like the other prophets, he pictured the consummation of history as much closer at hand than was really the case.

Nevertheless the ideas expressed in the vision remain true ones, even though the period of their accomplishment may have been deferred. The passage prefigures, however imperfectly, the supramundane, celestial origin of Israel's future Lord. Not only did Christ adopt, though in a deeper and fuller sense than the term bears in Daniel, the title "Son of man," no longer "*one*

like unto a son of man," but "*the* Son of man," that is, the ideal representative of the human race; He also appropriated on a well-known occasion the imagery of the passage to Himself when he said to Caiaphas: "Henceforth ye shall see the Son of man sitting at the right hand of power, and coming on the clouds of heaven." And this may suggest the sense in which our Church intends us to read the passage in Daniel, by placing it before us upon the day on which we commemorate our Lord's Ascension. The Ascension of our Blessed Lord marks a significant stage in the triumph of His glorified and risen life: it is the initial step in His exaltation and session at the right hand of God, the place of highest honour, to which He is exalted, and where He reigns as King, destroying by the virtue of His death and by His ever-present grace the power of sin over those already incorporated into His kingdom, and extending by means of His Church His dominion throughout the world. It is the assumption by Christ of His regal power, by which He gradually subdues all enemies to Himself and extends His spiritual authority over the kingdoms of the earth, which we celebrate on the Festival of His Ascension. And the extension of the kingdom of God throughout the world, its justification against the power opposed to it, and the glorification of its head and representative, who comes in the clouds of heaven to receive his power at the hands of the Most High, is the subject of the vision in the Book of Daniel. That ultimate consummation of history, though nearer now, as we believe, than in the days when the Book of Daniel was com-

posed, remains yet an unfulfilled ideal: but it is through the continuous efficacy of the ascended Christ that it is being furthered, and its accomplishment advanced. That it may be realized more effectually is our daily prayer. May God grant that His kingdom may be set up ever more securely in our hearts; may we contribute, so far as in us lies, by our example and teaching, to its confirmation in others! May it please Him to bless our endeavours for its extension among those who have not yet been brought within it, that so the everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and the kingdom which shall not be destroyed, may be established with power upon the earth!

It is sometimes asked, wherein for us lies the value of the prophets' writings? It is true, questions such as what was the part played by the Assyrians in the days of Isaiah, or who the king denoted by the little horn in Daniel is supposed to be, are *in themselves* of no importance for *us*. But for numbers of those who lived at the time they were questions of nothing less than life or death; and the prophets watched the movements in their political world with even more than keen attention. Political crises called forth their most characteristic utterances; and (which is the point to be observed now) in these utterances they rise frequently above the local, the temporal, and the national, and express great spiritual truths of permanent and universal validity. Hence, while it greatly increases the interest and intelligibility of the prophet's writings to understand the historical and social conditions out of which particular

prophecies arose, we must in drawing from them spiritual lessons, abstract such elements as are local and temporary in them, and look rather at those which are permanent and universal. So in Daniel, in connexion with the local occurrence of the approaching end of Antiochus, one of the things on which the writer of the book most strongly insists, and which he brings home to us under many suggestive figures, is the truth that, in God's providence, wickedness is to be overthrown, and the kingdom of God established for ever. Whether, as he appears himself to have thought, this is to take place while the present condition of things continues, or whether it is to be reserved for a spiritual state of existence hereafter, is more perhaps than we can certainly say: the consummation is at least one for which our Lord has taught us to pray, Thy kingdom come!

XVIII

GOD'S THOUGHTS

"How precious also are thy thoughts unto me, O God! How great is the sum of them! If I could count them, they are more in number than the sands: When I awake, I am still with thee."—PSALM cxxxix. 17, 18.

IN no part of the Bible does the thought of the omnipresence and omniscience of God find profounder or more pathetic expression than in this Psalm. Who the author was we do not know, in spite of the title; certainly not David, for the language, not less than the deep spirituality of the thought, bears the stamp of a far later age. But whoever its author may have been, he displays in a marked degree the same command of apt and suggestive imagery, the same power of rhythmically balancing his clauses, the same unique art of bringing home an idea by repeating it in a varied form in the second line of a couplet, which was always characteristic of the Hebrew poets, and is the secret of the external charm and attractiveness of everything that they wrote. The psalmist does not, in the manner of a dogmatic theologian, state as an abstract truth the fact of the Divine omnipresence; he

reflects upon it, he illustrates it in its consequences, he reveals to us the practical influence which it exerted upon his own character and life. And he does this with the skill and power of a true poet, by the use of images which suggest far more than they actually say, which attract us by their poetical beauty, and awaken in us almost involuntarily a responsive echo. The opening verse, "LORD, thou hast searched me out, and knowest me," states at once the sum and the theme of the psalmist's meditations. The thought is developed in the verses which follow:

"Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising,
Thou understandest my thought afar off.
Thou hast searched my path and my couch,
And art acquainted with all my ways"—

exemplifying how every action of his daily life, and every thought which rises in his breast, is marked before the same Divine eye. He is in the grasp of his Maker's hand, and he feels it: "Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me. Such knowledge is too wonderful for me," too high; "I cannot attain unto it." Escape from His spirit and presence is impossible; though he made his couch in the abode of the dead—far down, as the Hebrews believed, beneath the earth; though, like the morning, which as it breaks shoots its light in a moment across the whole sky, he sped from one quarter of heaven to another, and rested in the distant and unknown west, even there God's eye would follow him, God's guiding presence would

attend him. Nay, even darkness, with its seemingly impenetrable pall, would not hide him from the Divine eye:

"If I say, Only let darkness cover me,
And the light about me be turned to night:
Even darkness hideth not from thee,
But the light shineth as the day:
The darkness and the light are to thee both alike."

Nor is it any marvel that God should have such an intimate knowledge of man, for man is His creature: "Thou are the author of my reins," the parts, that is, which were regarded as the seat of the emotions; the subtlest, most secret springs of feeling were God's workmanship. More than this, however, the entire course of his past life in all the wondrous stages through which it had passed, had been noted in the mind of God, and had been an object of His forethought and providential care:

"My frame was not hidden from thee,
When I was made in secret
And curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.
Thine eye did see my substance, while yet imperfect,
And in thy book were all of them written;
Even the days that were fashioned (that is, foreordained)
When as yet there was none of them."

He stops, and turns aside to describe his own attitude as he realizes these facts:

"To me how precious are thy thoughts, O God!
How great is the sum of them!
They are countless, they cannot be summed;
I awake, and am still present with thee."

Every morning the oblivion through which he has passed suggests to him by contrast the recollection of God's unceasing watchfulness, reminds him that God's providence still continues, and that His thoughts concerning him, though countless before, have still been mounting up in number. The Psalm closes in an altered strain:

"Oh that thou wouldst slay the wicked, O God!
Depart from me, ye bloodthirsty men."

The change of tone seems to us abrupt, and to harmonize ill with what has preceded; but such transitions occur elsewhere in the Psalms. There is one, for example, at the end of the 104th, another Psalm in which the works of the Creator are poetically reviewed, and which the poet closes with the wish that sinners, who form as it were a blot upon the fair face of creation, may be extirpated from it. There are many, thinks our psalmist, who not only have no appreciation for the goodness which he has thus described, but who hate and blaspheme it. He passionately repudiates all connexion with persons such as these, he would fain see these enemies of God's truth blotted out from the face of creation:

"Do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee?
And do not I loathe those that rise up against thee?"

There is no question here of any feeling expressed by the psalmist towards his personal enemies: it is God's enemies, not his own, who elicit from him this outburst of indignant detestation. The hostility which he contemplates is not that which arises from weakness or ignorance; it is intentional, aggressive, expressed by men who, as ver. 20 says, "purposely defy" God. The Psalm ends with a personal application of the same thought with which it had begun:

"Search me, O God, and know my heart;
Try me, and know my thoughts:
And see if there be any way of wickedness in me,
And lead me in the way everlasting,"

that is, not quite the way of eternal life, but the way which lasts continually, the abiding and true way, the way which does not end in disaster and ruin, like that of the wicked described in the first Psalm. but which is pleasing to God, and therefore will endure, and be rewarded by Him.

God's thoughts, the psalmist says, are precious to him. The connexion in which the words are spoken makes it plain that the phrase means not God's thoughts in general, but God's purposes with regard to the individual: God's presence invisibly accompanying him wherever he may be, God's eye discerning the most

secret movements of his heart, God's will declaring itself in every stage of his bodily existence. Man's physical and mental being, intricate and multiform as it is, lies naked before God in minutest detail. The trifling incidents of his life are not beyond the reach of that omnipresent and omniscient eye, and his physical life in particular is the realization of a divinely conceived plan; in the vivid figure which the poet uses to describe this, every successive stage in the growth of his frame was "written in thy book." The truth which the psalmist valued thus highly is one which deserves to be remembered. The material organism which belongs to all of us is, so far as observation can tell us, a result of the action of physical and mechanical laws: it is carried through its whole life, maintained, supported, and nourished by processes which are common to the entire animal world, and in which the hand of God does not visibly intervene. So much so is this the case, that even in the present day there are to be found sincere and devoted students "of nature's wonders," who are so captivated by the contemplation of the subtle and delicate mechanism by which the processes of nature are carried on, and so impressed by the evidence of the continual and unvarying operation of natural law, that they are unable to pass beyond the idea of physical forces and elements, or to recognize the presence of any agency beyond those which observation or experiment discloses to them. The 139th Psalm breathes a different spirit. While allowing fullest scope for the uninterrupted operation of natural law, the psalmist elevates our minds

above it, and bids us (while we study it as we will) see in its workings the realization of a purpose, the outcome of a personal will, the witness to something greater than itself.

The thoughts of God are, indeed, inexhaustible: in their fulness and entirety they can never be searched out by man; nevertheless we can discover some of them, and our knowledge, though it be but partial, gives us some insight into His attributes and manner of working. Every law of nature, every fact resulting from the interaction of a combination of laws, is, if we will but recognize it, a thought of God made visible to our senses, and presented to us therefore in a form under which we may contemplate it. The works of nature are the acts of God. And they remain so, whatever theory we may adopt respecting the secondary or physical causes through which they may have been brought about. The phenomena of organic life are, for instance, not less the acts of God, upon the theory now usually accepted by men of science, and known generally by the name of Evolution, than upon the old but (as it now seems) questionable theory of special creations—the theory, that is, that the different species of living things were each the subject of an independent creative act, instead of arising one from another by progressive organic development. The religious and the scientific aspects of nature are not antagonistic, they supplement one another. Science studies the facts of nature in themselves, and investigates the laws by which they are connected together: it is beyond its province to speak of their relation to God. Religion, on the other hand,

accepts the facts as science teaches them, but contemplates them under a new aspect, and views them in relation to God as their Author.

And the religious view is infinitely deepened and enriched when we not only recognize the world as the work of God, but are able to trace the relation of part to part, and to discover the harmony and order and infinite variety of principle and adjustment which prevail in nature as a whole. The unity of nature, the correlation of its different elements and forces, the comprehensiveness of the plan by which its manifold operations are regulated and sustained, have all been wonderfully illumined by the discoveries of the last century, and not the least by those that have been made under the guidance of the clue supplied by the doctrine of evolution. To a theist, the doctrine of evolution affords a growing elevation and enlargement of his conception of the Creator's providence and wisdom. It may be that, as modern science teaches, the various tribes of living beings which with picturesque and all but infinite diversity of habit and form, animate the surface of the globe, arose not as separate and distinct creations, but by slow variation out of pre-existing forms; they are not the less on that account the workmanship of a Divine Creator and the witness to a great and comprehensive plan. But the truth that God's thoughts are reflected in nature came home to the psalmist most nearly, as it comes home to many of us, in the contemplation of man's physical frame, in its daily change and growth, in its daily experiences and trials—"I awake, and I am still present with thee,"

still present to Thy mind, still the object of Thy perpetual care.

And if this be so, if our natural life, in the functions which we cannot modify or control, is thus unfolded under the eye of God, and disposed in accordance with His counsel and design, how plainly is it our duty, in those matters which are dependent on our own agency, to surrender ourselves to the guidance of His known will. His purposes express themselves in our physical life without our co-operation: when they begin to need our co-operation in order to give them effect, let us gladly render it, lest we thwart and mar His designs, or spoil the harmony of His workmanship. We cannot, indeed, reach perfection; but by obedience to His will and devotion to His service we may carry on the gracious purposes which He has revealed to us.

This is what the psalmist desires in the last verses: "Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts"; and this is the application which he makes of the truth which he has been contemplating. Let us endeavour then to make his spirit our own: let his deep and expressive words produce in us the same overwhelming sense of the reality which he describes, and lead us unto that "way everlasting," that way which lasts continually, of the full nature of which the psalmist had but a dim and imperfect apprehension, but which has been revealed to us more distinctly in the Gospel. Let us pray that God's searching eye may be directed upon us, that He may purify our hearts, and make us fit to become heirs of eternal life.

XIX

A MIRROR FOR PRINCES

"Give the king thy judgments, O God, And thy righteousness to the king's son."—PSALM lxxii. 1.

THESE familiar words form the opening verse of a Psalm which depicts the ideal of a godly king. Who the king was with regard to whom the words were spoken, we do not know: it was pretty clearly one of the later kings—possibly Josiah. The Psalm reads as though it were written at the time of the king's accession; and the poet prays that God will confer upon him the gifts that will enable him to rise to the height of his office, and to prove himself a beneficent and righteous ruler.

"Give the king thy judgments, O God,
And thy righteousness to the king's son."

May God give the king a store of His judgments, or decisions, that he may appropriate and apply them when cases come before him for trial; and may He endow him, as the son of a royal father, with a Divine sense of justice that may make him a worthy ruler! May he, the poet continues, judge God's people

with righteousness, and His poor — those common victims of oppression and injustice under an Oriental government—with judgment; may peace and righteousness flourish in his land; may his rule be as gentle and beneficent as the rain coming down upon the mown grass, and as drops that water the earth!

Next, taking a bolder flight, the poet prays that the king's realm may be wider than Solomon's, that all enemies may be subdued before him, and that the most distant and famous peoples may do him homage:

"May he have dominion also from sea to sea,
And from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth!
May the desert-dwellers (the wild Bedawin, the free sons of the desert, who will not readily own any superior) bow before him,
And his enemies lick the dust!
May the kings of Tarshish and of the isles (of Tartessus in distant Spain, and the isles and coasts of the Mediterranean Sea) render presents!
May the kings of Sheba (in South Arabia) and Seba (in Abyssinia) bring dues!
Yea, may all kings fall down before him,
May all nations do him service!"

The vision of a world-wide dominion, and of a world-wide homage, rises here in the poet's mind; but the king's claim to it rests upon the justice and mercifulness of his rule. As before, his special merit is his care for the poor and the oppressed:

"For he will deliver the needy when he crieth ;
The poor also, and him that hath no helper ;
He will have pity on the feeble and the needy,
And the lives of the needy he will save ;
He will redeem their souls from oppression and wrong,
And precious will their blood be in his sight."

And the psalmist closes with three final prayers, for the welfare of the king, the prosperity of his land and people, and the honourable perpetuation of his name :

"So may he live ! and may there be given unto him of the gold of Sheba !
May prayer also be made for him (not, as in the Prayer-Book Version, '*unto* him') continually !
And daily may he be blessed !
May there be abundance of corn in the land upon the top of the mountains ;
May the fruit thereof shake like Lebanon :
And may men blossom out of the city like the herbage of the earth !
May his name endure for ever !
May his name be propagated (*i.e.* perpetuated by his descendants) as long as the sun endureth !
May men also bless themselves by him (*i.e.* use his name in blessing as a type of happiness, saying, 'God make thee like this king !')
May all nations call him happy !"

Such are the prayers and splendid anticipations which, on a gala day, were expressed by some poet

of Israel on behalf of a newly appointed king of his people. The poet's thoughts move along lines suggested partly by reminiscences of the happy reign of Solomon, partly by a sense of what the qualifications of a just ruler should be under the social conditions of the time. But the poet, in the hopes and anticipations which he puts forth, includes more than could be realized by any actual king of Israel, and portrays, in fact, an *ideal* King, whose just and perfect rule extends to the ends of the earth, and commands the homage of the world. And in so far as he does this, he looks out beyond the actual king whose accession he celebrates, and constructs a picture of the King of Israel whom we call the Messiah. But it is not on this aspect of the Psalm that I desire to dwell further to-day.

The blessings of a wise and beneficent rule are often alluded to in the Old Testament. In a poem in the Second Book of Samuel (xxiii. 1-7), called the "Last words of David," the blessings of such a rule are compared beautifully to the life-giving sunshine of a cloudless morning, when after rain the earth appears clad with fresh young verdure :

"When one ruleth over men righteously,
Ruleth in the fear of God,
Then is it as the light of the morning when the sun ariseth,
A morning without clouds, when through clear shining after rain the young grass springeth out of the earth."

And the ideal King is depicted in the prophets as doing, like David and Solomon, judgment and justice in the land; as defending the cause of the poor, and delivering them from oppression and wrong; as punishing the wrong-doer, and by a wise and just rule maintaining the prosperity of his people. In the 101st Psalm we have what has been called a "mirror for princes." A king speaks in it; and he solemnly professes his resolve not, like many an Eastern ruler, to make his palace the home of caprice and self-indulgence and corruption and favouritism, but to walk within his house in the integrity of his heart, to set no base example before his eyes, to cherish no crooked purpose or evil design, to tolerate around him no slander or pride or injustice, but to make men of probity and integrity his companions and ministers, and finally, morning by morning, to hold his court of justice, that he may "root out all wicked doers out of the city of the LORD." And so this Psalm is naturally appointed as one of the Proper Psalms for the day of the Sovereign's Accession.

I have been led to refer this morning to these ideals of kingly rule, on account of the great national event which is to take place next Thursday.[1] More than a year has indeed elapsed since our gracious Sovereign assumed the throne: but it is the striking and impressive Coronation ceremony which seals and ratifies his accession, and formally entrusts to him the high duties and responsibilities which in his august office he is called upon to perform. Circumstances have indeed

[1] June 22, 1911.

changed greatly since the poets and prophets of Israel wrote. In those days absolute monarchies were the usual form of government in the East; they were indeed the only practicable form of government, in times when the culture and education of the people were limited, when what we should call the political life of a nation had not yet begun to assert itself, and the influence of the people upon such subjects as legislation, the treatment of social problems, and national policy, was practically *nil*. But an absolute monarchy is no longer suited to the wide and varied needs and interests of modern civilization: hence the monarchies which have continued to the present day are mostly limited in power, to a far greater extent than was the case in antiquity; the power of the people, as represented in parliamentary assemblies and other ways, has greatly increased; while in many nations democracies have supplanted monarchies altogether. But whether the government be a monarchy, or an oligarchy, or a democracy, all governments are constituted to maintain the welfare of the people governed by them; and hence the great principles of righteousness and equity and justice, on which the prophets so eloquently insist, and of which the psalmists sing, remain as the foundations of a prosperous state, and as the essential conditions of its people's welfare. "Righteousness," says a Hebrew proverb, "exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to peoples." And all history shows the truth of this generalization, whatever be the form of government by which the nation is ruled.

It is true, of course, that the power and rights of the Crown being in modern countries limited, and the population and area of a country like our own, for instance, being so much greater than those of ancient Israel, the Sovereign cannot interfere directly, or act personally, to the extent that he did there; he cannot, for instance, like David and Solomon, himself administer justice, or himself introduce reforms, or determine, with merely the approval of a few counsellors, questions of peace and war; but he can do a great deal indirectly; he can, in virtue of his high position and the respect which it commands, influence public opinion, and contribute materially to maintain high standards of responsibility and honour on the part of his ministers; he can mark with his approval men of efficiency and high character; he can, by suggestion and example, encourage and promote social reforms. Power need not be the less real because it is wielded indirectly. Certainly the most crying evils of an Oriental monarchy —the abuse of power and position on the part of high officials, the extortion and oppression practised by them upon the poor and the defenceless, and the selling of justice to the highest bidder—are, happily, unknown in this country, and do not therefore need a sovereign to put them down. But there are still, it must sorrowfully be confessed, many social abuses rife among the less responsible classes of the community—among the wealthy, for instance, luxury and selfishness prevail with mischievous effect, while among the middle classes, the love of gain leads often both to impositions upon

those who are least able to bear them, and to the terrible abuse commonly described as "sweating": these can only be effectively rectified by moving public opinion; and in contributing towards this end, the indirect influence of the Sovereign may be of supreme value. The Sovereign is still the head of the State, though he acts largely not personally, but through the agency of ministers, judges, and other representatives, whose appointments are either made or sanctioned by himself. And so in the Coronation ceremony, the Sword, the symbol of judgment, and of the power to maintain order, to put down misgovernment, and to punish evil-doers, is presented upon the altar with a prayer, the terms of which are suggested by words of St. Paul (Rom. xiii. 4), and St. Peter (1 Pet. ii. 14): "Hear our prayers, O Lord, we beseech thee, and so direct and support thy servant, our King, who is now to be girt with this Sword, that he may not bear it in vain; but may use it as the minister of God for the terror and punishment of evil-doers, and for the protection and encouragement of those that do well, through Jesus Christ our Lord." And afterwards, when it has been girt about him, the Sovereign is addressed in these words: "With this Sword do justice, stop the growth of iniquity, protect the holy Church of God, help and defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain the things that are restored, punish and reform what is amiss, and confirm what is in good order; that doing these things you may be glorious in all virtue; and so faithfully serve our Lord

Jesus Christ in this life, that you may reign for ever with Him in the life which is to come." And the Sceptre, "the ensign of kingly power and justice," is delivered to him with these words: "Receive the Rod of equity and mercy: and God, from whom all holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed, direct and assist you in the administration and exercise of all those powers which He has given you. Be so merciful that you be not too remiss; so execute justice that you forget not mercy. Punish the wicked, protect and cherish the just, and lead your people in the way wherein they should go."

These, then, are the high responsibilities which our Sovereign undertakes—to maintain effectually justice and good government, to temper wisely judgment with mercy, to have a care for true religion, to defend the unprotected, to punish evil-doers and in general to check iniquity, to correct anomalies and abuses, to guard and preserve whatever may contribute to the well-being of the people. Expanded and enlarged, these are just the same responsibilities which, in the two Psalms which I have quoted this morning, constitute the ideal of a king. Let us be thankful that we in this country are ruled by a Sovereign who, as we well know, will respect and maintain the noble traditions of high endeavour and high achievement which he has inherited from his ancestors; who will devote himself, heart and soul, to the task of realizing, as far as in him lies, the great ideal which the Coronation service sets before him; and who, with God's help, will pass on to

his successors an empire, embracing far-stretching regions in every quarter of the globe, not less stable, and not less well-ordered, and well governed, than it was when he received it from his beloved and honoured father.

XX

THE AUTHORIZED VERSION

"For the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the LORD, as the waters cover the sea."—ISAIAH xi. 9.

OUR country is commemorating this year[1] the 300th anniversary of the publication of the Authorized Version of the Bible. This event was a momentous one in the history of the English people; and I should like this morning to place before you some thoughts suggested by it—to speak of the long and sometimes troubled years of preparation and development which preceded it, of the influence which the Version has exerted upon our people, and of the position which it holds at the present day. Let me describe to you briefly how the Authorized Version came into being.

In olden days both Bibles and Service-books were in Latin; there was a prejudice against change, and the translation of them into the language of the people took a long time to accomplish. As early, however, as the ninth and tenth centuries Anglo-Saxon versions of the Psalms, Gospels, and some of the historical books of the Old Testament were made. But no attempt

[1] March 1911.

was made to translate the entire Bible into English till the fourteenth century, in the reign of Edward III. (1327–1377), when John Wycliffe arose (1320–1384). Wycliffe was closely connected with Oxford. He was Steward of Merton College, Master of Balliol, and Warden of Canterbury College—a hostel for the reception of theological students from Canterbury—afterwards absorbed into Christ Church, where the Canterbury Quadrangle still marks its ancient site. Wycliffe was a man of remarkable ability and influence, an effective orator, and an unsparing assailant of the ecclesiastical and social abuses of his time. His life was a revolt against what he conceived to be unrighteous dominion. The Bible, he felt, supported him in his contention; and so, with the help of Nicholas of Hereford, its translation was accomplished (1382). The translation was made, not from the original texts, but from the Latin Vulgate. Its reception showed that it met a need of the times. "The new version," we are told, "was eagerly sought after and read. Copies passed into the hands of all classes of the people. Active and powerful measures were taken to suppress it; copies were sought for and burnt as most noxious productions of heretical depravity; but the number (150) of MSS which survived this inquisition and still remain testify what a large number there must have originally been." Nevertheless Wycliffe's translation continued to be viewed with suspicion, and in 1408 the reading of it was expressly forbidden by Henry IV. (1399–1413).

During the century which elapsed between 1388[1] and the age of William Tindale nothing further was done for the translation of the Bible. Tindale was the real father of the Authorized Version. He was a native of Gloucestershire, who came to Oxford and became a student of Magdalen Hall, the old Grammar School, a portion of which is still to be seen just at the entrance to Magdalen College. He took his degree in 1512, shortly after the accession of Henry VIII. Since Wycliffe's death great events had happened and greater events were looming in the future, all of which materially helped the translation of the Bible into English. The age of the renaissance was beginning. The capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks caused many Greek scholars, carrying with them the treasures of their literature, to seek a home in the West, especially in Italy, and so brought about a revival of Greek learning in Europe. Greece, it has been strikingly said, thus "rose from the grave with the New Testament in her hand"; and, as soon appeared, the Teutonic nations welcomed the gift. In 1477 the newly-invented art of printing was introduced into England. In 1491 Greek was first taught in Oxford by William Grocyn, a Fellow of New College, who had studied in Italy. Colet and Erasmus, both men of the new learning, saw its value for the cause of reform. The former, as Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, preached against the worldliness of the clergy. The latter taught Greek at Cambridge from 1509 to 1514, and in 1516 published an edition of

[1] The date of Purvey's revision of Wycliffe's translation.

the New Testament in Greek, the first printed edition published in Europe. It at once made a great impression, and was much talked about. Between 1477 and 1530 many editions of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek New Testament were printed on the Continent, and found their way into England. A desire to possess the Bible in the vernacular sprang up throughout Europe, and many translations followed. In Germany Luther was beginning his crusade against Rome. He published the New Testament in German in 1522, and the whole Bible in 1534. Tindale was a reformer from his youth. In conversation with a learned divine, who said, "We were better without God's laws than the Pope's," he replied, "I defy the Pope and all his laws. If God spares my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scripture than thou doest." He went to London, and sought to interest Tunstall, the Bishop of London at the time, in his plan of a translation, but soon discovered this to be impossible; as he mournfully said, he found that "there was no room in my lord of London's palace to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England." He therefore left England and settled in Cologne. There he translated the New Testament into English; and, supplied with funds by English merchants, who promised to convey the work secretly to England, and diffuse it widely in that country, began to print it. But he was betrayed; the printing was interrupted; and he fled up the Rhine to Worms. Worms was devoted to Luther, and Tin-

dale could work there in safety. He completed his translation, and 6000 copies reached England in 1526.

The English bishops met to deliberate on the situation; and at once took active measures to suppress the book. All copies found were ordered to be burnt. The Bishop of London preached a sermon at Paul's Cross, in the precincts of the Cathedral, which was followed by a formal public burning of the dreaded book. Nevertheless the book was widely read in secret; and among the places deeply infected with the new heresy was Cardinal College, the magnificent foundation of Wolsey, afterwards refounded by Henry VIII. as Christ Church. A memorable scene was enacted in St. Frideswide's Church, the present Cathedral, on February 21st, 1528. The Commissary, sent down by Wolsey to search out the heretics, entered the choir in the middle of evensong, interrupted the service, and conferred with the Dean in his seat respecting their arrest. We possess a graphic description, written by one of the suspects, a student of Alban Hall, of what subsequently happened.[1] Tindale meanwhile completed the Pentateuch in English, and it was printed at Marburg in 1530. After this he moved to Antwerp, and worked at other books of the Old Testament. In the end he was betrayed to his enemies, imprisoned in the Castle of Vilvorde, near Brussels, where, on October 6th, 1536, he was strangled and burnt. His last words were, "Lord, open the King

[1] Fox, *Acts and Monuments of Martyrs*, ed. 1684, ii. 438–441 (the story of Dalaber and Garret); cf. Westcott, p. 40 ff.

of England's eyes," a prayer which before long was signally answered.

It is remarkable now how the secular arm came to the help of the English Bible. Henry VIII., who was still on the throne, had been unfriendly to Tindale, and had issued proclamations against the use of his translation. But the breach with Rome was beginning, and the situation changed quickly. In 1529 Wolsey fell from power; in 1531 Henry assumed the title of supreme head of the Church of England; in 1533 he divorced Catherine of Aragon and married Anne Boleyn, both with the strong disapproval of the Pope. Other points of difference arose; and in the same year the papal authority in England was formally annulled. Feeling had also changed on the subject of Bible translation. Shortly after Wolsey's death Henry had promised a translation of the Scriptures. Miles Coverdale, who certainly knew Tindale, and had not improbably assisted him, had been invited by Cromwell, who succeeded Wolsey in the King's favour (1529–1540), to make a translation of the entire Bible; and in 1535 his translation appeared, dedicated to the King. This was the first English translation of the entire Bible.

But a more important version was one which appeared four years afterwards, in 1539, called from its size—it is a large and thick black-letter folio—the Great Bible. This also was Coverdale's work; in fact it was his earlier translation revised and improved, at the suggestion of Cromwell, by a more careful comparision of the original texts. It met with great success.

A royal injunction commanded its free exhibition in all churches, and contemporaries tell us what interest it immediately evoked, how numbers flocked to the churches to read it, while as many as could procured it for themselves. In two years it went through seven editions, each with revision, and it was often reprinted afterwards. One part of the Great Bible is familiar to us still. When the Prayer Book was first compiled, in 1549, the Psalter was taken naturally from the Great Bible, and it remains there still, a monument of the noble and melodious English prose of which Coverdale was an acknowledged master.

The circulation of the English Bible remained unimpeded during the short reign of Edward VI. (1547–1553). With the accession of Mary (1533–1558) a change came. Rome was again in the ascendant, and the reformers had to flee to the Continent. A band of them settled in Geneva, the home of Calvin; and there, in 1560, they produced another version, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, and known as the Geneva Bible. This translation contained short explanatory notes. Its convenient size and useful notes caused it speedily to become the household Bible of Englishmen; and it continued to be so for nearly a century. Some of the notes were, however, tinged with Calvinism; so in 1568, also under Elizabeth, the Bishops' Bible appeared, so called from the number of bishops who assisted in its production.

But the existence of two rival translations was an inconvenience; and soon after James I. came to the

throne he expressed the wish that the best scholars of the time should be invited to co-operate and produce "one uniform translation." His wish was speedily carried out. The Bible was divided into six parts; six companies of scholars were appointed, two sitting at Westminster, two at Cambridge, and two at Oxford, to carry out the work. Rules were drawn up for their guidance, and the completed Bible, our Authorized Version, appeared in 1611.

Such, then, told briefly and imperfectly, is the long and sometimes tragic story of the progress by which an open Bible was secured for England. It is well that we, who enjoy in ease what our forefathers toiled and even gave their lives for, should remember the price at which our freedom was purchased, and feel the gratitude that is due to those who gave it to us. It is worthy of notice that all the crucial steps in the movement came from the party of reform. If the ecclesiastical authorities had retained their power and had had their will, there would have been no open Bible in England even to-day. The truth was obscured; abuses were rife; but the Bible, it was felt by those who knew it, was the charter of spirituality, of justice, and of freedom. To those who gave it to us in our own language we owe an incalculable debt.

The Version of 1611 was not a new translation. It was founded upon the versions of Tindale and Coverdale, upon the Great Bible, the Geneva Bible, and the Bishops' Bible. King James's translators took from these the best that each could give, and welded all

together, naturally with many corrections and improvements of their own, into a new whole. It was the final issue of nearly a century of preparation.

Its outstanding characteristic feature is the marvellous felicity of its style; a comparison of its renderings with those of the previous versions quickly makes its superiority in this respect apparent. The translators had all lived through the Elizabethan era. Shakespeare was still bringing out his plays while the translators were at their work. At least the leading spirits in all the companies showed themselves masters of a style which was chaste, dignified, and impressive, and of a rhythm which is always melodious and grateful to the ear. Style and rhythm are indeed externals, but they are externals which cannot be despised: they delight the ear, and so the thoughts which they enshrine find their way into the heart. The English Bible has all the attributes of a classic: it is a "Well of English undefyled." The beauty and freshness and innate attractiveness, which are the predominant characteristics of the original, combine, with this remarkable felicity of phrase and rhythm in the translation, to give the Authorized Version that incomparable fascination and influence which it has exerted over so many generations of Englishmen.

King James's translation has accomplished a great work—greater, we may be sure, than the translators themselves could in the least imagine or foresee. Though it did not at once supersede the Geneva and the Bishops' Bibles, in the end its superior merits won it its due, and it became the only Bible of the English-

speaking people. Since the seventeenth century the Anglo-Saxon race has spread, and colonized regions of the earth of which our forefathers had never heard; and so King James's Bible has carried the light of truth, not only throughout our own islands, but into every part of the habitable world—into India, Africa, Australia, and into the teeming populations ever increasing and ever pulsating with new energies and new life, which already occupy the greater part of the vast continent of North America, and are likely soon, in Canada, to be diffused yet more widely.

Let me quote here a few sentences which must voice, I am sure, the common feeling of Englishmen, from the admirable address presented to King George by the very representative deputation which waited upon him a few days ago: "On the occasion of the Tercentary of the issue of the Authorized Version of the English Bible, we, who believe the Bible to be 'the most valuable thing that this world affords,' desire to unite with your Majesty in thanksgiving to Almighty God for the inestimable blessings bestowed upon the English-speaking people by its translation into our mother-tongue, and its influence in the moulding of our national life. These blessings are enjoyed, not only in these islands, and your Majesty's Dominions across the seas, but also in the United States of America, and wherever the English language prevails." And then, after some remarks on our indebtedness to those who laboured and suffered—some of them laying down their lives—to secure for their fellow-countrymen, not only a version

of the Holy Scriptures which they could understand, but also liberty to read it in their own homes, and upon the manner in which in the past the Throne had been linked with the work, the address continues: "The growth and strength of the Empire owe much to the English Bible. It has sweetened home life; it has set a standard of pure speech; it has permeated literature and art; it has helped to remove social wrongs, and to ameliorate conditions of labour; it has modified the laws of the realm, and shaped the national character; and it has fostered international comity and goodwill among men. Above all, the English Version of the Bible has made accessible to us the revelation of God our Father in His Son Jesus Christ our Lord. . . . We praise God, not only for the benefits of the Bible to past generations, but also because its truths, as long as they are made the standard of life, will preserve the glory of our Empire through generations to come. . . . And we pray that your Majesty's subjects may continue to read this book until its spirit and teaching are vitalized in personal character and in domestic relationships, and so enter into every sphere of corporate life—business and professional, social and political, national and Imperial." And our gracious Sovereign, in the course of his reply, said: "This glorious and memorable achievement, coming like a broad light in darkness, gave freely to the whole English-speaking people the right and the power to search for themselves for the truths and consolations of our faith; and during 300 years the multiplying millions of

the English-speaking races, spreading ever more widely over the surface of the globe, have turned in their need to the grand simplicity of the Authorized Version, and have drawn upon its inexhaustible springs of wisdom, courage, and joy." These words, both those in the address and those in the reply from the Throne, we may unreservedly appropriate. In broad and general terms they describe truly the wonderful and far-reaching influence which the Authorized Version has exerted upon English-speaking people.

Perhaps one further point might be mentioned. For more than one hundred years, since 1804, the British and Foreign Bible Society has been busily engaged in circulating in different languages copies of the Scriptures. The number of copies of the English Bible which it has circulated is incalculable; but besides this it circulates now either the Bible, or parts of the Bible, in some 400 other languages. I think we may ascribe this to at least the indirect influence of the Authorized Version, the value and the influence of a version in the vernacular, as tested by our own Bible, naturally suggesting and encouraging the use of the same method when Christianity was offered to those nations of the earth who did not know it.

But while we admire and revere, we must not idolize. It is a mistake to make even a Version of the Bible into a fetish. Our Bible was translated 300 years ago; and it is the simple truth that the translation no longer satisfies the scholarship or the needs of the present day. There are two main reasons why the Version of 1611

is not adequate now—both, it is right to say, due to the operation of causes which the translators themselves could neither prevent nor foresee. In the first place, the English language has itself changed since 1611 ; and many words and expressions which were perfectly clear then are obscure now. Some words, then in current use, are now obsolete, and their meanings, to all ordinary readers, are unknown ; and other words have changed their meaning so that they mislead the modern reader. A reader of Shakespeare constantly comes across passages which he cannot understand for the same reason, and he must refer to a glossary for explanations. The case is the same with the Authorized Version. Archaisms, so long as they continue intelligible (as " which " for " who "), lend a choice, antique colour to the translation, which we are only too glad to retain ; when they convey either no meaning, or a false meaning, as Bishop Lightfoot said long ago,[1] the time for removing them has come. To take a simple example, we are no longer justified in saying, " I know nothing by myself," when we mean " I know nothing against myself." Secondly, the Authorized Version is inadequate now on account of the progress of knowledge. King James's translators were learned men, fully abreast of the knowledge of their own day ; through no fault of their own, they were not abreast of the knowledge of the present day. The languages of the original, both Hebrew and Greek, are much better understood now than they were in 1611 ;

[1] In his most valuable essay, *On a Fresh Revision of the English N.T.* (1871, 2nd ed. 1872), p. 171.

many of the ablest minds have given their best to the elucidation of the Bible; discovery and research in the East have thrown light upon much which, even fifty years ago, was obscure; so that now there is no book of the Bible which is not in some parts—in some cases in many parts—better understood than was the case 300 years ago. Of course, there are large parts of the Bible, including a great number of theologically important texts, which would not be affected at all by a retranslation. But the Bible is not a collection of isolated texts; it consists largely of poems, prophetical discourses, and epistles, each, or each part, of which forms a continuous whole or a consecutive argument, and can only be understood as such; and the Authorized Version often fails to make the sense or the argument clear.

The Revised Version is no doubt capable of improvement; but we know how much superior it is to the Authorized Version in many difficult passages of both Testaments. We sometimes hear it said that the Bible is not read as much as it ought to be; but may not this be due, at least in some measure, to the fact that parts of it, including some which ought to be the most attractive, have not been made as clear and intelligible as they should be? It is the duty of the Church of the present day to utilize this new knowledge of which I have spoken for the purpose of giving its children a Bible as faithful to the original as possible. From the terms in which King James's translators speak in their preface to the reader, we may be sure that, could they

come to life again, they would be the first to do this themselves. A national Bible ought to be as accurate a Bible, and as intelligible a Bible, as the scholarship of the day can make it. And it ought to combine these qualities of accuracy and intelligibility with that dignity of style, felicity of phrase, and melodious rhythm, which are so conspicuous in the Authorized Version, without which a Bible would not deserve to be a national Bible, and without which it would cease to be the classic that such a Bible ought to be. To preserve all that is most beautiful in the Authorized Version, and all that is most characteristic of it, while altering that which time has shown to need correction or improvement, is not to disparage or dishonour the Version which we all love ; it is rather, by fitting it for longer life, to raise it to higher honour, and to adapt it for wider and deeper influence.[1]

[1] For detailed particulars of the history of the English Bible, with comparisons of versions, etc., see Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, 2nd ed., 1905; W. F. Moulton, *History of the English Bible*, 2nd ed., 1911; and Lupton, in *DB.* v. 236-271.

APPENDICES

THESE Appendices have been added at the request of Dr. Cooke, in the hope that they may prove of interest to readers; the Bibliography especially has been compiled for the use of students: *est enim hæc quoque studiosis non iniucunda cognitio.* It is, however, much to be feared that such a list cannot be complete, as many articles, often unsigned, in periodical literature must inevitably escape notice, though the editors of several journals have earned our thanks by much welcome help. We should be grateful if any who notice errors or omissions would kindly communicate with us.

G. R. D.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD,
November 3, 1914.

APPENDIX A

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DR. DRIVER'S PUBLISHED WRITINGS

1871

A COMMENTARY ON JEREMIAH AND EZEKIEL BY MOSHEH BEN SHESHETH, EDITED FROM A BODLEIAN MS., WITH A TRANSLATION AND NOTES.

1874

A TREATISE ON THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW. Editions: —(1) 1874; (2) 1881; (3) 1892.

1875

In *The Academy*, May 22, p. 534. "ECCLESIASTES; A CONTRIBUTION TO ITS INTERPRETATION; CONTAINING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK, AN EXEGETICAL ANALYSIS, AND A TRANSLATION WITH NOTES." BY THOMAS TYLER, M.A.

1876

THE SUNDAY-SCHOOL CENTENARY BIBLE, OR THE HOLY BIBLE: EDITED WITH VARIOUS RENDERINGS AND READINGS FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES. The Old Testament. Together with T. K. Cheyne. Editions:—(1) 1876; (2) 1880; (3) 1888; (4) 1893.

1877

THE 53RD CHAPTER OF ISAIAH ACCORDING TO THE JEWISH INTERPRETERS. VOL. II., TRANSLATION. Together with Ad. Neubauer.

1879

In *The Academy*, Nov. 29, p. 395. HEBREW LITERATURE.

1880

A COMMENTARY ON THE BOOK OF PROVERBS, ATTRIBUTED TO ABRAHAM IBN EZRA, EDITED FROM A MS. IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY.

In *The Academy*, Feb. 7, p. 96. THE PROPHECY OF JOEL AND ITS INTERPRETERS. "DIE PROPHETIE DES JOEL," u.s.w. Von Adalbert Merx.

In *The Guardian*, Nov. 3, p. 1515. Ps. lxxvi. 10.

New edition:—THE HOLY BIBLE; EDITED WITH VARIOUS RENDERINGS AND READINGS FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES (1876), 2nd ed.[1]

1881

New edition:—A TREATISE ON THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW (1874), 2nd ed., revised and enlarged.

1882

In *The Journal of Philology*, vol. xi. p. 201. ON SOME ALLEGED LINGUISTIC AFFINITIES OF THE ELOHIST.

In *The Academy*, Feb. 25, p. 131. "ISRAEL." BY DR. JULIUS WELLHAUSEN (Encyclopædia Britannica. Ninth edition. Vol. xiii.).

Apr. 8, p. 243. "GOETHE'S FAUST, THE FIRST PART. THE TEXT, WITH ENGLISH NOTES, ESSAYS, AND VERSE TRANSLATIONS." BY E. J. TURNER AND E. A. MORSHEAD, M.A.

May 20, p. 356. RECENT HEBREW LITERATURE.

1883

In *The Church of England Pulpit and Ecclesiastical Review*, Dec. 15, p. 277. EVOLUTION COMPATIBLE WITH FAITH (GEN. ii. 7).[2]

1884

In *The Academy*, March 29, p. 216. "THE BOOK OF PSALMS," TRANSLATED BY THE REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

[1] Called THE TEACHER'S VARIORUM BIBLE.

[2] A sermon preached before the University of Oxford on Oct. 21, and reprinted as Sermon I. on pp. 1–27 of "Sermons on the Old Testament" (1892).

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 182. "THE BOOK OF PSALMS," TRANSLATED BY THE REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

1885

RECENT THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE TETRAGRAMMATON. Essay i. in Studia Biblica, vol. i. p. 1.

In *The Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 1. THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT—THE BOOK OF GENESIS.

p. 81. THE BOOK OF EXODUS.

p. 211. THE BOOKS OF LEVITICUS AND NUMBERS.

p. 289. THE BOOKS OF DEUTERONOMY AND JOSHUA.

In *The Journal of Philology*, vol. xiv. p. 1. GEN. xlix. 10: AN EXEGETICAL STUDY.

In *Hebraica*,[1] vol. ii. p. 33. GRAMMATICAL NOTES.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. xlvii. p. 291. OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

In *The Academy*, July 25, p. 52. "PROLEGOMENA TO THE HISTORY OF ISRAEL." BY JULIUS WELLHAUSEN. TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN UNDER THE AUTHOR'S SUPERVISION BY J. S. BLACK AND C. A. MENZIES. WITH PREFACE BY PROF. W. R. SMITH.

In *The Guardian*, Aug. 19, p. 1227. [THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.] A BOON.

Aug. 26, p. 1257. THE ORTHODOXY, THEOLOGICAL AND PHILOLOGICAL, OF THE MARGINAL RENDERINGS OF THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Sept. 9, p. 1334. THE REVISED VERSION.

Sept. 16, p. 1367. THE REVISED VERSION.

Sept. 23, p. 1404. THE REVISED VERSION.

Sept. 30, p. 1442. THE REVISED VERSION.

Oct. 7, p. 1477. THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[2]

1886

THE DIVINE NATURE (Is. vi. 3)—In "The Anglican Pulpit of To-day," Sermon xl. p. 456.

In *The Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. iii. p. 23. THE COSMOGONY OF GENESIS.

p. 260. TWO HEBREW NEW TESTAMENTS.

[1] An American periodical.

[2] Read at the Church Congress at Portsmouth on Tuesday, Oct. 6.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. xlix. p. 295. OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

Vol. l. p. 594. OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

In *The Sunday-School Times*, Dec. 18. INDICATIONS OF DIFFERENT DOCUMENTS IN THE PENTATEUCH. I. THE BEGINNING—GEN. i. 26-31, ii. 1-3 (JAN. 2).[1]

Dec. 25, II. SIN AND DEATH—GEN. iii. 1-6, 17-19 (JAN. 9).[1]

1887

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE INTERNATIONAL SUNDAY-SCHOOL LESSONS FROM THE PENTATEUCH.

In *The Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. v. p. 55. NOTES ON DIFFICULT TEXTS.

p. 259, NOTES ON DIFFICULT TEXTS.

Vol. vi. p. 71. "JOB AND SOLOMON; OR THE WISDOM OF THE OLD TESTAMENT." BY THE REV. T. K. CHEYNE, M.A.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. li. p. 894. OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

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In *The Guardian*, March 9, p. 386. THE MARGINS IN THE REVISED VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In *The Sunday-School Times*, Jan. 1. III. CAIN AND ABEL—GEN. iv. 3-16 (JAN. 16).[1]

Jan. 8. IV. NOAH AND THE ARK—GEN. vi. 9-22 (JAN. 23).[1]

In *The Oxford Review*, No. 58, p. 371. UNIVERSITY SERMON—ON THE JEWISH INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY (2 TIM. i. 10).[2]

No. 68, p. 15. UNIVERSITY SERMON—ON AMOS ii. 11, 12.[3]

In *The Andover Review*,[4] vol. viii., Dec., p. 639. THE COSMOGONY OF GENESIS.

[1] The series was discontinued by the decision of the Editor at the end of the fourth lesson and published in Feb. 1887, under the title of "Critical Notes on the International Sunday-School Lessons from the Pentateuch," as above.

[2] Reprinted as Sermon IV. on pp. 72-94 of "Sermons on the Old Testament" (1892).

[3] Reprinted as Sermon V. on pp. 99-118 of "Sermons on the Old Testament" (1892).

[4] An American periodical.

1888

ISAIAH: HIS LIFE AND TIMES AND THE WRITINGS WHICH BEAR HIS NAME. Editions:—(1) 1888; (2) 1893; (3) 1910.

New Edition:—THE TEACHER'S VARIORUM BIBLE (1876, 1880), 3rd ed.

In *The Guardian*, Nov. 28, p. 1810. PROFESSOR DRIVER'S PAPER AT SOUTHWELL.[1]

Dec. 12, p. 1896. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Dec. 27, p. 1974. THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

In *Bibliotheca Sacra*,[2] July, p. 565. LETTER FROM PROFESSOR DRIVER.

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. vi. p. 326. "ANALECTA ORIENTALIA AD POETICAM ARISTOTELEAM." EDIDIT D. MARGOLIOUTH, M.A.

In *The Oxford University Herald*, Sept. 1. ON ECCLESIASTES—A SERMON ON ECCLESIASTES i. 2.

1889

In *The Expositor*, 3rd series, vol. ix. p. 15. NOTES ON THREE PASSAGES IN ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

p. 321. THE DOUBLE TEXT OF JEREMIAH.

In *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. i. p. 258. THE ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. lv. p. 393. RECENT OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

1890

NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON HEBREW PALÆOGRAPHY AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS AND FACSIMILES OF INSCRIPTIONS. Editions:—(1) 1890; (2) 1913.

AN INTRODUCTION to the English Translation of the Fourth Edition of Franz Delitzsch's "Biblical Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah."

In *The Expositor*, 4th series, vol. i. p. 387. NOTE ON PROFESSOR D. S. MARGOLIOUTH'S "THE LANGUAGE AND METRE OF ECCLESIASTICUS."

[1] Read at the Southwell Diocesan Conference and reported in *The Guardian* for Oct. 31, p. 1652.

[2] An American periodical.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. i. p. 197. PROFESSOR FRANZ DELITZSCH.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. lvii. p. 215. THE CRITICAL STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[1]

In *The Guardian*, Apr. 2, p. 557. "LUX MUNDI." OLD TESTAMENT CRITICISM.

Apr. 23, p. 679. DR. DRIVER ON SAMUEL.

May 14, p. 809. MR. SLATTER ON SAMUEL.

Oct. 1, p. 1539. BOOK OF JONAH.

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 182. THE INAUGURAL LECTURE OF THE LAUDIAN PROFESSOR OF ARABIC. AN ESSAY ON THE PLACE OF ECCLESIASTICUS IN SEMITIC LITERATURE. 1. THE PROBLEM.

p. 190. THE INAUGURAL LECTURE OF THE LAUDIAN PROFESSOR OF ARABIC. AN ESSAY ON THE PLACE OF ECCLESIASTICUS IN SEMITIC LITERATURE. 2. THE SOLUTION.

1891

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[2] Editions:—(1) 1891, September; (2) 1891, November; (3) 1892, March; (4) 1892, August [Reprinted in April 1893]; (5) 1894, June [Reprinted in January 1896]; (6) 1897, October, revised, enlarged and reset; (7) 1898, October [Reprinted in May 1902; August 1903; October 1905; January 1907]; (8) 1909, September; (9) 1913, October.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. iii. p. 17. CHRIST'S APPEAL TO THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In *The Critical Review*, vol. i. p. 35. "LECTURES ON THE COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES." BY PROFESSOR W. WRIGHT.

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. x., Supplement, Nov. 4. UNIVERSITY SERMON ON 2 TIM. iii. 16, 17.[3]

[1] Reprinted in 1905 as No. 21 of "Essays for the Times."

[2] Translated into German from the fifth edition by Dr. J. W. Rothstein in 1896 as "EINLEITUNG IN DIE LITTERATUR DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS. VON S. R. DRIVER, D.D., REGIUS PROFESSOR D. HEBR. U. CANONICUS AN CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD."

[3] Reprinted as Sermon VII. on pp. 143–162 of "Sermons on the Old Testament" (1892).

1892

SERMONS ON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE OLD TESTAMENT.

New editions:—A TREATISE ON THE USE OF THE TENSES IN HEBREW (1874), 3rd ed., revised and improved.

March. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 3rd ed.

Aug. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 4th ed.

In *The Expositor*, 4th series, vol. v. p. 321. KLOSTERMANN ON THE PENTATEUCH.

Vol. vi. p. 199. PROFESSOR W. ROBERTSON SMITH ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.[1]

p. 392. PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON ON THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. iii. p. 206. HEBREW GRAMMARS AND LEXICONS.

Vol. iv. p. 95. PROFESSOR SAYCE AND THE "HIGHER CRITICISM."

p. 110. THE MORAL AND DEVOTIONAL VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[2]

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. lxi. p. 262. PRINCIPAL CAVE ON THE HEXATEUCH.

In *The Guardian*, Oct. 12, p. 1549. THE PERMANENT (MORAL AND DEVOTIONAL) VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT FOR THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.[2]

1893

Articles in the Second Edition of Sir Wm. Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*:[3]—ADADAH, ALLON (partly), AMMIZABAD (partly), AMMON, AMOS, APOTHECARIES, ARBATHITE (partly), BOCHERU, DEUTERONOMY, EXODUS, GENESIS, JOSHUA.

[1] Reprinted in *The Magazine of Christian Literature* (an American periodical), vol. vii. p. 59.

[2] Read at the Church Congress at Folkestone on Thursday, Oct. 6, and reprinted on pp. ix–xix as an introduction to "Sermons on the Old Testament" (1892).

[3] "To Professor Driver and the Rev. C. J. Ball they [the editors] owe a careful revision of the Hebrew and other Semitic words in a large number of articles" (Preface to the second edition, p. vii).

New editions :—THE TEACHER'S VARIORUM BIBLE (1876), 4th ed. ISAIAH, HIS LIFE AND TIMES (1888), 2nd ed., revised.

Reprint :—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, 4th ed.

In *The Expositor*, 4th series, vol. viii. p. 388. I. PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

p. 419. II. PROFESSOR MARSHALL'S ARAMAIC GOSPEL.

In *The Critical Review*, vol. iii. p. 35. BAENTSCH'S "DAS BUNDESBUCH."

In *The Guardian*, Nov. 29, p. 1913. THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER AS A CRITIC.

Dec. 13, p. 1990. THE BISHOP OF COLCHESTER AS A CRITIC.

In *The Academy*, Oct. 28, p. 367. THE METHODS OF THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

In *The Church Times*, Feb. 3, p. 101. CANON DRIVER ON GENESIS i.

1894

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS ; VOL. II., CRITICAL EDITION OF THE HEBREW TEXT, PRINTED IN COLOURS EXHIBITING THE COMPOSITE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK, WITH NOTES. Assisted by the Rev. H. A. White—In "The Polychrome Bible."

New edition :—June. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 5th ed., revised, with an appendix.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. lxv. p. 408. ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

In *The Guardian*, Oct. 10, p. 1561. THE GROWTH OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[1]

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. xii. p. 273. PROFESSOR ROBERTSON SMITH.

1895

A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON DEUTERONOMY—In "The International Critical Commentary Series." Editions :—(1) 1895 ; (2) 1896 ; (3) 1902.

[1] Read at the Church Congress at Exeter on Tuesday, Oct. 9.

DETAILED STATEMENT OF THE EVIDENCE RESPECTING κλητὴ ἁγία. On p. 12 of "A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Epistle to the Romans," by the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., LL.D., and the Rev. Arthur C. Headlam, B.D.

In *The Expositor*, 5th series, vol. i. p. 241. THE SPEECHES IN CHRONICLES.

Vol. ii. p. 286. THE SPEECHES IN CHRONICLES.

In *The Guardian*, Nov. 13, p. 1767. PROFESSOR SAYCE AND THE "CRITICS."

1896

NOTES ON THE HEBREW WORDS FOR WINE—In "The Bible and Temperance," p. 7.

New edition:—A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON DEUTERONOMY (1895), 2nd ed.

Reprint:—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, 5th ed.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. vii. p. 431. HEBREW CONCORDANCES.

p. 478. MELCHIZEDEK.

p. 567. THE WELLS OF BEER-SHEBA.

Vol. viii. p. 43. MELCHIZEDEK.

p. 142. MELCHIZEDEK.

In *The Contemporary Review*, vol. lxix. p. 257. "THE SCEPTICS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT." BY E. J. DILLON.

In *The Academy*, Oct. 17, p. 275. THE WORKS OF ABBÉ LOISY.

In *The Guardian*, March 11, p. 394. ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. I. CHEDORLAOMER AND HIS ALLIES.

Apr. 8, p. 537. ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. II. MELCHIZEDEK.

May 6, p. 722. ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENESIS xiv.

May 20, p. 791. ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. III. NIMROD AND CUSH.

p. 802. ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENESIS xiv.

May 27, p. 836. ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENESIS xiv.

June 3, p. 875. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

June 10, p. 924. ARCHÆOLOGY AND GENESIS xiv.

July 1, p. 1029. THE ORIGINAL HEBREW OF ECCLESIASTICUS.

July 29, p. 1189. ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. IV. THE COSMOGONY OF GENESIS.

1897

THE BOOKS OF JOEL AND AMOS, EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES—In "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges."

[Reprinted in 1898 and 1901.]

A GLOSSARY WITH THE NOTE APPENDED, on pp. xxxi-xxxvi of "The Original Hebrew of a Portion of Ecclesiasticus," edited by A. E. Cowley, M.A., and Ad. Neubauer, M.A.

New edition:—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 6th ed., revised and enlarged (and entirely reset).

In *The Expository Times*, vol. viii. p. 240, SARGON OF AKKAD AND HIS CRITICS.

p. 426. THE TRANSLATION OF MASPERO. (By "Verax.")

Vol. ix. p. 96. HOMMEL'S "ANCIENT HEBREW TRADITION."

p. 118. PROFESSOR NOWACK'S "DIE KLEINEN PROPHETEN."

In *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. ix. p. 563. THE HEBREW TEXT OF ECCLESIASTICUS. (1) THE WORD חחלף IN ECCLUS. xliv. 17. (2) PROF. SMEND'S EMENDATIONS. By the Editors of the Hebrew Text of Ecclesiasticus (A. E. Cowley, Ad. Neubauer, S. R. Driver).

In *The Athenæum*, No. 3610, p. 18. THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF PROF. MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

No. 3612, p. 84. PROF. MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

No. 3614, p. 149. PROF. MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

In *The Guardian*, Nov. 3, p. 1767. THE TRANSLATION OF "THE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

Nov. 17, p. 1848. PROFESSOR MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

Dec. 1, p. 1928. PROFESSOR MASPERO AND THE S.P.C.K. (By "Verax.")

Dec. 15, p. 2021. THE TRANSLATION OF MASPERO'S "STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS." (By "Verax.")

Dec. 22, p. 2056. PROFESSOR MASPERO AND THE S.P.C.K. (By "Verax.")

1898

THE BOOK OF LEVITICUS; VOL. I., A NEW ENGLISH TRANSLATION, PRINTED IN COLOURS EXHIBITING THE COMPOSITE STRUCTURE OF THE BOOK, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND PICTORIAL ILLUSTRATIONS. Assisted by the Rev. H. A. White—In "The Polychrome Bible."

THE PARALLEL PSALTER, BEING THE PRAYER-BOOK VERSION OF THE PSALMS AND A NEW VERSION ARRANGED ON OPPOSITE PAGES, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND GLOSSARIES. Editions:—(1) 1898; (2) 1904.

A DICTIONARY OF THE BIBLE, DEALING WITH ITS LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND CONTENTS, INCLUDING THE BIBLICAL THEOLOGY; edited by James Hastings, with the assistance of John A. Selbie and, chiefly in the revision of proofs, of A. B. Davidson, S. R. Driver, H. B. Swete.

[Reprinted in May 1898, April 1900, December 1901, February 1903, June 1904, September 1905, August 1906, February 1910.]

Articles:—ABOMINATION, ABOMINATION OF DESOLATION, ARGOB, ASHTAROTH, ASHTORETH, DAY OF ATONEMENT (partly), AZAZEL, BEZER, CREEPING THINGS, DETESTABLE THINGS, DIZAHAB, EPHOD, GELILOTH, GILEAD, MT. GILEAD, HABAKKUK, HAZERIM, HAZEROTH, HILL COUNTRY, HIVITES, HOST OF HEAVEN, IR-HA-HERES, ISHMAEL, JACOB, JAH, JEBUS, JEBUSI AND JEBUSITE, JOSEPH, LABAN, LAW IN THE OLD TESTAMENT, THE LORD OF HOSTS, LOT AND LOT'S WIFE, MACHIR, MAKTESH, MANASSEH, MASSAH, MENI, MORIAH, THE MOST HIGH, NAHOR, NAIOTH, NOB, OFFER AND OFFERING AND OBLATION, PETHOR, PLAIN, POOR, POTIPHAR, POTIPHERA, PROPITIATION, RACHEL, RAMAH (partly), REBEKAH, RIBLAH, SABBATH, SHILOH, SHUN, SIDDIM, THE SON OF MAN, CONFUSION OF TONGUES, VALE AND VALLEY, ZAMZUMMIM, ZOAR, ZUZIM.

New edition:—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 7th ed.

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In *The Expository Times*, vol. x. p. 15. THE BEST CRITICAL COMMENTARY ON ISAIAH ii.

1899

AN ESSAY ON HEBREW AUTHORITY. Part I. in Hogarth's "Authority and Archæology."

Articles in the *Encyclopædia Biblica*:—BASHAN, BETH-PEOR, CHRONICLES (partly), GOEL, GOLAN, JOEL, MESHA, TRACHONITIS, ZEPHANIAH.

In *The Critical Review*, vol. ix. p. 77. "THE POETRY AND RELIGION OF THE PSALMS." BY PROFESSOR JAMES ROBERTSON.

In *The Guardian*, June 28, p. 886. "THE ORIGINAL HEBREW OF ECCLESIASTICUS."

July 12, p. 975. "THE ORIGINAL HEBREW OF ECCLESIASTICUS."

Nov. 15, p. 1609. RECENT LITERATURE ON ECCLESIASTICUS.

1900

THE BOOK OF DANIEL, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES—In "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges."

[Reprinted in 1912.]

Notes in *Different Conceptions of Priesthood and Sacrifice*, edited by W. Sanday:—On p. 12, WORDS FOR SACRIFICE.

On p. 19, THE HEBREW WORD FOR PRIEST.

On p. 39, TO LAY THE HANDS UPON.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xi. p. 230. THE WORD להתרועע IN PROV. xviii. 24.

p. 233. A CORRECTION OF A STATEMENT IN THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA BIBLICA, *s.v.* BASHAN.

In *The Guardian*, Feb. 28, p. 326. "THE ORIGINAL HEBREW OF ECCLUS. xxxi. 12-31 and xxxvi. 22-xxxvii. 26." BY THE REV. G. MARGOLIOUTH.

March 14, p. 460. THE GERMAN TRANSLATION OF THE APOCRYPHAL AND PSEUDEPIGRAPHIC WRITINGS OF THE OLD

[1] Reprinted in *The Expositor* (the American edition) in July, vol. iii. p. 546.

TESTAMENT, UNDER THE EDITORSHIP OF PROFESSOR KAUTZSCH.

In *The Christian World Pulpit*, Nov. 14, p. 312. THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.[1] An Address delivered in connection with the Jubilee of New College, Hampstead, on Wednesday, November 7.

1901

Articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* :—EXODUS (partly), DEUTERONOMY (partly).

Reprints :—THE BOOKS OF JOEL AND AMOS (1897); THE BOOK OF DANIEL (1900).

In *The Expositor*, 6th series, vol. iii. p. 27. THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE LIGHT OF TO-DAY.[2]

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xii. p. 187. A CORRECTION RÊ PĔRÊS, ON P. 69 OF THE CAMBRIDGE COMMENTARY ON DANIEL.

In *The Jewish Chronicle*, March 8, p. 12. DR. ADOLF NEUBAUER.

In *The Guardian*, May 29, p. 740. "THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH." BY R. H. CHARLES, D.D.

June 19, p. 842. TWO BOOKS ON ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA : "A HISTORY OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA." BY R. W. ROGERS, PH.D. (LEIPZIG), D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S. "VOICES OF THE PAST FROM ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA." BY H. S. ROBERTSON, B.A., D.SC.

In *The Oxford Magazine*, vol. xix. p. 276. CANON BRIGHT, AN APPRECIATION.[3]

1902

A LETTER TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR—On p. 16 of "Statements of the Needs of the University, being Replies to a Circular Letter addressed by the Vice-Chancellor on Feb. 20, 1902 to the Heads of Institutions and Departments, to the Boards of Faculties, and to the Professors and Readers."

New edition :—A CRITICAL AND EXEGETICAL COMMENTARY ON DEUTERONOMY (1895), 3rd ed.

[1] Reprinted 1901 in *The Expositor*, 6th series, vol. iii. p. 27 (see p. 228, note [2]).

[2] Republished in "The Higher Criticism," by S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick, in 1905. An address delivered at New College, London.

[3] Reprinted in *The Guardian*, March 13, p. 346.

Reprint:—An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 7th ed.

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In *The Expository Times*, vol. xiii. p. 167. Should the Authorized Version continue to be used in the Public Services of the Church?

p. 240. A Correction to be made on p. 168.

p. 457. Jacob's Route from Haran to Shechem.

In *The Guardian*, Jan. 1, p. 20. "An Assyrian Doomsday Book, or Liber Censualis of the District round Harran in the Seventh Century B.C." By the Rev. C. H. W. Johns, M.A. "The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah." By Hermann Guthe, D.D. "The Ancient East: No. II. The Tell el Amarna Period." By Carl Niebuhr.

Feb. 19, p. 271. Professor A. B. Davidson.

In *The British Weekly*, Jan. 30. Dr. Davidson.

In *Records of the Past*,[1] vol. i. p. 59. The Moabite Stone. (By Dr. Ginsburg and Prof. Driver.)

1903

Professor Davidson—In "The Proceedings of the British Academy, 1903-1904," p. 289.

Two Letters to John Abbey—In "The Bible, The Theologians, The Christian Churches, and the Drink Curse," pp. 1 and 6.

Reprint:—An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 7th ed.

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p. 147. Translations from the Prophets. Jer. i. vii. 1-ix. 22.[2]

p. 229. Translations from the Prophets. Jer. ix. 23-xiii.[2]

p. 316. Translations from the Prophets. Jer. xi. 9-xii. 6.[2]

[1] An American periodical.

[2] Republished in 1906 under the title of "The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah; A Revised Translation with Introductions and Short Explanations."

p. 353. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xii. 7–xvi. 9.[1]

Vol. viii. p. 12. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xxii.–xxiii.[1]

In *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. iv. p. 434. TWO NOTES ON Is. xli. 5–7.

In *The Church Times*, Aug. 7, p. 173. THE HEBREW PROPHETS (Is. li. 4).[2]

In *The Christian World Pulpit*, Aug. 12, p. 104. THE HEBREW PROPHETS (ON Is. li. 4).

1904

THE BOOK OF GENESIS, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES—In "The Westminster Commentaries." Editions:—(1) 1904, January; (2) 1904, March; (3) 1904, October; (4) 1905; (5) 1906; (6) 1907; (7) 1909; (8) 1911, revised; (9) 1913.

In *The Expositor*, 6th series, vol. ix. p. 104. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xvi. 10–xx. 18.[1]

p. 174. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xxx.–xxxi.[1]

p. 394. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xxv.[1]

Vol. x. p. 61. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xlvi.–xlvii. 28.[1]

p. 138. TRANSLATIONS FROM THE PROPHETS. JER. xlvii. 29–xlix.[1]

In *The Church Quarterly Review*, July, p. 439. "OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY." BY THE LATE A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D.

Oct., p. 219. "THE BOOK OF PSALMS." BY T. K. CHEYNE, D.LITT., D.D.

In *The Guardian*, Oct. 5, p. 1628. A JASPER SEAL, DISCOVERED AT TELL EL-MUTESELLIM.

Oct. 26, p. 1791. DR. A. B. DAVIDSON'S THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

New editions:—THE PARALLEL PSALTER (1898).

[1] Republished in 1906 under the title of "The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah: A Revised Translation with Introductions and Short Explanations."

[2] No. 21 of "Sermons on Critical Questions," preached at St. Mark's, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.

March. THE BOOK OF GENESIS (Jan. 1904), 2nd ed.
Oct. THE BOOK OF GENESIS (Jan. 1904), 3rd ed.

1905

DEUTERONOMIUM ET LIBER JOSUÆ—In Rud. Kittel's "Biblia Hebraica."[1] Editions:—(1) 1905; (2) 1909.

THE HIGHER CRITICISM. Three Papers by S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick.[2] Editions:—(1) 1905; (2) 1912 (in an enlarged form).

THE CRITICAL STUDY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT—In "Essays for the Times," No. 21.[3]
New edition:—THE BOOK OF GENESIS (1904), 4th ed.
Reprint:—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, 7th ed.

In *The Interpreter*, vol. i. p. 10. THE PERMANENT RELIGIOUS VALUE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[4]

In *The Church Quarterly Review*, July, p. 416. STUDIES IN BIBLICAL LAW. BY HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.D.

In *The Guardian*, June 21, p. 1048. PROFESSOR KÖNIG AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
Oct. 18, p. 1743. DR. REICH ON THE "HIGHER CRITICISM."

In *The Record*, vol. xxiv. p. 670, July 14. DR. REICH'S LECTURE.
p. 768, Aug. 18. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 809, Sept. 1. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 827, Sept. 8. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 847, Sept. 15. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 868, Sept. 22. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 890, Sept. 29. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

[1] "Biblia Hebraica, adjuvantibus Professoribus G. Beer, F. Buhl, G. Dalman, S. R. Driver, M. Löhr, W. Nowack, I. W. Rothstein, V. Ryssel, edidit Rud. Kittel, Professor Lipsiensis."

[2] The two papers by Dr. Driver were reprinted from *The Expositor*, Jan. 1901, p. 27, and *The Interpreter*, 1905, vol. i. p. 10.

[3] "Reprinted, by permission of the editor, from *The Contemporary Review* for February, 1890 (vol. lvii. p. 215). One or two short omissions have been made and a few verbal alterations introduced; but in other respects the paper remains as it was originally written" (note on p. 5).

[4] Republished in "The Higher Criticism," by S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick, in 1905.

p. 999, Oct. 27. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 1051, Nov. 10. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 1101, Nov. 24. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 1158, Dec. 8. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.
p. 1027, Dec. 22. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

In *The Times*, June 1. THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

In *The Daily Mail*, Aug. 23, p. 2. WHAT IS CRITICISM ?
Sept. 6, p. 6. CANON DRIVER'S POSTSCRIPT.

1906

THE BOOK OF JOB IN THE REVISED VERSION, EDITED WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND BRIEF ANNOTATIONS.
[Reprinted in 1908.]

ECCLESIASTES—In Rud. Kittel's "Biblia Hebraica."[1] Editions :—(1) 1906) ; (2) 1909.

THE MINOR PROPHETS (NAHUM, HABAKKUK, ZEPHANIAH, HAGGAI, ZECHARIAH, MALACHI), INTRODUCTIONS, REVISED VERSION WITH NOTES, INDEX AND MAP—In "The Century Bible."

A HEBREW AND ENGLISH LEXICON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING THE BIBLICAL ARAMAIC, BASED ON THE LEXICON OF WILLIAM GESENIUS, AS TRANSLATED BY EDWARD ROBINSON ; by Francis Brown with the co-operation of S. R. Driver and Charles A. Briggs.[2]

THE BOOK OF THE PROPHET JEREMIAH ; A REVISED TRANS-

[1] "Biblia Hebraica, adjuvantibus Professoribus G. Beer, F. Buhl, G. Dalman, S. R. Driver, M. Löhr, W. Nowack, I. W. Rothstein, V. Ryssel, edidit Rud. Kittel, Professor Lipsienis."

[2] "The articles written by Professor Driver include all pronouns, prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, and other particles, together with some nouns whose principal use (with or without a preposition) is adverbial ; also some entire stems of which only one derivative is used adverbially : *e.g.* I. בדר, בלה (not בִּלְיַעַל), יחד, I. בלל, כמאס, רגע ; but in the case of יוֹמָם, נֶגֶד, סָבִיב, I. עֵבֶר, כְּעַל and עַל (*sub* עלה), עִם, עַתָּה, יען (*sub* ענה), among others, Professor Driver's responsibility does not go beyond the particular words. Under פָּנָה he is responsible for the treatment of פְּנֵי, with prepositions prefixed. He has prepared a few other articles, as well ; *e.g.* אֲלַיִל, II. בדר, הֶבֶל, ישׁה, תּוּשִׁיָּה, תָּמִיד, מחר, כָּעֵת, תֹּהוּ. In addition to articles for which he is exclusively responsible, he has read all the proofs, and made many suggestions" (Preface, p. ix).

LATION WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND SHORT EXPLANATIONS.[1] Editions :—(1) 1906 ; (2) 1908.

New edition :—THE BOOK OF GENESIS (1904), 5th ed.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xvii. p. 282. ON DILLMANN'S CRITICAL POSITION.

1907

New edition :—THE BOOK OF GENESIS (1904), 6th ed.

Reprint :—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, 7th ed.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xviii. p. 189. DR. DRIVER'S JEREMIAH.

p. 331. NOTES ON THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

In *The Guardian*, Oct. 23, p. 1752. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

Nov. 6, p. 1827. A JEWISH TEMPLE IN EGYPT, B.C. 525–411.

p. 1834. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

Nov. 20, p. 1913. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

Nov. 27, p. 1953. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

Dec. 4, p. 1996. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

Dec. 11, p. 2057. GENESIS AND SCIENCE.

1908

CHRISTIANITY AND OTHER RELIGIONS ; Three short Sermons by S. R. Driver (1), and W. Sanday (2 and 3).

A PREFATORY NOTE to The Book of Isaiah, by G. H. BOX, M.A.

Article in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* :—EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT.

Reprint :—THE BOOK OF JOB.

In *The Expositor*, 7th series, vol. v. p. 481. AN ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION FROM SYRIA.

In *The Interpreter*, vol. iv. p. 245. A LIGHT TO THE GENTILES.[2]

In *The Times*, March 20. BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

Apr. 3. BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

1909

MODERN RESEARCH AS ILLUSTRATING THE BIBLE. The Schweich Lectures for 1908.

Articles in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (one volume) :—

[1] Based on the articles in *The Expositor* for 1903 and 1904.

[2] Republished 1915 in "The Ideals of the Prophets" Sermon xi.

EBER, GOG, IR-HA-HERES, KENITES, MAGOG, MAMRE, MIZPAH, MIZPEH, PENUEL, SUCCOTH.

Articles in *The Standard Bible Dictionary*:—ARAMAIC LANGUAGE, CHRONICLES, JEREMIAH, NUMBERS.

New editions:—AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 8th ed., revised.

DEUTERONOMIUM, LIBER JOSUÆ, ECCLESIASTES — In Rud. Kittel, "Biblia Hebraica," 2nd ed., emended.[1]

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xxi. p. 29. THE IDEALS OF THE PROPHETS.[2]

In *The Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. x. p. 616. "THE RELIGION OF ANCIENT PALESTINE IN THE SECOND MILLENNIUM B.C., IN THE LIGHT OF ARCHÆOLOGY AND THE INSCRIPTIONS." BY STANLEY A. COOK.

In *The Guardian*, Feb. 17, p. 241. THE WALLS OF JERICHO.

In *The Society for Biblical Study*, Supplement, July, p. 15. BIBLIOGRAPHY—OLD TESTAMENT. 1. INTRODUCTIONS. 2. COMMENTARIES. 1. HISTORICAL BOOKS.

1910

THE HEBREW PROPHETS (Is. li. 4)—In "Modern Sermons by World Scholars," p. 95.

Article in the 11th edition of *The Encyclopædia Britannica*:—OLD TESTAMENT CANON AND CHRONOLOGY (*s.v.* Bible).

New edition:—ISAIAH, HIS LIFE AND TIMES (1888), 3rd ed.

In *The Expositor*, 7th series, vol. ix. p. 20. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER, WITH SPECIAL APPLICATION TO THE MESSIANIC PSALMS. Ps. ii.[3]

p. 114. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER. Ps. xlv. AN ODE CELEBRATING A ROYAL MARRIAGE.[3]

p. 217. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER. Ps. cx.[3]

p. 348. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER. Ps. xl.[3]

p. 507. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER. Ps. xxii.[3]

[1] "*Item Professores S. R. Driver et Eb. Nestle, qui passim ad notas corrigendas vel locupletandas contribuerunt, nos sibi obstrinxerunt*" (*Præfatio ad editionem alteram*, p. 111).

[2] Republished 1915 in "The Ideals of the Prophets." Sermon ix.

[3] Republished 1915 in "Studies in the Psalms

Vol. x. p. 26. THE METHOD OF STUDYING THE PSALTER. Ps. xvi.[1]

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xxi. p. 495. I. ON MAPS OF PALESTINE CONTAINING ANCIENT SITES.

p. 562. II. ON MAPS OF PALESTINE CONTAINING ANCIENT SITES.

In *The Oxford Chronicle*, Jan. 21. DR. DRIVER'S REPLY AT THE PRESENTATION OF HIS PORTRAIT.

In *The Oxford Times*, Jan. 22. DR. DRIVER'S REPLY AT THE PRESENTATION OF HIS PORTRAIT.

In *The Society for Biblical Study*, Supplement, January, p. 8. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. 2. THE PROPHETS.

Supplement, April, p. 11. OLD TESTAMENT BIBLIOGRAPHY. 3. THE HAGIOGRAPHA [Revised in the Supplement, July, 1912. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT, REVISED.]

In *The Sunday at Home*, March. WHICH IS THE MOST MAGNIFICENT PASSAGE IN THE BIBLE ?

1911

THE BOOK OF EXODUS, IN THE REVISED VERSION, WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES—In "The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges."

New edition: —THE BOOK OF GENESIS (1904), 8th ed., revised.

In *The Expositor*, 8th series, vol. ii. p. 385. I. THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

p. 518. II. THE BOOK OF JUDGES.

In *The Expository Times*, vol. xxii. p. 341. THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE.[2]

p. 497. A MIRROR FOR RULERS (Ps. lxxii. 1).[2]

In *The Guardian*, Jan. 25, p. 106. HEBREW INSCRIPTIONS FROM SEBUSTIEH, THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT SAMARIA. (Notes for the week, Nos. 10 and 11.)

Feb. 10, p. 180. THE DISCOVERIES AT SAMARIA.

In *The Record*, vol. xxx. p. 106, Feb. 17. ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING.

[1] Republished 1915 in "Studies in the Psalms."

[2] "The Ideals of the Prophets," Sermons xix., xx.

p. 235, March 10. ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING.

p. 282, March 24. ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING.

In *The Oxford Times*, Apr. 1. COMMEMORATION SERMON ON THE TERCENTENARY OF THE AUTHORIZED VERSION OF THE BIBLE (Is. xi. 9).[1]

1912

ON THE MARGINAL NOTES OF THE REVISED VERSION. (By S. R. Driver and W. Aldis Wright.)

Articles in *The Prayer-Book Dictionary*:—PENITENTIAL PSALMS, PSALTER.[2]

New edition:—THE HIGHER CRITICISM. By S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick (as in 1905, with the addition of another paper by A. F. Kirkpatrick).

Reprint:—THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

In *The Expositor*, 8th series, vol. iii. p. 24. THE BOOK OF JUDGES. III. DEBORAH AND BARAK.

p. 120. THE BOOK OF JUDGES. IV. DEBORAH AND BARAK (*continued*).

In *The Times*, July 15. A REVISED VERSION WITHOUT NOTES.[3]

1913

New editions:—NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL (1890), 2nd ed.,[4] revised and enlarged.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT (1891), 9th ed., revised.

[1] "The Ideals of the Prophets," Sermon XX.

[2] "Studies in the Psalms."

[3] Theologians' Protest, published also in other periodicals, and signed by 30 scholars: W. Aldis Wright, Christian D. Ginsburg, T. K. Cheyne, A. H. Sayce, S. R. Driver (Members of the Old Testament Revision Company), F. H. Chase, H. E. Ryle, A. F. Kirkpatrick, H. B. Swete, A. J. Mason, W. Emery Barnes, R. H. Kennett, F. C. Burkitt, J. F. Bethune-Baker, J. H. Srawley, Stanley A. Cook, H. S. Holland, R. L. Ottley, E. W. Watson, W. Lock, G. A. Cooke, C. F. Burney, R. H. Charles, J. F. Stenning, A. C. Headlam, J. Skinner, W. H. Bennett, J. H. Moulton, G. B. Gray, A. S. Peake.

[4] Entitled NOTES ON THE HEBREW TEXT AND THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL, WITH AN INTRODUCTION ON HEBREW PALÆOGRAPHY AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS AND FACSIMILES OF INSCRIPTIONS AND MAPS.

THE BOOK OF GENESIS (1904), 9th ed.

In *The Church Reading Magazine*, No. 47, p. 37. THE BOOK OF GENESIS.[1]

In *The Jewish Chronicle*, Oct. 31, Supplement, p. 4. BLOOD RITUAL PROTEST.

In *The Jewish World*, Oct. 29. BLOOD RITUAL PROTEST.

1914

In *The Expository Times*, vol. XXV. p. 179. "NOTES ON SAMUEL."

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

1915

THE IDEALS OF THE PROPHETS. Sermons: together with a Bibliography of his published Writings. Edited by the Rev. G. A. Cooke, D.D.

STUDIES IN THE PSALMS.[2] Edited by the Rev. C. F. Burney, D.Litt.

[1] Also printed, before the insertion of the last paragraph, for the Lincoln Diocesan Reading Society.

[2] Containing the Articles, in *The Expositor* for 1910, entitled "The Method of Studying the Psalter," and Sermons on the Psalms. A commentary on the Book of Job is being completed by Dr. Buchanan Gray and Dr. McNeile, for the "Int. Crit. Comment." series.

APPENDIX B

THE MAIN EVENTS IN DR. DRIVER'S LIFE

1846, Oct. 2 . . .	Born at Southampton.
1857, June . . .	First school at Rev. H. N. Burrows, Shirley House, Southampton.
1862, May 3 . . .	A "Commoner" at Winchester College.[1]
1865	Third "Winchester" Classical Scholarship to New College, Oxford.
1866	Pusey and Ellerton Hebrew Scholarship.
1867	First class in Classical Moderations. Second class in Mathematical Moderations.
1869	First class in the Final Honour School of "Literæ Humaniores." Degree of B.A.
1870, Lent Term .	Fellow of New College. Kennicot Hebrew Scholarship.
1871, Lent Term .	Hall Houghton Senior Septuagint Prize.
1872, Lent Term .	Houghton Syriac Prize.[2] Degree of M.A.
1874, Dec. 31 . .	Ordentliches Mitglied der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft (Leipzig).

[1] At Winchester he won the following prizes:—1862, Dec., Lord Saye and Sele's prize for Senior Part, Fifth Book; 1864, July, Lord Saye and Sele's prize for Junior Part, Sixth Book; also, Lord Saye and Sele's prize for Natural Science; 1864, Dec., Senior Duncan Mathematical Prize; 1865, July, the Warden and Fellows' Prize for Greek Iambics; also, Lord Saye and Sele's prize for Senior Part, Sixth Book.

[2] This was the first award of the Syriac Prize.

1875, Trinity Term	Tutor of New College.
,, Mich. Term	Member of the Old Testament Revision Company.
1881, Dec. 18	Ordained deacon in Salisbury Cathedral by Dr. Moberly, Bishop of Salisbury.[1]
1882,[2] Dec. 21	Ordained priest by the Bishop of Salisbury.
1883, Jan. 5	Appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford.[3] Degree of D.D., by decree of Convocation.
,, Jan. 12	Admitted Canon.
,, June	Resided in Christ Church.
1884, July	Last meeting of the Old Testament Revision Company.
1884–1904	Examining Chaplain to Dr. Ridding,[4] Bishop of Southwell.
1885, Oct.	Present at the Portsmouth Church Congress.
1888	Visit to Palestine.
1891, July 7	Married Mabel, elder daughter of Edmund Burr Esq., of Burgh next Aylsham, Norfolk.
1892, July	Honorary degree of D.Litt. at Dublin.
,, Oct.	Present at the Folkestone Church Congress.
1894, Sept.	Present at the Exeter Church Congress.
1895	Co-editor with C. A. Briggs of the Old Testament volumes in "The International Critical Commentary."

[1] Formerly Headmaster of Winchester College (1836–1866).

[2] "It is of interest to note that it was not until 1882 that Professor Driver became convinced of the Graf-Wellhausen view of the dates of the documents of the Pentateuch" ("The Life of William Robertson Smith," by J. S. Black and G. W. Crystal, 1912, p. 551).

[3] Dr. Pusey died on Sept. 16, 1882; Mr. Gladstone's letter offering the Professorship and Canonry to Dr. Driver was dated on Oct. 23; Mr. Gladstone's letter acknowledging Dr. Driver's acceptance of his offer was dated on Oct. 28; the Letters Patent were dated on Jan. 5, 1883.

[4] Formerly Second Master (1863–1866) and Headmaster (1866–1884) of Winchester College.

1901, June 13	Honorary degree of D.D. at Glasgow.
1902	Fellow of the British Academy.
1905, June 14	Honorary degree of Litt.D. at Cambridge.
1906, Sept. 26	Honorary degree of D.D. at Aberdeen.
1907, Nov. 15	Deputation to confer the honorary degree of D.C.L. on the German Emperor.
1910, Dec. 8	Correspondierendes Mitglied der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin).
„ Jan.	Presentation of portrait.
„ Jan.–Apr.	Visit to Egypt and Palestine.
1911	Deputation to His Majesty the King on the Tercentenary of the Authorized Version of the Bible.
1913	Vice-President of the National Anti-Vivisection Society.
1914, Feb. 26	Died at Oxford.

APPENDIX C

OBITUARY NOTICES OF DR. DRIVER

"The Life-Work of Samuel Rolles Driver." A Sermon preached in Christ Church Cathedral on March 8, 1914. By W. Sanday, D.D., F.B.A.

In periodicals:—

The Expositor, 8th series, vol. vii. No. 41, p. 385. By Professor A. S. Peake, D.D.

The Expository Times, vol. xxv. p. 342. By the Rev. G. A. Cooke, D.D.

The Contemporary Review, April. By G. Buchanan Gray.

The Interpreter, April. By the Editor.

The Guardian, March 6. By the Rev. Prof. Nairne.

The Record, March 6. By "R. B. G."

The Christian Commmowealth, March 4. By Prof. T. K. Cheyne, F.B.A.

The Church Family Newspaper, March 6. By Prof. Margoliouth.

Comment and Criticism, vol. ii. p. 7. Dr. A. H. McNeile, D.D.

The Biblical World, vol. xliii. p. 291. By Francis Brown, D.D., LL.D.

The Christian Advocate, March 19. By R. W. Rogers.

The Commonwealth, vol. xix., No. 220. By Dr. H. S. Holland.

The British Weekly, March 5. By the Editor; also by the Rev. Principal Skinner, D.D.; by the Rev. Principal Bennett, D.D.; by the Rev. J. Stephens Roose, M.A.

March 12. By T. Witton Davies.

April 2. By Rev. Professor R. W. Rogers.

The Animals' Guardian, April. By (Rev.) M. C. F. Morris.

The Chicago Daily Tribune, March 14. By the Rev. Jesse Bowman Young.

The Wykehamist, March 19. By J. V. (the Rev. Canon Vaughan).

The Oxford Magazine, March 5. By C. F. B. (the Rev. C. F. Burney, D.Litt.).

The Oxford Chronicle, Feb. 27. By W. B. Brash.

The Oxford Times, March 5. By the Rev. A. J. Carlyle, D.Litt.

The Proceedings of the British Academy, 1915. By the Rev. R. H. Charles, D.Litt., F.B.A.

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THE SEER'S HOUSE. Rev. JAMES RUTHERFORD, B.D., Edinburgh.

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